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to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement

THE NEW LEADER

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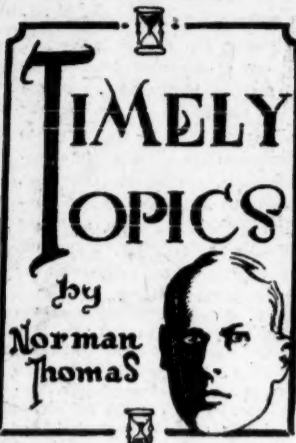
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"Last Nail in Coffin of Freedom," Hillquit Calls Court Ruling

Supreme Court Attacked for Decision on Syn- dicalist Law

THE Supreme Court of the United States has taken another step in its march toward the exercise of supreme power over political and economic opinions by sustaining the California and Kansas criminal syndicalism acts. In the case of California, it means the affirmation of the judgment against Miss Charlotte A. Whitney, who has been under sentence of ten years in prison for having joined the Communist Labor Party.

In its discussion of the California act, the Court declared: "The Syndicalism Act is not class legislation; it affects all alike, no matter what their business association or callings, who come within its terms and do things prohibited."

This abstract legalism is typical of a view of society by American judges who conceive law and its application without reference to the social status of human beings. In saying that the California law "affects all alike" it recalls the satirical thrust of the late Anatole France that "The law in its majestic quality preserves the right of both the poor and the rich to sleep under the bridge at night."

The Supreme Court has not only placed the seal of its approval upon similar acts in other states, but it has left the way open for many other states to enact similar legislation. The decision leaves every trade union in jeopardy, for by a process of tortuous interpretation as other cases come before the Supreme Court it can strike at the liberty of utterance by individuals and organizations.

It is pointed out that the courts

have had no difficulty in construing the Fourteenth Amendment, ostensibly designed to protect the civil rights of freed slaves in the South, into the most powerful bulwark of great combinations of capital. It is also recalled that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act has been twisted into a weapon against trade unions by judicial interpretation. This latest ukase of a small body of men holding office for life, whose members are appointed by the President, who in turn is elected by indirect election, is considered a dangerous extension of judicial power in penalizing political and economic ideas.

Asked by The New Leader for a statement regarding this court decision, Morris Hillquit said:

"There is nothing new or startling in the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court upholding the constitutionality of the so-called Criminal Syndicalism laws of California and Kansas. By these decisions the august body merely drives the last nail into the coffin of free speech in America. Its death certificate had been signed when the Courts undertook to differentiate between freedom and license."

"By this subtle distinction the judges have constituted themselves the censors of speech and thought, for it is they who determine what is freedom and what is license. The effect of this judicial construction is that the discretion, i. e., the preconception and prejudice of a judge is substituted for what is supposed to be a constitutional guaranty. Any statement of view or belief that meets with the approval of the Court comes within the protection of the Constitution. Anything that runs counter to the infallible judicial

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BUILDING TRADES UNITY IN THE AIR

Solid Front of Employ- ers Among Factors Working for Uni- fication

By Louis S. Stanley

WHAT the two Building Trades Councils of New York City should be merged in the near future is the prevailing sentiment in well-informed trade union circles of this city. The opposition to such a step is negligible. The necessity is urgent. How amalgamation can be accomplished with the least amount of friction is the problem.

The facts speak for themselves. Two Building Trades Councils exist in New York City, dividing the ranks of organized labor. The much-vaunted solidarity of the building trades unions is endangered. On the other hand, the employers present a solid front through the Building Trades Employers' Association. Lastly the threatening recession of construction activity demands the combined strength of the building trade unions to maintain their recent gains and make new ones.

Nobody is anxious to settle old scores. Some things may for the present be better left unsaid. Still the situation must be faced as it is. The rift in the building trades unions goes back to the Brindell expose by the Lockwood Committee. The old Building Trades Council with which the late Robert P. Brindell was associated can trace its existence under one form or another to the eighties of the last century. It was generally known as the Board of Business Agents because of its composition and this is the name that is still applied to it in popular speech. The walking delegate became famous under its regime. To this very day the refusal of building trades workers to work with non-union help constitutes the main source of strength of Building Trades Councils.

The Old Council Loses Its Charter Following the publicity of the Lockwood Committee the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor meeting at Cincinnati, Ohio, in May, 1921, rendered an important decision against the Building Trades Council of New York City. Then, in June, the convention of the Building Trades Department at Denver, Colorado, decided upon

"... the immediate revocation of the charter of the New York Building Trades Council and for the issuance of no other charter unless and until an affiliation is made by the District Councils or local unions of the International Union affiliated with the Building Trades Department, eligible to make such affiliation and to be granted such charter under the laws of the department."

This decision was eventually carried out. The former Building Trades Council of New York City, Long Island and vicinity lost its official standing and on February 20, 1923, a new Building Trades Council was chartered by the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Despite these official efforts most building trades unions in New York City did not discontinue their old affiliation. They felt that the unofficial Building Trades Council would be more effective. Those that joined the new body did so, aside from reasons involving personalities, on one or more of four grounds:

1. They objected to the three-year term for business agents required of unions affiliated with the old council;
2. They did not approve of fixing the salaries of business agents at as much as seventy-five dollars per week;
3. They did not like the rule of limiting representation upon the old

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Labor Radio Fears U. S. Gag; W DEBS May Buy Station

Negotiations Are Now Under Way in New York to Purchase Outfit

NEGOTIATIONS are under way for the purchase of a high-powered radio broadcasting station in the East, to be controlled by the American labor and progressive movement. It is announced by directors of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, which is seeking "to perpetuate the voice of the late Eugene V. Debs," the noted labor leader.

According to Norman Thomas, chairman of the fund which is seeking to raise \$250,000, at campaign headquarters, 31 Union Square, W DEBS will operate in the interest of all progressive movements and ideas and will aid every legitimate effort of the American labor movement to improve the economic and cultural status of its membership. A board of trustees, selected from every shade of liberal, radical and labor opinion, will guarantee a non-sectarian control of the station, he said. He added, however, that every program will be as completely varied as those given over already established stations, with artistic numbers alternating with the educational program.

Endorsement of the project has been received from various quarters, many educators lauding the enterprise as one assuring free speech and "freedom of the air" from the monopolistic control of the large stations.

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, declared that the prospect that the entire radio service "may be controlled by the Government and conservative forces is simply appalling. It is a public duty to offset this by erecting Station W DEBS, as you suggest. Nothing could be more fitting than to call it after Eugene Debs."

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, endorsing the project, points out that while he did not always agree with the political and economic views of Debs, he was always his great admirer. "I feel," he said, "that a broadcasting station such as you propose would be a fitting memorial to erect to his memory."

Similar endorsements have been received by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund from the national office of the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle and numerous international and local trades unions. The Academy of Labor of Prague, Czechoslovakia, sent felicitations.

A. F. OF L. VOTES SPECIAL ORGANIZER TO NECKWEAR UNION

The national drive of the Neckwear Workers' Union of New York to extend its influence to every neckwear manufacturing center in the country received great impetus this week when the executive council of the American Federation of Labor voted to give the union a special national organizer.

The action of the executive council was taken following a report made to it by Louis Fuchs, business agent of the New York local, who made the trip to Indianapolis for the purpose of securing the organizer. Mr. Fuchs reported on the recent great victory of the union in Boston, where a strong organization now exists. He told of the strong position of the union in New York City. The council was impressed with Mr. Fuch's plea that the successes of the union in New York and Boston make the present the psychological moment to organize the other cities, among them Philadelphia, Chicago and cities upstate in New York.

It is likely that the union will appoint David Silverman, who did effective work in the Boston fight, to be its field organizer. The Boston local is now in such excellent condition that local leaders will be entrusted with its guidance.

JERSEY SOCIALISTS TO OPEN CONVENTION SUNDAY MORNING

The annual State convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey will be held on Sunday, May 22, 1927, beginning at 10 o'clock a. m. (daylight saving time) at the Labor Lyceum of the Workmen's Circle of Jersey City, 351 York street.

Credentials have been received from nearly all the branches in the State for delegates to the convention. In fact, from reports received, two more counties will have representation than were present at the last State convention.

Banquet Friday Night To Judge Jacob Panken

Reservations for the testimonial dinner to be given Judge Jacob Panken Friday night, May 20, in Beethoven Hall indicate a successful gathering of Judge Panken's friends. The reservations taken include not only individuals but local unions, Socialist Party branches, Workmen's Circles and joint boards in the needle trades.

The testimonial is given in appreciation for Comrade Panken's long and devoted services to the Socialist and Labor movement and his creditable service as a Socialist representative on the bench in New York City.

NEW LEADER IS ENDORSED BY HATTERS

Green Addresses General Convention in New York City

THE ninth convention of the United Hatters of North America opened in New York at the Broadway Central Hotel on May 11. The opening was celebrated with a magnificent banquet arranged by the New York locals of the union, Numbers 3, 7, 8 and 14. A number of addresses were delivered by prominent leaders of the union, including President Green and Secretary Lawler.

The local unions throughout the country are well represented at this convention, as the organization at this time is confronted with a number of serious trade problems. Among the matters that are being given the most serious attention is the problem of organizing the great portion of the industry which is at the present time not under the control of the union. Alongside of the problem of organizing comes the problem of popularizing the union label, the public demand for which is a very great factor in helping to organize the trade.

A number of resolutions were introduced by various delegates concerning trade problems, as well as matters concerning the labor movement in general. Among the resolutions that have been introduced and will be acted upon during the rest of the sessions, which will continue probably until some time next week, are those favoring the 40-hour week in industry, the organization of the trimmers and operators in the straw hat industry, a review by Governor Fuller of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the establishment of unemployment insurance for the workers in the industry, the putting into the field of more organizers in the National office to organize the open shops, the formation of a National Labor Party, and the withdrawal of American marines and troops from China. Other resolutions condemned injunctions and Fascism.

A resolution was also introduced by Delegates Morris Feiner, J. Louis Africk, Hyman Goldstein and R. M. Humphry, urging greater support of The New Leader. The resolution follows:

Whereas, The New Leader Association, an organization composed of men of the Labor Movement, fully capable and qualified to speak its needs, publishes a weekly newspaper devoted to the interests of the Labor Movement; and

Whereas, The New Leader has at all times given their fullest support to the workers in their struggles against the employing class, and has helped in bringing the message of unionism to the great mass of workers; and

Whereas, Labor advertisement is its main support; therefore be it

Resolved, That we instruct our offices to increase the amount of our advertisement in The New Leader. The convention was greeted by many prominent leaders of the Labor Movement. Hugh Frayne addressed the delegates in behalf of President William Green of the A. F. of L., who could not attend because of the quarterly meeting of the Executive Council in Indianapolis.

Chicago Unionists Ap- peal to Friends to Pe- tition Federal Com- mission

CHICAGO—Fearing that the Federal Radio Commission may be influenced to curtail the power and latitude of Station WCFL, owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, President John Fitzpatrick and Secretary E. N. Nickels have sent an appeal for moral support to labor organizations and leaders of organized labor, as well as to farmers' unions, co-operative organizations and friends and sympathizers throughout the country.

"Unless we can convince the Radio Commission that labor and its allied interests are interested in this station, and that it is rendering a real public service of national significance, the commission may so limit it in power and time as to almost destroy its usefulness," say President Fitzpatrick and Secretary Nickels in their circular letter.

"Under the new Federal law," they point out, "the Radio Commission has power to control and limit all broadcasting stations. The capital-owned stations are now seeking to monopolize the air. They are inducing influential persons and thousands of listeners to write to the commission urging greater power and latitude to their stations and the reduction of power and latitude to labor's one station, WCFL."

"We believe it of the utmost importance to organize labor that there be at least one broadcasting station in the United States owned and operated by and for labor. All other stations are owned by capital, and are utilized in its interests. Most of our people do not yet realize the tremendous importance of radio in molding public opinion, but the time is near when this new medium of propaganda will wield an influence of almost unlimited power."

Friends Asked to Write Appeal

All persons interested are asked to write a strong letter to the Federal Radio Commission, Washington, D. C., urging that Station WCFL be allowed its own exclusive wave length and a maximum of power. The station has been operating on a 491.5-meter wave length and one and a half kilowatts power. The management of the station wants a wave length and power as great as any other station licensed by the Radio Commission. The station's engineer, Virgil Schoenberg, says that he would like to use up to 50 kilowatts of power in order to be able to reach the most distant points with the excellent programs broadcast by WCFL. The Chicago Federation of Labor celebrated the formal opening of its very handsome and well equipped new broadcasting studios on the seventh floor of the Brunswick Building, 623 to 633 South Wabash avenue, May 4, and 5.

The broadcasting studios are among the largest and most modern in the United States, having at least one feature of great importance that no other station has, it is claimed. This is the control board, which was designed and built wholly by members of Electrical Workers' Local Union No. 134. Engineers from all parts of the country have visited the station for the sole purpose of viewing the control board to get an idea how to build one like it.

Station Complete in Every Detail Eight microphones can be put in use through this control board at one time, and there are facilities for handling 40 outside pickups, but one at a time, of course.

The aerial of Station WCFL is strung between the two towers at the end of Municipal Pier, which extends one mile into Lake Michigan at the foot of Grand avenue. The machinery is located in the north tower. The studios in the Brunswick Building are two miles away.

There are two studios in the Brunswick Building, one large and one small. There are three Charles Frederick Stein grand pianos and a \$3,000 Barton pipe organ, all especially built for radio broadcasting purposes. The pipe organ was a free gift. A 15-piece band is used in the large studio for recording Brunswick phonograph records and to broadcast at the same time.

There is a control room for recording, a control room for broadcasting, a listening-in room for recording, an artists' room, a battery room and a beautifully furnished guest room, where visitors may sit in comfortable chairs and view through plate glass windows the artists and employees at their work and at the same time listen in.

N. Y. JEWELERS TO ENTER A. F. L. FRENCH PARTY IN CONGRESS

Agreement Is Reached With International Union to Settle Dis- pute

Members of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, Local No. 1, will flock to the next general membership meeting, to be held at the World Building, Thursday evening, May 26, 1927, to hear the terms of the agreement which will bring them back to the International Jewelry Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The ratification of this pact by the rank and file in the various jewelry workers' locals throughout the country will clear up a situation that has been a credit to no one.

The suspensions of the seven locals affiliated with the Jewelry Workers' District Council of Greater New York and vicinity arose out of a question of interpreting the agreement made in 1922 between the jewelry workers and the Metal Polishers' International Union, settling jurisdictional claims.

A verbal understanding provided for the turning over of suspended members of the M. P. I. U. to that organization. Under the unwritten agreement Abraham Greenstein, general secretary of the International Jewelry Workers' Union until forced to resign shortly afterwards, sought, through a technical point, to hand over to the M. P. I. U. Samuel Beardsley, head of the Jewelry Workers' District Council, and about thirty other members. The seven locals affiliated with the council objected to this action and were later suspended.

Negotiations have been going on during the last three years or so, until on May 9, 10 and 11 of this year a conference was held which resulted in a peace agreement. Those present were: H. J. Moynihan, general president of the I. J. W. U.; a committee of the district council, and John J. Flynn, general vice-president of the M. P. I. U. Hugh Frayne, local representative of the A. F. of L., witnessed and approved the agreement. The terms will be made public later. Meanwhile it is imperative that all members turn out to the general meeting on May 26 to voice their opinions on this momentous question. It will remove the last obstacle to effective organization work in New York City, the greatest gold and platinum center in the country, and settle a needless energy-disipating internal dispute.

Question of Co-opera- tion with the Other Groups Uppermost

PARIS—The 24th Congress of the French Socialist party opened in Lyons under the chairmanship of Bonnet, secretary of the Lyons Socialist Federation. The Congress dealt with the question of the relationship of the Socialist party, on the one hand toward the capitalist parties, on the other toward the Communist party.

Four resolutions were before the meeting. Resolution A, signed, among others, by Paul Faure, Severac and Compe-Morel, admits collaboration with Left capitalist groups for the attainment of particular concrete aims. "But we must never forget the incidental character of this collaboration and the undesirable nature of the compacts which may arise from it." With regard to relations with the Communists the resolution emphasizes that the restoration of the unity of the working class is an international question, which can only find an international solution. The resolution rejects any united front with the Communists and stresses that the united front maneuver of the Communists is calculated merely to widen the breach within the working class.

Resolution B, advanced by the editor of the weekly, "L'Etincelle," Maurin, rejects in principle any collaboration with capitalist groups and demands the formation of a united front with the Communists. Resolution C, sponsored by Bracke and Zyromski, demands independent action by the Socialist party, seeing that the growing class antagonisms preclude any collaboration with capitalism.

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Operators and Miners Joint Conference Fails to Agree

Indianapolis, Ind.—The joint conference of association coal operators and the United Mine Workers of District II, Indiana, held at Terre Haute, failed to reach an agreement on a wage settlement, and was adjourned summarily by the operators.

Considerable importance was attached to the conference over the central competitive field, as Indiana was the first state to hold a joint wage conference since the suspension on April 1.

The conference was in session three days. After the miners had rejected a reduction of approximately 25 percent in wages and the operators had refused to consider the recently expired scale as a basis for negotiations

a motion to adjourn sine die was made and carried by the operators.

However, there was not complete harmony in the ranks of the employers as the vote on the motion to adjourn showed. Three operators voted for adjournment, one against and the remainder refused to vote.

Reports to international headquarters from various districts indicate that the union is well holding its own in the struggle to prevent a lowering of the wage scale. The big fight is being made in the Pittsburgh district, where the Pittsburgh Coal Company is battling with the union to establish non-union conditions in all its mines, but is meeting with poor success, judging from its weekly production records and number of men employed.

Americans generally and the workers in particular will do well to observe once more that if they want liberty they must seek power. There is no way of writing Constitutional guarantees in State or Federal documents which will be automatically self-enforcing. This does not mean that such guarantees may not have some value. It certainly means that each generation must carry on the struggle for freedom. In his fascinating "Story of Civil Liberty in the United States" (Vanguard Press) Leon Whipple shows that that has been true from the beginning of our national history.

Not only written constitutions but unwritten traditions are inadequate guarantees of either civil liberty or plain common sense. England, with her good domestic traditions on this subject, is going crazy, at least so far as its dominant party is concerned. Perhaps it is a case of whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The Conservative trade union bill promises to bring about as bad a situation as we have under our injunctions. This raid on the Russian Arcos in London looks to me like another bit of foolishness involving civil liberty less than international comity. Of course Jix, the British Home Secretary, says he has found something. Maybe he has. But he would have to say it anyway to save his face. He seems to be a sort of combination of Nervous Nellie Kellogg and A. Mitchell Palmer. And that, ladies and gentlemen, is some mixture. By the way, if anybody should raid the British Embassy or other semi-official British place of business even here in America, to say nothing of certain other countries in the world, I wonder if no compromising documents could be found. Well, we shall know more about it after a while. The practice of questioning Cabinet officers in Parliament makes it a little bit harder to conceal facts than under our American procedure.

An example in logic from the Hankow correspondent of the esteemed New York Times:

American and British refused to leave the alleged danger zones in China lest German merchants capture their trade.

German merchants in China have no special protection of any kind and they are unarmed.

Therefore, American and British merchants demand force, and yet more force, to make them safe and popular. Q. E. D.

Of course the Hankow correspondent didn't put it in this logical form but this is precisely what he said. Another issue of the New York Times reports that German ships are never fired on by the Chinese along the Yangtze. Yet in spite of this visible demonstration of the advantage of the German position, American and British

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WEST VA. MINE TRAPS 100 MEN

Open Shop Pit at Everettville Long Considered a "Death Trap"

CHARLESTON.—The death toll of miners in the Everettville mine disaster has reached nearly 100. The mine in which these lives were sacrificed is owned by open-shoppers, and has long been regarded by miners as a death trap. The newspapers of the State are ignoring these facts and attempting to divert attention from them by eulogizing the New England Fuel & Transportation Company, owners of the death trap, and Chief Mine Inspector Lambie in rescuing the dead bodies of the victims.

A strict enforcement of the mining laws of the State would have averted the disaster, but the anti-union coal corporations are supreme in West Virginia and laws do not apply to them. It now remains to be seen whether the proper authorities will endeavor to fix responsibility for this preventable disaster. It is significant that there is no press campaign on in the State urging that this should be done.

Miners and other workers are recalling a similar disaster at the Barackville mine in the same territory in which a large number of men lost their lives. An investigation revealed the cause and fixed the responsibility, but the facts were not given to the coroner's jury or the public. They were suppressed, and to this day nothing more has been done about it.

Meantime the miners are holding meetings for the purpose of organizing workers outside of the United Mine Workers. Logan County is an empire of the coal masters and has been the scene of many bloody struggles, yet the miners of this county are showing increasing interest in the work of organization.

Organization meetings are being held near the county line while information is sent across the border regarding the time and place of the meetings. Large crowds of miners attended two organization meetings in spite of bad weather and were enthusiastic over the prospects of unionizing a territory that has been terrorized by private gunmen in the service of mining corporations. Reports from the northern part of the State are reassuring with the organization gaining ground every day.

MacDonald, Sailing, Says He Hopes to See Labor Party Here

British Labor Leader Is Guest of Forward On Eve of Departure

"WE are all members of a common movement for the realization of the International Socialist State. We shall build it stone on stone and tier on tier." These were the inspiring words of J. Ramsay MacDonald at a farewell dinner arranged by the Jewish Daily Forward in honor of the former Labor Premier of Great Britain at the Park Palace in New York Tuesday night. The spacious dining room was filled with representatives of Socialist and labor organizations to greet MacDonald before he left that night for England, where he will immediately participate in the Parliamentary fight against the anti-trade union bill.

The ex-Labor Premier showed visible traces of his illness. His physical weakness was apparent. He spoke for about twenty minutes, but into this period he crowded a speech of intense earnestness that gripped his audience. Beginning in a tone just above a whisper, his rich and musical voice was soon raised to a higher pitch as he expressed his faith in the labor movement of the world and his gratitude for the kindnesses shown him in this country.

In a few words of appreciation Toastmaster E. Charney Viadeck introduced MacDonald, who said that the labor movement of Great Britain and the United States have much in common. If Labor is to use its increasing power intelligently, he said, "industrial labor and political labor must march shoulder to shoulder together." The war has revolutionized the world, but we should remember that "we cannot storm the gates of heaven." Years of hard driving in the factory and education of the masses and patience are essential for the realization of our universal hopes. "There is no bigger task imposed on the new generation," declared MacDonald, "than to keep cool heads. We must keep our minds on the great facts of evolution, build like builders inspired by the ideals of workmanship, not in a shoddy way. We must build stone on stone and tier on tier so that our structure will endure the storms and tempests of coming generations. The builders will earn the gratitude of all generations to come."

To the hope expressed by Morris Hillquit that he would return to us next year MacDonald answered, "I shall do so if I can, and I hope I can," which evoked an enthusiastic demonstration. "I will return to England and tell my comrades of your kindness and of the many difficulties which the American movement faces. We may not see Socialism in our time, but we shall gain inspiration by the growth of the International Socialist Movement. For the present good-bye."

In the course of his short speech MacDonald said he hoped to see a growing Labor Party in the United States, but advised that we should not slavishly copy from England, although the movement in each country could learn much from each other.

Owing to the limited time MacDonald had other speakers were limited to a few minutes each. Norman Thomas spoke for the Socialist Party, Judge Panken for the only Socialist holding office in New York, Abraham Beckerman for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Alexander Kahn for the Forward Association, and Morris Hillquit, "for everybody, including himself," humorously declared Viadeck. Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, was unable to be present because of illness.

Other organizations represented were the Furriers' Union, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Cap and Millinery Workers' Union, the Bakers' Union and the Butchers' Union.

A few minutes before the Cunard liner Berengaria sailed a crowd of three thousand friends gathered at the pier to bid good-bye to MacDonald and his daughter, Isabel. At the pier he again declared to reporters his belief that a Labor Party may appear in the United States. Governor Smith boarded the Berengaria to pay his respects to MacDonald.

Upon his arrival in England MacDonald will immediately go to the House of Commons to fight the anti-trade union bill. Late last week the Labor Party members walked out of the House as a protest against the "guillotine" motion introduced by Premier Baldwin to limit debate on the obnoxious bill. The Labor members returned the next day, when the Tories jammed through the main clause of the bill.

FRENCH PARTY IN CONGRESS

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talist elements. As the main point of opposition to the Communists it dwells on the "Bolshevik sectarian spirit and the notion of a party monopoly." This resolution also repudiates the creation of a united front with the Communists. Resolution D, proposed by Renaudel and Paul Boncour, recommends the resumption of the policy of coalition with the Left, capitalist groups, while repudiating in principle any collaboration with the Communists. As necessary preliminaries to a possible realization of unity, it points inter alia to the restoration of trade union unity on the basis of the free trade union center and the entry of Russia into the League of Nations.

The motions advanced were referred to a resolutions committee, and following its report these decisions were taken: The Congress adopted by a vote of 2,352 the Paul Faure-Severac resolution (A); 774 votes were cast for the Bracke-Zyromski resolution (C); 185 for the Maurin resolution (B). There were 86 abstentions.

In the debate on the reports submitted to the Congress two points in the main received closer attention. On behalf of the majority of the Federation of the Seine, Zyromski drew the attention of the Congress to the increasing embarrassments arising out of the presence in Geneva of a Socialist delegate to the League, receiving his instructions from the capitalist government of France. He pointed out that in the question of the control of mandatory rights and in that of the Treaty of Trianon the League had displayed a complete inertia. However, he asked for no decision, but only that the problem which is to be examined at the next International Congress should be discussed beforehand in the Federations and branches. Grunbach dwelt on the significance of the co-operation of Socialists in the League, and demanded postponement of any debate on this question till after the International Congress.

The parliamentary report gave rise to a lively debate. The discussion dealt almost exclusively with the law on the organization of the nation in time of war, defended by Renaudel and by Emile Kahn, of the staff of "Le Populaire," repudiated by Zyromski, Bracke, Dumoulin and numerous other speakers. Bracke demanded the calling of a National Council of the party within the shortest possible time in order to facilitate a thorough inquiry into this law.

By 17 votes to 15 the resolutions committee decided in favor of calling a National Council with the least possible delay for the purpose of pronouncing not only on the law for the organization of the nation in time of war, but also on the military enactments connected therewith. On a show of hands the Congress endorsed this decision by a majority.

Among the further decisions of the Congress should be mentioned a resolution against the execution of the death sentence on Sacco and Vanzetti with a demand for a retrial. Further, in accordance with Renaudel's motion, there was adopted a resolution demanding that disarmament should be simultaneous and should embrace all categories of armaments.

Bracke, Longuet and Renaudel, with Leon Blum and Paul Faure as substitutes, were re-elected as delegates to the International.

BUILDING TRADES UNITY IN THE AIR

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council to business agents and excluding laymen; and 4. They resented jurisdictional awards, which affected them. Not all these reasons, it must be emphasized, operated in all cases.

The New Building Trades Council While among the charter members of the new, official, A. F. of L. Building Trades Council were a representative of the bricklayers and one from the plasterers, the former union never affiliated and the latter withdrew subsequently. A small local of stone setters also dropped out after a while. The organizations affiliated at present follow:

Painters' District Council No. 9. Plumbers' L. U. No. 463. Compact Labor Club (marble help-ers).

Whitestone Association (marble polishers).

Male Cutters, Carriers and Setters. Stone Masons L. U. No. 78. Stone Masons' Helpers L. U. 655. Journeyman Stone Cutters. Machine Stone Workers.

Laborers' L. U. No. 77 (drill runners and peckmen). Common Laborers' L. U. No. 728. General Building Laborers' L. U. No. 259.

It will be noticed that the official Building Trades Council consists of the painters and plumbers of Manhattan and the Bronx, some stone and marble workers and three locals of common laborers affiliated with an organization outside of the A. F. of L. The New York Laborers' District Council of the United Building and Common Laborers' Union of America. The weakness of this combination is that it does not contain enough strategic trades to affect a job vitally by sympathetic strikes in case of unsettled grievances against a contractor.

The unofficial Building Trades Council, however, is comprised of a variety of trades which must be enumerated, even at the risk of boring the reader: Blasters, blue stone cutters, boiler-makers, building material handlers (two locals), carpenters (28 locals), including dockbuilders and house shapers), carpet and linoleum layers, cement and concrete workers (3 locals), composition roofers, dockmen and riggers, electrical workers (two locals), elevator constructors, engineers (four locals), excavators (two locals), granite cutters, house-smiths, lathers (three locals), machinists, mosaic and terrazzo workers (affiliated with bricklayers), mosaic and terrazzo workers' helpers (affiliated with marble polishers), plumbers of Staten Island, plumbers' laborers (affiliated with common laborers), pipelayers, riggers, rock drillers, rookmen, sheet metal workers (two locals), slate and tile roofers, steam fitters, steam fitters' helpers, tile layers, tile layers' helpers, teamsters and upholsterers.

The inference is plain from this imposing array that the unofficial Building Trades Council has all the opportunities of functioning—and it does. The other Council, said to relate, exists merely on paper. It is interesting to note also that the carpenters—who, by the way, are an important factor in the Council because of their numerous locals—are at present ineligible to belong to an official Building Trades Council because they have been out of the Building Trades Department since 1921 when metal trimming was awarded to the sheet metal workers.

The bricklayers and plasterers, as well as the Brooklyn painters and the plumbers outside of Staten Island remain entirely unaffiliated. That explains why the painters of Brooklyn and the plumbers of Greater New York are at present waging an isolated, officially unassisted fight against their employers.

The Bosses Are Strongly Organized Which brings us to our final point. The building trades' unions are divided into three groups: independent members of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Council and members of the other, the old Council. The employers are not divided at all. The Building Trades Employers' Association is a powerful, centralized organization rounding out its quarter of a century of existence. It is a federation of twenty-six employers' associations which in turn have more than five hundred contractors and builders affiliated; a dozen companies in the building industry known as individual members; 171 firms chiefly in the building materials supply business classed as associate members; and three honorary members. Therefore, in the current dispute while the Plumbing and Piping Contractors' Association is affiliated with the Building Trades Employers' Association, which called and directed the city-wide lockout against the organized plumbers, the Brooklyn plumbers' union is entirely independent and the Manhattan and Bronx local belongs to the A. F. of L. Building Trades Council. It is no secret that the Employers' Association and the old Council are on amicable terms.

Under these circumstances it is no wonder that active trade unionists are anxious to bring the two Councils together in conference with a view to a merger. If this is not done, the A. F. of L. group will disintegrate completely, for already Painters' District Council No. 9 is seceding under its present affiliation. Responsible trade unionists have always been cordial to the old Building Trades Council. Considering the facts not the fiction of the case, the concentration of the employers' organization and the economic tendencies at this time, we cannot but conclude that to maintain the status quo much longer will be unforgivably and irretrievably injurious to the interests of organized labor.

Socialists to Hold Matteotti Memorial Meeting June 10 in Carnegie Hall

A mass meeting will be held in Carnegie Hall Friday evening, June 10, under the auspices of the Italian Socialist Branch, with the other Socialist Branches and Trade Unions co-operating.

June 10 is the anniversary of the death of Giacomo Matteotti, who was brutally assassinated by the Mussolini gang. It is expected that this commemorative meeting will be an impressive demonstration in behalf of the memory of our late beloved comrade, and thousands of Socialists and trade unionists will be present to do honor to his memory. Many labor organizations and Socialist Party branches will occupy boxes and bring their banners.

Those who have not yet arranged to do so are requested to decide at once, as the number of boxes are limited. Speakers will include Morris Hillquit, Judge Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, who will speak in behalf of the American Socialist Movement, Arturo Giovannitti and V. Vacireca will speak in Italian. It is also possible that a very distinguished Italian Socialist, Joseph Vittori Modigliani, one of the leaders of the Italian Socialist movement and its most brilliant spokesman, will be in America in time to speak at this meeting. Tickets are now on sale. The price of admission to any part of the house is 25c. Branches and individuals are urged to obtain their tickets early.

Bronx and Brownsville Boss Barbers Seek Peace with Strikers

At the time of going to press The New Leader learns that many employers of barber shops and beauty parlors in the Bronx and Brownsville are succumbing to the union's demands and negotiating for settlements. Because many individual employers are deserting the ranks of the bosses' associations both in Brownsville, as well as in the Bronx, the associations are now arranging for negotiations for settlements.

The strike in the Bronx, which is being conducted by Barbers' Union Local 560, was mainly caused by the fact that the employers refused to recognize the union of the manicurists and other beauty parlor workers who also presented demands for a minimum scale of wages, the shortening of their unbearably long hours and recognition of their union.

According to Harry Quinto, president of the local, as well as president of the New York State organization of the Barbers' Union, who is in full charge of the conduct of the strike, over two thousand workers have responded to the strike call issued.

Mr. Quinto points out that the union's demands are extremely modest when compared to the standards already achieved by most of the other organized trades. The union demands for the barbers are: A working day from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m., on Saturday from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m., and on legal holidays from 8 a. m. to 1 p. m. with a compensating half holiday off during the holiday week.

For the beauty parlor workers the union demands a minimum of \$18 a week for the manicurists, and 50 per cent of all income from their work exceeding \$26 a week. For the other beauty parlor workers the union demands a minimum scale of \$35 a week and 50 per cent of all income on their work exceeding \$65 a week. A nine-hour day is also demanded for these workers by the union, which includes an hour for lunch.

The workers are standing solid and are determined in their demands. They will continue this strike as long as will be necessary to accomplish complete victory, according to Mr. Quinto.

The strike of the Brownsville Barbers' Union Local 657, which was called at the same time that the Bronx strike went into effect, affects all the barber shops in Brownsville, East New York and the Bedford section. The old agreement expired on May 1, and the union made practically no new demands in renewing the agreement. The employers, however, attempted to reduce wages or have the union assume responsibility for increasing the prices to customers. According to a statement issued by Barnett Jacobs, an officer of the union, the workers refused to be a party to having the employers raise prices. Mr. Jacobs further points out that even on the present prices the bosses are profiteering and that there certainly is no justification in reducing the standards of the working barbers for which they have struggled many years. Both locals of the Barbers' Union appeal to the public to help them in the present struggle with their employers by patronizing only barber shops that display the union show card in the window.

Justice Mulligan adopted the contention of Charles Solomon, attorney for the defendants, that the employing laundry deliberately broke its contract with the union, and for that reason is not entitled to relief from a court of equity.

About a year ago the union entered into an agreement with the laundry, which provided, among other things, for the arbitration of certain difficulties. The union charged that the laundry ignored its demand to submit a controversy to arbitration and compelled more than twenty of its drivers, members of the union, to cease working. The strike is several weeks old and the union men have remained practically 100 percent outside of the plant.

The employing laundry is associated with other laundries in the Bronx, and it is the contention of the strikers that this association is seeking an opportunity to pick a quarrel with the organization in the hope that it may be able to defeat and even destroy the union.

Hillquit Hits Supreme Court

(Continued from page 1)

conception of propriety, morality and sound social philosophy is beyond the pale of the Constitutional guaranty.

"To the mind of Mr. Justice Butler, for instance, it is unbridled license and a crime for a person to assert that the working class and employing class have nothing in common, and that it is the mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. Hence the possession of literature containing that assertion is held to justify the conviction of the I. W. W. organizer, William Burns.

"It may seem to the unsophisticated that the expression of heterodox social and economic views is just the right which the Constitution of the United States and of the several states sought to guaranty as the very foundation of a free republic. But the Constitutions are inert written instruments and the courts are living and powerful social forces. Our government is increasingly coming to be a government of men rather than one of law, and the men in the government represent the reactionary spirit and interests of the ruling classes. They will continue to do so just as long as the bulk of the American electorate, and particularly the mass of the American workers, will vote them and their political parties into public office."

N. Y. TYPOS PAY TRIBUTE TO O'CONNELL

Memorial Services for Late Secretary in the Academy of Music

MEMBERS of Typographical Union No. 6 will gather in one of the most notable memorial services in the history of the union in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Sunday, May 22, at 2 p. m., to pay tribute to the union's late secretary-treasurer, John S. O'Connell. There will be a musical program, including soloists and a choir, composed of members of the union, which will render selections, and addresses by prominent jurists and clergymen.

John S. O'Connell was one of the most lovable personalities of "Big Six" and won the affection of all who came to know him. His sympathies knew no barriers of race, creed or religion. Unfortunates who were in distress and in need of help always found in "Long John," as he came to be known, a friend. O'Connell was always giving to these types. His genial qualities were such that for sixteen years he held the office of secretary-treasurer, although there were some "hot" election campaigns in the union during this period.

O'Connell was widely known in the printing and allied trades and when news of his passing became general resolutions came pouring into "Big Six" expressing affection for him and grief because of his passing. This was not confined to Greater New York, where chapel after chapel sent resolutions of condolence. They also came from upstate, from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Illinois and other states. Printing pressmen and bookbinders were also represented in these messages.

O'Connell was born in Greencastle, Ind., January 14, 1873, the seat of DePauw University and thirty miles west of Indianapolis. He joined the union in the latter city, worked in Terre Haute and other cities in the Ohio Valley, then moved to Boston and from there came to New York. Wherever he went O'Connell made a host of friends.

Mr. O'Connell died at his home at Floral Park on April 2. One week before he had attended a meeting of the Empire State Conference at Newburgh, where he contracted a cold which developed into pneumonia and brought him to his death. The body was taken to Greencastle for burial. On his last journey home O'Connell was accompanied by three members of "Big Six" as a guard of honor appointed by President Rouse.

Mr. O'Connell is survived by his widow, Jessie Hollenbach O'Connell; a son, Thomas J., who is a member of "Big Six"; a daughter, Helen O'Connell, and a sister, Mrs. M. Margaret Boland, of Terre Haute. He was also a member of the Floral Park Council of the Knights of Columbus and the Queensboro Lodge of Elks.

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Notice is hereby given to all the members that the assessment amounts to 10 cents for each hundred dollars of insurance. Assessments will be received at the following places:

NEW YORK-MANHATTAN
In the Home Office of the Society, No. 237 East 84th Street
From April 11 until May 11

COBONA
In E. Floets's Echo Cafe at Northern Boulevard and 102d Street
May 11 and 14

BRONX, N. Y.
At 4515 Third Avenue, Northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and Tremont Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.
May 14 to 16 and including May 11

The office hours for all places outside of Manhattan are from 10 a. m. to 6 p. m.; Saturdays to 1 p. m.

At the main office the hours are 9 a. m. to 6 p. m.; Saturday to 1 p. m.

Beginning with May 2 the main office will be open every Monday to 9 in the evening.

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PA. LABOR WANTS SPY AGENCIES ENDED

Resolutions at Convention
Defend Sacco
and Vanzetti—Flood
Victims Aided

HARRISBURG—A conspicuous feature of the annual convention of the State Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania which closed its sessions late last week, was a discussion of economic and educational problems which continued throughout one afternoon and evening session. This discussion was held under the auspices of the Educational Department of the Federation.

The questions came up after a number of speakers had considered whether trade unions could co-operate with modern industrial engineers to make management of industry more efficient.

The first speech was made by Richard Lanebaugh, formerly Secretary of the Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania, and now on the faculty of the Wharton School of Management in Philadelphia. The second speaker was Geoffrey Brown, a well-known industrial engineer who has specialized in "job study" problems.

Representatives of unions in most of the Pennsylvania industries took the floor. Doubts were expressed whether the engineer had proven himself above the suspicion that he would take advantage of the workers' willingness to co-operate, although the speakers believed that a more thorough participation by labor in the problems of management and a study of economic problems would be worth while.

Among the important decisions of the convention were resolutions in favor of framing legislation to outlaw the "yellow dog" labor contract and resolutions committing the State Federation to fight for a measure which will regulate the operation of private detective agencies in industry in Pennsylvania.

Moved by a splendid address from Andrew P. Bower, of Reading, describing the magnitude of the Mississippi Valley disaster the convention passed the resolution presented by the Federated Trades Council of Reading calling for a special session of Congress to deal with the situation.

A "Hands Off China" resolution was passed and another demanding an international investigation of the Nanking incident, which is now being used, it is claimed, as a pretext for warfare with the struggling Chinese.

A strong resolution appealing for an independent investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti case was adopted.

A demand was made by the convention for an official investigation by the State educational authorities into the circumstances surrounding the dismissal of two professors from the West Chester State Normal School because of their liberal views. It was felt that action of this kind might tend to halt similar outrages on academic freedom in Pennsylvania schools in the future.

UNITY HOUSE OPENS ITS DOORS JUNE 17

Unity House at Forest Park opens Friday, June 17. Registration will begin on Monday, May 23, 11 a. m. in the office of the Educational Department, 1 L. G. W. U. Building, fourth floor, 3 West 16th street.

For information regarding registration and other matters apply at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street.

Elaborate arrangements are being made to receive the guests, and we expect this year to have a greater attendance than ever before, due to the various improvements that have been made at Unity, especially the new system of plumbing that has been installed in the entire estate. The rooms have been cleaned, the grounds beautified. A competent staff has been engaged. An interesting program of recreational and educational activities is being planned. There will be weekly concerts, dances, lectures and discussions on topics of interest to Unity guests. An expert social director will be in charge of dancing, games and sports. An excellent chef has been engaged and it is expected this year that the food will be more delicious and wholesome than last year.

THE STRUNSKY ATLANTIC HOTEL BELMAR, N. J.

Will open for Decoration Day, Friday, May 27, and remain open for the season. Special rates during June.

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Comrades, and Friends of The New Leader, Who Own Automobiles, Attention!

Comrades and friends of The New Leader who own automobiles can render great service to The New Leader by joining an automobile outing which is being arranged by the 23rd A. D. for Sunday, June 19th, to some point in Long Island.

THE ENTIRE PROCEEDS WILL BE GIVEN TO THE NEW LEADER

All comrades who have cars will please get in touch with Rivkin, at Dickens 1300, or at Ingersoll 5069, or with Rosen, at Dickens 3237, or write to The New Leader, 7 East 15th St.

Zuckerman Retires as Capmakers' Secretary After 24 Years in Same Position; Max Zaritsky Resumes Presidency



MAX ZARITSKY
President, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union



JACOB ROBERTS
Secretary-Treasurer of the Capmakers' Union



MAX ZUCKERMAN
Retiring Secretary-Treasurer of the Capmakers' Union

AFTER serving the capmakers' union as its international secretary-treasurer for 24 years, Max Zuckerman has found it necessary, because of ill-health, to take leave of that organization, of which he has been a pillar of strength. In the recent general convention held in New York City Mr. Zuckerman's determination to resign, despite the appeals of the delegates, was the only note.

The same convention which witnessed the retirement of one of the most beloved and honored of the "old-timers" in the New York needle trade unions brought compensation in the return to office of president of Max Zaritsky. Thus two new international officers are now guiding the destinies of the union. Jacob Roberts has been

elected to serve in Mr. Zuckerman's place.

Mr. Zuckerman is now 53 years old. He came to the United States from Russia in 1891 and entered the cap trade as a cutter. He took a leading part in the days when the needle trades unions were in their formative stage. He was also an active Socialist and still is an ardent Socialist. He is a member of the Workmen's Circle, a director of the International Union Bank and of the Headgear Workers' Credit Union. He is the author of numerous reports of the general executive board, the most recent one being a valuable and comprehensive analysis of the present status of the industry and the union.

Mr. Zaritsky was, for several years,

president of the union. He retired a few years ago, only to be recalled at the last convention. In the interim he was connected with the Forward Association, of which he is an active member. He is a director of the Amalgamated Bank and of the Headgear Workers' Credit Union. He was secretary of the Needle Trades Alliance which was formed in 1923, and is a member of the Workmen's Circle and the Socialist party.

Mr. Roberts also has a long record of services to the union. Most recently he was one of the board of three which controlled the affairs of the organization during Mr. Zaritsky's absence from office. He is also a member of the Workmen's Circle and of the Socialist party.

Rand School Enterprises Report Great Progress

THE outstanding feature of the meeting of the American Socialist Society in the Rand School Tuesday night was the reports showing progress and expansion of the activities of the school. For years the school has faced serious difficulties owing to the raids of the war period, the split in the Socialist Party, the fight with the Communists and the weakening of the trade unions by the latter.

The report for the fiscal year shows a surplus over expenditures for the first time in many years. Instructors and office staff were paid regularly, old debts have been wiped out, the new year begins with a working capital, Camp Tamiment shows a remarkable growth with substantial financial benefits, the Rand Book Store shows great progress and the prospects for the new fiscal year are bright. The members of the society are jubilant and regard the situation as evidence of a progressive recovery of the Socialist Party and the trade unions.

The Research Department brought out another volume of the Labor Year Book, an Index to Labor Periodicals, and Nathan Fine is writing a book on the History of Labor Parties in the United States. The library reports a file of 210 publications, of which 152 are published here and in Europe. New books added to the library number 225 and others were given by friends. The Women's Committee of the Rand School raised \$1,650 and expect to report \$500 more. The Rand School Fellowship held many socials and contributed about \$500 to the Scholarship Fund.

At the end of the 1926-27 season there were 81 students on a free scholarship basis, of which 65 are members of labor organizations. Next year the school will offer 80 free scholarships to trade unionists, 25 to Yipsels, the Women's Committee offers four to unorganized workers and the Rand School Fellowship six.

Educational Director Algernon Lee has arranged a rich program of prominent instructors. The Workers' Training Course will include the most prominent men in the labor movement as instructors. Socialism and Social Problems will have a large place in next year's curriculum.

A financial report made to the society shows in detail the various items of income and expenses for all activities, the most encouraging that has been submitted in years. August classes of the teaching staff was added to the Board of Directors, while the Women's Committee added Mrs. Ross and the House Committee Benjamin Josephson as fraternal delegates.

The Graduation Dinner and Dance of the Rand School Fellowship in the Debs Auditorium of the school last Saturday night proved to be an enjoyable affair. About 150 were present, including 50 students of the Workers' Training Course. Among the former students who spoke were Comrades Crosswaith and Ryan, the former organizer for the Negro porters and the latter for the auto workers. They received a hearty reception.

Sam DeWitt served as toastmaster. David P. Benenberg and Mr. Perloff, teachers, were warmly received by the students, and Adolph Held, president

Amsterdam International Calls Conference On Arms "A Fraud"

CAMP TAMIMENT TO REOPEN THIS MONTH; REPORT IS RENDERED

"Where shall I spend my vacation?" is no very great problem for those who have been wise and fortunate enough to become acquainted with Camp Tamiment, the Rand School's beautiful summer camp in the Blue Mountains. And those who have visited the Camp before will be elated and surprised by the improvements made on what has seemed to be a perfect summer camp.

A report submitted to the American Socialist Society by the camp's board of directors reveals the comprehensive plans which are now practically completed for making the camp the perfect summer resort. The report also showed to what a great extent the camp has contributed to the operation expenses of the Rand School of Social Science.

The improvements for the year consist of two greatly improved family bungalows in Sandysville, an addition to the dining pavilion, six handball courts, five additional couple bungalows, five large sleeping cabins, a new boat landing. In addition the paths, grounds and roads have been repaired.

Arrangements are now being completed for the opening of the camp on Memorial Day, May 30th, week-end. Reservations are already being received at the camp office in this city, 7 East 15th street, for the week end, beginning Friday, May 28. As in the past, the rates will be down to a minimum which will assure the guests every needed comfort.

RAND SCHOOL STUDENTS AT GRADUATION DINNER

The Graduation Dinner and Dance of the Rand School Fellowship in the Debs Auditorium of the school last Saturday night proved to be an enjoyable affair. About 150 were present, including 50 students of the Workers' Training Course. Among the former students who spoke were Comrades Crosswaith and Ryan, the former organizer for the Negro porters and the latter for the auto workers. They received a hearty reception.

Sam DeWitt served as toastmaster. David P. Benenberg and Mr. Perloff, teachers, were warmly received by the students, and Adolph Held, president

250 Yipsels Enter Movies as Stars In Picture of the Great Outdoors

A remarkable display of Yipsei spirit was shown at a hike last Sunday to Dunwoodie, N. Y. Despite the showers of the night before and the coolness of the morning, over 350 New York Yipsels and their friends gathered at the Van Cortlandt Park Station for the grand start.

Pennants, banners, emblems, Yipsei cheers and songs attracted hundreds of passersby, who asked interestedly who they were and where they were going. The Yipsels were joined by the Sixth A. D. Branch members, who were also going on a hike.

A great deal of the success of the hike was due to the program arranged by the City Office. Aside from the pie-eating contest, which was won by a Passaic Yipsei (probably the strike had some effect) and the various other games, songs and a gen-

eral good time, an unusual interesting feature was added. From the start until the finish motion pictures were taken of interesting events. All day long the cameraman, a jolly young chap whom everyone called "Sol," kept clicking his camera. He took pictures of the various games, the march, a few secret snapshots which we believe some Yipsels would not have had him take, and the arrival of the entire Passaic Yipsei Circle, two carloads of them accompanied by the circle directors.

The picture will be shown at the Rand School Auditorium some day next week. Yipsei party members and friends are invited to come and see this remarkable production of a Yipsei hike. The picture will also be displayed in various cities where there are Yipsei Circles.

POLL IN AUSTRIA, "AMERICAN," ADLER SAYS

Socialists Used Modern
Tactics — Opponents
Emulated Unscrupulousness

By Friedrich Adler

THE campaign waged in Austria for two months with unparalleled vehemence has been described in the press as "American." The Socialists borrowed from America the lavish scale, and the capitalists grouped under the banner of the "United List" borrowed the unscrupulousness. The Socialists worked with an extraordinary display of placards, pamphlets and political films. They arranged an open-air cinema which tens of thousands of Viennese saw daily free of charge, and used sky signs for impressing their watchwords on the public.

Despite the large circulation of the party press, but a fraction of the electorate is reached by it. The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" has a circulation of over 100,000, and so has "Das kleine Blatt," which appeared at the opening of the election campaign, and is designed to inculcate Socialist doctrine in homeopathic doses. The Socialist electorate in Vienna is more than three times as large as the aggregate circulation of these two papers. On April 24 in Vienna alone 684,099 votes were cast for Socialism. Accordingly, the task was to instill into the politically indifferent an interest in the decisive questions at issue by means of an intense electoral propaganda.

Parliamentary committees had made an investigation of bank scandals of the capitalist united front which involved the Christian Socialists (Catholic party) and the Pan-Germans who formed a unit. The revelations of corruption had been made months before the election and the Government parties were on the defensive. They turned to methods associated with American political campaigns.

The scum of humanity was pressed by them into service. Condemned blackmailers received money in order that they might systematically, week by week, in scurrilous journals started for this purpose, spread abroad the most senseless lies and slanders against Socialism, and especially the personal lives of individual leaders. Certainly, Socialists also are men, and in them also human weaknesses may constantly be discovered. But after this systematic campaign which the hirelings of the Government parties conducted with a truly American unscrupulousness, the bourgeoisie was compelled to throw overboard its worst offenders. Leading people in the country disappeared in the crash; a finance minister emigrated to Cuba; clerical gentlemen were unable to stand as candidates any longer, since, in addition to the appalling maladministration in institutions, personal corruption with the aim of personal gain was irrefutably laid bare.

The struggle was waged on two fronts. On the one hand and primarily the struggle was for mastery in Vienna. There the Socialists held a majority of nearly two-thirds in the City Council. The attack of the capitalists was aimed against the Bretiner system of taxation, which, since the capitalists monopolize the direct income taxes for the use of the state and make no grants to the municipalities, is founded on the principle of basing the budget of the city first of all on taxes which strike at the luxury of the rich. Taxes are always unpopular, and the bourgeois parties hoped by the fight against the taxation system at least seriously to shake, if not to overthrow, the Socialists' rule in Vienna. The outcome of this campaign, waged by every means, is that Bretiner, the Finance Commissioner of the Municipality of Vienna, is today probably the most popular man in the city.

On the other front, in the fight for the mastery in Austria, it was the capitalist parties which moved forward to the attack. The conquest of Austria, with its mainly farming population, is the great task which Socialism has to accomplish, and there has never been any doubt as to its difficulty. The Socialists, who in 1923 had obtained 1,311,870 votes, were still short of a great number of electors, namely over 363,000 votes, in order to gather around their banners one-half of all the voters. That the arrival at this goal is no Utopia has been shown by the result of April 24. It proved possible to increase the Socialist vote by 224,437, and today there are over one and a half million Socialist voters in Austria, or, according to present figures, 1,536,307.

In Vienna the Socialists increased their poll as much as the number of the electorate itself has grown. They registered in Vienna a rise of 122,635 votes, while the total of the electorate had risen by 121,332. At the elections of 1923 the Socialists were short of an absolute majority in Austria by 363,559 votes. At the 1927 elections they have drawn nearer by 100,000 to an absolute majority, being still short of it by 244,417.

Under proportional franchise progress does not proceed by leaps and bounds. There will henceforward be 71 Socialists in the National Assembly instead of 68. Although the advance of the Socialists is expressed by only three seats, the bases of their representation are very considerably reinforced. Whereas in 1923 only 58 seats were directly won, ten further ones being allotted to the Socialists by a so-called "residue" of votes, this time 67 seats were won directly and only four are based upon the "residue."

GENEVA PARLEY DISAPPOINTS

Amsterdam International Calls Conference On Arms "A Fraud"

THE adjournment of the Preparatory Commission of the International Disarmament Conference at Geneva without offering any proposals leading to a scaling down of armaments has brought intense disappointment to the workers of Europe. They have sad memories of the bloody price they paid for the blundering of capitalist governments which led to the World War.

The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions issued a statement in Amsterdam late in April protesting against what it declared the "disarmament fraud," and called upon the organized workers of each nation to wage a campaign against militarism and armaments. The manifesto was sent to all trade unions of the world, of which the following is the text:

"The Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U., which met at Amsterdam on the 25th and 26th of April, calls the attention of all the organized workers to the negative results of the work of the Preparatory Commission of the International Disarmament Conference, and reminds them that, in conformity with Article 3 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the temporary mixed commission and the various technical bodies of the League of Nations have, in their work for the various problems of disarmament, prepared plans which have guaranteed both the independence and the safety demanded by the States' members.

"The Executive Committee of the I. F. T. U. cannot admit that, after six years of practical and methodical preparation, the lack of good-will of the governments should strangle the lively desire for peace which exists among all the peoples.

"In the consciousness that it is giving expression to the desires and hopes of the masses of the peoples, the I. F. T. U. calls upon all the national trade union centres to start an energetic campaign against all reactionary and militaristic Powers. It is now the business of the public opinion of the whole world, led by the progressive and pacifically-minded press, to insure peace by means of universal and simultaneous disarmament."

of the American Socialist Society, greeted the students in the name of the society. Algernon Lee, educational director, received a long ovation from the students who sang the "Internationale" in his honor.

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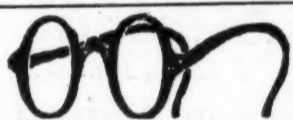
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The Growth of Socialism Through the Ages

By James Oneal

IN this period of post-war recovery there is a marked tendency in many fields to present syntheses of history and ideas in many fields. Wells has attempted it for universal history and others for the evolution of science. Professor Beard and his wife have accomplished a remarkable work of this kind for American history, and Professor Parrington has also made the most complete and informing survey of the evolution of American thought.

That the United States has been favored by the latter two works is evidence of the fact that we have at last reached the age of intellectual maturity. Henceforth no intelligent man or woman may be considered informed on the evolution of American institutions and ideas unless he or she has read the works of the Beards and Parrington. Their work eventually will seep down to the masses and will also contribute something to curing us of the 100 percent disease and the affliction of Babbity.

In line with this tendency to present a synthesis in a particular field of history must be placed another work

Laidler Writes a History of Socialist Ideas From Plato to the Current Period

and one of special importance to students of Socialist and radical thought in general in this and other countries. In a volume of 682 pages ("History of Socialist Thought," New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., \$3.50) Harry W. Laidler, Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, has presented a survey that is not likely to be displaced by any similar work for decades. It is universal in its sweep, taking for its starting point the democratic and egalitarian protests of the Hebrew prophets and concluding with the contemporary period.

The First "Socialists"

Strictly speaking, of course, the social prophets of Israel, as well as of Plato, Sir Thomas Moore, Bacon, Locke, Harrington and others, were not Socialists in the modern sense, but there is a continuity and kinship in the evolution of Socialist thought to which all these contributed something.

Often there is a marked diversity of ideas accompanied with some thread of continuity that justified inclusion of a thinker or a social revolt in the evolution of the movement which in modern times has gathered many millions of workers under the banner of Socialist and Labor parties.

It is this central theme that runs throughout the book. In the earlier period the author presents roughly two types for consideration, the isolated thinkers like Plato, More and others, who speculated on the possibilities of a more ideal society than that which prevailed, and movements of artisans and peasants suffering under intolerable grievances, who rose against the property arrangements of their time and were inspired by a variety of democratic and egalitarian ideas. Occasionally a thinker, especially in the middle period, also provided leadership as well as formulating ideas for the revolting masses.

The first part of the work considers utopian Socialism and its advocates. While protests, thinking, and often blind action of the masses characterized the early utopian period, near its end experiments in social organization came to occupy the attention of men like Cabot, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Owen, Brisbane and others. But they were not content with organizing model colonies and commonwealths of disciples alone. This work was at the same time accompanied with some of the most brilliant and devastating criticism of class society and capitalist property that has ever been written. It was easy for them to show that the glorious promises of the bourgeois revolution had turned to dead sea fruit even if they also failed through their colonies to realize their own promises of transforming the capitalist world.

Utopians and Realists

The utopians were generally right in their rapier thrusts at the ruling classes and the vulgar reality into which the "rights of man" had been translated, but they also erred in thinking that social transformation could be effected by appeals to the

moral sense and humanity of the upper classes and by model experiments in building tiny images of a new social order. It remained for the Marxian phase of the Socialist movement to summon the working class to political and economic organization for improvement of their conditions and preparation for their economic and social emancipation.

Henceforth the evolution of the Socialist movement entered upon a more realistic and practical phase, stripped of its former illusions both in theory and methods, and exploring the history of capitalism itself. Of course, something of the old utopianism survived into the new phase, especially the conspiratorial romanticism of those who thought in terms of street fighting behind barricades. This survival, however, was sloughed off and appeared as force Anarchism, while the Socialist movement placed reliance in education and organization of the masses more and more as the suffrage, free discussion and organization were won from the upper classes. Moreover, the economic and historical writings of Marx and Engels provided a rich cultural basis for the movement and inspired the working class with the idea that capitalism itself is merely one phase of universal social evolution and that it must give way to another.

As the modern Socialist movement entered the twentieth century and new phases of capitalism developed the movement turned to introspection. Bernstein began to raise some questions as to the validity of the old Marxism. Both Marx and Engels were dead and it was left to the new generation of Socialists to interpret the changed and changing capitalism of their period. While the Revisionists were at work a revisionist school appeared as Syndicalism, a school which in some respects reverted back to the romanticism of force and rejection of political organization and action. Distrust of the State, common to all forms of Syndicalism, also affected others who emerged as Guild Socialists and who speculated on organization of so-

cieties to avoid the overlordship of a bureaucratic State.

The War and After

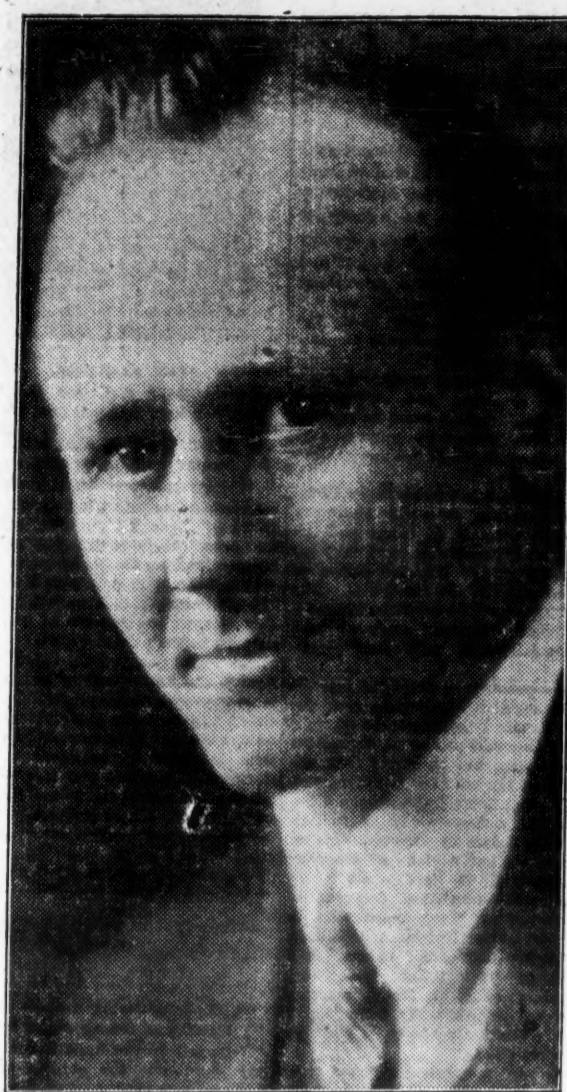
This was the posture of affairs in Socialist thought and action when capitalist civilization plunged into the bloody welter of war, shaking the Socialist and Labor movement to its foundations, and giving birth to Bolshevism with its war upon all working class organizations not submissive to the dictators of the Kremlin. Other post-war developments of the movement, including Bolshevism, are presented in part four and a final short section is devoted to allied movements of the contemporary period.

Here for the first time is presented in one compact volume the whole range of egalitarian ideas from the time of the prophet Amos to modern Communism and Guild Socialism. Readers of The New Leader have had the privilege of reading many of the early chapters and we are sure that they will want the complete work. It is scholarly, and apparently nothing in theory, practice, achievements and methods has been overlooked. Laidler is careful to present both sides in controversial questions where they have appeared in the movement and the bibliography is extensive.

The only critical note the writer would add is that no reference is made to American pioneers in radical and Socialist thought outside of the utopians. The names and views of Andrews, Warren, Simpson, Byllesby, Skidmore, Evans, Brownson and Masquer are not mentioned. The writings of a number of these men are not easily accessible, but they can be obtained. A number of these men were intimately connected with the working class movement and in some respects they were much more modern than Brisbane and his followers.

But, despite this omission, this History of Socialist Thought is an invaluable addition to Socialist literature. An enormous amount of work has gone into its preparation and the Socialist movement is indebted to Harry Laidler for the service he has rendered it.

Completes Monumental Work



HARRY W. LAIDLER
Author of "The History of Socialist Thought"

Patriotism, Oil and Mexico

By John Ise

Professor of Economics, University of Kansas

WE HAVE once or twice come very near to a war with Mexico over our oil interests in that country, and a war would cost more than the oil has ever been worth, at such prices as have prevailed in the past. An association of American oil producers in Mexico has spent thousands of dollars in stirring up hostility to certain Mexican governments, with the purposes of protecting American interests in that country. This association has not been scrupulous in its methods of operation. The part played by concessionary interests everywhere in the world, in stirring up international ill will, would make an interesting study for some patient and painstaking scholar. Government support of rich oil companies operating in weak and backward countries gravitates easily into unfair bullying. The oil companies operating in Mexico have used large amounts of money to influence the press and public sentiment in the United States, and even to influence the government, and while our attitude toward Mexico may not seem unfair, it has often been that of the big bully.

The Department of State has addressed notes to Mexico that it would never have sent to a great power like England.

We take this attitude in a spirit of patriotism and love of country, to be sure, for the interests involved are shrewd enough to play on the motive of patriotism. American citizens would not ordinarily care to risk their lives in the protection of the property of E. L. Doheny or the Standard Oil

Company, but of course they will cheerfully "fight for their country," and when they have read the inspired messages on the subject of Mexican atrocities for a few months, they are likely to want to fight, without knowing definitely whether they are fighting for their country or for the Standard Oil Company.

AMERICANS APPEAL FOR POLISH POLITICALS

A stirring appeal to the Polish Government from a group of influential Americans, revealing a wholesale disregard of political, religious and personal rights in that country and asking for their restoration, was received by Jan Ciechanowski, Polish Minister to the United States. The memorial was presented to the Minister at the Hotel Ambassador, New York City, and is being studied by him prior to being forwarded to Warsaw.

The revelations are made by a group of Americans, including Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Clarence Darrow, Sherwood Eddy, Felix Frankfurter, Norman Hapgood, David Starr Jordan, William Allen White, Paul U. Kellogg and thirty-eight others, organized under the name of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, 2 West 15th street, New York.

Six thousand individuals, according to this committee, are imprisoned in Poland today for political reasons, and wholesale brutality and torture are visited upon them by the authorities.

(Continued from Last Week)

Some data taken from the biographical study of the late J. H. Osterman, multi-millionaire and oil king, prepared for Lingley's Magazine and by it published in its issue for October, 1917:

III

His father, in so far as I have been able to ascertain, was a crude, hard, narrow man who had been made harder, and, if anything, cruder by the many things which he had been compelled to endure. He was not a kind or soft-spoken man to his children. He died when John Osterman, the central figure of this picture, was eleven. Osterman's mother, so it is said, was a thin and narrow and conventional woman, as much harried and put upon by her husband as ever he was by life. Also there was one sister, unattractive and rough-featured, an honest and narrow girl who, like her mother, worked hard up to nineteen, when her mother died. After that, both parents being dead, she and her brother attempted to manage the farm and did so fairly successfully for two years, when the sister decided to marry, and Osterman, consenting, she took over the farm. This falling in with his mood and plans, he ceased farming for good and betook himself to the Texas oil fields, where he appears to have mastered some of the details of oil prospecting and refining.

But before that what miseries had he not endured! He was wont to recount how, when grasshoppers and drought took all of their crops for two years after his father's death, he and his mother and sister were reduced to beg a little cornmeal and salt from the local store on the promise to pay, possibly a year later. Taxes mounted up. There was no money to buy seed or to plant or replace stock, which had had to be sold. The family was without shoes or clothes. Osterman himself appeared to be of the fixed opinion that the citizens and dealers of Reamer, from near which point in Kansas he hailed, were a hard and grasping crew. He was fond of telling how swift they were to point out that there was no help for either himself or his mother or sister as farmers and to deny them aid and encouragement on that score. He once said that all he ever heard in the local branch of his mother's church, of which he was never a confessing communicant, was "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," also "with whatsoever measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." Obviously such maxims taken very much to heart by a boy of his acquisitive and determined nature might bring about some of the shrewd financial tricks later accredited to him. Yet he appears to have been a man of some consideration and sympathy where boys were concerned, for it was said that he made it a rule in all his adventures to select the poorest if not determined youths of his organization for promotion and to have developed all of his chief lieutenants from the ranks of farm or orphan boy beginners whom he encouraged to work for him. How true this is the writer is not able to state. However, of the forty or more eminent men who have been connected with him in his enterprises, all

but four were farm or orphan boys who had entered his enterprises as clerks or menials at the very bottom, and some seven of the total were from his native state, Kansas.

The private cogitations of the John H. Osterman in his mansion at 1046 Fifth Avenue, New York, and elsewhere during the last five years of his life:

O been working and scheming to get up in the world and was thinking that money was the great thing—the only thing! Those impossible words in the Northwest and elsewhere in which he had lived and worked, and those worse hotels and boarding-houses—always hunting, hunting for money or the key to it. The greasy, stinking craft in which he had made his way up weedy and muddy rivers in Honduras, and elsewhere—looking for what? Snakes, mosquitoes, alligators, tarantulas, horned toads and lizards. In Honduras he had slept under chiqua trees on mats of chiqua leaves, with only a fire to keep away snakes and other things. And of a morning he had chased away noisy monkeys and parrots from nearby branches with rotten fruit so as to sleep a little longer. Alone, he had tramped through fever swamps, pursued by Pegu Indians, who wanted only the contents of his wretched pack. And he had stared at huge royal palms a hundred feet high, with the great fatherly golden flowers three feet high. Ah, well, that was over now. He had shot the quetzal with its yellow tail feathers three feet long and had traded them for food. Once he had all but died of fever in a half-breed's hut back of Cayo. And the half-breed had then stolen his gun and razor and other goods and left him to make his way onward as best he might. That was law for you, just like that. People were like that.

His First Fortune
And it was during that time that he had come to realize that by no honest way at his age was he likely to come to anything financially. Roaming about the drowsy, sun-baked realm, he had encountered Messner, an American and a fugitive, he guessed, and he had seen Messner who had outlined to him a very scheme by which he had been able, later, to amass his first quick fortune in New York. It was Messner who had told him of Torbey and how he had come up to London from Central Africa to offer shares in a bogus rubber enterprise based on immense forests which he was supposed to have found in the wilds of Africa yet which did not exist. And it was the immense thought inaccessable rubber forests in Honduras that had inspired him to try the same thing in New York. Why not? A new sucker was born every minute, and he had all to gain and nothing to lose. Messner said that Torbey had advertised for a widow with some money to push his enterprise, whereupon he had proceeded to tell the London speculative public of his treasure and to sell \$2 shares for as low as ten shillings in order to show tremendous rises in value—to issue

£2,000,000 worth of absolutely worthless stock.

By these methods and by having the stock listed on the London Curb he was able to induce certain Curb or "dog" brokers to go short of his stock without having any of it in their possession. Finally they began to sell so freely and to pay so little attention to the amount that was being sold that it was easy for Torbey to employ agents to buy from all of them freely on margin. And then, as the law of the Curb and the State permitted, he had demanded (through them, of course) the actual delivery of the shares, the full Curb value of the stock being offered. Of course the brokers had none, although they had sold thousands; nor had anyone else except Torbey, who had seen to it that all outstanding stock had been recalled to his safe. That meant that they must come to Torbey to buy or face a jail sentence, and accordingly they had flocked to his office, only to be properly mulcted for the total face value of the shares when they came.

An Unpleasant Suicide
Well, he had done the same thing in New York. Following the example of the good Torbey, he had picked up a few unimportant options in Honduras, far from any railroad, and had come to New York to launch Calamita. Just as Torbey had done, he had looked for a rich widow, a piano manufacturer's wife in this case, and had persuaded her that there were millions in it. From her he had gone on to Wall Street and the Curb and had done almost exactly as Torbey had done. . . . Only that fellow De Malquit had killed himself, and that was not so pleasant. He hadn't anticipated that anything like that would happen! That unfortunate wife of his. And those two children made orphans. That was the darkest spot. He hadn't known, of course, that De Malquit himself was helping orphans—or—And from there he had gone on to the forests of Washington and Oregon, where he had bought immense tracts on which even yet he was realizing, more and more. And from there it had been an easy step to oil in Southern California and Mexico—Ah, Grensack, another sad case! And from there to mines and government concessions in Peru and Ecuador, and the still greater ones in Argentina and Chile. Money came fast to those who had it. At last, having accumulated a fortune of at least nine millions, he had been able to interest Nadia, and through her the clever and well-to-do fashionable set who had backed his projects with their free capital. And by now his fortune had swollen to almost forty millions.

But what of it? Could he say he was really content? What was he getting out of it? Life was so deceptive; it used and then tossed one aside. At first it had seemed wonderful to be able to go, do, act, buy and sell as he chose, without considering anything save whether the thing he was doing was agreeable and profitable. He had thought that pleasure would never pall, but it had. There was this thing about age, that it stole over one so unrelentingly, fattening one up, or thinning one down, until it was all but useless to go on. And what was the

import of his success, anyhow, especially to one who had no children and no friends worthy of the name? There was no such thing as true friendship in nature. It was each man for himself, everywhere, and the devil takes the hindmost. It was life that used and tossed one aside, however great or powerful one might be. There was no staying life or the drift of time.

Two Houses for Nadia
Of course there had been the pleasure of building two great houses for Nadia and living in them when he was not living in other parts of the world. But all that had come too late; he had been too old to enjoy them when they did come. She had been a great catch, no doubt, but much too attractive to be really interested in him at his age. His wealth had been the point with her—and one could see that; he knew it at the time and would not now try to deceive himself as to that. At the time he had married her she had had social position whereas he had none. And after she married him all her social influence, to be sure, had been used to advance his cause. Still, that scheme of hers to get him to leave his great fortune to those two worthless sons of hers. Never! They were not worthy of it. Those dancing, loafing wasters! He would see to it that his fortune was put to some better use than that. He would leave it to orphans rather than to them, for after all orphans in his employ had proved more valuable to him than even they had, hadn't they?—That curious fellow, De Malquit!—So long ago. Besides, wasn't Nadia's two sons who had influenced their mother to interest herself in D'Eyraud, the architect who had built their two houses and had started Nadia off on that gallery idea. And not a picture in it that would interest a sensible person. And wasn't it because of her that he had never troubled to answer the letters of his sister, Elvira, asking him to educate her two boys for her. He had fancied at the time that taking her two children into his life would in some way affect his social relations with Nadia and her set. And now Elvira was dead and he did not know where the children were. He could charge that to her if he wanted to, couldn't he?

Well, life was like that. When he had built his two great houses he had thought they would prove an immense satisfaction to him, as they had for a time; but he would not be here much longer now to enjoy them. He wasn't nearly as active as he had been, and the sight of the large companies of people that came to pose and say silly things to each other was very wearing. They were always civil to him, of course, but little more. They wanted the influence of his name. And as long as he permitted it, his homes would be haunted by those who wished to sell him things—stocks, bonds, enterprises, estates, tapestries, horses. And those two boys of hers, along with Nadia herself where her so-called art objects were concerned, so busy encouraging them! Well, he was done with all that now. He would not be bothered. Even youth and beauty of a vernal character had appeared on the scene and had attempted to set traps for him. But his day was over. All

(Continued on page 5)

For a Student Revolt West Chester Points the Way

By Norman Studer

Associate Editor, The New Student
LET any one who still doubts the servile status of the American college professor examine the West Chester Teachers' College (Pennsylvania) case.

Two professors had the temerity to come to the defense of Liberal Club students attacked by local Legionnaires for "seditionously" criticizing Calvin Coolidge's Nicaraguan buccannery. Amid the baying of the professional patriots the trustees met, and on April 5 the two professors read in the papers that their contracts would not be renewed this year. This, in the soft palaver of the academicians, is equivalent to firing an employee. The trustees did not take the trouble to notify the professors, and, of course, no explanation was given for the action, except for the hints by one trustee of some nebulous "reorganization" in the dim future.

On Friday, April 29, or three weeks later, the writer of this article quizzed Principal Albert Thomas Smith and received this explanation: "The reasons are not political. Neither are they because of the Legion's criticism of the Liberal Club. The action of the board of trustees was due to incompatibility and a lack of harmony between these men and the authorities of the school. Freedom of speech was never called into question."

Pressed for a less ambiguous answer, Dr. Smith charged the professors with carrying on a campaign of innuendo against the authorities of the school. They maliciously insinuated, he said, that the business affairs of the school were not honestly managed. Here, Dr. Smith said, lies the real charge against the two men.

The Business Manager
This explanation unfortunately raised more questions than it settled. There is a widespread student feeling that the financial affairs of the school are not what they should be, and the only answer to this will be an honest taking of the students into the confidence of the authorities, and this has never been proposed. These students say that Business Manager John R. Hollinger is a sub rosa dictator of the school. He also owns several hotels in Atlantic City and takes an active

hand in Republican politics. They also point to the enmity between Hollinger and Kinneaman.

"I have been told," says Professor Kinneaman, "by a number of my friends that the business manager of the school, John R. Hollinger, who boasts of having the ear of the trustees, and even in my hearing of saying that 'the trustees would do as I say,' has been saying that I have been too active politically. That probably means that he objects to my activity in behalf of William B. Wilson last November as a candidate for U. S. Senator when I presided at a mass meeting at which the distinguished candidate spoke."

To further discredit Dr. Albert Thomas Smith's latest explanation there is on record the fact that in 1925 the trustees contemplated dropping Dr. Kerlin because of his political and social views. Dr. Smith at that time informed him in a letter that the trustees objected to his "attitude on Socialism" and his "over-emphasis of the social amalgamation of the races." With the board of trustees vacillating between a half dozen excuses and with circumstantial evidence pointing strongly toward the Legion's attack as the major factor in the "dismissals," there is ample ground for an organized opposition. But there exists no organization of students or professors to carry it on. Professor Kerlin has issued a call for a union of brain workers to combat the executive tyranny; but a great deal of professional timidity will have to be overcome before such an organization is a fact.

The Students Cool Off
The student outburst at the beginning of the controversy was a good one, but no more than that. The little Liberal Club, which splendidly defied the padlocking principle's warning that heads would be broken if a meeting was held, and met as usual, is still in a militant mood. But the rest of the students of this Teachers' College (a majority of whom are even less mature than the average college student) have cooled down considerably. In the intervening weeks they went home on a vacation and returned, cautioned with parental advice. The connection between a job in a Pennsylvania high school and a good recommendation by the authorities is too close for the comfort of the average student. The student government is under the watchful eye of a Dean of Women, and there is little to expect

just now in that direction. The student paper defied the injunction not to mention the episode and will not exist as a student organ next year.

"As far as I can gather, if the students in the American universities do not organize their education they will not get any," wrote George Bernard Shaw in a letter to American students several years ago. "The professors are overworked schoolmasters, underpaid and deprived of all liberty of speech and conscience. From them nothing can be expected. The governing bodies are under the thumbs of autocrats who pay the piper and call the tune. . . . The remedy is co-operative organization by the consumers; that is, by the students. . . . In forming intellectual Soviets and establishing a dictatorship of the Learner the American student may save his country if it is capable of being saved."

It is the belief of this writer the only hope for the situation lies in such organizations of college students conscious of their rights and privileges as Learners. It was an organization of this type that forced the reorganization of Fisk University several years ago through an undergraduate strike. There are signs on the horizon that the consumers of our higher education, so called, may some time bite the hand that feeds them. The college newspaper has swiftly come to the fore as a defender of the rights of learners. And student governments are becoming tired of the traditional role of playing catspaw to the dean. They are tired of enforcing dean-made laws and want to legislate for themselves. Sometimes that legislation only concerns such petty rights as the right to own automobiles, but nevertheless it makes for a more student-conscious body. These students are building a machine that can be used effectively for academic freedom.

Many of the student governments are now federated into a National Student Federation that began quietly two years ago and has already to its credit a nation-wide student poll on arbitration with Mexico. And that, in the eyes of the Bernard F. Schlegel Post, West Chester, Pennsylvania, is rank sedition.

These students will, without doubt, use their power one of these days to fight for the privilege of free speech. The notoriously unjust West Chester dismissals will help mightily to hasten that day.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

About Floods and Sam De Witt

OSCAR AMERINGER has apparently been flooded together with all the other deserving Democrats. The last we heard of him he was in Louisiana waiting for the Standard Oil Company to drill a well on his property. Now the Mississippi River has risen up and everybody knows that oil and water won't mix. We have written around to Oscar's various addresses but have had no reply. The thought that Oscar has been flooded is very gruesome to us, he being no fonder of floods than we are and no death in our opinion is drabber than drowning.

Eddie Levinson and Sam De Witt are two of the best Christians we know, both being willing to help out an impoverished Goy. Finding ourselves unexpectedly friendless, we approached Sam to the extent of five bucks, and on the spot he doubled said sum. Whereupon we want to say that his book, called "Idylls of the Ghetto and Other Poems" is some of the best poetry that we have read for a long, long while. Particularly the poem called "Hunky Meets a Man." Every socialist should read this, because it is about our beloved Gene Debs. And it ends up: "Did I get introduced? No siree! He just walks up and grabs my mitt, and with a voice that still sounds like a hundred golden harps in my ears, He says, Glad to meet you, brother. My name is Gene, Gene Debs!"

Incidentally, one of the funniest things we have heard for a long time was the debate between August Claessens and Sam at the New Leader Follies on Friday night. Both speakers were so much like the average debater that they awakened in us the memories of our school days, when we were the captain of the Collegiate Debating Team and had grave discussions as to "Who Was the Greater Man, Caesar or Napoleon?" We always took Napoleon's side, and apparently got a Corsican complex, for ever since we have had the greatest antipathy for this little bully, particularly since we saw so many people like him when we were winning the Great War as a private in the Engineers.

Recently in this column we did a very caustic thing of which we are heartily ashamed. We went out of our way to insult one of our oldest and dearest friends, who in our opinion was doing something far below the standards of a scholar and a philosopher. We refer to the comment that we made upon the covering of the Snyder trial by Dr. Will Durant. He has since pointed out to us, however, that he was sincere in writing about that unspeakably vulgar affair, and that he took the assignment in good faith. Accepting his word for this, we make public apology, using about the same space that we did for our original comment.

We have at hand three of the most amusing picture postcards that it has been our fortune to see in years. They are all portraits of Calvin Coolidge, devised apparently to win popular support for this most pressable of presidents. We hope to use them in a forthcoming volume which we are now engaged upon entitled "The Outline of Coolidge." When we mentioned the fact that we were about to write such a book, a cynical friend of ours suggested that we merely take a conventional blankbook and inscribe the title on its cover. There is, however, a real theme for biography in the person of Cautious Calvin. How he got that way, his early environment and background, should make a fascinating study, for any one interested in later Americana. Here is a man with nothing that makes for success, according to the Bernarr Macfadden school of fiction. With no charm, mental, spiritual, or physical, with none of the attributes that are commonly supposed to go with a career, with no close friends or really warm supporters, this man has nevertheless arrived at the highest position in the land, and has received a "press" adulation, at any rate, that is unrivaled in the history of the last twenty years. When you consider what the newspapers said about a man of the stature of Abraham Lincoln, or Altgeld of Illinois, more and more the marvel grows that Washington correspondents and sophisticated city editors will accept so glibly this nonsensical nonentity. To look at this man in the disguise of a dirt farmer, when, as a matter of fact, he devoted his early career to hanging around the lobbies of the Boston State House, is enough to make angels weep. And to see a picture of him on horseback—a highly intelligent horse at that—would break down more than angels.

We have just finished one grand book about one grand man. It is the life of "Colonel Bob Ingersoll," by Cameron Rogers. It is published by Doubleday, Page & Co., and the three dollars that you will invest in it will be money well spent. Here is a book that lifts you with every page. A story of the life of a man who was not afraid of the truth or its public expression. When I was in Illinois the judge who presided at the Herrin trial, had as his proudest possession a copy of the indictment drawn against Colonel Bob for shouting profanely at participants in a religious revival. The colonel was only sixteen at the time, so it is evident that his revolt against the Presbyterianism that darkened his young life was bred in the bone. From that age on he was the life-long enemy of bigotry and intolerance. The story of his fight against the infamy of organized religion makes one of the most thrilling chronicles of recent times.

McAlister Coleman.

A LESSON FOR PIETISTS

THE NEW LEADER has occasionally remarked that the American Revolution was not tender to the church and clergy where they were ranged with the British ruling classes. We have recalled this phase of American history because some professional pietists have recoiled at what has happened in Mexico. Where the church and the clergy are identified with an old order they are certain to incur penalties at the hands of revolutionaries.

The lectures being delivered by Professor Van Tyne at Glasgow University are informing in this respect. An American himself, he considered the church in the American Revolution. He recalls that the dissenting sects were opposed to England, while the Episcopalians were generally loyalist. He points out that one church pew was "taken down and used for a pigsty." Another "was scrapped for fuel." These were "atrocities" committed by loyalists.

On the other side, revolutionary troops "found quarters in an Episcopalian rectory, using the church for a hospital and the pews for firewood. On Long Island dissenters sent bullets into Anglican churches."

If our modern pietists are horrified because of what has happened in Mexico they may get a more sober and intelligent view of historical changes by reading our own history.

Scanning the New Books

The Case of Ingersoll vs. Comstock By McAlister Coleman

TWO books on the lives of two outstanding Americans are at hand, the one, "Colonel Bob Ingersoll," by Cameron Rogers, published by Doubleday Page & Co. (\$3.00); the other, "Anthony Comstock," by Heywood Brown and Margaret Leech, published by Albert and Charles Boni (\$3.00).

Never were two men more widely apart, spiritually, mentally and morally, than these two. Ingersoll, the Great Agnostic, who thundered "to love the truth, to be sincere, to utter honest words, to love liberty, to wage relentless war on slavery in all its forms . . . this is the religion of reason, the creed of science."

Comstock, the Great Censor, whom Brown has called "The Roundman of the Lord." They are dead, but their relentless battle goes on today as vigorously as ever. Now Comstock arises on every hand, and there are few Ingersolls to combat them. It is well that we have these books for careful study of the backgrounds, the driving motives, the thoughts and ideas and ideals of the two old warriors, for in both the crusading spirit burned high. In both there was fearlessness in the face of danger. Both saw their goal steadily and clearly.

Around the exciting life of Colonel Bob Rogers spins a narrative form of biography that takes his hero from a boyhood darkened with Presbyterianism into the light of a long struggle for tolerance and reason. Mr. Brown and Miss Leech, relying, it would seem, a bit too heavily upon Comstock's rather stentorian diary, are more in the modern spirit of "psycho-biography," despite their assertion that they will not throw their subject to the "Freudian lions."

Mr. Rogers had the easier job. He is an Ingersoll enthusiast from first to last chapter and verse. There are thousands like him in the most unexpected places the country over who will rise to call him blessed for his first full-length portrait of their hero. Mr. Brown and Miss Leech approach Comstock with an obvious distaste and yet an overweening curiosity.

ASK YOURSELF ANOTHER

Q.—What cities have the largest number of headquarters of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

A.—New York City and the immediate vicinity, with some 21 international and national union headquarters, leads the list. Chicago follows with 16 headquarters, Washington, D. C., is third, with 12.

Q.—Was Samuel Gompers opposed to capital punishment?

A.—In a letter asking clemency for the men sentenced to death in connection with the Haymarket Square explosion in Chicago, in 1886, President Gompers wrote: "I am opposed to capital punishment under all circumstances."

Q.—Has the American Federation of Labor endorsed government ownership of telegraphs?

A.—Government ownership of the telegraphs was urged in 1893 and this stand was reaffirmed at later conventions. In 1891 the A. F. of L. added its voice to that of the International Typographical Union when the latter launched a campaign for the nationalization of telegraph systems. Nationalization of the telegraphs was endorsed again in 1915 and in 1918 a demand was made that the government take over the telegraphs for the period of the war.

Q.—Have tunnel and subway workers a union?

A.—Yes, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union of North America.

N. Y. Restaurant Workers Arrested in New York

The Delicatessen Countermen Union Local No. 302 of N. Y. C. approached the B. & B. Cafeteria several times prior to its opening to employ union help but were flatly refused. Upon these grounds the Union was forced on opening day of the B. & B. Cafeteria, 250 West 39th street, to inform the public through the means of a circular, that the said restaurant does not employ union help. The proprietors called police and arrested three members, A. Finkelstein, I. Dreazen and H. Grusky, on charges of disorderly conduct. The hearing took place at Jefferson Market Court before Magistrate J. Silverman. Upon motion of opponent's attorney the case was postponed for Friday, May 20, 1927, under \$25 bail each.

The Victor

(Continued from page 4)

these fripperies and pleasures were for people younger than he. It required youth and energy to see beauty and romance in such things, and he hadn't a trace of either left. His day was over and he might as well die, really, for all the good he was, apart from his money, to any one.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

The Employing Printers

FIVE years ago Bonnett's history of employers' associations in the United States appeared, and four years before the first comprehensive history of labor and labor organizations was published by Macmillan. This was followed by an occasional special history of a trade union, and now the employers' organization may follow this course. In an interesting book by Leona Margaret Powell ("History of the United Typothetae of America," University of Chicago Press; \$2) we have the first history of one of the employers' associations.

The workers in the printing trade were the first to organize, and had been organized 35 years before employing printers followed the example. The earliest master printers' organization was formed in Tammany Hall, New York, in 1862, but not till 1887 was the Typothetae founded and it was represented by eighteen master printers' associations in twenty-two cities. Business was confined largely to small firms, and the fact that many printers rose to the position of employers made the policy of employers' organizations often uncertain. Competition was keen and solidarity difficult, while craft solidarity promoted separatist tendencies among the workers. The pressmen and the bookbinders seceded from the printers after 1890, and the exclusive policies which followed reflected little credit on the workers.

The Typothetae had been largely a social organization, but by the twentieth century the growth of big firms gave it more the character of a militant employers' group. It was soon resisting demands for more wages and shorter hours, and its members were facing strikes. Training schools were set up and an employment bureau established to supply men and women in strikes, while a "Flying Squadron" of employers served in strike emergencies by working at machines. In some strikes Typothetae was served by pressmen who remained at work. They were favored by the employers and even reaped rewards due to strikes of the printers. Eventually the employers evolved into a price-fixing agency of a compulsory character, which was modified later because of fear of anti-trust laws.

Despite these activities there were a variety of local employers' organiza-

tions in many cities, and the process by which these were amalgamated and a larger consolidation was effected, including departments, one of which represented employers of union labor and one of non-union labor, is an interesting story. This was not an ideal solution and caused considerable friction. By 1922 Typothetae declared for the "American plan"; that is, the "open shop," separated the departments from the parent organization, and declared them "affiliated associations." The Open Shop Division became the "Open Shop Printers of America," while the Closed Shop Division became the "Printers' League of America," and then withdrew from United Typothetae.

It is a very informative story of classing interests and group psychology, and the undercurrent of economic interests is evident in every policy and every issue that arose. The book is objective and a satisfactory presentation of the history of organization of employing printers in the United States.

J. Q.

Negro Sources

THE work being accomplished by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History measures up to the best work of white scholars. A number of valuable monographs studies have already appeared and a recent work by A. A. Taylor ("The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia," Washington, D. C., \$2) maintains the high standard established by this association.

In outline the reconstruction of Virginia follows much the pattern of similar work in other states after the Civil War by the triumphant capitalist politicians who framed this big job in Congress. A servile class is released from bondage by war, but immediately is faced by ostracism, terror, employers' organizations to fix wages of Negroes, often cheated of wages, and then facing penalties for refusing to work under vagrancy laws. Of course the ruined aristocracy feared a social upheaval while many whites who had always regarded any form of useful labor as degradation were compelled to work with their hands. Their "disgrace" was all the more humiliating considering that they were thrown into competition with emancipated Negroes, many of them showed that they were capable of working at skilled occupations when the opportunity was available.

Moreover, the class struggle of the northern wage system became manifest with the abolition of chattel bondage. "I do not like the Negro as well free as I did the slave," complained the Speaker of the Virginia Legislature, "for the reason that there is now between us an antagonism of interest to some extent, while before his interest and mine were identical." This was not an accurate way of putting it but that economic antagonism had some to plague the ruined upstarts is certain. This became evident when the Negroes began to organize into trade unions. Governor Holliday declared that he was satisfied that the Negroes were "quite free from trade unionism," but later enough of them responded to the need of organization

and participated in strikes to show that even the bondmen of yesterday were capable of taking care of their own interests. The idea spread and in 1875 a state convention of Negroes organized the Laboring Men's Mechanical Union Association.

The process by which the Negro was again reduced to subjection by trickery and fraud does not differ much from what happened in other southern states, but there are interesting sidelights on Virginia reconstruction that are worth knowing. The author has examined original sources, including newspapers, official documents and observations of travelers, and has made the life of Virginia in this period vivid and of compelling interest.

Fosdick's Apology

ALL apologies for religion are wish fulfillments. The present book (Adventurous Religion, by Harry Emerson Fosdick, Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1926.) is no exception. It differs from most in that it is far more cleverly framed. Mr. Fosdick is not unaware of the inroads made upon formal religion by the discoveries of science, and even more by the failure of the church to play an important part in the intimate lives of the people. He is acutely aware of the untenable position into which the fundamentalists have forced the churches, even the more liberal churches, by their insistence on a literal interpretation of the Bible. He is a liberal himself, but he is at the same time bound up with the church by ties so subtle, ties made up of old associations and memories, that after admitting much of the case of the opposition, he yet comes back to a faith in faith. Boiled down and stripped of its sentimentality, his argument comes down to this: man alone is a weak reed; he needs strength, and not finding it within himself he must seek it in God; there is such a thing as immortality, and, finally, belief in God and in immortality do not depend on literal acceptance of the Bible or of any one creed. All this could have been granted, was indeed granted many years ago. It may be necessary to reiterate it for the members of moderate congregations. But it brings us no nearer proof that the church is still a vital force.

The position of Mr. Fosdick is too much influenced by his own will to believe. He will not convince anyone who is not already on his side. He will have no power to alter the experience of those to whom the church has not been, as it has been to him, a solvent for all difficulties, but rather a great opponent to be overcome; those for whom religion has been an obstructive force; those who have seen it always on the side of that which is, and in spite of a few heroic figures, solidly lined up against that which ought to be.

The book is completely interesting. It is excellently written, it is above all else a study of an honest soul in torment, telling itself over and over again: "I will believe! What would happen to me if I didn't believe?"

David P. Berenberg.

Socialists Attack Philosophy of Force; Syndicalist League Gives Up to I.W.W.

Whence This Communism?

By James Oneal

(Continued From Last Week)

THE rise of syndicalism created considerable confusion in the organizations affected by it in this and other countries. In political organizations it came as a vague, indefinite suggestion of force as a substitute for political organization. So long as one retained membership in one of these organizations his advocacy of syndicalism was qualified and diluted by reservations suggestive of a tendency toward a force policy rather than force itself. The Haywood and Bohn pamphlet is of this type. Their use of the words "any weapon" may be contrasted with the advice of the pure syndicalist mentioned above who frankly advised "raising general hell." The Socialist who passed from the indefinite phase of syndicalism to its final phase no longer became obscure in his meaning. Yet one may easily and logically assert the need and justification of force and violence under certain conditions and still remain on the civilized plane of the great human struggle. It is when men urge violent measures and organize to use them regardless of social, economic, political and other factors that they become a demoralizing influence, anti-social in their activities and provocative in their results.

"We are neither men of legality at any price, nor are we revolutionists at any price," wrote Karl Kautsky in considering this tendency. "The Socialist Party is a revolutionary party, but not a revolution-making party. The statement of the ruling class desire above everything else the commission of some insane act that would arouse, not only the ruling class itself, but the whole great indifferent mass of the population against the Socialists,

and they desire this before the Socialists shall have become too powerful to be defeated. . . . When we declare that revolutions cannot be made, and when we maintain that it is foolish, and indeed pernicious, to incite to revolution, and when we act in accordance with these statements, we do not do this in the interest of the capitalist politicians, but of the fighting proletariat. The interest of the proletariat today more than ever before demand that everything should be avoided that would tend to provoke the ruling class to a purposeless policy of violence. The Socialist Party governs itself in accord with this position. There is, however, a faction that calls for itself proletarian and social revolutionary which takes as its most favored task, next to fighting the Socialist Party, the provoking of a policy of violence. The very thing that the statesmen of the ruling class desire, and which alone is capable of checking the victorious progress of the proletariat, is made the principal business of this faction. . . . The adherents of this faction do not seek to weaken but to enrage the capitalist. In France a portion of our party membership became temporarily a government party. The masses received the impression that the Socialists had renounced their revolutionary principles. They lost faith in the party. Not a small section of them fell under the influence of the latest variety of anarchism—syndicalism—which, like the old anarchism, follows the propaganda of the deed not so much to strengthen the proletariat as unnecessarily to frighten the bourgeoisie, to arouse its rage and provoke immature, inopportune tests of strength to which the proletariat is not adequate in the existing conditions."

The conditions that justify a policy of violence are suppression of the civil, political and economic rights of the masses, a reactionary policy of violence on the part of the governing agents

of the possessing classes. Even so conservative an organization as the American Federation of Labor justifies violent measures in such circumstances. In the report of the Committee on International Relations to the A. F. of L. convention in 1914 the convention approved the following opinion: "Where there are no constitutional means of redress available for the people and their destinies are governed and controlled by despotic or hereditary rulers who subordinate the interest and welfare of the toiling masses to the further enrichment of those in control of the agencies of power, if the people resort to arms as the last means to obtain the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, justice and freedom, we have no words of condemnation." This attitude is thoroughly sound even though it is stated in the language of the "natural rights" theory which is no longer tenable.

The Syndicalist League did not pave the way for the organization of the I. W. W. Some of the members of the I. W. W., like Mr. Foster, left that organization with the purpose of working within the old unions. The I. W. W. had its origin in dissatisfaction with the conservative policies of the old trade unions and its main supporters were found in the west where the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and some smaller organizations had organized a rival of the A. F. of L. in the American Railway Union. Together with a number of prominent Socialists the I. W. W. was organized in Chicago in 1905 but in the next few years as syndicalist ideas became generally known it tended to follow the course of other organizations that have been influenced by these ideas. It also attracted a section of the working class population which, because of its mode of life, is peculiarly susceptible to syndicalist views.

Convicted for Complexion

ON April 15, 1926, at South Braintree, Mass., Farmer, a paymaster, and Berardelli, his guard, were fired upon, killed and robbed of \$15,000, the payroll of a local shoe factory.

Soon Nicola Sacco, shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, fish peddler, were arrested for the crime. Evidence against the accused: Swarthy, dark-eyed, foreign-looking. More evidence, radicals, pacifists and draft dodgers. Still more evidence, carried pistols when arrested and gave conflicting answers to questions of police. Most destructive evidence, expert on pistols allows that bullet found in one of the victims might have been fired from Colt revolver belonging to Sacco.

Fifty-nine witnesses of the prosecution testify that they had seen Sacco and Vanzetti, or some men that looked dark-eyed, swarthy and foreign enough to be Sacco and Vanzetti, at South Braintree or there about on the day of the murder.

Ninety and nine witnesses for the defense testified that they had seen Sacco and Vanzetti far from the scene of murder.

Sacco and Vanzetti took the stand, denied any part in the crime and explained their lies and actions to the police on the ground that they had been afraid of deportation and prosecution on account of their radicalism. Many of their comrades had been deported and one of their friends named Salcedo had recently met his death by jumping to the sidewalk from the thirteenth story of a New York skyscraper when he had been third-degreed by minions of the Department of Justice.

Any man, Italian or otherwise, not lying under such circumstances, is too far from state of normalcy to deserve consideration.

Now, back to heaviest evidence of all, the bullet that might have been shot from the pistol of swarthy Nicola Sacco.

Said expert witness, Proctor, when asked if one of the bullets found in Berardelli's body had been fired from Sacco's Colt revolver: "My opinion is that it is consistent with having been fired from that pistol."

Now, mark, the expert did not say the bullet found in Berardelli's body was fired from the Colt revolver belonging to Nicola Sacco. He did not say the aforesaid bullet was fired from a Colt revolver. He only said, "My opinion is that it is consistent with having been fired from that pistol," which is about the same as saying, "I don't know who killed Jack Robin, but there is no reason why Nicola Sacco should not have done it."

Then, blind Justice, in the form of Judge Thayer, very much opposed to radicals, pacifists and swarthy men in general, takes a strange hold on that "consistent with having," etc., testimony and charges the jury: That the fatal Winchester bullet, marked Exhibit 3, which killed Berardelli, "was fired through the barrel of the Colt automatic pistol found upon the defendant, Sacco, at the time of his arrest."

Nothing indefinite about that charge to the jury. What had been a vaguely expressed opinion becomes a proven fact in the mouth of the judge, and this proven fact "corroborates the testimony of other witnesses of the prosecution that the defendant Sacco was at South Braintree on the 15th day of April, 1926, and it was his pistol that fired the bullet that caused the death of Berardelli."

Poor me, I am not a jurist. I never studied logic, so I may be all wrong when I call this sort of reasoning damnable and dishonest rot.

Listen:

Proctor says: "This bullet might have been fired from just such a pistol as that."

The Honorable Judge: "Just so, and as this bullet found in the body of Berardelli was fired from the Colt revolver in the hands of Sacco it is proven that Sacco was in Braintree on the day of the shooting, that he fired the shot that killed Berardelli, wherefore, there is but one thing for you gentlemen to do, and that is to send Sacco to the electric chair."

After the trial, pistol expert Proctor makes a voluntary affidavit stating "that he had not been able to find any evidence, as a result of the tests he had made, to convince him that the particular bullet had been fired from Sacco's revolver, and that he had so informed the District Attorney before the trial, and that the question put to him at the trial had been framed to permit the answer quoted, namely: 'My opinion is that it is consistent with having been fired from that pistol.'"

Unperturbed by Proctor's affidavit, Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty as charged and condemned to die, and all because learned Judge Thayer, having a dislike to radicals, swarthy complexions and foreign looks, changed might have been fired into was fired.

Meanwhile, one Celestino F. Maderios, a convicted murderer but whose case was still on appeal, sent a note to fellow prisoner Sacco in which he confessed that he was involved in the Braintree holdup and absolving Sacco and Vanzetti of all guilt.

There was no "if" nor "but" about Maderios's confession. It said: "Our gang did the job and you fellows wasn't about when we did it." But do you think the Honorable Judge would listen to Maderios's confession, even when its effect could only be to bring the confessor a few steps nearer to the electric chair?

No, siree. Maderios was also a dark-eyed, swarthy Italian, and it seems to be against the religion of Judge Thayer to believe anything these people say for or against themselves. It is even to be doubted that Thayer would change his mind if victim Berardelli appeared in court and denied that he was dead, for he, too, is, or was, a swarthy foreigner, and there is simply no trusting these people. So, as far as Judge Thayer is concerned, Sacco and Vanzetti will be duly executed unless Governor Fuller of Massachusetts gives these poor devils another chance for their lives, as I sincerely hope he will.

Meanwhile, read the case of Sacco and Vanzetti by Felix Frankfurter of Harvard, published by Little, Brown and Co., Boston (one dollar bill will fetch it) and learn all about the advisability of selecting parents with blue eyes, blonde hair and fair complexions.

Adam Coaldigger.

A Nameless Poet

Grinding, grinding, drop by drop.
The life-blood of the working class,
The masters' flesh, without a stop,
The freedom of the toiling mass.

With back bent and shins a-taut,
The toiler strives to do his task,
In meekness, blind and thinking not:
But all through life he wears a mask.

To rend the mask that he may see,
He never dreams he has the right;
But the blessings of sweet liberty
Were meant for all—so claim your right.

—EDITH IRWIN.

IN THE THEATRES

Views and News of Current Productions

The Cocoanuts Bloom Again

ABOUT the time that the fruit itself reappears on the stands, "The Cocoanuts" comes back to us once more—brought by Sam H. Harris to the Century Theatre. And surely everyone in New York who has—or has not—laughed at the Marx Brothers will keep them busy for another summer's run.

"The Cocoanuts," one discovers, has a plot. One further notes that its purpose is to bring on the singing, which is handled by the pleasing mixed doubles set, Jack Barker, Phyllis Cleveland, Janet Velle and Henry Whittemore, the first two as hero and heroine, the other pair as the plotting culprits. Nor must we overlook the solemn aria Basil Ruysdall, as Detective Hennessy, sings in search of his shirt. But all this, despite the even tenor of its way, is but salad before the rich dessert of the Marx boys.

Especially Groucho Marx. To him the chief verbal savor of the comedy. Puns fall from his lips like nickels clatter, too fast to laugh or you'll miss the next one. Puns, paradox and impudence are his chief source of never-failing fun; although the boom in Florida may have a little to do with his subject. "The Cocoanuts" being a hotel he owns near property he's trying to auction. Chico Marx is a ready foil for Groucho's humor, besides having his own spell of comedy at the piano. And especially Harpo Marx, who, in spite of his serious moment at the harp, makes his red-headed part chief laugh-getter. He gets most everything else, too, at least, on the stage, for it is he who steals the shirt off the detective's back (at least, off his front) though it is his brothers who play tic-tac-toe on the B. V. D. thus exposed. Without speaking one word throughout the play, Harpo is alive every moment of his presence with humor of looks or of action.

The play has a scene of cleverly managed rapid motion between two

rooms, that becomes a whirlwind; it has colorful costumes, gay songs, graceful dances; it is worth seeing because it has the Marx Brothers.
Joseph T. Shipley.

Notes of the Theatre

Holbrook Blinn has sent his check for \$1,606 to the American Red Cross as a contribution for the Mississippi Flood Sufferers. This amount was taken in at the box office last Sunday when Mr. Blinn and his company in "The Play's the Thing" gave their services for a special benefit performance.

Following the close of the twelfth season at the Braham Theatre, the Braham Players will give a supplementary spring season of two plays, starting Tuesday, May 17th, with "The Importance of Coming and Going," a satirical comedy by Butler Davenport, to be followed three weeks later by Tom Robertson's comedy, "David Garrick."

There will be special Decoration Day matinees of Gustav Blum's two productions, "Gertrude," at the Bays, and "The Mystery Ship" at the Comedy Theatre.

The Messrs. Shubert announced yesterday that "Padlocks of 1927," a new revue featuring Texas Guinan, will play in one of their New York theatres beginning June 6th. In addition to Miss Guinan, the cast will include Helen Shipman, Bobby Watson, Connie Almy, Jans and Whelan and Bert Hanlon.

Lawrence J. Anhalt's revival of "Ruddigore," the popular burlesque on melodrama by Gilbert and Sullivan,

has returned to its old home, the Cosmopolitan, formerly the Park Theatre. "Ruddigore" has a splendid cast, including Craig Campbell, William Danforth, Violet Carlson, Alexander Clark, Herbert Waterous, Sarah M. Edwards, Dorothy Pilser and Harvey Howard.

On June 2nd, Sam Janney will present his new comedy, "A Very Wise Virgin," at the Bijou Theatre.

The following list of players compose the cast: Joan Bourdelle, Dennis Cleugh, Joan Gordon, Gail De Hart, John Buckler, Ethel Martin, Doris Bryant.

Mr. Janney is the author of last season's comedy success, "Loose Ankles."

In addition to his revival of the Gilbert and Sullivan satire on melodrama, "Ruddigore," opening Friday evening at the Cosmopolitan Theatre, Lawrence J. Anhalt announces that he has definitely decided also to revive "The Gondoliers," but not until after "Ruddigore" has had its complete run. Mr. Anhalt has arranged with the Messrs. Shubert for the use of the Cosmopolitan Theatre for several other Gilbert and Sullivan productions.

Performance of "Barber" To Aid Pioneer Youth

The "Mothers' Committee" of Pioneer Youth of America has taken the entire balcony of the Biltmore Theatre for the evening of Tuesday, June 7th. The play is to be "The Barber," the gay and colorful play of circus life and one of Broadway's great favorites. The proceeds from the sale of tickets is to go to the Pioneer Youth Camp Fund.

Pioneer Youth has purchased a beautiful new camp site this year. It lies along the Hudson river with woods and hills, an 8-acre lake, an athletic field, etc. It is because of their enthusiasm about the results of Pioneer Youth camping has brought to their children in the past and their belief in it being of even greater benefit to them in these ideal new surroundings that the Mothers' Committee has undertaken the running of this benefit with such zeal and interest.

Tickets can be had at the office of Pioneer Youth of America, 3 West 16th street (Telephone Chelsea 0580), at \$1.10 to \$2.75. Date—once again—June 7. Anyone who comes that night is sure of a three-fold pleasure—a jolly play, jolly company, and the knowledge of contributing to a jolly summer for ever so many children.

Delicatessen Countermen Win an Injunction

The Delicatessen Countermen Union, Local No. 302, of Greater New York, declared a strike at Gold's delicatessen and luncheon, 1318 First avenue, on April 23. After picketing for a period of one week Gold succeeded in getting an injunction against the Delicatessen Countermen Union, issued by Judge Tierney.

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

WEEK OF MAY 23

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Week of May 30—"PYGMALION"

WEEK OF MAY 23

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Week of May 30—"MR. PIM PASSES BY"

WEEK OF MAY 23

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To kids.

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Came like a flash to me, and I saw Him
who
Two thousands years ago...
Funny, someone told me that this buddy
I met today
Also done his bit in the pen, just for
saying
All the things that Jesus said.

Did I get introduced? No sirree! He just
Walks up and grabs my mitt, and with a
voice
That still sounds like a hundred golden
harps

In my ears,
He says, "Glad to meet you, brother. My
name is 'Gene,'
Gene Debs..."

—From *Idylls of the Ghetto*.

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Twist... The East Side has scorched
him beyond all healing... and Sam De-
Witt wears a cloak of cynical indifference,
of strong "gangliness" over the
bared heart of his tender concern. Fortunately,
it is a garment that life has torn,
and through the tatters of this early
harsh gleam the fires of love that burn
indignantly at human wrong, that glow
brightly in human fellowship.

—Joseph T. Shipley, from introduction
to *IDYLLS OF THE GHETTO*.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

California

WDEBS Picnic

Socialists of San Francisco have for weeks been planning a large reunion picnic in aid of the Debs radio fund. The picnic is held Sunday, May 22, at East Shore Park. Socialists and their friends at Oakland and Berkeley are expected to participate.

Missouri

Veteran Dies

Jacob Wunsch of St. Louis, one of the oldest and most devoted Socialists in the United States, recently died at the Municipal Infirmary at the age of 78. Having worked hard all his life, Wunsch died in poverty, and yet made small financial contributions to the party when he could. He refused to have the St. Louis Labor mailed to him and insisted on paying his subscription.

Ohio

Toledo

William Bitter, who as a Socialist represented the twentieth ward in the City Council for several years, is again a candidate. Bitter is a member of the Machinists' Union. J. F. Chapman, another trade unionist, is a candidate for the eighth ward. William Patterson, a member of the Longshoremen's Union, and who joined the Communists in 1919, is circulating petitions as a candidate for the Council.

Pennsylvania

New Italian Branch

A new Italian Branch has been organized at Shenandoah. This is the second Branch the Italian comrades have organized in Pennsylvania in the last few weeks. State Secretary Hoopes reports that the Italian comrades are doing fine work in Pennsylvania.

Connecticut

State Convention

Plans are completed for the State convention of the Socialist Party, which will be held Sunday, May 22, at the Auditorium-Manner Park, Arlington, New Haven. The convention will be called to order at 10 a. m. by Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary. It is expected that all locals of the State will be represented by five delegates each.

New York City

The City Executive Committee will meet Wednesday evening, May 25, in 305 People's House, 7 East Fifteenth street, at 8:30 p. m.

Membership Drive

The enrolled Socialist voters of part of the tenth and all of the twelfth Assembly districts, Manhattan, will be called to a meeting in the home of

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Norman Thomas, 204 East Eighteenth street, on Tuesday evening, May 24, at 8:30 p. m. Other meetings will be held in the 13-19-20th Assembly districts and in the 4-14th Assembly districts, Brooklyn. So far about fifty new members have been added during May.

Outings

Several outings are in contemplation for the spring and summer months. An effort will be made to get the Socialists of Greater New York together for some informal outings and picnics. Plans have been formulated and announcements will be made later. Instead of the old-fashioned picnics held within the confines of the usual type of picnic park, these will be more in the nature of hikes and excursions to some pleasant bit of wilderness within fairly reasonable distance of New York City. The objective will be to create a greater sociability and acquaintance among our comrades and to get whole families out for a pleasant day in the country.

Manhattan

6-8-12th A. D.

The big affair to be held by this branch is the testimonial dinner and reception given to Judge Jacob Fankel in celebration of his tenth year on the bench and his 32 years of active service in the Socialist and Labor movement. This affair will be held at Beethoven Hall this Friday evening, May 20.

The branch is conducting a series of Sunday morning hikes. Every Socialist and sympathizer is welcome. These outings start from the headquarters, 96 Avenue C, every Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. Arrangements are being made for street meetings and canvassing the district preparatory to the coming campaign. Eight new members were added at the last meeting to this large and rapidly growing branch.

3-5-10th A. D.

Street meetings have been arranged for the next several weeks, every Thursday evening, at Sheridan Square (corner Grove Street and Washington Place). The next meeting will be held Monday evening, May 23, in room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th Street. Nominations will be made for Assembly and Aldermen.

Upper West Side

Street meetings will be held every Wednesday evening in the upper West Side. For the next few weeks these meetings will be held on 95th Street and Broadway. At the next meeting candidates for public office will be nominated.

17-18-20th A. D.

Street meetings will be held in Harlem during the spring and summer months. For the next several weeks these meetings will be held at 166th Street and Madison Avenue. A joint meeting of the Harlem branches will be held Tuesday, May 24, at 62 East 166th Street.

Bronx

Central Branch

Street meetings will be held by this branch during the next two months. The following dates and corners have been arranged for:

May 20, McKinley Square and Boston Road.
May 27, 148th Street and Bergen Avenue; June 3, Aldus Street and Southern Boulevard; June 10, 169th Street and Washington Avenue; June 17, Tiffany and 163d Street; June 24, 169th Street and Grand Avenue.

Branch Seven

The theatre party last Friday evening was a huge success. The Educational Committee also reported a successful season and empowered this committee to continue its good work for the season of 1927-28. The question of open-air meetings was deferred to the next meeting. George Friedman was elected to the Bronx County Committee in place of P. J. Murphy. The financial secretary was instructed to report on the financial standing of the membership. Immediately upon the submission of this report all members who are twelve months or more in arrears in dues will be notified that they are to be dropped from the membership lists.

Italian Branch

The Bronx Italian Branch, recently organized, is showing a steady gain in membership. Since its inauguration a couple of months ago it has added sixteen members. The branch meets Sunday mornings at 640 Morris Avenue. The secretary is Fred Celli, 245 East 148th Street. Comrades who have Italian friends or sympathizers in the Bronx who are interested in joining the party will kindly make a notation of this fact.

BROOKLYN

2nd A. D. This branch meets every Friday evening at 420 Hinesdale Street and is holding two street meetings a week, one in the Brownsville and the other in the Kings Highway section of the 2d A. D. Branch.

5-6th A. D.

This branch meets every Tuesday

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4-14th A. D.

Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at the headquarters, 245 South 3d Street. Street meetings are being held every Saturday evening at Havemeyer and South 3d Streets. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Roland Stubbs and others.

Boro Park

The newly organized American Branch is holding meetings every Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 14th Avenue and 42nd Street, and is canvassing enrolled Socialists in an effort to enlarge its ranks. It will soon hold street meetings.

22d A. D.

A spring festival, concert and dance will be held on Saturday evening, June 4, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. A splendid musical program is being arranged. Tickets are now on sale. Beginning in June, street meetings will be held every Saturday evening.

23d A. D.

This branch meets every Monday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Street meetings are being held every Friday evening. Plans are being made to work in the surrounding districts. A number of outings have been planned for the spring and summer.

New York State

Party Referendum

The State Secretary asks that all local secretaries mail their reports on the party referendum to the State office not later than May 22. A few organizations have already filed their vote. Early returns on the summer campaign questionnaire will be appreciated.

Vipal Stamps

Local Kenwood-Sheriff of Madison and Oneida counties is the first organization to make a report on the sale of Y. P. S. L. voluntary assessment stamps for 1927. All money received in the State on the sale of these stamps is transmitted to the national organization of the Y. P. S. L.

The next meeting of the State Executive Committee will be held in Albany or vicinity some time in June, probably on the 12th or 19th.

Yipseldom

WITH THE CIRCLES Milwaukee Circle 1

The circle recently held a ball which proved a tremendous success in attendance, entertainment and finance. A special car was chartered for the members to attend the Socialist picnic of Cook County. Work is being done toward a large scale distribution of Socialist leaflets. The annual picnic will be held August 7 at Wind Lake, Racine County, Wisconsin. The principal program will be a good speaker, dancing, boating and swimming. The circle has outlined a special membership drive this fall and is to present a Socialist play for the fall vaudeville entertainment arranged by the party.

Port Chester

The circle meets every Friday evening, alternating in a cycle of business, educational and social meetings. Five meetings were held during the past month.

Gardner, Mass.

The circle is working on a special entertainment to be held for raising funds for the Debs radio station. The date is to be announced later.

Maynard, Mass.

The Inter-Circle Field Day will be held August 7 in Maynard. Complete information for entering contestants will be mailed to the circle secretaries soon. All of the district circles are preparing for the event.

NEW YORK CITY

The Greater New York Yipsel Field Day will be held Sunday, June 26, at Pelham Bay Park. Entry blanks will be issued to the circles shortly. All Yipsel athletes get busy and win the many awards that will be offered.

Circle 8

Circle 8, Manhattan, will open its new home at 96 Avenue C with a fine

affair. An elaborate program has been prepared for Saturday, May 21, the night of the Grand Opening. Comrades from all parts of the city are urged to attend. A good time is in store for all. Admission is 50 cents.

Circle 2

Circle 2, Brooklyn, in conjunction with the local party branch, will hold a dance on Saturday night, May 28, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. All proceeds will be turned over to The New Leader. Come to this dance, help The New Leader and at the same time have a real good enjoyable evening.

Bronx Entertainment

The Bronx Committee has arranged an entertainment for Sunday afternoon, May 22, at 1167 Boston Road. Musical numbers will be rendered by Louis Seiden and Harry Davis on the concertina and by Edith Kaufman on the piano. A violinist will also play. Samuel A. DeWitt will read his own poetry. Circle meeting will be held at 1167 Boston Road at 2:30 p. m. before the regular program.

Popular Contest

The popular declamation contest to be held Friday night, May 27, at the Boston Road headquarters promises to be an interesting experiment. The contest is divided into three groups of varying degrees of ability. Prizes will be offered for all groups by Samuel Orr.

Interstate Outing

The Interstate outing, picnic and athletic meet will take place on Sunday, May 28, at Orchard Grove, New Jersey. New York must make a good showing at this affair. Get busy.

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Tuesday, May 24, 8:30 p. m., 134th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and V. C. Garpar.

Wednesday, May 25, 8:30 p. m., 85th street and Broadway. Speakers, Esther Friedman and Pierre Di Nio.

Thursday, May 26, 8:30 p. m., 106th street and Madison avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

Thursday, May 26, 8:30 p. m., Sheridan Square (corner Grove and Washington place). Speakers to be announced.

BRONX

Friday, May 20, 8:30 p. m., McKinley Square and Boston road. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and Isidore Polstein.

Friday, May 27, 8:30 p. m., 148th street and Bergen avenue. Speakers, Ethelred Brown and others.

BROOKLYN

Friday, May 20, 8:30 p. m., Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, Esther Friedman.

Saturday, May 21, 8:30 p. m., Havemeyer and South Third street. Speakers, Esther Friedman and Roland Stubbs.

Saturday, May 21, 8:30 p. m., 14th street and Kings Highway. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Monday, May 23, 8:30 p. m., Sutter avenue and Hinesdale street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown and others.

Friday, May 27, 8:30 p. m., Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, Esther Friedman and others.

Saturday, May 28, 8:30 p. m., corner Kings Highway and 14th street. Speaker, Ethelred Brown.

Italian Open Air Meetings
Saturday, May 21, 8 p. m., corner of Atlantic avenue and Pacific street, Brownsville. Speakers, G. Valenti and D. Ruggieri.

Monday, May 23, 8 p. m., corner of West 99th street and Ninth avenue. Speakers, Ph. Bevilacqua and Mike Porfi.

Tuesday, May 24, at 8 o'clock, corner of 32nd street and First avenue. Speakers, Mike Porfi and G. Valenti.

Wednesday, May 25, at 8 o'clock, corner Nostrand avenue and Floyd street, Brooklyn. Speakers, G. Valenti and Ph. Bevilacqua.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. C. W. of A. N. A.
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Brooklyn—1710 St. & A Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 10 A. M.

Jersey City—14 Montgomery St.

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Malrose 7499

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SATURDAY, MAY 21, 1927

OUR IMPERIAL WAYS

IF THERE is one thing brought out in the Third Pan-American Commercial Conference it is the dominion of the United States as an imperial power in Latin America. Diplomatic etiquette required delegates from the little nations to "talk softly," but the review of the conference sent out by the Committee on Peace with Latin America reports a number of delegates quietly expressing the deep resentment of Latin America with our bullying. A Bolivian delegate observed that Coolidge's declaration to the conference that "our associates in the Pan-American Union all stand on an absolute equality with us" cannot be reconciled with American bayonets in Nicaragua and American interpretation of Mexican legislation. Moreover, a recent issue of "Claridad," a Buenos Aires monthly distributed at the conference, carried an editorial "Against Yankee Imperialism" with the advice that Central and South America should form their own union for protection against the United States.

The unofficial statements of Latin-American delegates and this editorial of "Claridad" are of more importance in expressing Latin-American opinion of the United States than any formal discussions in the conference itself. Coolidge's profession of friendship and "equality" does not deceive them. In practice it is like a bully who enters your house, knocks you down, takes possession of some of your valuables, and then takes out a prayer book and assures you that he really is a chap who observes a high code of ethics. This sanctimonious pose is always conspicuous with the despotic powers of the modern era. The medieval robber states did not, at least, add insult to injury. What they wanted they took, and they took what they wanted without leaving a sermon to the injured party.

We hope that the ideal of a United States of Mexico, Central and South America will be realized not only for the protection of the peoples south of us, but also to help avert the peril of a war in this part of the world. A powerful federation from Mexico to Cape Horn would be of immense help in curbing the appetites of our capitalists and bankers and increase the power of these peoples to resist the imperial might of the United States.

THOUGHT SUPPRESSION

ANNUAL reports of the Civil Liberties Union serve as yard sticks for measuring the tempo of reactionary vulgarities. Its recent report shows that the American Legion has displaced the Ku Klux Klan for first place "as the most active agency of intolerance and repression." This may not mean that the Legion has become more active in this work the past year. It probably means that as the night shirt brigade declined in numbers naturally it has less indecencies to its credit and thus yielded first place to the Legion. There may be even a decrease of indecencies on the part of Legion members in the year that it goes to the head of the repression squads.

We are in favor of more efficiency in this matter of trying to keep all minds on a moron level. As government agencies have at times participated in raids on opinions it might be well for a department to be established at Washington to record the progress made in suppressing progress in the realm of thought. Statistics could be gathered by agents in the field showing how many Negroes were lynched, how many strikes were broken by robbed gentlemen of the bench, how many meetings were prohibited, how many men with ideas were run out of town, how many publications were raided, speakers mobbed and aliens deported.

All this would keep us informed on the posture of affairs in Coolidge's United States. This internal business is at least of as much importance as the export of pork and steel, the import of old Russian czars, the volume of dividends shared by members of our vulgar plutocracy, and the Christian ventures of our bankers in Latin America.

Let us have an official department recording all our activities in the line of thought suppression and annual reports by a Cabinet officer telling the story year by year.

THE "RIGHTS OF MAN"

WHEN the doctrine of the "Rights of Man" had been rounded out in the late eighteenth century in France it was hurled by rising merchants and capitalists against the ruling magnates of landed property. It had already done service in the American colonies when the "fathers" of American property struck down the "law and order" of the British Parliament and set up their own. Henceforth planters, traders and merchants found that the man mentioned in the "rights of man" was the man who owned

property. Working people belonged to a lower order of the human species.

The "rights of man" today has a peculiar interpretation by agents of great property interests. James A. Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, is disturbed because the trade unions seek exemption from the anti-trust acts, "to impair the powers of the judiciary, to destroy the right of the individual workers to make individual contracts with their employers respecting conditions of employment."

Here is the "rights of man" parading in modern dress. The individual worker is a reality, but the employers are usually powerful organizations of capital. Many of them exercise a dominion as extensive as a European nation. Many of them are intimately bound together in a solidarity of interest and policy. The "employers" are lost in the corporate organization or union of finance and capital.

In law the "corporation" is a person. So is the workman. Emery would have the individual workman contract with the corporate "person" for employment. If the workman will negotiate on his individual responsibility with a consolidated kingdom of capitalists all the blessings of the "rights of man" will be realized for him! The other "person" will also be happy, very happy. Thus organized, the money bags interpret the old dogma that levelled the French monarchy and enabled American merchants and planters to rule at home.

Mr. Emery is a good lawyer and earns his stipend, but we cannot forget the "person" he represents.

FASCISM DOOMED

AMERICAN sycophants and apologists of Mussolini have their answer this week in the news from Italy. They have assumed that Mussolini has discovered something unique in the trade of governing and that his "experiment" is worthy of tolerant observation. But there is nothing mysterious about Fascism. It is a bald dictatorship sustained by murder bands. It does not differ from the old Russia terrorized by the Black Hundreds.

This cruel despotism is bringing the inevitable revolt of the masses. The recent decree of Mussolini abolishing the "high cost of living," which further lowered the standard of living for workers till it now hovers around a starvation level, has brought widespread revolts and strikes. Fascist landlords have been burnt in effigy, Fascist corporations have found it impossible to enforce contracts, and workers in some regions openly refuse to contribute out of their starvation wage to the purchase of black shirts for Fascist local organizations. Some Fascists have been beaten up by enraged peasants and the whole movement is reminiscent of those spontaneous revolts that stirred the old regime of the Romanoffs.

This is the first general upheaval in Italy since Mussolini led his march on Rome. Its wide distribution over the country shows how general is the discontent. Moreover, this desperation displayed by wide sections of the population is an answer to the doctored statistics which Fascist officials have published to give the impression abroad of contentment and well-being on the part of peasants and workers.

The monster and his associates who have transformed Italy into a slave pen cannot avoid the fate which has always been awarded their kind. Fascism is doomed.

PURE AMERICANS

FOR those who subscribe to the dogma of the "great Nordic race" and 100 percent Americanism we commend an article in School Life, published by the Department of the Interior. The article surveys educational work among illiterates of Buncombe County, North Carolina. These illiterates are of pure American stock, no alien blood or influence having corrupted their purity. In the days when Nordic slave masters ruled the old South they employed private teachers for their children, or sent them to schools in the North or in Europe. Schooling was kept from the poor whites because of fear that knowledge would lead these whites to overthrow Negro bondage.

Since the planter class was rooted out by the Civil War, these whites came to look "upon the learning of the alphabet, and the reading of the printed page as possible only under a dispensation of God. Their feeling was that knowledge was not for them; that they had been passed by when God gave forth the gifts to men: To some, ability to read; to others, to speak with tongues; and to others, the gift of healing." They had "resisted the invasion of the public schools," refused to sign road petitions, "had evaded health crusades, had spurned women's clubs and other movements."

The magic "germ plasm" which is assumed to run through Nordic veins failed to bring these people out of the primitive. They had to be coaxed. "They had grown up blind in a world flooded with light" and now even grandparents are learning the mysteries of reading, "ritin and rithmetic. One man learned to read at the age of 83. Intellectually they are no more advanced than white-haired Negro fathers and mothers who are also "blind in a world flooded with light."

Here is a region and a people whose blood and ancestry answer all the requirements of the Nordics and the 100 percenters. It seems to us that a little "foreign" influence might have helped the germ plasm to work its magic upon these pure Americans.

The Theatre

A thousand of us, silent where we sit,
Watching with wondering eyes the shining stage,
Applaud the legend characters that flit
Before our eyes. Love they expound, and rage;
Deeds dare, and combat wage.

There is a greater Drama. You and I,
Tried actors, know our parts. But none shall tell,
As on our stage Life's pageant passes by.
Whether we play them ill or play them well
Till the last Curtain-bell.

Play on, great Drama, cast for human hearts!
May they beat faithfully through all the freaks
Of Fortune destined for our several parts.
No need to fall—to any man that seeks,
Conscience, the Prompter, speaks.

—John Striving.

THE CHATTER BOX

A Sonnet for Helen Keller

These eyes of mine for all that they have seen,
Have only made such small discovery . . .
A peacock's plumage dazzling a preen,
A sunset burning on a summer sea,

Or mountains tipping in the wine of dawn,
Or constellations in their awesome space;
A sparrow and a daisy on the lawn;
Your aured presence, and your shining face . . .

For only when I close the shuttered sight
Upon the panoramas of the mind,
I half perceive what all revealing light
Pours out in compensation for the blind,

And half-discern subtleties that rise
Before the inner vision of your eyes.

Illusion

I blew my dream into a rose balloon
And tied it with a golden string.
Along came a wild wind,
And my balloon took wing.

It flew, it leaped, it soared on high,
It kissed the moon, it touched the sky;
A kind breeze blew it back to me—
Tattered utterly.

ANNA HIRSCHER.

On the Serious Import of Nonsense

There is no finer clown in all the universe than the atom. The electron theory shows to complete scientific satisfaction what a circus of energetic tomfoolery is eternally taking place within its microscopic sawdust ring. The stunts that are performed there astound the savants of humanity. The ridiculous gymnastics and tumblings and gestures keep the wisest of men gumfuzzed. Philosophers, scientists, bacteriologists, and students of all natural phenomena sit around and run the whole gamut of emotion from hilarious guffawing to funeral foreboding. The atom and his crew of electronic imps are having one heaven of a time with us poor, serious, deep-thinking and dignified humans. While they just dance, and whirl, and gleefully gallivant about without the least concern as to how little we hold them in esteem for their clownish conduct.

We have considered the atom, and made our decision. Life will just be one circus after another for us until contraria, life insurance agents, or cash-weights end our earthly circuit. We will refuse to take any weighty question with enough weight to burden down our levities. Revolutions, earthquakes, floods, and Moscow ukases will find us dervishing around maypoles, and thinning the thunder of intellectual giants into shrill shrieks of bar-room glee. We will not hesitate to display our own silly smallness in order to convince the rest of the world how pitiful and puny all of the trumpeted great men of history have really been. Clown we will, in the snarling teeth of serious-minded enemies, and through the frowns of outraged friends. We have marched too long to the ponderous rhythms of logic and profound discussion. All the tomes on chemical investigations have not changed a dance step of an electron, or saddened the giddy grin of the man in the moon. Laugh and the world stares at you, weep, and the whole of Taboidea will ooze with you.

And now that the Soviet Government is establishing a school for clowns and satire, in order to temper the top-heavy solemnity of its pondering minions, we reason that a day of sanity is dawning over the Kremlin apices. To see a class recruited from our own left-wingers scholarship shipped over there, and to follow them through a full course in jackingass, would be divine delirium.

The crudity they have displayed in their antics here forces us to the brink of tears. We would even volunteer taking up a visiting professorship, and spending six months or so in Moscow in order to help such a

worthwhile cause along. There is an uplifting influence in healthy clowning. Thrones have fallen before the blasts of laughter, while serious, and heavy-thinking still catapults its leaden theses in vain.

And we will say in conclusion, that this is the most erudite essay we have ever written on the subject of idle nonsense.

A Wise Decision

You came with the first faint breath of Spring,
And re-awakened old desire
That had lain dormant, slumbering,
Beneath an artificial fire.

You came with the sunlight in your eyes,
But sunlight is so fleeting,
That I, who always need the warmth,
Chose artificial heating.

KATE HERMAN.

Afternoon at the Library

Rare wines and nectar; casks of honeyed mead
Dose placidly on oaken shelves; strange seekers
Of relief from care, sip with a lazy greed
Lethargic brandies from cavernous beakers.

Dim, sprawling loungers nod in drowsy rest,
Absorbing silently the lissome drone
Of echoes from the outer realms of zest.
A fairy wisp of sun is gently blown

Across the polished floors; a sleepy breeze
Hums sluggishly in rippling monotony;
Vague shadows pin themselves like tapestries
Against the fading walls. Content is sown.

The heavy air is drugged with sweet incense
And beauty follows truth in calm sequence.

A. R.

Benny Goodman, we salute you here, you and your battalion of Yipsels, that have been doing such knightly work for the Leader. Not only our acclaim, but arise ye all, dubbed by the virtue of our pen, as Knights of the Go-Getters. Without you in these trying days of your paper, we would have been sorely pressed, and well nigh faint to give up the field to our debts and disasters. It has been an invigorating episode in our own dizzy existence, this contact with your fine fire, your self-sacrifice and above all your practical accomplishment in getting new subs, contributions and publicity for us. The editorial staff, the office slaves, and yes, even the Board of Directors, extend to you their appreciation, their love and their high hopes for your continued errantry in the cause of Socialism, and its now renewed flambeau—the New Leader.

Whenever a left-winger wheedles in our direction—"Why waste your time with a dead movement like the S. P.," we will just control our first inclination to shove a handful of knuckles at him, long enough to show him the wonderful responses that came from all over the country when the New Leader called for a helping hand. Many of the letters came with notes of anger that the true condition of our finances were not revealed before the desperate emergency. Dollar bills and tens and fifties made a veritable snowstorm in the office. Pledges, and plans for the immediate funding of our heavy debts are already taking active form. The Unions, the Workmen's Circle, the Forward, the Jimmy Higgenses, and the Ramsay MacDonalds of the party all pitched in and are sending us ahead with a momentum that we hope will carry us safely through the becalmed sea of summer. If anything, we believe right now that the New Leader has become the rallying point around which our once shattered legions are gathering for a close, and solid formation. And we are not given to fancy phrasing, or just airy speculation. Come in and visit us, and get an idea of how everything is just looking up and smiling . . .

S. A. de Witt.

America as I Saw It

Prosperity and Socialist Opportunities

By Jessie Stephen

THIS is not really an article on America, but my impressions of the Socialist movement; for it is a true saying that each individual sees things according to the particular viewpoint he has. Thus one discovers that the booze house finds the States a nest of bootleggers doing a roaring trade in the manufacture and distribution of poisonous liquor and sees the boys and girls carrying flasks in their school satchels. The prohibitionist on the other hand regards America as a paragon of all the virtues in this respect.

Wild tales about naked beauties in tube of champagne conjure up a picture of immorality springing to the extreme limit so that gloomy deans and others of that ilk characterize New York and the big cities of America as modern editions of Sodom and Gomorrah or maybe imitations of a place where the stokers work overtime.

But despite its Earl Carrolls, Amie McPhersons and bootleggers, America is very much as other countries, it is not really a little more innocent despite its pretense of unlicensed wickedness. What was far more interesting to me was the flood of talk which met me everywhere about the extreme prosperity of the American proletariat. Nothing like it had ever been known and perhaps never would again. The papers were full of it, corrupt politicians sang it to the tune of "John Brown's Body," while Socialists interspersed their singing of the "Red Flag" with psalms of praise to the unmitigated blessings of "Coolidge prosperity."

About Prosperity

The hypnotism was so general as to be positively astonishing, especially when one met comrades prepared to postulate the argument that it was little use trying to convert American workers to Socialism when they were enjoying such rich, rare and refreshing fruits from the capitalist orchard. It almost persuaded me to be a Democrat, but, no, such a fate would be too cruel even for me.

It is true I met workmen owning cars, but, according to the tales sedulously broadcast in Britain, hardly a workman but owned one. God forbid that every man should. The death rate is soaring quite comfortably as it is, thank you. My precious life was

nearly forfeit a dozen times while I was in New York. There were workers to be found possessing nice homes, but there were also those who rented condemned apartments on the East Side.

Men told me of earning \$40 a week, but I met many who would have been glad to take half that at the end of a week's toil. Districts I found where there was no employment. These were offset by cities where this was a big problem. It is so difficult to generalize about it. One thing, of which I am perfectly sure: The American worker is as badly exploited as the British worker. If he receives more wages than his British brother he has to produce accordingly and pay through the nose, too. Rents are extortionate, the price of good clothes preposterous, although I was surprised to find that there was little difference in the prices of the staple commodities such as meat, milk and bread.

Poverty and Politics

Admitting the argument, however, that everything in the garden is lovely I still fail to understand the pessimism which seems to overshadow the Socialist movement just now. If anything, it ought to act as a spur to greater and more intensive effort than ever. If I may quote from an article I have contributed elsewhere, the arguments seem to be, "The more comfortable the workers, the less chance of success for Socialist propaganda." Grant that to be true and we must immediately assume, then, that extreme poverty makes for victory. The strength of the British Labor Party was actually quoted by some comrades to prove this point. Now what are the facts?

The largest vote in industrial areas in Britain for reactionary candidates comes from the slum areas; and for a very good reason. By a system of charity which might properly be labelled bribery, the older political parties are able to buy the votes of the submerged tenth. It is obvious, too, that the Tories can always count on the badly paid rural worker. On the other hand, the strength of the trade union and Socialist movement has always been the respectable, fairly well paid artisan. It is true we now get votes from the slum dwellers, but this is but a result of our success at the polls. Like sheep, they follow the winners irrespective of political color.

What is true of Britain is true of America and my trip through the States merely deepened that impression. But success in anything depends on faith as well as reason. To illustrate what I mean, during the gubernatorial campaign in New York I spoke from scores of platforms. Judge of my surprise and disgust when, after making a speech to enthuse the audience gathered at the street corner, I would sometimes hear the candidate for Congress or Assembly get up after me and solemnly assure the audience that he had not the remotest chance of success.

If there is one thing a candidate must never do, even when he knows he cannot win, it is to get up on the platform and dole out rations of pessimism. Far better to say nothing at all. At least there is always then the chance that one may be taken for that wise old bird the owl, who could say a tremendous lot if only he would. It is bad for the workers in the campaign, frightens off the doubtful voter and prevents the registration of a fair sized increase in the vote. Better to be a fatuous optimist than a calamity howler.

The Socialist Party has so many splendid workers and enthusiastic supporters it seems a shame that their efforts should not be capitalized in an organizing campaign, for, whether I am believed or not, there is right now an excellent opportunity of enrolling thousands of new members for the party and subscribers for the Socialist press. While I was touring the West I had only one meeting which could be called a failure, and in most of them there was a real desire expressed to know more of our message. Questions were abundant, always a certain sign of interest, and quite a number of young people were in my audiences.

An outsider very often sees a great deal more of the game than the participants, and if this be accepted, my prediction that the American Socialist movement will be making big strides forward in the next three or four years may not seem so outrageous. At any rate, that is my honest belief, after conversations with scores of splendid comrades. May I thank all my American friends for the good times I had with them and wish them all success in the work which lies ahead of them, for the field is large and the reapers are few.

TIMELY TOPICS

Continued from page 1

ish imperialists call for force and yet more force. It's a crazy world!

We ought to give generously to flood relief but no private charity can excuse President Coolidge's failure to call Congress in session to adopt a plan of rehabilitation including flood prevention and make the necessary appropriations for it.

Undoubtedly the super power lobby will be strictly on the job in any discussions on flood control in the Mississippi Valley. Just as it has been the program of the power trust to get possession of power rights at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam so it will want power rights for any system of retaining reservoirs that may be used in connection with flood control on the Mississippi. Just as it helped block all progress at Boulder Dam rather than let a government agency make super power there, so it will try to block legislation with regard to the Mississippi unless it can get its own terms. We do not pretend to know whether from an engineering standpoint flood control in the Mississippi Valley can be made to add to our power facilities. But we need no expert engineers to tell us that those of us who want freedom from a nation-wide super power trust will need to be on our guard as never before against the intrigues of the power lobby at Washington. The flood emergency will certainly add to its opportunities for clever work. We no more need to pay these power interests an enormous profit to give us power than we need to pay them for the harder job of building the dams at Muscle Shoals, at Boulder and perhaps on the Mississippi—our one time comrade, John Spargo to the contrary notwithstanding.

No bonanza oil boom in Oklahoma, or anywhere else can alter the fact that the life of American oil fields is limited. We may have overproduction with relatively cheap gas for our summer touring at the cost of no oil at all for our children or oil purchased by blood in wars for the control of foreign fields. On the other hand, we do well to suspect the big oil companies, of crying up the dangers of overproduction in order to keep up the price of the oil on which they make such vast profits. Competition necessarily makes for overproduction. Men have to drill new wells to protect old wells from rivals. In so far as the Sherman Anti-Trust law makes it harder to deal with this evil it is a positive menace.

All of which is by way of preface to the remark that the time has definitely come for government regulation of the oil industry, and especially of the drilling of new wells. The big companies may have had their own reasons for asking it. We have ours for granting their request. Of course, the true remedy in the case of oil as coal is public monopoly control of a great natural resource. Instead of trying to block Mexico in nationalizing oil we should follow her example. Whenever a monopoly becomes advisable to prevent waste, it must be a public monopoly. We cannot trust private monopoly even to prevent waste. If public opinion is still too unenlightened to take this proper logical step of nationalization, at least we should go in for public regulation of the oil industry before it is too late. In virtually requesting some sort of help toward regulation, the Standard and other companies, have directed another fatal blow at the time honored theory that the less the government interferes with business the better.

Mussolini begins war on high prices by a 10 per cent cut in wages. He "orders" this cut. He "asks" a 20 per cent cut in prices. The workers thus victimized are already 13 per cent worse off in real wages than before the war. In Germany, which has no Mussolini, wages have been rising in the last three years, in some cases by as much as 66 per cent. This proves, of course, that wisdom and efficiency of Fascism about which Judge Gary and Tom Lamont of the House of Morgan love to tell us.

Ramsay MacDonald did the right and handsome thing by speaking briefly to Socialists and trade unionists as a Socialist and internationalist. All of us are grateful to him and to the Forward for generously making his farewell speech possible. We were profoundly distressed that so much of America's hospitality to one distinguished visitor should have been confined, perforce, to hospital walls. We devoutly hope that his farewell speech to us did not further tax the strength which he will sorely need for the tasks that await him at home. The future history, not only of Great Britain but of the world, in no small degree may depend upon the wisdom, vision, and courage with which Ramsay MacDonald, his colleagues, and the great rank and file of the Labor Party deal with the domestic and foreign problems before them.

Leading Negro Ministers Endorse Porters' Union

At a conference of the Negro ministers of New York nine of the outstanding Negro clergymen, representing practically 100,000 churches, or over 50 per cent of the churchgoers of Harlem, endorsed the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters after A. Philip Randolph, general organizer of the union, had explained the aims and objects of this organization. Many questions were asked by the ministers.