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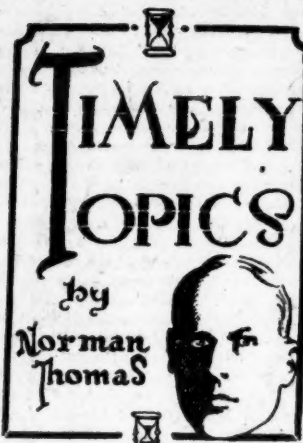
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PULLMAN COMPANY INSTIGATING LYNCH LAW AGAINST UNION ORGANIZER IN SOUTH



CARMEN'S FIGHT IN SUPREME COURT

District Judge Refused
"to Permit" Strike
of Indianapolis Men

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Struggles of street railway employees in Indianapolis against an implacable combination of "open shop" influences for relief from starvation wages and the seven-day week have raised a question of vital concern to the entire labor movement.

An answer to this question will be sought of the United States Supreme Court in an appeal from the Baltzell injunction decision aimed against employees of the Indianapolis Street Railway Company.

Determination to carry this case to the highest court was reached by W. D. Mahon, president, and other officials of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees after urgent messages, advising that course, had been received from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and other trade union leaders.

Right to Strike at Stake
The main point to be settled in this legal contest is whether the right to strike exists under the laws of the land. Specifically, the anti-injunction clause of the Clayton Act will be up for interpretation.

This clause says:
"In any case between employer and employee, no restraining order or injunction shall prohibit any person or persons terminating any relation of employment or persuading others by peaceful means to do so."

When this clause was written it was believed to cover the ground thoroughly and the intent of its sponsors was to outlaw the sort of injunction that is based on the assumption that labor is property.

Judge Enjoins Organizers

Judge Baltzell in Federal district court in Indianapolis decided, however, that the Indianapolis Street Railway Company was entitled to a preliminary injunction to restrain two union organizers—who were not employees of the company—from peacefully persuading company employees to leave their employment and, further, that this injunction directed primarily at these men could be extended to apply to "all persons having knowledge of this order," which would include employees of the company.

This interpretation of the law contains a serious threat against the right of workers anywhere to strike. If permitted to stand it will enable any employer to obtain an injunction restraining his employees from striking if he names one or more outsiders in his application to the court. This course will be open to employers even in cases where no international union organizers are concerned. Hired agents of the company could be used for the purpose if necessary and union men could then be enjoined without even the right of a hearing.

The seriousness of the plight in this decision must be readily apparent to all union members and sympathizers.

Workers Faced Big Odds.

In the grip of poverty and working 10 hours a day and seven days a week for an average wage of \$23, frequently driven to accept charity, the 1,100 employees of the Indianapolis Street Railway Company were pitted against the employing corporation, the Associated Employers of Indianapolis, an unfriendly city administration and a police department under strict orders to crush not only the strike but any attempt at organization.

The contest was of more than merely local significance. It represents a high spot in the great American Plan or "open shop" drive, launched at the close of the World War.

Organized labor has fought courageously and usually successfully to repel these ungenerous and anti-social assaults, but in some sections of the country the "open shopper" has gained the upper hand. That has happened in Indianapolis. Unorganized labor here has been reduced to a shamefully low wage level, and war to the knife has been declared against all efforts to organize workers in any field.

Wage Scale Shamefully Low
The wage scale on the street cars is (Continued on page 2)

UNIONS OF 30 STATES SUPPORT DEBS RADIO

Local labor unions in thirty states, as well as many international unions, have already responded with financial support to the efforts of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, to establish a high-power radio broadcasting station in honor of the late Eugene V. Debs, noted labor leader, from which programs of interest to the progressive and labor elements of the country will be featured. According to Norman Thomas, chairman of the fund, money is pouring in from unions of every shade, from extreme conservatism to the most progressive, to complete the \$250,000 fund.

2,000 WAITERS ON STRIKE

Negotiations Are On in
New York with As-
sociation

TWO thousand waiters, members of Local 1, responded to the strike call issued by the union when the old agreement expired on May 21. The strike affects the various independent restaurant owners, who refused to sign the new agreement proposed by the union. The union's agreement with the Restaurant Owners' Association expires on June 30, and negotiations are now under way to reach a new one.

The union at this time is not making any large demands from the employers. The new agreement proposed by the union is practically the same as the old one with only one new clause. Many restaurant owners have raised their charge on bread and butter from five to ten cents without having consulted the union, with the result that many customers, resenting this charge, take it out on the waiters by reducing or entirely eliminating their tips. This practice has considerably cut the earnings of the workers, in some cases to the extent of \$10 to \$15 a week. The union therefore demands that in restaurants that make this extra charge a practice that the workers get an extra \$5 a week in their wages.

According to a statement issued by William Lehman, secretary of the union, the workers are ready to stay out as long as will be necessary to win this strike. He further points out that the employers are well able to meet this modest demand on the part of their workers, as this extra charge more than covers it.

All friends of the labor movement are urged to patronize only restaurants that display the union show card.

(Continued on page 4)

Porters' Union Organizer in South Wires of Threats; Tells of Readiness to Challenge Lynch-Law Abettors

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PERSONAL DANGER, CONSCIENTIOUSLY FEEL BROTHERHOOD CAUSE
IS SO RIGHTEOUSLY IMPORTANT THAT A FIRM STAND SHOULD BE
TAKEN, HAVE FULLY DECIDED TO REMAIN AND MEET THE CONSEQUENCES.
THIS MEANS THAT I AM WILLING TO MAKE THE SUPREME SACRIFICE.
HAVE SACREDLY DEDICATED MY ALL TO THE PROMOTION OF
BROTHERHOODS
[NOBLE CAUSE, ADVISED AT ONCE, BEING CONSTANTLY INTIMIDATED BY]
PULLMAN NEGRO OFFICIALS.
BENNIE SMITH.

Boston Effort to Silence Branting Is Thwarted

Socialist Meeting Ad-
dressed on Common
Following Impromptu
Reception

BOSTON—George Branting, son of the late pioneer Swedish Socialist, Hjalmar Branting, who has come to America to study the Sacco and Vanzetti case, was given an enthusiastic reception on his arrival in Boston, Sunday, May 29, despite the hostile attitude of city officials and police. Several thousand people gathered at the South Station and gave a rousing cheer of welcome when the Swedish Socialist-Jurist alighted from the train.

A permit to parade had been refused by city officials but this did not stop an unofficial parade. Instead of riding to the Boston Common, Comrade Branting, with members of the reception committee, walked through the streets to the Common, followed by thousands of cheering and applauding

men and women. Scores of automobiles followed also with signs "Welcome George Branting." A parade could have been no more effective or attracted more attention.

The Parkman bandstand on the Boston Common had been denied for a meeting of welcome to Branting and the officers of law, fearful that the crowd would use the bandstand without a permit, were standing on guard. But Branting proceeded with an ever increasing crowd following on to the regular Sunday meeting place of the Socialists on the Common, as a guest of the Socialist Party. The police were baffled. They made one more attempt, this time unsuccessful, to prevent a meeting.

Mary Donovan, secretary of the Sacco and Vanzetti defense committee and a member of the state executive committee of the Socialist Party, started to introduce Branting to the audience. A number of officers edged their way through the crowd and demanded to see the permit to hold a meeting. They were shown the permit

(Continued on page 3)

MINN. LOOKS TO '28 CAMPAIGN

Farmer-Laborites Want
State Impetus for
National Ticket

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

S. T. PAUL—"Never was there a more urgent call for united national action of the progressive and reform forces of the nation than at present." This opinion is expressed in a leading editorial article in the Minnesota Union Advocate, the leading organ of the Farmer-Labor movement of Minnesota.

The article proceeds to define the attitude of the State movement toward the national campaign next year. It is regarded as significant that this statement appears simultaneously with the announcement of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party that it would proceed with organization work in all the states and nominate electoral tickets in 1928.

The Farmer-Laborites recognize wide discontent with the two capitalist parties, but a survey also convinces them that outside of Minnesota for the present there is no tendency to consolidate various political forces into a Labor Party. This opinion agrees with a survey made by the national office of the Socialist Party.

On the other hand the Minnesota movement has received many requests from outside the State to take the initiative in organizing nationally for the elections next year. The question has been frequently discussed by active men in the State, but the Advocate declares, "It seems to be pretty well agreed that before a successful and representative national convention could be held it would be necessary for the States to organize so that the disastrous experience of 1920 and 1924 might be avoided. Without State organizations or local groups of State organizations which could send delegates to a national convention there would be a gathering of all sorts of irresponsible persons who represented nobody but themselves and there would be no local movement to back up the actions of the national convention."

"Here in Minnesota among the leaders in the Farmer-Labor movement it is the unanimous opinion that if other States had the progressives united into a State movement like the Farmer-Labor Association of Minnesota it would be possible to hold a great national convention of organized and representative progressives and present to the voters a national ticket that would represent definite principles of progress along essential lines."

The Farmer-Laborites are hoping

(Continued on page 3)

NEGRO ARRESTED AND DRIVEN FROM CITY

Brotherhood Withdraws
Him, Fearing Attack
—He Will Return

DESPITE a narrow escape from Pullman Company-inspired lynch law, Bennie Smith, Negro organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will within two weeks return to Jacksonville, Florida, whence he was driven this week.

Official persecution, culminating in an arrest on flimsy charges, coupled with the stirring up of race hatred by Pullman Company minions, conspired to force Smith from Jacksonville to Chicago last Friday.

The circumstances of Smith's flight from Jacksonville, executed at the insistence of union headquarters in New York, and the plans for resumption of his organizing work in that city, epitomizes the struggle of the awakening Negro workers.

For almost two years the Brotherhood has been organizing. It has signed up a majority of the Pullman Company employees in the North, East and West—except the job of tackling the South for the last. It was known that the Pullman Company would put up its strongest fight in the South, where it could play on race prejudice if it wished. It was not expected that the Company would resort to incitations to personal violence.

South Pullman Co.'s Last Stand

The South is the last stronghold of the Pullman Company. It is easy to understand why it is making desperate efforts to keep the Brotherhood out of that section. As the porters in the northern and western part of the country indicate their independence by signing up with the union, the company must turn to the South for new recruits—docile ones to take the place of union members, the most active of whom are being discharged weekly. If the Brotherhood idea catches fire in the South, the unchecked rule of the company over its employees will be at an end.

That the Pullman company has not hesitated to resort to violence, has not daunted Smith or the Brotherhood. Smith is not the type to accept attack lying down. Two years ago he was a delegate elected through the "company union" to a "wage conference" in Chicago. He took his duties to the men seriously, refusing to sign the proposed "agreement" as unsatisfactory. He was immediately discharged. He then became an organizer for the Brotherhood and has been meeting with complete success.

As soon as arrangements are completed, Smith will return to Jacksonville. The eyes of the entire labor movement and of the Negro race will be on him. The union, through Smith, is placing to the test the right of the Southern Negroes to establish their economic independence. When he is through with his work in Jacksonville, he will continue his work through all the large cities of the South.

Smith Arrested For "Messenger"

Smith has been in the South for three months on an organization trip for the union. Letters from Smith to A. Philip Randolph, organizer of the union, tell of attempts by Pullman company officials to incite white people to violence against him. Appeals to the authorities for protection were of no avail, Smith wrote. Late Thursday night Mr. Randolph wired Smith, telling him to leave Jacksonville if he felt the situation to be one of imminent danger.

"When we were informed by Mr. Smith that conditions, due to the incitations of the Pullman company employees, were becoming exceedingly dangerous, we wired him to leave if he so desired," Mr. Randolph said. "We took this action because of the realization that the officers of the law were refusing to do their duty in protecting our organizer. We are not out of Jacksonville for good, however. As soon as we can make arrangements—within a week—we hope representa-

Mussolini's Labor Charter Bared As Code of Slavery By Italian Socialist Deputy

By G. E. Modigliani

THE Labor Charter issued by Fascism does not seem to be arousing the stir which its great stage manager, Mussolini, expected. It will delight those who are always delighted at everything that their adversaries do. But it will seem profound only to those who, ignorant of even the elements of certain problems, cannot perceive the absurd superficiality with which the Charter pronounces on certain questions, resolves others by verbal quibbles, and finally disregards some of the most important. And the Charter will appear as a "historical document" only to those unable to unmask its falsehoods and what it hides.

And, first of all, what is this Labor Charter? It is neither a law nor a regulation, nor a Government ordinance, but a decree by the supreme council of a party, the Grand Council of the Fascist Party. And this decree is designed to instruct everyone—both the magistrates and all persons concerned—in what manner the laws and regulations are to be interpreted. The

(Mussolini's famous "Labor Charter," hailed in many quarters as a model industrial code, is discussed in the following article by one of the best known leaders of Italian labor and Socialism. Giuseppe E. Modigliani, now a political exile in Paris, is a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. He has for decades been a leader of Italian Socialism.)

party above the law, above everything, taking precedence of everything! Let us bear in mind, then, that it is officially a manifestation publicly made of the dictatorship of a party, and we shall know what we have to deal with whenever he document makes reference to liberty.

Dictatorship by a party! This may gladden the ears of those who accept formulas without grasping their meaning. It is enough to earn condemnation from Socialists who know that Socialism is the democracy of the masses, insurgent against any domina-

tion and any exploitation whether by individuals or by oligarchies.

Hides Two Failures

The Charter, being the decree of the great Fascist party, it was obviously impossible to issue it without stage effects. Drums, trumpets and flourishes, and in the background, like a stage setting, nothing less than the whole of Roman history evoked by the date of April 21, the birthday of Rome. This is the style of the firm. But on this occasion it was no less than was required to conceal that the Charter registers two acts of renunciation and two decisive failures. The Fascists had pledged themselves to issue a Labor code and to reconstruct from top to bottom the Italian political constitution in order to create the corporative state. But there is no code of Labor and no corporative state; instead of that, thirty lying or ridiculous paragraphs. "Parturient montes, nascitur ridiculus mus." Men and ideas unequal to their destiny! That is the Charter!

The Labor Code is not to appear. It is the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Corporations himself, the very

(Continued on page 3)

tives of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters will resume the work in Jacksonville, where Mr. Smith was illegally interrupted. Smith will return. We have every right in the world, legal and humanitarian, to organize the Pullman company peons. No intimidation or violence will change our decision to do so."

The union first learned of Smith's difficulties in Jacksonville in a wire received from him May 15, in which he told of being arrested for selling "The Messenger," a Negro labor paper which has enjoyed second-class mailing privileges for more than ten years. He was ordered by the police to leave the city or face arraignment in court.

On advice of counsel, Smith refused to do either. On the 18th Randolph warned him, for the first time, against taking chances with his physical safety. In the meantime Mr. Randolph had received the following from A. Decatur McGill, who had been retained by Mr. Smith as his attorney: "Upon my advice Mr. Smith will remain in Jacksonville until he has finished his business, there being no reason whatever why he should do otherwise."

Because McGill is a Negro he was not permitted to appear at the police station for him.

Smith wired on the 22nd:

"Am mindful of grave seriousness of situation and personal danger. Conscientiously feel brotherhood cause is so righteously important that a firm stand should be taken. Have decided to remain and meet the consequences. This means that I am willing to make the supreme sacrifice. Have sacredly dedicated my all to the brotherhood's noble cause. Being constantly intimidated by Pullman officials. Please advise."

A letter received by Mr. Randolph on the 22nd gave the details on the situation. Word was brought to him from the district superintendent of the Pullman company, Mr. Cooper, that he had better leave the city, Smith wrote.

Pullman Officials' Hands Revealed

Here is Smith's letter to Randolph. Because of the certain reprisals that would follow we are forced to delete names of porters and others who aided the union organizer. He wrote as follows:

"Dear Brother Randolph:

"Again I will endeavor to briefly outline the occurrences leading up to the accusation in Jacksonville.

"On April the 20th to 23d, inclusive, C. C. Webb, of the office of the Bureau of Industrial Relations in Chicago, held meetings in Jacksonville. I was informed by porters who attended these meetings that he delivered a denunciation of the Sleeping Car Porters.

"On April 21st Mr. Webb having met me on the street, he evidently informed Mr. F. E. Cooper, the Pullman district superintendent at Jacksonville, of my presence in this city. About one hour later I was informed by one of his (Mr. Cooper's) trusted porters that he (Mr. Cooper) thought it would be a good idea to give me an invitation to leave the city.

"On Wednesday, May 18th, two detectives called at the hotel in search of me. I not being in, they left word for me to report immediately to the police station and see Chief Roberts. Complying with their request, I was questioned by Chief Roberts as to my business in Jacksonville. After informing the Chief that I was field organizer for the B. S. C. P., he informed me that it was not the organization being questioned, but the 'Messenger' he objected to. Admitting sale of same, he said that there was some 'bad stuff' in the 'Messenger', and if same is proven on me, he would put me in jail.

"I asked the Chief if I could see one of the copies. He informed me that Mr. F. E. Cooper had them, and said for me to report the following morning at nine o'clock, at which time he would have Mr. Cooper there. Seeking legal advice, it was suggested by Attorney _____, since there had been no charge preferred, not to appear. In the course of the conversation with the Chief and the detectives I learned that they were in possession of information or rumor that I was teaching social equality and stirring up the Negroes.

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Warned Again To Leave City

"On or about Tuesday, May 17, Pullman Porter Instructor W. H. Mitchell, Negro Pullman Official made three trips to the hotel in search of information relative to the progress of the B. S. C. P. Again on May 19 he (Mitchell) called at the hotel to inform me that if I remained in Jacksonville it would be at the risk of my life. He being in possession of information, and knowing the condition of the South, said it was extremely dangerous for me to remain longer, that white people had come to him inquiring of me, and my whereabouts.

"I informed Mr. Mitchell that I had hoped to finish my field work at Jacksonville at an early date, but if conditions warranted it I would shorten my stay. In confidence he agreed to secure information on this from Mr. F. E. Cooper, and advise me. On the following day he made several attempts to communicate with me. Succeeding, he advised for my own personal safety to leave at the earliest possible moment. Later he has called at the hotel in person and by phone, to learn if I had left the city or not. To my mind it is clearly shown that the Company has thrown the brick and is attempting to hide their hand, using these forms of intimidation to frighten me from the city, and kill the spirit of the organization in the South.

"The only evidence that could be furnished to the City Officials relative to the Messenger is in possession of the District Superintendent Mr. F. E. Cooper, so I am informed. This is the low down on the whole situation to the best of my ability. Fraternally yours, BENNIE SMITH, Field Organizer B. S. C. P.

"P.S.—I called the judge by phone in an attempt to explain what I had been subject to through false rumor and he said he granted no interviews, that he had denied the Pullman Company one, but that he, the judge, knew all about it, that he had it in black and white it would be better for me to get back to headquarters—that I need not expect any sympathy from him. That I had been holding mass meetings is of course radically wrong. Attorney also felt that it was better for me to leave as these people could not be trusted."

On the receipt of further details, Mr. Randolph on Thursday wired to Mr. Smith: "Your strength against that of Cooper valueless. Would advise leaving."

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An Outline of New York Transit

Traction Companies Obstruct City's Recovery of Its Lines; The Possibilities and Probabilities of Recapture

By Louis S. Stanley

If somebody were to undertake to shout from the housetops—via radio, if need be—until he made a general nuisance of himself, that the City of New York owns the subway, he would perform a tremendous public service. The brazenness of the transit companies is in direct proportion to the ignorance of the voters.

The intricacies of the transit problem have not been simplified by the clamors of public officials and company representatives against each other. Those who ride hate to direct their thoughts to the subway question lest they be reminded of the harrowing experiences of the rush hour or they are too exhausted to do so, once they have safely arrived at home or place of business.

The companies, the Interborough Rapid Transit and the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit, do not own the subway of New York. Hardly a New Yorker will believe it. He has heard so much of perpetual and modest 999 year leases of elevated and street car lines that he takes it for granted that the subways are also in the same category. He condemns the dead but once very much alive politicians of the 1870's and '80's, and lets it go at that. Unfortunately for certain business men today, capitalists of an earlier era were afraid to spend their money burrowing holes in the ground. Industrial magnates demanded that the city take the risk, while they would run the subways and collect the profits. And so it was done.

The First Subways

Now, their timidity and perverted shrewdness is coming back to curse

them. The first New York subway were built by the city under so-called Contracts Nos. 1 and 2, which required the construction contractor to undertake operation also. The Interborough Rapid Transit Company agreed to handle both jobs. Contract No. 1, signed in February, 1902, covered the old Z-shaped Manhattan and Bronx subway lines that ran along the West Side into the Bronx, across 42nd street and down Fourth avenue. Contract No. 2, agreed to a little later, provided for an extension of the downtown branch under the East River into Brooklyn. The first agreement was for a term of fifty years, the second for thirty-five with privileges of renewal granted to the company. These maturity provisions were cancelled by Contract No. 3.

Under the first two contracts with the Interborough, the city undertook to build the proposed subway lines. The company was to supply the equipment and pay a rental equal to the amount of interest on the bonds issued to cover construction costs plus one percent to be used by the city to pay off its general debt or the principal of the bonds. At the expiration of the lease the subway was to be returned to the city, which also had the right to purchase the equipment. In this way the I. R. T. was put under the least possible financial obligation possible, though it had to sacrifice—it did not think so at the time because of the risk involved—a long franchise and exclusive private ownership. The Interborough immediately undertook a heavy financial responsibility by taking a lease from the Manhattan Railway Company, which owned all the elevated lines in Manhattan under a perpetual lease. The Interborough promised to pay the Manhattan Railway for the small period of 999 years a seven percent dividend on its \$60,000,000 of watered common stock, the

interest on its outstanding bonds, taxes and reorganization costs. Although this lease was modified in 1922, it is still sufficient to deprive the I. R. T. of any dividends.

The Dual Contracts

In 1913 the need for new subway facilities became so urgent that the city signed the so-called Dual Contracts, No. 3 with the Interborough and No. 4 with a subsidiary of the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, now the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit. Once more the city agreed to build new subway lines, but, grown wiser in years, it demanded that the companies contribute about one-half of the construction costs. The city would share net profits 50-50 with the company after deductions had been made for taxes, contribution to construction expenses and the like. But the I. R. T. and the B. R. T. were each guaranteed a preferential income. To put it differently, before the city could share a penny the Interborough had to be paid annually \$6,335,000 for its subway lines and \$1,559,348 for its "L" properties, while the B. R. T. was to receive \$3,500,000 a year, which sums were the average net earnings per annum for 1911 and 1912 on the companies' old investments.

On account of these provisions preferential deficits have piled up until on June 30, 1926, they amounted to \$32,853,882. Until the companies receive these sums the city cannot obtain from the I. R. T. and the B. M. T. their contributions to construction costs, which at the above mentioned date amounted to \$76,642,188. This sum the city has paid for already, while its total investment is \$330,000,000. It remains for the companies to give their share.

Contracts Are Changed

The Dual contracts obligated the city to construct for the use of the I. R. T. the Lexington leg going northward into

the Bronx and the Seventh Avenue extension going southward into Brooklyn, and for the use of the B. R. T. what are now the Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens B. M. T. subway lines. Construction was to be completed on January 1, 1917, and the leases were to run for forty-nine years from then, unless completion was delayed through no fault of the companies. The termination dates for Contracts Nos. 1 and 2 were changed to coincide with those of the Dual Contracts and the renewal privileges of the old agreements were abrogated. To emphasize further the fact that the city owns the new subways as well as the old there is an important improvement over the terms of the old contract. The city does not have to wait until the end of the lease to recover its property. It may recapture the subways built under Contracts Nos. 3 and 4 in whole or in part upon one year's notice at any time after the tenth year of operation of any section. To do this the city must reimburse the companies for their respective investments plus a maximum sum of 15 percent on these investments, which amount diminishes at the rate of 1-30th every year until the properties and equipment revert to the city free at the expiration of the leases. In the case of the Lexington avenue and Seventh Avenue subways built under Contract No. 3 with the Interborough the city has the right to exchange either one way for the contiguous leg of the old subway, so that it could have a continuous line.

These are some pertinent facts:

CONTRACT NO. 3

(Expires 1964)

Recapture dates:
Entire system, June 22, 1925.
Steinway Tunnel, June 22, 1925.
Seventh Avenue-Lexington Avenue, June 2, 1927.
White Plains Road, March 3, 1927.
Eastern Parkway, April 15, 1929.

CONTRACT NO. 4

(Expires 1962)

Recapture dates:
Entire system, August 4, 1923.
Gravesend-Culver Line, March 16, 1929.
Broadway-4th Avenue Line, August 4, 1923.

What the investment of the companies is not exactly known. They will claim excessive evaluations. The present hearings of the Transit Commission is partly to determine these sums.

Although the city owns the subways it cannot very easily or expeditiously assert its rights. The companies will hold up the city for all they can get and they have these clubs:

1. Excessive valuation claims.
2. Ownership of the elevated lines of the I. R. T. and the B. M. T. which the city should like to see included in a unified transit system.

3. In the case of the I. R. T. a claim upon the old Z-shaped subway until 1964, enough to block any schemes for a consolidated system effectively.

The city on the other hand, has these weapons:

1. Its recapturing privileges.
2. Its selection of the more profitable line of the I. R. T. under its right of choosing a continuous road.

3. The threat of competition through the lines it will recapture and thru the construction of an independent city-wide subway system, built and operated by the municipal government, which as a matter of fact is already under construction.

The Transit Commission inquiry should clear the atmosphere of a lot of bluffing and humbuggery. Then, if the amendment to be submitted to the voters this fall is passed the limitation upon the city's debt limit will be removed and the way will be clear for returning the city's subways to its rightful owners, the people of the City of New York.

Lindy Inherits Courage From Father Who Fought U. S. Participation in War

TWO weeks ago the name of Charles A. Lindbergh was known to a few hundred persons—relatives, friends, comrades and aviation fans. Now, it is the best known name on earth.

This slim young Viking has captured the heart of the world. The youth of him, the modesty of him, above all, the chilled steel nerve of him, are the chief topics of conversation on two continents.

Yet some of the most interesting things about "Lucky Lindy" have been lost in the shouting. For instance, there is the matter of his heritage. Much—though not a word too much—has been written about his splendid mother; holding herself to her appointed task of teaching chemistry through the day that saw her son flying over the Atlantic.

But Lindbergh, like the rest of us, had two parents; and how many know that his father was a Swedish immigrant boy, a Progressive Congressman from Minnesota, a man whose honesty was a proverb and whose courage, though differently tested, was quite as fine as that of his famous son?

Wouldn't Take a Bad Case

Charles Lindbergh the elder was born in Sweden in 1869, son of a member of the "Swedish Parliament. His parents brought him to America when he was a small child. He had the usual experiences of a Western boy, studied law, graduated from the University of Michigan, settled down to practice at Little Falls, Minnesota. But very soon something developed about this man that is not too usual.

He picked his cases, not by their probable return to him in money, but by their merit. He wouldn't take a case that he believed in any way tainted with unfairness. A client must have the right side of a controversy to get Lindbergh for his lawyer. So well established did this rule become that through a wide district it was taken for granted that any litigant whose cause Lindbergh would espouse deserved to win. I suspect the juries saw to it that he generally did win.

Scattered Ashes Over Home

That was one sample of the Lindbergh nerve. Another was shown—though not known—while he was at Washington. He went through a major operation without an anesthetic, talking with a friend the while, and only once did he even clench his fist. The "Flying Fool" comes rightly by his courage, from both sides of the house.

When Congressman Lindbergh died in 1924, his flying son took up the father's ashes in a plane, and scattered them over the old home. Then he went back to the air mail service, and his mother, who graduated at the same college as her husband, went to teaching school; for men like Lindbergh do not leave fortunes—in money.

L. I. D. Conference Program Announced

THE NEW LEADER is in receipt of the complete program of the June Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held at Camp Tamiment, from Thursday, June 23 to Sunday, June 26, inclusive.

The program gives ample opportunity for intellectual stimulus, recreation, music and sociability. The general subject of the conference and of the Saturday night skits revolve around the theme of "Prosperity." The program follows:

Chairman, Norman Thomas.

Thursday evening, June 23, 8 p. m. Subject: "Origin, Extent and Distribution of Present Day Prosperity."

Speakers: Willard Thorp, Professor of Economics, Amherst College; member of the staff of National Bureau of Economic Research; author of "Business Annals"; Paul Brissenden, (probably), Assistant Professor of Economics, Columbia; Solon DeLeon, Editor of the "American Labor Year Book"; Leader of Discussion.

Friday Morning, June 24, 9:30 a. m. Subject: "Will 'American Prosperity' Continue? International Complications."

Speakers: George Soule, an Editor of the "New Republic," Director of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Dr. Scott Nearing, author, lecturer, economist, Leader of Discussion.

Friday Afternoon, June 24, 2 p. m. Subject: "What Can Students Do in Industry and International Relations?"

This session will be limited exclusively to students and a few faculty experts invited by the students to sit in. Edith Blumberg of the Students' Council of New York in charge.

Friday Evening, June 24, 8:30 p. m. "Sore Spots in Present Day Prosperity."

Stuart Chase, director of Labor Bureau, Inc., author of "Tragedy of Waste," on "The Richest Nation on Earth—Money Wealth vs. Real Wealth"; Dean Carl Taylor of North Carolina Agricultural College, on "The Agricultural Situation"; Dr. Isador Lubin of the Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C., author of "Miners' Wages and the Cost of Coal," on "The Coal Situation." Benjamin C. Marsh of the Farmers' National Council, Al-

CARMEN'S FIGHT IN SUPREME COURT

(Continued from page 1)

37 to 42 cents an hour. Less than 10 men receive the maximum scale today as it is based on five years' service, and most employees lost their service standing in the walkout last July. Working seven days a week, one can earn at most \$25.90, but few employees receive that. Company regulations require each man to spend at least one hour a day on duty without pay.

Five hundred of the men who walked out last July are still being punished by blacklisting and denied the right to earn even the pitifully inadequate wage of a car man.

The trouble in Indianapolis began a year ago, when a number of car men requested the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees for assistance in forming a local union. Robert B. Armstrong and John M. Parker, both vice-presidents of the Amalgamated, were sent here. The "open shop" combination wheeled into action at once. From the moment of their arrival Armstrong and Parker were dogged by squads of police on foot and in automobiles.

Organizers Persecuted

Five street car employees were employed as organizers—two of whom later admitted in court that they were company secret agents under instructions to seek jobs with the union. Armstrong and Parker and their agents were repeatedly arrested—53 times in all—and never convicted of any offense. The favorite charge was vagrancy, which means begging in the streets. Business and industrial bodies of the city lent moral and political support to the company in its efforts to block unionization, and the larger newspapers commented approvingly.

The invasion of their rights as law-abiding American citizens drove Armstrong and Parker to appeal to the Federal court for a restraining order against the police. Judge Baltzell dismissed the case with a reprimand to both sides for "degrading the Federal court by bringing petty disputes between the company and organized labor before it."

Judge Solon Carter, in a State court, granted a restraining order against the police and declared that "police arrests of these union organizers are almost criminal. Organizing a union is a lawful occupation."

Despite all obstacles, the organization work went on and announcement was made that 1,000 employees would strike at 2 a. m. June 3, 1926. Chief of Police Johnson rejoined with the threat that the police were prepared to keep car running as long as the company wanted that done. The day before the date set, Judge Baltzell issued a court order restraining Armstrong and Parker from interfering with employees of the company in any way, and specifically from calling a strike. This scotched the strike move.

The company now began discharging men with the avowed intention of clearing out all union members. Sixty-four were dismissed for alleged violation of the company's "yellow dog" contract. The men steadfastly denied signing the contract or having knowledge of its contents. They admitted signing blank papers as receipts for their badges.

Agents of the Department of Labor attempted to adjust the differences, but Robert I. Todd, president of the company, flatly refused to meet the men. Mayor Duval also declined to assist in mediation and the Associated Employers, through their secretary, A. J. Allen, announced that they were opposed to mediation or any compromise with the men.

The local union voted again to strike, setting the date as one week from June 24. Judge Baltzell then issued a preliminary injunction, naming Armstrong and Parker and "all persons having knowledge of this order."

"This court is not going to permit a strike to be called," he declared.

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Any Fur Worker stopping from work or going to the non-union offices on 22nd Street will be severely dealt with in accordance with the constitution. They will lose their right to work in any Union shop in New York or any other city in the United States.

If the outlaw, Non-Union Communists interfere in any way with any worker going to work, report at once to the office of the Union at 31 East 27th Street and we will prosecute them to the fullest extent of the law.

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Production Gains 25 Percent While Total Number Of Workers in American Industry Drops 7 Percent

FASCIST "UNIONS" FORCED OUT AT GENEVA

Amsterdam International Explains the Wrath of Mussolini Underlings

THE International Federation of Trade Unions has issued a blistering statement regarding Mussolini's attempts to have his blackshirt "unions" recognized by the International Labor Office. Recently Grandi, Under-Secretary of State of the Italian Foreign Office, burst into wrath in the Italian "Parliament." His fire was directed against the Trade Union International which he denounced as "dull, impotent and imbecile."

"Why Grandi Got Excited" is the caption to the answer which the International sent out from Amsterdam which reads in part, as follows:

"Grandi knows very well where the shoe pinches. The real cause of his wrath is, as the Berlin 'Vorwarts' points out, the defeat of the Italian Government Representative at the International Labor Office and, in general, Italy's position in the International Labor Organization. In reality, writes 'Vorwarts', the adherents of the Amsterdam International, whom Grandi declares to be 'impotent', have for three years succeeded in paralyzing the Italian Labor delegation in the Conference by excluding Rossoni, the leader of the so-called Fascist 'trade unions', and his technical advisers from all the commissions. Mussolini's representative takes care, too, to forget that Rossoni's mandate to represent the Italian workers is unanimously contested not only by the trade unions affiliated with the Amsterdam International, but also by the Christian trade unions."

"De Micheli, the Italian Government representative, had proposed an amendment of the regulations governing the activities of the Commission which examines into principles of representation. Amendments have indeed been made, but in a diametrically opposite direction to that desired by the Fascist Government. Having proved powerless to prevent the exclusion of its representative, Rossoni, the leader of the so-called Fascist 'trade unions', the Italian Government now proposes to withdraw from the International Labor Office."

"Fascism is in flight from Geneva after the loss of a preliminary skirmish, deserting on the very eve of the great battle. For in June the International Labor Conference will have to discuss, in the first reading, the definition of 'trade union liberty', and as Rossoni does not feel strong enough to defend his absurd theory of the 'corporate State', the Fascist Government is withdrawing from the International Labor Office."

After the loss of a preliminary skirmish, deserting on the very eve of the great battle. For in June the International Labor Conference will have to discuss, in the first reading, the definition of 'trade union liberty', and as Rossoni does not feel strong enough to defend his absurd theory of the 'corporate State', the Fascist Government is withdrawing from the International Labor Office."

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NOTICE OF MEETING of the NEW LEADER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

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8 P. M. in the RAND SCHOOL

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

Important reports will be rendered for action. Attendance is imperative. Socialist Party members should make application for membership at the New Leader Office, 7 East 15th St.

Boston Fails To Gag Branting

(Continued from page 1)
and after studying it for several minutes, making every effort to find some technicality to stop the meeting but finding none, they had to allow the meeting to proceed. They had been outwitted.

Finally Branting was introduced. He was given an ovation that lasted several minutes. After the audience had been quieted Branting made the following short speech. He stated his determination to obtain the facts on Sacco and Vanzetti and spread them broadcast in Sweden and throughout Europe.

"I think we will have no trouble here," Mr. Branting said.

"I thank you of full heart for this kind welcome. As I already have stated, a large Swedish opinion has sent me over here to make a quite impartial study of the Sacco-Vanzetti case and to give a fair report."

"This step is dictated of an earnest interest, an interest common to all countries. I assume it can nowhere be understood as an inconvenient curiosity. America gives an example to the world, and, therefore, a widespread attention on her actions is natural. That is all I am able to say in a serious situation."

Alfred Baker Lewis presided at the meeting and explained the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

Minnesota Looks to Campaign of '28

(Continued from page 1)
that before the end of the year a sufficient number of States will organize independently of the old parties to make a national convention possible early next year. They regard "labor and farmer economic organizations as the nucleus of the movement."

A Northwest conference will be held in Minnesota during the State convention of the Farmer-Labor convention in September. It is felt that such a conference will bring together elements which are more nearly homogeneous and conclusions regarding national action can be reached which will be safer for this part of the nation to follow.

Tippett to Brookwood
Tom Tippett will teach economics at Brookwood next year, according to announcement made at the meeting. He comes to Brookwood from Illinois, where he has conducted workers' education classes among the miners of Subdistrict 5 for several years.

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Workers, With Power And Inventions Mass Amazing Plant Output

By Chester M. Wright

A PRODUCTION miracle has been taking place in the United States in the last nine years. While there was a drop of nearly 7 percent in the number of wage earners in what might be called catalogued industry, there was an increase of 25 percent in the production of industry.

The proportion of wage earners in manufacturing to the population as a whole decreased more than 16 percent during the seven-year period, but the output of manufactured commodities per wage earner increased about 34 percent.

Fewer workers produced more commodities.

This is revealed in a report issued by the United States Department of Labor, based on census computations. Of still further significance is that while the number of wage earners diminished and production increased, there was a gain of some 9 percent in the total population. Roughly, this would appear to indicate a growing number of persons who do not work in any productive capacity.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labor was interested if not startled by figures which were produced by John P. Frey in the course of debates showing an amazing per man gain in volume of production.

The present figures cover the period of 1919-25. Those familiar with industrial progress in 1926-27 believe that when these two years are added to the years on which the present figures are based, there will be told a story of still more marvelous productive gains.

Up to 1925 American labor had increased its output over 1919 by a full one-fourth, an achievement that in 1919 would have been regarded as all but impossible, because labor at that time was just emerging from the high production period of the war when every speed-up nerve had been stretched to high tension.

Gains Began During Howl Against Labor
It is of importance to remember that this burst of increased production began at a time when every corporation influence of anti-union tendencies was banded in a gigantic effort to crush the unions and to decrease wages. The anti-union forces believed the time had come to slash wages, smash unions and if possible lengthen the working day.

How completely wrong they were in their estimate of industry and of labor is now shown by official production figures produced by the government. In some industries wage reduction movements are again under way, employers hoping to achieve victory now where they could not achieve it during the immediate post-armistice struggle. The figures now available should arm trade union officials for this conflict.

One more point requires emphasis in considering the increased productivity of labor. It refutes absolutely and brands as an economic fallacy of the first order the so-called "cost of living" basis for wage fixing brought forward during the war under the leadership of Frank P. Walsh as co-chairman of the War Labor Board. Under that theory, which Walsh sought to fasten upon labor, wages would rise and fall, not with productivity, but with the cost of living. The American Federation of Labor declared in its last convention that wages must advance progressively with growing productivity.

The point to be made is that with a constantly growing per man production wages must advance in a certain relation to that productivity or a colossal "surplus" of commodities will result, to be followed by what a certain school of economists call a panic. Certain it is that machine production, with its utilization of endless chain methods and its growing use of power and of improved methods, is bringing the economic world to a point where new relationships must be evolved and where computations of reward cannot be on the basis of ten years ago.

LABOR CHARTER DENOUNCED

(Continued from page 1)

young and self-important Bottal, who announces this fact in his report to the Grand Council. And the corporate state which should have been a new political constitution is nothing more henceforward than the title of the first part of the Charter. Instead of the master of the house, we find the porter; instead of the corporate constitution, a phrase: "The Italian nation is an organism. . . . It is a moral, political and economic unity that finds its complete expression in the Fascist state"; and that is all; it is as stale and empty as it could be. Let us pass on!

The Mask Torn Off
The second paragraph is still but a phrase, or more precisely two phrases. "Work is a duty." "Production has agreed alms (?!?) namely, the well-being of the producer and the development of national power." What originality and what exactitude! Thereafter the great falsehood displays itself without any shame.

Paragraph 3: "Professional and trade union organization is free!"
Did then the labor clubs burn themselves in Italy, and did the capital of a milliard of the 6,000 co-operatives vanish all by itself? And of course it was not the Fascists who burned down, and the government officials who sold, destroyed, stole. . . . In Molinella, in Ravenna, in Reggio, in Rome. . . . In peasants' homes and printing-presses, in the country as in the town? And you, the leaders and rank and file of Fascism, did you not demand that the devastation should be complete? And did you not protest when here and there was a lull in the massacre and destruction? And afterwards, was it not you and your laws which sent into deportation to the islands the trade union leaders who had not managed to escape from Italy, or who did not yield to your threats? And has not the impossibility of forming free trade unions in Italy been publicly admitted by the ex-trade unionists Rigola, D'Aragona and Co., who quite lately

have gone over to Fascism? Their manifesto of renunciation and of surrender has received the "imprimatur" of the Duce himself! One only has to read it; trade union law allows no Fascists to set up unrecognized organizations, but "the changes which have since occurred in the general conditions of the country no longer allow this provision of the law to be applied." That is absolute.

But there is better still to come, namely the charter itself. Paragraph 3 proceeds textually as follows: . . . "but it is only the trade union regularly authorized and controlled by the state which has the right of representing legally the whole category . . . of defending 'its' interests. . . . of framing the collective labor contracts which are compulsory on all who belong to the category. Trade union freedom to form unions unable to do anything of what is or ought to be their essential task. Trade union liberty is thus liberty to build so that others may pull down; to elect representatives so that Fascism may persecute, massacre and deport them to the islands."

And it is with a similar sincerity that the first part of the charter—the philosophical section, if you please, which lays down first principles—ratifies the other leading principles of what it calls the corporate state. Here they are in brief: the collective labor contract achieves social solidarity by reconciling interests (par. 4); the professional associations secure the equality before the law of employees (par. 5) and workers; private enterprise is the most effective instrument of the national interest, but has responsibilities toward the state, and the professional associations of employers must accordingly bring about an increase of production and a reduction of its costs, while the state will only intervene when private enterprise fails or appears inadequate (Par. 7, 8, 9). Is this a labor charter? It is a capitalist catechism which extols with the steepest compliments exploiting individualism, and carefully hides what is worst in Fascist trade union legislation.

The labor contracts supposed to reconcile interests are never in Italy drafted, put forward or approved, either directly or indirectly by the workers themselves. The officials of their so-called unions ought to be but are not their nominees. If they really were, they could only act under the law after their nomination had been ratified by the government or the prefects. In reality, the officers of the trade unions are appointed by the Fascist Party. Conversely, there is nothing of the kind for the employers, who are masters in their unions. Thus all the labor contracts, all the regulation of work, are built on an alleged reconciliation between the actual nominees of the employers and officials nominated by the government and the employers' party, officials masquerading as workers' representatives.

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BROPHY SAYS ELECTION WAS STOLEN

Opposition Challenges Victory of Lewis as Head of Miners

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PITTSBURGH.—In one of the most startling statements ever issued by a member of a trade union, John Brophy, recent candidate for president of the United Mine Workers, declares that the election of John L. Lewis and other national officials was fraudulent. The statement has been mailed to locals of the miners throughout the country with an appeal that a committee of five miners, two selected by Mr. Lewis, two by Mr. Brophy, and these four to select the fifth, be set up for the purpose of investigating the election and reporting the findings to the membership. Brophy documents his protest with figures of the official returns reported by the international office, the Ashland district being the leading exhibit in the statement. The protest declares that this district paid taxes on one member for the year 1926 and has had no strike to exempt the district from paying a tax. The vote reported cast by this district was 2,684, with not one vote recorded as cast for any opposition candidate. He adds that exactly the same number of votes is recorded for each of the administration candidates. Brophy declares this to be "incredible."

Tables of returns from other districts are also presented which, Brophy declares, prove gross irregularities. In the Pittsburgh district he insists that "nearly one-third of the locals listed as voting are dead locals which have no existence in fact." In District 19—Tennessee—the statement asserts there were only 482 taxpaying members in the last half of 1926 but "there were 3,962 votes recorded for Lewis and 15 for myself."

In Pennsylvania Brophy passes on to a consideration of what he considers discrepancies in the returns from Pennsylvania, also presented in tabular form and accompanied with a critical analysis of the figures. In this state he asserts that "another method of stealing votes" was followed. "This took the form of manipulating the votes cast from one candidate to another or changing the number entirely." This method, Brophy claims, was followed in reporting the returns from North Bessemer, Springdale, Indiana, Russellton and Renton. The figures show, according to Brophy, that "in just five locals Lewis was given 986 more votes than were cast for him and I received 477 less than I was entitled to, thereby making the total manipulation in favor of Lewis 1,463 votes."

The protest also questions the election in 1924 on the ground of failure to report the returns that year as required by the constitution. A similar complaint is made regarding alleged delay in publishing the returns of the election this year. Of this delay Brophy declares:

"The fact that the tabulated vote for the 1926 election was not issued until nearly four months after January 15, the final date specifically set by our constitution for the issuing of such report, is certainly significant. Why did John L. Lewis, who poses as a defender of the sanctity of the most technical clauses of the constitution when the membership of good fighters against the coal operators is involved, flagrantly violate the constitution in respect to the tabulated vote?"

"The answer is clear—first, if the tabulated vote had been issued on time, it would have been possible to bring the irregularities before the attention of the international convention, when the delegates in the interest of fair play would undoubtedly have ordered a complete investigation of the case. Second, the constitution provides that the ballots should only be preserved for six months after the election and when the tabulated report was finally issued, there remained only one month in which to make an investigation. Third, because Mr. Lewis knew that a strike would be in progress in the spring and that if the tabulated vote was delayed, the opposition might hesitate to expose such official corruption at a time when the union is fighting."

The protest has aroused keen interest in mining circles and the outcome is awaited with much anticipation.

The New Leader will be glad to give space to one of the national officials of the United Mine Workers to present the view of the administration. We are interested in the matter only as a striking phase of the contemporary history of the United Mine Workers.—Editor.

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Thinking Out Loud About the Socialist Party

By Norman Thomas

THE Socialist Party has been damned and saved by so many comrades and ex-comrades that one hesitates to add to the mountain of words. I have little that is positive to say on the subject which I have not said before. But the editors tell me that I must write—so here goes, even though what I write must sound like thinking out loud.

The Socialist Party in the United States is not in a robust condition. It is weak numerically and in its morale. To face that fact and to inquire into the reasons for it and the remedy is the part of wise and honest men. Too many of our friends, however, have assumed that the weakness of Socialism is a strange and isolated phenomenon due entirely to faults within the party. Now I shall have some vigorous criticism to make of ourselves and our tactics. But there is a childish simplicity about the way in which ex-Comrade Ghent and others have analyzed our troubles. Paint the picture of our present and future as black as you please, and it will still be rosy alongside the pitiful record of futility in the achievement of the comrades who left us at the height of the war hysteria. I can't even remember the name of the alliance they formed. It had all the virtues which Mr. Ghent recommends to Socialism. And look at it now! A roll call of its members and of the others who left us is, for the most part, a roll call of living ghosts. Its great leader, John Spargo, lives over again the Battle of Bennington, and for lack of a better modern issue defends the private power trust. He bids fair to be a greater authority on Vermont pottery than he ever was on Marx. Mr. Ghent himself is politically homeless and unhappy. Others have found strange consolations. To tell their story would be unkind and not much to the point, except in so far as it affects the qualifications of these physicians to prescribe for us.

Our other physicians of the extreme left are scarcely in better case. They are alive; the best of them have an energy which we Socialists might envy, but what they have done with their energy is another matter. They certainly have not made the Communist Party strong and powerful, and it is to be feared that the net result of their activities in the labor unions has been to strengthen the forces of reaction.

Neither has the Socialist Party at the moment much to learn from the efforts of the Progressive and Labor parties in the Middle West. The National Farmer-Labor Party of 1920 is completely dead. The more recent and successful Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota is, fortunately, still active, but there are doubts as to its future power. The Non-Partisan League has several genuine achievements to its credit, but as an organization it is a spent force. Wisconsin progressivism lives on its past and on the name of LaFollette. It offers no real leadership in State, much less in National affairs. I believe that ultimately some of these groups or their spiritual successors will unite with us in forming a vigorous Labor Party. But for the present I would respectfully point out to some of our good friends that there is no magic in a mere change of name to save us.

The failure, or, at least, the temporary failure of these more or less definite progressive and radical political movements has certainly not been due to any overwhelming success of non-partisan action of the orthodox A. F. of L. brand. Every year an official story tells of the extraordinary successes of labor in the Congressional election, and every year I get from orthodox labor sources admissions that, politically, labor has less real weight than for many years. Look at the fate of the Child Labor Amendment, the slow progress of social legislation (along this line America is one of the most backward countries in the world), and the terrible growth of the injunction evil. Almost as pathetic as Mr. Ghent's advice to Socialists is William English Walling's recent work of imagination, in which he seeks to ascribe to the A. F. of L. a political and economic philosophy of most of which it is innocent and a degree of success which it has never known.

The Union's Position
Indeed, I am inclined to shed more

"Never Was the Socialist Party More Needed Than Now;" Thomas Discusses the Possibilities of Revival

tears over the present plight of American labor unions than over the condition of the Socialist Party itself. I am a good enough Socialist to believe that labor organization is primary and fundamental. Yet within the last few months I have heard office holders in A. F. of L. unions mournfully speculate on the possibility of the continued life of the A. F. of L. itself. I think that they are too gloomy. But he is a blind Pollyanna who can look at recent losses of membership in the A. F. of L. and at its more serious losses in prestige without concern. In factory industries from steel to textiles unorganized shops and company union shops hold the field. The loss of membership and power in the United Mine Workers is alarming. The situation in the needle trades needs no discussion here. For these things labor banks and insurance companies and the Workers' Educational Bureau, whatever their values in themselves, are a most inadequate compensation.

In short, the difficulties of the Socialist Party are not all peculiar to it, and there are few of our doctors in the whole field of American labor and progressive movements whose success at their own job entitles them to prescribe for us. The real problem is not the problem of the Socialist Party in America, but the problem of the working class in America, faced by the propaganda and power of the mightiest and, on the whole, the most intelligent, organizations of capital the world has seen.

Does it follow, therefore, that the imperialist capitalism of the United States has learned, once and for all, it affects the qualifications of these physicians to prescribe for us.

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The Union's Position
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between the executive, legislative and judicial functions in each, makes it at once more necessary to have a disciplined party to carry out a constructive program and harder to build such a party.

In any parliamentary country in the world the five million votes cast for LaFollette in 1924 would have meant the definite beginning of a new party. But because these votes were cast for a Presidential candidate who was, of course, defeated, and did not mean the election of many Congressmen the whole effort ended in a discouragement far more profound than the facts warranted.

Many of these factors which I have cited are not new. Against some of them the Socialist Party was making headway before the war. Some of them, as, for example, the linguistic difficulties, are growing less with the passage of time. What is the new factor which has made the situation difficult for both the union movement and the Socialist Party? In a word, it is the psychological effect of the curious and relative prosperity which we have enjoyed. That prosperity is not so great as to bring absolute satisfaction or to be worth the sacrifice of liberty which it entails. It is, moreover, an extremely spotted prosperity which farmers, textile workers, coal miners and other groups share in small degree, if at all. How great this prosperity really is, how long it will probably last and similar questions are to be the theme of the discussions at the Camp Tamiment Conference of the L. D. I. I shall not anticipate the conclusions.

Our Prosperity
We ought, however, to remember these things: (1) Some check in our comparative prosperity is practically inevitable. There are signs of it on the horizon now. (2) The feeling of prosperity requires not merely the preservation of the present standard of wages, but a continued increase which will run after it, if it does not keep up with the continued increases in the productivity of labor due to increased use of power driven machinery. (3) Every improvement in economic conditions in Russia or in the countries of Western Europe where there is a strong Socialist influence will lessen our seeming advantage in prosperity. That advantage is primarily, of course, due to the natural blessings America enjoys, its freedom from certain old feudal restrictions, and its great domestic free trade market rather than to the superior virtue of its capitalism, but the propagandists use it to prove the efficacy of Wall Street and the wisdom of the Republican party.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is not the certainty so much as the uncertainty of our prosperity which has heretofore kept the workers quiet and afraid to take a chance less they lose

tion and home life in cottages. I had no idea then that he was planning the immense thing that was really in his mind and neither had Kilpert. He thought he might be intending to furnish enough money to revive the Gratiot Home as an experiment, and he urged me to use my influence to this end, if I had any. As it turned out, he wanted to establish an interstate affair, as wide as the nation, of which the place at Shell Cove was to be the center or head—a kind of Eastern watering place or resort for orphans from all over America. It was a colossal idea and would have taken all of his money and more.

"But since he wanted it I went into the idea thoroughly with this fellow Kilpert. He was very clever, that man, honest and thorough and business-like and disinterested, in so far as I could see. I liked him, and so did Osterman, only Osterman wanted him to keep out of sight of his wife until he was ready to act. Kilpert made a regular business of his problem and went all over the United States studying institutions of the kind. Finally he came back with figures on about fifty or sixty and a plan which was the same as that outlined to me by Osterman and which I incorporated in his will, and there it ended for the time being. He didn't want to sign it right away for some reason, and there it lay in my safe until—well, let me tell you how it was.

Osterman's Breakdown
"One Saturday morning—it was a beautiful day and I was thinking of going out to the club to play golf—I received a long distance call from Osterman asking me to get hold of Kilpert and another fellow by the name of Moss and bring them out to Shell Cove, along with the will for him to sign. He had made up his mind, he said, and I have often wondered if he had a premonition of what was going to happen.

"I remember so well how excited Kilpert was when I got him on the wire. He was just like a boy, that fellow, in his enthusiasm for the scheme, and apparently not interested in anything except the welfare of those orphans. We started for Shell Cove, and what do you think? Just as we got there—I remember it all as though it had happened yesterday. It was a bright, hot Saturday afternoon. There were some big doings on the grounds, white and green and white and red striped marquee tents, and chairs and swings and tables everywhere. Some of the smartest people were there, sitting or walking or dancing on the balcony or in the main entrance, waiting for us, I suppose. As we drove up he recognized us, for he waved his hand, and then, just as we were getting out and he was walking toward us, I saw him reel and go down. It was just as though someone had struck him with something. I realized that it must be paralysis or a stroke of apoplexy, and I chilled all over at the thought of what it might mean. Kilpert went up the steps four at a time, and as we all ran down the veranda they carried him in and I telephoned for a doctor. Kilpert was very still and white. All we could do was to stand around and wait and look at each other, for Mrs. Osterman and her sons were there and were taking charge. Finally word came out that Mr. Osterman was a little better and wanted to see us, so up we went. He had been carried into an airy, sunny room overlooking the sea and was lying in a big white canopied bed, looking as pale and weak as he would if he had been ill for a month. He could scarcely speak and lay there and looked at us for a time, his mouth open and a kind of tremor passing over his lips from time to time. Then he seemed to gather a little strength and whispered, 'I want—I want—' and then he stopped and rested, unable to go on. The doctor arrived and gave him a little whisky, and then he began again, trying so hard to speak and not quite making it. At last he whispered, 'I want—I want—that—that—paper.' And then, 'Kilpert—and you—' He stopped again, then added, 'Get all these others out of here—all but you three and the doctor.'

How He Died
"The doctor urged Mrs. Osterman and her sons to leave, but I could see that she didn't like it. Even after she went out she kept returning on one excuse and another, and she was there when he died. When she was out of the room the first time I produced the will and he nodded his approval. We called for a writing board, and they brought one—a Oulja board, by the way. We lifted him up, but he was too weak and fell back. When we finally got him up and spread the will before him he tried to grasp the pen but he couldn't close his fingers. He shook his head and half whispered: 'The—the—boys—the—the—boys.' Kilpert was all excited, but Osterman could do nothing. Then his wife came into the room and asked: 'What is that you are trying to make poor

what they have. Some ambitious student could write a Ph.D. thesis on the political consequences of installment buying. Who knows how many a budding revolutionist has been restrained by fear of losing the radio on which he still owes several payments!

Our relative prosperity has had at least two specific effects of some consequence. First, it has been great enough to permit many of the stronger and wiser capitalist leaders to practice a liberal wage policy and to put in effect without the intervention of the State a number of industrial reforms of a sort for which labor in Europe has had to fight through its own unions and parties. Second, it has relieved the immediate economic strain sufficiently to permit the workers fairly comfortably to divert themselves with those three R's of American politics—Rum, Race and Religion. One way and another these issues even now have more to do with Smith's popularity with the urban workers (who, as a rule, are not Protestant, Prohibitionist, Nordics) than his mild progressivism. That progressivism does, indeed, bring the popular governor some support. It is at least a convenient excuse for Al Smith Socialists. Undoubtedly his nomination will weaken the party in the 1928 campaign, at least in the number of votes we poll. His election might conceivably in the long run strengthen a general Socialist movement because it would prove once more to the progressive elements among the workers how little an old party Messiah can or will do for them and, what is more, how little difference that Messiah's race or religion makes.

The "Hard Times" Fallacy
Many of our comrades, considering these facts about our relative prosperity, argue that there is nothing for it but to wait for the people to sober up from their jag. They look with some satisfaction to the Keeley cure of hard times. Fortunately or unfortunately the cure is not so simple. The same workers who in good times don't need to be Socialists are apt to think that they cannot afford to be Socialists in hard times. The recurrence of crises under the capitalist system has never proved an infallible school of Socialism. Chronic and protracted hard times might be another matter. Their coming and their effects are not mathematically certain.

I am wholly opposed to the notion that we must postpone active and effective propaganda until hard times. Rather we must adapt our propaganda to the underlying facts. In the old days we based too much of our appeal upon a simple theory of increasing misery. Professor Paul Douglas's figures show why that appeal was stronger before the war than it is today. Real wages in America stood almost stock still for a quarter of a

century in spite of the increase of production and the growth of enormous fortunes. It was only after the United States had entered the World War that the climb in real wages really began. With some setbacks it has come on through 1926. (The figures for unemployment, however, show no such improvement.)

Now at a time of advance in real wages we cannot talk the simple theory of increasing misery. What we can talk, however, is the tragedy of waste and the shocking irony of a bitter poverty in this country which we have the natural resources and the technical facilities to remove. Our failure is the failure of our economic system. This causes not only terrible poverty but a general lack of security for the farmer and worker in this prosperous country. Add to these things the proof that the menace of war is inherent in that imperialism which is born of the union of capitalism and nationalism, and Socialists will not suffer for lack of arguments of immediate importance. Our political apathy in the face of the constant menace to peace, the tragedy of waste, and the steady denial of real liberty to our people is a fearful price to pay for flippers and radios bought on the installment plan. Part of the trouble with the Socialist Party and with the labor movement has been the failure of both of them in their places to see and understand what is going on about us and to explain the situation clearly and vigorously.

The Need of Pioneering
I do not mean that any propaganda—no matter how earnest and intelligent—can of itself create the revolutionary movement which our Communist friends like to talk about, or determine the time when a strong labor party will be born. I do believe that vigorous and intelligent propaganda, and organization may hasten the coming of a strong labor party and add greatly to its competence when it appears. Nothing great in social history has ever happened when everyone waited for the predestined moment to arrive. Unless someone is waiting and working for that moment it passes unnoted or unutilized. The trouble with us is that we have grown too afraid to be voices crying in a wilderness.

There are always two possible explanations of failure. One is the strength of the resistance and the other is the weakness of the attack. I know that resistance to Socialism in America is great. But I also know that the attack we have made is weak—weak, it seems to me, than is justified by the war, the party split, prosperity, propaganda or any other facts of the situation which I can discover.

Of course, the growth of a tired radicalism and of a defeatist spirit is itself one of the facts that we have to explain. If we cannot even explain it, much less remove it, we shall still have to recognize it. If by our fault or our misfortune the Socialist party or the word Socialism itself is unreasonably discredited in America, I shall rejoice in the success of those who under a new name and a different organization do the work which must be done. Certainly I believe that we should be ready to co-operate with all groups, large and small, which honestly and in good faith seek to establish a genuine party of the workers with hand and brain. For some years I have been convinced that the labor party of tomorrow will not grow out of the Socialist Party as an oak out of an acorn but rather will be formed by a coalition of groups and forces with strong union backing.

In the Unions
Ideally, however, it is of peculiar importance not merely that the Socialist Party should exist until such a labor party may appear but that it should live and grow as a virile, active educational force. Never was a Socialist Party more necessary than now for its leaving influence on the industrial as well as the political field. Should it die or linger on like the poor old S. L. P., Socialism will not die, not even in America. (It might, indeed, be better for the party to die than to linger on like the S. L. P.) But if Socialism in America is to have no organized political expression save the fantastic extreme of the Workers Party there will be a break in continuity, a loss of momentum which we cannot lightly contemplate. There are enough of us Socialists and there is enough Socialist sentiment left in America to make our party a vital educational force, if we will do some vigorous work intellectually, industrially and politically. We need to rethink and restate our position. We need to build up our organization and renew our activities. We are international Socialists but we live in America and we cannot slavishly imitate foreign models. Our task involves many things which I cannot adequately discuss in this article. None of these things will be done simply by improved technique, nor can they be done by a handful of supermen. Gene Debs himself could not have saved an apathetic party. We must have a revival of faith in the tremendous importance of the work before us.

Though I cannot discuss these things adequately, one thing must be said: A Socialism in or out of our trade unions which is merely anti-Communist is already dead. Let me apply this particularly to the New York situation. The needle trades were not created by pure and simple trade unionists. They were born of Socialist philosophy, Socialist energy, Socialist sacrifice. Rightly enough the Socialist Party has never sought to run these or any other unions from the outside. But when Socialism and Socialists have no message to these unionists except that they should fight against misrule from the left, Socialism is false to its own self. If the day comes when in the needle trades or elsewhere in New York there is no practical difference in tactics, philosophy, character and energy between the Socialists and a lot of A. F. of L. politicians and their Tammany Hall allies, then it will be time to stop talking about the future of the Socialist Party. There will be no future and we shall have to begin over again sometime, somewhere.

No such melancholy conclusion as yet is necessary. There are signs of better things among our Socialist unionists. I still believe that in New York and other centers there are Socialists who can be sane without losing their ideals and active without becoming fanatical. I believe there are many Socialists who prefer the joy of the struggle with comrades for a great cause to riding on the band-wagon or licking up the crumbs which fall from some old party table; yes, enough such Socialists to build an efficient party which will serve as prophet, pioneer and teacher for the labor party that is to come.

Note.—The foregoing article was written before the report of the National Executive Committee was published. The committee has given us a statement admirable in temper and tone as a record of facts, and challenging in its call to vigorous action. Never was the Socialist Party more needed than now, but it must be the right sort of a Socialist Party with a ringing message for our times. We want the best voice we can get in 1928, but we can do an educational work out of proportion to the size of our vote if we try. The time to begin the campaign is now in our ranks.

2,000 Waiters On Strike in N. Y.
(Continued from page 1)
and the waiters wearing a union button.

ALBANY.—Divided four to three, the Court of Appeals today upheld the right of strikers to engage in peaceful picketing in a case growing out of a strike designed to unionize the waitresses of the Exchange Bakery and Restaurant, Inc., Sixth avenue and 21st street, New York city. The concern had sought to conduct an open shop.

The decision of the highest court, which emphasized that the picketing must in fact be peaceful, knocks out a sweeping injunction granted to the restaurant proprietors against the union to send its pickets, and upholds an earlier decision of Supreme Court Justice Wines.

The injunction thus set aside was directed at Louis Rifkin, president of Waiters and Waitresses' Union No. 1 of New York city; William Lehman, treasurer, and Morris Turkel, business agent, who are alleged to have been the directors of the strike, and of the picketing and placarding in front of the restaurant.

While this decision is a narrow one of four to three, it is considered important in labor circles. The principle of the legality of picketing has been upheld in lower courts in this State, but it has been uncertain what the decision would be upon reaching the higher courts.

This decision carries the principle a step higher in court procedure and leaves picketing legal by the Court of Appeals.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

A Good Friend Gone

THERE is sadness in the news of the death of William Mann Fincke, who was long headmaster of the Manumit School at Pawling, New York, and a leader in liberal and radical causes. Mr. Fincke founded the Brookwood Labor College at Katonah in 1903, and was a pioneer in the field of labor education. On 1922 he founded Manumit School for children of trade unionists, giving his estate of 177 acres to the Manumit enterprise.

He was only forty-nine when he died last Tuesday at St. Luke's Hospital. He had a host of friends, both in and out of the labor movement. The whole-hearted way in which he made every sacrifice for raising the standards of working-class education won him the admiration of all with whom he came in contact. His loss is a heavy one to all who are doing pioneering work in this interesting field.

For once labor gets a good break from the Supreme Court, which upholds the right of peaceful picketing in a decision handed down at Albany this week. This decision is all the more surprising inasmuch as it is a reversal of the New York Appellate Division's granting of an injunction against the officers of the Waiters' and Waitresses' Union, Local No. 1.

When Cal Coolidge announced that this country wants relations with other nations to be based on a meeting, not of bayonets, but of brains, it must give a good laugh to members of the Liberal Party in Nicaragua, who have just been dispersed following a meeting with bayonets of our bully boys of the Marine Corps.

Having survived another Columbia University Commencement, which we attended disguised as a Chinaman, carrying a pair of tongs which we borrowed from our leaman, and wearing our second best pajamas, we are not precisely in our most hilarious mood as this is being written. We were considerably brightened, however, by receiving a check from a comrade in Brooklyn, who read in this column about our straitened financial condition. We now contemplate inserting weekly bulletins about said condition, which, so far as we can recall, has always been decidedly straitened, and if all of our readers are as generous as the princely Brooklynite, we may stop working altogether, if working is a term that can be applied to doing this sort of thing.

We are glad to be able to announce that we have found law-abiding and suitable homes for all eight of our kittens, and there now remain with us only Isabel and her eldest daughter, Funny. The kittens are widely dispersed throughout Manhattan, the Bronx, New Rochelle, and points east. We have received a heated demand for retraction of a statement that we made about the kitten in New Rochelle, whose name is Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Block. The rumor that she was about to become a mother is vehemently denied by her owner, who reports that Elizabeth spends a great deal of time playing around with a large tiger female, whom he suspects of being Margaret Sanger in disguise, or at any rate, under the influence of birth control propaganda. From the kitten who now resides in a Socialist local hall in East New York, we have nothing but the most gratifying reports. Her ways tend more toward week by week, and it is understood that she emerged victorious from a scratching contest with an old Communist cat, who was trying to bore from within the local. The Daily Worker will please copy.

Chicago has formed a Crime Committee, which will be headed by William Randolph Hearst, who can find out all about the subject by reading his own newspapers. The tabloids have been putting something of a crimp into Mr. Hearst's style of late, but if his committee gets all the exclusive news about crime in Chicago, he may be able to stage a comeback. At any rate Mrs. Ruth Snyder, another expert on criminology, is writing a weighty series of articles (sash-weighty) for "The American," which we intend to read as soon as we have finished finding out all about what Charles Lindbergh has for breakfast, and what the King said to him and so said to the Queen.

Pioneer Youth will open its new camp at Rifton, New York, on June 26 next. If you are interested in giving your child a healthful and inspiring vacation, take our advice and send in your application today to Pioneer Youth headquarters, at 2 West 16th St., New York City. Josh Lieberman, who is the moving spirit in Pioneer Youth, has gathered together a corps of competent supervisors for the camp. The children's ages range from ten to sixteen, and the rates for children of trade unionists are only \$13.50 a week, while for others they are \$21.

Speaking of Pioneer Youth, we are still working on that book for children which is to consist of biographies of Labor and Liberal leaders, and some day soon we hope to send the finished product to the printer. Lack of adequate material, as much as anything else, is holding us up. Those who have written about the American Labor movement have dealt more with the social and economic forces than with the lives of the early labor pioneers. We have received a number of letters telling us where sources for such a book may be had, and for these we remain thankfully yours,

MacAlister Coleman.

The Sky Pilots

"An invention by means of which a picture may be thrown, giant-size, on the clouds is announced by a German firm of optical-glass makers. 'We are continuing our experiments,' said a member of the firm, 'and hope that we may be able to show moving films on the sky.'—News item of the week.)

Dark drives the tempest from the north,
The heavy clouds are closing, tightening;
Lo, what is that that flashes forth?
Is it the baleful gleam of lightning?
No—no, on the storm clouds blazes out
A giant quaffing STINGO STOUT.

The fog is somewhat thick today,
It lies in blankets round the houses,
And serves just finely to display
A picture that delights and rouses;
Supported there and vast in scope
Looms Mother using SUDSON'S SOAP.

The rosy hues of early dawn
Are gay with Hollywood's inventions—
Short extracts from "A Soul in Pawn"
("Released next week," the caption mentions);
And right across the evening sky
Charles Chaplin hurls a custard pie.

Dear me! How right was he who vowed
(To comfort those who sat repining)
That every dark and dismal cloud
Contained at heart a silver lining.
Behold that lining then displayed—
And won't it just be good for trade?

—Lucio, in "Manchester Guardian."

Scanning the New Books

Four Views of Progress

THE points of view of two progressive employers and managers, of a prominent Socialist and of an outstanding communist are presented side by side in a fascinating pamphlet, just published by the League for Industrial Democracy (The Future of Capitalism and Socialism in America. A Symposium. By Sam A. Lewisohn, Scott Nearing, M. C. Rorty and Morris Hillquit, N. Y.: League for Industrial Democracy, 1927. 44 pages. 10 cents a copy). The pamphlet reproduces four addresses delivered at the annual convention of the league in New York City.

At this dinner Mr. Lewisohn, vice president of the Miami Copper Company, and Colonel Rorty, vice president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, were asked to present the capitalist point of view. Their addresses, however, are neither in the nature of a defense of the status quo nor of frontal attacks on Socialism. Mr. Lewisohn takes the position that, under either capitalist or Socialist economy, leadership is of prime importance, and that those interested in social progress should therefore concentrate on the development of a newer and more socially visioned leadership, rather than on a change in industrial structure leaving the latter largely to take care of itself. He maintains that a newer and finer leadership is gradually making itself felt in industry and briefly outlines plans for developing a better leadership among the future managers of industry.

Colonel Rorty urges what he calls a "pragmatic Socialism," which he defines as "that philosophy of human organization which seeks to promote the happiness and the intellectual, scientific and economic advancement of a community as a whole, by utilizing the institutions of private and public property, and of individual and collective capital and enterprise in the most effective manner permitted at any given time by the existing character and capacity of the population involved."

Scott Nearing, in answer to Mr. Lewisohn, declares that the problem of leadership has been the same under various industrial orders; that the present order is leading to class and international warfare and not to a gradual and peaceful advance to a new system. Mr. Hillquit concludes the addresses by a critical analysis of each of the previous speakers' discussions,

questions the possibility of predicting absolutely the course of future history; views with skepticism the benevolence of the present order, and concludes:

"I believe, without attempting to prophesy, that when the present wave of sudden unexpected prosperity coming on top of a calamitous time of universal insecurity and poverty, when this period passes, when conditions begin to assume a normal character, when Europe will recover to a point that America will no longer have the monopoly of markets, and the monopoly of prosperity, then the large masses of the people of the United States will wake up to the social differences in this country. They will demand a change. They will not be satisfied with this beneficent capitalism which keeps them in well-fed bondage. They will demand a change in government. They will demand a democracy which means the real actual choice and maintenance of the government by the intelligent consent of the masses. They will demand democracy in industry, not this silly idea of industry operated either by competent managers or by the enormous mass, collectively, voting for every process in the industry, but an organized industrial process operating as a social function for the benefit of the whole community. They will demand cultural democracy; a throwing wide open of the portals of education and enlightenment; they will demand social democracy and equal opportunity in all the joys of life for every man and woman."

The pamphlet moves with rapidity and its controversial character lends zest to every page. It is a significant contribution to social literature.

Harry W. Laidler.

The World Series

NOW that knowledge has become popular, or, at least, is being popularized, the publishers are rushing to reduce the world to series. For a long time Everyman's Library reigned in lone distinction; then it was joined by its more contemporary fellow, the Modern Library. These and their like, however, left largely uncovered the one field that is the chief hunting ground of the newer series. The Knopf History of Civilization, of which some 200 volumes are promised, may be considered largely cultural, literary if you choose, for it emphasizes history and culture. But it reaches over, leaping by single volumes into the field of science, which is the home of the solid tomes (at varying

high cost, but worth it) of the Harcourt Brace Library of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Method, perhaps the most scholarly of the serious series. The most provocative of them, unquestionably, has been the dollar Today and Tomorrow Series of Dutton, but Holt's Home University Library has quietly issued many interesting volumes, and the newer firm of W. W. Norton has, in The New Science Series, a further competitor, at the same dollar price.

The two most recent volumes in the Dutton group are "Silybia—The Revival of Prophecy," by C. A. Mace, and "The Future of Futurism," by John Rodker. The first of these indicates the basis of all the volumes of the series, and indicates that the favorite role of genius has always been Cassandra. The second is a claim that "futurism" is a dress and not a quality of the soul, is an external, formal element; and that art must choose between the "consciously prophetic, and so the consciously sublime" of Blake, Mallarmé and Roussel, and "the sublimity of the bowels as in Tehekhov and Dostoevsky." Neither volume stirs the depths of the mind as others in the series; both are interesting readings.

In the Norton issue, C. J. Warden, in "A Short Outline of Comparative Psychology," traces the history of this modern "science" from the folk-lore to the latest experimental movement of our times. The volume is swiftly moving, and affords an intelligent background to the next in this series, E. Miller's discussion of "Types of Mind and Body." Although Mr. Miller employs a number of classifications that have not yet won popularity in this country, his divisions are suggestive; one can well recognize oneself—and be checked by the wise and iterated warning that types are existent only in extremes, only in physical or pathological aberrations. The rest of us are hybrid. But it is entertaining, as well as instructive, to learn the various classes from which one's personality gathers its elements.

William Lea.

For French Learners

THOSE who want to have much of the fun of trying to speak French without ever venturing from the conveniences of New York subway travel, might either watch the skit, "Two Americans in France," by I.

Schwartz, which the pupils of Seward Park High School have just been hilarious over, or read "France on Ten Words a Day," which Simon and Schuster have allowed H. McCarthy-Lee to spread for the promulgation of international laughter. The volume carries more than its dollar and a half's worth of fun, while quite incidentally it presents in logical order enough French conversation to take the reader all over the Parisian grand tour. The amusing illustrations indicate the faith one should have in the concierge, and the proper manner of accepting a miss on the boulevard. There is also a list of wines that makes the seasoned American quiver, and a list of convenient epithets that makes the seasoned American blush. For the idle rich who wish to speak as though they had been abroad for years for the newly wealthy who desire to seem always in the run, this book is at once a help and a satire. Amusing and useful—queer combination our practical minds wonder at; the puritan doubts its usefulness, since it is entertaining; the pagan doubts its humor, since it is useful. This time they both are wrong.

J. T. S.

New Poetry

SINCE the introductory note refers to it as "the most distinguished American poetry of the age," one looks for more in "White Buildings," by Hart Crane (Boni & Liveright, \$2) than it is prepared to give; less roared expectancy finds more delight.

"There is the world dimensional for those untwisted by the love of things irreconcilable. . . . And yet, suppose some evening I forgot The fare and transfer, yet got by that way Without recall—lost yet poised in traffic. Then I might find your eyes across an aisle, Still flickering with those pre-figurations— Prodigal, yet uncontested now, Half-rant before the jerky window frame."

This typical passage from lines "For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen" gives the quality and the mood of Hart Crane's verse; "Voyages" most successfully carries the temper of our times without being overborne by our complexity, and measures Hart Crane's significance as one of the moderns.

W. L.

Shall It Be War or Peace?

A RESOLUTION FOR ORGANIZATIONS

Whereas, War is recognized under international law as a legal method of settling disputes between nations and is imminent whenever diplomacy fails to adjust international differences; and

Whereas, Each country is impelled to prepare for armed conflict on land and sea at great cost, though such preparation does not prevent but rather often invites war; and

Whereas, All civilized nations desire to be rid of war if security and justice can be otherwise obtained; and

Whereas, There is a substitute method of attaining these objectives and of vindicating national honor that is less disastrous than war and more apt to produce a settlement based upon justice; and

"Whereas, Arbitration as a substitute for war has on innumerable occasions demonstrated its capacity to adjust conflicting claims of the utmost importance, where there was a will for peace; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to take the initiative in negotiating treaties with all other Governments, beginning with France, providing

(1) For the obligatory arbitration of all pecuniary claims and other legal issues arising out of alleged injury to person or property, and

(2) For the obligatory submission to arbitration, conciliation or mediation of all other disputes which diplomacy may fail to settle, thus outlawing war so far as the contracting parties are concerned.

Organization

Address

Secretary

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Name

Address

Date

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THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION CRUSADE

114 East 31st Street
New York City

Slaves for Teachers

ANOTHER class of workers badly in need of organization are school teachers. And by organization I do not mean marmade banded burial or mutual admiration societies but militant labor unions commanding fear and respect. The teachers are supposed to educate the future citizens in the ways of freedom and democracy, but as far as they themselves are concerned, they enjoy about as much freedom as gold fish and canary birds.

In proof thereof I submit the following case: The other day the 22-year-old principal of schools of the bright burg of New City, New York, was bounced by a plous school board. During the trial it was brought out that the young educator had increased the academic efficiency of his school 200 percent in one year and that in all respect, save one, his conduct was all that it should be. Well then, why bounced?

Ah, this promising young educator had committed the unpardonable sin of walking the streets of New City with one of his pretty school marmas a little too often to suit the busy bodies of the community.

From walking on public streets in broad daylight, to sitting on a front porch in moonlight, to holding hands in a dimly lit parlor, to kissing in the dark, it is only a few steps and we all know where these things lead to. Anyway, marriage usually has its beginning in walking together, holding hands, kissing in the dark and similar inequities.

Our young principal had not yet hit the bottom rung on the ladder to perdition. In fact he was still in the first or walking on the street in broad daylight stage. But, what of it? The good people of New City had experience and imagination. They could figure out where it all would end. In their mind's ear they heard Mendelssohn's Wedding March and in their mind's eye, the saw, perhaps, even a baby buggy. So Holden was fired in a nice letter in which the school directors informed him that while he had been an excellent teacher and had committed no greater offense than walking on the street in broad daylight with a pretty school marm he'd better hunt a new pasture to stop the wagging tongues of New City, New York.

Now, the point is that if the young Holden had been an ice man, bookkeeper, street car conductor, hod carrier, steeple climber, paperhanger or buttonhole maker, nobody would have paid the slightest attention when he paraded the streets of New City with that pretty school teacher. Most marmas young people walk with members of the opposite sex on occasions. Some even hold hands, sit on front porches and kiss in the dark, as preliminaries to the main bout which happens to be the perpetuation of the race. But school teachers must not do these evil things. Only celibates, total abstainers from the joys of life and slaves can bring up our children in the ways of righteousness, freedom and democracy.

So, I say, what the school teachers of the land of the free need above everything else, is a rip-snorling labor union to protect their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Without such a union, they are but abject slaves of the community and I can think of nothing sadder than slaves as teachers of a supposedly free people.

Sing Sing Strike Succeeds

Gosh, ain't that a peach of a headline. Every word starting with an S in the approved fashion. Next thing you folks know some great tabloid will grab me as boss screamer streamer writer at a salary of 100,000 bucks per annum. But on with the story.

Seventy-five of the 1,700 citizens of Sing Sing, New York went on strike the other day. The cause belli was beans, the staff of prison life as you all know. According to the strikers aforesaid, beans were underdone, hard and watery. Instead of sliding smoothly to their destination, they hit tunney with hard and sickening duds. So, Sing Sing struck.

No, it wasn't exactly a walkout. The strikers stuck to Sing Sing. Neither did the boss of Sing Sing answer the strike with a lockout. He hit back with a lock-in, meaning that the committee of seventy-five were retired to solitary confinement to think it over. But this is neither here nor there. The only question is, did the Sing Sing strikers win their strike. The answer is—they did. And, solidarity did it.

After the seventy-five bean strikers had been placed in solitary confinement, the twelve prison barbers laid down their clippers in sympathy. From the barber shop the strike spread to the knitting factory, the largest workshop in the prison, where fifty prison knitters refused to attend to their knitting.

Fearing a general strike, Warden Laws started an investigation. That is, he tried the beans on himself and found that they were not properly cooked, seasoned and served. From now on he promised softer and more succulent beans for Sing Sing.

Sing Sing strikes have happened before. Way back in 1869, the Sing Singers struck for bread and ice water during the summer. Previously they had been fed only mush with hydrant water as chaser. The strike brought home the bacon. I mean the bread and ice water.

There also was a strike of convicts in 1883 during which property of prison contractors was destroyed and another in 1913 when some of the prison sweat shops went up in smoke. Both strikes resulted in improved working conditions.

Of course, there are good reasons why convict strikers are so eminently successful. For one thing, there is no danger of eviction of the strikers. The thug and gunman who are usually called in to break strikes of freemen are already in. There is no necessity of picket lines to prevent strike breakers from taking the place of striking convicts. Injunctions are equally futile, for what good would it do to threaten prisoners with imprisonment? Neither old age pensions nor seniority rights are jeopardized. Assemblies of strikers cannot be prohibited where the strikers are already assembled under one roof. Imagine prison guards telling convict strikers to get the hell out of here. Neither is there any crying need for strike benefits for if the strikers starved to death their keepers would either have to go to work or starve to.

Yes, folks there are a great many special privileges which convict strikers enjoy. That, however, is no reason why free strikers should give up hope. On the contrary, every victory won by the brothers behind the bars is a victory for us. Many a hard-boiled criminal has forsaken his regular profession and become a strike breaker from fear of hard labor and poor prison fare. With a steady betterment in the food, bed and working conditions convict life in penal institutions will lose its terror. The time is rapidly approaching when life in the average penitentiary is preferable to life on the outside. Soon the thugs, gunmen, burglars, cutthroats and high-jackers who constitute the pretorian guard of profit, will refuse to lower themselves to strike breakers. So far, strike breaking has been their only chance of earning the approbation of respectable people. But, the strikes and collective bargaining firmly established in penal institutions, these bulwarks of law and order may yet become so attractive that criminals will regard them as sanatoriums in which to recuperate from the strains of their regular professions. So here goes my blessing and moral support to the striking sluggers of Sing Sing.

Adam Coaldigger.

IN THE THEATRES

Views and News of Current Productions

The Return of Mr. Pim

THE revival of A. A. Milne's comedy, "Mr. Pim Passes By," marks a fitting close of the Theatre Guild's occupancy of the Garrick theatre, for it presents not only one of the most delightful of the more delicate offerings of the Guild, but also one of the most consummate effects of interlocked yet individual acting. Those familiar with the play will find fresh pleasure in the contemplation of the admirably unified cast.

Despite the blend into which the players work their harmonious acting, the piece gives ample revelation of distinct individualities. Erskine Sanford as Mr. Pim is a most fetching old fellow, who radiates a kindly, humorous, blundering soul, not unkindly with pathos. Helen Chandler's aping of her elders is but the most infectious element of her romping performance, and if Gavin Muir is a bit too much the Eton alumnus to be the radical, the combination is demanded by the play. Laura Hope Crews, whose smile melts with a mother's tenderness that does not wholly blink its tears over a sharp, ironic understanding—the two blending into an acceptance of things as they are that twinkles with humor—is irreproachably superb. Helen Westley is—Helen Westley, always taking her moments with a firm grasp and striding away in complete control. And Dudley Digges, being intelligent and capable, lends himself to the portrayal of the conservative British husband and landowner with an assumption of righteousness and indecision that make his characterization the fit bulwark of an incomparable cast.

"Mr. Pim Passes By," slight as it is in structure and plot, merely—though highly—amusing in its surface aspects, grows to a greater depth in its revelation of character. The English husband with his sense of right, his wife with her sense of humor, and the contrast of his uncomprehending love with her love that understands too well, add

an intellectual pleasure to the lighter gaiety the comedy cannot fail to evoke.

Grand Finale Follies

Although one can find things to be desired beyond the attainments of any of our "little theatre" groups and their bigger growths, each of the three oldest in New York has done some sterling work, and it is with regret that we view the present passing of the Neighborhood Playhouse. It has, indeed, already closed, for "The Grand Street Follies of 1927" are now continuing at the Little Theatre, where the last frivolity of the group may be beheld.

It is dangerous for a program to print such words as "Sketches and lyrics by Agnes Morgan unless otherwise indicated," for one tends to overlook the "otherwise" and attributes the whole tone to the one named. Certainly someone seems to have unleashed a wealth of sex-suppression for this edition of the follies; from the first slant at the sophisticated infant whose questions are embarrassingly unanswerable to the "Naughty Nineties" that precede the last will and testament of the Playhouse there is not merely sex, but overall allusion to various versions (in, con, pro); almost every malapropism, for instance, in the burlesque "School For Rivals" swings along sex.

Not that we object to sex, frankly and cleverly handled. And much of this bill is clever. There is good satire, well applied, in the contrast between the imprisoned victims of Broadway's recent morality wave and the still free and flaunting fays of the musical comedies. The three skits that avoid the sexual are attempts less successful than suggestive at other sorts of satire. The effect of the tabloids is heavily indicated in the country sheriff who wins the world's record for the number of murders in an hour; the self-centered ends of philanthropists are questioned in a minstrel moment between Henry Ford and a certain Mr. Sapirio;

and the usual charges against our down-trodden President, whose silence is taken for lack of knowledge as to what to say, are pressed home in a medley of Gilbert and Sullivan tunes. The best items of the evening are the impersonations, Albert Carroll of course surpassing. He is in turn Mrs. Fiske, Ethel Barrymore and John Barrymore, each truly caught. But there is an Alexander Woolcott that must have touched the original closely, and Dorothy Sands does good work, as well as the two who act the Moran and Mack combination. Dorothy Sands has some of the clever lines, in her "Naughty Nineties" number; "Let us all be frank, every generation knows where lies the mossy bank where the wild thyme grows"—and of course Shakespeare is brought up to date; the bank she means has a plate glass front, and the wild "thyme" (like reason's twin!) more simply drops the "hy" for an "I." There is no "wild time" at this year's "Grand Street Follies," but the group still gathers good measure of merriment.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Yipsels to Show Film

Saturday, June 11th

The city office of the Young People's Socialist League will show a motion picture taken of a recent hike of the entire league. The hike was a great success and the picture will show proof of it.

From the few who have seen it projected at the laboratory think it is a great success. In it is portrayed the activities of the youth section of the Socialist movement when in "great open spaces." The march of over 300 Yipsels carrying banners and smiles adds life and color to the film. The arrival at the station and at Dunwoodie, the races and contests, the secret snatches of the young people, all make the picture interesting and amusing.

Aside from the picture the league will stage a "Yipsel talent program" that promises to meet with the approval of all. Circle 2 Seniors will play an important part in this work.

Due to the great cost of the film there will be an admission charge of 25c. It is expected that the large attendance will offset this small admission and in that way pay the expenses of the film.

The picture will be shown at the Rand School auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Saturday, June 11, at 2:30 and at 4:30 p. m. Every comrade is advised to go and see this fine attempt on the part of the Yipsels.

It is noteworthy that a proposal has twice been made by de Micheli, the Italian Government representative on the governing body of the International Labor Office, that the I. L. O. should organize an International Labor Cinema service. The workers' representatives, however, being distrustful of the ultimate objects of the Italian Government, raised objection, and the I. L. O. is henceforth only to compile a catalogue of such films.

HUNKY MEETS A MAN

... I just met a man,
A lanky sort, with a bend
From shoulders down
Like a feller does giving things
To kids.

... When I met this guy, all the old story
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*.

POETRY OF DE WITT

... Sam DeWitt... breaks the gloom of
social cynicism with a rift of individual
hope... An attitude such as DeWitt's
sees in art... is perhaps the greatest of
human adventure, this daring to look
squarely at life, this challenge of life's
ugliness that moulds it into beauty...
His "Ghetto Idylls" are haunted personal
memories that make them the most
vivid and moving of his verses; he has
walked the street with the gangster, felt
his arms sting with the muscles of "Kid"
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

National

Advance Notice of Debs' Book
The printer is busy setting the type for the new book by Eugene V. Debs, "Walls and Bars." The first books off the press will be a deluxe edition in the very best of material, pearl gray back, printed in color. There will be nothing left undone to make this one of the most beautiful books in print. Many of our readers will want a copy of this book. It will sell for \$10 and will be off the press within two weeks. Orders may be sent in now.

Immediately following will be the regular edition—same material inside, red cover, cloth bound. It will sell for \$1.50. The National Office will be glad to receive orders at once. Hustlers for the American Appeal can get this book without cost by sending in \$5 worth of subscriptions, contributions to that amount or subscription cards in that amount. Let us get things under way and move forward. Address: National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Utah

Comrade O. A. Kennedy, Secretary of the Rocky Mountain District, writes us the following: "Local Gold Hill is still up and coming like a horned toad in high sagebrush." He writes that they took in two new members, both women. Kennedy usually has some real news.

Montana

State Secretary James D. Graham stopped off at National Headquarters on his way from the National Executive Committee meeting to Livingston, Montana, and selected a large amount of literature and states he is going to make things hum in Montana. We hope his wishes come true.

Wisconsin

Milwaukee
Ward branches of the party are holding a variety of socials, outings and card parties, with the women members taking a conspicuous part. A card party has been arranged by the East Side Women's Branch for the benefit of the Debs Radio Fund. This will be held at the Craft, Plankinton Arcade, on June 22. Players are requested to be on hand at 12 o'clock noon.

New England

Boston
The Socialist Party and the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee together had a remarkably successful meeting on Boston Common the Sunday before Memorial Day as a welcome to Georg Branting. Comrades Branting, Mary Donovan and Alfred Baker Lewis spoke.

Other Meetings
The Amesbury Branch also had a successful Sacco-Vanzetti meeting, with Mary Donovan as the speaker. The Gardner Branch and Yipsels have arranged a meeting on Tuesday, June 7.

The Salem Young People's Union had Comrade Lewis as a speaker on the subject of "Industrial Democracy," and expressed a desire to co-operate with the Yipsels in this district.

The Worcester, Peabody and Quincy Yipsel Circles, which have recently started up, are having educational sessions at every meeting.

Friedman and Browne Tours
Eather Friedman will tour Massachusetts in July, and Ethel Browne has been secured for a tour from August 20 to September 13. Branches wanting these speakers are urged to write at once to the District Office, 21 Essex street, Boston. Terms are \$5 a meeting and keep, with no additional charge for railroad fare.

Connecticut

State Convention
The state convention of the Socialist Party meets in Arbuter Maenner Chor Park Sunday, June 5. The convention will be called to order by State Secretary Martin F. Plunkett at 10:30 a. m., daylight saving time. The park is situated a short distance from New Haven by trolley marked Congress Avenue to corner of Orange and Campbell Avenue.

New York State

Increased Membership
State Secretary Merrill, in a general communication to locals, has directed attention to the report of the National Secretary as to increased membership of the National Organization in comparison with that of the corresponding months of last year. The State Secretary declares that New York State has not done its proper share of this work of Party building, and ascribes it to lack of finance to keep organizers in the field. In order to stimulate the sale of Debs' Liberty Bonds, locals will receive one of the large (19x22) pictures of Eugene V. Debs as a premium

BROOKLYN

5-6 A. D. Branch
A special meeting is called for Tuesday evening, June 7, at 8 o'clock at 167 Tompkins avenue. A special call signed by Herman Greenblatt, organizer, J. Tuvin and Ida Plotowsky has been sent to the members begging for a 100 percent attendance. A serious effort is being made to get this branch into working order to hold street meetings and lay plans for an active campaign. The important business will be nomination of candidates for public office, election of officers and committees; the question of the campaign, and the Williamsburg Central Committee, besides several other important items.

4-14 A. D.
Meetings are held every Monday evening at the headquarters, 345 South Third street. Street meetings are being held Saturday evenings at Havemeyer and South Third streets.

Boro Park
Meetings of the American Branch, Boro Park, are held every Tuesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street. Three new members will be added at the next meeting.

22 A. D.
A spring festival, concert and dance will be given Saturday, June 4, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. A very fine program has been arranged to fitly celebrate the conclusion of a successful season of propaganda and organization activities. The program follows: "Hochzeit des Figaro," Mozart, "Adoration," Corowaki, "Shepherd's Dance," German, by Friedland-Wolf Trio (Clara V. Wolf, cello, Katherine Wolf, violin, Cecelia Friedland, piano); "Idylls of the Ghetto," Reading, by Samuel A. De Witt; "Novallette," Schumann; "March Grottesque," Slindig; "Regando," MacDowell, to be played by Cecelia Friedland at the piano. Pantomime—August Claessens. "Concerto" (1st movement), Saint Saens; "Scherzo Tarentell," Wienawski, to be played by a talented violinist. Dancing to follow. Music by Pete Friedland and his Country Club Orchestra.

A series of street corner lectures by August Claessens will begin Saturday evening, June 11, at Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues.

23 A. D.
Meetings are held every Monday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Yipseldom

Declaration Contest
The Bronx declamation contest was held Friday, May 27, at 1167 Boston road. The affair was a great success. Over 40 comrades attended. In the first group Abraham Greenberg won the first prize and Irving Bassoff and Harry Davis won the second and third. The second group was headed by Louis Sharf, the third by Pauline Klugman. The judges were Samuel Orr, George Friedman and Fred Paulditch. Joseph Diskant presided.

Valhalla Camp
Valhalla was the camping ground for 25 Yipsels during the decoration week-end. Eight tents were used. Sightseeing trips were made to various points of interest. The Yipsels visited Mr. and Mrs. Berman at Pleasantville and received a very warm welcome. On Sunday 40 more comrades attended, carrying with them famine to Valhalla.

Juniors
Moses Plotkin will address Circle 1 at their headquarters, 215 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn, Friday night, June 3. Subject, "Boy Scout Movement As Compared With the Yipsel Movement." The Yipsel Novelty Band of Circle 2, Seniors, will also be on hand to entertain. Members of all circles are welcome.

Circle 12
Circle 12 of 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, held elections which resulted as follows: Organizer, Manille Brown; educational director, Jeanette Rosen; financial secretary, Henri Melser; recording secretary, Bernard Greenspan; athletic director, Hyman Greenberg; social director, Harry Burnstein; executive committee delegates, Alex. Kellner and Milton Yudel; cheer leaders, Melvin Greenberg, Frank H. Drucker and Milton Yudel.

The circle requests other Yipsels not to visit them as they are a bit cramped in their headquarters, due to their large membership. Louis Shomer of Circle 2, Seniors, was introduced as the new assistant director and was given so great an ovation that some neighbors thought of sending in a riot call.

Circle 12 is making extensive arrangements for summer activities, for not all the members are fortunate enough to be able to go to the country. New members are coming in every week and the future is very promising.

In life in addition to getting along financially, the club voted to co-operate with the general office in building up what they hope will be the best club in the entire Workmen's Circle movement.

Not satisfied with having organized an English speaking Workmen's Circle branch among the Socialists and trade unionists of Hoboken, David Heertle has been carrying on Workmen's Circle propaganda among the Finnish branches of the Socialist Party in his locality. The Finnish Socialists, famous for their remarkable organizing ability, have voted to join the organization in a body, but as individuals. This means a remarkable increase in youth activity, for the Finns are positive geniuses in stimulating athletic, dramatic, social and club activities among their young people.

August Claessens will lecture Friday, June 3, 8:30 p. m., for the Youth Club of the Workmen's Circle at 6510 Church avenue, Brooklyn. The subject will be "Youth Movements Within the Workmen's Circle." The young folks of the Circle expect to have a good crowd present. All friends are invited. Admission is free.

AMERICAN APPEAL

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EUGENE V. DEBS
Founder

Managing Editor
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Manhattan 1895

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THE NEW LEADER

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, expresses the views of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people.

SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1927

FOR SOCIALIST WORK

FOR YEARS the political situation in the United States has been confused. In the Socialist camp the party divided into a dozen fragments, and these formed into an amalgam that has declined to a tiny sect. The Nonpartisan League crossed all political frontiers, stormed a few Western States, upset all forms of political allegiance, and then lapsed into obscurity. The most promising movement was the coalition supporting La Follette and Wheeler in 1924, but it missed its opportunity in February, 1925, and dissolved into its constituent elements.

There remains the Socialist Party. Through storm and stress, confusion and uncertainty, it holds intact what there is of a political movement of the workers on a national scale. Weakened by its war experience and internal schisms, its recovery was also postponed because of the possibility of a Labor Party growing out of the revolt under the banner of La Follette and Wheeler. That prospect no longer in sight, Socialists again turn to educational and organizational work in preparation for next year.

We hope that all our readers caught the significance of the statement of the National Executive Committee to the party members which appeared in The New Leader last week. It is based on the facts cited above. Since the dawn of the twentieth century the Socialist Party has upheld the banner of independent political action. It has been a refuge for all who understand the hopelessness of supporting two capitalist parties that are housed in the same kennel and fed by the same mercenary interests.

The Socialist Party is the second party in this country. The other two are one. Socialists are called to service in building the organization in preparation for the important State and national elections next year. The field is clear, the opportunity evident, the need urgent. In all probability the Socialist Party alone will represent the claims of the masses. There is work to do. Do it. Get more readers for The New Leader. Arrange agitation meetings. Get Socialist voters into the branches. Prepare in every way for a great campaign.

BENNIE SMITH

PERHAPS the most striking episode in the work of Pullman porters to organize a union is the flight of Bennie Smith, an organizer, from Jacksonville, Florida. Into this drama entered agents of the Pullman Company, race prejudice against Negroes, white officials in Jacksonville and a determination to prevent porters from organizing.

The story in detail on another page of this issue is one of the most amazing in the history of trade union organization. It shows that the corporation, which desires to maintain serfdom in the service, reaches down to the Gulf of Mexico; that its agents are willing to summon color prejudice against Negro porters in a paradise of white rule, and apparently to co-operate with some public officials in getting rid of the organizer.

Bennie Smith knew the peril which he faced in the South. When it assumed that terrible aspect which always hovers about the Negro suspect he never flinched. "Am fully mindful of grave situation and personal danger," he wired headquarters of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. "I am willing to make the supreme sacrifice." Only upon the order of headquarters did he reluctantly abandon his mission.

Here is an inspiring contrast. An organizer of a union willing to hazard his life for the welfare of his fellows on the one hand and a powerful corporation on the other pursuing him with malice and its agents cultivating a color prejudice that might mean the death of Smith. One representing the new order of a more human world, the other a grasping, slave-driving and merciless corporation. Idealism on the one hand, a despot on the other.

We pay our tribute of admiration to Bennie Smith. If the trade unions of Jacksonville know their duty they will take steps to see that Smith is recalled and is protected in a work that is just as legal and peaceful as that of a physician answering a call.

THE UNITED FRONT

BOURGEOIS and Bolshevik will find food for thought in Mussolini's speech to his Fascist yeggs in "Parliament" last week. "Today, May 26, we bury solemnly all the lies of universal democratic suffrage," he said. Then the achievements of Judge Gary's heroes: "The withdrawal and revision of all passports for foreign countries, an order to fire upon any one attempting to cross the frontier clandestinely, the suppression of all anti-Fascist daily and periodical publications, the dissolution of all anti-Fascist groups and organizations, the deportation of all those who plot against the Fascist revolution or who illicitly wear the black shirt, the creation of a special tribunal for investigation."

Here is a tabloid statement of the Bolshevik creed. The Bolshevik likes it in Russia, but hates it in Italy. The Bourgeois likes it in Italy

and hates it in Russia. The Socialist and trade unionist hate it everywhere. "Is this terror?" asked Mussolini, who answered, "No." It is to protect the Fascist "revolution." "Is this terror?" ask the Russian Bolsheviks of their regime. "No," they answer; it is to protect the Bolshevik "revolution." "Is this terror?" asks the Bourgeois, "Yes, in Russia," he answers, but "order in Italy," he adds.

It is timely to recall Mussolini's statement to his "Parliament" on June 6, 1924: "In Russia are great masters! We have only to imitate what is being done in Russia! They are magnificent masters and we are wrong not to imitate them in full, for you would not now be here—you would be in jail." Thus we have Judge Gary, Mussolini, Trotsky and our native Bolsheviks in a united front! All of them worship at the same altar.

Meantime the insufferable ass who rules Italy looks forward to the time when Italian skies will be black with bombing planes and he will have millions of cannon fodder to conquer Italy's "historic rights." Long ere this is within his reach we rather think that he will occupy a padded cell and his cronies abroad will mourn the death of the united front.

DIPLOMATIC "MORALITY"

HOWEVER much we may laugh at Bolshevik imbecilities in the field of propaganda, we cannot avoid being cynical at the "moral" pose of Sir Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Secretary, and the high mandarins of the Tory Party in the matter of Bolshevik propaganda. British imperialism is not a model of the virtues and it has never permitted "moral" scruples to stand in its way.

It appears that a commercial agency of the Soviet Government had intimate connections with Communist organizations in England, Canada and the United States. Some documents show the agency was used for secret propaganda in the countries named, the Bixby letter being of this type, while other documents indicate that Arcos employees sent money abroad for Communist propaganda.

On the other hand, he is an innocent who does not know that there is not a government in the world today that is not engaged in the imperialist game and that does not employ its secret agents. They are expected to obtain military and naval secrets of other governments and pry into the secrets of foreign policies. Ample funds are placed at the disposal of these agents and they are not too scrupulous in spending the money. The main consideration is to get the goods.

Moreover, we recall an article in Harper's after the end of the World War by the English propagandist, Sir Gilbert Parker. This gentleman candidly outlined how he had used newspapers, magazines, forums and universities in this country for expounding the British version of the holy war to the American people. This was done during the period when the official policy of the United States was "neutral in thought and deed." Of course, the Germans were also active here, but Parker put over the best job.

When the British ox is gored its name is Chamberlain, and it smells like the manure of the ordinary diplomatic stable.

WAR VERSIONS

NO accepted version of American participation in the World War is yet possible. Even those who favored the war are divided, as Memorial Day sermons show. They reveal many versions which have come down to us from the days of the conflict.

One idea was universal during the big fight. This was summed up in the phrase, "a war to end war." A variation of this was a war "to make the world safe for democracy." Both are now in the discard. Pleading for the adoption of the Versailles Treaty in 1919, Woodrow Wilson in a moment of candor said that it was a "commercial war." The Republicans, in opposing ratification of the treaty, said that we went into the war "to save our skins."

But in all the fog of opinions one fact stands out. The Allies, by whose side the American soldiers fought, had already recorded in writing what they were fighting for. They did not make the documents public, as they were the result of secret bargains. These secret understandings recorded the fact that the Allies were fighting for the annexation of real estate, investment areas for their bankers and corporations, trade routes and other carnal things. There is not a word in these secret bargains regarding democracy, war to end war and any of the other "idealism" that weighed down the news of the war period. Therefore, the Americans fought for the things which the Allies were after.

This does not imply that the soldiers fought for real estate and investments. They were sincere, but the statesmen were not. Father Hoy, despite the facts, offers the "truth" about the big fuss by declaring that "the American troops fought for God and country." We wonder what he thinks his fellow religionists of the Central Empires fought for. Certainly not against God, or they would have all been excommunicated. They remain in good standing, and even Father Hoy does not urge their expulsion.

The safest and most reasonable version and one that squares with the evidence is that based upon the secret treaties of the Allies. If they did not know what the war was about certainly nobody else does.

UNCLE SAM, HOLY MAN

UNSTAINED by sin, always in the right, inspired by holy endeavor and in the infinite confidence of God. This is the biography of Uncle Sam as written by President Coolidge in his Memorial Day address. Read:

"When this nation has been compelled to resort to war it has always been for a justifiable cause. The pages of its history are not stained with the blood of unprovoked conflict. No treachery has ever exposed our sister nations to unwarranted attack. No lust for conquest, no craving for power, no greed for territory, no desire for revenge has ever caused us to violate the covenants of international peace and tranquility. We have robbed no people of their independence; we have laid on no country the hand of oppression. When our military forces have taken the field it has been to enlarge the area of self-government, to extend the scope of freedom and to defend the principles of liberty."

We suggest that the above be embossed on special paper and sent in large quantities for display in the following countries: Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, San Domingo, Panama, Virgin Islands, Mexico, Nicaragua, Honduras, Venezuela and Guatemala. They should know Uncle Sam, the holy man.

'Beware American Methods'

Europe's Workers Shy Off Vaunted U. S. A. Standards

ONE of the striking trends of post-war capitalism is the way in which European capitalists are attempting to introduce the intensified exploitation methods of the United States into their industries. In England and Europe this importation of American methods is called "rationalizing," and the word itself has come to be detested by the workers abroad.

"Rationalizing" is now regarded by European workers much as the American workers viewed the importation of contract labor to glut the domestic labor market. In England and on the Continent Henry Ford's methods are accepted by the employing class as ideal for extracting more values from workers in a working day, while the working class fear this American invasion as they would a plague.

Workers abroad have learned much about the terrible pace that rules in American industries and the tendency to make the workman really the cheapest in the world despite his higher money wage. The trade unions abroad are in revolt against "rationalizing," and the International Federation of Trade Unions recently sent a bulletin to affiliated organizations which surveys the movement in a number of countries to introduce American methods. Part of this survey follows:

A New Given Name

"We cannot too often repeat that despite all their solemn asseverations, the employers' real intentions are the same as at the time of the introduction of the Taylor system. Their motives and objects have not changed; only to throw dust in the eyes of the by-standers, the child has received a new name. The word 'rationalization,' has all the romance of a new magician's spell—and it is certainly an excellent battle cry!"

"At a moment, then, when German industrialists have long since had their hypocrites unmasked, French industrialists' journals are still pointing to rationalization as a kind of industrial cure-all. A specialist in the employers' world, writing recently in 'Le Temps,' wonders if workers have really grown so intelligent and wise as to be in favor of this reasonable co-operation with the employers which may rebound so greatly to their advantage."

"The 'good intentions' of up-to-date rationalization are, however, not so very obvious that employers need be so very much surprised when their 'noble' plans are frustrated by the indifference or hostility of the workers. For, while French employers are wooing the workers of France to welcome rationalization, German statistics make it very clear that quite apart from other factors, rationalization alone has thrown a million workers upon the streets. Industry and, still more, finance are reaping prodigious profits, but the purchasing power of

wages is declining, and working hours are longer than ever!

"British, Belgian and French employers are following assiduously in the footsteps of their German confreres in endeavoring, even before the introduction of rationalizing measures, to lengthen working hours and to cut wages, by way of an instalment towards the costs of the reform. A clear example is the British coal industry which, in common with the fossilized old industries which attained their greatest importance when Britain was still the world's workshop, are seeking to lengthen working hours. If even the coal-owners begin to rationalize, they do so because they are driven to it by competition, and the newer industries, which inherit no traditional impediment, follow the trend of the times, and thus give an impetus to the new industrial revolution all along the line. A mine-owner recently said that he had introduced mechanization wherever possible, and after years of loss, had at last again made considerable profits. When asked if similar improvements could not be made in most British mines, the same authority replied unhesitatingly in the affirmative. So that in Britain, too, business is not held under rationalization, and in mining alone, where working hours have been lengthened, there is a constant mass of unemployed of not less than 100,000."

"In Belgium the subject of rationalization has been much studied. Labor leaders have for months past been publishing instructive articles enlightening the public on all the aspects of the problem with all the thoroughness of the expert. Here, too, rationalization has been introduced, and even the Government is endeavoring to enlist the interest of the public in the problem. It is widely recognized that, as Delsinne says, rationalization is inevitable (since it is spreading in countries such as Germany, which compete with Belgium), but at the same time its abuses are admitted: Delsinne warns the workers that they must do their utmost to maintain unimpaired the eight hours day (which in Germany has to some extent been sacrificed to rationalization) and also wages and working conditions."

"In Czechoslovakia the 'Sozialdemokrat' has graphically exposed the results of rationalization in the coal-mines: the average output in 1925-26 was 12 percent higher, but net wages have only risen by 1.48 percent. This is a good instance of how employers rationalize! They lower the wages of the worker, while at the same time imposing upon him all the physical and mental burdens associated with the new processes. From this point of view even the Americans come off badly. An expert of the American Federation of Labor recently pointed out that in Europe, under the most favorable conditions, the workers had

in the last quarter of 1925 only produced 1.10 tons per day, while the average output in the States for the same period was 4.55 tons. If the American miner were to receive the same wage rates per ton as in Europe, he would have to be given a 25 percent advance immediately.

Even in the United States, then, rationalization works mainly in the employers' favor. And we must remember that in Europe we are little accustomed to the standardized products which are essential precursors of rationalization, and on account of the low wages, the surplus production cannot be absorbed here as it is in the U. S. A. Bearing these points in mind, we shall do well to be very sceptical about rationalization in general—and still more sceptical about rationalization as practised by European capitalists."

STREET MEETINGS

MANHATTAN

Saturday, June 4, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath, S. E. Grain and V. C. Gaspar.

Tuesday, June 7, 8:30 p. m., 133d street and Lenox avenue. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

Wednesday, June 8, 8:30 p. m., 95th street and Broadway. Speakers: Esther Friedman and Pierre Di Nio.

Thursday, June 9, 8:30 p. m., 106th street and Madison avenue. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

Thursday, June 9, 8:30 p. m., Sheridan Square (corner Grove street and Washington place). Speakers: August Claessens and others.

Saturday, June 11, 8:30 p. m., 137th street and Seventh avenue. Speakers: Frank Crosswath and others.

BRONX

Friday, June 3, 8:30 p. m., Aldus street and Southern boulevard. Speakers: Ethelred Brown and Isidore Polstein.

Friday, June 10, 8:30 p. m., 169th street and Washington avenue. Speakers: Isidore Phillips and Isidore Polstein.

BROOKLYN

Friday, June 3, 8:30 p. m., Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker: Esther Friedman.

Saturday, June 4, 8:30 p. m., Have-meyer and South Third streets. Speaker: Esther Friedman.

Saturday, June 4, 8:30 p. m., Kings Highway and 14th street. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

Monday, June 6, 8:30 p. m., corner Sutter and Hinesdale streets. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

Friday, June 10, 8:30 p. m., corner Bristol street and Pitkin avenue. Speaker: Ethelred Brown.

Saturday, June 11, 8:30 p. m., corner Sutter and Pennsylvania avenues. Speakers: August Claessens and Samuel Kantor.

THE CHATTER BOX

Pierrot Sings a Sonnet to the Queen
I am so young and awkward in my love,
And you are decked with all that beauty gives
To those who hold no arrogance thereof . . .

I am a timid troubadour who lives
From bawdy evening to sacred dawn
Within the turbid tavern of a dream,
Strumming a dullard drivel to the spawn
Who pitch their laughter to a drunken scream.

And only when they droop to sodden sleep,
And lamps are dimmed, and I have earned my fee
Of rest and silence, can I dare to creep
Into the attic from whose gloom I see
Your palace and its promise on the hill,
Beyond my song and insurmountable . . .

Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheney, those indefatigable warriors for poetry in their magazine "Contemporary Verse," and humanity in their work for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti have undertaken the splendid task of collecting and publishing an Anthology of poems on the Sacco-Vanzetti case. We remember what a powerful effect the book "Debs and the Poets" had on the Washington jailers of Gene, when Ruth le Prade and Upton Sinclair issued their fine idea.

There is a lull in the trade winds of hope for our class sufferers. Pessimism is rife in the circles that have so valiantly given of their wealth and energy to liberate the two railroaded Italian victims of war hysteria. The getting together of all the verse that sang forth from this inhumanity to man, would come as an invigorant to the wearied workers in behalf of the outraged men now in Dedham jail.

The Cheneys can be reached c/o W. P. Trent, Norwalk, Conn., from which point they are directing their work. Poets who have written anything about the case are asked to send in their verse to that address for the attention of Lucia and Ralph Cheney, and all those who can be asked to subscribe from two to five dollars to take care of the publishing and distribution of the book. All subscribers will receive copies at cost price in proportion to their financial support. And now is the time to do all this.

For the 10th of July

These two sad men! The day we let them die
A little more of that will pass away
That was our soul. Our heavy earth-bound clay
Will loam a little darker in the sky.
Oh, few faint voices bravely asking "Why?"
You pass like whippers in the roaring play
Of madmen marching to a holiday.
We know. We know, why bound to death they lie.

Who thinks of them? The millions do not know.
And if they did, their souls would still be flamed.
The pride that once on Boston Common flamed
These many years is burning very low.
Nearer and nearer, ominous and slow,
Marches the death by which they shall be shamed.
DAVID P. BERENBERG.

Sonnet

Sing your mournful dirge in dying tones
Oh God forsaken one; a threnody,
A breath of softness to these buried bones;
Listen to the whispered elegy:
The sighing weeping willow in the wind
That sways and bends her drooping head upon
The grave; yet do not tear the cords that bind
The slither softness of your heart; he is gone.
Lie close to him and hug his earthen mound,

And lay your burning bosom on his own.
What was his flesh has crept into your wound,
Like a vernal flower, here now all is sown.

Weep your silent tears upon his grave,
And sing your hushed monody alone.

SOLOMON PORTNOW.

Shelves
Shelves of pale, still faces
In the half darkness of the theatre
Glitter like rows of glass jars in a cellar.

The same, one face as another,
Hungry, eager, strained,
Yielding to the beauty of La Boheme;
Tilted faces, flung forward to receive
In the darkness what restraint
Held them in the glare of lights.

Deep, deep, silent people;
Still, mute people with faces
Glittering like glass jars in a cellar.
Why do you wait until now for freedom,
And pay such a price for it?
G. ERSYL MANAHAN.

On a Lynching

If we could spell in one brief word
The power that makes us wise and good,
Three simple letters would not do
For all this to be understood;
Nor would ten Talmuds be enough
To span the bay of man's new hope
For look! On one black afternoon
Men murder mercy with a rope!

CHAS. A. WAGNER.

We have been patiently awaiting the return of "Plucky Lindbergh" and an abatement in the hero-madness for yon likely lad. We must confess that we hardly slept all through the night of his flight over the Atlantic. We prayed with the rest of the world for his life and his deed. We did not burst out into rhapsodic ode because we saw beyond his flight, the hysterical acclaim, the hurried heaping of honors, the clatter of French diplomacy using this incident for financial readjustment of lingering indebtedness, etc., etc. We shall always have a warm spot in our own heart for the intrepid, and modest manner of the man. Yes, long after his million dollars are made and the tabloid journals settle down to discover a new character for their clipped headlines. Yes, even after the city of St. Louis has included Lindbergh among her forgotten great, we will remember him. And all because perhaps, he has stolen some of our own glory from us.

For just when he decided to take off on his now immortal flight, our own "Idylls of the Ghetto" took wing over the space from note book to bookbinder. And while the world thundered its glory over Lindbergh, our own trip over Parnassus made for audible news. And that is why we are still waiting for the aeroplane hurrahs to wane. Maybe then, the French and the English, the Belgians and the Brown-villiers will get their reception committees out and give a poor poet his due.

There are still some twenty copies left of the Famous One Hundred De Luxe—autographed and numbered, which we will mail to those plutocrats who can afford Five Dollars for a bibliophilic whim. Hurry your order in, or you will be compelled to content yourselves with the regular edition which sells for \$1.50 at the Rand Book Store, or nothing at all if you subscribe to The New Leader for a year.

S. A. de Witt.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

everybody who does not foam at the mouth whenever he hears Soviet Russia mentioned. One anti-red hysteria was enough.

Some American Rear-Admiral has got publicity for a story of a plot inspired by Russia through the medium of the Chinese to blow up certain ammunition dumps in the Philippines which were supposed, erroneously he says, to supply American ships in Chinese waters. He discovered the plot, rallied to him the loyal workers, and had them leave the union through which the plotters were alleged to be working.

Now there may have been a plot which may or may not have had Russian or Communist backing. It may have originated with Nationalist Chinese of whom doubtless there are plenty in the Philippines. Or the whole plot may have been one of those rare nests of which so many were discovered in the war and post-war days. At least it seems to have served its purpose with the Admiral for breaking up a union.

The important point is that if we want to rise above native or foreign plots in the Philippines against our imperialism it must be by proving that we are not imperialistic. There are genuine problems in the relations between America and the Philippines that can be better worked out than on a flat basis of immediate independence. We have done some creditable things in the Philippines—more creditable on the whole than what the British have done in Asia or than we are now doing in Latin America. Later, however, we have answered the Philippine demand for independence by an imperialist negative. Therein lies danger. It ought to be unthinkable that American boys should have to die to keep the Philippines as an American Ireland. If it really is this to be unthinkable we must adopt a different policy than President Coolidge or Governor-General Wood has advocated.

The report that Governor-General Wood on his forthcoming visit to America is to arrange for the sale of the Philippine state sugar business and perhaps some other government control enterprises is ominous. Perhaps these enterprises have not been perfectly run. They would have to be run about 50 per cent better than the average private business to win the approval of so consistent a conservative as Governor Wood. Even if they are not well run the Filipinos are entitled to learn by experience how to run their affairs better without turning them over in perpetuity to private profit makers. On this matter liberals and progressives of all parties should speak so loudly that General Wood's deals with Wall Street will not easily be consummated.

As Vice President Murray of the United Mine Workers points out, the new freight rates on Pennsylvania and Ohio laid down by the Interstate Commerce Commission will give the Northern mine owners a fairer chance in competition with their Southern rivals and remove whatever truth there was in the argument that they could not afford to pay union wages in competition with open shop mines of West Virginia which were favored by the freight rates. This better freight situation plus intelligent co-operation by the union in handling the industrial situation in Northern mines ought to make it easier to win some sort of victory in the present strike. The underlying coal problem, however, cannot be so easily solved and the argument for nationalization still stands.

Speaking of the coal strike, I heard a story from a teacher of Economics in a great university which is worth repeating. He asked the men in his economics class—more than a hundred of them—what they knew about the coal strike. Only one man knew there was a strike and he said that his father, who was part owner of a mine, had told him about it, but added that his father was not worried because he had "plenty of coal above ground." What this proves about the college students is obvious. What worries me is what it may prove about the union.

Not for a long time have I attended a more absorbingly interesting conference than the recent institute on problems of Negro workers held at Brookwood. Honors for effective speaking on the basis not of emotions but of facts emphatically belong to the Negro leaders who were present. Every one of them recognized the importance of organizing Negro workers. None of them wanted to see the progress of the Negro race measured by the number of imitation colored Babbitts it could turn out. All of them pointed out candidly the tremendous obstacles which are presented by race prejudice in America—a prejudice which has by no means been banished from our unions.

An alarming instance of these obstacles is furnished by the experience of Bennie Smith organizer of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters in Jacksonville, Florida. Smith was recognized by a Pullman official. Then his troubles began. He was warned to leave town. He was threatened. Finally he was put in jail under a blanket charge. Orally he was told that his crime was selling copies of "The Messenger." Jacksonville has had some ugly lynchings and on order of the national organization Smith left town on condition that his prosecution be dropped. It is understood that he may later return to test out the right of colored workers to organize in spite of Pullman officials and Florida prejudice. The attempt will involve great heroism. Decent Americans and most of all the workers regardless of color should be behind this pioneer of freedom.

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