


# THE NEW LEADER

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Devoted to the Interests  
of the  
Socialist and  
Movement

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**TIMELY TOPICS**  
by Norman Thomas



ON first reading it seems to me that the Untermyer report, except in one important particular, outlines about as good a plan for the solution of our transit problem as can be worked out in a situation where the city is tied not only by outrageously one-sided contracts into which it entered but by all sorts of state laws and court rulings. On the use of recapitulation powers by the city, the maintenance of the five cent fare, and the creation of a special municipal operating company the Untermyer plan follows principles which we laid down in the campaign of 1925. But most emphatically we never proposed to turn the municipal operating corporation over to a directorate appointed by the big and little capitalists of the realty boards, Chambers of Commerce, and Merchant Associations of greater New York. On the contrary a minority representation of the men who invest their lives in running the subways. This is a subject on which Mr. Untermyer's silence fairly shouts for attention. Yet in Philadelphia the Mitten Plan, whatever its faults, has familiarized the public with the notion of representation of the workers on the directorate. At the present time they have two regularly elected directors chosen through their collective ownership of common stock of the company. Mr. Untermyer's plan does not even mention the safeguarding of the workers on his municipal system by guaranteeing the right to organize and to bargain collectively.

Transit is only one of the problems on which our traveling Mayor will have to get his mind. And these problems cannot be solved by wise cracks either. What our Jimmy and the rest of the old party machines will try to do is to get rubber stamp Aldermen and Assemblymen who will do what they are told and run on their looks or personal popularity, or something unrelated to any vital question. A vigorous socialist campaign is the only way to stop this.

In the field of international relations there have been some rather pleasant surprises lately. The American Legion in Paris seems to have behaved itself rather better than was feared. The League of Nations Assembly at Geneva was not the futile and dismal gathering that many had anticipated. It adopted a resolution outlawing war. It provided for some separation in preliminary committee work between the issue of security and disarmament. The Japanese apparently were sufficiently encouraged to begin talking about another conference on naval disarmament or rather limitation of armament. To be sure, nothing practical was done to make the outlawry of war effective. But any international discussion of such a step is to the good.

On the other hand European public opinion seems to be backing France in standing out against our American notion that we can exclude goods from our markets but at the same time claim favorable consideration for our own goods abroad. A tariff war will not make for peace or goodwill. Moreover Franco-German troubles are not yet settled. The New York Times correspondent, Mr. James, the other day stated with great candor that the Allies could not very well afford to pay attention to German protests against being considered solely responsible for the Great War because the other features of the Versailles Treaty, political and economic, were based on it. The Allies and particularly the French believe that if they admit that Germany was not the only guilty party in the war and if in accord with the much advertised spirit of Locarno they withdraw their troops from the Rhineland they will have no moral case or physical power to make Germany go on with increased reparations under the Dawes Plan. They are probably right. But what an evil light this admission sheds on the Versailles Treaty and the Dawes Plan. And how little does this admission accord with M. Briand's protestations of love and peace.

Then there is Russian suspicion of Britain which Jim Maurer and his companions report on their return from Russia. That is a serious factor. No quarrels between Communists and Socialists should be allowed to encourage the Tory government of Britain or any other country in designs against the peace of the world now or in the future. Doubtless Russian fears are exaggerated. They are not wholly groundless. It is questions like this

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## Green Insists Terror End In Venezuela

Labor Federation President Forwards Demand to President of Latin-American Nation

Right to Organize Asked for Workers

Charges Made in Pan-American Congress Are Forwarded to Dictator-President

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—A demand that Venezuela accord to the labor organizations of that country full freedom to organize trade unions, has been sent to President Gomez by William Green, president of the A.F. of L. and of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Mr. Green's letter recites the charges made against the Venezuelan authorities in the recent session of the Pan-American Federation in Washington.

The resolution charges that "during the last 19 years the Venezuelan people have been subjected to constant and cruel violation of elementary natural and constitutional rights." Even the right to vote has been denied, it is charged. The resolution, continuing, says that "the Venezuelan workers are not only being exploited industrially and economically by the unwarranted, unjustified and unauthorized power of a dictator but likewise by native and foreign capitalists."

After quoting the resolution, President Green says:

"It is significant that the workers of no country affiliated to the Pan-American Federation of Labor presented such sweeping complaints. The Congress referred the Venezuelan matter to the officers of the Pan-American Federation of Labor with a recommendation that they arrange for a presentation of these grievances to you, with the request that the wage earners of Venezuela be granted fully freedom of expression, freedom of action, the right to voluntary association and of collective bargaining in the same spirit and to the same extent that is recognized by government of all free peoples."

"In other words, the Pan-American Federation of Labor is instructed to request you to guarantee citizens of Venezuela the privileges that mean political, social and economic rights, and all the activities of life of a free country."

As president of the Pan-American, Mr. Green has also forwarded to presidents of Central and South American countries, with the exception of Mexico, requests that steps be taken toward the creation in the Federal governments of special labor departments whose duty it shall be to work for the protection of the workers.

## Manumit School Opens Fourth Year With 30 Pupils

Manumit School opened its fourth school year on September 23, 1927, with thirty children representing fifteen different trade unions. Among those unions represented are the Paper Hangers Union, the Carpenters and Joiners, the Hebrew Journalists Union, the Barbers Union, the Teachers Union, the Musicians Union, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union, the Furriers Union, the Millinery Workers Union, the Actors Equity Association, the Women's Trade Union League, and the International Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers. Although Manumit is intended primarily for the children of workers, a limited number of non-trade union children are accepted.

Manumit is a creative activity school, situated on a 177 acre farm at Pawling, N. Y., where the children have every opportunity that a free environment, and teachers trained in experimental method can provide, for the fullest development of their potentialities and powers.

Among the teaching staff at Manumit for the coming year are Miss Anna Gifford, formerly teacher at Antioch College and Preparatory School, and at the Fellowship School in Switzerland, Mr. H. A. Taylor, formerly teacher at Prevo, Utah, with many years experience in electrical engineering; Mr. George Hamilton, of Wesleyan University, Mr. Frans Longville, formerly instructor at the Belgian Labor College, Mr. Einar Jensen, Teacher of carpentry and gymnastics, Mrs. Afton Taylor, and Mrs. Sonia Mints, dietitians, and Nellie M. Seede, director of the school.

## Episodes of B. and O.

Some Suggestions For Tableaux To Be Included in the Pageant Now Being Given To Celebrate the 100th Anniversary of the Respectable Baltimore and Ohio Railroad

By Louis Stanley

Prologue

TODAY the Fair of the Iron Horse—a pageant and exposition at Hale—thorpe, five miles west of Baltimore, depicting the history of transportation, especially railroading, in this country. It is the glorification of the century of existence of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which has taken unto itself all the wonders of railroad history. A huge loop track has been constructed—six thousand feet in length—and revolving around it in review under their own steam pass the ancient and modern locomotives that have graced B. & O. Among the celebrated guests is the president of the road himself, Daniel Willard. He beams upon the spectacle, as well he may. It is he who has built up the present good name of the railroad. It is he who shares the responsibilities for better or for worse of establishing the B. & O. plan of union-management co-operation. It is he who has given value to Baltimore and Ohio stock, the financial foundation of Johns Hopkins University, and been honored with the presidency of the Board of Directors of the latter. Some one in the foreground displays a current issue of the "Nation," opened to the biography of Daniel Willard in the series of "Americans We Like."

Interlude the First

The summer of 1897, Johns Hopkins University publishes a Ph. D. dissertation, "The Economic History of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1827-1893." Dry as scholar's dust. No scandal. Only facts.

Respectables

A century or so ago, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore are competing for the business of the West. The first gets the upper hand when the Erie Canal is completed in 1825. Philadelphia holds her own with the inauguration by Pennsylvania of various internal improvements—roads and canals. Only Baltimore is losing ground. The merchants and bankers and politicians get together. This will never do. They determine upon a canal. The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company is organized. But horrors! A Congressional investigation shows that \$22,375,427.69 will be the cost of the project. Unusual geographical difficulties are in the way.

Two bankers hit upon another scheme. Why not a railroad? These iron horses have already been rousing the English countryside. Two short roads are already in operation in the United States, one in connection with a granite quarry in Massachusetts, the other with a coal mine in Pennsylvania.

Philip E. Thomas and George Brown of the Mechanics Bank of Baltimore get together with some other respectable citizens and one politician. The politician takes a committee to the Maryland legislature and in less than a month a charter is secured. It is February 28, 1827.

Plunder

And such a charter it is! The city of Baltimore and the state of Maryland may both also subscribe to the stock and the directors may increase the number of shares whenever they please. Eventually the municipality of Baltimore contributes \$5,500,000 to the B. & O., the state of Maryland \$3,500,000 and the city of Wheeling, West Virginia, \$1,000,000 more. The people should be grateful to the railroad managements!

The charter also exempts the capital stock of the B. & O. from taxation. That is not enough. The Court of Appeals of Maryland decides (12 Gill & Johnson 117) that all the property of the railroad is holy and, therefore, tax-exempt. It is estimated that by 1876 some \$88,000,000 of B. & O. property is going untaxed.

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## Coal Company Using Scabs To Pack Polls

Strikebreakers Illegally Registered to Vote in Pennsylvania Primaries—Register Exposes Fraud

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—The strike of the miners in this section of Pennsylvania reveals how the tremendous power of a great corporation is exerted over the economic, social, political, family, and intellectual life of a community. Ruling barons of the Middle Ages were never more insistent upon obedience by all those living on lower levels in the social and economic scale.

On the Fourth of July many miners in the employ of the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation celebrated the national holiday without roofs to the company shacks they were occupying. The roofs had been removed to force the miners and their families out of their shelters in the hope that without proper shelter the spirit of the miners would be broken.

One month before William Gilbert Nowell, pastor of a church standing on company ground, was evicted by the Pittsburgh Coal Company because he did not accept the "open shop" as a part of his faith. He had been followed by company spies for some time before the order came for him to vacate the building.

Scabs and Floaters

This same corporation has succeeded in getting strikebreakers at a number of mines. It is now evident that the corporation also intends to use the strikebreakers as "floaters" to control local elections. Through such illegal practices it is hoped to place more officials in office who will take orders from the corporation.

Victor F. Marlier, a member of the United Mine Workers, is Register Assessor in the third precinct of Robinson township, Washington County, and it is his duty to register each person entitled to vote in the precinct. The Pittsburgh Coal Company's Montour No. 9 mine is located in this precinct and is operated by strikebreakers. Marlier proceeded to visit all the company houses to register the voters as required by instructions he received by the County Commissioners.

"On May 16 I went to Montour Mine No. 9," he declares, "and as soon as I stepped on the company ground a

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## Old Parties Fear Defeat on East Side

Chances of Socialist Victory for Panken, Thomas and Claessens Grow Brighter in New York

Many Will Canvas Voters in Homes

80 Speakers Will Take Part in Series of Demonstrations on Saturday, October Eighth

By Marx Lewis

HEARTENED by the response the East Side is showing to the appeals issued by the Socialist party campaign managers for help, and the interest being taken in both the indoor and outdoor rallies, Socialists are looking forward to returning Justice Jacob Panken to the Municipal Court bench he has occupied for ten years, and to electing two Socialist Assemblymen and two Socialist Aldermen.

Norman Thomas and August Claessens, candidates for the Board of Aldermen in the 8th and 6th districts, respectively, are the two Aldermen whose election is expected by the Socialists and feared by the Democrats. Samuel Beardsley and Isidore Korn, Assembly candidates in those districts, are picking up strength as their names are brought before the electorate.

Seeing victory within their grasp, every nerve is being strained by the Socialists, led by Julius Gerber, campaign manager, to carry the fight from the street corners and the indoor rallies into the homes of the voters, where the old party politicians work the hardest, and where it is feared the election will finally be won or lost by the Socialists, depending on how many workers they can get to canvass the votes.

Canvassing October 10th

The canvassing will actually begin on October 10, when the first of the registration days will occur. The plan of the Socialists is to have at least one Socialist in every polling place every day that week, so that the voter may be met face to face. It is expected that the visiting of the workers, which will begin the following week, will be made much easier if the voter is seen at the polling place first.

With 114 election districts in the Municipal Court district, each one of which will have to cover that week, it will take the services of 114 Socialists, trade unionists, and liberals, all of whom are behind Justice Panken, Norman Thomas and the others to make this phase of the campaign successful.

Julius Gerber, in a statement he has issued to all party workers, declares that upon the way the registration is handled will depend in a large measure whether the Socialists will carry the district.

"Every Socialist not engaged in work in his own district—and there are enough of them to enable us to cover the entire Municipal Court district—owes a duty to the party to help us in this work," Mr. Gerber declares. "The work they must do is not arduous, and it cannot be done as well by others, even if we were in a position to divert funds needed for other purposes to this. All they have to do is stay in the polling places from 5 o'clock in the evening until 10:30 at night each of the first five nights, and as long on Saturday as possible."

Not only Socialists, but members of the Young Peoples Socialist League, who have either their evenings or the days free, can render yeoman service for the party in this work during that week, Mr. Gerber added.

All those willing to help are asked to call at the campaign headquarters, 107 Second avenue, and enroll themselves for as much of the time as they can give, whether they be for whole evenings or only several hours each evening.

October 8 Banner Night

To give the campaign a flying start, and to awaken the East Side to the determination of the Socialists to make a clean sweep, a demonstration will be held on Saturday, October 8, two days before registration, when 80 Socialist speakers, and a number of others supplied by trade unionists, and the lawyers' organization supporting Panken, will tour the district, addressing rallies everywhere, and finally holding a final rally in some centrally located section of the district.

Plans for the demonstration are being whipped into shape by a special committee, of which Charles Grossman, who has managed numerous successful campaigns on the East Side, and Marx Lewis are members.

More than 29 indoor rallies have already been arranged for, and new places are being added to the list each

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Here For Lectures



BERTAND RUSSELL

## Capitol Hall Closes Doors To Russell

World-Famed Philosopher Can't Speak on Education in the Masonic Temple of Washington

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Bertrand Russell, famous British philosopher, essayist, and publicist, who is due to arrive in the United States on Sunday for a lecture tour, is too dangerous to be permitted to speak near the White House.

This is the conclusion to which the Washingtonians are led by the refusal of the owners of the famous Masonic Auditorium in this city to permit the Washington Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy to use the Auditorium on October 18, when Mr. Russell is scheduled to speak under the Chapter's auspices on "Education and World Peace."

Tentative assurance that the hall would be rented for the lecture that evening was made to Marx Lewis, chairman of Chapter, by the manager of the hall, and depending on this assurance arrangements for the lecture were made. The manager subsequently exhibited some doubts as to the advisability of permitting Russell to lecture in that hall on that subject, and informed Lewis that he would not lay the matter before the Board of Managers. The Board decided against granting the use of the hall.

While the decision made after preliminary arrangements had been completed has upset the plans of the Chapter, arrangements are now being made to have Russell speak in another hall. The action of the owners of the hall is expected to create additional interest in the meeting, and assure its success despite the upsetting of the plans.

## Russell To Lecture For The Rand School, Yipsels and L. I. D.

New Yorkers will have three opportunities to hear Bertrand Russell, world famous philosopher, during his current trip to this country. His first lecture will be given Tuesday evening, October 4th, under the auspices of The Rand School of Social Science. He will lecture in the auditorium of the Town Hall, 113 West 43rd street. Tickets are for sale at the office of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. He will talk on "Education and the Good Life."

On Friday evening, October 7th, Mr. Russell will be the speaker and guest at a dinner to be given him by the League for Industrial Democracy. The dinner will be held at the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, 200 Fifth avenue. His subject will be "Russia, Asia and the West." Reservations should be made at the League Office, 70 Fifth avenue; Chelsea 3877.

The Young Peoples Socialist League has arranged a lecture which will be given Friday, October 14th, at the Community Church, 34th street and Park avenue. His subject then will be "Why Men Fight: Youth and War." Tickets may be obtained at the offices of the League, 7 East 15th street.

## Bronx Ratification Meeting Oct. 7th

The first of a number of large Socialist rallies in the Bronx will be held this Friday evening, Oct. 7th, at Ambassador Hall (London Casino, 8:30, Claremont Parkway and 3rd Avenue). The speakers will be Judge Jacob Panken, Samuel Orr, candidate for Alderman, 29th District; Samuel A. DeWitt, candidate for Assembly, 3rd District; Isidore Politain, 4th District; Max B. Walder, candidate for Municipal Court Judge, 1st District; McAllister Coleman of The New Leader and possibly, N. Chanin and S. Levitas of the Jewish Socialist Verband.

## Untermyer Transit Plan Under Fire

Waldman Tells Commission Proposals Would Keep Transit Lines Away From Popular Control

Labor Would Not Be Represented

Six of Ten Directors Would Be Chosen By Business Organizations—They Would Pick Seventh

SAMUEL Untermyer's proposals for the reorganization of the New York City transit system as outlined in his report as counsel to the Transit Commission are subjected to severe criticism in a letter sent to the Commission by Louis Waldman, labor attorney and former Socialist member of the State legislature. Mr. Waldman's letter was made public at the headquarters of the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street, where August Claessens, secretary of the party, said it represented the Socialist view of Mr. Untermyer's plan. Mr. Waldman has written several books on the transit question and is the author of a municipal ownership and operation program which is the basis of the present Socialist policy.

Mr. Waldman's letter, in particular criticized Mr. Untermyer's proposal to vest control of the reorganized transit system in hands of a board of directors, the majority of which is to be chosen by chambers of commerce and boards of trade of the five boroughs. Mr. Waldman charged that such control would not be representative of the city's subway users. He also asks why the labor organizations of the city, through the Central Trades and Labor Council should not be accorded representation in the management of the proposed transit corporation. Mr. Untermyer's plan he states, will not eliminate the possibility of intermittent labor troubles with consequent disorganization of service.

Quick Recapture Urged

His letter follows: Transit Commission, State of New York, 270 Madison Avenue, New York City. Gentlemen:

You have invited criticism and comment on the transit readjustment proposals submitted to the Commission by Mr. Samuel Untermyer, your counsel. The public owes a debt of gratitude to the Commission and its counsel for exposing the questionable manipulations by the traction companies. There can be no quarrel with Mr. Untermyer's proposals with a view of recapturing the Interborough Rapid Transit lines and so much of the B.-M.-T. subway as, under the contract, is made available to the city. Of course, these proposals will entail considerable litigation by the city. That, however, cannot be avoided. It must have been contemplated in the contract between these companies and the city that, in the event of the companies' failure to surrender the city-built lines, it would be necessary to institute court actions.

If litigation is necessary to recapture these subways, it might as well be started now so that the new city-built subways can be properly linked with those that are recaptured. Delay on that point would be fatal from many points of view.

While such legal assault and battery will be necessary to bring the companies to their senses, there still remains the problem as to what shall be done with the subways after they are recaptured, and what shall be done with the subways that the city is now planning to build at an expense to the people of \$600,000,000. The mode of operation and the method of control is of equal, if not greater, importance to the recapture itself. If the operation of the transit industry of New York becomes a football of politics, it would set back faith in popular control of industry as no private operation could. On the other hand, the continuance of private operation and perhaps even its extension to the new subways, with its stockjobbery, over capitalization, financial manipulations and lack of regard for the convenience of the traveling public is an intolerable condition.

Control Is Criticized

It is therefore regrettable that the part of Mr. Untermyer's plan savors of another well known article 30. To whom does Mr. Untermyer propose to turn over this billion dollar public utility?

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## Pa. Troopers Raid Victims Near Death

**Governor Asked To Probe Drunken Attack on Workers' Picnic—Strike Leader Under \$5,000 Bail**

APPEALING for a special investigation into the attack by Pennsylvania state troopers on a Sacco-Vanzetti meeting at Cheswick on August 22, in which 300 people were injured, some of whom are now near death, Harry P. Ward, chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, has sent the following message to Governor John S. Fisher:

"A situation exists in Cheswick, Pennsylvania, which we take the liberty of pointing out as calling urgently for executive attention. Our own information is derived from a special investigator who went into the field to get the facts first-hand.

"On August 22nd, approximately 1500 men, women and children had gathered in a grove near Cheswick under the auspices of local labor groups for a meeting of protest on behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Many such meetings were taking place on that day in various parts of the country. There was nothing intrinsically improper in a gathering for such a purpose. The meeting was called on private property leased for the occasion. Those assembled were not informed in advance of any action by public authority to prevent a meeting. An exactly similar gathering had taken place ten days earlier without interference from any source. So secure were those interested in their sense that they were doing a lawful and orderly thing, that they considered it as a 'picnic' and so spoke of it among themselves.

### The Cossacks Arrive

"For the events that followed we ask Your Excellency to employ your own means of obtaining the facts; we present them merely in outline. A body of State Police arrived on the scene and undertook to disperse the meeting on the authority of the Sheriff of the County. The means that were employed were riding their horses into the crowd, clubbing men and women mercilessly and exploding tear-gas bombs. For a period of hours following the actual scattering of the crowd, these State Police stopped people on the public highways, invaded private homes and brutally clubbed men and women alike. As a result of one such attack on a man who happened to be armed, a trooper lost his life. It is easily conceivable that more lives would have been lost in the same way, if more of these outraged people had had arms and the courage to use them, for the provocation was greater than the utmost patience could reasonably be expected to endure. We have seen a number of affidavits in which acts of the most ferocious brutality by the police are circumstantially related, and our investigator has seen and talked with many victims of these acts. We are credibly informed that many of the police were drunk at the time of the raid.

"A number of arrests were made by the police in an effort to apprehend the leaders and organizers of the meeting. The charges against the arrested men were rioting, inciting to riot, unlawful assembly and resisting officers. Bail was first fixed at \$5,000 but was afterwards reduced in a sort of sliding scale to as low as \$500. It is worth mentioning that the man who is still under \$5,000 bail was known to have been a leader in the strike of mine-workers in that vicinity. The bail was fixed by Squire Blair, who is known in the region as the 'Company Squire'.

### Redress is Demanded

"Such being the general background of facts, we beg leave to suggest the following propositions for the special consideration of Your Excellency:

"(1) The meeting in the grove near Cheswick was a lawful one called for a lawful purpose and would have been perfectly orderly in its conduct had it not been for the interference of the police.

"(2) The Sheriff acted without legal authority in ordering the raid.

"(3) There was no warrant in law for interference with the meeting by any civil authority any more than there was justification in the facts for the excessive violence used in the dispersal of the crowd and the brutality of the beatings administered to helpless men and women.

"(4) It is improper to employ State police in local matters or to use them in the interest of mine operators for campaigns of terrorism in the areas of industrial dispute. (This was the position of Your Excellency's predecessor asserted on numerous occasions.)

"(5) The use of terrorism by public authorities in such situations as that at Cheswick must inevitably result in the increase of class hatreds and the bringing about of conditions amounting to civil war.

"We respectfully urge Your Excellency to institute an executive investigation into all the facts connected with the Cheswick affair and to take such measures as seem necessary for the ending of conditions which citizens having a deep concern for American institutions must find extremely revolting."

## Zionists Are Jailed in Russia, is Charge

Basle, Switzerland.—It is not generally known that even Zionists are imprisoned in Soviet Russia because of their views. Considering that Zionism is a movement directed not against the ruling Communist party but a program for colonization of Jewish people in Palestine the jailing of Zionists in Russia becomes fantastically absurd.

## Porters Union Gains 410 Members in 60 Days

Roy Lancaster, Sec.-Treas. of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, announces that during the last sixty days the organization had added to its membership roll approximately 410 new members, a large number of whom are new in the service and come from the South. "The Brotherhood today represents close to 80 per cent of the porters and maids in the employ of the Pullman Company," says Secretary Lancaster.

A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer and Ashley L. Totten, Asst. General Organizer of the Brotherhood, are on their way to the Coast, speaking in every Pullman District between New York and Los Angeles, with a view toward cementing the organization for the purpose of utilizing the Emergency Arbitration Board, the members of which are appointed by the President of the United States whenever an emergency arises. W. H. Des Verney, another Asst. General Organizer of the Brotherhood, is covering the Southern territory with the same purpose in view.

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that believers in peace must face frankly. I am inclined to think that problems connected with peace and international relations ought to assume first place in our socialist campaign next year. And I say this with no lack of respect for the importance of domestic issues.

I shall be greatly interested to read the report that Maurer and the others make on Russia. Some unusually competent men were in that party. Such statements as I have seen confirm my feeling that there is much to admire and applaud, yes, and to emulate, in Russia. Certainly the failure of the Russian experiment would be a tragedy for the whole world. Responsible Socialist leaders on the Continent like Otto Bauer and others have been saying that for a long while. Even some of the Russian mistakes may be condoned in the light of Russian history. What is hard to condone is the fanatic and fantastic Communist idea that everything in the rest of the world must be conformed willy nilly to the Russian pattern, and that everyone who objects to Communist tactics here is an enemy of Russia and of the workers.

Last week I promised myself and whatever readers this column has that I would say some words about this two and a half million dollar prize fight in Chicago. Call me a Puritan or any other name you want, but I think the degree of excitement and interest in that spectacle which was to be found among the workers and every other class in America is as discouraging as the size of the Socialist vote in some elections. Indeed it helps to explain the size of the Socialist vote. The "mainly art of modified murder," as sports writer McGeehan calls it, seems to me a particularly low form of sport. Especially between heavyweights the thing the crowd wants is not science but brute force. It yells for blood. Not one fat-punched banker or plump-faced boy in the crowd is made stronger, more manly or a better boxer by watching the show from a \$40 dollar seat or hearing it over the radio. Nevertheless it may be that a little vicarious brutality is psychologically not a bad thing in our present stage of development. My objection is to the hysterical exaggeration, the raw and crooked commercialization, and the wholly false standards which characterize the fight from beginning to end. Consider the space given to it in the newspapers. Consider Tunney's one million dollars in comparison to the rewards that society gives to its artists, scientists and real heroes. Consider Dempsey as a hero. This red blooded American fought the European war in a shipyard and for no conscientious reasons either. His pugilistic career has been attended by mean and suspicious acts. Thus, his gang kept Willard awake all night before the Toledo fight. Once or twice his hands were made into sledge hammers with bicycle tape. His whole conduct in the Philadelphia fight was and is under a cloud. Yet he is a hero to the crowd. Tunney supposedly is better. But he is mixed up with some pretty queer sports and he used his fame to make ridiculous attacks on radicalism. But the villain in the piece is not the fighters. Maybe it is not the crowd. It is the man who deliberately exploits this stuff for the money in it. A working class, however, which can get up and sustain a greater excitement as to the relative merits of Dempsey and Tunney than over any of the immediate issues of bread and peace and freedom is a working class that may expect to be exploited. Unlike the old Roman proletarians they even pay for the circuses by which they are diverted.

## Legion Article Is Reprinted by Liberties Union

By permission of Rupert Hughes and The American Legion Monthly the former's article, "There's Only One Kind of Americanism," has been reprinted by the American Civil Liberties Union in pamphlet form and is ready for distribution. "There is only one liberty that deserves the name, and that is the liberty that grants even its enemies every privilege that it claims for itself" is one of the statements made by Mr. Hughes in his article, which the Union feels is a notable contribution to the cause of civil liberties.

## U.S. Probe of Power Merge Is Demanded

**Hand of Mellon Traced in Combination of N. Y., Jersey and Pennsylvania Interests**

COMMENTING on the reported merger of the gas and electric systems of Philadelphia forming a super-power system embracing Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Buffalo, Trenton and Newark, the Committee on Coal and Giant Power at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City urges that the move be made for a thorough Congressional investigation of this merger.

"Here is the most significant step yet taken by the power interests of the East towards the monopolization of our sources of power," said the committee.

"It is the contention of a series of mergers which have been quietly going on since the War and it contains ominous possibilities of stock manipulation, inflation of values and avoidance of public control and regulation. Once more appear the Mellon interests which played so important a part in the abortive attempt to seize the St. Lawrence waterways. Again is posed the problem of any sort of effective regulation of interstate transaction of power.

"At the present time consumers are very much in the dark as to the forces that control their light. The maneuverings of a combination with a total capital of 200 million dollars are for the most part unintelligible to the man in the street. That he will learn anything to his advantage from the industry's announced propaganda campaign to 'provide speakers and newspapers with material representing the industry's views' is a matter of grave doubt. It is further stated that this campaign 'will seek particularly to inform the public on projects such as Boulder Dam' and that on the success of the campaign 'will probably depend the announcement of further important mergers in the utility field.' Evidently we are in for a long spell of special pleading for special privilege in the utility field. The proponents of private monopoly reported to be 'girding themselves for the coming Congressional session' are well-heeled and highly articulate. The mass of consumers are necessarily at a disadvantage in this matter.

"There will be, however, in this Congress a number of experts on power who will take a lively interest in such projects as the announced Philadelphia merger, the return of Muscle Shoals to private interests and the Boulder Dam proposals.

"The Committee on Coal and Giant Power representing a group of consumers in all parts of the country will be one of a number of such bodies to appear in Washington in behalf of the public this winter. Its Secretary, H. S. Raushenbush, who is now studying the power situation abroad, has completed a survey of the control of electric power in this country which will soon be published and will be used as the basis for a campaign against monopolization of our waterways."

## Women Unionists Meet in Paris

(Continued from Page 1)

Financial reasons stand in the way. Only where the organized workers can bring pressure to bear upon their Governments are the various Parliaments likely to rally, and here also, the voice of public opinion is of the highest importance.

"I do not know if the working women are fully aware of the danger of the movement which is demanding absolute equality between the sexes, and equality which does not and cannot exist . . . there are not equal opportunities between the professional woman and the working woman: the professional woman is able to earn sufficient to provide her with all the necessary assistance for the efficient running of her home, whereas the working woman cannot do so and has to bear the double burden of industrial work and housework: in addition, the problems of motherhood are influencing the whole standard of life of the working woman, and these problems cannot be ignored or solved by pretended equality. . . . It is not only to be desired, but it is of the greatest importance for the international work for the ratification of the International Conventions that the working women should not be content with party programs to defend their rights, but that they should lift their voices demanding legal protection which is the only just compensation for their economic position in the industrial world."

A detailed printed report on this subject of the protection of women workers was presented to the Conference by Helene Burniaux, who stressed the necessity of viewing the matter from an entirely international and not national or sectional point of view. The resolution appended to the report demanding protection for women as workers, to include measures such as the eight hour day, factory inspection, sickness insurance, trade union liberty, and the fixing of minimum wages, and in addition the protection of the woman worker as a woman, to include ratification of the Washington Conventions relating to the rest of women before and after childbirth, the prohibition of nightwork for women, and the protection of women in unhealthy industries and in agriculture, was adopted after opposition from the Danish delegate Madame Crone who submitted a special statement to the meeting.

A report on homework was presented by Julia Varley (Great Britain). There were several conflicting points on view on this subject demanding that working conditions and wages of homeworkers should be at least equal to those of factory workers, and further urging the importance of the trade union organization of home workers.

We cannot expect much real education from the schools and colleges of a Capitalist State. The State is still in the hands of the mighty rich, and its business is to maintain its own ascendancy through the preservation of the existing order. Our schools and colleges are "tied houses," and they cannot be expected to produce potential or actual rebels against the existing order.—Dan Griffiths.

Capitalism and private enterprise have given us the slums, the back lands, and the sunless, airless hovels, but from the common purse comes the maintenance of hospitals and sanatoria to deal with the victims.—Tom Dickson, M.P.

## Episodes of B. and O.

(Continued from Page 1)

**John Work Garrett (1820-1884)**  
This son of Baltimore and a father who is a merchant and banker becomes director of the B. & O. in 1857 and president the following year. He is one of the original trustees of Johns Hopkins University and the Hospital and a liberal contributor to the Y.M.C.A., the Maryland Institute and the Association for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor. He leaves a fortune at his death of \$15,000,000.

**John Hopkins (1795-1873)**  
This is the original benefactor of Johns Hopkins University and Hospital to which he gives \$7,000,000's worth of B. & O. stock. He is a Quaker, a bachelor, a Marylander and a big merchant.

### Garrett and Hopkins

These two philanthropists capture the B. & O. after the panic of 1857. The road has not been doing well. Heavy expenditures on improvements. Looting. Garrett and Hopkins turn deficits into surpluses. The road is extended to Pittsburg, then two main forks are constructed, one to Chicago, the other to St. Louis. Ten per cent dividends are paid. Jubilation. The Civil War interposes. B. & O. tracks are torn up by both armies. The ten per cent dividend falls not. A miracle.

### Interlude the Second

Around 1860, The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal flows placidly on disturbing the business of the B. & O. Garrett and Hopkins buy up the Maryland legislature, stuff ballot boxes, bribe voters. Why? The canal belongs to the state. In a short while the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal ceases to be a competitor.

### Throats That Are Cut

The B. & O. has been reaching New York by way of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In 1874 the Pennsylvania puts a stop to this arrangement. How force its hand? Garrett cuts rates to the West. The Pennsylvania cuts deeper. Other roads begin to slash left and right. Cut-throat competition. The price of a ticket, first class, from Chicago to New York goes down to twelve dollars.

### 1887

Blood! The B. & O. cut the wages of its employees. Terrific rebellion. The strike spreads to other lines. The company sets fire to useless property. The troops arrive. Blood!

### The Getaway to New York

The elder Garrett dies in 1844. His son, Robert succeeds him. Robert tries to make the B. & O. reach New York via Philadelphia. He does despite the Pennsylvania's opposition. The control of the Schuylkill East Side Railway entering Philadelphia is bought. Agreement with the Philadelphia and Reading and the Jersey Central give trackage rights to Jersey City. The purchase of the Staten Island Rapid Transit Company gives the B. & O. terminals in New York City.

### Interlude the Third

Robert Garrett drunk, celebrating on the eve of his purchasing the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Balti-

more Railroad. The champagne makes him talk and he reveals his plans. The Pennsylvania Railroad is informed and buys up the P. W. & B. before Robert gets his wits together.

### The Collapse

1888. B. & O. dividends suddenly cease. One of the best paying roads in the country becomes one of the worst. Loud clamoring and an investigation follow. The Garretts and Hopkins are revealed for what they are—unscrupulous manipulators. The B. & O. paid ten per cent dividends but never earned a cent. Money was borrowed at generous rates of interest to keep up appearance. The insiders profited in their own way. Deficits were put down as surpluses. In 1896 comes bankruptcy and for two years the receivers labor to put the road on its feet. The stockholders contribute new cash, outsiders buy new securities. At last the task is done.

### Interchangeable Shares

The twentieth century. The Pennsylvania Railroad is buying up controlling interests in soft coal roads. It dominates the Chesapeake and Ohio, the Norfolk and Western and other properties. Finally, it clutches the B. & O.

"Community of interest," they call it. E. H. Harriman of the Union Pacific is performing the same kind of stunts in the southwest. He buys into the Southern Pacific. Neither has the B. & O. missed its opportunity. It has purchased a dominating interest in the Reading, which in turn controlled the Jersey Central and thus obtained a passageway across New Jersey.

Then come the complaints of the populace. The politicians frown. The government whines. "Community interest" does not appeal to the popular imagination. The roads begin to divest themselves of their shares in competing railroads. The Pennsylvania exchanges its B. & O. stocks for the Southern Pacific shares of the Union Pacific Railroad. The B. & O. divides its control of the Reading with the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad, which is controlled by the New York Central. The rabble is satisfied.

### Interlude the Last

Fresh busses ply between Jersey City and sub-stations in various parts of Manhattan. The Pennsylvania Railroad has had to keep the B. & O. out of its New York terminal. The B. & O. has improvised a special service for its passengers. All is well.

### Epilogue

1910. Daniel Willard becomes president of the B. & O. He is not a financier but he is a railroad man. The road prospers. The Union Pacific distributes to its individual shareholders the B. & O. stock it owns. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad becomes independent of outside influences. The Magnolia cut-out relieves the pressure of traffic to and from the West. More soft-coal roads are bought in West Virginia. The 1922 shopmen's strike, Willard leads in making a separate agreement with the unions. 1923. The B. & O. plan of union-management cooperation is instituted. B. & O. stock goes up. Johns Hopkins University expands.

## J. Ryckman, Cal. Radical, Passes Away

**Los Angeles Attorney Had Long Record of Service to Socialism and Liberalism**

**By Agnes H. Downing**  
(Special Correspondent of The New Leader)

LOS ANGELES.—With the passing of James Harvey Ryckman of Los Angeles one of the stalwart figures in national radicalism is gone—a man much beloved for the generous spirit in which he served the cause of human betterment.

Mr. Ryckman came to Los Angeles about 1909, after successful experience in legal practice in Wyoming and Salt Lake City. He became a law partner to John Harriman and soon thereafter a Socialist, a worker for woman-suffrage and a speaker and leader in the great municipal campaign for Socialism in 1911. He was on the defense staff of the McNamara's. Later he was well known for his work in the I. W. W. cases. Those who were making sacrifices against social exploitation were sacred to him. Usually without recompense, and always with distinct loss to himself from the commercial side, he defended the industrial workers through all the persecutions and persecutions of the criminal syndicalist cases.

Mr. Ryckman was a sustainer of practically all radical, Socialist and liberal organizations and publications in the country. He had active part in the Civil Liberties Union and was one of the editors of the Open Forum. In the great crisis of the war that tried men's integrity he stood firm and fearless. He took long chances and it is only chance that he did not have a cell with Debs.

During the flare between modernism and fundamentalism he spoke and debated. He went to Dayton to be present at the Scopes trial—to give aid and comfort to his side. Mr. Ryckman's mind dwelt in the higher reaches and open spaces of thought. Finding a fine passage in his reading he carried the book, and was often seen reading the gem to groups of friends. He sought to make women intellectual equals and to this end helped, and was a constant sustainer of the Woman's Shelley Club. He aided Irish independence, and stood for recognition of the Irish Republic.

His death was in keeping with his life. There was a celebration of the birthday of Henry George by the Free-land Club. Mr. Ryckman gave his rich contribution of thought to the evening's program. Human release, he said, could be had through peaceful means and free land was not enough. We also need public ownership of all things monopolistic in their nature. He received the applause of his friends who loved him. He listened to another short speech or two and then he was gone. He never knew the tragedy of the weak, or the sorrow of the parting. In the full strength of a noble life, with his last words a fine declaration, he went forth.

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# A Veteran States the Case Against the American Legion

By Henry Flury

LONG overdue is the apology for the American Legion by one who is too modest to sign his real name, but who claims to be a friend of the Liberals as well as of the Legionnaires. But even so, the great American public is more impressed by deeds than by words, and the consistent record of the Legion has brought and is bringing it into disrepute with intelligent and forward-looking people. True enough, the basis of organization of the Legion is such that the local Posts are practically independent, shaping their own policies and actions to suit their own fancy, but there is a bond of unity in the co-operation between State and National conventions.

Having friends in the American Legion as well as in the Socialist, Republican, Labor, and Democratic Parties, I too, like Sylvanus Cook, can claim perspective. A close contact with the Labor movement also puts me in a position to approximate, perhaps a little more nicely than he, the sentiments of Progressive Americans.

No one expects to find absolute uniformity of opinion in the ranks of any organization, but there are certain limits of variation beyond which differences of opinion cannot reasonably go and the organization still retain a unified and consistent character. If the extremes of opinion vary from exhibitions of absolute selfishness to absolute altruism, I should say that these counter influences, this "tug-of-war," would tend that organization and eliminate its raison d'être. Perhaps that is just what is the matter with the American Legion, perhaps it lacks a reason for its existence. War, like politics, makes strange bedfellows. To quote our friend Sylvanus Cook, the real American Legion "is an organization of three-quarters of a million men who had some place in the military forces of the United States during the World War. It is made up of every creed, political and religious, of every type of character and mentality, from every social and occupational plane. It is a cross-section of America. In some communities it has been captured by hoodlums and irresponsibles and in those communities it rightfully holds an unsavory reputation. In other communities it enrolls the best of the citizenry. The Legion is not unaware of its rotten spots. It should cut them out."

The main objection to the Legion is that it seems to have no clearly defined purpose and muddles around at cross-purposes, permitting itself to fall a prey to designing and selfish partisan commercial interests. Too often the local Posts and even the National body is used as a cat's paw to pull the chestnuts of some particular individual's or organization's interest out of the fire. Of this we have ample proof.

We are all familiar, I take it, with the efforts to outlaw the use of poisonous gas and deadly bacteria, the matter of the ratification of the Protocol by the United States having come up in the United States Senate at the past Session. General Pershing has more than once expressed his conviction that the use of poisonous gases and bacteria was inhumane and has recommended the ratification of the Protocol. The American Legion, however, permitted itself to become the unwitting tool of the Chemical Trust.

John Thomas Taylor, legislative agent of the American Legion in Washington, acting as the treasurer of an organization of chemical manufacturers, led the publicity against the treaty to prohibit the use of poison gas in warfare. Representative Burton of Ohio brought charges against him and suggested an inquiry into his activities. On January 21, 1927, Representative Hamilton Fish made a clean exposure of this lobbying. He charged it was Taylor who forced the Legion resolution against the treaty to pass in the 1926 Convention. These records are available in the Congressional Record and printed speeches of Representative Burton.

## The Record of Violence

To show that the Lucia Ames Mead, Jane Addams, and Westchester Normal School outrages are not the only ones the Legion has sponsored, we may take the record of those cases which happened to meet the light of publicity. Particularly reprehensible was the "Investigation" of Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, last September, by Legion officials.

## The Lawless Legion

The American Civil Liberties Union lists fifty acts of violence by members of the American Legion acting as such up to the close of 1920. The storm of ad-

verse criticism from the public and from the more level-headed members of the Legion itself caused a let up in this heresy hunt, but enough occurred to show that the Legion was still far from normal.

At Great Bend, Kansas, March 21, 1921, where a Farmer's Non-Partisan League meeting was scheduled, four speakers on the way to it were beaten up, and two of them tarred and feathered. The men who were beaten up and tarred were J. O. Stevie, editor of the Non-Partisan Leader, Carl O. Parsons, a veteran of the World War, Ex-Senator Burton, of Kansas, and George Wilson, of Oklahoma, were forced to get out of the county.

A Lenin memorial meeting conducted by the Workers Party was broken up in Wilkes-Barre in March, 1924, at the point of rifles, by a crowd of Legion men who marched from their hall for that purpose. The Legion also showed great activity in stopping Socialist meetings addressed by Eugene V. Debs, concerts by Fritz Kreisler, and exhibitions of films showing conditions in Russia. An official Legion journal in Sioux City made libelous attacks on the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Quite a lot of other discreditable and un-American acts are piled up in the Legion's past and recent record. In many cases they are instigated by alleged super-patriotic groups financed, no doubt, by those who profit financially from the steel trust, the munitions manufacturers, the chemical trust and others whose sympathy and actions are violently against the ideals of organized labor and political freedom.

## "Like the Fascist Did"

However, the real purpose, if there be any unanimity of purpose in the Legion, seems to be illustrated in the statement of the then National Commander Owsen, in 1923, in an interview with the Newspaper Enterprise Association, published extensively. He then said:

"If ever needed, the American Legion stands ready to protect our country's institutions and ideals as the Fascist dealt with the destructionists who menaced Italy."

"By taking over the government?" he was asked.

"Exactly that," he replied. "The

American Legion is fighting every element that threatens our democratic government—socialists, anarchists, I. W. W., revolutionary socialists and every other 'red'. Do not forget that the Fascist are in Italy what the American Legion is to the United States."

This statement was never repudiated by him or by other Legion officials and stands today unchallenged, as the Legion's purpose.

When I donned the U. S. Army uniform in the dark days of war, not waiting to be drafted, I did not do it for the glory of war or to exalt militarism. I was deceived by the Creel propaganda and Wilson's fair words that "this was to be a war to end war, a war to wipe out militarism." Millions of others responded similarly to the noble purpose to make an end to civilization's greatest curse. These millions are still interested in democracy and mean to have it, politically and economically. They were good fighters in war and they still re-

tain their valor in civil life. I certainly would not don the uniform to take part in a war to bully Mexico, Nicaragua, or any of the other little republics south of the Rio Grande for the sake of the oil or other commercial interests.

## Patriotism—Legion Brand

The American Legion prides itself on its patriotism, but many of the local and even state and national leaders seem to have a peculiar and distorted notion of patriotism. They seem to have read into that word purely a militaristic intinity. That one could work for the welfare of his country by striving to abolish war, by trying to reduce the burden of armaments, by establishing the square deal for labor, by furthering the American principles of absolute free speech and free assembly, in other words, by striving for constructive social progress, does not seem to exist in the consciousness of patriotism that most Legion leaders have. It is only in free discussion that Democracy and Americanism can live. The scientist bending

over his test-tube searching out some deadly germ that harasses humanity, the scientist announcing his facts of evolution, the political and economic liberal suggesting a better social order are no less patriotic than the man in uniform with a loaded rifle.

The Legionnaire must not over-estimate the part he played in the War. For every soldier in the field there were six men (or women) at home toiling to keep him fed, clothed, and supplied with weapons and munitions. He must remember that the military forces must be subordinate to the civil forces. There is today too much of the heaven of military officers on active duty, too much of political lobbying in the interests of plutocracy rather than democracy in Legion activities. The six men or women at home who foot the bills certainly should have something to say about the military policies of the nation that is their own no less than the Legionnaire's.

## A Purpose Needed

Justification of the Legion's existence

clearly does not lie in the establishment of "fire departments, ambulance units, hospitals, public libraries, playgrounds, aviation fields, municipal concerts, art exhibitions and harvest festivals." These things can best be left to the Women's Clubs and to the legitimate civic authorities. The American Legion must have some unified, noble, big, forward-looking purpose that is worth the tremendous cost in blood and suffering of the War, something truly and untaintedly democratic not plutocratic, if it is to justify its existence.

Fascism does not appeal to the American temperament. Something more idealistic than the establishment of playgrounds or a monopoly on the sale of poppies is needed to stir the imagination of the great majority of war veterans who are still outside the fold of the Legion and who look with revulsion upon the great jamboree in Paris. Furthermore, unless the Legion gets busy and has a thorough house cleaning of its parasitic officials and changes its tactics, it will be necessary to have it abolished as a common public nuisance.

# Socialism and Austrian Democracy

## The Nine Years Struggle Against Reaction

By Ferenc Gondor

RECENT revolutionary outbreaks in Vienna ought to be followed with keen interest by all those who sympathize with the finest, the most courageous and purest of all democracies whose life-struggle against the efforts of reactionary militarism has reached a fatal stage with the July riots in the Capital of Austria. In America people know very little or nothing of what has been going on and what is actually going on in Austria. From reports in the capitalist Press one could surmise that the Austrian Socialists are carrying on a barbarous and perfidious fight against Chancellor Seipel, the devout Primate and fatherly Priest. One cannot shout it to the world loud enough, that this is a lie. Those who are among the destructors are the people who side with the Chancellor, his very creatures, and those who are building and who are the worthy representatives of the incomparable Viennese culture, are the Socialist labor leaders.

It is almost nine years since the leaders of Austrian Social Democracy hold the fate of the small country in their hands. Since the bloodless revolution Vienna had been the only oasis, the exclusively defended and flourishing spot on the Continent that bears the name: Europe. Among the vari-colored terrors, bloody reaction, and adventurous, terrorist dictatorship Austria stood isolated as a calm island in midst of a thunderous sea, a proud castle among the clouds housing democracy as we understand it in the West. The Austro-Hungarian Empire having collapsed, the Hapsburg domination and its dark memories having been disposed of, little Austria, defeated and impoverished, emerged from the war crippled and barren, and everybody predicted its early demise as a nation. All over the world people expected to see it sink into the inevitable anarchy that they very soon found that Austria emerged from its difficulties through the consolidation of its incomparable laborers, their European democracy. The best and the most learned among the members of the Second Internationale are among the leaders of the Austrian Social-Democracy who have guarded carefully the crippled Austria and who have led their flock on the tried and true paths of democracy from the very beginning and never allowed them to swerve from the road.

Austrian democracy stood its first test the time when the Proletarian Dictatorship was established in Hungary and when the Russian and Hungarian Bolsheviks undermined Austria too with money and made every effort to drag them also into the catastrophe in which Hungarian labor bled to death. It will remain an everlasting credit against the name of the Austrian leaders and history will always credit them with it in the highest degree, that at the time of the great temptation they stood firm and defended their democracy with firm hands against the attacks of the Bolsheviks from Hungary and refused to permit the crucifixion of Austria labor. If at that time not an Otto Bauer, Fritz Adler or a man like Karl Renner had been at the head of the labor movement in Austria, or if the leaders would have lost their balance just for a fleeting moment, Austria, too, would have swooned into the precipices of Bolshevism and the Austrian workers would have been crushed and decimated the way Hungarian labor had been annihilated almost beyond recognition. In that case the Austrian Parliament would not house now a majority composed of labor and Vienna would not be now under Socialist government, but the Hapsburg lackeys and militarists and royalist terrorists would hold the reins of government, with their feet on the neck of labor and most likely bloody-handed Governor at the head of all. Luckily at that time a man like Otto Bauer was at the head of the Austrian labor movement, the most outstanding figure among the scientists of Europe in the sphere of social sciences and who, next to Karl Kautsky, is perhaps the most well armed opponent of Bolshevik madness—who during the Monarchical regime—was the most courageous and most vehement enemy of reactionary lordism. In scientific books, in the Press, in soap-box meetings did he fight his relentless war against white and red reaction and carried the struggle into every nook and corner of the country for twenty-five years without a stop, until he became Foreign Secretary of Austria where he proved to be one of the greatest diplomats who ever sat in the velvet chair of

Austria's Cabinet. Even in these recent riots—according to reports—he had been wounded by a stray bullet, a most untoward thing, for he would be in the thickest of the fight where democracy is fighting its battles.

At the time of the Austrian revolution too, he had been seriously wounded. The leaders of Austrian labor have always fought their battles on the streets as well side by side with the workers.

## The Two Adlers

For several decades the great Victor Adler's great son, Friedrich Adler was one of the leaders of Austrian democracy, having inherited his father's noble convictions as well as his courage and ability. Who would not recall that during the most terrific days of the war, it was he, who protested against the wholesale butchery—unfortunately by another murderer—when he sent a bullet to the heart of Count Sturgh, the Austrian Premier in order to express the distress of the people and their determination to put an end to the senseless butchery of nations. It was a deed of desperation by a highly sensitive and nerve-wracked soul. Alas, Fritz Adler's act could not put an end to the greatest criminal deed ever perpetrated, but his self-sacrifice, (he was certain in his mind that he would hang him for his deed) his behaviour in prison and the way he stood in the dock and accepted consequences of his act; the way he explained that he intended to free bleeding humanity from its slavery; it certainly was one of the most heroic chapters of the years of terror and of which history will have an interesting paragraph to record. The tiny agents of Bolshevism were making every effort to prove this man to be the traitor among the leaders of democracy, though he is one among the many, who have been guarding labor in Austria for many years from straying into dangerous paths.

We know that there is a Christian-Socialist majority in Austria and that the very able Chancellor Seipel, depending upon these and a few Great-Germany Party representatives, manages to rule over Austria. There is, of course, a great Socialist opposition, the strength of which hinders Seipel in carrying out some of his Fascist ideas. Vienna itself is being controlled by Socialists and the Aldermen are Social-Democratic by a great majority. None need think that the Socialist regime within the City has any "terroristic color" or leaning in the least. Nothing of the kind. It is mean however, that the city of Vienna today is the most well-cared-for, the cleanest, the healthiest and the most beautiful city in the world, its social institutions are unique in every way, the highest type of individual and collective freedom exists, the most developed educational policy is in existence, the most humane hospital treatment is being administered to all who need it, its hospitals are equipped as well as science and money can equip them; the rents are low and the slums condemned.

## The Socialist Regime

The Socialist regime means also immaculately clean streets, unemployment doles, workers insurance and compensation laws of the highest type, children's welfare laws and organizations, in short ideal conditions under the heavy hand-capped and burden of poverty. It also means the protection of tenants against the greed of landlords and it means peaceful and unharassed life, security of life and property and which has restored Vienna into the most happy, pleasant place to live in, a place where people of all political opinion, exiles of all shades may find an asylum against persecution. In the cafes, one can see people exiled by the most vari-colored terrorist Governments sitting side by side under the protecting wings of the Viennese democracy and under the protection of the understanding, loyal and hospitable inhabitants of this lovely city. The world does not seem to know what it would lose if Vienna in its present form and make-up would be lost to it. We, Hungarians exiles, know exactly what the world would lose with the present day Vienna, for it gave us shelter too, and it drew us too, upon its generous and broad bosom. No wonder we are particularly concerned in its fate and welfare. But we also know who are the men at the head of the city and its Government and we are not terrified when they are attacked, for we know that the people of

Vienna led by such men as they are being led by, will never fall in following the path laid out to them by shrewd and intelligent policy. Certain it is, that among the evil spirits we may find the ex-officers of the Imperial regime, the so called "Frontkämpfers" and the "Hackenkreuzler" youth on their heels while on the other side, we may find the Communists trying to fish in troubled waters. These latter have no significance, no power whatever in Austria, their place is so weak that they could not place a single member in Parliament or the City Council of Vienna. One can even understand the attitude of labor when we take into account, that for years past the old-time class-judiciary acquit every Fascist or reactionary murderer. These Courts have been left over from the Imperial Regime yet and they are still exhibiting the same prejudice against everything new and Republican as they have in the times of the Kaisers.

## Labor Loses Patience

It is quite natural that labor should have lost patience with the most recent of acquittals and their despair over it should have burst into flame. It must have been aggravated still more by the brutality of the Police Director, a remnant of the Hapsburg lackeys and a notorious royalist, who never misses an occasion to show his hatred for the laboring classes. Neither would any surprise be occasioned at Seipel's calling in of his two confederates, Bethlen and Mussolini, for his ideal would be after all the establishment in Austria too, of the Fascist terror prevalent in the two neighboring states and any emergency would be a fit occasion for the purpose. It would also suit the purpose of the numberless Militarist Generals, aristocrats and what-nots, who feel out of place in the Austrian democratic atmosphere, where there is no need for their services. Besides, the danger of an annexation by Germany is constantly being flaunted before their eyes and if that should come about, the two democracies would certainly put an end to the hopes of the militarist cliques in Austria. Neither would anyone be surprised to hear that Bethlen and Mussolini were ready to offer aid to Austria in case of a crisis of this sort, and would just "march in" to put things in order. Austrian pure democracy is not too sympathetic as it is to these two dictators and their "putting things in order" would mean nothing less than the drowning of democracy in blood. Somogyi's and Matteotti's murderers would certainly be the proper people to set things right in a Socialist Republic where there exists the greatest individual liberty, where property is safe and

secure and where people have some respect for the life of the other fellow.

It cannot be emphasized strongly enough, that the high stories about red-terror in Austria belong to the realm of dreams. No private property has ever been confiscated in Austria. All that did happen was, that Bethlen, the genial finance Minister of the City of Vienna taxed the war profiteers until it hurt and taxed the articles of luxury in order to help the social institutions and it was due to this policy that Vienna remained the beautiful and unsurpassed city even in its dire poverty that it is today.

## Scabs Used As Floaters

(Continued from Page 1)

coal and iron policeman stopped me and asked what my business was. I showed him my credentials and told him what I was going to do. He directed me to the office and told me to see the mine superintendent. I followed directions. The superintendent said: "I cannot let you go by yourself; we cannot trust you fellows. I will have to send a policeman with you."

"I told him to send two policemen if he wished, and if that was not enough he could send a whole squad with me, providing they did not interfere with my work—that I did not care whether he trusted me or not."

This experience was the beginning of a series of actions by agents of the corporation to prevent Marlier from performing his official duties. Despite all attempts to get an honest registration of voters the company succeeded in illegally registering many of its strikebreakers for voting in the primaries on September 20 and in the election next November. No less than 47 employees were registered to vote in two precincts and these were added to the registry lists in the county commissioners' office after a complete legal return had been made on July 1.

Moreover, the corporation had prepared to meddle in the election of every township and county office from that of dog-catcher to commissioner. Marlier declares that "he found that a list of the names of almost every man working for the Pittsburgh Coal Company had been typewritten and given to the county commissioners for assessments."

Of course, political freedom is a farce under such conditions. Only the organization of the working class of this state into a political party of their own can break the power of these masters of capital who attempt to dictate every phase of life in Pennsylvania.

# Backwash of the Flood

By James Oneal

NOT since the years when capitalism was a victor over the slave oligarchy has there been such an exhibition of its character as in recent months. A whole region in the Mississippi Valley has been prostrate for months. The flood waters of the upper valley swept in increasing volume down the valley. Below the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers a very large area embracing important regions of five states has been ruined. It is the greatest calamity that has ever come to the people of this region which also includes the richest soil in the South, the delta of the lower Mississippi.

All the resources of the Red Cross were employed in relieving distress but much more is needed than aims to avert a continuing disaster. The flood waters not only made people homeless. The civilization of this section has been all but destroyed. So thorough has been the destruction that it constitutes a national emergency. It is not a problem for private agencies. It is a collective problem requiring best engineering skill to restore cities, towns, villages and the countryside.

Every phase of production, distribution and transportation is affected. The economic life of a region is a matter of a long period of development. When a physical disaster overwhelms it such as the recent flood a comprehensive program of rehabilitation is required which will take into account the problems of drainage, removal of debris, building of roads, providing machinery and farm equipment, restoring towns and villages, provision for livestock and seeds and so on.

Thus far two agencies have been em-

## Winter Finds the Sufferers of The Deluge at Its Mercy

ployed, the Red Cross to relieve distress and financial institutions which are expected to extend credit to stricken farmers and to be lenient in collecting on mortgages. No comprehensive plan for the restoration of the region and planning for the future has been made and the Federal Government has done nothing to formulate such a program. Months have passed away, winter is approaching, Hoover is paying his second visit to the flooded region, and the situation drifts to a catastrophe.

Far from even approaching the problems of engineering and general rehabilitation, President Coolidge has returned from a pleasant vacation and says nothing. While the flood was rising he heard a call of distress not from the Mississippi Valley but from Pittsburgh. The iron magnates of this city appealed for aid and the heart of the President was touched. He immediately jacked up the tariff on pig iron and brought joy to the Pittsburgh millionaires. Thus the "spiritual ideal" of which he boasts found expression.

Meantime there are no less than 100,000 laboring people, farm hands and tenant farmers in the Mississippi delta alone, according to a Times correspondent, who have lost everything they had. They have no pig iron through which Coolidge can express his interest in them. They have only the rags on their backs and a willingness to begin life over if they are given opportunity but the Federal Government is paralyzed.

And what of the financiers? The correspondent declares that they "will meet

the situation in an understanding and humane way." What a commentary on capitalist civilization! A vast problem involving a maze of complicated factors will be met by private bankers whose function is to loan and collect. Assume that they do all that could be expected on this score, which is assuming more than experience in the past few months warrants. What of the correlation of the skill of technicians, engineers, agricultural experts, physicians and others that is required to restore the region before winter sets in? Nothing.

We turn to Hoover for enlightenment. "I am certain a way out will be found," he is quoted as saying by the Times. "It is a question of cooperation by all concerned, one of deep sympathy for the sufferers, and the problem must be solved. I am not ready to say what the final remedy will be, . . . but the remedy, I am sure, will be forthcoming."

Hoover has observed the problem for months and winter is approaching and he is not ready to say what the remedy will be. When will he be able to say it? How much longer will it take to say what must be done and how many people will be living in the stricken region when he decides what must be done.

Already thousands of poor workers have fled from the Mississippi delta. No doubt they have decided to take no chances with Hoover's solemn deliberations and promise that some time a remedy will be found. They have fled to the large cities of the North in the hope of beginning life anew. Others are unable to leave. They have families. Some are unable to raise the funds to transport them out of this Egypt. They wait and hope, hope and wait, while Hoover looks wise and Cal watches anxiously over the welfare of his pig iron cronies of Pittsburgh.

This whole situation is little short of a national disgrace. It is all the more revolting when we consider that the lives and well-being of hundreds of thousands of human beings are at stake. The physical resources of the region are important enough as a problem of reclamation. Even these might well be neglected if the people of the region were guarded against a bleak future. But the two go together. They are inseparable. They present a problem too complicated for a number of private agencies to deal with.

If we had a government representative of human needs this disaster would have been responded to quickly by the Federal Government. A comprehensive program would now be unfolding in rapid reconstruction and rehabilitation of the Mississippi Valley, bringing hope, security, and happiness to hundreds of thousands of distressed families. Instead of this, apprehension broods over the region. Hoover cackles about a "remedy" that he may be found some time, thousands desert the valley, and Coolidge enjoys his breakfasts with the old rellish.

The dull agents of the two-party system of capitalism know nothing and care nothing for the laboring class that feeds, houses and clothes them. A heavy Socialist vote would be a blow between the eyes of those who either indulge in drive or do nothing in the face of such a calamity.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## INTRODUCING MR. BOOBY

BOYS and girls meet Mr. Booby. He is sitting in his nice, soft arm-chair in the window of the Union League Club looking happily out on Fifth Avenue and all the pretty ladies who are walking there. Mr. Booby is a very happy old gent because he has read in the paper about the injunction that a good, kind judge has handed out against the naughty, naughty labor unions. He is thinking of sending flowers to the good judge because the defender of the faith has said that the unions have to use scab stone whether they like it or not. This is Mr. Booby's idea of a fine decision. If the judge had only gone on and put the unions out of business for good and all, Mr. Booby would have been still happier.

Mr. Booby will be sixty-five years old very shortly and he has spent most of his life either being happy about anti-labor decisions or indignant because there are not enough of them. When he leaves the club he will drive up to his country home in Larchmont which is called "The Hatch" and there he will have a high time explaining to Mrs. Booby all about the wickedness of labor unions and how he "business builders" must stick together for the salvation of the Republic. This will be by way of rehearsal for a speech Mr. Booby is going to deliver to the Larchmont Chamber of Commerce. It will be about "The Reds in America". Mr. Booby knows all about the Reds because he used to subscribe to Freddy Marvin's secret service in which he read a lot concerning the subversive forces that are undermining this glorious nation.

Mr. Booby gets very red himself when he thinks about the goings on of the Anarchist-Socialist-Communist outfit. But it is only red in the face. If he had his way he would burn the whole bunch in hot oil. When he hollers this to Mrs. Booby she only nods her head in a resigned manner. For she has heard this before and somehow she can't go on getting mad at the Reds all the time. Mr. Booby has told her that they are all atheists who are trying to break up family life, and nationalize women and all. And between you and me, in her heart of hearts Mrs. Booby feels that it would be most exciting to meet a real Red some day. She has the sneaking idea that perhaps family life isn't such a hot institution after all. This comes over her in great waves when she watches Mr. Booby, without his collar, doing his stuff. There is something about Mr. Booby without his collar that is not conducive to romance or the "dear delights of matrimony."

But to get back to Mr. Booby in his chair there in the club window. Mr. Booby is happy but a bit tired. He has played hard all day. He doesn't call it play. Mr. Booby is suffering under the impression that he has been doing "constructive work". He has sat across a desk from an underpaid, hard-driven woman, whom he calls his secretary but who really runs the place, and said a great many ungrammatical and ridiculous things to her which she has put down on paper and which later she will have to struggle with to make any sense out of the scribble. This has so exhausted Mr. Booby that he has had to go out to lunch quite early. He has eaten a clam chowder, a large English mutton chop and a huge slab of apple pie. While he was putting this away he has had a good satisfactory talk with his boy friend Mr. Noodle who is a member of the National Security League and thinks exactly like Mr. Booby on all matters of the day. They have just read a corking editorial in The Herald-Tribune which tells why we shouldn't recognize Russia. Mr. Booby thinks it is one of the best things he has ever read on the subject and Mr. Noodle says that he contemplates making a pamphlet out of it and distributing it all over the United States through the medium of the National Security League. When Mr. Booby hears about this he claps his hands in glee. "Goody," cries Mr. Booby, "a capital idea."

Mr. Booby wants to be sure that Ivy Lee gets a copy because he is getting a little worried about Ivy. A good, sound man and all that, is Ivy, a fine spokesman for big business, but how wrong he's gone on this Russian matter! Why he actually came out the other day and said that we should recognize a bunch of bomb-throwing bums like those Bolsheviks.

After lunch Mr. Booby skipped back to the office because he just thought of some more work for his secretary to do. He gave her enough work to keep her tied up until long after five-thirty so she would be sure to miss the train for Bayonne that would get her home in time for dinner. And then Mr. Booby took a taxi up to the club so that he would be on time to see the afternoon shoppers whose stockings are not hard to look upon.

In the club Mr. Booby met some of his playmates, who too were all worn out with business cares. They had a swell time playing "Boo". One of the players makes out that he is a "Dangerous Red". He hides beneath the club sofa and when a member who is not in on the game comes by, he pops out and shouts "Boo". This serves to throw the victim into paroxysms of fright and creates hilarious laughter on the part of those who know the game. They let Mr. Booby be the "Boo Man" for quite awhile and he had more fun!

Then Mr. Cadwalader-Cadwalader came in. Mr. C-C has just written a book, called "Our Constitution, the Most Glorious Document in History." In this book he shows how flat we would all have been if we had had no Constitution. He tells how the makers of the Constitution came to the rescue of the harassed property-holders of the time and drew up this gorgeous thing.

Mr. C-C had a little black bag with him and when he saw Mr. Booby he winked mysteriously and beckoned to Mr. Booby to come out to the wash-room with him. There the two old boys worked havoc with the contents of that bag, which turned out to be the best Scotch that Mr. C-C's bootlegger could devise. "Yes, sir," said Mr. C-C after the third shot, "respect for our Constitution is one of the most precious assets we have." Mr. Booby nodded solemnly at this. "Too many goddam agitators goin' around," said he, "raising hell with our American traditions." "You're damned right," said Mr. C-C, "why only the other day who should come into our plant but some walking delegate from the union who said the men wanted a raise. We sure did give him the bum's rush. We told him we had a union of our own. Got it up on purpose to keep out bums like you. Everybody around the shop belongs to this union of ours. We have a band and on the Fourth of July all the members come by truck up to my place where I read 'em out loud The Declaration of Independence and a chapter from my book. And by golly you ought to hear those boys cheer when I come to the part about keeping out agitators and Bolsheviks! What do you boys want of any more money? If they had it, it would just make loafers out of them. More likely than not, they would squander it in strong drink and we don't stand for drinking men around this place, no siree. As much as a hint of liquor on a man's breath and out he goes before you can say, 'Jack Robinson'. That's my rule and a damn good one, if you ask me."

"You're damned right," said Mr. Booby while putting in his fifth shot and nodding very heavily as Mr. C-C talked on. "I'm going to make a speech to the Chamber of Commerce next week and what I'm going to say will be a plenty. We must awaken to the dangers that confront us. We responsible business men must not stand this sort of foreign dictation that is everywhere raising its ugly head. I agree with that Congressman, that chap up in Massachusetts who says that he would give life imprisonment to anyone showing a red flag and who'd deport all these agitators without trial. Trials are much too good for them," said Mr. Booby who at that moment slipped and fell head first into one of the wash-basins. Mr. C-C and a

## Scanning The New Books

### Making Labor Safe For Capital

By Henry Miller

MANY persons are beginning to have their doubts about the class consciousness of American labor. But that there has certainly been no loss of class consciousness by American employers is ably revealed by Robert W. Dunn's book "The Americanization of Labor". Introduction by Scott Nearing. (International Publishers \$1.90). Here we have a short, readable account, carefully documented, of the systematic and aggressive efforts of capital to keep labor content and powerless.

During a period in which trade unions have been torn by dissension, employers have created huge vertical trusts, amassed large surpluses, consolidated their associations, and perfected their labor technique. The dogmatic, hard-boiled capitalist like "divine-right" Baer of Pennsylvania, who declared his coal mines had been given to him by God, no longer usurps the stage. His place has been taken by the publicity representative, i.e. public relations counsel, and the personnel director. To be sure there are still to be found the open shop associationist, i.e. "American Plan", the black list, the "yellow dog" contract, the labor spies, and on each of these the reader will find an interesting chapter. But even where the employer's scheme is of an unsavory nature, it is performed by organizations like "Sherman Corporation, Engineers" (formerly Sherman Detective Agency). Incidentally this concern boasts of having done a business of twenty-five million dollars in the last few years.

The center of interest, however, is held by company unions, insurance schemes, stock-ownership projects, and the manifold activities conveniently noted as "welfare". There are 1,400,000 workers in company unions. Group insurance has made great headway; close to 5,000,000 workers have been insured under cheap rates made available by employers. Four million workers are enrolled under dubious industrial pension systems, and a half million under health insurance plans. Then there are the numerous lesser schemes; company magazines for the family, with pictures of the new baby; reprints of patriotic speeches; motion pictures during the noon hour to keep up the morale; athletic contests; lunches in "specially constructed rose gardens equipped with canaries in cages". It is too bad that the

author did not include company housing devices. This old and tried method of tying the worker to his job has long been found in steel towns like Gary and Homestead, mining communities and is widely prevalent in the new industrial cities of the South.

What employers expect to gain by these efforts we learn from a statement by Halsey Fiske, President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.: "If we can get into the minds of wage earners the idea that they own capital in the form of policies we shall have gone a long way toward teaching them the rights of property and the importance of corporations in which capital is invested."

But will it all work—company unions, pension schemes, welfare work and all the rest? The author does not answer the question although apparently, he be-

lieves it is working only too well at present. If we may hazard a guess, American labor is passing through a stage of benevolent autocracy, accidental or necessary, as you like. From a long time point of view, the very success of the benevolent autocracy in industry insures its downfall. Revolutionary changes are brought about not by classes that are completely degraded and miserable, but by those which have achieved some degree of enlightenment and comfort under the tutelage of their superiors. The present efforts of American capital can in the long run only serve to educate the workers and make them conscious of their own powers.

Meanwhile, labor should take the wind out of the sails of employers' insurance schemes by securing the enactment of a state system of social insurance. Social insurance is a political matter and to be politically effective labor needs a party of its own. But that is another story.

### Eugene Debs on the Prison System

By James Oneal

FEW men in the American labor movement have had a more tempestuous career than Eugene V. Debs and it is certain that not since the appearance of Ferdinand Lassalle has a more magnetic personality impressed himself upon the movement in any country. Now that he is gone Debs is still an inspiration to Socialists and millions of people in and out of the labor movement. Steadfast in his views, with the moral courage that has led men to the gallows or the gallows with a smile, pouring out his life for his fellows without regard to his health, passionate in his aversion to injustice in all forms, loving children though childless and loved by them, by nature a poet and by choice the supreme agitator of his time, Eugene V. Debs traveled the thorny road that all lovers of humanity have trod since the first despot enslaved another man.

It is not surprising that the last literary effort of Debs is a book bearing the title "Walls and Bars." Walls and bars were symbols of the world in which he lived. Walls were erected and maintained to prevent the free flow of ideas. Bars caged those who were too insistent upon giving vent to these ideas. Debs faced these walls at every turn of his life and the bars closed around him three times. But neither walls nor bars could imprison Debs. Even death

cannot silence such a man. John Brown did not die on a Virginia scaffold. It was the Virginia of Governor Wise that met death on the gallows. John Brown lived. So does Eugene V. Debs. Brown reaped a harvest. The harvest of Debs will just as surely be gathered.

Into this book Debs has packed not only his experiences in three prisons, but also his philosophy of life, his views of barbaric prison regime, his contacts with prisoners, and reasons for his conviction that most of our crimes may be traced to economic causes. This economic indictment of crime has brought some vigorous dissent by reviewers of the book in conservative publications. They are quick in defense of the economic basis of society and while paying tribute to the character of Debs they resist the assertion that economic maladjustment may be responsible for much of our crime.

These criticisms recall a chapter in the first volume of Bruce's "Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century" where he contrasts the crimes and the criminal code of England with the crimes and criminal code of Virginia. The colony's code was harsh enough but not to be compared with the terrible English code which punished no less than 300 offenses with the death penalty. In proportion to the popula-

tion the crimes committed in England were also much more numerous than in Virginia. Why the difference? The population of both was overwhelmingly English. Bruce explains the contrast by the difference in economic conditions. The following passage is worth quoting:

"In Virginia . . . where the necessities of life were produced in overflowing abundance, where nearly every kind of domestic animal roamed like wild beasts in the forests, where two-thirds of the soil embraced in each plantation had not been denuded of the primeval woods—and where a vast expanse of wilderness lay on the frontier ready for the axe, plough, and hoe of the settler—in a community presenting such characteristics as these, the appropriation of the personal and even landed property of another man was not likely to be placed on the footing of a capital crime. Killing a hare in a country where only a few persons cared to post their estates; or driving off a cow or a pig, when the woods were overrun with hogs and wild cattle; or stealing food to eat or clothes to wear when the people were so ready to present either to whoever was in actual want; or trespassing on another's estate when the owner himself was not absolutely certain of his own boundaries.—none of these offenses, serious as some of them were, assumed in the Virginians' minds that extraordinary heinousness which they had long assumed in Englishmen's in consequence of the more intense conservatism of the Mother Country, its more aristocratic institutions, its greater concentration of wealth and population, and the sharper struggle for existence going on in its communities."

It is unnecessary to enlarge on this quotation. It fully sustains the views of Debs regarding most of our crimes and criminals.

No other writer has given such an intimate close-up view of modern prison life as Debs has in this book. Its grip on the reader is compelling and it is a pleasure to know that it is being widely read. Readers may obtain the cloth edition by sending \$1.50 to the Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago. A de luxe edition on special paper and beautifully bound may be obtained for \$10. As the holiday season is approaching it might be well for the reader to keep the de luxe edition in mind when sending gifts to friends. The book may also be obtained from the Rand School Book Store.

Nalbro Bartley writes the story of a girl suffering from too much respectability in "Morning Thunder," published by Doran. If the majority of the characters are unlovely, the subject matter at least is the essential thing. It is written with much simplicity and understanding and is a book which can safely be recommended as soothing to read at bedtime.

"The Exile," by Mary Johnston, is an ineffective and meaningless achievement. It is, however, not without a certain peaceful beauty of descriptive matter, but essentially it is just another sad instance of literary disintegration. If the book had been longer we undoubtedly should have emerged from between its covers babbling and drooling and entirely harmless.

Charles G. Norris can always be depended on for a workmanlike novel. In "Zelda Marsh," published by E. P. Dutton, he has written a book of incident which is devoid of personality. His characters are neither intimate nor real, but the things they do are both.

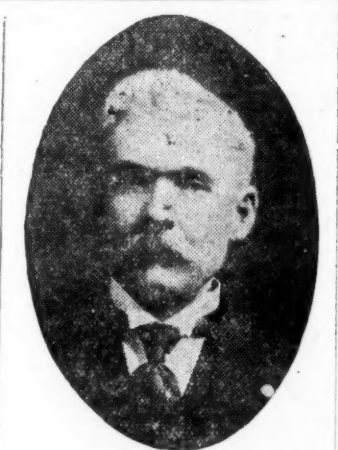
It is an interesting and smooth-running story of the first love of a small town actress; her rise to fame and her subsequent return to chaos. There are tender moments in the love story which are the only contributions of any beauty.

Why is it that in the richest nation in the world those who produce the wealth should alone be poor? What help can you expect from those who believe they can only be kept rich in proportion as you are kept poor?—Keir Hardie.

The Office Window

## "FRATERNALLY YOURS"

JOHN Keyes was eighty-one years old last week. He came over to The New Leader office from his home at 563 Hudson Avenue, West New York, to talk over old days in the labor movement with the editors and to philosophize a bit about the present situation in the Socialist world. A card member of the Party since its founding, Comrade Keyes is a walking history of the labor and liberal movement in America. He was one of the pioneers in organizing the seamen on the Great Lakes. He himself shipped before the mast and the low pay and hard conditions that the sailors had to put up with led him into the union as far back as 1866. Keyes was a wanderer in his youth and his journeys took him to the Territory that is now Wyoming where he went to work as a miner. There he did yeoman's work in organizing the first union among the Western miners. The nearest union offices in those days were in Pennsylvania where Keyes and his fellow organizers sent for a charter.



JOHN KEYES

Several attempts were made by the mine-owners to bribe Keyes to leave the district but he was true to his fellow-workers and when the strike was won, went back to work with the pick. His contempt for our latter-day "labor leaders" who forget their proletarian origins and get "high hat" when elected is deep and expansive. Long a member of the Carpenters and Joiners Union he has what he calls his "trade-mark," a missing thumb and forefinger on his left hand. Grimly enough he was at work on a job on the elder Morgan's yacht at Shooter's Island when the accident occurred.

Veterans like Keyes who still burn with enthusiasm for the movement, still support with all that is in them, the labor press, these give one hope and put to shame the sophistications of our "united" and oh Heavens how tiresome radicals. We take off our hat to Keyes and wish him many happy returns of his birthday. Would there were more of him.

Five hundred copies of The New Leader have been ordered for every week from now until election day by the Socialists of the Twenty-third Assembly District in Brooklyn, where Charles Solomon is our candidate. This is the sort of order that delights the heart of our circulation manager.

club attendant, (the one who can still walk) fished Mr. Booby out and got him to his chair by the window where we first met him.

There he sits breathing a bit heavily as his arteries slowly harden, the perfect portrait of the American business man for whose security and welfare good guys went out and got themselves shot in the Revolutionary War. All hail the happy, triumphant Mr. Booby, Lord and Master of us all.

McAlister Coleman

## American History for Workers

AN OUTLINE

By JAMES ONEAL

1. COLONIZATION
2. THE COLONIES
3. THE REVOLUTION
4. THE CONSTITUTION
5. THE NEW NATION
6. JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY
7. CONFLICTING CLASSES
8. THE CIVIL WAR
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The Facts of American Development Written Clearly and Concisely. Suggested Reading and Questions for Discussion With Each Chapter.

Begin it in THE NEW LEADER

Next Week

## ALL TO THE BAD

THE Fascist Grand Council has promulgated a new labor charter which declares for a living wage, six-day week, extra pay for night, one annual paid holiday, civil and religious holidays when deemed possible, indemnity for worker's family in case of death and assurance of a position in case of short illness. No so bad. But—

The charter forbids strikes, lockouts, boycotts and sabotage, all of which are considered rebellion against the state. Surely not so good. Makes us think of the old days when we were fighting the Kansas Industrial Court Law, doesn't it?

As Brother Green, of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"It is a proclamation of enslavement in that it reduces the working people subject to it to a condition of industrial servitude. . . . It completely destroys the principle and processes of collective bargaining. The world has never witnessed a greater exhibition of autocracy gone mad. . . ."

"Evidently democracy in the affairs of the nation as well as in industry, Italy, has perished. It remains to be seen how long the masses of the people will submit to the yoke of tyranny and autocracy. The working people in America deplore the new development in Italy and resent this further encroachment upon the exercise of the right of the working people of that great country to organize into free, democratic trade unions and to bargain collectively with their employers." So much for Italy under Dictator Mussolini!

British trade unions call emergency conferences for April 29, to find ways and means of combating Tory union-smashing bill before parliament. Labor thoroughly aroused and united, but a little groggy as to what to do, as Tories have sufficient votes to do anything they want. One hope that aroused public opinion may put damper on Tory enthusiasm. Some Tories not from Horseback Hall, Shooting Lodge, or Fox-Hound Manor also doubtful as to advisability of measure. "The die-hards have jumped on the coach box and are whipping the team to the devil," says one of them, J. L. Garvin, noted Tory editor.

Other Tories very exultant. Claim bill will strike trades unionism blow from which it will not recover in years.

Thus in Merrie England!

The Tory newspapers also predict that similar legislation will be enacted in the United States. Thanks. But they don't know what they are talking about.

When U. S. Tories want anti-labor laws they pass pro-labor laws, as the Sherman Anti-Trust law, or the Clayton Act, for example, then leave it to supreme court to make the thing go off at the wrong end, as in the Bedford Cut Stone case, for instance.

Anyway why ask congress to pass anti-labor legislation when labor has votes and congressmen are elected? Besides isn't law whatever the courts say it is? And if the courts hand down a new law (decision) and congress doesn't like it, what is congress to do? Nothing. And if congress passes a law and the courts say it isn't a law, what can congress do? Nothing. So why not save time, money and hot air and let the courts make the laws?

Ever heard about the Duplex law? No? Well congress never passed it, the senate never blessed, the President never put his John Hancock to it, but there's the Duplex law just the same.

How come?

Duplex people made printing presses with non-union labor. Union machinists refused to set up Duplex presses. Case got in court and supreme court said they had to or get pinched for conspiracy in restraint of trade under Sherman Anti-Trust law, passed for smashing trusts like Standard Oil Company, tobacco and steel trust. Big trusts still doing business on the same old stand and hold-up principle. But machinists' union had trust now, very bad trust, and ever so much restraint of trade.

Then union stone cutters refused to handle stores manufactured by Bedford Cut Stone Company and 23 other corporations, nearly all of Indiana, handling 70 per cent of cut stones in U. S. Only about 5,000 stone cutters in U. S. Awfully thin layer on so much ground. But no matter, case came up before supreme court and supreme court declared stone cutters unions in conspiracy in restraint of trade. Sherman Act said nothing about stone cutters. Not a word. Decision based on precedent established when supreme court handed down Duplex decision.

Neat, "ain't it?" Beats English scheme all hollow. Awfully backward sort of government that English. Almost too backward to rule backward folks. Hasn't even got a supreme court to make laws for sovereign Britain to love and obey. Must use parliament for making of laws and subject poor M. P.'s to wrath of voter.

How much neater our arrangement! Congress passes good law, Sherman Anti-Trust law, for instance. President signs law. Great applause. Everybody's record clean as a hound's tooth. Trusts going to be busted. Politicians' reputation as modern dragon killer established. Hurrah. Then comes supreme court and declares law unconstitutional, or makes it go off on the wrong end. (Sherman Anti-Trust law and Clayton Act). Instead of hitting malefactors of great wealth it hits horny handed small fry. Who would've thought it. Too bad 'n' all that. But supreme court appointed for life. Can't be ousted by sovereign voters. Can you beat it? No. Can it beat you? Sure.

And thus in Free America!

Brandeis and Holmes dissenting say in Stone Cutter case:

"If, one the undisputed facts of the case, refusal to work can be enjoined, Congress created by the Sherman Act and the Clayton Act an instrument for imposing restraints on labor which reminds of involuntary servitude."

"The Sherman law was held in United States vs. United States Steel Corporation to permit capitalists to combine in a single corporation 50 per cent of the steel industry of the United States, dominating the trade through its vast resources."

"The Sherman law was held in United States vs. United Shoe Machinery Co. to permit capitalists to combine in another corporation practically the whole shoe machinery industry of the country, necessarily giving it a position of dominance over shoe manufacturing in America."

"It would be strange, indeed, if Congress had by the same act willed to deny to members of a small craft of workmen the right to co-operate in simply refraining from work, when that course was the only means of self-protection against a combination of militant and powerful employers."

Yep, strange indeed, but stranger still if the supreme court would place life and labor on an equal footing with wealth and profit. So there you are!

Adam Coalidigger



# Amusements

## The Week On Stage

The Flood Is Here—  
All Varieties and Qualities in  
the Offerings of the Week

By Joseph T. Shipley

First nighters suffered this week, from too much choice; they would have to have been literally quartered to cover the openings. But the progress of the season will soon separate the sheep from the goats and, while it often happens that a genuinely good play is among those that slip out in the silences of an early night, Broadway is relentless in its choosing. First of the new plays is Somerset Maugham's "The Letter," at the Morocco, in which Katherine Cornell takes off her green hat to portray a jealous woman who in a moment of fury kills her cooling lover, and has little time to repent at leisure, through the hours of a trial. Her two stretches on the stand, when she offers her carefully prepared lie, and again, when she might have escaped, giving her desperate confession, gives Mrs. Cornell strong opportunity for the display of her histrionic power. More or less related in mood and theme is Avery Hopwood's "The Garden of Eden" at the Selwyn, where a violent comedy gives similar chances to Marian Hopkins, as the cabaret girl who finds the Riviera a good hunting ground. A rouse, an aristocrat and a billionaire in turn rouse her amorous activity, which seems singularly related to her purse, so that her final marriage joint with the money must come suspiciously at their own gay life of the evening. "Speakeasy," by Edward Knoblock and George Rosener (now playing in "My Maryland") brings the atmosphere closer home. This drama, playing at the Mansfield, reveals in stereotyped fashion the haunts and the hunting of our bootlegging and purse-scenting "eggs" and "sugar-babies" as the terms of the period run. There is potential good there (as "The God of Vengeance" indicated) in the bringing of an innocent girl into the atmosphere of the brothel or the joint; the present play draws to strong melodrama. A back glance during the week gave us a view of Gustav Blum's production of "Her First Affair" at the Bayes; here he has given his customary sound production, of a play in which excellence of situation struggles with banality of dialogue through two acts, to merge powerfully in the third. The picture of a young girl meeting the author whom she worships, the man who has preached freedom and the acceptance of experience—and finding him belied in word only, content with the experiences of his imagination, quite happy to wrap his body in the fannels of everyday humdrum doings, could have been made hilarious, and is undeniably entertaining.

The problems that women bring with them are treated along with other concerns in more of this week's openings. In Bernard McEwen's "The Uninvited Guest," at the Belmont, a country farm in New York awakes memories of "Desire Under the Elms," picturing the marriage of youth and age, the desire of the young wife for a child, her use of the new preacher for her purpose, the revelation of her returning boyhood sweetheart, whose sister had died after "going wrong," the death of the child, the murder of the preacher (who, poor fellow, had but responded to her advances, for which now in virtue she kills him), the summoning of the sheriff, and the sudden rallying to her side of the lover of her innocent maidenhood. An evening full, to say no more. Or you may turn to Willard Robertson's "Black Velvet," which at the Liberty wraps the question of sex uneasily around a genuine portrait of an old time southerner, unable to adjust himself, for all his eighty years, to the industrial and social changes that have come upon the land. The clandestine relations between the masters' mansions and the slaves' huts seem to have been a dark secret from his chaste mind, even in his youth, for Massa Darr is stunned by the knowledge that the Northerner who seeks the hand of his granddaughter has been "visiting" the cottages. His vengeance is cut short, however, by a stroke of heart failure that overcomes him as he waits with his shotgun; and the world of sordid and commercial despotism is left to continue its swirl unchecked.

James Gleason, acting in his play "The Shannons of Broadway" at the Martin Beck, turns attention to other fields, in an entertaining picture of a vaudeville team that, stranded in a small town, gives up the stage in disgust, and takes over the town hotel. The various guests who visit there, the reception they give to another pair of their former profession, the typical sweet young country girl—even the real estate swindler—are woven into an engaging comedy, well presented and performed. "Jimmie's Women," by Myron C. Fagan, at the Biltmore, is slight enough in its balancing of suspicion around the hopelessly moral hero as to provide a plot for a musical comedy, and indeed—to shift our time—the musical shows of the week are among its big features. "Manhattan Mary" at the Apollo, in addition to giving

two musical plays of the week are slated for a long ripping run of jolly playing.

### Booze-Boozy

At the Mansfield, "Speakeasy," by Edward Knoblock and George Rosener, carries us into the sort of place that the folk who want a drink at any cost—and can afford the cost—sometimes go to. The graft that plays through all its leavies, leaving even on honest workers, draws here its fullest tribute; we find "Min" Denton desperately but vainly struggling against the extortions of the local protection chief. So strong is this man's hold that Min does not even keep from him the niece who comes, in a country innocence, to this dive, to become an actress and earn her own way until she's able to take care of herself, before listening to the wooing of a wealthy man's son. Only the violent efforts of this Princeton boy, and the throbbing self-sacrifice of the life-worn but loving old "Fuzzy," the pianist in the speakeasy, save her from unmentionable fate.

This play is, however, superior to the banalities of its bare plot; it is enriched by liveliness of character portrayal, by vividness of background, and sound acting. The two sugar-babies who lead their victims into the booze joint as the play and the evening wind along, are regular hot mamas with sticky fingers; and their conversation, and Min's, especially in the first act, carries some lines that, passing over many heads, bring gasps of suppressed hilarity to those that understand. The other creatures of this section of the underworld are well-drawn and, although the young hero and the sweet young girl cut from familiar blocks, the acting stirs the roles. The few moments of Fuzzy's daughter's appearance are an excellent moment, not fully realized by the actress; but Anne Shoemaker as the hostess is fervid through her restraint, and Leo G. Carroll plays the old drunkard, the former actor who dreams of the opera he will never finish, with a smooth and touching skill. "Speakeasy," without the swift glamor of brilliance, is a solid bit of theatre that avoids the over-sentimental and over-melodramatic, and affords an evening of interesting drama and portraiture.

### For His Country's Sake

The group of producers and playwrights responsible for the writing, adaptation, and representation of "The Command to Love" at the Longacre must be credited with as cleverly developed and sophisticated a farce as we have seen in years. Acted with consummate grace and skill by Mary Nash, Basil Rathbone, Violet Kemble Cooper, Ferdinand Gottschalk, and the remainder of the company, his picture of French diplomatic life in Spain keeps the understanding in a constant doubling of merriment, and should long contribute to the gaiety of Broadway.

It appears that the Military Attache of the French Embassy is chosen for qualities other than those requisite for his official duties: his capacity to function as cock of the walk among those women who, through their influence on husbands and lovers, make history, is infinitely more important. Yet, Gaston, gayest devil of the Parisian boulevards, becomes suddenly as austere as a hermit, when assigned to the Spanish court. There is a diplomatic crisis, and his country calls: is the Marquis impotent to answer? Nay, nay, he has but been restrained by the demands of his jealous mistress—who is none other than his own Ambassador's wife. For his country, however, with the assurance of his ambassador's protection, he acts as a patriot must. The Spanish palmas leaves where Manuela, the Spanish War Minister's wife, succumbs to their lure, as are ravishing as Gaston's own intentions. And the complications whereby both the Spanish Minister and the French Ambassador compliment the Marquis upon the skill with which he has seduced their own wives, makes as mad and merry mockery as those in the mood can hope for.

The performance moves with a deft smoothness attuned to the swift, sophisticated dialogue. Mary Nash succeeds in making every man wish he were a diplomat; Violet Kemble Cooper maintains her lure even in her jealous moments; Basil Rathbone manages to suggest his even in his subdued moments, so that his handling of Manuela pleases, but does not surprise; Ferdinand Gottschalk upholds the true comic spirit, catching the role of the wise cuckold, leaving us gratefully in doubt as to how much the man knows, and how much he chooses not to know; and the remainder of the cast comes gallantly along, in as cleverly developed and maintained a play as ever led the hero carry the heroine to his room.

## Old Parties Fear Defeat

(Continued from Page 1)

day. A concerted drive will be made in the weaker sections.

The interest of the people in the campaign was disclosed on Thursday night, when the first indoor rally was held, at the Second Avenue Theatre, 2nd Avenue and 2nd Street. Every seat in the vast theatre was filled, and those who were unable to get in crowded around the speakers' platforms that were erected outside of the theatre to accommodate the overflow.

Seldom has a campaign begun under

## In Brief

David Belasco will present the first production of his season, "Helden," a new play by William Hurlbut, with Beth Merrill and Philip Merrill, on Tuesday evening, October 4th, in the Lyceum Theatre. The supporting company will include Marjorie Gatenon, Mary Morris, Mary Wall.

Grace George in Brady & Wiman's production of Robert Emmet Sherwood's brilliant comedy, "The Road to Rome," opens at the Adelphi Theatre in Chicago on October 17th after a two weeks' preliminary engagement in Detroit.

Jean Gilbert, the European composer, is in New York, under contract to the Shuberts to write three operettas. Mr. Gilbert is best known in this country for the scores of "The Lady in Ermine," "Katja," and "The Girl From Cook's."

The Shuberts announce the complete cast which they have engaged to support Alice Brady in "Denbigh," the new play by Theresa Helburn. The company includes: Austin Fairman, Romney Brent, Horace Braham, Marie Curtis, Beatrice Swanson and George Allison. The play is scheduled to have its initial presentation Monday evening, September 26th, in Newark.

Leslie Howard, author of "Murray Hill," opening next Thursday at the

## Campaign Meetings of the Socialist Party

### MANHATTAN

#### 2nd Judicial District

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—MacDougal and Bleeker streets. Speakers, I. Corn, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, Harry Diamond, I. M. Chutcutt.

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—10th street and 2nd Avenue. 7th street and Avenue B. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Isidore Phillips, S. E. Beardsley, Norman Thomas, I. Ostrowsky, Tim Murphy.

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—Livingston and Pitt streets. Speakers, I. Corn, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff.

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—Houston and Avenue C. Rivington and Norfolk, 7th street and Second Avenue. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Leonard C. Kaye, William Karlin, I. Corn, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, Harry Diamond, I. M. Chutcutt.

Monday, Oct. 3, 8 p. m.—Corners Clinton and East Broadway, 7th street and Avenue C, 4th street and 2nd Avenue, 1st street and Avenue A. Speakers, Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Leonard C. Kaye, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, Frank Crosswath, Esther Friedman, I. Corn, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, Harry Diamond, I. M. Chutcutt.

Tuesday, Oct. 4, 8 p. m.—Corners Mott and East street. Speakers, John Sala, Valenti, Lups, Rozumal, Vuchter.

Tuesday, Oct. 4, 8 p. m.—Houston and Columbia, 3rd street and Avenue C, 5th street and Avenue B, 7th street and Second Avenue, 4th street and Avenue A. Speakers, Norman Thomas, August Claessens, Pierre De Nio, Tim Murphy, Harry Diamond, Isidore Phillips, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, Samuel E. Beardsley, Morris Goldowsky, Louis Reiff.

Wednesday, Oct. 5, 8 p. m.—Avenue A and 13th street. Speakers, D. Pietro, Lups, Ruggieri, Valenti, Crosswath.

Thursday, Oct. 6, 8 p. m.—Rutland and Avenue C, 5th street and 2nd Avenue, 1st street and Avenue A. Speakers, I. Corn, Frank Crosswath, Mollie Weingart, Samuel Ulanoff, S. E. Beardsley, Isidore Phillips, Morris Goldowsky, Louis Reiff.

Friday, Oct. 7, 8 p. m.—Bleeker and McDougal streets. Speakers, Sala, Valenti, Rozumal, Lups, August Claessens.

Saturday, Oct. 8, 8 p. m.—Pitt street and 1st Avenue. Concentration of all speakers and party workers of the city.

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—94th street and Broadway. Speakers, William Karlin, Pierre De Nio.

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—112th street and Madison Avenue. Speakers, I. George Dobevas, Leonard C. Kaye.

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—17th street and Seventh Avenue. Speaker, Frank Crosswath.

### HARLEM

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—137th street and Seventh Avenue. Speakers, Frank Crosswath and others.

Tuesday, Oct. 4, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, I. George Dobevas, Leonard C. Kaye, Tim Murphy.

Friday, Oct. 7, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, I. George Dobevas, William Karlin, Esther Friedman, Pierre De Nio, Eli Cohen.

### BRONX

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—Wilkins and Intervale avenues. Speakers, Samuel Orr, Samuel A. DeWitt, Frank Crosswath, Murray Gross.

Monday, Sept. 3, 8 p. m.—138th street and Brook Avenue, 141st street and St. Ann's Avenue. Speakers, Max B. Walder, Samuel Orr, Isidore Phillips, Harry Diamond, Pierre De Nio, Tim Murphy, P. J. Murphy, Isidore Polstein.

Tuesday, Oct. 4, 8 p. m.—160th street and Daly Avenue, Balguy and Tremont avenues. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Max B. Walder, Samuel A. DeWitt.

Thursday, Oct. 6, 8 p. m.—Corners, Claremont and Washington, 169th street and Washington, 174th street and Bathgate. Speakers, Samuel Orr, Samuel A.

De Nio, Eli Cohen.

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, I. George Dobevas, Leonard C. Kaye, Tim Murphy.

Friday, Oct. 7, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, I. George Dobevas, William Karlin, Esther Friedman, Pierre De Nio, Eli Cohen.

such favorable circumstances. Mr. Gerber, who has been in the thick of many a Socialist campaign, declares, "The rest of the work, which is the registration and canvassing of the voter, so that no misleading reports spread by old party politicians can make any headway, is up to the Socialists and trade unionists."

Volunteers who wish to help any day during the coming week, or any evening, are asked to report to the campaign headquarters.

Bijou Theatre has completed another play which as yet bears no title.

The Theatre Guild's desire for a week of dress rehearsals with its production of "Porgy" necessitates the postponement of the play's opening from Monday, October 3rd, to Monday, October 10th.

Under this arrangement, "The Second Man" will continue at the Guild Theatre for an extra week, closing October 8.

Walter Hampden will begin his fifth consecutive season in New York on Monday night (October 3) when at Hampden's Theatre he will appear for the first time here in the role of Mr. Thomas Steekmann in Henrik Ibsen's social comedy "An Enemy of the People." The production was designed by Claude Bragden. There will be a supporting company of fifty, with the dozen principal roles played by the following members of Mr. Hampden's permanent company: Ernest Rowan, Cecil Yapp, C. Norman Hammond, Dallas Anderson, Stanley Hewlett, P. J. Kelly, William H. Sams, Hart Jenks, Mabel Meere, Edith Barrett, and Marie Adels.

As is customary at all Mr. Hampden's openings, the curtain will be raised at exactly the time specified—8:30. NOT A MOMENT LATER.

Players signed for roles in "The Bell," the Paul Sifton play with which the New Playwrights launch their new season, are: Gail DeHart, Laurence Bolton, Ross Matthews, Jane Barry and George Price. The production is scheduled to open, October 19th.

DeWitt, Isidore Phillips, Max B. Walder, Isidore Polstein.

### BROOKLYN

#### Williamsburg

Friday, Sept. 30, 8 p. m.—Havemeyer and South 4th street. Speakers, H. W. Laidler, H. Nemser, H. Schachner, Roland Stubbs.

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—Bedford and Grand. Speakers, H. W. Laidler, Hyman Nemser, H. Schachner, Roland Stubbs.

Thursday, Oct. 6, 8 p. m.—Grand Extension and Keap street. Speakers, H. W. Laidler, H. Nemser, H. Schachner, Roland Stubbs, Jacob Axelrad.

Friday, Oct. 7, 8 p. m.—Havemeyer and South 4th street. Speakers, H. W. Laidler, Rufus L. Perry, H. Nemser, H. Schachner, Roland Stubbs.

Brownsville, 23rd A. D.

Sept. 30, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, Chas. Solomon, Sadie Rivkin, L. P. Goldberg, Ethelred Brown, J. Altman, I. Ostrowsky.

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—Corner Stone and Pacific streets. Speakers, G. Valenti, John Vaccaro, Sala, D. Pietro, Chas. Solomon.

Monday, Oct. 3, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, Rufus L. Perry, Morris Gisset, Chas. Solomon, Sadie Rivkin, L. P. Goldberg, I. Ostrowsky, Ethelred Brown, Joseph Tuvin.

Thursday, Oct. 6, 8 p. m.—Various corners. Speakers, Chas. Solomon, Sadie Rivkin, Louis P. Goldberg, Ethelred Brown, Joseph Tuvin.

### 2nd Assembly District

Monday, Oct. 3, 8 p. m.—Stone and Dumont. Speakers, Jacob Axelrad, I. M. Chutcutt, L. P. Goldberg, H. Hall, Frank Rosenfarb.

Tuesday, Oct. 4, 8 p. m.—New Lots and Hindsdale. Sutter and Hindsdale. Speakers, Rufus L. Perry, J. A. Well, Joseph Tuvin, L. D. Goldberg, H. Mallis, Frank Rosenfarb.

Friday, Oct. 7, 8 p. m.—Osborn and New Lots, Dumont and Stone. Speakers, Gisset, Chas. Solomon, Sadie Rivkin, L. P. Goldberg, H. Mallis, Frank Rosenfarb.

East New York

Saturday, Oct. 1, 8 p. m.—Pennsylvania and Sutter avenues. Speakers, S. John Block, Maurice C. Miller, H. Koss, M. Plotkin.

Thursday, Oct. 6, 8 p. m.—Schenck and Sutter avenues. Speakers, S. John Block, C. Tartack, M. Fishman, M. C. Miller, Rufus L. Perry, L. P. Goldberg.

## South Africa Gov't Stirs Race Hatred; Many Natives Homeless

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Johannesburg, South Africa.—The Native Administration Bill, which has just been adopted by the South African Parliament, directs a severe blow at the rights and liberty of the native and will in particular restrict the freedom of action of the native labor leaders.

The Bill was adopted in its original form, although the Government, in view of representations made by the I.F.T.U., the British Labor Party and the British Trade unions, had promised to withdraw the "Sedition" clauses.

The South African Government has afforded a splendid example of how to promote race-hatred. Indeed, this example has already produced disastrous results and more serious consequences are to be feared. Immediately following the example of the Government, the Agricultural Union of South Africa (a farmers' union) in Natal, Transvaal, and the Free State Provinces, passed resolutions that all natives, who are members of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of South Africa, i.e., the union which organizes the black workers of South Africa, shall be ejected from the farms. Some thousands of natives have been ejected, rendered homeless and unemployed and are wandering about the country penniless. The efforts of the trade union of the black workers, to render assistance to those who have fallen victims to the measures of the Government, are also thwarted as much as possible. The I.C.U., for instance, wanted to buy land for the victims to settle on. The land is there, the money is there, but the Government, in conjunction with the farmers, prevents all attempts to come to the aid of the victims.

It is evidently the desire of the South African Government that the starving black workers be compelled to renounce their human rights and surrender like animals to the vindictive farmers, thereby reintroducing slavery in South Africa.

## Philharmonic Plans, 1927—28

Clarence H. Mackay, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the N. Y. Philharmonic Society, announces Willem Mengelberg and Arturo Toscanini as regular conductors of the Philharmonic for 1927-28, with Sir Thomas Beecham and Bernardino Molinari as guest conductors. Mr. Mengelberg, returning to the Philharmonic for his seventh consecutive year, will open the season on October 13 and will conduct all concerts up to and including January 8.

Mr. Toscanini, whose activities here during the two preceding seasons have been confined to short periods as guest conductor, will make his first appearance this year on January 26 and will conduct all of the concerts from that date until the end of the season, April 1. In the interval between the end of Mr. Mengelberg's regime and the arrival of Maestro Toscanini, Sir Thomas Beecham and Mr. Molinari will appear. The former will direct the concerts of January 12, 13, 14 and 15. The latter will conduct January from 16 to the 26th.

Including its out of town concerts and the five Children's Concerts, the Philharmonic Orchestra will make 117 appearances this winter. There will be the usual series of twenty Thursday evenings, twenty Friday afternoons, and twelve Sunday afternoons at Carnegie Hall, and a series of five Sunday afternoons and two Tuesday evenings at the Metropolitan Opera House. The educational policy of the Society, which is being expanded yearly will follow the same course in 1927-28 and includes the twelve Students' Concerts on Saturday evening at Carnegie Hall. Ernest Schelling will continue his Children's Concerts but they will be held hereafter on five Saturday mornings in Carnegie Hall. The usual series of six Sunday afternoon concerts at the Brooklyn Academy of Music is also scheduled. The out of town concerts will include five appearances in Philadelphia, five in Baltimore, six in Pittsburgh, three in Washington, and single concerts in Akron, Indianapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, Cleveland, New Haven, Reading, Princeton, Richmond, and Buffalo.

Eleven soloists have thus far been engaged: Bela Bartok, Rudolph Ganz, Gita Gradova, Vladimir Horowitz, Yolande Mero, and E. Robert Schmitz, pianists; Wanda Landowska, pianist-harpist; Cecilie Hansen and Jacques Thibault, violinists; Beatrice Harrison, cellist and Heinrich Schlusnus, baritone.

## N.E.C. Meets Oct. to Plan '28 Campaign

Sessions Likely For Detroit—Mass Meeting Planned—Debs Drive October 20

CHICAGO.—In preparation for the national convention of the Socialist Party in January the National Executive Committee will hold a session in October. The committee now has before it a proposal to meet in Detroit on Saturday and Sunday October 15 and 16. During the sessions of the committee a big mass meeting will be held and local Socialists are preparing to take advantage of their opportunity.

In preparation for the national convention National Executive Secretary William H. Henry has also issued a call to all local organizations to submit proposals for the convention agenda. All such proposals must be in the National office not later than Saturday, October 22.

All suggestions received by the local organizations will be formulated in a preliminary agenda which will be referred back to the locals and branches for amendment, revisions and further suggestions. The subdivisions are given one month for this revision and a final draft will then be made and mailed to all locals and branches and submitted as a report to the convention.

The National Office is also receiving reports of arrangements being made in various parts of the country for sixteen days of organization and educational activities beginning October 20 and ending on November 5, the birthday of Eugene V. Debs. Many speakers will be in demand for these sixteen days. A special call is made to all local and branch organizations to elect committees on arrangements so that plenty of time will be allotted for working out programs.

Orders for the last book written by Debs, "Walls and Bars," are also coming in from all parts of the country. The press notices, with a few exceptions, are remarkably sympathetic considering the malice heaped upon Debs' head while he was in prison. A de luxe edition of this book, which is the largest ever published by the National Office, is also ready. The edition is limited to 500 copies and will not doubt be exhausted before the end of the year as it is admirably adapted for a gift book.

## Picketing Is Banned By Philadelphia Judge

Philadelphia.—Judge Edwin O. Lewis, in Common Pleas No. 2, yesterday handed down an opinion not only making permanent a preliminary injunction restraining Tapestry Carpet Workers Union No. 2, its officers and members from threatening and intimidating employees of the Philadelphia Carpet Company who refused to join in a strike, but by enjoining the picketing of the plaintiff company's mill.

## THEATRES

**Henry Miller's**  
THEATRE, 124 WEST 43d STREET  
EYES 8:30 MATS THURS & SAT. 2:30

**A Storm of Laughter!**

**GRANT MITCHELL**  
THE AMERICAN COMEDIAN

**GEORGE M. COHAN'S**  
AMERICAN FARCE  
**BABY CYCLONE**

**YOU**  
can't get away from  
**THE SPIDER**  
A SHAMING & ENTICING  
MYSTIFYING NOVELTY HIT OF THE YEAR

**William Courtenay**  
MUSIC BOX  
OF MATINEES WED. & SAT. 8:45  
BEST SEATS ALWAYS AT BOX OFFICE

**Theatre Guild Acting Co.**

**THE SECOND MAN**

GUILD, 111 W. of 53d St. Even. 8:40  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

**WILLIAM FOX presents**  
**LOVES OF CARMEN**  
with Dolores Del Rio and Victor McLaglen  
Directed by RAOUL WALSH  
In Conjunction with  
AN ELABORATE MUSICAL AND VOCAL PRESENTATION  
"IMPRESSIONS OF CARMEN"  
with ROXY SYMPHONIC ORCHESTRA of 110 and A GREAT CAST

## Rand School Notes

Study classes and lecture courses in Rand School, at 7 East 15th street, are getting well under way. In addition to the classes in Trade Unionism, under Louis S. Stanley, held on Monday and Wednesday evenings, those in English on the same evenings, and in Correction of Accent on Thursday, the following is the program for next week:

Monday, Oct. 3.—Dr. Benj. C. Gruenberg on "Science and Human Welfare."

Thursday, Oct. 6.—Mrs. Esther Friedman on "The Case for Socialism."

Friday, Oct. 7.—Prof. Alexander Goldenswiler on "The Story of Human Work."

Monday, Oct. 10.—Dr. Gruenberg on "The Biological Revolution of the Nineteenth Century" and John Macy on "The Story of World Literature."

Prof. Goldenweiser's lecture begins at 7 p. m., all the others at half past eight. It looks as though Bertrand Russell will have full house when he speaks on "Education and the Good Life" at Town Hall Tuesday evening. This lecture is under Rand School auspices. Tickets are going fast at the school office.

## Rufus Perry Makes Socialist Race For Judge In Brooklyn

Rufus L. Perry is one of the Socialist candidates for county judge in Kings county. He is one of the best known

members of the bar in Brooklyn, having practiced law for 35 years. In this time he has distinguished himself as a criminal lawyer, having appeared in some of the most important criminal cases tried in Kings county. Perry has tried 315 murder cases in his professional career. He joined the Socialist party about six years ago and in that time he has supported it liberally and actively. He acquiesces, particularly among the Negroes.

Comrade Perry is a deep student and is affiliated with many learned societies. He is the author of a number of books on philosophic, historical and philological questions. Comrade Perry is also an

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CHARLES C. WEBBER  
Will Speak On  
The Results of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case



# The Socialist Party at Work

## National

### National Executive Committee

The committee has voted to meet in Detroit, Oct. 15 and 16. During its sessions a banquet and mass meeting will be held.

The committee has also voted in favor of issuing a Volunteer Assessment Stamp to be sold to party members at a minimum of one dollar each, those who can afford to pay more to do so. The sale of this stamp is part of the sixteen days organization and propaganda drive to begin Oct. 20. The proceeds will be divided between the local, state and national organizations. (See story on another page regarding convention, Debs memorial, etc.).

## California

### State Organization Drive

The State Executive Committee has mapped out a campaign of unusual activity. Every congressional and assembly district is to have its committee and as far as possible they expect to have active men and women in every precinct. The 25,000 declared Socialists in the state are being urged to get into the party for work. Write the State Secretary, Lena Morrow Lewis, 208 Grant Bldg., San Francisco.

### Los Angeles

R. W. Anderson, local secretary, reports the organization of a new branch with five members. It is called Branch Goodyear. Virgil Epperson, 750 East 83rd street, is secretary. The comrades expect to double the number within a week.

Local Los Angeles will hold a Debs Memorial meeting on Sunday, Nov. 6.

## Illinois

### Cook County

The Socialist Party of Chicago (Cook County) will hold a Debs Memorial meeting at Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Ogden and Kedzie avenues, on Thursday evening, Oct. 20, at 8 p. m. Wm. A. Cunneen, Samuel Levin of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; George R. Kirkpatrick, Murray E. King, Editor of the American Appeal; Wm. H. Henry, National Executive Secretary; Dr. Lorber of the Jewish Daily Forward, John R. Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and several others have been invited to speak. There will also be appropriate music. All labor groups and those interested in the betterment of mankind are invited to attend.

## Indiana

Severino Pollo, one of the very best workers in the Socialist movement, who has resided in Clinton for many years, has moved his family to Milwaukee. Comrade Pollo was a leading figure in Clinton. The Central Labor Union of Clinton arranged a splendid testimonial to him before he left.

## Pennsylvania

### Reading

Some irregularities in the recent registration of voters indicate the importance of watchers to count the vote on election day. An appeal is being broadcast to get them.

Local Allegheny County (Pittsburgh), appreciating the importance of the campaign in Reading, has contributed \$25. Funds are the chief worry of the campaign and outside locals that can help may send contributions to J. Henry Stump, 27 Reed street.

## New England

### Brown's Tour

Ethelred Brown's tour was highly successful. The first week, owing to the police forbade several meetings. But he had very good meetings in Pittsfield, Greenfield, Northampton, Springfield, Fitchburg, Worcester, Maynard, Brockton, and a large number of good meetings in Cambridge, Boston and Dorchester. A feature of the tour was that the Boston section of the American Negro Labor Congress, supposed to be Communist controlled, asked for him and Alfred Baker Lewis as their speakers twice, sold Socialist pamphlets, distributed Socialist leaflets and gave him the largest collection and literature sale of the tour.

In South Boston in an Irish section, hoodlums attempted to break up his meeting because he was a Negro. Comrade Lewis accordingly had a meeting at the same place, Broadway and F Street, South Boston, on Friday, Sept. 30, at 8:00 p. m., with Michael Flinn, Michael Barry, Mary Donovan and John Brogues in Boston, as the speakers.

## Connecticut

### New Haven

Local New Haven will call a convention to nominate a city ticket for the November election. The convention will be held at the Workers' Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak street, Tuesday, Oct. 4, at 8 p. m. State Secretary Plunkett is sending out the call.

### Rabbi Wise to Lecture

The New Haven Trades Council next Thursday evening is expected to announce plans for its coming season of forum lectures. A number of prominent speakers, including Rabbi Stephen Wise and "Golden Rule" Nash, have already been booked.

### Hamden

Local Hamden will hold an important meeting Friday evening, Sept. 30, to elect watchers and transact other business relating to the town election to be held Monday, Oct. 3. Socialists have a town ticket in the field.

**Bridgeport Socialists Nominate**  
At a convention of the Socialist party of Bridgeport, the following candidates were nominated:  
Mayor, James McLevy; City Clerk, Fred Cederholm; Town Clerk, Peter Freudenreich; A. New York City, Treasurer, Minor Treas. Board of Education, Sadie Griffin and Fred Schwartzkopf.

The ticket has a decided labor tinge, as the candidates are active members of the trade unions. Freudenreich is president of the Central Labor Union and Treas. secretary of the Central Labor Union. A party platform was adopted and a vigorous campaign will be carried on in every ward in the city.

### Wallingford

State Secretary Plunkett reports that Local Wallingford nominated a town ticket headed by himself for Selectman.

## Maryland

### New Branch in Baltimore

Recently a new branch was organized in Baltimore by William A. Toole. The new organization now has ten members. The branch claims that the branch will have 25 members by Christmas. The Central Branch has also received a half-dozen additions to its membership. Three meetings are held out-door each week. The principal one is held on Saturday nights at Baltimore and Holiday streets. All Socialists should attend.

**What was a new departure for Socialists in this State was the participation of the State Executive Committee in the fight against the request of the United Railway and Electric Company for an increase of car fare.** Wm. A. Toole represented the Party before the Public Service Commission. His appearance at the counsel table caused a mild sensation, and gave the party considerable advertisement.

Toole advocated municipal ownership of the lines and told the Commission that the troubles of the company were the inevitable result of private ownership, and that it would be the lesser evil to refuse the relief asked even if it drove the company into a receivership, so that the city could take over the lines. The hearing lasted seven days.

## New York State

### State Executive to Meet

The State Executive Committee will meet at Pankey Campaign headquarters, 107 Second avenue, New York City, Sunday morning at 10 o'clock. Official and perfunctory state convention for the nomination of a candidate for Associate Justice of the Court of Appeals will be held at Peoples' House Saturday evening, Oct. 1, this convention being necessary by the failure of the 1926 official state convention to adopt a resolution permitting the State Committee to nominate state candidates this year. An official convention for the 1st Judicial District will follow the state convention. Delegates to both conventions were elected at the primary.

State Secretary Merritt is asking locals to guarantee the expenses of a speaker to be toured in October under the auspices of the State Office. If there is sufficient response an effort will be made to secure the services of a speaker from the New England District.

**A Politician Defeated**  
An old-party man who tried to sneak on the Socialist ticket in the Schenectady primary last Oct. 1, lost out. Socialists now lay in their ranks able to qualify for surrogate and the local made no endorsement for the office this year. However, the local comrades adopted a resolution of such comrade left the office blank and served the purpose of the local organization.

D. M. Chateauf, representing The New Leader, was a visitor at the State Office this week.

## New York City

### City Central Committee

The City Central Committee will hold its regular monthly session on Wednesday evening, October 5th, in room 402, Peoples' House, at 8:30 p. m. As this will be the last regular meeting of the Central Committee before Election Day, it is absolutely essential that every branch be represented and every delegate be present.

### Campaign Reunion

The Campaign Reunion and Dance held at the Peoples' House last Saturday evening was a decided success. As the first of a number of Social gatherings, a rosy number comrades were present and seemed to have had an enjoyable evening in roasting, dancing and general merriment. A desire was expressed by many present that these Reunions and Dances be held more regularly, if possible, at least once a month.

### MANHATTAN

The campaign in the 2nd Judicial District is now in full bloom and the entire East Side from 14th street down to a beehive of Socialist activity. Great numbers of street meetings are being held on Saturday evening, October 8th, and the old parties are being held in the city will be held and all speakers and campaign workers will be ordered to come into the 2nd Judicial District for an old fashioned "rally" night. It is expected that about 70 to 80 speakers will be available and about 50 meetings will be held that evening.

The campaign in other parts of the city is not being neglected. Meetings are being held all along the West Side, in Harlem, in Harlem, William Karlin, our candidate for Council of General Sessions, is conducting a lively campaign in all parts of Manhattan. He is one of our few candidates facing a fusion of the old parties and we have every reason to believe that the vote received by Comrade Karlin will be the largest in years.

### BRONX

The first of a number of large rallies will be held on Friday evening, October 7th in Ambassador Hall (Lombard Casino at Claremont Parkway and 3rd avenue.) This will be the first Ratification Meeting for the Bronx candidates. Judge Jacob Pankey will be the guest of honor and the candidates to be ratified are: Samuel Orr, candidate for Alderman, 29th District; A. De Wit, Assembly, 3rd District; Isidore Polstein, Assembly, 4th District; Max B. Walder, Municipal Court Judge, 1st District. Others speaking in support of the above mentioned will be McCallister Coleman of The New Leader, and possibly N. Chanin and S. Levitas of the Jewish Verband.

### Central Branch

The Central Branch will hold its next regular meeting on Tuesday evening, October 4th, at 117 Boston Road, 8:30.

### BROOKLYN

#### 2nd A. D.

The campaign in the 2nd A. D. is well under way. Remarkably good meetings are being held and the membership is well organized for a very successful campaign this year. The meeting in the Public School held last week was fairly well attended and acted as a prelude to several others that will be held shortly in the same neighborhood.

#### 4-14th A. D.

The campaign in Williamsburg promises to be the best one yet. Our organization in this district is extremely fortunate in having as their candidate for Alderman this year, Harry W. Laidler, and Morris Wolman, candidate for Municipal Court Judge. These comrades along with our local candidates are addressing numerous meetings through the district and arrangements are being made for a couple of large hall meetings, etc., to be announced later.

#### 5th-6th A. D.

One of the formerly active members of this branch and at one time County Secretary, our comrade Joe Krutcher, is back on the job and is making his best effort to get his old branch into working condition for the campaign. Candidates for Assembly and Alderman in the 5th A. D., Comrades Joseph Tuvin and Samuel H. Friedman, are also on the job and it is expected that things will begin to hum again in this part of Williamsburg during the next few weeks.

#### 22nd A. D.

The campaign in East New York this year is proving to be the best one in many years. Thanks to our candidate for Alderman in the 22nd District, Maurice C. Miller, along with Comrade Samuel Kantor, Carrie Tartack, S. Block and Chas. Schousha, the number of meetings being held in the district are being increased from week to week and our comrades are getting an excellent reception. On Saturday evening, October 8th, campaign work will be laid aside for a few hours and our East New York comrades and their friends will gather

at a little banquet and get-together at Kessler's Casino, 632 Sutter avenue, 23rd A. D.

Brownsville is alive with all kinds of activities in the big campaign to capture the district for the Socialist Party. With Comrades Chas. Solomon, candidate for Assembly; Sadie Rivkin for Alderman and Louis P. Goldberg for Municipal Court Judge, leading a rosy crowd of workers, every nook and corner of the Brownsville District is being covered. Canvassers are busily engaged visiting the prospective voters and numerous meetings are being held throughout the week. The Ratification Meeting held at the Labor Lyceum last Friday evening was quite successful. The audience was exceedingly responsive and a number of additional workers were added that evening to the squads already organized.

## Yipseldom

### Brux Yipsels

Circle 1 held good meetings this summer. Murray Gross is assistant campaign manager of Bronx County and doing good work. The Circle's library is increasing in volume and usefulness. Sunday Oct. 2 the Circle meets at 1167 2nd Avenue, 3:30 p. m. and each Sunday thereafter.

### Circle 4

The Circle meets every Sunday, 3 p. m., at 4215 Third avenue, corner of Tremont. This Sunday officers and delegates will be elected to Irving Bass maintains an excellent system of bookkeeping and turned over \$13 to the treasurer this week. The Circle is closely co-operating with the party.

### Circle 7, Juniors

The Circle resumes activity after a dull summer. Beginning Sunday, Oct. 2, it will meet each Sunday, 3 p. m., at 550 East 135th street, under the guidance of Murray Gross.

### Esther Friedman Lecture

Four circles will meet in joint session Sunday, Oct. 9, at 1167 Boston Road. Esther Friedman will deliver a lecture on "The Socialists and the Jewish People" and the speakers will be advised not to miss this opportunity to hear her.

### Yipsels for Pankey's District

Yipsels who have either the days or the evenings to spare during the week of registration which begins on Oct. 10 and who wish to help re-elect Justice Jacob Pankey, are asked to get in touch with Julius Gerber, campaign manager, 107 Second avenue. To properly take care of the registration week 100 Socialists, trade unionists and Yipsels will be required.

### Circle 9

Circle 9 is now the sole possessor of the headquarters at 1336 Lincoln Place, due to the moving of Circle 12 which met every Friday at 7:30 p. m. Officers elected last week were William Gomborg, Organizer; Mac Gilgoff, General Secretary; Arthur Pogran, General Activities Director.

## Labor in Mexico

### "TRADE Union Liberty in Mexico"

(La Libertad Sindical en Mexico) is the title of the highly interesting book published recently in Mexico by Lic. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leading intellectual in the group of leaders in the Mexican labor movement, former director of Mexico's College Preparatory for the National University of Mexico, and at present professor of philosophy in the National University. The book describes the economic system of Mexico from the time of the Spanish conquest; explains in a very clear manner the abuses the leading classes imposed upon the city and agricultural workers, and outlines the growth of the Mexican labor movement and its achievements up to the present time. Lic. Toledano's book will undoubtedly be a very valuable help to persons studying Mexico's economic and labor conditions. An edition in English will be available at an early date.

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## THE NEW LEADER

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Editor.....JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

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

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1927.

## THE GRAFT CAN

ENOUGH testimony has been submitted in the John Doe inquiry into Health Department graft before Supreme Court Justice Tompkins to show that favoritism and immunity are commodities sold by Tammany officials. Money has passed between ice cream firms, poultry dealers, other business houses and petty officials. How extensive this traffic has been is not known and it does not matter. That it exists is certain. That it prevails in the Health Department means a hazard to the health of citizens as well as greasing itching palms of Tammany brokers.

The lid is off the graft can every few years and a little "cleaning up" generally follows. The lid is then on for a few years when some incident tilts it and we get another peep at the mess. This leads to another exposure, a "goat" or two are sacrificed to appease public sentiment, and business begins at the old stand. This is a tabloid history of graft, an essential industry of the politics of the professionals.

It is a fundamental product of the politics of capitalism whether it bears a Republican or a Democratic label. Philadelphia chooses one label for years and New York City another, but the contents of the graft can are the same.

Capitalist politics is just as much a business as the manufacture of pig iron, coal and other commodities. Two leading political firms are in the business and they obtain a license from the voters in each election. The commodities consist of offices, contracts and franchises. Graft is a by-product like the bristles of hogs slaughtered in the packing plants and which are used in making brushes. Often the by-product is as important in making money as the standard commodities. The larger the city the more by-product is produced.

This will continue until the masses establish their own political firm and place their own representatives in office to carry out a different view of politics, a view that regards city government as an agency for social welfare and the common good. A Socialist vote is a demand for such a change.

## THE FEUDAL SOUTH

THE second article in a series on the textile industry in the South by Paul Blanchard in The New Republic shows how corporation paternalism completely dominates the lives of the factory "hands." Incidentally, it reveals that a new industry in a new environment will revert back to the early days of the factory system, reproducing many of the barbaric abuses of the earlier period in the overlordship by the masters of the mill villages, long hours of tedious labor, and low wages. Moreover, we are also impressed with the fact that the modern capitalist in such an environment learns nothing from history. The owners are of the same type as the owners with the feudal outlook a hundred years ago in Massachusetts.

Like the earlier type, the southern mill owners draw upon a rural population of men, women, and children. Ten and eleven hours per day and twelve hours work at night are the rule. "The mill and the mill village, the community house and the school belong to the boss. The owner subsidizes or owns almost every institution in the village. He pays the taxes and controls local politics, if any. The worker has neither standing as a citizen nor training for citizenship apart from the dominant figure of his industrial overlord."

It need hardly be emphasized that the masters enforce an anti-union policy and have "deliberately destroyed every attempt by the workers to unite their forces in recognized labor unions." Control of the press, evicting "undesirables" from company houses, enforcing the individual "yellow dog" contract, and control of local police give the feudalists a paradise of exploitation. A sense of solidarity is yet to develop among these helpless workers who are drawn from rural sections where illiteracy is widespread. Organs that represent this regime express contentment with it. It is what the owners consider to be thoroughly "American."

But this cannot last forever. Eventually the fight for organization will be undertaken. In fact, it has been undertaken several times, which shows that even in this Egypt organization of the working class will follow capitalism as its shadow. But this reversion back to the sad days of the early factory system also shows that every step in progress must be made by struggle and sacrifice, teaching modern masters old lessons, and that this education must be accomplished by the workers themselves.

## 100 PERCENTISM

IT seems to be the fate of every 100 per cent American movement to be 100 per cent corrupt. Such a movement swept the election in Massachusetts in the fifties and the administration became so filthy with graft that it was swept out of office in the next election. The dirty scandals of the Harding regime which involved the treatment of soldiers in hospitals, the oil and navy steals, also follow the same pattern.

Indiana now has its portion of political filth, that

province of the Coolidge faith having signed a treaty with the Ku Klux Klan for governing the inhabitants. A few years ago a governor who wanted Eugene V. Debs run out of the state was caught with the goods and was sent to the penitentiary. He returns home on parole and another governor of the same state is under indictment. The mayor of Indianapolis has been convicted and the state wizard of the Klan is serving a life sentence for murder.

It seems that in every war in which the United States is involved the 100 per centers in politics prove to be the lowest type when hoist into office. The Civil War was followed by the most debauched period in our history, so foul that one historian devoting a chapter to it called it "The Nadir of National Disgrace." The Spanish-American War also contributed a few scandals but that war did not continue long enough to permit the full flowering of 100 percentism. A few years of it would have repeated the scandals of the Civil War.

Post-war degradation seems to follow with the inevitability of a natural law. In every case it has always acquired dominion over American life in the name of a super-patriotism that seeks to purify society of its unwholesome tendencies. It itself is the one thing to be feared as sad experience amply demonstrates.

## FETISH WORSHIP

FETISH worship is supposed to be a trait of primitive men but this belief will not survive investigation. Our present form of property is just as sacred a fetish as the totem pole is to some tribes in the Arctic Circle. Politicians and journalists pay homage to it. Nothing is more calculated to invoke their rage than the mere suggestion that a rearrangement of our property system might be made with advantage. A hundred years ago the atheist was regarded as the arch-criminal. Today he is respectable compared to the sinner who avows disbelief in the fetish worship of private property in the powers of production and distribution.

The Wall Street Journal recently offered its tribute of piety to the dominant creed by pointing out the sin of the Methodist Church since 1924 which declared that "Wealth accruing to the holders through monopoly values or special privileges, or through large opportunities for costless saving, is not earned, and wealth created by society should be devoted to the development of all the people in ways to be determined by the people themselves."

The W. S. J. declares that this "means the complete confiscation of private property." Assume that it does. What of it? If this fetish worship is changed for something else the human race will survive. The W. S. J. knows, or it should know, that there have been many changes in fundamental property arrangements since the dawn of history. Each arrangement became a fetish and each one passed away. We have had several in our own history. The feudal property of the Dutch grants in New York is one. Slave property is another. Small capitalist ownership in leading industries is also rapidly passing. The great corporate form is now the ruling fetish. Is it heresy to regard this last form as being just as transient as the others?

If so, count us among the heretics.

## SNOBBERY AND SERVILITY

RACIAL snobbery is as contemptible as social snobbery. The reverse of snobbery is the servility of an under class or race to current prejudices. Both traits were exhibited in news items this week. Negro newspapers gave prominent display to the story from Rome that Mayor Walker had objected to Negroes dancing with whites. The World's news bureau in Rome cabled an explanation of the incident made by the owner of the night club where the incident occurred. "Mayor Walker," he said, "seeing two dark men dancing here, told me he was surprised I allowed them to dance with white women." That is sufficient for race snobbery and added to Walker's homage to Mussolini we have an accurate measure of the man.

But among the Negro publications that rightly protest against Mayor Walker is the New York News which exhibits the vice of servility in its attitude towards the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters. This is not a Socialist nation and the Socialist party is far from being a majority party. The News knows the power of ignorance and prejudice and certainly Negroes have reason to know this power but the New York News cultivates it against certain officials of the Porters because they are Socialists.

The News concedes the ability of these officials but it assumes that no union member has a right to be anything in politics but a Republican or a Democrat. In taking that position it forfeits the right to protest against some states where Negroes are denied the right to vote for any party. That denial is based upon ignorance and prejudice. To the denial of Porters to be Socialists we assert that the News adds to ignorance and prejudice the vice of servility. It even goes so far as to pay a compliment to the company union in the Pullman service and nothing could be more servile than that.

We will add for the benefit of the News that the most powerful trade unions in New York are the unions in the needle trades and they were built by many years of sacrifice by Socialists. They took the foul sweatshop and transformed it into something decent for human beings. They reduced hours, raised wages and improved sanitary conditions. Had the members of the unions in the needle trades exhibited the servility of the New York News life would still be unbearable for the workers in the industry. There is nothing wrong with the Porters and their organization. There is something wrong with the editorial staff of the News.

## Mother Wept

MOTHER wept, and father sighed;  
With delight a glow  
Cried the lad, "Tomorrow," cried,  
"To the pit I go."

Up and down the place he sped,  
Greeted old and young;  
Far and wide the tidings spread;  
Clapped his hands and sung.

Came his cronies; some to gaze  
Rapt in wonder; some  
Free with counsel; some with praise;  
Some with envy dumb.

"May he," many a gossip cried,  
"Be from peril kept;"  
Father hid his face and sighed,  
Mother turned and wept.

## Trotsky Explains Freedom

But "Pravda" Finds Another Deviation

TWO American delegations have visited Russia this year, one having returned and the other one still remaining abroad. Both delegations put questions to high Soviet officials regarding economic and political conditions in Russia, but the query that is of most interest is that involving dictatorship and the civil rights of workers in Russia.

A full report of the questions asked by the first delegation of Trotsky and his answers to them appears in the International Press Correspondence of Vienna, issue of September 8. This is a Communist news bulletin that is sent to all parts of the world each week and may be accepted as the official version of the questions and answers.

In his answers Trotsky is explicit. He declares that in countries like the United States there is a masked dictatorship of the big banks and trusts. In Russia the dictatorship is not masked but openly avowed and represents the workers. It will continue only during the transition period from capitalism to Socialism with a certain proviso mentioned below. In the United States there is a dictatorship by capitalists and in Russia a dictatorship by the workers.

As for freedom of speech and the press, Trotsky answers that it means nothing unless the workers also have halls, papers, buildings, and printing presses; and capitalists own these in the United States. Therefore, democracy is an illusion in the United States. In Russia the workers own and control these things. He admits that halls, paper, buildings, etc., are for Communists alone and not for other organizations of workers. He goes on to say that Communists are willing to concede civil rights to all others providing the American delegation would sign a declaration "that throughout the world our enemies, who have at their disposal immense material means, would not interfere in our internal life for the purpose of helping the exploiting classes to overthrow the Soviet system and, bring the country back into the paths of capitalism." He adds that when "the dominion of the banks, trusts, armies, dreadnaughts, aeroplanes" passes, on that day "we would promise to grant complete and unrestricted freedom to all parties and all persuasions."

**Why the Dictatorship**  
A number of conclusions may be drawn from these answers. The dictatorship by a party was originally maintained on the ground that it was essential during the period of civil war and intervention by the powers. The other parties and organizations of workers and peasants accepted this explanation. They joined the Soviet armies in

large masses and fought against Kolchak, Wrangel and others.

The invasions ceased years ago and the original reason for the dictatorship passed but the dictatorship continues today. Thousands of workers who helped to repel the invaders are in prison or in exile. Organization, meetings and a press are denied them. Trotsky now postpones the abolition of the dictatorship till the transition from the old order to Communism has been completed. How long this will take he does not know and whether it will ever be accomplished is a matter of conjecture. But there is even a qualification to even this indefinite promise. Trotsky declared that if the American delegation would sign a declaration that the Powers would not interfere in the internal life of Russia the dictatorship will be liquidated and complete civil rights will be conceded to the masses. This would imply that even if the transition from the old order to the new is made the Communist Party alone will rule so long as the Great Powers survive.

The bargain which he wanted from the American delegation is interesting. The members of the delegation might well pledge themselves that they would oppose interference in Russian affairs but this is not enough. Trotsky wants assurance from them that the Powers will not intervene. In short, civil freedom for the masses in Russia depends upon the attitude of the Powers towards Russia. Trotsky knows that non-Communist workers and their organizations did fight the invaders and would fight them again if necessary. Why is it necessary to deprive these workers of all civil rights if in the hour of greatest peril these workers can be relied upon to defend Russia? Trotsky offers no explanation.

## "Pravda" Finds Deviations

His assertion that we have no civil rights in the United States is an absurd exaggeration. These rights are often strangled down, to be sure, but we do have our halls, printing presses, papers and buildings notwithstanding. We have also had meetings and organizations broken up; but more have been unmolested than have been destroyed. This cannot be said of workers in Russia who do not belong to the Communist Party. Trotsky's logic is like that of a man who may meet a number of cripples in the street and then draws the conclusion that all men are cripples. Even Communists publish their papers and hold meetings in the United States. No worker in Russia can do so unless he belongs to the Communist Party.

But rigidly fanatical as Trotsky's defense is the reader will be astounded to learn that the editorial staff of "Pravda," the party organ in Moscow, declares that

his interview "deviates essentially from the Leninist view." He is charged with having given an "entirely incorrect and distorted picture of the actual conditions in the Soviet Union," that his replies "mislead the American delegation," that he is "exceedingly ambiguous" and is guilty of other "peculiarities." Finally the staff expresses its "astonishment" that questions put by the American delegation, which according to their very nature are quite simple for every class-conscious worker and Bolshevik, could prove difficult for Trotsky and lead him to commit "so many unpardonable errors."

This criticism by the staff of "Pravda" appears in the same issue of the International Press Correspondence that carries the questions and replies. It is made with the view of proving that Trotsky made too many concessions and that he does not understand Soviet "democracy" at all. In repudiating Trotsky the staff quotes from a number of "theses" by Lenin and asserts that the Soviet system has provided the highest type of democracy for the Russian working class but it does not pretend that this democracy exists for any workers outside the Communist Party. Whether the American delegation was aware of this repudiation of Trotsky's answers is not certain. The only thing certain is that members of the delegation now in the United States will be in a pickle to explain just what Soviet "democracy" really is.

## "El Socialista" Banned By Spanish Government

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Paris.—Hundreds of protest demonstrations of every kind have been organized in the last few months by the parties affiliated to the Socialist-Labor International against the judicial murder of the two Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. In thousands of newspaper articles and paragraphs the abhorrence of the crime in Boston found expression, not only in the Socialist but also in the capitalist press.

But nowhere did a government venture to place itself on the side of the American legal abomination. With one exception—Spain. The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera managed to suspend for a week "El Socialista," the chief organ of the Spanish Socialist Party, merely for having reported that in Buenos Aires a general strike in favor of the condemned men was being planned, and that the French Government was about to forestall similar demonstrations contemplated in Paris.

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

For Sacco Memorial

Editor, The New Leader:  
Sacco and Vanzetti must not have died in vain. They died for us, we must now carry on for them.

My suggestion is for a Memorial Fund, raised by contributions from those who believe those men were innocent of the crime charged against them. Let the present Defense Committee be Trustee for this fund and be charged with the disbursement of it.

Let the first expenditure be for the publishing of a life history of the two men telling when and for what reason they came to this country, stating their political beliefs and the activities they were engaged in here. And then a history of the frameup that sent them to their deaths. Be sure that this states fully every charge that was made against them and the evidence that supported those charges side by side with that which was in their favor.

Considering the international interest that was shown in their case, this history should be a "best seller." When it is off the press, invite the state of Massachusetts with it. Put speakers in every county. Concentrate our radical activities upon that one state. Distribute leaflets and sell the Sacco-Vanzetti history, but have it well understood that no speaker sponsored by the Defense Committee is to advocate force of any kind but stand squarely back of the constitution which guarantees free speech and assembly.

Teach that in the forbidding and dispersing of our meetings, it is our rulers who have made the constitution of no effect, and that the people must re-establish it or we no longer have a republic.

Continue this peaceful campaign until every voter in the state has been offered a copy of the Sacco-Vanzetti history and we have converted sufficient of them to relegate Gov. Fuller and all of his backers to the political scrap heap, and establish a commonwealth that will do justice even to an Italian anarchist.

Mrs. Sacco must not be forgotten or neglected. Give her a percentage on the sale of the history toward her support and the education of her children. If the above plan be adopted, I will subscribe to the memorial fund, and shall want copies of the histories as soon as they are off press.

IRA D. KNEELAND

Prather, Calif.

## Cooperative Store Opened in Bay Ridge Section of Brooklyn

Plans for organizing a co-operative enterprise which have been discussed by Scandinavian workers in Brooklyn, New York, have materialized in the opening of a co-operative food store. A committee of nine elected to consider the idea held a number of meetings at which rays and means were discussed. Three thousand questionnaires were circulated in the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn, particularly among workers of Scandinavian descent.

As a result, it was decided that the best method would be to co-operate with the existing Finnish Co-operative Bakery and Meat Market at 43rd street and Eighth avenue, Brooklyn. This concern offered help which made it possible for the new group to organize a co-operative store at 7th avenue and 54th street. This store opened its doors for business the evening of September 9th. Several inspiring addresses were made, The Co-operative League of America and the Finnish Trading Association sent representatives. More than 600 people visited the store between 5 and 11 p. m. The store invites inquiries, as well as patronage.

A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright,  
But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.  
—Tennyson.



(By the Associated Press)

Manila.—Filipino politicians are a bunch of babies who ought to be panned. Representative-Elect M. J. Mass of St. Paul, Minn., said just before leaving for the United States before an eight-day survey of men and conditions in the Philippines.

Mass's visit was featured by an invitation to address the Philippine Senate, accepted by him but later cancelled by Manuel Quezon, President of Senate, owing to anti-independence utterances by Mass.

Boston.—Life in prison is proposed for "any person displaying a red flag or any other emblem of opposition to organized government" in a bill in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts by Representative Harrison H. Atwood.

The bill provides that the flag or emblem must be displayed "in such a manner as to incite anarchistic or seditious action" before a conviction can be obtained. Another bill which Mr. Harrison filed would make the advocacy of criminal syndicalism a felony with a maximum penalty of fourteen years imprisonment.

S. A. De Witt

## THE CHATTER BOX

## An Interview With A Horse

That Threw The Prince of Wales

Reporter—Good morning Sir Horse.

Horse—Please don't "sir" me young man. We don't approve of gentlemen's titles. Call me comrade. Please take a seat. I'll be with you in a moment. (Comrade Horse continues dictating to his stenographer): Dear Ajax—If the king of Spain desires to ride you through the royal park, please don't say him neigh. Once he is on your back, you can put in a little sabotage. Of course you know the technique of throwing a king. If you have forgotten, study our manual on "The Descent of Kings," especially the chapter called "Easy Flies The Head That Wears The Crown." Rehearse the proper falls and when the time comes remember to upset the king just hard enough to upset his stomach for a few weeks. Please cable results to me. I promise you front page position in all newspapers. If I try hard enough I might get your picture in the tabloid newspapers. I got great publicity after I had unseated The Prince of Wales. I sold the movie rights and got forty weeks booking in vaudeville. Of course I turned the money over to "The International Republic of Revolutionary Horses" so that it could do its work properly. Send my deep love to Anathasia Vassilyevna Samovirustuff and tell her I hope that her hind legs are better and trust she is no longer suffering from the staggers. With deep and profound affection, believe me to be your most loving comrade.

Stallionsky Mike

Now what is it young man?

Reporter—You have a powerful organization, eh?  
Horse—Most powerful. We send salesmen, pardon, I mean representatives, to all parts of the world. We consume 600,000 tons of hay, 40,000 tons of oats and import 245,000 pairs of harness from Saratoga alone. Do you read all the scandals reported in the papers? Domestic, political, coal, rent, divorce, and a thousand others? Well, we supply the substance for all those scandals. As soon as a new newspaper comes on the market, we have to breed 20,000 horses that year to supply the demand of that paper alone.

Reporter—Of course it goes without saying that you don't approve of royalty.

Horse—As chairman of "The International Republic of Revolutionary Horses" I can officially state that we do not approve of royalty. If we made no attempt to unseat kings and princes, who would? Surely not the people. People haven't enough horse sense to throw their riders.

Reporter—Has the automobile hindered your work?  
Horse—No. On the contrary it has helped us considerably. Remember that an automobile runs on the principle of horse-power. You see, every social movement has its martyrs. Our organization has two kinds of martyrs. Those that gladly give up their lives to become chicken sausage, and those that give up their lives so that their energies may be transformed into motors. Remember then, that the energies of our horses live in your automobile motors. Thus, when you fall from an auto, you are actually falling from sixty horses at one time. You are the victim of martyrs but not motors. The time will soon come when we will all have to succumb to the final martyrdom. The blood of the martyrs will run all motors and ruin all digestion. Can you think of two more destructive weapons than the motor and the frankfurter?

Reporter—Do you think the new invention to catch frost in summer, will alter the status of your organization?  
Horse—You mean the invention called the Frost-catcher? I don't think so, because our heroes believe implicitly in the faith of the fathers and furthermore their slogan has always been "Don't put off for tomorrow what you can borrow today."

Reporter—Under those conditions I really don't see how the Aluminum Frost catcher could in any way affect the integrity of your horses.  
Horse—You should have been a horse. You have lots

of horse sense. I should like very much to lecture before the literary clubs of the U. S. I have a peculiar talent for entertaining the ladies. Could you manage the lecture tour for me?

Reporter—You upset me dreadfully by the suddenness of your request. I will consent if you promise you will teach me to throw a few creditors off my trail.

Horse—Count on me. When I throw them, they're good to the last drop.

PRINCE HAKA TZCHYNIK.

## I Envy The Farmer

WIND of the west, blow over.

The cows are cased, the stirs of their contentment wakes the barn, the barn talks with its friends, exchanging

Chatter of chicken-trove and cat sunning in the door and on the roof gulls lighting.

For murmur of clear brook and clover and willow shade and the warm drift of summer

Across fields that slant so the eyes lift into clouds, carry along changing clouds that pattern dreams

Farther than the sunset's outer rim. The farm day is ended; quiet drops its dew upon the field and house, the fold slumbers,

The moon seeks truth in the well, finding all man shall learn, the moon passes

Beyond quest into beauty of orchard under the moonlight. The farmer sleeps after his day, his chores ended,

Life summed up in his sleep, the days totaled in herded kine and quiet roost in the barnyard.

Life close to small ultimate things, below the nerve-line, beneath the sting and the empty pang and the futile shame of knowing—

What coils like the worm in the fruit eating the heart of all pleasure henceforward: rotten, rotten that harvest and we who let reap it, knowing—

Down east, on a trumpey charge, to still a call against tyrants, the state where liberty was born

Has sent two men to die.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

It is indeed a sinecure to run a column with Prince Haka Tzchynik doing all the surplus production for the week. May their tribe increase, so that my own labors may lessen, what with the multiplicity of tasks that make for so much distraction these distracted days. And I may here advise you all that I am again bombarding the electors of the Third Assembly District, the Bronx, for the job of assemblyman, and the prospects for election are not discouraging at all. If only we had the sporting pages of the metropolitan dailies, and two nights a week on WEAF and WJZ, and all the billboards with our posters between here and Tremont Avenue, the chances are that we might lose by only six thousand votes. That amount being the limit that Tammany Hall can manage to miscalculate on election night. However, I refuse to "die." It is a bit hard competing with the radio, and Dempsey's next fight with Tunney. But perseverance has won over even such difficulties.

I want to close my column with a request that all of you who have time and the price to get Upton Sinclair's latest novel, "Oil," and receive the same huge share of pleasure that I have derived from it. The pleasantest way to buy it would be to subscribe to The New Leader for six months, pay the price of the book, \$2.50, and we won't charge you for the six months sub. Or if you are already a subscriber, send us the name of some friend who might like to read this paper, and we will send you the book, and your friend The New Leader. The Rand Book Store sells the book for the price above named if you just want the book alone. But which ever deal you prefer, read the book by all means. To my mind it is the best American novel written in twenty years.

S. A. De Witt