

A Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interests  
of the  
Society and Labor  
Movement

# THE NEW LEADER

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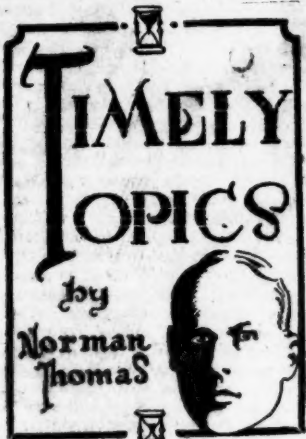
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**TIMELY TOPICS**  
by Norman Thomas

SO DWIGHT MORROW is to be our Ambassador to Mexico. I am glad of it. Wait a minute before you start throwing bricks. Let me explain. I am not glad that we live in the kind of country where a partner in the House of Morgan is the suitable and appropriate public representative of a foreign policy which for many years has been framed largely in the interests of the class or group of which the House of Morgan is the most powerful representative. But since we do live in such a country I am glad that the fact is brought out into the light of day where everybody can see it. The most dangerous thing about American imperialism is that it has been masked so that the reader of newspaper headlines did not realize what was going on. Even the reader of newspaper headlines will take in the significance of the appointment of Mr. Morrow and will not be inclined to believe that it is to be explained merely by the fact that he and Calvin Coolidge were college chums.

Moreover if we are going to be run by big business I would rather see the boss himself in an important post like that of Mexico City instead of his second rate office boy whom we have been sending to Mexico City and elsewhere. At least Mr. Morrow has ability. He has, moreover, a certain sense of propriety which has made him resign from the House of Morgan. Furthermore I suspect that intelligent Mexicans would on the whole prefer a representative of the bankers than of the oil investors at this moment. After all, the bankers are mostly anxious for the payment of interest on existing debts and they are fairly well satisfied with what Mexico has done. As much cannot be said for the oil men. For all of which reasons unless some one has got facts to present that I do not know I shall not be one to join in the outcry against Mr. Morrow's ratification. And if our progressive friends spend much time fighting it I fear they will, as so often happens, be wasting their energy barking up the wrong tree.

It is on the whole encouraging to see signs of a revival of progressivism in Congress. With most of Senator Nye's program for a progressive coalition we Socialists can pretty well agree. Nevertheless neither in philosophy nor tactic is progressivism adequate to our political needs. The progressive program is based not on any fundamental theory that I can discover but on a sort of combination of grievances. It wants public development of power at Muscle Shoals but has no program for the immensely important power issue as a whole. It has no program on coal at all. It wants to put the farmers in the class of tariff beneficiaries which may be necessary as things now are but which is no solution for the farm problem. It shows no signs of having done hard thinking on the national or international importance of the tariff problem generally. Individual progressives have introduced good measures directed against imperialism but there is scarcely an adequate progressive program against imperialism. Individual progressives, or some of them, still talk in the futile language of nineteenth century trust busting. Finally, they talk about changes in the Federal Reserve Law without giving us any clear indication of knowing what they want or how to get it. Social control of banking and credit is one of the most important problems before us. Tinkering with the present banking machinery in the interests of small banks against large ones or country against the city or another wave of cheap money agitation will get us precisely nowhere. Maybe the progressive plan nothing of that sort but they ought to continue to outline their position clearly.

As for Basil Manly's theory that progressives can and will win glorious victories in 1928 if only they will "stop shooting at the moon and secure power where it will really count—in the Senate and House of Representatives", we have our doubts. The vague uncoordinated activities in the old party primaries of discontented groups that call themselves progressives, activities that Manly would confine mostly to 16 West-ern states will prevail against the well organized ranks of the business interests in both parties just about the same time that the guerrilla warfare of the old days of Indian fights will prevail against a modern army. Progressives elected on Manly's plan have no real unifying principle to hold them together. Nominally they belong to the old parties and cannot wholly escape the effects of their allegiance. They are subject to all the middle pressures of Washington life. They are curbed and hemmed in.

(Continued on Page 3)

## Box Makers Union Again In the Battle

Loyalty Bred in 19 Weeks'  
Strike is Mainstay of Or-  
ganization Campaign Now  
In Progress

Brooklyn Shops  
Under Attack

Far-Sighted Bosses in In-  
dustry Realize Absence  
of Union is A Demoraliz-  
ing Factor

By Louis Stanley

THE paper box maker's union is on its feet again. A series of non-day meetings in the heart of the paper box district of lower New York and a big mass demonstration at Beethoven Hall, September 20, 1927, have marked the present organization drive. Particularly significant is the campaign now being waged in Brooklyn against the big shops. It is almost a miracle, this comeback of the paper box makers, still smarting from the terrific blows struck at them by the "bosses" in the bitter strike last winter.

There are families who are still boarding out, their homes disbanded and furniture sold or in storehouse—who sacrificed their most precious possessions to win the last struggle—and they are ready to carry on again. There are young girls who refused to return to the trade rather than submit to their employers and there are others, more statesmanlike, who went back to wait and prepare for the day of rebellion. There are men and youths, blacklisted and out of work, and others under surveillance, all biding their time.

The Workers Remain Loyal  
Why these smouldering flames? The workers know what the union means to them. Battling, as they did, the employers, the gangsters and the police for nineteen long weeks in the dead of winter, the strikers learned in practice what they had known in theory that the union was as much a part of them as their eyes and bellies and limbs. To take the union from these workers was to dismember them. Loyalty was instilled in them by struggle.

Furthermore, since the strike working conditions have become worse than ever. The old union scale has been cut in third and even in half. The employers have become dictators once more. Child labor has raised its head. Sanitary conditions are noticeable by their absence. Neither are the employers benefiting from the open shop for which they had prayed for so many years and finally won. Paper box manufacturing is a highly competitive industry. The union used to stabilize the industry by establishing uniform labor standards. Now all this is gone. There is cut-throat competition. Whatever pennies can be saved by slashing wages, piling up overtime or letting the shops become stench-holes are welcome. A few dollars and relatives enable a man to become a paper box manufacturer. He may hire outside labor or not but in either case he compels other manufacturers to cut labor costs too. A vicious circle of cutting to keep up with the other fellow's cutting results.

The Bosses Invite a Strike  
The last strike lasted from early October 1926 to the beginning of February 1927. The union demands were for a five dollar increase in wages, the forty-four instead of the forty-six hour week and a minimum scale for learners. The fight had long been expected and it seemed clear that the employers welcomed it as a test of strength. Events had made this apparent. Early in the summer the United Paper Box Manufacturers' Association with whom the union had a collective agreement had thrown down the gauntlet. Its officers had advised its members not to pay their workers for the Fourth of July holiday, as the contract called for. Since the

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## Meet The Gang Saturday Night At That Socialist Party Dance

TICKETS have been going fast for the big Socialist Party affair this Saturday evening, September 24, in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 15th street. It's the Campaign Dance and Reunion of Socialists of Greater New York. If you're wise you'll be in the Debs Auditorium that night.

Who'll be there? Pardon us. That is the wrong question to put. The proper query is, Who will not be there?

The committee in charge of this big affair has considered this question and it has answered it. The committee declares that the few Socialists who will not be present are those who are called out of the city and those who are on the sick list. To these few the committee concedes that there may be a

## "Distribution" of Goods Biggest Part of Cost

Washington, D. C.—Higher costs to get goods to the consumer than to make the goods in the first place characterizes the United States according to conclusions drawn by the head of the Farmers Loan and Trust Company in New York. The conclusion is based on a personal investigation of the question and upon an expression of views by thirty-eight American corporation executives. The bank president's conclusion means that the cost of living is not due to the cost of producing goods, but to advertising, salesmanship, credit costs and office work. Not machines, wages of producers, and salaries of managers of production but all the costs of business firms, including manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers, to get the consumers to buy this or that product from this business man rather than another is chiefly responsible for the high cost of goods.

## Standard Buys Inventions of 28 for \$1,105

Company Union Boosts  
Plan Through Which  
Workers Give Up Con-  
trivances for a Pittance

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

RAYONNE, N. J.—As a pioneer in the fraud of company unionism Standard Oil has set the pace in meanness masked by Sunday school ethics. It is not content to herd its workers into a "union" under the constant eyes of its officials. That is bad enough, for the company union crushes freedom of action, crows independent thinking, and the penalty of discharge hangs over the heads of those who in any way think of a day when workers may gather by themselves to work out their own problems.

What is especially galling in the plants of Standard Oil is its capitalization of technical ideas which may occur to the employees and which save labor time or increase production. In order to wheedle these ideas out of the workers, the company, from time to time, offers prizes for inventions and devices which may be useful to its stockholders. To stimulate this rich field for increased profits the corporation through the organ of its company union, "The Lamp," has adopted a slogan for the workers. "Coin Your Ideas" is the appeal to the men, followed by a Polyan sermon on how much it means for his thousands of employees to "have eyes." Prizes are offered for those workers who submit suggestions and inventions which will enable the corporation to coin these ideas into handsome dividends.

Company is Ratified  
In the August number of "The Lamp," which announces the latest prizes that have been awarded, an editorial declares:

"No job in this world is being done so well that someone will not do it better in the future. Records are made only to be surpassed, whether in sports or business. The worker who feels that he has nothing more to learn is fast slipping back. None of us ever quite achieves perfection in any endeavor. If we did, ambition would die. There is always the goal of improvement somewhere ahead."

Naturally, there are those to whom such sermons appeal. Even an occasional worker who secretly rebels against the company union may be induced to try for a prize and thus increase his income. In the current issue of "The Lamp" only 28 of the thousands of workers in various cities are announced as receiving prizes. Standard Oil wants more from this rich field of easy pickings so this note of pessimism appears in the editorial:

"The Company is highly gratified with the results of the 'Coin Your Ideas' (Continued on Page 3)

## Scab Plant's Whitewash Bared in Ill.

Misuse of Letter by Anti-  
Union Belleville Factor-  
ies is Revealed—Trade  
Council Head Brings  
About Expose

Factory Inspector  
Forced to Retract

State Director of Labor  
Then Repudiates Letter-  
Writing Agent—Tells  
Him His Job is In-  
spect

By Martin A. Dillmon

BELLEVILLE, ILL.—How a dull-minded inspector either permitted himself to walk into an "open shop" trap or allowed his honest judgment to be sold for a consideration, and how two scab shops in Belleville made questionable use of a letter in a frantic effort to whitewash revolting conditions in their factories, is revealed in correspondence between David Stuart, president of Belleville Trades and Labor As-sembly, and George B. Arnold, director of Illinois Department of Labor.

Belleville organized labor has contended that the Belleville Enameling Co. and the Roesch Enameling Co. have been flagrantly violating state health and safety laws governing industrial plants. For about two years a bitter strike has raged against the Belleville and the Roesch plants, a fight for the right of the employees to belong to a union. It has been one of the most desperate industrial wars in all Belleville labor history. The struggle was marked by the infamous Crow injunction against the strikers and the subsequent fining and sentencing of strikers to jail who were alleged to have violated the one-man "law" (?). Five of the victims were women and young girls in their teens. An election came. Judge Crow was snowed under, overwhelmingly impeached and repudiated by the voters, closing an 18-year solid record of never refusing an injunction against striking workers.

The two scab shop bosses were hard hit when they lost their pal, George Crow. The Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly kept up a state-wide truth-telling drive on the two shops. Such a public stir was created that a deputy state factory inspector, James Mullen, was dispatched to Belleville and supposedly "inspected" the two plants against which the complaint was made. The people of Belleville were stood on their heads after Mullen's departure, for the Manufacturers' Association published a letter alleged to have been received by the association from Mullen, but really a solicited letter to one Mr. Daley of the Belleville Chamber of Commerce. The letter set forth conditions in the two scab plants as ideal and in compliance with all state regulation. Whether Mullen was caught unawares and succumbed to temptation or whether it was made profitable for him to write the letter does not appear. But

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## Boston Firm Signs Contract With Tiemakers

An agreement between the Standard Neckwear Company, one of the largest manufacturers of neckties in Boston, and the United Neckwear Makers Union, has been signed. It is announced at the office of the union, 7 East 15th street. The union heretofore has not had any agreement with the company.

With the signing of the agreement with the Standard Neckwear Company, the union has enrolled in its ranks the greater part of the neckwear makers in Boston, Louis Berger, manager of the union said. The company employs a number of contractors who do the actual manufacturing of neckties. Under the agreement signed with the union, all these manufacturers' shops are to be run on a union basis, employing only union members.

Negotiations between the firm and the union have been in progress since May of this year, numerous conferences being held here and Boston. Mr. Berger and Irving Berger, Boston representative of the union, represented the union.

The neckwear union is now concentrating its efforts on four firms who have within the last month moved their plants from New York to New Haven, Poughkeepsie and Glen Falls. Mr. Berger declared today that these firms have thus far failed to approach production standards which were the rule in New York. The union has organized strike committees in each of these cities, as well as in New York.

## Strong Socialist Comeback Looms; N. Y. Battle is On

Election of Panken, Thomas and Solomon Easily  
Possible If the Proper Work is Done—Victories  
Would Be Signal for Revival of Political Socialism  
Throughout the Nation, Laidler Says

By Harry W. Laidler

IN MATERIAL wealth, the United States is, it is true, the leader of the world. It produces nearly three-fourths of the world's petroleum, two-thirds of its coal, from one-half to two-thirds of its cotton, one half of its iron and steel, while its residents own four-fifths of the world's automobiles used and three-fifths of its telephones. For bigness we simply can't be beat.

In other respects, we fail to lead. We give our workers less protection in sickness, in unemployment, in accident and old age than most of the industrialized countries. We find here immense inequality of wealth and income. We house tens of thousands of our workers—particularly in great centers such as New York—in cramped, unhealthy, airless tenements unfit for human habitation. We crowd our citizens in subways under conditions most revolting. We sell them shoddy and adulterated goods. When they revolt and strike, we bring to bear on them all of the forces of the state to defeat their efforts to live good American lives.

Then around election time, our politicians give the workers the handshake, tell them how better off they are than their fellows abroad, scare them with bugaboo of bolshevism and get them to sell their political heritage for the proverbial mess of pottage.

This the rulers of American life have successfully done for many decades past. The result is that America is almost the only large industrialized country where the workers have practically no political representation through Labor and Socialist parties. In Austria and Belgium and Sweden, in Australia, and Denmark and Finland from one-third to one-half of the parliamentary representatives in the national house are sent there as advocates of labor and in Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Norway and Switzerland and some other countries, from one-fifth to one-third. In the United States, of more than five hundred representatives, labor, through the Socialist party, possesses but one, or one-fifth of one percent of the total.

However, we have made a beginning. In Wisconsin, we have our Victor Berger in Congress and Dan Hoan in the Milwaukee Mayor-alty chair.

In New York, we have our Jacob Panken in the office of municipal judge.

This fall we have a rare opportunity to put the Socialist party on the political map again, and we must not allow that opportunity to go by the Board.

### MUST RETURN PANKEN TO THE BENCH

In the first place, we must reelect Comrade Panken. For ten long years he has served on the bench, faithfully, conscientiously, ably, and with always in mind the advancement of the cause of labor. It is no mere flattery when a political opponent maintains that "if there is one man today on the bench whose sense of fairness, justice between litigants, rich or poor, knowledge of the law and judicial dignity entitle him to be retained for the next ten years as a Municipal Court Justice, it is Jacob Panken." We are proud of the record he has made. We are proud of his unswerving devotion to the cause of a freer and nobler industrial society. At a time like this—with its Sacco and Vanzetti travesty, its flood of anti-labor injunctions, the subservience of the judiciary to business and financial interests, it is unthinkable that labor and progressive forces should fail to reelect Judge Panken with an overwhelming majority.

We have an opportunity likewise to break in again to the municipal councils and to the state legislature.

Norman Thomas, one of the most brilliant of the country's progressives, is running for the Board of Aldermen in the eighth Aldermanic district. During the next two years problems of tremendous import to the citizens of New York City will be brought before the municipal council. The problem of providing decent homes for its citizens, of unifying and organizing our transit facilities, of ensuring a pure and cheap milk supply, of permitting freedom in our educational institutions, abolishing compulsory military training in our city colleges, of providing adequate parks and proper entertainments to the people, and police protection to the workers in all peaceful activities, of abolishing graft, of municipalizing public utilities—these and others will come before the next municipal council. The presence of Thomas in this council, with his intellect, his eloquence, his consecration of the highest ideals of labor, would mean a new epoch in the political life of New York.

### SOLOMON TO THE LEGISLATURE

Charles Solomon, the able attorney who served with distinction as Assemblyman in Albany during the days of the war, is running again for Assemblyman in the Brownsville district. Solomon also must be elected. The next legislature will again have before it the question of public or private development of the St. Lawrence water power resources. Shall this last natural resource of the people be given away to private interests for private profit, or shall we join with the Province of Ontario and develop the water power resources on the St. Lawrence under public auspices? Solomon's voice is needed in this fight against the gigantic power industry and for public generation of hydro-electric power and its distribution to the people of the nation at cost.

His voice is needed in every fight for labor legislation. We are likely to have a period of unemployment again during the next two years. Some provision, through the building of public works, unemployment insurance, etc., should be made to meet this emergency. The workers' compensation law should be strengthened. The cities should be given more power over their own affairs. Anti-injunction legislation should be enacted. The federal child labor amendment should be again brought before the legislature. These and other legislation for labor require advocates whose hearts throb in sympathy with men and women of labor, who are able to think constructively and act intelligently and quickly and who are internally on the job. Solomon is that kind of a comrade. He must be elected.

There are plenty of jobs that every one who believes in these men and their ideals can do. They can help with house-to-house canvassing, with the distribution of leaflets, with the sale of literature, with the collection of campaign funds, with outdoor and indoor speaking, with the carrying around of platforms, with the addressing of envelopes, with the writing of letters to the papers, and the influencing of public opinion in a score of ways.

The main thing is to get busy. It will mean success. It will restore your faith in yourself, in the party, in the cause we hold so dear. It will be the beginning of big things politically in this land of ours.

## Fight Opens To Re-Elect Judge Panken

Tremendous Drive Organ-  
ized for Thomas and  
Claessens in Judicial  
District—Meeting Thurs-  
day, the 29th

Headquarters Are  
Opened in District

Efforts Will Be Concen-  
trated on Italian Voters—  
Trade Unions Line Up  
in Support—Lawyers  
Giving Aid

WITH every branch of the Social-ist and trade union movement reunited to a degree which has not been known in years, the New York Socialist campaign to re-elect Justice Jacob Panken, to send Norman Thomas and August Claessens to the Board of Aldermen, Samuel Beardsley and Isidore Korn to the State Assembly, enters its preliminary stage promising to revive the Socialist movement in the entire State by the success it will achieve.

Trade unions whose membership total more than 300,000, the Workmen's Circle, with close to 100,000 members in the nation, various civic organizations and other groups have made the fight of the Socialist candidates their own, pooling their resources to elect the Socialist ticket.

In addition, there is a Lawyers' Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Justice Jacob Panken, already numbering over 200 representative lawyers who have promised to take the stump, contribute financially, and canvass the voters. It is growing as each mill town new acceptance from additional members of the bar. The campaign for Justice Panken will make the fight in the 2nd Municipal Court District the outstanding election contest in the city this year.

### Opening September 29th

Headed by Julius Gerber, veteran Socialist organizer and campaigner, who is assisted by the heads of various departments of which he will exercise general jurisdiction, the campaign staff has outlined its plans for a drive which will be formally launched at a ratification meeting at the Second Avenue Theatre on September 29, intensified on October 10, when the registration of voters will begin, and increasing in momentum as election day approaches.

Combining the advantages of centralization as well as of local autonomy in the conduct of the campaign, thus assuring concentration of the efforts of all interested groups, while enabling the contest to be conducted in every election district, the general campaign committee has established general headquarters at 107 Second Avenue, where the campaign plans will be coordinated, and the following local headquarters:

6th A. D., 96 Avenue C.  
4th A. D., 143 Clinton Street.  
1st and 2nd A. D., 94 W. Houston Street.

As the campaign develops additional headquarters will be opened in pivotal parts of the district while outside groups supporting the Socialist nominees will arrange to have their own headquarters where they will arrange their own campaign work.

### Italian Offices Open

A careful survey of the situation in the Municipal Court District has been made, and the choice of headquarters, campaign workers, literature, and all other campaign activities will be determined in accordance with the requirements disclosed by the survey.

It is known from this study that about one-fourth of the total vote will come from the 1st and 2nd Assembly districts, where there is a large Italian population. Headquarters were accord-

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## East Side to Ratify Its Candidates

The first big gun of the campaign in the Second Judicial District will be fired on Thursday evening, September 29, the Second Avenue Theatre (2d Avenue and 2d Street) has been engaged for a huge ratification and mass meeting for the citizens of the East Side.

The speakers are Judge Jacob Panken, candidate for re-election as Municipal Court Judge, Second District; Norman Thomas, candidate for Alderman, Eighth District; B. C. Vladeck, Samuel E. Beardsley, candidate for Assembly, Eighth District; Isidore Korn, candidate for Assembly, Sixth District; August Claessens, candidate for Alderman, Sixth District; and Louis Waldman. The admission is free. Doors open at 7:30 p. m. Every-body welcome.



## Hub Agencies Victimizing Job-Seekers

**Government Bureaus,  
Honeycombed With Pet-  
ty Graft, Are Scorned By  
Most Workers—Fees Are  
High**

By Louis Rabinowitz  
(Special Correspondent of  
The New Leader)

**B**OSTON.—The majority of American citizens who are in comfortable circumstances and are quite certain of their regular income, small though it may be, often give vent to the statement that he who desires can work. If a worker desires employment let him seek employment and he will find it. Very simple for one with a full belly to state again and again. His job is safe. But how about he who is lean—quite lean? What does he who has no job say? How does he who seeks a job explain his unemployment? But how can the unemployed say anything when he is almost too weak to breathe, much less think? Hunger, cold, wet, disease, worries—all cluster about the man without the job.

The only trace of an attempt to remedy parts of the unemployment situation in or about the city of Boston is the employment agency. During the World War, a branch of the U. S. Employment Service was established in Boston. This federal department turned those civilians who had escaped the draft into war-workers as fast as it could. But after the war, financial support was dropped by Congress from \$4,000,000 to \$400,000. This federal labor agency of Boston was one of the many which disappeared.

It was announced that "A Junior Division to select the right kind of employment for boys and girls entering occupational life, and to offer employers the best possible facilities for the selection of their junior employees," would be organized and maintained by the U. S. Employment Service. This bureau must still be in the organization stage, for the boys and girls of Boston have not yet seen it.

### The State Office

There is in Boston a state employment exchange, an employment office maintained by the state of Massachusetts. This office is divided into three departments: skilled workers, unskilled workers, and office help. The skilled and unskilled workers, both men and women, stand in separate lines in one office, which is located on Pearl street, one of the dirtiest sections of Boston. This office is dusty and accumulations of dirt are evident in all corners of the room.

It is charged by men and women who have visited the state employment exchange on Pearl street, that one cannot get a decent job there unless he has a "pull." That is, unless some one who has influence in the politics of the state, some one who knows his way about in the "Gas House Lobbies," can put in a word for the applicant at the state agency, the unemployed is out of luck and has no chance to get any sort of a job. Actually, the only work this office handles is casual labor, unskilled labor for street cleaning, etc. Once in a great while there is a call for skilled help at the Fore River Ship Yards. And at this time, the inadequacy of a trained personnel robs the office of the slight good they might do in putting to work twenty or so workers.

Those workers who belong to labor organizations of any sort regard this office with mild contempt, and considerable suspicion. The employers, knowing the ignorance of the clerks and managers of this office, and being suspicious of their neutral attitude, their partiality to those applicants who have a "pull," keep away. Skilled workers of any worth stay away for these reasons, and because the office usually handles unskilled labor. The inferior class of their clients and the inadequate training of the officials combine with bribery to keep this State Employment Exchange from being of much value to the unemployed.

### Few Office Jobs

The State Employment Agency for office help is on Tremont street, a far different location than its sister office on Pearl street. It is cleaner and more congenial. But it offers no hope to the seeker of a job—because it hardly ever has any position to fill.

The Municipal Employment Bureau, formerly located in the basement of the Boston City Hall, is so rooted in petty graft that no decent worker goes near its doors. This place is always full of perpetual office-seekers. There is no room for a real work-seeker.

Boston is infested, as are many other cities, with Commercial Employment Agencies. A manager of one of the largest private employment agencies in Boston estimated that his annual collections amounted to over \$700,000. Government supervision of these agencies is so slack that no reliable figures regarding their fee-charging are available.

The profits of the commercial employment agencies depend on the number, not the permanence of the placements made. Thus it pays the agency to entice men from one place to another, and thus stimulate labor turnover, rather than reduce it. In one labor agency of Boston, which supplies labor in New Hampshire, Vermont and surrounding states, wage and working conditions are frequently misrepresented. But those who go on the job usually have no care with which to return, and are thus forced to remain and work until they can earn their fare back home.

In those agencies which carry a first class license, the law allows only a single week's pay as the maximum fee to be charged. But many of the agencies, when jobs are scarce, charge fees according to the amount of labor available, and in individual cases according to the intel-

ligence of the man seeking the job. Some of the fees charged are as high as one and two months' pay. When men are scarce for a certain line of employment, these agencies charge a low fee, but never lower than the maximum legal standard, one week's pay. Especially are these exorbitant fees charged when the applicant is unfamiliar with the English language, feeble-minded, intoxicated, or otherwise unable to protect his rights.

### The Fees Are Split

In one agency in Boston, the manager splits fees with the foremen on the job. The manager tells the applicant that if he will give the office, in care of the manager himself, his week's pay in advance, he can offer the applicant a pretty good job. The unemployed, with no other job in sight, accepts and gives the manager the money on the proposed plan. The worker goes to work on his new job, while the manager of the commercial agency and the foreman on the job split the fee "fifty-fifty". The man works one week and is then laid off because of slack. Thus he has worked one week for nothing, while the manager and the foreman sit in possession of his "tricked pay".

This process is continually going on. The managers are in alliance with the foremen, and the foremen have certain picked jobs under their supervision, which they continually fill temporarily with duped victims, the seekers of jobs.

## Fight Opens to Elect Panken

(Continued from Page 1)

ingly opened at 94 W. Houston street, in the heart of that section, and one of the most bitterly fought election contests is being staged there.

At more than a dozen meetings held in that section, the response shown to the appeals of a half-dozen Italian Socialist and labor orators has exceeded the fondest expectations of the Socialist campaigners. The announcements of the meetings, together with editorial comment favorable to the Socialist candidates, are carried by the Nuovo Mondo, the Italian labor daily, and long before the platforms are erected and the speakers arrive, crowds begin to congregate, increasing as the time set for the opening of the meeting approaches.

The attendance at meetings at times reaches from 700 to 1,000, most of whom stay from the beginning to the end, cheering the speakers and applauding the names of the candidates, and particularly Justice Panken, whose fight to save Sacco and Vanzetti is especially known and appreciated by them.

### Concentrate on Italians

Il Lavoro, official weekly of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Justice, organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers, are joining Nuovo Mondo in an effort to carry the Italian section for the Socialist candidates. In addition, Congressman LaGuardia, respected by the Italian population, is heading a committee of prominent Italian leaders being organized to further Panken's candidacy. August Bellanca, Attorney Robert Ferrari, Attorney Francis Testa, and the editors, business managers and employees of the Nuovo Mondo, are wholeheartedly at work for the Socialist candidates.

If the Socialists can get an even break in the Italian section, the election of Panken can be predicted with certainty, and more than an even break is now deemed probable.

The principal need at this time, according to Julius Gerber, is campaign workers. Those who can devote several hours an evening, one or more evenings a week, can clinch the victory for the Socialists, he states. Members of the Young People's Socialist League can likewise render yeoman service by calling the general headquarters and aiding in the addressing, folding, and mailing of literature, canvassing and in other ways.

Those who are unable to give time are appealed to for contributions, so that the necessary assistance may be employed. Contributions are to be sent to the Panken Campaign Committee, 107 Second avenue. Party members and sympathizers who wish to help celebrate a victory next November are urged to call at the headquarters and receive assignments of work.

## Reading Welcome Maurer on Return

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Reading, Pa.—Socialists and labor groups of Reading will formally welcome James H. Maurer on his return to America from his fact-finding tour of a number of European nations with a banquet in Whitner's tea room on Friday, October 7. Maurer is expected to reach the United States September 26.

The reception banquet which is expected to attract about 500 Socialist men and women, is the outgrowth of a movement inaugurated by the members of the Northeast Branch, Maurer's home organization. It was the original intention to limit the attendance to members of the branch and a few party officials and personal friends. However, when the plan was announced at the regular meeting of Local Berks last week a request was immediately made to make the reception more general. The Northeast Branch concurred with this request and a committee was appointed by the County organization to work with the branch committee and work out all the details.

With sentiment favorable to the Socialist candidates running high, the final outcome will be governed by the registration. With a full registration of the men and women of the working class, it will be impossible for the old politicians to prevent the election of a full Socialist city and school ticket.

### Oregonistas Winners

Vera Cruz, Mexico.—What by some is regarded as indicative of the outcome of next year's Presidential campaign was the victory of the Oregonistas in Monday's municipal elections here. The anti-re-electionists came in second. There were only minor disturbances.

## Irish Labor Meets Losses In New Poll

**Party Drops Nine Dail Seats—  
Lack of Funds Great  
Handicap—Jim Larkin is  
Elected**

**D**UBLIN.—Final results of the elections in the Irish Free State show a loss of nine seats for the Labor Party in the Dail. The Labor Party held 22 seats in the former Dail and now has 13. One surprise of the election was the defeat of Tom Johnson, leader of the Labor Party and of the Opposition in the Dail. William O'Brien, secretary of the Transport Workers' Union was also defeated. Jim Larkin, Communist candidate of the Irish Workers' League, was elected from a Dublin constituency.

The Labor Party in this election, as in the election in June, was handicapped for funds. On the other hand the party of DeValera, Fianna Fail, had large funds at its disposal mainly derived from American sources. It engaged in a costly advertising campaign and had a big advantage through this help from the United States.

President Cosgrave's party has fourteen members more than it had at the dissolution of the Dail and has won by four votes the race with the DeValera Republicans for being the largest single party in the Dail. The Republicans gained thirteen members. The final standing of the parties shows the following alignment:

Government: Cosgrave party, 61; Independents, 12; Farmers, 6. Total 79.  
Opposition: Fianna Fail (De Valera followers), 57; Labor, 13; National League, 2; Larkinite, 1. Total 73.

The Dail will meet October 11. Cosgrave's party is representative of the growing capitalism which is transforming rural Ireland into an industrial country.

## Steinberger Is Steno's President

Emerich Steinberger was nominated for president of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union, at a meeting which took place Monday evening, September 19th, at 3 West 16th street. As he is unopposed, Mr. Steinberger, who is employed in the office of Upholsterers' International Union, will be the new president after October 17th, when the election will be held.

The following also were nominated without opposition: Geneva M. Marsh, for vice-president; Maurice Shulman, for treasurer; Ernest Bohm, for financial and corresponding secretary; Louise Fiore, for recording secretary; Joseph Gladstone, for sergeant-at-arms; Theresa Joyce, for guardian; and Ernest Bohm, Geneva M. Marsh and Emerich Steinberger, for delegates to Central Trades and Labor Council.

A spirited contest is expected in the election of three trustees and two additional members of the Executive Board.

## Box Makers' Union Returns to the Battle

(Continued from Page 1)

agreement did not expire until September 30, this was in effect a repudiation of written obligations. It called for a show-down by the union. But evidently a wrench had been thrown into the United's fighting machinery. Its members were not quite confident of their position and the help that was expected from the other four employers' associations in the industry did not seem to be coming through. Therefore, only ten manufacturers defied the union on July 4—the officers themselves played safe—and shop strikes, these called against these. In the end the United had to come to the assistance of its loyal members and share the burden of the back pay that the strikers by winning were able to exact.

This incident was ominous. Trouble was brewing and the more or less contractual relations that had been in existence for three years seemed to be coming to an end. Some thought that the union should answer the employers' challenge and a general strike but other counsel prevailed. The bosses renewed their preparations. They obtained the support, financial and moral, of the other associations. Even the national organization promised aid. To consolidate their strength the employers in the New York District temporarily united into a Greater New York Association through the efforts of Henry Edwin Roden, an industrial manipulator and editor of "Shears", the trade publication. Now it turns out that this was mainly a scheme of the larger manufacturers, particularly those in Brooklyn, to steal away the business of the Manhattan factories during the strike and, if possible, retain the booty afterwards.

### The Strike of 1926-27

The employers prepared for a fight at the termination of the agreement. During the late summer they informed their customers of the impending disturbances and urged early buying and delivery. These warnings were heeded. The orders came rushing in. The workers worked at a feverish pace meeting the demand. Overtime was rife. Still the leadership of the union refused to strike until the agreement, which technically had already been broken, would expire officially. It was the same legalistic attitude that led this leadership to refuse to compromise on the hours demand, so that forty-five hours would be the working week the first year and forty-four thereafter. The numbers had at one time had the forty-four week and last it and, therefore, were intensely interested in this point.

That the strike was lost was unfortunate but not to be unexpected. The employers were united. They had filled a large part of their season's orders and could complete the rest in some makeshift fashion by installing some of the new-fangled machinery or eliminating some less necessary features on the boxes. They had the friendship of the police department even so far as friendly policemen on every scab wagon—and the assistance of strong-arm men. On the other hand, the fund that the union members had raised through special assessments was eventually exhausted. The leadership—replaced after the strike—made tactical blunders and, moreover, was obstructed by certain unscrupulous elements, some inexperienced and some unfortunately corrupt. Then, too, the

organizers were all men and predominantly Italian, although two-thirds of the workers were women and more than half of them Jewish. The relief work, which was splendid, as far as it went, unhappily became the foot-ball of the left-right union politics in the first part of the strike and although this was smoothed out later, the wounds were never quite healed. The round box makers, founders of the union, skilled hands with a tradition of piece work behind them and a resultant individualistic and conservative outlook, left the strikers' ranks early in the fight. In the end the drivers were bribed by promises of high wages—unfilled—to return to work. Then, other workers began to dribble back. It became necessary to call the strike off honorably and officially. On February 8, 1927, at a meeting in the Church of All Nations—where were tears in abundance—the workers voted to return to work and the memorable 1926-1927 strike of the paper box makers came to an end.

One of the incidental consequences of the strike was the arousal of public opinion about the undesirable conditions in the paper box industry. Even Acting-Mayor McKee showed his sympathy by efforts at mediation. He also appointed a committee of three consisting of Judge Bernard L. Shientag, Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein and Harry M. Durning to make an investigation. At the suggestion of this committee Industrial Commissioner Hamilton had the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor undertake an official inquiry into conditions. The report on this investigation is about ready. It is being awaited by the union, confident that the dry statistics as to hours, wages and factory conditions cannot fail to speak eloquently in support of the workers' contentions.

### The Union Joins the A. F. of L.

Whether the union would survive its ordeal became the question after the strike. Bonchli Friedman became the new manager and Clara Michelson the secretary. Both had engaged with success in the relief work in the latter part of the strike. They set about building up the union. First, they determined to establish the organization on a sound basis. The union was rife of the aforementioned undesirable elements. Then, an effort to establish contacts with the rest of the labor movement was made. The paper box makers' union was then an independent body. It had belonged for a while to the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers but the internal friction in the local had brought about a severance of relations. The paper box makers were, therefore, now entirely unaffiliated, though their former international and its president, John P. Burke, still felt benevolently disposed towards it. Hence, when the paper box makers applied to the American Federation of Labor for a charter as a directly affiliated local trade union it was successful. On July 8, 1927, the union became Local No. 17962 of the American Federation of Labor. This achievement has added immensely to the prestige of the paper box makers' union.

The second step was to organize the workers. With the new backing it was possible to send a letter of appeal to every employee signed by a long list of trade union officials and sympathizers headed by none other than Hugh Frawe, New York Organizer of the A. F. of

L. Such imposing support has given assurance to the workers. Sandwich men have announced to the paper box makers' districts the new activities. The street corner meetings have not gone unheeded—not, even by the "bosses". The mass gathering at Beethoven Hall is but one of many others. The Brooklyn campaign promises well. The small group of round box makers who had attempted to form an opposition union with the help of the employers are disintegrating in the face of the organization drive and beginning to join the union.

### Industry Needs Stability

Meanwhile, the employers are, in spite of themselves, pleased at the revival of the paper box makers' union. The United Association is in tatters. The Brooklyn manufacturers have absconded with much of the business of the downtown New York shops. The introduction of labor saving devices is playing havoc with costs. Competition runs wild. Only the union can stabilize the industry. The employers know this but cannot subscribe to it officially or individually. If the union can force stabilization upon them, well and good, and the union expects to.

## Manumit Associates Discuss New Plans

The Manumit Associates held their fourth annual conference on Saturday and Sunday, September 17 and 18, at Manumit School, near Pawling, New York. The school is an experimental school for the children of trade unionists and others who desire for their children a free environment and opportunity to practice in their daily lives the principles of democracy.

The conference consisted of an informal reception to the directors and guests, and three formal sessions, which were devoted to discussing Manumit's place in the new education movement, and its potential contribution as an experimental school in the fields of Health, Hygiene, Emotional Adjustment, Teaching Technique, Curriculum Revision.

Among those who participated in the discussion were A. J. Muste, Mrs. Helen Fincke, Dr. Henry R. Linville, Abraham Lefkowitz, J. M. Dudish, Miss Fannie Cohn, Miss Ann Gifford, H. R. Taylor, and Miss Nellie M. Seeds.

## Louis Zicht Dies; Was Active in Brooklyn

The Socialists of Kings County, New York, will be shocked to hear of the sudden death of Louis Zicht, our candidate for Alderman in the 47th A. D., and one of the active workers and veterans in the Kings County Party Organization. Comrade Zicht died last Sunday after a brief illness diagnosed as spinal meningitis. The funeral was held on Monday.

Comrade Zicht lived at 2020 Dean street and was about 32 years of age. He was an active member of the old 17th-18th A. D. Branch and contributed much of his time and energy to various campaigns held in Brownsville. He was also principal of the Socialist Sunday School and helped in the establishment of that great institution in Brownsville. It was with considerable regret that the comrades learned of his death too late to pay their last respects to him at the funeral. A memorial meeting will be held in the near future by our Kings County and Brownsville comrades.

## Poems on Sacco To Be Published In Book Form

Poets throughout the nation have responded vigorously to the call of Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney to register in song a passionate protest against the crucifixion of Sacco and Vanzetti and to sound a fiery summons to all workers to support the labor movement. These two co-editors of "Contemporary Verse" the oldest and most widely known poetry magazine in the East, will publish these poems in book form in the near future. Rev. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, New York, and editor of "Unity", has just consented to write the introduction to this anthology. The introduction will include a summary of the case and point out its revolutionary significance.

Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney issued a call to poets several months ago, sent copies of the poems received to Governor Fuller and the two martyrs, supplied "The New Leader" with the majority of the poems on this brutal frame-up which have appeared in these columns, and are now about to publish this anthology. This book will be a memorial tribute to these heroes of the labor movement, a protest against the shameful betrayal of justice by Massachusetts, and a clarion-call to participate in the revolutionary movement.

Many of the poets represented are the nation's foremost singers, though some are new voices; here are the poets who will be heeded and honored by the awakening proletariat. Among them are Edna St. Vincent Millay, S. A. De Witt, David P. Berenberg, Clement Wood, Joseph T. Shipley, Witter Bynner, Arthur Davison Ficke, Babette Deutsch, Lola Ridge, Alfred Kreymborg, James Rorty, E. Merrill Root, Countee Cullen, Miriam Allen deFord, Mary Carolyn Davies, and the editors, Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney. Some of the poems have appeared under the caption, "Sacco, Vanzetti and the Poets" in these pages; but there will be many poems in the collection which have appeared in other places and some which will be published for the first time. Several hundred poems have been submitted to the editors and they have carefully gleaned from the liberal, radical, and labor press, poems on the case.

## Workers Displaced by Machine's Growth

Washington, D. C.—The displacement of labor by machinery, which is such a startling feature of present-day American industry, arouses serious interest as to what is to become of the workers thus displaced. This is a social problem of the first importance. It is also a business problem, for an unemployed worker ceases to be a consumer. The Secretary of Labor in an article in the Monthly Labor Review for September urges that while there must be no limitation upon mechanical improvements, provision must be made to avoid any extended idleness on the part of workers superseded by machinery.

The rapid increase in the use of mechanical sprayers for many kinds of painting has aroused much apprehension as to the health hazards connected with the process. No exhaustive study of the subject has yet been made, but sufficient material is available to indicate some of the hazards to be guarded against.

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## Labor Leads Revolution of Chinese

**Wages and Working Conditions Are Miserable—Unions Not Communist—Cooperation Expected of American Workers**

(The following is one of a series of three short articles on Chinese workers, peasants and women by Paul Blanshard who has just returned from a second trip to China where he studied labor and revolutionary movements.)

By Paul Blanshard

THE Chinese workers are proving that the day of idealism in the labor movement is not dead. Against powerful opposition they have organized in South and Central China nearly three million members in labor unions to win for themselves an improvement of living conditions.

It is no easy task to be a labor leader in China today. An American labor leader frequently goes to jail under an injunction or is denounced by conservative newspapers. A Chinese labor leader just as frequently loses his head. Wu-Pei-fu beheaded the leaders of the great Chinese railway strike of 1922. In the same year the leaders of a textile strike were beheaded and their heads put on exhibition in hanging baskets. It is safe to say that no man becomes a labor leader in China unless he believes in the labor cause with his whole heart.

If ever there was a country in the world which needed labor unions it is China. The wages in Chinese and foreign factories are very nearly the lowest in the world. When I was in Peking two years ago I saw little boys of seven and eight working for ten cents a day—and they were working from 12 to 15 hours a day making matches in a hot, noisy factory. This summer in Hankow I saw boys and girls of 8 and 9 working 12 hours a day in the cotton mills, standing up at the machines. They were paid 20 and 30 cents a day in Chinese money which is half the value of American money.

### Unbelievable Poverty

It is hard for Americans to realize the poverty of these Chinese workers. Even in the city it is rare for a skilled worker to receive more than one Chinese dollar a day. In the interior towns the workers could often work for a whole month for five Chinese dollars plus their board and room.

The Chinese factories are in the same stage of industrial evolution as the British cotton mills of a century ago. The old handicraft system is breaking down and the skilled artisans, unable to compete with the machine, are being forced into the factories at the employer's terms. They are just beginning to think of themselves as militant members of a working class divorced from the employers.

In a great many of the Chinese shops the workers are kept busy from dawn till dark with no limitation or regulation of hours. Occasionally they work as much as 17 hours a day. Men, women and children work 12 hours a day in the cotton mills of Shanghai and Hankow and still longer hours in the great arsenals.

The same accusations are being made against the Chinese labor movement that have been made against every new labor movement in history.

"We will go bankrupt if we grant the 11 hour day instead of the 12 hour day," declare the Chinese employers.

"And what will the workers do with an extra hour a day? They will simply gamble or drink."

### Unions Not Communist

"The labor unions are run by the Reds," is the favorite declaration of foreign employers whose profits have been cut by labor's growing strength. I investigated as thoroughly as I could this charge of Communist control of the labor unions and concluded that it was largely a false alarm. Russia has contributed much to the Chinese Nationalist revolution but the Chinese labor unions have not become Communist and they are not conducted upon Communist principles.

When Chiang Kai-shek split away

## Illinois Labor Calls Ely "Anti-Union Agent"

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.—The Illinois Federation of Labor, after a session largely devoted to praise of Northwestern University, adopted a resolution condemning the "Institute of Land Economics and Public Utilities," headed by Dr. Richard T. Ely and recently transferred from the University of Wisconsin to Northwestern.

Secretary Victor Olander of the federation objected to passage of the resolution until assurance was given by the committee on schools that there was no intent to attack the university.

"Northwestern University," Mr. Olander said, "is not antagonistic to labor."

Delegate Mead of the Chicago school teachers assailed Dr. Ely for his advocacy of landlordism. President Walker stated he was against a single tax or any land tax as a means of correcting present tax evils. Ely, he explained,

from the left wing of the Chinese Nationalist movement last April he accused the main body of the Nationalist party of being Communist in order to divert attention from his own seizure of power. The Nationalist government at Hankow has ejected the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek has resigned, and today the two branches of the movement are united on a pro-labor platform of gradual economic and political reform. The Chinese labor unions under the reunited Kuomintang deserve the support and cooperation of every American believer in justice for workers.

"We want co-operation and understanding from the American labor movement," said one Chinese leader to me, "but thus far you have sent us only gunboats. Can you blame us if we associate you with the imperialists who oppress our country under unequal treaties?"

## Postal Clerks Demand 6-Day Working Week

**New Officers Elected at Indianapolis Convention Instructed to Work for Reforms—Child Labor Attacked**

INDIANAPOLIS.—At the closing session of the convention of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks, Leo E. George, Chicago, was re-elected president of the organization and Thomas F. Flaherty, San Francisco, was re-elected secretary-treasurer. William Otte, Lincoln, Neb., fourth vice president, was elected to fill the office of assistant secretary-treasurer, a newly created office. These are the three salaried officers of the organization and are in charge of headquarters at Washington. William H. Jackson, Kansas City, Mo., was chosen to succeed Mr. Otte as fourth vice-president. The following were elected as vice presidents: Harry C. Weinstock, Philadelphia; John M. Torka, New York; John D. Murphy, Boston, Mass.; John H. Mitchell, Spokane, Wash.; Karl L. Stinson, Indianapolis; Carl T. Friswold, San Francisco; William Brown, Birmingham, Ala.; Charles U. Sentles, New Orleans.

Frank Willis, Indianapolis, and Charles Engelhart, Paterson, N. J., were elected delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention.

New York City was chosen as the 1928 convention city by a unanimous vote.

### Ask for 6-Day Week

A resolution calling for a six-hour day and a six-day week was adopted by the Clerks. The resolution points a way to correct the present departmental policy of an indefinite working day, its sponsors declared. The convention adopted the resolution unanimously. The convention also went on record as endorsing the child labor amendment to the constitution which the American Federation of Labor has been championing for years.

The convention urged the formation of a national postal workers' council from the postal bodies now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to be known as the National Federation of Postal Employees of the United States.

would take taxes off land values and would put them on industries and the products of industry.

Mead charged Ely's institute was the "agent of the biggest anti-union forces in the country."

Professor Ely is an outstanding example of those liberal scholars in this country who became extreme conservatives as a result of the World War. He was one of a group of Wisconsin University that signed a "round robin" to oust the late Robert M. La Follette from the U. S. Senate. During the war he also wrote a book in which he advocated permanent military conscription for the United States.

Professor Ely was the first American scholar to sympathetically interpret the labor and Socialist movement to the general public. For years he was known as a Christian Socialist and had been a member of the Christian Socialist Fellowship.

## Whitewash Is Exposed

(Continued from Page 1)

the Belleville Central Body raised a cyclone. President Stuart wrote Director Arnold and demanded an investigation.

Reputations Whitewashed  
Director Arnold came to Belleville in person with a corps of assistants, including Dr. Gibbons, head of the state health department. They made Mullen come along and face the music. After an investigation, Mullen's chief forced him to retract his letter, repudiate its whitewash. In a letter to Director Arnold, a copy of which the director hands to President Stuart, Mullen says:

"Alton, Ill., Aug. 4, 1927.  
"Hon. George B. Arnold,  
"Director of Labor,  
"Springfield, Ill.

"Regret very much that I was so imprudent in answering the letter of Mr. Daley, secretary of the Belleville Chamber of Commerce. I did not intend to convey the impression to the public that Roch and Belleville enameling plants were complying with the Occupational Disease Law, as I did not inspect them until said act until December 6 and 7, 1927. THEY KNEW VERY WELL THAT THEY WERE NOT COMPLYING WITH SAID ACT until this spring. My reference was to former inspections of their assembling shops under the Health, Safety and Comfort law.

"Beg to assure you that your instructions will be strictly obeyed in the future. No letters or interviews for publication.

"Very truly yours,  
(Signed) "JAMES J. MULLEN,"  
Director Arnold writes President Stuart:

"Mr. David Stuart, President,  
"Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly,  
"209a West Main St.  
"Belleville, Ill.

"Dear Sir:  
"In reference to your letter of July 19, 1927, and enclosed resolution dealing with the letter alleged to have been written by James J. Mullen, deputy state factory inspector, to the Belleville Manufacturers' Association, I beg to reply by setting forth the following facts in relation thereto:

"Inspector Mullen admits in a written communication to me that he was 'imprudent' in writing the letter! He says, however, that he did not address the letter to the Belleville Manufacturers' Association, but to a Mr. Daley, who evidently gave it to the association.

"Be that as it may, Deputy State Inspectors have no authority to write letters or give out interviews for publication as representatives of the Division of Factory Inspection, or the Department of Labor of the State of Illinois. This is an old and well established rule of this department which I have taken the pains to reiterate in a communication recently mailed to all inspectors. Inspector Mullen has acknowledged receipt of said instructions in the following language:

"I beg to assure you that your instructions will be strictly obeyed in the future—no letters or interviews for publication."

"Deputy State Factory Inspectors are not employed by the State of Illinois because of any proficiency they may possess as letter writers. Their first duty is to inspect factories, workshops, and other places of employment for the purpose of ascertaining violations of the factory inspection laws of Illinois and to report the violations to the Chief of the Division of Factory Inspection, who, under the law, has sole authority to issue official orders to obtain compliance with the statutes. Following that the next duty is to make reinspection to determine whether the orders have been complied with and to report thereon to the Chief. The third duty is to file cases for prosecution under instruction from the Chief.

"That outlines the duty of the deputy state factory inspector, and when efficiently performed constitute a valuable service and a man-size job.

"The only matters that a deputy state factory inspector has authority to write are communications to the chief of the division of factory inspection.

Belleville Manufacturers' Association Took Undue Advantage  
"Employers of Belleville are generally aware that it is the rule to address all communications to the Illinois Division of Factory Inspection, 1543 Transportation Bldg., Chicago. That legend is printed on every official personal card handed out by a deputy state factory inspector. Frequent contact with this important branch of the State Gov-

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

in by Presidential and judicial power. Even if nominal Progressives should be as generally elected in 1928 as Mr. Manly hopes their record would be as futile as was the Progressive record of the Congress of 1922 in which believers in non partisan political action took such an extravagant delight. Anyone who thinks that Progressives of any color can elect a President in 1928 is, of course, shooting at the moon. But to organize a party of farmers and workers on some definite issues and with some definite philosophy is not shooting at the moon. It is the only thing which in the long run will get us anywhere.

That is what gives such significance to our Socialist Party activities. We are really working for a genuine labor party and because we are working for a labor party local campaigns such as that which has now begun in New York City, take on something of a national significance. A big vote for Jacob Panken, the only Socialist judge in America, will hearten men everywhere who not only look for a labor party but who realize, especially after the dreadful summer which has seen the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, that the judicial no less than the legislative branch is the concern of a labor party. Judge Panken's reelection will mean the continuance of a judicial record that is a national asset to the party.

The campaign is not merely for the reelection of Judge Panken but for the election of Aldermen and Assemblers. I modestly admit that I am a candidate for Alderman myself in the 8th New York District. Now the Board of Aldermen as at present constituted is about the most expensive bunch of rubber stamps in existence. It need not be. Even two or three Socialist Aldermen could make a difference. And that goes for Assemblers too. It is anything but shooting at the moon to run a vigorous Socialist campaign in New York City this fall.

In one of my previous paragraphs I criticized the Progressives for lack of a program on certain important issues. We Socialists need to do some pretty hard thinking about our own national program, particularly, I think, on such matters as farm relief, control of money and credit, and the tariff, which we have too little considered. Take the tariff, for example. Neither philosophically nor practically can we take the role of the old fashioned Manchester school free traders. At the same time as internationalists and believers in the solidarity of the workers across national boundaries we have to think of the relation of an American tariff policy to international good will and to peace. What France has done in her tariff will be done by other European nations if we keep our present policy. There is logically little if any more reason for a tariff wall between France and America than between New York and California. The tariff is an expression of nationalism in economics. And nationalism is not a big enough principle for the organization of our modern world. We cannot expect to abolish nationalism or tariffs overnight. The attempt would be dangerous. But all our words on internationalism are idle unless we have some program this matter. I should like to see formal or informal committees at work on specific plans for the next socialist platform.

Sir Philip Gibbs is among the reporters telling how much the French love the American Legion. Well, we hope the Legion will increase international friendship in its convention. But when Sir Philip Gibbs writes anything I always wonder how long it will be before he will write another "Now it Can Be Told" to record the truth which for expediency's sake he had previously omitted. It's a great system this which he has so conspicuously exploited. Write as much of the truth as you think the people will like and later on write the rest. Both times you can collect a good price.

Speaking of collecting a price, there's that Tunney-Dempsey prize fight on which I have some words to say. Now there is no space. I think I'll keep them—but not on ice—until next week.

### Box Makers Order

Drive in Brooklyn

The paper box makers union has unanimously voted full authority to the Executive Board of the union to make an organization drive on the Brooklyn and up-town shops. Despite the fact that the paper box makers, in almost all the shops had to work overtime the large auditorium of Beethoven Hall was crowded when the meeting was held.

Among the speakers were Norman Thomas, Samuel Beardsley, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Jewelry Workers Union, and William Karlin, B. Friedman, manager of the union, was chairman.

ernment also has familiarized at least the large employers with this rule.

"In view of these facts, I am constrained to believe that the Belleville Manufacturers' Association took an undue and unwarranted advantage of the misstep of Inspector Mullen when officers of that association published his letter in a mistaken belief that some benefit might accrue from so doing.

"In conclusion, I wish to emphasize as strongly as possible that the Illinois Department of Labor and the Illinois Division of Factory Inspection disapprove of the action of Inspector Mullen in writing the letter complained of.

"Yours very truly,  
(Signed) "GEORGE B. ARNOLD,"  
"Director of Labor."

## Brooklyn Shoe Union Opens Drive

**Boot and Shoe Workers, Affiliated With A.F. of L., Move to Enroll All Employees in the Trade**

A GROUP of tried unionists in the shoe trade of Brooklyn who have been faithful to the many shoe workers unions that have struggled for life in the past have organized to bring all the shoe workers of Brooklyn and Greater New York into the fold of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, which is the only union of that trade that has a standing in the labor movement. It is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

These shoe workers have come to the conclusion, after a thorough study of the situation in the New York shoe trade resulting from last year's general strike and the subsequent smashing of the American Shoe Workers Union, a local independent organization, that the A. F. of L. Union offers the only basis for an enduring organization.

"For years," a statement issued by this group says, "we shoe workers have been either unorganized or badly organized in unions competing with each other. One after the other, these unions, which were born out of artificial conditions, have disappeared. Others are about to disappear. The Boot and Shoe Workers Union not only has survived, but has established a foothold in shoe centers that seemed impregnable.

"Moreover, it is a known fact that while in the centers where the competition of the various independent unions has raged more intensely, the industrial conditions have gone from bad to worse, in those centers controlled by the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, the industry at large has enjoyed a certain stability of production giving the workers the benefit of a more or less continuous employment.

Chas. L. Bain, Secretary of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union, with national headquarters in Boston, Mass., yielding to the pressing demand of this group of shoe workers, recently paid Brooklyn several visits. He has studied the situation carefully, and has conferred with the interested elements to whom he has promised the fullest support of his organization to every sincere effort aiming at the organization of the shoe workers in Greater New York.

Already a local headquarters has been opened at 157 Waverly avenue, Brooklyn. The shoe workers who have started this movement are confident that a concerted, systematic and tireless organization drive will in due time result in the establishment of a powerful Boot and Shoe Workers Union in Greater New York.

## \$1,105 Paid For 28 Inventions

(Continued from Page 1)

plan over the past few years, but from another angle it has reason to feel discouraged. The percentage of employees who have submitted suggestions is a lamentably small part of the total personnel. For every man who submits evidence of thought as to how to improve his work there are literally thousands who are apparently satisfied to go on in the old way."

### Grand Sum Paid

The sum paid for various suggestions and inventions to the 28 employees receiving prizes is typical of this leading corporation in company unionism. The total amount is only \$1,105!

A few details are very interesting. Four workers received what is called "capital prizes". Their inventions are the most important for the company. The prizes in the order of merit are \$300, \$200, \$100 and \$75. The first prize goes to a man whose device materially reduces "maintenance cost in the cracking coils." The third prize winner has effected a "marked saving in the benevolence of the Standard Oil empire received magnificent awards ranging from \$65 to \$10. Only three of the 24 received prizes in excess of \$20 and, as stated, all awards, including the "capital prizes" reach only the beggar's total of \$1,105!

Out of all the devices that come into the hands of the corporation there is little doubt that it profits enormously. It is not the workers who coin their ideas into cash. It is the corporation that coins them into dividends. Thus the inventive genius of many thousands of Standard Oil workers is at the disposal of the corporation and the beggar's pittance paid for technical ideas reminds us of a brawler who by brute strength robs an orphan asylum.

How long the oil serfs will remain passive under such treatment is a question. There is discontent but when it will culminate in an emancipation proclamation and organization of the employees in a genuine union it is impossible to say.

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## A. C. W. Is Enjoined In St. Paul Strike

St. Paul, Minn.—A temporary restraining order was issued by Judge Bechhoefer against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who are conducting a strike against the Herbert Manufacturing Company of 377 Robert street.

Frank McAllister represented the clothing workers and vigorously denounced the attempt to break the strike by judicial processes. He denied that there had been any violence on the part of the strikers, but that the representatives of the firm had employed provocative methods to create disturbances and furnish a pretext for an injunction.

The strike has been in process for many weeks and the strikers have held out with a determination that discouraged the firm and it resorted to the court for help. Recently one of the pickets was assaulted by one of the strikebreakers and when Mr. Eisenhammer, the union business manager, attempted to separate the combatants he was arrested for assault, but no charges were preferred against the participants in the affray. This was followed by the application for the injunction.

The court denied a number of contentions made by the petitioners, but

felt that a showing had been made to warrant a limited restraining order. This he granted, allowing the defendants two pickets. As the strikers never had any more it will cause them no hardship, although they objected to the moral implications that it is necessary to have the court intercede in behalf of the public peace.

The Herbert concern seems to be having a hard row to hoe and the application for an injunction is taken as a confession of failing strength. The concern formerly employed union help, but shut down and then raised the place.

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# Prosperity and the Larger Needs of the Workers

By Harry W. Laidler  
(Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy)

**"DEAR TOM,"** This begins the letter of John Jones, alleged labor leader from across the water, now on a visit to the United States, conducting a thorough and exhaustive investigation of American labor conditions under the impartial auspices of the London Tories.

"Thus far," writes Jones, "I have been unable to find any labor problem in this country. Indeed it is difficult to discover just what function the trade union movement has left for it, and, as for the socialist movement, the need for that seems to me to be negative."

"Although my labor friends in England might be shocked, I have come slowly and after profound deliberation and investigation to the opinion that the enlightened capitalists of this country are relieving the worker of the necessity of doing anything except buy Ford, listen to the Happiness boys and deposit their surplus in labor banks purchase of class A common stock and enjoy Lindy holidays while the capitalists— in cooperation with Mr. Hoover—are working night and day for the elimination of poverty and waste, the increase of wages, and the emancipation of the working class."

"This impression I have gained not from one but from several sources. To indicate how varied has been my examination of the labor question in America I have jotted down yesterday's schedule of research work as quite typical."

## The Day Begins

"7 A. M. Awoke at the Roosevelt Hotel. After a cold bath, rubdown, and shave, read the Daily Bluster left at the door of my room, and was interested especially in the headlines about the melons that Wall Street was cutting, and the joy of thousands of customer and employee investors—including many widows and orphans—at the court decision permitting the American Toll and Take 40 increase its rates to domestic consumers by 1 1/2 cents a call."

"8 A. M. Breakfasted with Mr. Suave-one, president of the First National and a great friend of our Jimmie, who explained America's idealistic aims in Latin America, and commented on the great reasonableness and intellectual stamina of our British labor leaders as contrasted with the low brow in the American labor and socialist movement. Incidentally he intimated that his beliefs—though this is confidential and cannot be repeated on the Street—approximated those of the Socialists."

"9:30 A. M. Saw my old friend, Spino, in town for the day as the chief speaker at the celebration of the Daughters of the Revolution. He told me to tell his comrades abroad that he was just as much a socialist as ever, but that he conceived America's mission at present, in view of the Russian revolution, to be that of acting as the chief stabilizing influence in the world, and that his shibboleth in late years had become 'Through Coolidge and an irresistible capitalism to a triumphant Socialism.'"

## See the Auto Works

"10-12 o'clock: Was shown around the Standard Automobile Company by two of the most delightful personnel managers and business executives I have been privileged to meet. They developed their philosophy of high wages, explained their system of industrial democracy, told of the thousands spent in welfare work, explained the popular ownership plan of the business and showed, from charts how the welfare activities of the firm produced not only better human beings, but also paid handsome dividends. They were so nice to me that I didn't like to ask them their views of organized labor. Of course I wouldn't be so rude as to ask them whether they ever made use of the much discussed spy system."

"1 P. M. Lunched with the local Chamber of Commerce and listened to an address by the Rev. Dr. Elmer on Modern Business and the Service Ideal."

"3 P. M. Visited the parks and residential section of the city with the

## The Great Gap Between Conditions Today and What Might Be — The Task Before Socialism

Mayor who explained how his party was doing all that might be expected of a labor party. He himself was the son of an immigrant and despite of that rose to be the Mayor of the greatest city in the world. Now he gets free passes prize fights every night. That's opportunity. By the way, I heard a great deal about the American slums while in Europe. During all my ride this afternoon, I didn't see one slum district."

"4 P. M. Had tea with the Elite Woman's Club. Nice people. They agreed that if they were in Europe, they would be members of the Labor party. They were all set up about returning Farmer Coolidge to office."

"7 P. M. Dined at the Hotel Ambassador with an influential group of Bankers and Brokers who confirmed my impressions of the day. Some labor leaders called up while I was away and suggested an interview, but unfortunately my day was filled up. I inquired about them at the dinner, but was assured that they could not add anything to my knowledge and that it was hardly worth my valuable time to talk with them. From first hand investigations of this nature, I am convinced that Prosperity is rampant in America and that labor organization in industry and politics is likely to do more harm than good."

## Not Wholly Imaginary

An imaginary letter you say? Yes, but unfortunately, not wholly so. What is the truth in the assumption in this imaginary epistle that the trade union movement, that the socialist movement is not needed in America; that the workers on the whole are satisfied with things as they are; that their wants are fairly well attended to?

It is true that the money returns of the average worker are higher in this country than in any other country of the world. The reasons for this have been recounted at other sessions of the conference. Mass production, lack of tariffs within the country and our great natural resources account for much of this. It is true that, during the last few years, the period of relative prosperity has been of somewhat longer duration than usual and that the Federal Reserve Bank and other agencies have been somewhat effective toward this end. It is true that a number of employers are thinking in terms of unit cost of production, rather than in terms of minimum weekly wages, and that many are discovering that the even flow of production is somewhat affected by the purchasing power of the masses. It is true that the real wages of many thousands of workers have increased during the last decade and that, aided by this fact, and by installment selling, smaller families, the increase in women labor, the taking in of boarders, etc., workers are now finding it possible to buy homes and automobiles and radios and phonographs.

And yet, are the larger wants of the workers being satisfied under present day prosperity? Should trade unions and the socialist movement close up shop or should they work with ever more vigor in an effort to satisfy labor's wants?

## A Living Wage

One of the wants of labor is a wage sufficient to permit a good American life. In the building trades, in the clothing, the printing and some other trades where labor is well organized, in periods of prosperity it has been obtaining, as has been indicated, a wage of health and decency. Yet in tens of thousands of instances, the wage of the workers of the country is not sufficient to permit anything above the bare necessities. Last year the National Industrial Conference Board, an employers' research bureau, reported that, in their opinion, a wage of \$1907 a year or \$36.68 a week was essential for a decent living for a family of five in New York City (as contrasted with about \$2300 estimated by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics). Such a wage of \$36.68 a week, according to the report of the Board would do several things.

It would permit the family in Manhattan to pay \$34 a month for rent and obtain three or four rooms in one of the old law tenements or 1 1/2 of a room in a modern up-to-date apartment house. (An increasing number of families, the report states, are now doubling up, using the same kitchen and bath room, because of

the high rents in that borough). This yearly income would permit of simple clothing. It would permit the families to put aside the sum of 85 cents a week for recreation. Families on this, the investigation suggests, could not, of course, go to the country on an extended vacation. They could go to the movies, take a ride to Coney Island or a bus ride once in a while, and then, there were many other entertainments free of cost to their workers. There were free churches. The houses often give free shows, certain given by the city in the parks, free lectures and plunges to be had in free swimming pools. Why ask for more?

## 20 Cents For Health

The budget would permit the sum of 20 cents a week for each member of the family for doctors and dentists. If more were available, mothers might develop imaginary ailments. Thirty-one cents is available for the entire family for trade union and other organizations—just as well, workers ought to be made to rely on company unions that come free of cost. The investigator puts aside 75 cents a week for the family for new furniture and the repair of old furniture, thus encouraging the family to preserve antiques, so popular now-a-days. Thirty-five cents a week may go for reading material, stationery, postage, telephones, etc. Beard's Rise of American Civilization depended on this budget. And 60 cents is allotted to the family for candy and tobacco, for alas, comments the researcher, "Men will smoke and children will have their candy, no matter what the standard of life."

That leaves no margin for saving, for unemployment, old age, sickness or future contingencies, for tuition for the children in college, but that is not needed, since only 32 per cent of the children enter high school and only 13 per cent graduate from secondary school.

Certainly the foregoing is not a budget for a gorgeously expensive life. And yet, while many families obtain more than this minimum, many others secure less. The average wage of factory workers in New York State in the fall of 1926—many of them heads of a family of five—was \$29.31, over 75 less than this modest budget demands. In 1921, the average wage in all industries, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, was but \$21.48 a week. This would probably today range around \$25—\$26.

Many families, it is true, don't consist of five persons. In many instances the children and wives work, thus augmenting the family budget. In other instances they take in boarders. But despite all that, only a minority today secure sufficient to permit them to enjoy an abundant life, despite our prosperity.

## Security in Employment

There are other wants unsatisfied besides the want of a sufficient income. The worker, among other things, wants security in his job—he wants—bitterly wants—an opportunity for continuous work as long as he is willing to do his fair share of work.

How secure is he in his work? A recent study of the United States Labor Bureau declared that, taking good years and bad, taking fifteen to sixteen million industrial wage-earners, one and a half million were constantly out of work. The United States Department of Labor recently reported that, with the productivity of labor increasing something like 34 per cent during the last 6 years, the number of workers in the manufacturing plants have decreased some 7 per cent. This accounts for some of the surplus labor on the market at the present time. In several industries, including the bituminous mines, the textile, the shoe industries, etc., the unemployment and under-employment is tragic. Lines of miners at the mouth of the mines, lines of workers crowding against factory doors day after day. Idle hands in shipyards, in lumber camps, on railroads, in clothing centers. And behind these lines, tens of thousands of mothers and little children at home, denied life's necessities, undernourished, poorly sheltered,

dreading what the future has in store for them. Herbert Hoover was this time at least right when he said:

"There is no economic future so terrible in its import as that of a country possessing a surplus of every necessity of life in which members, willing and anxious to work, are deprived of these necessities."

Here in America, this condition prevails. The cry of the workers for security in their jobs is by no means satisfied.

## Security of Life and Limb

The workers want security of life and limb while at work. Yet we find that human life is far from secure. Each year in American industry there occur in the neighborhood of 25,000 deaths from accidents and 2,000,000 temporary disabilities of more than 3 days' duration. The tool of life and limb exacted by American industries during the second decade of the twentieth century exceeds on the nation's losses in battle from the Declaration of Independence to the present day. More workers were maimed in our industries during the period of America's participation in the great war than were killed and wounded in the American expeditionary force abroad during that same period. And the Hoover engineers declared that, with proper safeguards, 75 per cent of these injuries could have been avoided.

The worker wants security from disease caused by untoward conditions in the industry. Yet Dublin and Leiford were able to catalogue in 1922 700 hazardous occupations. The casualties from lead poisoning among the painters, the enamelers, the printers, etc., is still tragically large. And in many instances, because of the terrific drive in modern industry, the worker finds himself physically exhausted and thrown on the scrap heap in the early forties.

## Security in Old Age

In fact, whereas in a number of the skilled trades it is possible for a man to work on to a ripe age in modern mass production, with its oversteering, and its intense application to specialized tasks, a man often finds age a severe handicap. In a recent investigation into an American automobile plant employing 30,000 men, nearly one-half were found to be 40 years of age or less, and more than four-fifths were below forty. Magnus Alexander of the National Industrial Conference Board found that the average

age of 40,000 men employed in twelve metal-working establishments was thirty-one and one-half years; and the same was found to be true in a large steel plant and in a brass works. In the steel mill, only 23 per cent. were above 40 years of age.

"The great mass of the workers under machine production," declares Professor Warren Catlin, "whether men or women find that age and experience, with the fixed habits they bring, instead of proving a valuable asset (as under the quieter, less strenuous, and more stable handicraft system), often prove a handicap, because they decrease adaptability and lower efficiency. Modern industry mortgages the future for the sake of the present, and makes the workers prematurely old. At the same time it offers less and less employment suited to the abilities of older people. . . . Many concerns will not take on new men who are over thirty-five. The maximum age on the railroads is usually forty-five and the actual practice favors a much lower age."

What is the worker going to do after reaching that age? He doesn't graduate from a steel mill into the presidency of a New England college. Abraham Epstein estimated that at least 1,800,000 aged people in the United States are dependent in the sense that they have not accumulated a sufficient income of their own to provide them even with the bare necessities and that the number of aged people protected against poverty by the pension plans of industrial concerns, fraternal and trade union association, is negligible. The only alternative is the poor house or some other form of public charity. China, India and the United States are today the only large countries without some kind of constructive care such as old age pensions for the aged.

## Power, Freedom, Fellowship

The more thoughtful and intelligent workers have other wants that the present period of "prosperity" does not satisfy. They want a genuine say over the control of their life in the work shop. They want a taste of industrial power. They want power to express themselves creatively. They find in many basic industries of the country still unorganized that they are cogs in the wheel, attuned to the speed of the machine, spied on by a well organized spy system, threatened many times with bodily injury if they lift their finger to organize their fellows. They want—the more enlightened of

them—freedom from exploitation. They find that they must carry an idle class on their backs, that the social product is not equally distributed, and that many who have done little or nothing in industry live lives of luxury, while thousands of workers toil for just a living wage.

The workers want fellowship. They find that the economic system is organized on a war basis, and that the profit motive which leads to class conflict at home, is leading too often to international conflict with other nations. Our present imperialistic era is augmenting the possibilities of such conflicts.

## Leisure

They want leisure. They find that the tragic waste of our productive and distributive system is limiting their leisure. And more and more of them are agreeing with the guess of Stuart Chase that, under a properly organized system, work could be reduced by half, without any decrease in the amount of useful goods produced.

They want freedom and they realize that freedom is impossible under an economic system which concentrates such tremendous power over the lives of the many into the hands of a few.

They want status for themselves and their families, and many of them are beginning to realize that they are placed in the ranks of inferiors, under a system where they share but little in the control and ownership of the economic plant. Of course, the intensity of these varying wants differ among different groups of workers and among different individuals in the same groups, but these in general may be said to be the most crying wants of the working class.

Some of these wants can be in part satisfied by improvements under a privately owned industrial order. Some of them have been satisfied in part in certain specially favored trades. Many of them—particularly those based on the elimination of exploitation, of waste and autocratic industrial control—can be satisfied only by a complete reconstruction of the economic order, and the development of a social control akin to or identical with that proposed by socialists.

## Why Workers Fail to Demand Satisfaction of Wants

But I hear my cynical friend remark, "I do not wish to deny that the workers

have these physical and psychical wants. However, if they have them, why haven't they expressed these wants up to the present in tangible movements?"

To which several legitimate replies might be made. One is that men are not only motivated in their actions, by their wants, but by their fears. Many workers who have tried to organize for the satisfaction of these wants have felt the heavy hand of the economic rulers of the land and their fear of discrimination, of discharge, of blacklist, of physical injury, have prevented them from continuing the fight.

Many have found it easier to climb out of their class for the satisfaction of some of these wants, rather than fight with their class—and the higher wants of the masses have then been lost sight of.

Many have feared the success of the labor movement. They are not in the condition of those workers described in the Communist Manifesto, workers who have "nothing to lose but their chains." They have something to risk, and, though they see the larger horizon, they fear the sacrifice of former gains should they strive for more than is at present available.

Some there are, it must be admitted, who, in later years, have seen the improvement of their lot, the satisfaction of certain of their lower wants, without any radical effort on their part, without any radical readjustment of social relationships. They are waiting to find out whether that improvement might continue without further political and economic organization, before they take part aggressively in the struggle.

Some there are who see the goal, but not the means to that goal. Show them the path and they will act. And finally some there are who have little conception of anything beyond a life of drudgery and have the contentment that comes from ignorance and servitude.

It is the task of all who see the way to the satisfaction of these fundamental wants—to make the larger wants of the workers—the desire for an abundant life, for security, for leisure, for power, for status, for freedom and inequality and fellowship—keenly vivid to the mass; to point out the gap between present enjoyments and future possibilities, to inspire the workers with confidence in the triumph of their cause, with courage and determination patiently and persistently to fight for the larger goal of labor and to equip the workers with knowledge of the paths that lead to the ultimate goal.

This task presents the supreme challenge of the age and requires the finest and noblest efforts of all of us in its accomplishment.

## Socialism and Housing Abroad

### "The Lowest Dutch Worker Would Not Accept New York Housing"

By Harriot Stanton Blatch

I AM profoundly impressed by the contrast between the United States and the countries I have recently visited—Norway, Sweden, Holland—in their development in community spirit. While Scandinavia and Holland now know that many things can only be accomplished by united action, America still hugs the idea that co-operation is a subtle poison and Socialistic achievement sure and sudden death. Indeed, so fanatical is our individualism that we would rather be poor alone, than rich in company.

What a howl of derision would have gone up, what prophecies of woe would have been issued, had New York City fathers ever proposed that the municipality should buy up all vacant land within and outside its limits and thus prevent speculation in land values. And yet, that is just the course Stockholm adopted long ago to the immense advantage of its people. Our crowded and not-giving has been prevented.

Not only have the Scandinavian towns protected themselves from greedy individual landowners, but they refuse to profit financially by their wise investment. The city is not a speculator. Its tenants get only a leasehold grip on their holdings for sixty-five years, the rental today as yesterday being based on what

the city originally paid for the land plus the cost of improvements. Profits are not sought.

At the end or at any time during the lease the municipality will take back the property at the valuation which impartial judges place on the tenants' improvements. Privately owned land about Stockholm finds itself in competition with equally well-situated city lots. Prices can't be sky-rocketed. There's no fever heat in the realty market. Development is sane and orderly.

Large patches of city-owned land on the outskirts of Stockholm were set aside through the influence of some enterprising women for division into tiny parcels. These are leased to workers who erect in the centre of their pretty gardens, one and two room houses for summer occupancy.

Not only has Scandinavia showed us how to end speculation in city land, but she has demonstrated the way, and the only way, of housing decently a rapidly growing population. Perhaps Norway best illustrates. In the crowded centre and on the outskirts, Oslo with its own municipal architects and engineers has built apartment houses and garden cities not only for the workers but for the white-collar and professional class. It builds for service, and makes each venture pay for its upkeep.

There is no flat against private enterprise and profits, but the individual builder must come up to standard and must compete with the wisest and most efficient of landlords. The co-operative societies compete, great industrial corporations compete, but certainly no jerry-builders are able to enter the market and grow rich on the necessities of the people.

The community as a whole is solving, then, the problem of shelter in most every country of Europe. Why not in ours? Why should it be true that while populations in Western Europe are being better and better housed, we in Manhattan are worse and worse housed? Is it because we are clinging to a dead past, trying to make a system suitable for a village work under the conditions of a great metropolis?

The buying and selling of land within the limits of a growing town, the housing of a rapidly increasing population, are matters apparently not to be left safely in the hands of chance individuals. No one who compares the results of the individualistic and the community—or should one call it with greater honesty and accuracy the socialistic—method of dealing with land ownership and housing, could avoid, if impartial, giving the palm to community effort. The primary need of shelter is better met in Europe than in the United States, better served where municipalities rather than individuals lead in solving housing problems.

That the cost is repaid to the nation in more promising form than large money profits needs but an observing eye to note. Pass as I did at Oslo from

a landlord built tenement quarter to municipally built sections and you see at once the greater contentment of the women, the healthier appearance of the children. City flats are so planned that every room gets light and air, and every apartment sun at some time during the day. All buildings have large courts in which one section is devoted to swings, sand piles and the like for little children. There are balconies and sheltered nooks where the sleeping baby can rest in its perambulator. The mother has but to give a glance out the window and she has her children under her eye. There was not a detail ensuring health and happiness which had been forgotten in the community ventures.

Those who suppose city housing spells dead uniformity and ugliness are wholly mistaken so far as my observation went in Scandinavia and Holland both large group tenements and one-family houses are always dignified in design and often beautiful. If one wishes to see what "free initiative" can achieve in the way of monotonous ugliness, one should visit Queens County, New York; if one wishes to see what municipalities can accomplish in the way of comfort and economy, variety and beauty, one should visit Oslo. The lowest grade industrial worker in Scandinavia or Holland would not submit to the living conditions forced upon the professional man in New York.

mit to the living conditions forced upon the professional man in New York.

Would that our self-centered American people instead of dubbing every one who proposes group enterprise a "Bolshevist," could cultivate modesty and so forth to learn what foreign lands have to teach. We all know that in our cities, big and little, we have a pressing housing problem, so pressing that it concerns all classes. Surely an intelligent people, a people not buried in provincialism would send some of its citizens to study and report on developments in foreign countries. What does all us that we, the inhabitants of the richest city of the world, are willing to live supinely and be the worst housed?

## Million Are Disabled

Washington, D. C.—A study recently completed by a large insurance company indicates that more than a million persons in the United States have mental or physical impairments so severe as to make of them a social burden. Exclusive of cases of ordinary sickness, it is estimated that there are about 75,000 blind, 45,000 deaf and dumb, and counting only those in institutions, about 320,000 mentally deficient. In addition, there are about 75,000 paupers and about 700,000 persons who are so crippled as to interfere more or less seriously with their earning capacity.

## A Marine Goes Mad

(Translated from Le Nouvelliste of Port-au-Prince, Haiti, July 19, 1927, by L. J. de Bekker)

TOWARD half past seven o'clock this morning, the commercial district in the neighborhood of Bonne fol and Grand streets, was in a state of formidable emotion. A marine in the middle of the street, apparently without motive, had killed a man, and was discharging his revolver at the agents of the public order who had come to arrest him.

One of these officers was replying to the attack, and Bonne fol street was showered with bullets.

It was not until his Browning was emptied of cartridges that they were able to capture the culprit, who will, we hope be punished in an exemplary manner.

We have received on the subject of this deplorable episode the following communique:

"A soldier named Brunski, of Russian origin, suddenly became an idiot last night, lost his reason, and firing his revolver, killed one innocent, and wounded two others. Strict disciplinary measures will be taken immediately before the general court martial."

It is curious to note how frequent these cases of madness or idiocy are becoming in the United States Army, or at least in the expeditionary corps which is operating in Haiti. It will be recalled that an officer of the Gendarmierie of Cayes, who had killed a worthy man, reducing his poor mother to a condition of the most absolute misery, was declared to have suddenly gone mad. The Marine of this morning, was spontan-

eously attacked by idiocy yesterday. Following this, he killed a man, who was the bread winner of his family, and who had as much right to live as himself.

Was it not last year, in this same quarter, that M. Russo, the kindly jeweler, president of the Chamber of Commerce, was struck down by a Marine, dying a few moments later? Let us recall more of this poignant drama which resulted in the death of an honest and capable man. This time the Marine was neither mad nor imbecile, but drunk.

These incidents are becoming too frequent, and public opinion is not only becoming alarmed at their frequency, but finds little satisfaction in the manner in which excuses are found, and at the conditions forced upon the families of the victims.

## Farmer-Labor Party To Organize States

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Denver, Col.—The Farmer-Labor Party of the United States, through its National Executive Committee, meeting here last Sunday, in a signed statement urged the farmers to use the ballot as a means of farm relief and scored both the Democratic and Republican parties for not helping the farmer.


The announcement added that it was the intention of the Farmer-Labor Party to extend the organization to every State in the Union before the election in November. Milwaukee was chosen as the next convention city and the date fixed as May 18.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## HOW TO BE A GREAT BIOGRAPHER

WITHIN the past month we have been well-nigh bogged down with biography. We have read "Palmerston" by Guadella, "Napoleon" by Ludwig, "Cavour" by Thayer and now we are well along Ludwig's life of the Kaiser. A publisher, who unlike most, tells the truth now and then, says that if you really want to make money writing these days, the thing to do is to spend about a month in the library and emerge with a manuscript that will give folks the low-down on the private life of somebody or other, it doesn't matter much who it is. He even suggested a snappy book on the love life of Mary Baker Eddy.

There can be no real kick about this mad rush to dig up the facts about the back-stairs carrying on of celebrated people. Almost any sort of biography is better than the majority of novels and the latter too are becoming so filled with detailed expositions of the intimacies of the author's friends and acquaintances that if you know any boys or girls who are contemplating novel writing the safest thing to do is to act deaf and dumb when they are around. Otherwise you will awake one morning to find yourself infamous as the central figure in, "The Man Who Was Practically A Bank Robber."

However if we were going to be a celebrity these days we would be mighty particular about what we set down on paper and the sort of letters we fled away. We have no desire to provide a Roman holiday for any bright young biographer who ten years from now may be minded to snoop around among our private papers.

Of course it is no great trick to write this modern biographical stuff. You pick out some character, preferably an American, get a hand-book of psychoanalysis, kid the relatives of the deceased celebrity into thinking you are going to write something complimentary about the dear departed and then go to it. Like this:

"It was raining on that September day, sixty-five years ago when the halls of the birth-place of Ebenezer Joseph Baldwin, America's most famous elephant salesman, rang with the cries of a new-born infant. General Ulysses Simpson Grant was besieging Vicksburg. Emperor Maximilian was marching all over Mexico. Nicholas Murray Butler was beginning to run for President of Columbia and Thomas Alva Edison was giving out his weekly statement on immortality. In the back-yard of the Baldwin place immediately beneath the window of the bedroom of Mrs. Baldwin, the mother of our hero, a middle-sized white elephant was playing around with a big mongoose. So it was that the first object which the innocent blue eyes of Ebenezer fell upon was the animal that later was to make his name known, from one end of our country to the other."

Now that you have hung in a lot of history stuff to show how well you have read Thomas Beer and Minnergerod, you fly at the psychoanalytic stuff. Somewhere in the genealogy of the Baldwin family you are certain to come upon a good for nothing cousin who was shiftless and carried water for elephants in the circus. You must show how Ebenezer early in his career got a fixation on this cousin and was always hanging round the elephant coop with his worthless relative. Then you are stepping high, wide and easy with the story of how Ebenezer conceived the idea of going from door to door in his home town selling elephants. You tell about his struggle in making the first sale and how he showed the sturdy American stuff that was in him by refusing to get discouraged. Day after day he would go out with his sample book showing half-tone reproductions of the photographs of his best line of A No. 1 specials, featuring "Little Daisy," very cute with the kiddies, just the thing to take the whole family out on, for a happy picnic in Roseland Park or a jog to the beaches. Or he would show a closeup of "Booby Boy," who could keep the young folks at home by doing parlor tricks, an experienced trombone player and also quite catsy with the catenets. And day after day he would come home and kiss his mother and say to her, "Never fear, Ba Ba" (this was what he called his mother, because he was filthy with good old-fashioned mother love) "I will succeed. The first ten or twelve sales are the hardest. After that we will live in the luxury to which our fine old American thrift and industry entitles us."

And then sure enough he makes his first sale to Chauncey Depew who happened to be staying in the Central House and Traders' Hotel in young Ebenezer's home town and who chanced to be in the market for a flock of elephants. Encouraged by this success and resolved to live to the world that no power on earth could deflect a real product of American individualism from his appointed course, Ebenezer goes on and on until his market has so expanded that he establishes retail outlets throughout the country. Next comes the chapter called, "The Birth of the Chain Store Idea." You tell how this brilliant project came to Ebenezer one gloomy Sunday afternoon when he was delivering a "per talk" to his clerks and simply putting the price big on the sides of his elephants he was able to cut down his overhead at least forty-two per cent. His turnover grew by leaps and bounds. Within a year customers were struggling with the police reserves outside of "Ye Olde Busy Baldwin Elephant Shoppe."

Finally you wind up with a couple of chapters on "The Man and His Personality." You take a picture of Ebenezer sitting on the front porch of his Newport home with one arm hung affectionately around the neck of "Little Daisy," his first big success that he bought back from Chauncey Depew for purely sentimental reasons and the other around that of his dear old mother who never lost faith in him throughout all those crowded years. And you ask him to give six pointers for success, beginning with "Young men, take a field that isn't crowded and stick to it," and ending with, "Mother love, devotion to God and duty, and most of all perhaps the wonderful opportunities for individual effort that are looking at the door of every man in this country today—to these I attribute my outstanding success."

When you have finished, take the manuscript neatly typed around to Ebenezer's press-agent and ask him to have the old man o. k. it. The press-agent will go to Ebenezer's speakeasy and wake the outstanding success up and ask him to scrawl his initials on the margin. If the old drunk gets stubborn you go around yourself and make a scene. Tell him that unless he comes across, by God, you will write the truth about how he stole "Little Daisy" from his cousin and skinned Chauncey Depew on the transaction and how you know darn well that he is so all-fired mean to his mother that the poor thing hasn't had a black dress six years and that furthermore you have inside dope that three-quarters of his elephants had rickets.

In this way you get to be a literary person and will be known all around town as one of the most brilliant of the younger biographers, with a keen insight into the ways of dumb animals.

McAlister Coleman

## Scanning the New Books

### How War Must Go

By M. H. Hedges

WOLFGANG GOETHE informs us that it is good to think upon the "thing" but it is better to think upon the "way of accomplishment." "Das Was bedenke, mehr bedenke Wie". Too often social idealists, who have seen with dismay, the imperative need of refashioning institutions, have contented themselves with the vision, and failed in the program. They have been long on talk, and short on technique. Indeed, radicalism has fallen into disrepute, I am convinced, because of the ineptitude of the "professors". They have conceived their function to be that of universal cosmic coaches, not real players in the give and take of economic circumstance. Yet let me hasten to add that a development of a certain hard surface to the minds of our coming reformers is encouraging in its promise of more immediate accomplishment.

War is obscene, morally debasing, cruel, costly, biologically deleterious, economically unprofitable—wasteful of life, hope and wealth—and yet what are you going to do about it?

There are two immediately practical things that can be done about it: outlaw war; disarm. These solutions have been forged laboriously as the product of many minds. They are best summarized today in two books one by an Englishman, one by an American: "General Disarmament or War?" by Rennie Smith, Socialist member of the British Parliament; "The Outlawry of War," Clark and Co., Chicago, by Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the Christian Century. Both are incisive, hard, idealistic and practical.

Rennie Smith's book accepts Lord Gray's testimony, "The economic growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made war inevitable" as the evidence of an expert. And he supplies Lord Gray's assertion with the statistical substance needed to give it weight and momentum. His is an erudite book, a statesman's note-book. Yet this little book is alive with emotion. Smith wants mankind to see that there is no middle ground. It is either general disarmament, or war. He explodes the current lie of professional warriors that a nation may arm and still have peace. If civilization does not destroy armaments, armaments will destroy civilization.

The aim of Mr. Morrison's book is to present four theses: "one, that the problem of war must be disentangled from all other controversies, and a second, that war is an institution—legal, established, sanctified, and supreme; a third, that it can be abolished only by disestablishing it, by casting it out of the legal system of the nations in which it is entrenched; and the fourth, that its disestablishment can be made effective only by establishing in its place an institution of peace conceived not under political but under juridical categories."

Here is a definite practical program. In fact, Mr. Morrison's theses are already the warp and woof of certain "state" papers; Senator Borah's famous resolution in the Senate of the United States and Dr. Loudon's oration before the League of Nations both drive toward the outlawry of war.

We know that neither Mr. Smith's solution nor Mr. Morrison's solution will end war, but they will go a long way toward ending it, and they present the only immediate practical steps.

### A Penetrating Novel

A LUSTY and penetrating novel is turned out by Harvey Ferguson in "Wolf Song," published by Alfred A. Knopf. Here is a picture of New Mexico in 1840, or thereabout, when it was old Mexico and red hot. No Albert B. Falls moved across its brown plains and painted canyons then and its Mexicans wore silver bangles, not the brass checks of the benevolent copper companies. The characters Ferguson has chosen—

a blond god from Kentucky, a sensuous señorita and her proud pa, and attending Mexicanos, priests, Indians and mountain men—have been played with before by various writers, usually with disastrous results. But Ferguson, as readers of his previous works might suspect, wields no goopy pen of a Zane Gray. There is life in every line of this too short novel. There is penetration, deep and satisfying in every chapter.

This vigorous material is presented beautifully. As Sam De Witt has said, there are three kinds of poetry—lyric, epic and pique. This is all three, lofty, forceful and passionate.

The plaintive note that a gal bewilders the man she picks on, that she baffles him and in the end does him no good, is continued here. It has appeared before in Ferguson's works, but in "Wolf Song," it is brought to its highest pitch. Here he takes this man from Kentucky, who should have had some manner of squaw to wife, and pitches him into the feudal family of a wealthy Mexican. Ferguson describes the result this way:

"Antagonists who could neither triumph, they struggled in a grip neither could break."

Bert Mac Donald

### Lindy's "We" And Others

THE flight of Charles Augustus Lindbergh, from New York to Paris grows dim in the over-burdened consciousness of America, what with the succedaneum achievements of other flyers and his own weakness in permitting a gang of politicians and jingoists to steal

his reception from him. To immortalize this flight he has written a book called "We," published by Putnam. This insignificant volume only helps to push that flight into the hazy past.

Hector Bolitho writes a novel with much charm in "Solemn Boy," published by Doran. It is a simple narrative dealing with the relative merits of friendship and love, the author throwing his weight on the side of the former. The

scene, laid in New Zealand and Australia, is described with a quiet understanding for the physical beauty of these countries.

While dealing with the boyhood of his two principal characters, Bolitho is on firm ground. Then, they are portrayed with a sympathetic hand, but when they emerge into manhood, the picture is not so sure. Mainly, this book gives an excellent glimpses of two boys emerging from the pioneer state.

the change. Ever since he decided to take on The New Leader he has sold more copies of the paper than he had previously been selling copies of The Post, and he has the great satisfaction of knowing that he is not helping in the distribution of mental garbage.

Here's a tip to other of our younger friends who want to follow Mark's example. The New Leader will sell and sell more regularly than any other five cent weekly once you let the workers who live along your route know that you are handling it. We offer to any dealer who will route The New Leader regularly COPIES OF THE NEW LEADER FOR TWO WEEKS FREE OF CHARGE.

Get aboard this boys. It means money in your pockets. It means coming in contact with the real folks in your community. It means building up good will that will count heavily in your success all along the line. Send in your name and address today to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City and we will see to it that you get your papers to take out next week.

You know Jim Oneal's writings. You have followed them in the columns of The New Leader and in book form, too. Hardly a week goes by but what this office receives some word of high praise for the clarity of style, the vigor of presentation and the real scholarship shown in everything that Oneal writes. He is the outstanding historian of the American labor movement. His knowledge of the backgrounds of American history, the only sort of American history that has any true significance for the future, the history of the common man in America, is profound. Now we are glad to announce that within a few weeks there will appear in the columns of The New Leader, Oneal's latest work, a history of America written from the worker's standpoint. Such a history has been greatly needed for these many years. It comes at a time when a knowledge of the social and economic settings of the American scene is absolutely essential in the labor and socialist movement. Oneal will discuss such matters as the colonization of America and point out the conflicting elements between the love of adventure and the greed for gain that arose in the early days; he will give a new slant on the real causes of the Revolution and the Civil War, consider the rise of the "New Capitalism" and glance at modern tendencies in the labor movement.

A real treat for readers young and old. This material with its hundreds of references for further reading, its suggestions for discussions, its countless guide-posts to new thinking on old subjects will be published exclusively in The New Leader. If you are not now a subscriber you can assure yourself of obtaining every installment of Oneal's history by sending in your subscription today. If you are already a subscriber show this to a friend who will not want to miss any of these important series.

All the way from important contributions on the heroic struggle of labor in the past to the comprehensive report of the movement of labor for freedom today, The New Leader is setting standards in labor journalism. It is your paper. You can have a real say in its management through joining The New Leader Publishing Association. Every member of the Socialist Party is eligible to membership in this group. Thirty new members joined at our last meeting. The dues are but \$1.00 a year. The opportunities for doing a real service to the cause are great. The contacts that you will make will be of interest. Why not decide now to join The New Leader Association and come along with us on this most fascinating of adventures.

The Office Window

## WHY SWEAT?

DID you know that there were "the equivalent of thirty human slaves, toiling for each American working man and helping him to produce?" If you didn't know it, you ought to, and now you do, so you can't plead ignorance any more.

Hearst's Chicago Herald-Examiner tells us all about it in an editorial advertisement for the Power Trust published the day before Labor Day. It's very interesting to us fellow workers who didn't suspicion that we had all these slaves working for and with us. Very interesting.

For instance, 800,000,000 horsepower is now used in the United States, which is equivalent to the labor of over EIGHT BILLION MEN, four times more than the entire population of the earth today. In fact, we've got so much horsepower hitched to manpower that an English lord who has been over here looking us over, has found out some remarkable things about us; things we haven't discovered ourselves yet, which isn't strange, seeing how we have to give up so much brain power trying to figure out whether Dempsey will do up Tunney or Tunney Dempsey, or where the next reel of the Movie Mystery will end.

Among other things his lordship found out about us noble Americans is that none of Uncle Sam's children "lifts anything—nobody sweats" any more. When I read that, I said "hurrah!" for our sweatless miners, farmers, steel workers, et cetera. For isn't it nice not to sweat? I'll tell the world it is.

Then the lord found two men working with an electromagnet, doing the work formerly done by 128 men, one man in a steel plant doing the work of 40 men; an electric car unloader emptying a car of grain in five minutes, whereas before "the same work used to keep a swarm of shovellers busy for an hour." And so it was everywhere his lordship turned. He was staggered at our efficiency and lack of sweatability, and no one can blame him.

I also find that the farmers are doing everything by electricity, and their wives the same, also the same with the merry wives of the working men.

"Gee," says I, "but ain't we American workmen and women the it's of all creation?" And I was happy as a morning lark until, toward the end of the advertisement, I found out that there were still several million American working women who were denied all these blessings of superpower, especially when throughout the editorial it was impressed on me how cheap it all was—it was just being given away for the public good by the benevolent big buzz boys who own our power plants and elect our statesmen.

This being the truth, "What's hurting these working women who are refusing to own a few slaves and thereby quit slaving themselves?" I says. It's like this, I found out: "As long as women are content to BE 'slaves,' says the ed-ad 'instead of OWNING SLAVES, they will probably be allowed to continue to act it'."

Now what do you think of a lot of fool women like that, preferring to be slaves instead of owning slaves? It's enough to make the angels weep the way human beings act, ain't it?

### "Helping" Nicaragua

On March 31 of this year, J. Seligman and Company of New York, loaned \$1,000,000 to the Diaz Government of Nicaragua. Interest, 6 percent per annum.

Security, first: All revenues from export taxes on coffee; a 50 per cent increase in customs on tobacco, wine and liquor and a 12½ per cent increase in all other import duties.

Second: A mortgage on 50 per cent of the surplus of the National Treasury revenues. A mortgage on all the capital stock of the National Bank of Nicaragua; a mortgage on the entire capital stock of the Railroad of Nicaragua.

Third: Transfer to New York of the deposits of the Nicaraguan Railroad in Canadian banks, amounting to \$400,000, for the benefit of the credit guaranty.

Fourth: One million dollars thus secured, is only to be expended for maintenance of arms to keep Diaz on the job as self-designated President of Nicaragua.

Making these and other loans safe for Seligman and Company, the United States maintains a force of marines in Nicaragua at the expense of the American people, including the gentle reader.

Recently these marines killed some 300 Nicaraguans. Experience in the World War shows that it costs \$25,000 to kill a professional killer. Taking it for granted that it costs more to kill a professional killer than an amateur killer, let us assume that it only took \$10,000 to kill one of those Nicaraguan "rebels." Three hundred corpses multiplied by \$10,000 makes three million dollars.

Now I submit that spending three million dollars to secure the much secured loan of \$1,000,000 of Seligman and Company extended to the Government of Nicaragua in which we are not represented, is poor business. Killing Nicaraguans may be right ethically, it may be right morally, but I'll be switched if I can see where it pays us financially.

Besides, if Seligman and Company know of no better way of making these Nicaraguans "selig" than by shooting them full of holes, let them pay for the Salvation by salvos.

### Another Great Man Dead

J. Ogden Armour, once the mightiest cow, pig and sheep killer on earth, has followed Judge Elbert H. Gary and General Leonard Wood into that land from whence no man, super or otherwise, ever returned.

Yet, strange as it may seem, the world rolls on and on. This the pitiless world does though three of the very greatest captains of capitalism pass away within a week of each other.

That they were all "great," I know, because all their papers said so, yet the breath is hardly out of their bodies before their names are off the front pages for keeps. In another week none but their closest kin and friends will remember that they ever lived, toiled and "succeeded so magnificently" in this vale of tears. Despite the splendor of their mansions, none of the three will ever be more than ghosts of names in history.

For the human race is a strange race. It does not make its eternal heroes out of the men who, living, it cringed to, fawned upon, envied and obeyed, but out of those it tortured to death in defense of things as they are. Not Croesus, Caesar and Caligula, but Buddha, Christ and Confucius are the supreme eternal heroes of humanity—not the hard men, but the loving men.

Truly there is more truth than poetry in the question, "What profits it a man though he gain the whole world yet lose his own soul?"

Adam Coaldrigger

## American History for Workers

AN OUTLINE

By JAMES ONEAL

- |                       |                         |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. COLONIZATION       | 6. JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY |
| 2. THE COLONIES       | 7. CONFLICTING CLASSES  |
| 3. THE REVOLUTION     | 8. THE CIVIL WAR        |
| 4. THE CONSTITUTION   | 9. THE NEW CAPITALISM   |
| 5. THE NEW NATION     | 10. THE AGRARIAN RISING |
| 11. MODERN TENDENCIES |                         |

The Facts of American Development Written Clearly and Concisely. Suggested Reading and Questions for Discussion With Each Chapter.

Begin it in THE NEW LEADER

Issue of Oct. 8







# The Socialist Party at Work

## National

**Debs Memorial Meetings**  
Big memorial meetings are being planned near October 20 in honor of Eugene Victor Debs. A number of cities have started arrangements and the National Office will co-operate with all local and branch meetings. Meetings should be arranged in every possible locality, even where there is one branch or only one or two members at large. A red hot campaign for Party membership and subscriptions to Socialist papers will be carried on for sixteen days to November 5, the birthday of Debs. On that date second meetings will be held wherever possible. The collections will be divided between the National organization, the American Appeal and local organizations.

**Walls and Bars De Luxe Edition**  
A de luxe edition of Debs' "Walls and Bars" is off the press. It is a limited edition published not for general sale to the public but for comrades and friends of Debs who desire a beautiful book for the home library. This edition sells for \$10.00 a copy in the very best of material, trimmed in 22 karat gold. Those who have seen it pronounce it the most beautiful piece of work they have ever seen for its time.

**Our Finnish Comrades**  
Finnish Socialists always run true to their colors when it comes to doing their duty and co-operating with the National Organization. They are selling a good number of "Walls and Bars" and of course when buying in quantities they are entitled to the wholesale rate which is one dollar per copy but they do not want the profit that is due them for they sent the following statement:  
"Our executive committee decided last Saturday that we will not retain any commission on the sales of these books, but will pay the National office \$1.50 for every book sold through this office (Finnish). Therefore you will receive fifty dollars more as soon as the books are sold, and will press the selling as much as possible."

## California

**Los Angeles**  
R. W. Anderson, Secretary of Local Los Angeles, writes: September 12, N. Jackson Wright and myself held a meeting at Virgil Epperson's home, 750 E. 83rd street, and organized Branch Good-year with five members. C. A. Good made the arrangements for the meeting. They are going to hold meetings every Tuesday at Comrade Epperson's. They expect to have several applications at the next meeting. We have hopes of building up a large branch in that neighborhood.  
There is a drift of the progressive element toward our movement and I may have important news to impart in the next few months. Am going to arrange a get-together dinner after the A. F. of L. convention with a number of old timers who were formerly members of the Party and am in hopes there will be a revival spirit."

## Pennsylvania

**Reading Campaign**  
A banner 10 by 15 feet in dimensions is now carrying the Socialist message to Penn street crowds. It is spanned above Eighth street from the big Wiedershold Furniture Company building and reads:

## FOR MAYOR VOTE

**J. HENRY STUMP**  
FOR COUNCIL  
Jas. H. Maurer—Geo. W. Snyder  
Play Safe and Win  
With the Socialists  
The big sign is attracting a lot of favorable comment and is easily read a square away. It is printed in red and black letters and will serve as a reminder of the Socialist fight against unequal assessments and high taxes until the November election.

## Philadelphia

Local Philadelphia, through the apathy of the voters and the huge vote in 1926, lost the place of the Socialist Party on the Ballot. Socialists in this city were unable to vote in the primary election and will be unable to vote in the General Election unless we have nomination petitions filled with 6528 signatures. Up to the present, the Party has over 4500 signatures, and these were secured with the hard work of a few comrades over the hot summer months. Now that cool weather is here, and all are home from vacations, it will not be

hard to get the remaining 2500 in the next two weeks that are left.

## Next Sunday's Drive

Canvassing is going on. Last Sunday, four comrades secured 200 names in less than an hour in West Philadelphia. Next Sunday we will meet at 42nd and Girard avenue at 11 a. m. All who are willing to help are asked to be at this corner. If, for any reason, you cannot get to 2nd and Girard avenue, and still wish to help, we ask that you communicate with the Socialist Party office, 808 Locust street, room 303. If you want to vote the Socialist ticket it is up to you to see that the Party has a place on the ballot by doing your share.

## New York State

**Official County Committee**  
State Secretary Merrill has called the attention of locals to provisions of the Election Law relating to the organization of official county committees. Such committees, if elected at the primary, must meet and organize in fifteen days, or on or before Oct. 5, Schenectady, by taking advantage of Section 13 of the Election Law, which provides for committee elections only on even-numbered years, but counties that have not adopted appropriate amendments to party rules have to elect official county committees annually.

**Buffalo Campaign**  
Buffalo Socialists are out for a "victory campaign". At a splendidly attended Party meeting held recently addresses were made by Commissioner Frank Perkins, Rev. Herman Hahn, James Bastian, Charles H. Roth, Martin B. Heiser and others, and \$87 was collected as a starter for a campaign fund. The adoption by the voters of a charter knocking out non-judicial municipal elections has served to stimulate and cement the ranks of the Buffalo Socialists.

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee is expected to be held in New York City on October 1 and 2.

## New York City

**Membership Drive**  
The Membership Drive for 500 new members is progressing slowly. It is expected, however, because of the great number of street and hall meetings during the coming week, a considerable number of new members will be obtained, and we will be closer to the achievement of our goal. As matters stand, the 23rd A. D. Kings (Brownsville) still leads in the large number of members obtained. Branch 7, Bronx, is a close second. The 2nd A. D. Kings, has moved up to third place and Branches James, Porto Rico, 3-5-10 A. D., 19-21 A. D. make up the rear guard. It is necessary that all Branch Secretaries forward application cards for new members to the City Office without delay. Furthermore, at every large meeting, indoor or outdoor, one speaker must devote some part of his remarks to an appeal for new members. For Readers of The New Leader and for students for the Rand School. If this plan is followed faithfully, we ought to achieve better results in this big campaign for election of our candidates and rolling up a large Socialist vote.

**Executive Committee**  
The City Executive Committee will hold its next regular meeting on Wednesday evening, September 28, in room 303, People's House.  
All candidates for the Board of Aldermen have been invited to attend the Campaign Conference to be held in the People's House, 215 East 14th street, in room 303 at 4 p. m. Saturday afternoon, Sept. 28.

11,300 letters have been sent last week to the Socialist Control Votes of five counties in New York City. They contain instructions how to vote in the primaries, a request to every Socialist to do so, an appeal for membership and funds, and a few words about The New Leader. Enclosed in the envelope was also a copy of a well written leaflet describing the activities and courses given at the Rand School this season. The City Office wishes to thank all those comrades who are assisting in getting this big job into the mail.

**Yipsel Directors**  
The Party Committee on Y. P. S. L. Affairs at its recent meeting wrestled with the difficult question of obtaining directors for Senior and Junior Circles. They request every Branch Organizer and Comrade interested in the welfare of

of our Circles to help find more men and women willing to devote one evening a week as director for a circle. No special talents are necessary, yet the person required is one who is adaptable to the temperament of young people and who can patiently help them in arranging their programs and in other activities. They are to be directors not dictators. This is extremely interesting work and many of our lecturers and Party Officers have received their first inspiration and training by acting as directors and teachers for our Young Peoples Circles. Those who are willing to help are requested to send their name and address to the City Office, 7 East 15th street, Room 503.

## MANHATTAN

The campaign in Harlem is getting under way. The Campaign Committee is busily engaged in devising ways and means for conducting an active campaign. The number of meetings is increasing and the enrolled voters will be circulated for the first drive.

## BRONX

The general Party meeting last Tuesday night was very well attended. Samuel Orr was chairman and an excellent spirit was displayed by the large turnout of members. Numerous comrades volunteered for the handling of the many hall and street meetings, literature distribution and other work. Two large campaign rallies have been arranged. The first on Friday Oct. 7, in Ambassador Hall (London Casino). Another will be held in the lower Bronx in the Huntspoint Recreation Ground. Dates and other prominent speakers will address these meetings. A committee of seven was elected to report on arrangements for the annual ball to be held later in January in Huntspoint Palace.

## Branch Seven

Owing to the Jewish holidays, Branch Seven will not meet Tuesday Sept. 27. Members will be notified of the next meeting by mail and through The New Leader. Members are urged to subscribe for The New Leader as it contains all important Party news. Open air meetings by Branch Seven are well attended. Members are urged to keep the Branch in touch with the Party. It also helps to get subscribers for The New Leader.

## BROOKLYN

**72nd A. D.**  
A special meeting was called for Friday evening Sept. 23. Reports of the Campaign and Executive Committee show that a remarkably active campaign is being conducted in the 72nd A. D. increased membership of this branch and the number of active men and women comprising it there is every indication that the campaign will be a big success in years. The branch meets every Friday evening at its club-rooms, 420 Hingsdale street.

## 4-14th A. D.

At a recent meeting at which candidates were invited, a very fine turnout was in evidence. Harry W. Laidler, candidate for Alderman, and Morris Wolfson, candidate for Municipal Court Judge addressed the membership on the issues. A Campaign Committee was selected, composed of Harry W. Laidler, Morris Wolfson, Nemes, Schachner and Augusta Solomon. The number of street meetings has been increased to three a week for the next few weeks and many more will be held later.

## 22nd A. D.

The campaign in East New York is progressing with good results. Our candidate for Alderman in the 22nd A. D., Herman District Maurice C. Miller is actively on the job and several new members are already in harness. The number of street meetings are being increased weekly and all efforts of our East New York comrades are meeting with success.  
On Saturday evening, Oct. 8, 9 p. m., a banquet and get-together will be held by the membership and their friends at Kessler's Casino, 632 Sutter avenue. Subscription is \$1.50 per plate. Those desiring to be present are requested to make reservations early as the number of people to be accommodated is limited.

by the size of the hall. All matters pertaining to this banquet and other activities should be directed to Secretary Samuel Kantor, 798 Belmont avenue, Brooklyn.

## 3rd A. D.

The campaign in Brownsville for the election of Charles Solomon to the Assembly and Saddle Rivkin to the Board of Aldermen is now in full swing. Active canvassing is going on in all parts of the district and special attention is given to those sections where the Italian and Negro population has been increased during the last few years. A splendid staff of workers has been organized. Herman Rivkin as Campaign Manager and Dr. Jos. N. Cohen, as his able assistant, are neglecting no opportunity to again put Brownsville on the map. The Ratification Meeting at the Labor Lyceum on Friday evening, is the opening gun. Our Brownsville comrades are also enthusiastic about the possibilities of electing Louis P. Goldberg as Municipal Court Judge in the 7th District. They reason that if they can carry the 3rd A. D. for Charles Solomon and Saddle Rivkin they ought to be able to elect Goldberg.

## Yipseldom

All circles are to elect two delegates to the new Y. P. S. L. Central Committee. Please inform the City Office of your circle's choice as representatives. Last Notice: The Socialist Party Campaign Headquarters in the City Office will hold Saturday, Sept. 24 at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. Every Yipsel is expected to attend. Come one and all.

## Sunday Hike

The last hike of the season will be held this Sunday, Sept. 25. The hike will close the summer season and will be celebrated in a fitting way. We will meet at the Dyckman Street Ferry and from there leave for the heart of the Palisade section. A surprise or two will be in store for who attend. Take I. R. T. West Side Subway train marked "Van Courtlandt" and get off at station marked "Dyckman Street". Walk west to the river. We meet at the ferry.

## Harlem

Circle Six, Harlem, held its first meeting of the season last Friday with great success. New members were accepted. Some juniors were also graduated into the senior ranks. The Circle will meet Friday night, Sept. 23, at 8 p. m., at 62 East 109th street. A discussion of the 23rd A. D. will take place. Bring your friends.  
The Circle in conjunction with the Socialist Party is planning the organization of a Socialist Sunday School. Further information will appear in this column shortly.

## Juniors

Circle 12 will move from the meeting place at 136 Lincoln place to 233 E. 82nd street, between Winthrop and Clark avenues, Brooklyn. They will meet between 7 and 7:45 p. m. at the old headquarters and proceed to the new one Saturday evening, Sept. 24, and continue meetings on Saturdays at 8 p. m. The headquarters have been given by Comrade Puri of the 23rd A. D. Despite efforts to cut down the membership new applicants are constantly coming in.

## Circle 2

Circle 2 which met for years on Saturday afternoon at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn will meet there for the first time on Saturday, Sept. 24, at 3 p. m. The Circle thereafter will meet Friday evenings, commencing the following Friday. Members are urged to attend.

## Falk, Dworkin & Co

### Public Accountants

570 Seventh Avenue  
Longacre 7214-7215  
NEW YORK  
MEMBERS OF ACCOUNTANTS' UNION

## The AMALGAMATED SHEET-METAL WORKERS

**UNION LOCAL 137**  
Office: Room 410-11, Bible House, Astor Place and Fourth Avenue, New York  
Phone: STUYVESANT 4230  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.  
M. BROWD, President  
J. L. NEWMAN, Rec. Sec'y  
H. FRUCHTER, Vice-President  
PHILIP GINDER, Treasurer

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

**LOCAL NO. 9**  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stagg  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening  
WILLIAM WENDELT, President  
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President  
HENRY ARMENINGER, Rec. Sec'y  
CHARLES PPLAUM, Fin. Sec'y  
JOHN T. BROWN, Treasurer  
ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

**LOCAL UNION 488**  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 493 E. 168th Street  
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone MELORE 6074  
THOMAS DALTON, President  
HARRY P. ELLERT, Fin. Sec'y  
CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent  
THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

**LOCAL UNION 1446 UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA**  
67-69 Lexington Avenue  
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday  
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President  
Michael Erlson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olson, Fin. Sec'y  
Charles Johnson, Recording Secretary  
Ray Clark, Treasurer  
Business Agents

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

**OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163**  
Day room and office, 160 E. 62nd Street, New York  
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.  
JOHN A. HANNA, President. J. A. DALTON, Vice-President. W. A. CORDINER, Rec. Sec'y.  
THOMAS SHARLAW, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. H. B. TREASURER. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent.

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone HARLEM 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 245 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
MICHAEL O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres.  
THOMAS SHERRIDAN, Fin. Sec'y  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y  
JOHN LEAVY, Business Agent  
JOSEPH LAMONTE

## LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

**LOCAL 996 INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION**  
Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4483 Main.  
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.  
JOHN K. JOHNSON, President. GUSTAV ANDERSON, Vice-President. GILBERT O. WRIGHT, Secretary-Treasurer.  
EUGENE MURPHY, Recording Secretary OTTO VASTOLT, Business Agent  
B. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WISTEN, Delegates.

## Patronize Union Laundries!

**Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810**  
Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn  
Phone DICKENS 1144  
Philip Lurie, Pres.  
M. Brodie, Organizer  
I. Hirslein, Treas.  
S. Koenigsberg, Bus. Rep.  
Union Drivers Wear The Button

## HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

**LOCAL 231, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.**  
175 E. 7th Ave.  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President  
A. L. GRABEL, President  
I. KORN, Manager  
J. BELSKY, Secretary.

## BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

**UNION, LOCAL 60, I. L. G. W. U.**  
7 East 15th Street Tel. STUYVESANT 2637  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President  
GEO. TRIETMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer.

## NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

**Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.**  
7 East 15th Street Stayevant 7678  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 101 East 23rd Street  
Fred Fasseiband, N. Ullman, President  
A. Weitzer, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres.  
Wm. R. Chisling, Business Agent

## HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

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

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

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

## See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

**Local 584, I. U. of T.**  
OFFICE: 208 W. 11th St., City  
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursdays of the month at BIRTHDAY HALL, 210 East Fifth St.  
Executive Board meets on 1st and 3rd Thursdays at 8 P. M.  
BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street  
JOE HERRMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.  
MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

## GLAZIERS' UNION

**Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.**  
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hotel, 22 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1073. Regular meetings every Tuesday & 4th Thursdays at 8 P. M.  
ARAB LEMONICK, Pres.  
GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y.  
JACOB RAPPAPORT, Aaron RAPPAPORT, Treasurer.

## German Painters' Union

**LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS**  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 245 East 84th St.  
PETER ROTHMAN, President.  
ALVIN FRIEDMAN, Secretary  
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y.

## PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

**Headquarters 308 EIGHTH AVENUE**  
Telephone LANGFORD 3100  
Day Room Open Daily, 9 a. m. to 4 p. m.  
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, Presidents  
M. McDONALD, F. BRENN, Vice-Presidents  
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.  
MEETING HALL TO RENT FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES. Seating Capacity 850.

## Pressers' Union

**Local 3, A. C. W. A.**  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Building, 11-17 Arlon Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman  
E. TAYLOR, W. BLACK, Fin. Sec'y.

## BUTCHERS' UNION

**Local 171, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.**  
Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 245 E. 84th St., Room 12  
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.  
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

## WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers!  
Always Look For This LABEL Waitresses' Union

**LOCAL 1**  
162 E. 23rd St.  
Tel. GRAMERCY 5243  
LOUIS RUBINFEID, President  
WM. LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer

## FURNITURE, FLOUR AND GROCERY TEAMSTERS' UNION

**Local No. 133, T. C. S. & H. of A.**  
International Brotherhood of Teamsters Office and Headquarters, 119 Livingston St. Phone: Dry Dock 2970  
The Executive Board meets every first and last Wednesday. Regular meetings Second and Fourth Saturday  
WM. SYLVER, MICHAEL BROWN, SAM SCHORER, Presidents Business Manager Business Agent

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

**3 West 16th Street, New York City**  
Telephone CHelsea 5148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President  
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

**Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone ASHland 2660  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

**Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Office, 231 E. 14th Street. SEATON MEETINGS  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Bronx—E. 187th St. & B. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1114 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturdays 12 A. M.  
Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE MINIO, Manager-Secretary.

## EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

**UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 161 E. 161st St. Malrose 7630  
CARL GRABIER, President  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## United Hebrew Trades

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

## AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

**11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.**  
Telephone: STUYVESANT 6209-1-2-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA**  
811-821 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
ABRAHAM DECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

**37 GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.**  
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1203  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

**Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor**  
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone CHelsea 5084  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, CHAS. GOLDMAN, Secretaries-Treasurers  
A. I. SHIPILOFF, Manager

## MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

**Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union**  
Downtown Office: 646 Broadway. Phone Spring 4518  
Uptown Office: 318 West 37th Street. Phone WISCONSIN 1270  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening  
HYMAN LEDERFAR, L. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SECTOR, ALEX ROSE, Chairmen Ex. Bd. Managers  
ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

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

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA**  
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 323) Phone Spring 2338-2339  
G. GOOZE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

**Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.**  
Office and Headquarters, 645 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone FIDELITY 9798  
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.  
M. REISS, President.  
B. FINE, Vice-President.  
FRIEDMAN, J. MOSKOW, Sec'y.  
E. WENDEL, Fin. Sec'y.  
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

**139 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934**  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

## INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

**OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA**  
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. HUNTERS POINT 88  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY BEGON, General Sec'y-Treas.

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

**A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."**  
Office: 41 East 12th Street. STUYVESANT 5588.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 819 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.  
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager

## Amalgamated Lithographers

**of America, New York Local No. 1**  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 265 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WAT 1100  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARRLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE  
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President  
Pat'k Hanlon, Vice-Pres. A. J. Kennedy, Fin. Sec'y Frank J. Ryan, Sec'y

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

**LOCAL UNION No. 483,**



# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET  
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Editor.....JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

## Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger  
Abraham Cahan  
Harry W. Laidler  
Joseph E. Cohen  
Clément Wood  
John M. Work  
Joseph T. Shipley  
Morris Hillquit  
Algernon Lee  
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle for the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily reflect the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1927.

## HOUSING HERE AND ABROAD

OUR readers will find the article in this issue by Harriot Stanton Blatch on housing in Holland and the Scandinavian countries very interesting and informative. Mrs. Blatch spent several months in personally investigating the housing programs of cities in these countries and found a striking contrast between municipal housing and private ventures in these cities and in New York City.

In these European cities the working people have acted upon a philosophy of community effort. Here the initiative of profit-takers is the motive. Abroad the municipalities set up standards which capitalist enterprise must meet if it stays in the field at all. Here a free field is given profiteers with the result that we have blocks of dreary uniformity in building, cheap construction, speculation, and building without consideration of future needs or growth.

In the United States we assume to be "smart" in all such matters but as a matter of fact we submit to the most wretched service, put up with boxes and call them "homes," permit housing to be subjected to the ethics of gamblers at a roulette wheel, and submit to the survival of tenements in crowded areas that are not fit for dog kennels. All in the name of "private initiative." Listen to the editors and the politicians. They advise that the more we permit ourselves to be gouged the happier we will be.

So we muddle through without knowing how to live. Aboard the people live by suppressing the profiteer. A Socialist vote means good housing and, incidentally, dispensing with the "services" of housing hogs. It's up to you.

## A BAR TO SOCIALISM

Sometimes wonder whether our corporation princes are not on an intellectual level with children. Much of their literary output suggests it. On the other hand they may be writing down to the level of child minds in the belief that a majority of adults should be considered on this plane.

A sample from the bulk is correspondence from San Francisco in the *New York Times* regarding small investments in utility corporations. This is called "customer ownership." The customers, in addition to patronizing the corporations by buying what they sell, also invest savings in corporation securities. The results are said to be a bar to Socialism. It works out this way:

"Economists see in customer ownership of utilities an entirely unlooked-for development. With big and little wage earners taking a proprietary interest in the conduct of corporations, they say, socialistic doctrines that invade the rights of private initiative have met a stalemate that probably could not have been effected through any pressure of political events. The butcher, the baker and candlestickmaker are beginning to bring critical analysis to bear on the views of agitators against corporations, however small their portions of interest in them may be."

Now we would be the last to deny that by permitting the customer to invest a few pennies in the utility empire some of them will thereafter talk in the grand manner about "our business." But customer ownership guarantees no jobs and insures no wages. Neither does private ownership of the opportunities of employment in general. Such guarantees are beyond the system. Even simpletons who think they are "owners" of utility corporations may be jolted into sober thinking in an economic crisis that leaves them jobless and without incomes.

We are not impressed. This particular bar to Socialism is rather a frail one and the corporation magnates would do well not to rely on it too much.

## SENTIMENTAL UNITY

OCCASIONALLY we receive a letter from some sincere friend who deplores divisions in the labor movement and the mutual criticisms that result. The reaction to this situation by many who deplore it is simple and, apparently, logical. They urge that all groups get together, forget differences, unite on a common program, move forward in a solid mass and bring nearer the day of victory.

The sentiment is fine but sentiment solves no problems. A paper unity, that is, a unity obtained by a colorless program that avoids real issues, is a rope of sand. It cannot hold its elements together. If the issues are of a minor character unity is possible. If they are fundamental unity is an illusion. The fundamental differences will find expression and the old divisions will be asserted.

A few illustrations will make this clear. How is it possible for two organizations to amalgamate, one of which insists on independent political action while the other ridicules such action? It is impossible. Suppose, in spite of the fundamental difference on this score, the two organizations do unite. Such unity would be obtained by an equitable division of offices between the two organizations, equal representation on the staff of official papers, and guarantee of the right of both views to be heard in these papers, in public meetings and

meetings of the organization. The conflict of views would continue to be expressed and the "united" membership would be asked to supply the finances to support the conflicting propaganda. Such a "united" organization would last long enough to stage one magnificent fight and end by it resolving itself into its original elements.

Now there are such real and fundamental differences and progress depends upon frank recognition of them, not ignoring them. The same may be said of the fundamental conflict between dictatorship and democracy, between the policy of peaceful education and organization and the policy of armed insurrection. There is not only disagreement regarding aims but policies and methods. While some of these are of a minor character some of them are so fundamental that it is impossible to reconcile them with the normal and steady growth of an intelligent working class movement.

It requires something more than a sensational desire for unity to effect it and where disagreement is wide only time, experience and education will bring it about.

## IL NUOVO MONDO

FEW people realize that Mussolini's Black Shirt bands extend into every Italian center in the United States, that they swear allegiance to the monster who rules Italy even though they may have become American citizens, and that every means of coercion is exercised by Mussolini and his agents to compel Italians in this country to support him. Italian Fascism has intimidated Italian banking houses, exporters, business men and newspapers in this country and its Fascio bands strive to terrorize Italian workers into submission to Mussolini.

Thus into the heart of American life has been thrust a despotic power whose head issues orders from the Chigi Palace in Rome. It has recruited thousands of Italian youths who take solemn vows of mysticism and ignorance, its ceremonials being a compound of a midnight conclave of our night-shirt Koo Koo and the empty boasts of the chief braggart whom they follow.

That this silly yet dangerous mania is possible is simply evidence that mankind has not yet shed its savage survivals. Here in New York City Italian workers are publishing *Il Nuovo Mondo*, an Italian daily newspaper, which wages an intelligent opposition to Fascism and everything that it represents. It is ably edited by progressive workers and is sympathetic to the Socialist cause. It appreciates the necessity of workers organizing powerful trade unions and it has been rendering important service in behalf of trade union organization and labor struggles.

*Il Nuovo Mondo* must wage its crusade for political and industrial democracy against the monstrous dictatorship which has enslaved Italy and is trying to enslave Italians in the United States. We urge our readers wherever there is a group of Italians to call their attention to this valuable Italian daily. Help expand its circulation. Published at 81 East 10th street, New York City, the editorial and business staff will be glad of the opportunity to cooperate with any friends who can help extend the influence of the paper.

## A CAPITAL APPOINTMENT

IN APPOINTING Dwight W. Marrow of the Morgan financial dynasty as Ambassador to Mexico President Coolidge reveals the "spiritual" affection which he has for our ruling magnates of the money bags. The appointment reverts back to the classic days of the republic when the landed barons of the South were sent to the Senate and were appointed to missions abroad. With ample leisure and funds to pursue a political career, many of these slave owners directly represented their interests in Congress. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century the railroads followed the same course. In that period if the roll call in the Senate and House had listed the leading railroads of the country and called them by name there were one or more "representatives" of each to answer "present."

In the present instance a representative of the most powerful financial institution in this country, an institution that is the depository of a half billion of Mexican Government bonds, is sent to Mexico with all the prestige and power of the American Government at his disposal. Even Coolidge and his friends cannot disguise the naked character of the appointment. With American arms employed in Nicaragua to enact the will of American bankers and investors into law and a Morgan representative in Mexico City clothed with diplomatic power, capitalist dominion across our frontiers emerges without the customary mask.

Senator Moses, the gentleman with the doll mind who represents New Hampshire, inadvertently told the truth when he said that "it is a capital appointment." It is—if you get what we mean.

## LEST WE FORGET

(Now that the Sacco-Vanzetti case is a closed incident, let us turn our thoughts to other things more vital to the nation's welfare.—News Item.)

NOW that the trial has ended,

And the execution is over;

Let us return to our business,

Talk of the thing no more.

File it away in the records,

Dead men's ashes won't speak;

Turn to tomorrow's problems,

"Who'll win the fight next day?"

Drink with the judge at the clubhouse,

Stymie his ball on the links;

Escape from the inquisition

Of the mind that unceasingly thinks,

Some things are better forgotten,

The clamor for justice dies;

Conscience is eased of its mission,

If only the ghosts won't rise.

But some of us can't forget it,

By the bitter pain we shared,

By our high hopes disillusioned,

By the faith that was not spared;

By the questions still unanswered,

By the challenge still ignored,

We've lit a flame within our hearts

A beacon of the Lord.

So keep us, keep us, Justice,

Forever toward that Light;

Keep us we pray from slipping

Back to that deadly light;

Where buoyant doubts lie buried,

And rebel hearts must beat,

To the tune and rhythm set them

By tradition's lagging feet.

S. Ralph Harlow

## After The Theatre



A Study in Lights and Shadows by Flambo

## THE CHATTER BOX

MY PAL McAllister Coleman used up his column two weeks ago with the love-child tale of our martyred President Warren G. Harding. I used up the best part of half an hour digesting his hilarious hamstringing of Harding's memory, and the sin of his paramour, Nan Britton, and then decided to spend the best part of a five dollar bill to get the book for my own perusal.

Let me assure you, dear readers, that this is meant as no publicity trick for the book. After you have read what I have to say about, Miss Nan Britton, her book—"The President's Daughter," and her affair with President Harding, you will hardly want to buy the book and read it for yourselves. Unless, of course, your sense of curiosity subverts your sense of decency.

I will not set out by quarrelling with Mac's resume of the story. His jocular perception of things is somewhat quicker than mine. He got in the high lights of humor and bathos with one swift glance and let it go at that. To me the book has a sinister, yes, even a downright dirty background. I may be all wrong. My nerve of analysis may be quite jumpy and unreliable. I may have to apologize quite abjectly to the authoress. But I cannot help registering here the impressions her book made upon me.

From her own reiterated episodes, I gather that she was born lazy and luxury loving. Most girls of middle class circumstance are blessed that way. Everywhere throughout the book, she speaks lucidly of the fine meals, she ate, the comforts of hotel life, the sparkle of jewels, and the nice clothes she bought out of the thousands of dollars President Harding gave, or was forced to give her, because of the child she bore him outside the marriage bond. She ends almost every chapter with a blessing on the dead man's head for having given her a child, and treated her so fairly. And also interrupts her thread of narration on almost every page, with sticky allusions as to how closely her child resembles the father. She has the Harding smile of happiness and pathos—the Harding smile, the Harding smile, the Harding smile—ad nauseum, until it twists into a gargoyles grin to the sensitive reader.

The purpose for this unctuous repetition of the child's resemblance to Harding is undoubtedly to assure and reassure the querulous reader that Elizabeth Ann really was the President's love child. But admitting the truth of the lady's confessionals, she more than confesses within her book, that she sugar-papaed old Warren Gamaliel for years on this claim and perhaps was quite a worrisome factor in his worried life. She admits that Harding confessed to her at the White House that he was over fifty thousand dollars in debt.

Summing up all the money she tells of having received from Harding, a substantial part of his indebtedness can be easily accounted for. She tells of only one fur coat, and some jewelry. In an unguarded moment, she tells of how Harding sent her \$250 for expenses, and how she could not resist spending \$240 of this money for a diamond trinket. This while she was without a job, and so taken up with the welfare of her child. She talks every now and then of securing employment at an office job through Harding's influence, but somehow she never convincingly details with her customary minuteness how long, or where she worked. On that score she is particularly hazy. I suspect she never tried very hard to work at all. After the child came, she tells us that a mysterious weakness came over her which incapacitated her for any sort of wage-earning. Although she always had strength enough to travel thousands of miles to meet her lover, and certainly never waned in her physical attraction to him. And always she had energy enough to go through days of shopping in the stores. It surely takes all of a healthy woman's nerve and sinew to play that arduous game. It certainly took a whole lot of Harding's sugar.

I detail all this because the book fails to convince me of its basic sincerity. It has an axe to grind that has become dulled with the low avarice of the conscious or unconscious gold-digger. Somehow all her profession of love for Harding is blurred by her own insistence that the President time and time again hoped to her that, when Mrs. Harding would pass away he would make the love child—"a real Harding."

She speaks of Harding leaving a will. That he died

before the will was written. She does not mention what Harding could have left if by his own admission he owed fifty thousand dollars at the time. We however do know, and she must have known, that the President's newspaper plant and paper at Marion, Ohio, had been sold by him through queer circumstances for close to a million dollars. Its intrinsic value was perhaps at most fifty thousand dollars. This deal was so closely mixed up with the oil scandals that took place during his regime, that it all looked rather shady. She makes no mention of that. But that no doubt was the wealth that the will would have given the mistress and child, and which sudden death kept from her.

What a party she must have given the heirs of the President before she got her book out? By what method they kept her from publishing her memoirs until almost six years after Harding's death no one will ever know. The skeleton must have rattled in the White House closet quite fearfully. And who can tell at what price it was kept from reaching out into the salons and living rooms of bourgeois America?

I am not accusing the lady of ugly blackmail. She probably had a patriotic right to insist on some sort of compensation for bearing a child to a Senator and President of this mighty nation. If it was refused to her by the money hungry heirs of her lover, she had the higher right of buckling down to work and earning her own money, as millions of widows in and out of wedlock have done before. And if she was inherently disinclined to labor for a living, I suppose the publishing of the book and selling it on its sensational revelations in as ethical as the conduct of the New York Graphic and William R. Hearst's papers during the Peaches Browning affair. I have no comment to make here, if only in the interest of charity. But I will say quite emphatically that I cannot believe the lady when she declares from the outset that her higher purpose is to establish a single standard of legitimacy for all children, so that society shall not put the onus of shame on the innocent offspring of a mating out of the conventional contract. She strikes me through one chance episode as a very warped mentality. She tells how once during campaign to elect Harding to the Presidency, the Democrats spread the rumor that Harding had Negro blood in his veins. She was working then for the Republican Campaign Committee, and when the report came out she spiked it through some energetic abracadabra and a little swearing. She says that she was doubly outraged, not only because it cast deep shame upon her beloved Warren, but think of it, dear reader, also upon her own dear child. She shuddered at the thought that her sweet "sin-child" should be burdened with the horror of racial impurity.....

It is this dumb crack through which the light of revelation pours upon Miss Britton's character and her real purpose. Her Elizabeth Ann Guild, organized to propagate for the splendid design of making all children equal in the eyes of the law, especially in regard to financial support of the fathers in fact, is to my mind a smoke screen for her own individual ends. The lady perhaps does not know that Socialist Soviet Russia is the only nation so far that has made this condition hard law of the land. But, I suppose, she has been called so many names by Harding's relatives and the Republican Old Guard, that being called a Bolshevik would sound tame at this stage of her dizzy career.

Well, I have said about all there is to be said about "The President's Daughter." Except that it is written in exceptionally poor style; the English, that of a third year student in a Correspondence Course on Journalism, and the character painting indifferently blurred. I would not give a plugged nickel for another book like it, or waste a split second on similar substance. But it was worth the full five dollars to get this angle on a new type of America's own ladies of love, the gold-digger. There may be something ghoulish about digging it out now from a dead man's memory.

But as I started in to say, I may be all wrong, and owe the lady a most intense apology. But if the authoress has not made herself convincingly clear after using up over four hundred pages of close print, perhaps she might bear some of the blame for my misunderstanding.

S. A. De Witt

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

### THAT MEMORIAL MEETING

Editor, The New Leader.  
My attention has been called to The New Leader's reply to Clarina Michelson regarding the Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial meeting in Union Square, New York, August 29th.

The reply to Mrs. Michelson is unfair to her in certain particulars with which I am acquainted. Mrs. Michelson was authorized by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee to arrange the meeting in New York. She left Boston after conferring with Aldino Feliciani, Mary Donovan, John Dos Passos, several others and myself, authorized to arrange the meeting on such a day as she found to be advisable after discussing the matter with the various groups in New York.

In the second place, Mrs. Michelson did not represent herself to be a Socialist nor was she represented so to be by anyone else. None of us knew of her party affiliations, nor did any of us inquire. Dos Passos and others told us that she was in a good position to arrange such a meeting as we desired and to effect harmony between the various groups.

We answered Mrs. Michelson's request for credentials by sending her a letter and a telegram. We were sorry and disappointed that the meeting had to be arranged so soon after the funeral in Boston, especially since it turned out that the ashes of Sacco and Vanzetti could not be obtained, but we assumed that Mrs. Michelson had conferred with the various groups and found the immediate meeting to be necessary.

That part of the reply quoting Mr. Feliciani as describing the meeting as a "carnival, etc.," is, he assures me, quite incorrect. He says that he made no such statement.

Mrs. Michelson was confronted with a very difficult task. She impressed me during the conference in Boston as being sincerely anxious to meet the situation to the best of her ability, which seemed to me great. We know nothing of what actually transpired in the arranging of the meeting or of what has transpired since.

Yours fraternally,

GARDNER JACKSON.

Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.  
Boston, Mass.

It will be noted that Mr. Jackson refrains from taking responsibility or giving endorsement to the manner in which Mrs. Michelson arranged the meeting in question. Mr. Jackson says the Boston committee "knows nothing of what actually transpired in arranging the meeting." The best the Boston committee can say is that it "assumed that Mrs. Michelson had conferred with the various groups." In this assumption, the committee has gone wrong. Hardly any of the labor unions had been approached by Mrs. Michelson. The Socialist Party was approached after—not before—arrangements had been completed. By that time, it was universally felt, partly at least, through the ineptness of Mrs. Michelson, that the meeting was to be a Communist gathering.

Mr. Feliciani's statement that he considered the memorial meeting "a carnival," and the statement that Mrs. Michelson was asked to arrange the meeting because she represented herself as a Socialist party adherent, were quoted to us by persons in the labor movement whom we consider quite reliable. Both statements were ascribed to Mr. Feliciani. That Mr. Feliciani now denies having uttered such statements makes it necessary for us to offer our apology to Mrs. Michelson which we now do in all sincerity.

Our main point remains unaltered: We consider that Mrs. Michelson did a very poor job in arranging the meeting; that intentionally or inadvertently, she permitted it to become a Communist meeting; and that the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti was thus deprived of what might have been a memorial meeting really representative of the labor and progressive movements.

—THE NEW LEADER.

## Troelstra Home Dedicated; Dutch Leader Listens In On Eulogies Given Him

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Amsterdam.—On August 13 the representatives of the Dutch Labor Party met at Beekbergen, in the Province of Gelderland, in order to dedicate the Troelstra Home erected in honor of the leader of the Dutch Labor movement.

When Troelstra at the Congress of September, 1925, Stenhuis, the President of the Dutch Trade Union League, took the initiative toward this work. Troelstra-Oord has become a holiday home for the organized workers, a home containing everything likely to make a stay in it an experience of Socialist fellowship. The building contains 20 single and 40 double rooms, an entrance hall, a library, etc. It is to serve also for Labor cultural activities, Congresses, exhibitions by artists connected with the movement, and so on.

The sum required for the erection of the home—about 150,000 Dutch florins—was raised exclusively by gifts in money and kind from labor organizations and workers. The Secretary of the Dutch Trade Union League, Walle, was at the head of the Committee. The wife of the leader of the Diamond Workers' Union, Zutphen, made a gift of the site on which the home stands. A large number of donations came from sundry artists of Socialist or kindred sympathies. The house forms an artistic whole, with a bust of Troelstra as its central point, the gift of the Executive of the Dutch Party. One room equipped by the Diamond Workers' Union, is intended for Troelstra himself.