

## A TAMMANY BETRAYAL! 60 MILLION YEARLY HANDS THE I. R. T. Protest Mass Meeting In Carnegie Hall Tuesday Night

### Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas  
Socialist Candidate for President

THIS is the first opportunity I have had in my own column to express my deep appreciation of the many evidences of confidence and friendship which have come to me during our great convention and in the days that followed. Of course it is the cause and not the man which counts. But life is made richer and hope higher by the kind of comradeship which has been revealed to me. I shall be happy if I can prove myself worthy of it in the campaign that lies ahead. Certainly I expect to call heavily upon it, for without it our fight will be in vain. Frankly for what seemed to me valid personal reasons I did not want to accept the nomination and I was sure that my dear friend, Jim Maurer, was by all odds our best choice. Since, however, circumstances forced me to accept the nomination I can only express my gratitude that Jim Maurer is by my side and that the party is aroused and united in this campaign. After all, whatever we may accomplish in the fight will be the result of the patient and courageous work of the Jimmy Higgins' who may never get their name on any roll of fame.

We Socialists cannot insist too strongly that we are the heirs of whatever was vital in the LaFollette movement. I have a great admiration for Senator Norris for whom there is sentiment in the Northwest. But I can discover no grounds for thinking that he will run for the Presidency as an independent candidate and I am certain that the political philosophy which he honestly holds would keep him from taking the lead in trying to build a party of the workers and farmers. And to build that party is the one thing that counts. In that task I think we can expect no national progressive movement this year.

Probably our Communist friends will run a ticket but their methods and tactics are different from ours and I do not believe that their fanatical held doctrine of salvation by catastrophe will win much support from the farmers and workers when they understand it.

There is something rather reassuring about the Communist insistence that we have "betrayed the class struggle". The facts were well stated last week in a New Leader editorial. Emphatically we acknowledge the existence of the class struggle. But suppose we had made no change to give rise to any misrepresentation would the Communists have cheered for us? You know the answer.

What is perhaps more significant is evidence that the Communists are likely to change their boring from within tactics in the unions. It is significant that Losovsky, president of the Red International of labor unions, has sharply criticized American Communist tactics in reference to the A. F. of L. unions. He practically calls for a definite abandonment of the attempt to capture these unions and in its stead a concentration on organizing the unorganized. John Pepper's reply in the May issue of "The Communist" is not very strenuous. We may, therefore, be about to see an important change of tactics. If the Communists concentrate on the unorganized it might somewhat clear the air in the unions. Certainly it ought to be a challenge to the A. F. of L. Yes, and to us, Socialists as well. We do not want to dominate labor unions by party discipline. But Socialism was never more alive than when Socialists were active in organizing the needle trades. Whatever the wisdom or lack of wisdom in Communist tactics in connection, for instance, with the Save-the-Union Committee in the mine fields, (Losovsky doesn't like the name), they are dealing with real issues of real importance in many cases with energy

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### Textile Union Stops Every Loom in City

Manufacturers Find Stone  
Wall of Resistance To  
Wage Cuts

By Frank J. Manning

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—The long suppressed feelings of the textile workers in this city burst into resentment when 3,500 of them left the mills in a strike against the measureless exactions of the textile barons. Already pressed to the limit of endurance because of wages about one-half below the standard required to maintain a decent existence, this army of workmen displays as fine an example of solidarity as has ever been witnessed in any industrial struggle.

The upheaval came as the climax to many years of profligate by the textile lords and a low wage scale. The immediate cause was the arbitrary action of the employers in making a 10 per cent reduction in wages without any attempt to consult the textile unions and in violation of the agreement. The Manufacturers' Association ignored not only the workers but the merchants and the city government and made its royal will known by posting a scrap of paper in the mills. The answer is the closing of 27 mills by the strikers.

The manufacturers have attempted to justify their action by citing wage reductions in Lowell and other cities although New Bedford is a fine goods center and the others are not. Other reasons are offered in the vague assertion that "present conditions" warrant the wage reduction.

In a series of articles supporting its position in the strike The New Bedford Textile Council took every inch of ground from under the feet of the Manufacturers' Association. These articles have served to solidify public opinion in support of the strike. The Union reinforced its arguments by the use of tabulations and graphs for illustration.

In these articles the Union has established the following conclusions:

1. That the strike was caused by the arbitrary action of the employers in making a 10 per cent reduction of wages without the slightest attempt at consultation with the textile unions and in violation of their agreement.
2. That the financial conditions of the companies involved are good and show a marked improvement in 1927 over 1926.
3. That 1927 production of cotton in New Bedford was greater than it has ever been before.
4. That the earnings of the textile workers before reduction was less than half that called for as the minimum standard by the United States Department of Labor and Massachusetts authorities.

5. That no competitive condition exists that warrants the reduction.
6. That New Bedford as a fine goods center has no reasons for following the example of some other New England towns manufacturing coarser goods.
7. And finally that the companies were and are divided as to the wisdom of the cut and the stockholders as a class are ignorant of the conditions under which it was made.

The facts established by the Union are sensational in their nature. Their figures show that the normal New Bedford family is forced to live on less than half of what the Massachusetts authorities declare essential to maintain a decent standard of living.

### Phila. Labor College Enrolls 500 Students

Philadelphia.—500 students enrolled in the past seven months for study in the Philadelphia Labor College, Secretary Israel Mufson reports. 400 more enrolled for two conferences on the textile industry and organizing the unorganized. Shop economics classes interested hosiery knitters, upholsterers weavers and lithographers. Electrical workers studied apprentice problems in two classes and plate printers sharpened their knowledge of parliamentary law. Mixed classes were conducted in current events, labor problems, public speaking, labor dramatics, social psychology, English literature and research.

PIERRE RENAUEL, who, with Paul Faure, will lead the French Socialist Party in the New Chamber of Deputies.



### Socialist Party Gains One Seat in French Poll

Vote Heavily Increased—  
Communists Lose Half  
of Representation in  
Chamber

PARIS, France.—As was to be expected under the clever electoral law jammed through by the Poincarists a few years ago, the Socialist Party has gained but one deputy in the Chamber although polling an increased vote. The results of the second polling on Monday show that France has swung slightly to the Right and that Poincaré has a safe tenure of office. The Nationalists won some seats and the Radicals barely managed to maintain their position. The Socialists held their own and the Communists are roundly beaten.

The most conspicuous Socialist loss was the defeat of Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist Party in the Chamber, who was defeated by a Communist, Duclos, who is a fugitive from prison. It is doubtful whether this can be considered a rejection of Blum as radical French voters generally turn to a candidate who is a fugitive or under sentence for some official offense.

The Socialist Party is fortunate in having such excellent leadership as Paul Faure and Pierre Renaudel to take Blum's place. Andre Marty, who was under sentence as a naval mutineer a few years ago, was then elected to the Chamber as a Communist. On Monday he went down in defeat. Other leading Communists who were defeated Monday are Jean Garchery and Vaillant Couturier. In Alsace the Communist Hueber also failed of reelection.

Alsace also provided a strange phase of the "United Front" tactics of the Communist Party as well as an amazing example of the unscrupulous opportunism of the Communists. The Communists and the Clericals formed a "United Front" as a party of "autonomists" and elected four members of the Chamber. Two of these members are Clericals and two are Communists. This union of extreme reaction with Communism is regarded as convincing evidence that Communists will sell their soul to the enemy when a sale may be effected in exchange for a few offices.

### Smashing Victory For British Labor

(By A New Leader Correspondent)  
London.—Particular interest has attached to the bye-election in Lintilhgow, West Lothian, in which, after the withdrawal of a Communist from the field, a three-cornered fight between Labor, Liberal and Conservative candidates has been waged. The labor candidate was Emanuel Shinwell, Minister of Mines in the Labor Government of 1923-24. He first fought the seat in 1918, when he was defeated by the Conservative (whose death has occasioned the bye-election); in 1922 Shinwell won the seat, and at the election of 1923 increased his majority, only to lose it by 642 votes to the Conservative at the last general election in 1924. The present result is a poll of 14,446 for Shinwell, as against 9,263 to the Conservative candidate (a daughter of the late member) and 5,690 to the Liberal.

### 250,000 Quit Work in N. Y. On May Day

Great Crowds Greet Norman Thomas—Bloodshed  
In Poland—Huge Parades  
In Vienna, Berlin

UNDER the leadership of the Socialist Party, more than 250,000 workers observed May Day in New York City with a complete cessation of work. The workers gathered in 11 meetings arranged by the Joint Socialist Party-May Day Committee, the attendance at the meetings totalling 25,000 men and women workers. Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for president, was the principal speaker at five of these meetings and at each of the crowded halls he received thunderous ovations.

Governor Smith of New York and Mayor Walker were singled out for sharp criticism by Thomas. Thomas assailed Governor Smith for having "flippantly vetoed the most important of the bills which would have made repetition of vote frauds more difficult in the future." The Socialist candidate denounced Mayor Walker for what he termed "a phoney bus franchise to the highest bidder." He urged his audiences to make May Day "a turning point in the history of the labor movement and of the Socialist Party."

Thomas made his first address before members of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers Union in Cooper Union. He then spoke over WEVD from his studio at 3 West 16th street. An address in the Debs Auditorium to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union followed. He closed his afternoon address with the two largest May Day rallies, in the Metropolitan Opera House and at Mecca Temple.

Other speakers at these meetings, and at five others arranged by the Joint Socialist Party-May Day Committee, were Morris Sigman, Max Zursky, James Oneal, William Karlin, Algernon Lee, Joseph Schlossberg, Jacob Panken and a score of others. The other meetings were at Webster Hall, Harlem Socialist Center, Beethoven Hall, Finnish Hall, the Borough Park Labor Lyceum, and the German Labor Lyceum.

"May Day," Thomas said, "with us now as always is a beautiful symbol of life and hope, of the coming of Spring in men's hearts, of the release of the human brotherhood from the long winter of stupidity, oppression, want and war. The fact that our brothers in every land celebrate this day with us so that the whole earth rings with the songs of the workers is itself an inspiration and a promise of the ultimate victory of humanity. But for us Americans this May Day following so closely after our inspiring Socialist Convention has a special significance. It calls for personal dedication from each of us to the task of building stronger than ever our unions in the service of a great ideal and adding to our unions a militant party of the workers with hand and brain, which party alone can serve as the instrument of our emancipation."

"At least two editorials which I have seen have sought to refute our Socialist hope and answer the Socialist Platform, which probably the learned editors never read, to the number of automobiles in America. Cars, big and little, prove it seems that all is well with us and that there is no need for Socialism among us. Tell that to the four million or more unemployed who vainly tramp the city streets looking not for money but for an extra crumb of bread. Tell that to the coal strikers, to the miserable textile workers, to the bankrupt farmers, to the 35 per cent of our citizens who do not receive at all or barely receive enough of the good things of life to provide them with the minimum budget of health and decency. Tell that to the country where Mooney and Billings are still in jail, where civil liberties become steadily less real, where justice is a commodity too often beyond the reach of the poor, the alien and the radical, where Sacco and Vanzetti were offered up as a burnt offering on the altars of caste pride and class fear. Tell

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### THOMAS HITS TAMMANY HALL FOR FARE GRAB

MAYOR WALKER, Governor Smith and their bankers and stock-gambling friends were accused of primary responsibility for the 7 cent fare order, in a statement issued today by Norman Thomas, Socialist Party candidate for president. The Socialist leader charged Walker, Smith and Tammany Hall with using the courts as a scapegoat. Mr. Thomas said:

"The seven cent fare decision of The Federal Court if it is sustained by the higher courts, as seems likely, will be a great blow to the people of New York, one-third of whom have to live on a family budget of \$1500 a year or less. It will mean in all probability, not a seven cent fare for which the I. R. T. is already asking, but a nine cent fare, and that means almost \$32 extra per family each year—more than the average weekly wage of a factory worker. The decision of the court points plainly in the direction of an 8% return, not on money actually invested but that vague thing known as present value, which value our courts always interpret to the profit of the investor. And the subways which get the money will give the same outrageous service."

"Yet this decision may be a blessing to the people of the whole nation if it will show them three things:

1. "The folly of trusting to a system of regulating public utilities rather than publicly owning them and operating them without profit through some properly constituted public authority. The last recourse of believers in regulation was in some system of contracts. This was a method once hinted at by Governor Smith to control the distribution of state-manufactured hydro-electric power. If a Federal court can so easily upset a supposedly iron bound contract between the City and the Company which operated the City's property, what will the courts do with any sort of contracts for the protection of the people? Again the Socialist position on public ownership is vindicated."

2. "The decision shows again the dangerous encroachment of our courts on the social functions of fixing values and rates. Our judges have had no special experience in this task yet they have evolved out of their own inner consciousness through a series of decisions the theory that anything less than 8% is confiscatory and that values are to be fixed not on actual investment but, apparently, on reproduction costs, whatever they may be. In the case of the subway companies this means \$60,000,000 additional each year on a 7 cents fare. The courts have brought it to pass that the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution is virtually no protection at all to the life of citizens—witness the Sacco-Vanzetti case—but a veritable bulwark to the inflated claims of property holders."

3. "Finally, this whole transit muddle shows the utter inefficiency, the complete hypocrisy, or both, of our Tammany Hall government in our state and city. In former campaigns I have repeatedly predicted just what has happened. Tammany Hall and its leaders, Mayor Walker and Governor Smith, while protesting for political reasons their devotion to the five cent fare let us drift straight to the rocks of court action. Consider the facts: When Mayor Walker was nominated the transit interest openly rejoiced and transit stock went up. Through his whole term in office the Mayor has drifted. No, he has done worse: He jammed through the Board of Estimate a bus franchise to the highest bidder which directly weakened the principle of the five cent fare. The Transit Commission appointed by Governor Smith and consisting of his personal friends has talked and done nothing. The City and the Commission let the lawyers of the I. R. T. get the jump on them. Not one of the threats of retaliatory action by Messrs. Craig and Untermyer have been made good. Early last fall Mr. Untermyer pointed out that the failure to give notice of recapture was costing the city of New York \$30,000 a day. No notice of recapture has yet been given. No plan for a unified publicly operated transit system has yet been adopted. Under these circumstances it is political hokum of the worst sort for the Mayor to talk about running again to vindicate the five-cent fare. Not only the Mayor but Governor Smith himself is involved in this matter. He defeated Hylan and gave us Walker. He gave us our blundering Transit Commission. He is the leader of his party. The decision involved issues of national importance. Even if the Governor breaks his policy of silence on all public matters that count it is too late to redeem his and his party's record in the transit situation."

### Lawrence Offered to Stage Drive For the Power Lobby

WASHINGTON.—Proposal by David Lawrence, president and principal owner of The United States Daily, to Philip Gadsen, chairman of the executive committee of the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations—commonly known as the power trust lobby—that the Joint Committee cause 52 key companies in the utility field to pay the paper \$202,800 for a one-year advertising campaign against federal regulation and municipal ownership—this is the latest of the disclosures made in the power trust inquiry before the Federal Trade Commission.

"The argument," he says in his prospectus to Gadsen, "would be so constructed as to show that no other system of regulation or ownership

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### Socialists Call Citizens To Protest

On the crest of a wave of indignation sweeping the city on the 7 cent fare decision, the Socialist Party and the trade unions have called a protest meeting to be held in Carnegie Hall, 57th street and 7th avenue, Tuesday evening, May 8th, at 8 p. m.

The speakers will include Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Harry W. Laidler, Louis Waldman, Harriot Stanton Blatch, A. S. Shipplacoff, Abraham Beckerman and others.

The meeting is called by the Socialist Party, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Joint Board, the Pocketbook Workers Union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and other unions.

Admission will be free.

### Socialist Aims Blow at Vast Utility Lobby

Congressman Calls Com-  
bine Most Corrupt In-  
fluence in the Country  
Today

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Declaring that super-power lobby and the interests it represents constitutes the most corrupting influence in the United States today, Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist of Wisconsin, has offered a bill providing for a national public super-power system.

The bill contains features providing for the conservation of the nation's natural resources, the coordination, the enlargement and expansion of the Reclamation Service in the field of agriculture, service at cost, and Federal aid to States, cities, counties and other political subdivisions in the development of super-power systems, with service at cost.

In a statement he issued, Mr. Berger said:

"In proposing public ownership and control of super-power, the Socialist is the most constructive and conserving force at work in our nation today, while the predatory interests, and especially those that are now in the power trust, are doing all they can to bring about a violent revolution, in which they may suffer the fate of the tyrants of other days."

"The next phase of civilization will be based upon the general use of electric power. The home, as well as the factory and farm, will be dependent upon it. If this power be wisely controlled it will become the slave of humanity and make all slavery unnecessary and superfluous. If it is not publicly controlled, but left in the hands of a few overlords, to be used for their own greed and profit, that power is bound to enslave humanity."

5 Companies Rule the Roost  
"Hand in hand with this concentration, goes the corrupting influence of this octopus. Not only Congress, but State and civil legislative bodies today feel the presence of this power lobby. It has been well characterized in Congress as the greatest lobby ever organized in this country."

"Recent investigations brought out the fact that two former Governors and two former United States Senators are among the men retained to help the power trust get what they want, and to keep what they have. Whenever it is necessary agents of the power trust dine

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and wine members of legislative bodies, and assure them that they "will take care of" when they must retire to private life.

#### Ontario's Success Cited

"The way to bring a halt to this menace of corruption and thievery is to adopt the principle of public ownership. Public ownership means simplicity of organization, no stock propaganda, and no corruption. And it means more than that. We have before us the most conspicuous example of such public control the case of Ontario. Despite the fortune spent by the power trust to discredit the efficient example of Ontario, we know that starting on a very small scale twenty years ago by creating a hydro-electric power commission, Ontario today owns numerous great generating plants along the Canadian border and is cooperating with 380 municipalities to supply electricity at cost.

"From charges ranging from seven cents to 25 cents per kilowatt under private ownership, the rates have been reduced until in 1935 the average price for domestic users throughout the province of Ontario was 1.8 cents per kilowatt—less than two cents per kilowatt. And this charge allows for the retiring of the bonds within 40 years. In our country we permit private companies, to whom we have given most of our resources, to charge exorbitant rates for the benefit of private bond holders. We can still save future generations from bondage by enacting my bill for public ownership of super-power."

#### Lawrence Offered Services To Lobby

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be lurking there on municipal operation."

Lawrence proceeds to outline his scheme for running a full page statement by each of 52 companies three times in the year, giving "a connected story" to prove the success of private local ownership as against any other system. Since the name of no company would appear more than three times in the 52 weeks, he argues, all criticism based on charges that one organization was conducting the campaign would be avoided. All payments would be made by the individual companies direct to Lawrence's paper, and "This would obviate the necessity of any pooling of funds or the existence of any large advertising fund, which is often objectionable from many standpoints."

"The Cumulative Effect

He touts his journal as the "only link between the legislative and the executive branches of the federal government." All members of the House and Senate, he says, read it carefully, so do the federal judges and all the officials in the departments and commissions. So, too, do 70 per cent. of the members of all state legislatures, and the state regulatory commissions, as well as editorial writers, bankers and educators. In fact, the Daily is "held in high esteem" because of its "absolutely non-partisan" character, and hence it has "an extraordinary amount of prestige and influence."

What price this reputation, as a medium for propaganda?

"The cumulative effect," he smoothly suggests, "should be not only to convince Congress that the utility problem is a local one—thus discouraging interference—but to emphasize to the states that the utilities should be kept in their own hands, and to explain to the editorial writers of the country just why the utility problem is essentially a local one and that it is to their interest to keep it local."

"All these objectives can be successfully combined by having the copy coordinated at one place, although the funds are provided separately, and the actual localization of copy is achieved by sending an individual representative to consult with the local companies in question."

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

**MANHATTAN:**—Main Office, 227 East 84th St., from the 9th of April to 26th of May, inclusive.

**BROOKLYN:**—Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave., April 18th to May 12th, inclusive.

**LONG ISLAND CITY:**—In the hall of the Long Island City Turnverein, Broadway and 44th St., May 14, 15, 16 and 17th.

**BRONX:**—At 4215 Third Ave., corner Tremont Ave., May 18th to May 24th, inclusive.

Payments may be made in all offices mentioned above except Manhattan, from 10 A. M. to 6 P. M. Saturday up to 1 P. M.

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## TIMELY TOPICS

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and devotion. Our problem is to bring to bear at least as much energy and devotion with more wisdom and a better comprehension of American conditions.

My first May Day Meeting, really on May Day Eve, was one that I was proud to attend. It was in the admirable Kitchen opened by the Socialist Consumers League at 187 Henry street, where some 300 unemployed are fed daily. These comrades of the Consumers League are doing a splendid piece of work without any blare of trumpets at all or any craving for the limelight. They deserve and should receive the support of us all, moral and financial. Socialism won't get far except as its spirit finds expression in action. The good women of the League and their men helpers are showing the way.

Just such intensive work as the Socialist Consumers League is doing must be done by the party in local political districts. As the presidential nominee I must spread myself thin over the country. Nation-wide propaganda is important. But we shall win victories, as in Milwaukee and Reading, by organizing locally. I should like to see towns, cities, and smaller areas in cities carefully picked as hopeful places for Socialist work. Then I should like to see some of our strongest comrades patiently build up the party in those districts even if it means that for many years they are candidates for comparatively minor offices. A few live Socialist aldermen and assemblymen can do a lot for our party. We want election campaigns to serve as magnificent bonfires but as well directed flames to get up steam in the party boilers.

About this westward flight of the Brenmen, the tragic ending of Floyd Bennett's gallant attempt to go to his aid and Captain Wilkin's flight over polar seas there is something too fine for any newspaper ballyhoo to mar. Courage and skill and the comradeship of the men who seek the conquest of the air are precious possessions for mankind to treasure. Not the least satisfactory feature of the whole business has been its genuinely international character. The flyers who first made the western passage in safety were German and Irish. They were followed by the British, the American and Canadian. The heroes of the trip from Alaska to Spitzbergen were American and Australian. We do not wish to darken the hour of rejoicing but we shall miss half the lesson of these triumphs of aviation if we fail to understand that unless we can make an end of war the very deeds we now applaud will be turned to our destruction. Instead of international rejoicing we shall have national wars made more deadly.

France has a somewhat peculiar system of elections to her Parliament under which a second vote is necessary in the many districts where no candidate gets a clear majority in the first vote. The result of the two elections is on the whole a triumph for Premier Poincare. And in that fact there is no cause for rejoicing. In so far as individuals were responsible for the World War few men have a heavier burden of guilt than Raymond Poincare, the uncompromising exponent of capitalism and preacher of a bitter nationalism. His undeniable abilities make him more rather than less dangerous to social progress and international peace.

Nevertheless his triumph is not so complete as to be altogether discouraging. There are enough deputies in the so-called left block of parties to act as a very effective curb on him. Despite the defeat of Blum, the Socialist leader, by a Communist, the Socialists did rather better than was expected in the second election. Socialists and Communists between them polled more than two and a half million votes a decided increase over the last election. The Socialists seem to have elected 100 deputies, which is their present number in Parliament, and the Communists 13 which is half their present strength. Apparently on orders from the Third International in Moscow the Communists refused to withdraw any of their candidates in favor of Socialists in the second election.

Aside from any strength of the radical groups, the Socialists, and the Communists who between them make up the somewhat inharmonious left bloc, there is a very real and intelligent concern for peace which seems to be growing in strength throughout France. Poincare himself has moderated some of his bitterness. It is significant that within recent years the government has deleted from the official textbooks those passages which taught specific and eternal hate against Germany. The newspapers report that the very impressive official French war films are remarkable for their freedom from the teaching of hate. All references to the Germans are references to "the enemy" not to Huns or even to Germans. These are straws which show the direction of the wind and give us hope that in spite of Poincare's victory the problem of German reparations may be adjusted and progress made in the outlay of war.

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## Striking New Bedford Weaver Tells Story of Fight in Poem; "We Will Win," he Says

### Stick Together!

**MEN** and women of New Bedford,  
Stick together in this fight,  
Let the motto on your banner  
Be for justice and for right.

In the industrial depression  
You did take a noble part,  
And ungrudging shared the leanness  
Of the floundering textile mart.

By your courage and your patience,  
Toiling in the up-hill rut,  
You've deserved a commendation,  
Not the stinging lash—the cut.

You're not fighting for vain glory,  
A decent living is at stake,  
Knowing when you raise the standard  
It is for your children's sake.

Now the cheering news has reached us,  
That we'll get the helping hand  
Of our noble fellow-workers,  
From all over our fair land.

And our leaders, men of wisdom,  
Tell us that our cause is just,  
And that if we stick together  
We will win, and win we must.

THOMAS SPELLMAN,  
Weaver.

## New Bedford Strikers' Ranks Are Holding Fast

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dard of living. A Massachusetts cost of living study says that it cost \$2,200 or nearly that figure to live a year in this State with a normal family. The average yearly income of the New Bedford operatives in 1927 was \$1,037.40, showing the alarming discrepancy of \$1,147.23 between actual earnings and the official minimum for decency. And the Manufacturers' propose to chop another \$100 a year from the workers! No wonder the strike is 100 per cent effective.

A comparison of the earnings of the workers and the profits of the mill owners furnishes a clear instance of what Mr. Coolidge means when he talks about prosperity.

A study of the financial condition of the New Bedford Mills shows that, as a class, the mills have been profitable; this is reflected in their current balance sheets of 1927 where large surpluses, large reserves or depreciation of plant, very little funded debt and a healthy excess of current assets over current liabilities reflect prosperity of a very decided nature. In 1922 no less than 15 of the mills declared stock dividends at rates ranging from 15 to 20 per cent. Shareholders received some \$17,000,000 in additional shares of common stock for which they paid nothing, receiving dividends upon these additional shares at the same rates paid hitherto.

The table furnished by the union shows an impressive financial strength. Cash and receivables are greater in 1927 than in 1926, while notes and accounts payable have declined over \$3,000,000. The mills show more money in the bank in 1927, and more owed to them in 1926, while they owe 17 per cent less to outsiders. Their inventories are lower in 1927 indicating that goods have been priced conservatively, with no profits on inflated inventory values.

### North Carolina Labor Calls For Fight On Camel Cigarettes

Durham, N. C.—Inhuman conditions in the R. J. Reynolds factories, where Camels cigarettes and Prince Albert smoking tobacco are produced, were described at the sessions of the Piedmont Organizing Council to 106 delegates, gathered from local unions in North Carolina. The 11,000 workers in the big Winston Salem plants of this firm average only \$11 a week, though living costs are high, and R. J. Reynolds' net profits last year amounted to more than four times the total wage bill.

President T. A. Wilson of the state federation of labor, a Winston, Salem man, urged the assembled unionists to make their next great fight against the big open shop tobacco firms of North Carolina. Aid is expected from the national American Federation of Labor movement. If R. J. Reynolds refuses to sign an agreement the A. F. of L. is expected to advertise its firm's bad labor policies.

Wilson told of a visit to A. F. of L. headquarters in Washington by a group of union men from North Carolina and said that President William Green responded favorably to their request for organizers to help win the South for unionism.

That conditions are now favorable for organizing the Reynolds' plants is the opinion of Edward L. Crouch, sixth vice president of the Tobacco Workers International Union, who addressed the council. Crouch, a former Reynolds' employee, was a leader in the great drive that lined up nine tenths of the workers in 1919 and 1920 and won a contract that held till 1922.

"The situation in Winston Salem is deplorable," said Crouch. "The firm thinks it is so big that it can run rough shod over everything. They are paying starvation wages. When our representatives try to talk things over with them they are told 'we've got nothing to discuss.'"

G. O. P. Convict Rides in Style

Common federal convicts ride to Atlanta penitentiary in a convict car. Not so Col. Thomas W. Miller, former alien property custodian, Republican leader and Harding graft intimate. Being an uncommon convict, he was permitted to travel in style in a private compartment of an ordinary Pullman.

Nearly half a million in bribes was traced to Miller in one alien property deal.

With the manufacturers it is a question of wringing more blood from the workers; with the workers it is a question of fighting for their children. Increase the profits for more luxuries; decrease the wages for more misery.

Through excellent public statements and big mass meetings the strikers are keeping the mill barons on the defensive and holding their lines intact. A citizens committee has been organized to handle relief funds and an appeal has been sent out for financial support of the struggle.

The Communists have appeared on the scene as a "Textile Mills Committee" but they have no place in this fight. Their activities are not authorized and they are not wanted. They had nothing to do with calling the strike and they came to New Bedford two days after the Council had ordered the walk out.

Their statement that the strike is now in their hands is best answered by the fact that their last call to a mass meeting was answered by only 53 persons, while the mass meeting arranged by the New Bedford Textile Council was attended by 3500 strikers and hundreds were turned away because of insufficient space in the Arena.

We sincerely hope that none will be deluded by the inflammatory and irresponsible statements of this group. The strike is in the hands of the New Bedford Textile Council which will guard the interests and welfare of the strikers, organized and unorganized, to the utmost. The progress of the strike will be told by responsible newspapers, including the "Forward" whom we have officially requested to carry an appeal for financial aid. Those who really want to help the strikers will avoid counterfeit organizations and contributions to the New Bedford Strike Relief Fund, P. O. Box 57, New Bedford, Mass.

### Duluth Labor Council Demands Communists Give An Accounting

Duluth, Minn.—The Federated Trades Assembly of this city unanimously rejected an invitation from the "International Labor Defense" to hold a joint May Day celebration with the Workers' (Communist) Party for the purpose of putting up a "united front."

The Communists were told that if they are interested in a "united front" they should cease attempting to destroy the morale of striking coal miners by attacking miners' officials.

The Communists said the May Day collection would be divided between Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado miners. The Communists were asked to make a report on the money they have already raised for the miners, but the challenge was ignored.

Duluth trade unionists have not forgotten their "united front" experience in 1924 when a number of locals joined with the Communists in a May Day celebration, which was to have been conducted by the Federated Trades Assembly. When the meeting was called a Communist organizer brushed the trade union chairman aside, took possession of the meeting, delivered a tirade against the American Federation of Labor and collected several hundred dollars to "help political prisoners."

The Federated Trades Assembly was left to hold the bag and pay the cost of the meeting. The Communists got away with the collection.

It is estimated that about fifteen tons of paper was thrown out of windows during the reception to the flyers in New York City. That's about the amount of waste paper used by old party voters on election day.

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## 250,000 Quit Work in N.Y. On May Day

(Continued from Page 1)

that the country whose marines fight an ignoble and so far futile war in the hot jungles of little Nicaragua for no good purpose at all save the protection of private profit and the prestige of a blundering government. What nonsense to look at unemployment, the coal strike, the poverty, the oppression, the imperialism of America and say that all is well because General Motors is advertising that this is a two-car country.

"We Socialists do not say that America is as miserable as a country can be. We do not say that it must be more miserable to become better. We say that America is infinitely less fortunate and happy than America ought to be with her natural resources and mechanical skill. We say that for our unmechanical poverty and oppression there can be but one remedy, and that remedy the effective organization of the workers with hand and brain, economically and politically.

"The facts cry out to us for action. The spirit within our hearts bids us go ahead. It is within the power of the men and women who celebrate this May Day to make 1928 a turning point in the history of the labor movement and of the Socialist Party."

Warsaw.—Five persons were killed and nearly 100 wounded here in a bloody battle between Socialists and Communists at the May Day celebration. About 30,000 Socialists gathered in the Opera Square. A group of Communists managed to get into the centre of the Socialist assemblage and at once started to make speeches, hurling defiance at the adversaries. When the Socialist militia attempted to restore order, a Communist Deputy, M. Sokhinski, drew a revolver. This was the signal for a general fight in which hundreds of shots were fired from both sides. Indescribable panic followed and the square emptied in a few minutes.

After putting the Communists and restoring order before the arrival of the police, the Socialists formed a parade, marching through the streets in orderly fashion.

### 150,000 PARADE IN VIENNA

Vienna.—The Socialist May Day demonstration, in which 150,000 participated, was marked by complete preservation of order. Marching into the inner city over the city's radial streets, the masses assembled before City Hall and listened to Socialist leaders who, after the reiteration of demands for international solidarity of the workers, voiced condemnation of Great Britain's latest note to Egypt and to Premier Mussolini's Fascist activities.

Then, following a parade around the Ring-Strasse, the people returned to their homes.

### 100,000 MARCH IN PRAGUE

Prague, Czechoslovakia.—The three Socialist parties celebrated May Day with parades and mass meetings in which more than 100,000 persons participated. The parades took more than four hours to pass a given point. Fifty bands provided music. The parades were comparatively orderly.

### 250,000 MARCH IN BERLIN

Berlin.—Berlin Socialists and members of trades unions with innumerable bands and banners marched to the beautiful Treptow Park. It was filled by more than 250,000 men, women and children long before noon.

The exercises at the park consisted of a number of speeches repeated by a dozen loud-speakers in every part of the large grove. The principal orator, Herr Orthmann, President of the Alliance of Trade Workers, amid vociferous applause, proclaimed the campaign slogans of the labor organizations to be:

"For progress and against reaction, for the Republic and against the Monarchy, for world peace and against Nationalist hatred, and for a universal eight-hour workday."

Mexico City.—More than 50,000 working men and women passed in review down the Avenida Juarez to the Plaza of the Constitution before perhaps more than 100,000 spectators, in celebration of May Day.

### Coop Cattle Sales In Chicago Over \$50,000,000 Mark

Chicago.—After battling 6 years against both direct and indirect opposition by commission houses and other foes the Farmers Union Live Stock Commission has rolled up its cattle sales on the Chicago stockyards public market to more than \$50,000,000. This Farmers Union established the Chicago selling agency in May 1922 after successful experience with its first cooperative yard in Omaha.

The \$50,000,000 total of cattle sales in Chicago represents over 500,000 head of cattle. These came chiefly from union members in Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Missouri. The shipment that boosted the sales figure to \$50,000,000 was from Skroove Bros. at Jackson, Minn.

## Belgian Socialist Congratulates Party On Its Convention

### Longville Sees Rapid Conquest of Power by American Socialist Movement

By Franz Longville

(Comrade Longville brought the greetings of the Belgian Labor Party to the recent national convention of the Socialist Party).

IT WAS my good fortune to be able to attend the National Convention of the Socialist Party and to follow its work through all of its sessions. I have found in it, as one can imagine, much food for thought and speculation.

I think that there are, in the present situation, many reasons to believe in a rapid progression of the Socialist Party in the political life of the U. S. A. which will bring to a end the hegemony of the two old parties. The ultimate result of this evolution will be that these two parties will fall into each others' arms, representing a united front of economic and social conservative forces against the party of all those who work with hand or brain for a living.

Indeed, I may be greatly mistaken, but I do not see any essential difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. They are in tactics, policy and economical and social outlook, exactly alike. Their respective members have the same ways of thought, of living, the same religion that deeply divides the bourgeois parties in certain European countries. Their economic interests are based upon the exploitation of the wage workers and the maintenance of the capitalist system. I am not unaware that certain questions, as the tariff, for instance, form opposing groups, but the defenders and the opponents of this question can be found in both parties, and this is, consequently, not a line of demarcation between them.

I know, further, that they use, (with success, alas!) a certain opportunistic and demagogic election game whereby planks of the platform must be opposite from those of the other party. But I also know that the promises and the program are readily forgotten after the dupes are fooled. The growth of a strong, active, Socialist movement will soon clarify this position by bringing more tension in political life, a more critical attitude to the masses, and finally an end to the different labeling of exactly the same politics and politicians.

### Workers and Intellectuals

There is another general observation that I should like to make. The Socialist parties of Europe are, in their inception and formation, parties of manual workers with a few gifted intellectual leaders. The professional workers—the so-called liberal professions—have never been willingly accepted into the movement. There existed always an instinctive mistrust of them, also motivated by the tendency of many socialist-minded intellectuals to neglect or underestimate minor Socialist reforms, although of great importance for underpaid and politically untrained workers. Their betrayal and desertion of the Party, especially in France, also strengthened this feeling.

At present, when the Socialist parties in many countries are exerting a decidedly important influence in the State and have their representatives in many executive offices, the lack of intellectuals in the party; the lawyer, the engineer, the physician, etc., is a very serious handicap for the realization of its constructive policy, and postpones indefinitely its coming to power. One can not simply dismiss this question by arguing that politics are directed by the bankers. Let us try to visualize what it would mean if the engineer and the salaried director, working

for stupid, parasitical and dictatorial owners, came to the realization that their work, if executed for the common good it would render themselves and others more happy, would give them more social consideration and thus moral satisfaction; if the physician and the biologist came to the conviction that a saner race and a healthier and happier life would be possible for millions of people, if the capitalist motive in society was taken away.

Briefly, if many others of the professional workers came to the conclusion through their scientific, emotional or rational interest that participation in the Socialist movement is the only way to secure for the largest number possible, a fuller and richer life in a society based upon social justice and co-operation, what a formidable strengthening would that not mean for our struggle?

### The Candidates

If we accept the foregoing, we must do it without any futile and harmful comparison of the relative importance of the manual workers and professional men for the movement. It is as harmful as discussing the significance of the trade union movement and the political movement for the labor movement. Both are indispensable for a real mass movement of the workers.

I am of the belief that the Socialist Party in the U. S. A. which has not the same past, will not have the same problem. But the excesses of an uncultured, ruthless and tactless plutocracy, the get-rich spirit, the rigidity and deadly uniformity of social beliefs, will lead here to a bigger and more active participation of intelligent professional men and women in a movement which is bound to bring higher ethical and moral values. The national convention, as compared with similar conventions in Europe, is already an example of how widely varied the attraction of socialist principles manifests itself. It means for the Socialist movement in America an asset and a promise of vast importance.

One more word. I can not stop writing without mentioning the memorable manifestation of Tuesday afternoon, where the Party candidates for the Presidential election were nominated. The enthusiasm and the joy of the delegates showed what a place the candidates take in the hearts of all those present, and what sincere admiration they command as flagbearers in the struggle for emancipation of the workers of America and the world.

Senator Borah is convinced that the voters will "demonstrate that the Republican party belongs to neither crooks nor cowards". Well, it's a piece of property we have no desire to possess.

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# WHY I AM A SOCIALIST

"The Princeton Alumni Weekly," a few weeks before he was nominated for the presidency, asked Norman Thomas to tell why he is a Socialist. Mr. Thomas complied with the following article, which appeared in the April 6th issue of the college weekly. Since the nomination of Thomas by the Socialist party, the journal of the college of Woodrow Wilson has expressed its "pride" at the honor done the institution by the Socialist Party.

By Norman Thomas  
(Socialist Candidate for President)

SOME years ago the esteemed Princetonian, if memory serves me, referred to me as "Princeton's most distinguished Socialist." It must be admitted that there is not very heavy competition in the class. And I suppose that the Editor of the Alumni Weekly is warranted in a certain curiosity as to the reasons why one who had the good fortune to be born in no less a town than Marion, Ohio, to have known the eminent Warren Gamaliel Harding, and later to have sat at the feet of Woodrow Wilson in Princeton itself, should have wandered as far from the fold. Well, even in an age of confessional literature, of tabloid psychologists and psycho-analytic biographers, I must disappoint the Editor, the readers, and a possibly palpitant psychological department of the University by acknowledging my inability to reveal those hidden springs of action which turned a more or less reputable clergyman into a Socialist.

Likewise I must disappoint the Department of Economics by telling its learned professors at the very beginning that I shall not furnish them with arguments in behalf of the Marxian theory of value and surplus value and other points of the pure Marxian word for them to attack to the edification of future bond salesmen innocent of first-hand acquaintance with any of Marx's voluminous works. I am too much an admirer of the real services of Karl Marx to want to honor him by a theological orthodoxy which, to tell the truth, I have never professed.

To give a blunt answer to the question wherewith this article begins, I am a Socialist because in our modern world it seems to me that Socialism affords our best hope of utilizing our immense resources of material and skill so as to abolish poverty and the terrible insecurity of the workers, reduce the menace of war, and increase the measure of freedom and fraternity in our world. Socialism, as I hope to make it clear, is no infallible panacea, but it does afford our best hope of comparatively peaceful progress toward that fellowship of freemen which is the only Utopia worth while. Socialism may perhaps be called that may correctly be called revolutionary. Yet the more widespread is the acceptance of its point of view, the more likely are we to escape that violence which heretofore has popularly been associated with the notion of revolution.

Let us begin by examining the situation in which we find ourselves. However much we may differ on many things we shall probably agree that only today or yesterday at the earliest, after the long millennium of man's life on this planet has he acquired the technical skill, the command over the forces of nature, the physical power to produce enough and to spare for all his children upon the face of the earth. From the first dawn of human life, poverty has been principally due to man's imperfect knowledge of natural forces. For unnumbered generations he wrestled for a living with a capricious and often unfriendly Nature armed only with the power of his own hands and the muscles of the few animals he had been able to domesticate, aided by a very imperfect utilization of the weight of falling water on primitive mill wheels and of the winds of heaven to sail his boats and turn his mills. That was all. Today it has been estimated that each of us Americans has the equivalent of the labor of more than thirty slaves in the energy of steam, electricity and internal combustion engines. The energy thus available for the work of men is increasing by leaps and bounds. It is applied to machinery of marvellous ingenuity. The long age of Marikham's "Man With the Hoe" is gone forever. It is possible that the pressure of population upon food supply may bring about a new age of poverty. That pressure does not exist today if the world is taken as a unit, and the decline of the birth rate and the increasing knowledge of scientific birth control gives some hope that this ultimate danger may be avoided.

In other words, the old excuse of the classical philosophers for human slavery no longer exists. The bitter toll of the many is not the necessary basis for the culture of the few. In the words of Professor Simon Patten we have passed from a necessary "pain economy" to a possible "pleasure economy" as a basis for civilization. Yet how far we are even in "prosperous" America from the abolition of poverty. With all our machinery and with all the natural energy at our disposal we do not produce enough really to banish poverty even were we to distribute what we produce by a system more equitable than that under which 1 per cent of the receivers of income obtain 20 per cent of the national income; 10 per cent receive 40 per cent of the total income, while the poorest 25 per cent receive only 3 1-2 per cent.

For this state of affairs there are today only two possible explanations. One blames our fate on human nature; the other upon the inadequacy of human ideals and institutions. The first is popular because it gives men an excuse for enjoying whatsoever advantages they may have. In a day when to read the American Mercury is the mark of membership in the modern intelligentsia it is no longer fashionable to affirm that this

"Socialism.....is a movement of men, not of supermen....Nowhere except in the Socialist movement do I find any heartening answer to that great challenge of our day and generation: how shall we, men of all races and nations, forced by development of our machine civilization into dependence upon one another, work out our destiny in terms of world-wide fellowship instead of exploitation and strife." —NORMAN THOMAS

is the best of possible worlds. But one may without any strain on the intellect or any demand upon energy or will declare that it is the best of possible worlds and go about his own business or pleasure with a sense of intellectual superiority. Here I have space only to remark that this dogma of the incapacity of men to control for social advantage the machinery they have had the wit to create is as unscientific and as yet unproved as the optimistic faith of early radicals in the "infinite perfectability" of human nature. At the very least we should not adopt it without further examination into social institutions and ideals. The madness of our civilization may arise less from our unalterable biological inheritance than from the system-political and economic—under which we live, a system which lags behind the demands of our interdependent society.

I am aware that to speak of a capitalist or any other system is to invite the scorn of those who insist that in the changing process of our economic life there is no rigorous system. There is truth in the argument. Certainly Ricardo or Adam Smith would not recognize the child of their economic dogmas. Men are still trying to justify economic practices by an almost religious faith in, let us say, the "automatic working" of those markets with which they themselves spend many of their working hours rather successfully intermingled. Nevertheless there is a sense in which we can describe the capitalist system as characterized by an emphasis upon private ownership of property for power and the operation of that ownership for the profit of the owners. This is a system which has played its part in human history—a part nowhere more sincerely eulogized than in the famous Communist Manifesto itself. But whatever the historic necessity for capitalism, it is not today giving men the bread, the security, the peace, the freedom, the brotherhood which they have a right to expect.

## Serious Problems of Unemployment and Old Age

Those of you who have had the patience to follow me thus far will not demand of me that I take much space to prove how much tragic poverty still persists among us. Mr. Hoover's estimate of an average annual wage for American workers of \$1,280 is not only insufficient

on the average to maintain the minimum budgets of health and decency which have been set forth by various authorities, but implies a tragic amount of suffering for the large group below this average.

Even worse than the suffering caused by routine conditions of poverty is the misery of insecurity due to unemployment and old age. In the best of times there is a reserve of one million unemployed in the United States. We are so callous, so indifferent to our social responsibilities that we do not have adequate figures whereby we can check up unemployment in dull times like the present. To recurring cycles of unemployment due primarily to under-consumption (or, if you like, to the Foster-Catchings "dilemma of thrift") we have the present unemployment due to the great increase in the productive efficiency of machinery. Now, as from the very beginning of the machine age, the under-dog pays the bitter cost of these improvements in machinery which in the long run benefit society. Society compensates him with meager and contemptuous charity. As for old age, the estimate that one-third of the population sixty-five years old and upwards is dependent upon some form of charity in prosperous America suggests that for the workers the evening of life has a terror past any eloquence of a Cicero or a Browning to assuage. Even the charity of children is no adequate substitute for independence for the man with, perhaps, some years of vigor still before him, but no job and no pension. It is one of the worst reproaches on our American civilization that neither for unemployment nor old age have we applied such alleviation as the present system would permit. Our failure is part of the ethical and humanitarian price exacted by our individualistic capitalism.

A still more dreadful indictment of our existing institutions is the constant menace of war inherent in that union of capitalism and nationalism which brings forth imperialism and out of imperialism rivalry war itself. Lack of space must again excuse dogmatic assertion. The new attitude of the United States toward foreign problems, the shifting emphasis on the relative importance of "liberty" and "law and order" in the territories of our neighbors, our repeated military intervention in the Caribbean countries, in short, our general imperialism, is due to the fact that we are today a creditor

nation busily engaged in the quest of markets for goods, sources of supply for the investment capital which piles up in the hands of the relatively few people at a time when the many cannot buy enough to maintain a proper standard of comfort. The religion of nationalism makes it easy to persuade the exploited themselves to fight the battles of the investors whose adventurous dollars have got in trouble abroad. I do not mean that any considerable class of men deliberately wills war, at least not large scale wars. They do not desire that imperialism out of which war arises.

## Diogenes and His Searchlight

It is scarcely necessary to elaborate the statement that men under our present system do not enjoy freedom and brotherhood. I know that it is customary to attack Socialism as the foe of individual liberty. It is quite true that the problem of the relation of the individual to society will not be automatically solved by Socialism. But it is not the champions of the present order who have a right to pose as the defenders of liberty in a society where property is so much better defended than life, and where freedom is too generally the possession of the man who is strong enough to take it for himself. The regimentation of ideas thru a property-controlled press and the economic fear under which most workers live, whether they wear overalls or white collars, make real freedom an almost non-existent commodity. Diogenes might find an honest man with a lantern. He would have to look for a free man with a searchlight in our modern age. As for brotherhood in other than a sentimental Y. M. C. A. sense, that is denied by the very nature of a system based on

The good old rule, the ancient plan That he should take who has the power, And he should keep who can. Kindness there is among us and charity. Yes, and a capacity for brotherhood but not the reality of that "fellowship which is life."

These failures of our civilization in spite of its tremendous mechanical competence are, I repeat, the natural consequence of the economic principles and their corresponding ethical ideas on which we operate. They are inherent in the system and not excrescences on it. Take, for example, Stuart Chase's brilliant study of "The Tragedy of Waste." No one

has yet shown how we can eliminate the waste of idle men, the waste of the production of "illth" rather than wealth, the waste of uncoordinated industry, the waste of idle men, the waste of the prodigious resources, without a profound modification of our system of private ownership of basic resources and their operation for private profit.

What do the Socialists propose to do about this situation? In Socialism as in every great historic movement there are divergencies of opinion and ideas between Socialists and Communists, principally on the important question of method and tactics. In general, however, Socialists propose to bring about as rapidly as possible the social ownership of land, natural resources and the principal means of production, thereby abolishing the possibility of the existence of any class on an income derived not from work but from ownership. This does not necessarily mean that no man will have a home that he can call his own. His right will rest on use and not on a title deed. The rental value of land belongs to society and not to the individual. Socialism would end the monstrous and absurd injustice under which generations of men and women can live in luxury without useful labor of any sort because they are wise enough to pick an ancestor who in his day had been clever enough to pick, let us say, a farm in New York City or near which some six million people now have to live. This is a criticism not of individuals but of the social system which heretofore has been collectively tolerated. Socialists unlike single taxers object not merely to economic dynasties founded on ownership of land and natural resources but to similar dynasties founded on the ownership of stocks and bonds passed from generation to generation by inheritance. They do not expect to abolish them with the stroke of the pen or of the sword.

The experience of Russia is not, as the Communists believe, a norm to which the experience of every other country must conform. Each country has its own traditions and its own economic situation. Nevertheless there is a great deal to be learned from the Russian experiment—a great deal, I believe, that is encouraging. But among other things the Russian experiment, no less than the experience of Socialist parties in Western Europe which have got some degree of power, shows clearly that not even the most cataclysmic

mic revolution can create overnight those habits of mind and that social machinery necessary to the successful functioning of a new social order. Intelligent Socialists do not expect to reach Utopia by one leap. Indeed, they do not envisage any static Utopia wherein all social problems will have been satisfactorily solved for however many million years life may last upon this planet.

## Importance of Averting War

Reflections upon the World War, moreover, and upon the even more disastrous consequences of new world wars have made most Socialists aware of the supreme importance of averting such disaster. They like to think of Socialism as the alternative to the imperialism wars which capitalism left to itself inevitably brings forth. This does not mean that most Socialists are complete pacifists. It means that they are profoundly anxious to avert the wholesale madness of war with its incalculable consequences. If they must fight at all they prefer, if possible, to fight in defense of rights otherwise won against the counter-revolutionary violence of a class unwilling to be dispossessed by any process whatsoever.

The means by which Socialists hope to make progress include the organization of labor industrially through labor unions, of the power of consumers thru consumers cooperatives and of citizens thru a labor party. The reliance of Socialism is upon the working class, not because of peculiar virtues possessed by the working class but because it is peculiarly in its interest to end exploitation and waste. The class struggle may not be as simple or clear-cut as some Socialist agitators have supposed. It is, nevertheless, a fact of history. But it is also a fact of history that very valuable sympathy and leadership have been given to the exploited classes down through the ages by men of more favored groups to whom justice and the ultimate good of society are dearer than any immediate class interest of their own. The hope of peaceful and intelligent progress depends in large degree upon increasing the number of these men and women who thus transcend class lines.

When, therefore, Socialists in the United States as in England speak of a labor party they do not confine its membership to industrial or agricultural workers. They welcome all those who

will honestly strive for Socialist ideals. Indeed, we American Socialists are willing to throw in our lot with a labor party even before it is ready to adopt a thorough-going Socialist philosophy believing that such a party must move, if it moves at all, in the direction in which Socialists would go.

Nothing in our American life seems to me more important than the formation of a vigorous labor party. It is as pioneer, prophet and teacher of those who some day will form that party that the American Socialist Party finds its chief function. Even conservatives who still have some faith in democratic political processes should, I think, welcome a party with ideals and a program. Our present two-party system lives on the strength of organization rather than of principle. Both parties belong to the same general set of masters who pay their bills. It is their business to obscure issues and to amuse and distract the people. It would appear that we select residents as we select jurors on the ground that they have no opinions that can be discovered. The senior Senator from New York was once the Republican Mayor of Ann Arbor, Michigan. He is now the Democratic Senator from New York and all he ever changed was his address. This is characteristic of the two parties which fight only for office.

## The Socialists' Immediate Objectives

What we need, what the Socialist Party seeks to supply, is organized disciplined intelligent action in cities, states and nation through a party based consciously on the interests of the great producing masses. Certain immediate issues are ready to hand:

1. Our party will stand resolutely against imperialism and for international cooperation. It will oppose the collection of private debts in weaker nations by the arms of stronger nations. It will consciously seek peace.
2. It will stand for a wider and fuller measure of civil liberty, for the right to organize, for the reform of our judicial procedure which works such gross hardship on the poor and exalts property above life, and especially for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.
3. It will urge social insurance against unemployment and old age, not only for humanitarian reasons but as a condition of effective labor organization.
4. It will seek to use taxation to promote social justice. It will sharply increase inheritance taxes and super-taxes on income. It will advocate lower tariffs for international as well as national reasons.
5. It will earnestly and vigorously seek to put in operation a progressive system for the acquisition and democratic or functional control of natural monopolies and basic industries beginning with coal and super power which for varying reasons especially demand nationalization at this time. The principle to be followed here is that which J. A. Hobson, has ably expounded; namely, that we should proceed to take over those economic processes in which already the engineer is more important than the entrepreneur. The real social revolution, as Vobien pointed out, will come when engineers and administrators work for society as they now work for absentee owners.

Such are some of the immediate issues. But beyond any immediate program lies the necessity of a philosophy of life. We need to oppose the rather shabby capitalist religion of Babbitt and the Rotary Clubs with a higher religion of intelligent cooperation in the use of the world's wealth for the abolition of poverty and war and the realization of freedom and brotherhood. So great a task outruns the life of one generation or the functions of any political party. The party or the movement which undertakes it will often falter and fail. Socialism as an organized movement here and abroad is a movement of men, not of supermen. It has its own disappointments and failures, but nowhere except in the Socialist movement do I find any heartening answer to that great challenge of our day and generation: how shall we, men of all nations and races, forced by the development of our machine civilization into dependence upon one another work out our destiny in terms of world-wide fellowship instead of exploitation and strife.

# Exiled Leaders of Italian Socialism Make May Day Vows to Destroy Fascist System

By Claudio Treves

THERE are persons who, having seen in some comic paper the figure of Uncle Sam, with his chin whiskers and his stovepipe hat, or the figure of a Neapolitan street arab eating his macaroni without a fork, as in Murillo's famous picture, think themselves qualified to form an opinion about Americans or about Italians in general. And alas! the superficial commonplaces which such persons deal out go a long way in forming what is called public opinion, but is often nothing but public prejudice.

I think therefore that it is high time to say very clearly, in an American journal such as the New Leader, that nothing could be farther from the truth than the conception of Italian Fascism which has been set forth by certain business men and so-called intellectuals in the United States.

They think that the rise of Fascism was simply a revolt of bourgeois individualism against the communism which threatened to stifle all freedom of human personality—and that in the country whose whole history has been, so to speak, one great flood of personality, from Romulus down to Marconi—Well, that formula is false, through and through.

There were no more disorders in Italy after the war than there were in Germany at the same period. The "terrible" Italian strikes did not cause the loss of one-tenth as many work-days as did the British miners' lockout of 1925. The Italian railways were running very badly; but this was due much less to strikes than to the lack of coal, in place of which lignite and even peat was being used. Even the occupation of factories never had a revolutionary character; and at the end of the occupation the workers, being obliged to pay damages, had to give up, in the majority of cases, only from five to ten per cent of the wages which were paid them for work done during the occupation.

Never, never would the "menaced individualism" of the Italian bourgeoisie have led to the complete sweeping away of all organization of labor, of all democratic organization, even of all Liberal or Catholic organization that did not rally to Fascism, but for the fact that, at the start, the government threw into the balance the weight of its by no means individualistic intervention. Mr. Giolitti was responsible for this initial error—the governmental support of the savage reaction of the Italian savagians, who have that same slaveholder's mentality with which Lincoln had to deal. It is Mr. Giolitti himself who, a

few weeks ago, made statements in the Chamber which conclusively prove (what Mr. Salandra had said, much more courageously, almost three years before) that the Italian bourgeoisie made the most colossal fool's bargain in all Italian history, when it let loose the most barbarous invasion which has trodden Italian soil for many centuries.

What misleads Americans is the purely external resemblance between the savagery of the Italian reaction and the harshness of American social struggles. But while in America it is a question of excessive individualism in the development of the youngest of all civilized countries, in Italy, on the contrary, it is a question of the throttling of individualism by a band of Pretorians—or, if you prefer, of Pinkertons.

They seek to strangle the trade-unionist and cooperative organization of Italian labor, which is in fact, here as everywhere a great movement to elevate the individuals of the working classes by united effort. But the brigands who were commissioned to carry out this suppression, refused to lay down their arms after "order was restored." Turning against these who had hired them the weapons which had been so freely given out, they have seized power and held it, in an ever more oligarchic manner, by an increasing terrorism, following only the suggestions of their own interests as a minority, organized on military lines and quartered upon the country.

They know their game well enough carefully to present to the outside world the disguise of "saviors of the nation," so as to get from the "respectables" as much sympathy and as much money as possible. But within the country, Capitalism itself cannot long accommodate itself to such a regime. It needs free struggle, it needs discussion, it needs individual development, in order to produce better and to consume more. Fascism opposes all this. It is not modern capitalism; it is a backward movement of capitalism toward all that it has formerly had to get rid of in order to flourish.

Modern capitalism makes a policy of high wages; Socialism has need of high wages; Fascism pretends to lift Italy out of its economic crisis by means of wage-cutting and anti-socialism. Fascism is therefore the enemy both of modern capitalism and of Socialism—the two great social forces of our age. It will be destroyed by both.

Let this be proclaimed loudly and clearly in the United States on May Day of this presidential year.

By G. E. Modigliani

IT is almost a "crime against the state" that you are inciting, comrades of the New Leader, when you invite an Italian Socialist to participate with you in the celebration of the First of May. You must know that this powerful Fascism was stricken this day out of the Italian civil calendar. All the workers who meet secretly in Italy to observe the First of May do so at the risk of being dragged before the respectable Special Tribunal, which guards the "safety" of the state.

In place of the First of May, Fascism has decreed that the holiday of labor shall be celebrated on April 21, the fabulous anniversary of the foundation of Rome. By this provision, Fascism aims to set its class nationalism in dramatic opposition to proletarian internationalism. It wishes to suppress the great words of Karl Marx: "Workersmen of all countries, unite!"

What Utopianism of reaction! In all free countries the days consecrated to the nation or to religion can be celebrated without excluding the observance of Labor's day, the First of May. This holiday stands side by side with those others as a symbol of the autonomy of the working class. In free states the social consciousness of all the various groupings can find expression without conflict and without ostracism. Only in Fascist Italy does the state, in its tyrannical "militarism" try to prohibit the workers of city and country from associating themselves with those of other lands on this day of the universal communion of labor.

Fascism flatters itself that by arbitrary decrees it can conquer a movement which has its roots in the very nature of capitalist society—a movement which, growing out of and standing in opposition to international capitalism, comprehends the highest and most universal ideals of humanity: Justice, Peace, Liberty.

By common decision of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist and Labor International, this May Day of 1928 is specially dedicated to the defence of the eight-hour day. It is a question of repelling the British attack, launched at Geneva, against the Washington Convention. But was not Italy one of the signers of that convention? And have not Italian workers the same right as all others to demand the eight-hour day?

No April 21 can prevent the First of May affirming the united interests of the workers of the whole world against capitalist exploitation. The First of May calls out to all the workers across fron-

tiers guarded by armies and by diplomacy. That is why, wherever there are free Italians—emigrants and exiles—they participate with enthusiasm in the celebration of May Day. And those who are sequestered in Italy listen eagerly with heart and spirit to catch the echo of the proletarian demonstrations in the Old World and the New.

The voice which comes to them from afar is to them a comforting and joyous promise of emancipation, which fills their souls with new hope.

## MAY DAY GREETING

By William Kohn

WE live in the greatest period of the Machine Age and on this May Day, celebrated by a large group of workers as the universal day of International solidarity and hope, we can do no better than to take stock.

The wonders of man's creative ability applied to the gifts of nature, overwhelm us each day with newer and greater inventions and discoveries. Labor saving machines crowd one another in their appearance on the industrial field. Science displaces our need of sole reliance upon nature's supply of many things. Man has learned to wing his way over the vast spaces of the earth with such rapidity that Verne's fabulous story of "Around the World in Eighty Days" is today just a story of a snail's progress around the globe. A hundred million souls or more listen to the weak voice of mortal man and hear it as distinctly (barring static)

May Day Greetings

from

NEWARK LOCAL  
FINNISH BRANCH

2 Mitchell Street

WEST ORANGE, N. J.

WAINO RASANEN, Sec'y.

May Day Greeting

ARBEITER KRANKEN & STERBEKASSE

BR. 155, NEW BROOKLYN,  
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

May Day Greetings from

Finnish Socialist Local of Rockport, Mass.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, Secretary.

May Day Greetings

Ladies' Tailors, Custom Dressmakers  
THEATRICAL COSTUMES AND ALTERATION WORKERS

107 West 46th Street, New York City

DORIS DRASIN, Secretary

LUIGI REA, Chairman

Heartiest Greetings to the

WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

Young People's Socialist League of Detroit

CELIA LOUISE BERLIN, Secretary

May Day Greetings

No. 343 Red Banner Branch of the Socialist Party  
1644 Genesee Street, Buffalo, N. Y.  
Meets at LABOR LYCEUM HALL

Tuesday of Each Month

EDWARD FELSMAN, Secretary



# THE BANKS BURY THE ANTI-TRUST LAW

By Louis Stanley

THE banks have just won a quiet but effective victory in obtaining almost a free hand in the formation of interlocking directorates. By announcing the formal regulations on April 16, 1928, the Federal Reserve Board put into practice the Interlocking Directorates Law that was slipped through Congress last month. The act of November 9, 1928 practically completes the nullification of the anti-trust provisions of the Clayton Anti-trust Law. Section 8 of the latter stated that:

1. No person shall at the same time be a director or officer of or employee of more than one bank, banking association or trust company, organized or operating under the laws of the United States, either of which has deposits, capital, surplus, and undivided profits aggregating more than \$5,000,000.

2. No private banker or person who is a director in any bank or trust company, organized and operating under the laws of a State, having deposits, capital, surplus, and undivided profits aggregating \$5,000,000, shall be eligible to be a director in any bank or banking association organized or operating under the laws of the United States.

3. No bank, banking association or trust company, organized or operating under the laws of the United States, in any city or incorporated town or village of more than 200,000 inhabitants shall have as a director or other officer or employee any private banker or employee of another bank, banking association or trust company located in the same place.

4. These provisions shall not apply when the entire capital stock of one bank or trust company is owned by the other.

## The Banks Grow Restless

What the intention of Congress in 1914 was is perfectly clear from the text. The legislators meant to forbid interlocking directorates involving substantial banking institutions. Section 8 of the Clayton Act was forced upon the Pujo Committee in 1912 and 1913. The Money Trust was revealed in all its iniquitousness. A subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, headed by Representative Arsene P. Pujo, of Louisiana and containing but one eastern member, were directed by resolutions of the House of Representatives to inquire into reports relative to the concentration of control of money and credit in the United States. Hampered by the refusal of the banks to supply pertinent information and the sabotage of President Taft in failing to direct the Comptroller of the Currency to assist the investigators, the Pujo Committee, nevertheless, unearthed enough material to make the country sit up. It was found that the control of money and credit was in the hands of an inner group consisting of J. P. Morgan & Co., George F. Baker, James Stillman, First National City, National Bank of Commerce, Chase National, Guaranty Trust and Bankers Trust. Allied with this inner circle were Lee, Higginson, Kidder, Peabody, Kuhn, Loeb. In Chicago the associates of the inner group were the First National Bank and the Illinois & Savings Bank.

The chief means of control exercised by this Money Trust were interlocking directorates. The committee drew up elaborate charters illustrating this point. So overwhelming was the evidence that when the amendment of the Sherman Anti-trust Law came up for discussion, the Democratic Administration, laboring under the illusion of Woodrow Wilson's "New Freedom", inconveniently forgot the trust, financial and industrial alike, by inserting Section 8 into the Clayton Act. The banks chafed under the restrictions and the corporation lawyers had to cook up all kinds of legal subterfuges to evade the law. Needless to say, the banks have retained their control, albeit as our Wall Street Spider-Web Chart in the New Leader of March 31 showed. The bankers, aided by the Federal Reserve Board, bided their time and when public attention was directed to European conflict, they made their first raid upon Section 8 of the Clayton Act. On May 15, 1916 the so-called Kern Amendment was enacted into law. It removed the absolute prohibition upon interlocking di-

rectorates contained in the 1914 law by permitting interlocking directorates among as many as three banks or trust companies that were "not in substantial competition" with each other. The judge of the state of competitive conditions was to be the Federal Reserve Board, the centralizing agency in the Federal Reserve Banking System. With so much of a gain accomplished it was but an easy step to clear the ground for the private bankers, like J. P. Morgan & Co. On May 26, 1920 another amendment was made to Section 8, including private bankers in the exemptions under the Kern Amendment.

## The Reserve Board to the Front

Though the bankers had thus far secured wide latitude in the formation of interlocking directorates, they were not at all satisfied. The Federal Reserve Board became their champion. A campaign to secure even greater liberty was inaugurated. It was claimed that banks that were members of the Federal Reserve System were penalized by the Clayton Act, even as amended, for banks operating under State laws were free to choose any directors they pleased. This, ran the argument, was an inducement for an institution to leave the Federal Reserve System and organize under the laws of a State. That this was largely a theoretic contention, was not pointed

out. Then, a pretty story was invented about banks which had obtained common directors when they were not in competition and which subsequently had become competitors and therefore, could no longer continue their interlocking directorates. They must have been strange banks, indeed, that could begin to compete with each other as a result of obtaining the same directors—a kind of game of solitaire! Finally, when the Attorney General handed down an opinion declaring that joint-stock land banks came under the terms of Section 8 of the Clayton Act, the Federal Reserve Board and the banks cried out that this was a gross injustice, since it placed a further check upon interlocking directorates involving banks that were members of the Federal Reserve System.

The upshot of the matter was that Congressmen became convinced that their leading contributors were suffering a grave harm. Pity the banks! Fortunately, the voters were in a complacent mood and thus the necessary relief could be put over swiftly, silently and painlessly. In the last Congress the trick was almost accomplished but the banks had to content themselves only with the McFadden Branch Banking Law, which made it possible for the banks operating under the national laws to spread over the face of the United States, driving fear into the hearts of the bankers in

smaller communities. But this Congress did its duty—the other amendments, too, had been passed in Presidential election years, just before the political campaign got under way. Representative McFadden steered his bill safely through the House. The Senate accepted the report of the legislation submitted by its Committee on Banking and Currency, which in turn had been presented by the corresponding committee of the House. It did not seem to make any difference to the Congressmen that every word of this report had been written by R. A. Young, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, a public body, which had taken it upon itself to protect the bankers. No hearings were held on the bill. The arguments of the head of the Federal Reserve System were accepted as gospel truth, although it was he who had the legislation introduced in response to the complaints of the bankers. His word was taken when he claimed the proposed law "would be of great benefit to the banking situation of the country"—whatever that means.

**What the Amendments Mean**  
The latest amendment to Section 8 of the Clayton Anti-trust Act makes these changes with regard to interlocking bank directorates:

1. The Federal Reserve Board may now grant permission for interlocking

directorates among three banks, where none of them is a member of the Federal Reserve System. Thus, joint-stock land banks may now have interlocking directorates with State non-member banks.

2. The Federal Reserve Board need no longer consider the competitive relations among the three banks that desire interlocking directorates. "Substantial competition" that might be curtailed is no longer the test. The Board may grant a permit, "if in its judgment it is not incompatible with the public interest to do so." What is good for the so-called "public interest" is all that matters of opinion.

What a far-cry this is from the original provision of the Clayton Anti-trust Law which placed an absolute prohibition upon interlocking directorates involving any number of banks. The Money Trust is stronger than ever but we have no Pujo Committee report to galvanize us into action. Let us not, however, bemoan our fate. The great capitalists and the bankers particularly will always have their way, because they own the government. The Clayton and the Sherman Anti-trust laws were both based upon middle class concepts. The advocates of this type of legislation believed that competition is the life of trade and that, therefore, competition had to be preserved. They were wrong and they are

wrong every year. Big Business thrives on the absence of competition. Big Businessmen will only agree to those laws that hamper the little fellow or establish rules of "fair" fighting that they are willing to enforce against each other. If legislation is placed upon the statute books upon the demand of the more numerous small businessmen, professionals and misguided workers, skillful lawyers will guide Big Business around and over the impediments.

The concentration of financial control can only be solved by nationalization of the banks. There was a time when coinage was a private enterprise, yet such a state of affairs is inconceivable today even by the most ardent advocate of private property. The postal savings system has become an integral part of our financial structure. The Federal System regulates the banks in order that they might not become afflicted with government ownership. It provides the machinery for nationalization. The banks control our industry and our agriculture. Interlocking directorates are but a means to that end. It will not be surprising to see more of the present restrictions lifted in the near future. The demand for the public ownership of the banks should be an important campaign issue.

## Brutality Runs Riot In Penn. Coal Fields

Emergency Committee Plans To Extend Aid To 100,000 More Families

PITTSBURGH.—Miners pleading with union organizers to be allowed to defend themselves and their wives against clubbing, charging, savage Pennsylvania state police; strikers, crazed by tear gas bombs, reeling from the picket lines; women herded like cattle into filthy county jails so crowded that they must sleep in shifts.

These are highlights in the "unparalleled reign of terrorism" sweeping through western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio mine fields. Dr. Harry F. Ward, Civil Liberties chairman, as immediately wired Governor Fisher of Pennsylvania urging him to stop the "lawless activities of the state police." Dr. Ward, directing that Civil Liberties investigators be sent to the Pittsburgh war area, declared that the Union would "back itself against the police for assault and false arrests if found feasible."

"Don't arrest the ———, club them," is the slogan under which state cossacks are operating now. When defiance of court injunctions through mass picketing brought mass arrests, jails filled to overflowing. Sheriff Braun of Allegheny County threw up the sponge and called for no more arrests. Since then clubs have replaced cells for participants in one of America's bloodiest and most dramatic labor struggles.

44 women relatives of strikers around St. Clairsville, O., told by national guard officers they could visit their men in Belmont County jail, filed in. Once in, they were locked in the women's section where they have been held without charges and unable to furnish bail. The 44 women, penned up in small cells built to accommodate only a dozen occupants, have barely space to move about and must sleep in 8-hour shifts. Five women are nursing their babies in jail.

Western Pennsylvania is reenacting scenes familiar to the Russia of the Czars, according to other reliable eyewitness accounts brought to New York by relief workers and union organizers. State troopers charging down the streets of mining camps clubbing all in sight, including business men. Tear gas bombing so common that it is expected in all mass picketing. Men carried off to jail in trucks. Country squires handing out operator justice. Roads into camps patrolled so that union speakers cannot get to meetings. Parades broken up and American flags trampled under horses' heels. All halls closed to strikers.

On the other hand are a hundred and one stories of how troops are outwitted, how meetings are held despite police edicts, how dispatches are run and the union army supplied and kept informed of the fast-moving battle waged over a line from Ohio to West Virginia.

Preparations to extend relief work to 100,000 destitute families of striking miners are being made by the Emergency Committee for Miners' Relief, Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. This is in addition to the 100,000 families already served.

The Relief Committee, a national non-partisan organization, is organizing a corps of doctors and nurses to go into the coal fields to take care of a rising tide of disease. A recent medical survey made by the Committee revealed that many of the strike camps are without doctors. State and county medical departments have found themselves unable to cope with the unusual conditions in the coal industry.

Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President of the United States, and a member of the Relief Committee said: "Helping these people is not a question of taking sides in their struggle. It is a simple recognition that unchecked hunger and disease may involve the whole community in plague. To check the horrible conditions reported by the Senate investigation in the coal country, is mere self defense on the part of the people of the country."

# Behind the French Election

By Jean Longuet

The French elections had not yet taken place when this article by one of the leaders of the French Socialist Party was written. The results—a victory of Poincaré, the return of the Socialist Party without increased or decreased strength, and the cutting of the Communist parliamentary group in half—tally exactly with the predictions of M. Longuet. His article will help our readers to understand the undercurrents that produced the final French election result.

Paris, 18th April.

WITHIN a short time the French people will utter its political verdict. In a large number of constituencies, however, this 22nd of April will not be decisive. "As everyone knows the district ballot (scrutin d'arrondissement) re-established for these elections, involves a second ballot, whenever no candidate has obtained an absolute majority of votes. This second ballot will take place on 29th April.

Without question this return to the district ballot means a political retrogression. With all its defects, proportional representation certainly provides a more perfected, more modern system, a system exactly representing the different sections of public opinion.

The Communists, like the reactionaries, frequently blame the Socialists for having helped in this retrogression. The fact is that our Party had no choice. Otherwise it would have had to uphold the fraudulent form of P. R. established by the law of 1919; this is the system giving advantages to an absolute majority (namely all seats to the list with one over half the total votes), and similarly to a relative majority (namely an unfair share to the list coming in at the top) with the disgraceful possibilities of applying the most ignominious manoeuvres against any candidate selected for elimination in this way, even when his party had given him the first or second place on the list (this was the lot of the writer in 1924). All these flaws in the law of 1919, and moreover the possibility of finding in the senate a majority for a real system of P. R. have

## The Communists' Contribution to The Return of Poincaré

compelled us, rather than accept the existing law, to go back to the ballot of "stagnant pools" as it was one day contemptuously called by M. Aristide Briand before he again became one of its keenest advocates.

### In The Campaign

It has at least one advantage for a poor party, with an organization still very weak compared with that of its colleagues in England, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and Scandinavia. It enables the intensive cultivation of a constituency, the personal action of a candidate, especially in the case of a well-known militant popular with the working-class, to proceed with a maximum of efficiency. For my own part, comparing as to the district of the Parisian suburbs where for nearly two months I have been waging the campaign, our action this year with that of 1924, I can note a considerable advance in this respect. In the eight divisions of my constituency which extend to the southern outskirts of Paris from the industrial city of Montrouge to the innumerable allotments of Antony, or to the wooded areas of Robinson (a spot frequented for dancing in summer time by students and employees) or up Chateaufort, Voltaire's birthplace, our eight branches of the Party, working in close contact are exerting a strong and penetrating propaganda influence which was certainly not within our reach in 1924.

From another angle it must be admitted that this form of ballot has a grave drawback for our Party. Under the system of the ballot for the list of a whole "department", we could direct our effort (in varying degrees, it is true) over the whole area of the department, so that the most developed centres used to help, out of the strength of their organization, the most backward rural constituencies.

In any case our Party has courageously faced its task; in 538 constituencies out of a total of some 600 our men have entered the campaign. Only the Communist party has made a greater effort, but one made easy for it by the financial subsidies received from the Comintern, which amount to 25 million francs in four years, if I am to believe the declarations just made by the former

in rallying to their support the immense majority of the audience—a feature which was not seen four years ago.

Moreover a curious phenomenon seems to be occurring. In the Parisian area where hitherto it was strongest, Bolshevism is visibly losing ground; in the other hand in this or that provincial department where in consequence of the breakdown of the old Cartel formations or of the ignorance of much of the electorate, inadequately guided by our too weak organizations, audiences allow themselves to listen to the sophistries of the Moscow agents, in such places it is possible and even very likely that the Communists will increase their poll. In a few very rare cases—if indeed there are any such—they may gain some seats: wherever that happens they will owe them, only, on the second ballot, to the transfer of votes by the Socialists, who, themselves in a minority, will vote for them, in order to block the way against reaction.

### Communist Disturbances Active

These difficulties have naturally been fully exploited by the Communist demagogues, who like machines well wound up, go about everywhere reciting the same tale, denouncing at meeting after meeting, every evening, the parliamentary votes given by our members, who in preventing manoeuvres by reaction and plutocracy, were frequently led in 1924-1925 to vote against resolutions ingeniously moved by these Communists and eagerly welcomed by the whole camp of reaction.

This notwithstanding, it may be said that our Socialist Party is everywhere equal to its task, especially in our Parisian localities, where in 1924 the Bolshevik poison had done such formidable mischief. In public meetings there have been systematic attempts at obstruction by Communist gangs, often largely consisting of very young people, ignorant and excited in temper, not electors, including unfortunate foreigners (mainly Italian) whose sufferings are cleverly exploited, and even natives of Algeria and Morocco whose political education is still obviously in its infancy; but in spite of these attempts, our speakers have succeeded everywhere in securing a hearty and, often in carrying the day and

in rallying to their support the immense majority of the audience—a feature which was not seen four years ago.

Moreover a curious phenomenon seems to be occurring. In the Parisian area where hitherto it was strongest, Bolshevism is visibly losing ground; in the other hand in this or that provincial department where in consequence of the breakdown of the old Cartel formations or of the ignorance of much of the electorate, inadequately guided by our too weak organizations, audiences allow themselves to listen to the sophistries of the Moscow agents, in such places it is possible and even very likely that the Communists will increase their poll. In a few very rare cases—if indeed there are any such—they may gain some seats: wherever that happens they will owe them, only, on the second ballot, to the transfer of votes by the Socialists, who, themselves in a minority, will vote for them, in order to block the way against reaction.

### Socialists Planned Cooperation

Indeed the Socialist Party at its last Extraordinary National Congress in Paris defined in a very lucid and definite manner its attitude as to the second ballot. It is in accordance with the tradition that the French workers have followed without interruption for the past half century. This attitude is, in the first ballot to stand for traditional socialism on the basis of the class-struggle; at the second ballot, in conformity with the constant doctrines of our leaders from Marx to Jaures, to vote against reaction for the candidate most fitted to defeat it whether he be radical or Communist.

On the other hand the Communist party, for the first time in its existence in France, has resolved to raise to the level of a permanent axiom the wonderful tactics which, at the last presidential elections in Germany enabled it to secure the election of Marshal Hindenburg. This is, as cannot be too often pointed out—a new feature. Doubtless it is a tactic imagined by some learned doctrinaires in the Kremlin, the results of which may be catastrophic, especially for the French Communist party itself. From 1921-1928, indeed, I.

# Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

## National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

## Moving Organizers to the Front

The National Office has placed Emil Herman in Minnesota for organization work and placing a ticket in the field. Comrade Magill is working Kansas. Comrade Farrington pitches his camp in Maine. As soon as funds permit, we will move a host of others into sections that need our organizing force. We hope to have organizers in the South covering the states of Florida, Georgia and Mississippi. We need at least two organizers in the southwest covering Oklahoma, Arkansas, New Mexico and Arizona. We need one or two organizers in the New England states. We must send a man into Colorado and Nebraska. We need a man in Delaware, North Carolina and Virginia. We need a man in the extreme northwest.

## Funds Urgently Needed

Every Socialist and friend can readily understand that this big work will need the support and cooperation of every comrade. In other words, a big Organization Fund. There is no time to lose. The force is ready and our duty is clear. We must furnish the dollars—and the time to do it is now. As funds arrive, we will order waiting organizers into the

front trenches. This is a tip to each and every comrade and friend who wishes to see our big plans carried out in full.

**Kirkpatrick to Make Trip**  
George R. Kirkpatrick is preparing to make a trip to the Pacific Coast, beginning with a meeting at St. Louis, on May 24. On the 25th and 26th he will probably speak at points in Kansas, places to be selected in the immediate future. On the 27th he is listed for Colorado Springs; 28th, Denver, Colo.; 29th, Salt Lake City, Utah; 30th, Ogden, and possibly Reno, Nevada, on the first of July.

**Minnesota**  
We are getting new contact with Socialists in Minnesota. There is a desire for reorganization of the party in this state, where at one time there was a strong farmer-labor movement. The old Socialists are desirous of reorganizing the Socialist Party again. Emil Herman is on the job. We hope to keep him or some other organizer in the state for some time. When Herman gets through with the work in Minnesota, there is lots of work in the Dakotas.

## Kentucky

Comrade Thobe in the eastern section and Wraith in the western section are on the job for the battle that will mean everyone doing what he can. They are working under a handicap, but with some substantial cooperation from the National Organization, a healthy membership can be built up and a full state ticket placed on the ballot.

## Kansas

Ross Magill is at his old tricks again—that is, getting new members. The membership is selecting nominees for the state ticket. There is a growing enthusiasm on the part of our members in Kansas. Magill is working under the direction of the National Office and is being financed by the office.

## Connecticut

The State Executive Committee met in New Haven Sunday, April 29. A charter for a new local was granted to a number of Socialists in West Haven.

The organization of Locals in Waterbury, Ansonia, and Stamford is expected in the near future.

The State Executive Committee voted to move the State office from Wallingford to New Haven where it will be more central.

Plans were made for holding the State Convention, June 23 and 24. The Convention will be held at Arden-Manner, near New Haven, Conn. Tickets can be obtained from W. E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Hamden, at \$1.00 each.

A committee was elected to draw up State platform and present it to the Convention for approval. Wm. J. Morgan, Louis A. Krali and M. F. Plunkett from the committee.

State organizer Jursek reported that Harry Laidler and himself expected to organize a Socialist Club or Local at Wesleyan University, Middletown. Helen Gilman, member of Local New Haven, who has been in Europe for the winter has returned. May Day meetings were held in Waterbury and New Haven, addressed by Wm. Feigenbaum and Karl Jursek.

## Utah

O. A. Kennedy, State Secretary, writes that his state movement is going forward and that a full state ticket will be in the field. He offers two good organizers for the National Office to place in other sections—Comrades Locke and Stoner of Salt Lake.

## New Jersey

To Party Members  
The time for filing the nominating petitions is growing short, and if you wish to have a ticket in the field this year it is absolutely necessary that you get busy on the petitions and get signatures there to, at once, and send them in to the State Office, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, no later than May 7.

After the trouble that we had to defeat the Powell Bill which would have disfranchised us, are you going to lay down on the job and defraichise yourself? Get busy. Get the necessary signatures on the petitions and send them in on time—Frederick A. Schwarting, State Secretary.

**Oklahoma**  
State Secretary Thomas L. Bule, Farry, is on the job. He asks for a list of Socialists in his state. This was done immediately. He also asks for funds to be used in building the movement and urges all the comrades in Oklahoma to report to him on selection of candidates and other matters in connection with party work right away.

## Iowa

Comrade McCrillis, State Secretary, notifies the National Office that the convention put new life in some of the Iowa Socialists and that he expects to organize the forces in Des Moines right away and get some activity started in several counties of the state.

## Texas

State Secretary Taylor writes the National Office that the membership is increasing, and he calls upon the National Office to help in building up the party. We hope the National Organization will be able to assist him in the near future.

## Massachusetts

**Boston**  
A mass meeting on Unemployment will be held at Faneuil Hall, Sunday, May 6, at 2:30 p.m. Speakers will include Sylvester J. McBride, Frank R. Crosswath, Joseph Bearak, and Alfred Baker Lewis.

**State Office Notes**  
Every Socialist who can write is urged to mail out copies of Berger's speech on Imperialism. Everyone can mail at least 100 to voters. The postage cost nothing. All you have to do is to address them. You can get as many as you can use up to 2000 by writing to the State Office, 21 Essex street, Boston.

**Maine**  
A new local has been formed at Lincolnville. Wendell F. Farrington has started in as organizer to put Maine on the Socialist map. His address is care of Wm. J. Randall, Freeport, Maine.

**Arizona**  
New life is manifested in Arizona. Laol Yuma sends in \$100.00 to let us know they are with us in the work of organizing and placing a ticket in every state. There are a number of live Socialists in Arizona. They should write the National Office of work they will be able to do for reorganizing the party.

## Pennsylvania

Norman Thomas in Lancaster  
Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for President, will lecture to the student body of Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster on Thursday, May 10. Socialists of Reading are planning to send a delegation to greet the standard bearer of the Socialist Party. It is planned to have as many automobiles as are available among members. The automobile arrangements are in charge of Organizer John A. Aulenbach.

## West Virginia

State Secretary Higgins sends a letter from the West Virginia office, in which he informs the state secretary that they will organize a new local with about fifty members. Secretary Higgins also writes that the work is being pushed forward all along the line, with new members coming in and new locals being organized.

## Florida

New members are signing up in Florida. In practically every letter from that state a desire is expressed for holding a state convention to reorganize the party. The Socialists of Florida expect to take part in the convention, select a ticket and reorganize the forces.

"The Socialists of Florida are now organizing and we are going to 'bust a hamstring' to get our ticket on the ballot. All Socialists in this State who wish to make arrangements for and to attend the Socialist Convention in Tampa, please write to J. D. Mitchell, Box 262, Mulberry.

I received my April 31 copy of The New Leader and read with much interest, every word, especially the nomination of Norman Thomas and "Jim" Maurer. I don't think the Socialist Party could have made much better selections than they have in these two men.—J. D. Mitchell.

## Wyoming

Young Nicodemus, of Cheyenne, one of the real live and capable Socialists of the west, has returned home from the National Convention and gives full promise that he will give the very best efforts to the building of the state movement, separate from the Rocky Mountain District. He asks cooperation from the National Organization.

## Alabama

Some of the tried and true comrades of southern Alabama are coming back to life and joining the party. There were quite a number of good workers in this state some years ago and we are hearing from them again.

## Louisiana

New contact is being made in Louisiana which shows a desire to have the ticket on the ballot. The election laws of this state are very stringent for a third party to get on the ballot but we must try.

## New York State

The State Executive Committee will meet at State headquarters, Albany, Sunday morning, May 6, at 10 o'clock, the meeting having been postponed one week for the better accommodation of the majority of the members. Consideration of the State Convention will be taken up in more detail, and committees on Rules, Platform, Constitution, etc., will be appointed. Questions raised by the new National Constitution adopted at the National Convention may have to be disposed of, and other important business considered. State Secretary Merrill asks that State Executive Committee members be on hand promptly at 10, and be prepared for two sessions.

**Buffalo**  
Local Buffalo reports that it is seeking ways and means to entertain the members of the National Executive Committee when that committee meets in Buffalo. An banquet will be held Saturday evening prior to the meeting.

State Secretary Merrill reports that update members of the Socialist Party are immensely pleased with the ticket nominated by the National Convention, if letters received at the State Office are any indication.

(Continued on Page 7)



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## UP IN THE AIR AND DOWN IN THE MOUTH

THERE'S one party that you mustn't miss. If you are anywhere in the vicinity of New York next week be sure and come to "The Blacklist Party" which is given under the auspices of the Nation magazine on the evening of May 9th at 8:30 o'clock at The Level Club, 253 West 73rd street. The admission to this affair is one dollar.

Invitations are being sent to all those dangerous and perfidious characters who have appeared on the Daughters of the American Revolution blacklist and on the sprightly bulletins sent out by the hard-working Freddy Marvin of The Key Men of America.

This is quite a list. If you are not on it, you ought to be, as most every regular guy in the country has been mentioned some time or another by one of these groups. So you come along and "crash the gate", and try real hard to do something to get on the list before the next party is held next year. For "The Blacklist Party" is going to be a permanent affair with Constitution and by-laws and all the fixins' and it would be a shame to have any reader of The New Leader left out. Send your dollar today to Ruth Stout of "The Nation" at 20 Vesey street and come along and watch Heywood Brown and Dorothy Parker and Art Young and Clarence Darrow and Morris Ernst do their stuff.

Our mail still continues to interest us. Yesterday we got our swell crown from Columbia University, an invitation to the above-mentioned "Blacklist Party," a six page letter from a taxation expert saying we were all wet in a piece we wrote for The Forum Magazine on the Pittsburg Plan of Graded Taxation and a letter saying that information is being required about us for putting us in The Social Register. Also a request to join a hunting club in Maine and another note from the butcher whose chops we consumed last summer.

We have written to Columbia that our crown doesn't fit any too good as our size is now 7 1-2, our head having swelled a bit since we were informed that we had won it; we have written an "is that so?" note to the Pittsburg man and referred the Social Register to Freddy Marvin who apparently still thinks that we were born in the Ghetto of St. Petersburg and came over in the Leviathan.

What we wrote to the butcher is between our conscience and ourselves but we told the Maine hunting club that we didn't see how we could get up there this year as most of our hunting would be vote hunting for the campaign and besides we tore a hole in the pants of our English hunting suit, while partridge shooting with a branch of the Yipsels in Brownsville last week.

We have just come back from standing in a shower of torn up telephone books and ticker tape to greet the three trans-Atlantic fliers. We got so excited that we tore up three unpaid bills and cast them to the winds of Fifth avenue.

We were glad enough to do our part in welcoming two Germans and an Irishman, but somehow this aviation stuff is beginning to pall a bit.

Every morning now for weeks the old-line papers have been giving us about six full pages of air stuff.

We all know now all there is to know about the family life, secret sorrows and hidden ambitions of everyone who has ever been up in an aeroplane. Writing up the fliers may be a harmless enough occupation and talking about them from dawn to dusk probably has not set anyone back, but after all it's a lot like what Mark Twain said about the weather—everybody talks about it but nothing seems to be done about it.

That is to say that trans-Atlantic flights may be all right in their way, but up to now, nothing we have read about them gives us a great urge to hop into a plane and go across the Atlantic, either way. If we went Europewards it would be just our luck to end up in Mussolini's back-yard. And we don't have to fly 3,000 miles for a dose of castor oil.

If we started from Europe and came this way, we would have to bum around with a lot of Eskimos and our Eskimo vocabulary is distressingly short. In fact we only know such simple phrases as "Higloo oh no agog?" which means of course, "Hay, cap, can you tell me the way to East Tenth street, Manhattan?" or "Ahgee kyul inivilj?" the Eskimo for "Have you a bath in every room of this hotel?"

The truth is that we are so hopelessly old-fashioned as to just being inured to automobiles, and not too darned inured at that.

We read somewhere that every 5.3 persons in the United States now have a car and that as a matter of fact "the two-car family" is common as dirt.

It depresses us so to wake up in the morning and think that we are not a "two-car family" not even the 5.3 of those car-owners for example, that sometimes we just can't get up and we lie in bed quite late, sobbing softly into our pillow.

It would be such fun to get out into the soft Spring sunshine and ride to The New Leader office from our home and be able to park the car somewhere within fifteen or twenty blocks of the office, knowing all morning that when we came out we would find a pleasant-faced policeman all ready to greet us with a summons.

When we published the list of all the books our friends have written recently we made one serious omission. We left out, "Machine-Gun Diplomacy," by J. A. H. Hopkins and Melinda Alexander (Lewis Copeland Company, publishers). You can get this well-documented and clearly written book about our imperialism in South America and Central America for \$2.50 at all book-sellers and we advise you to hustle and do the same. For it tells the story of the marines in Nicaragua etc. as we have known it told in no other manner and it should come in handy when you go out talking about American Imperialism.

Looking back over this it strikes us that we have rambled around a lot. But that is the Spring. Spring is the time for rambles, particularly red rambles. In the Spring a middle-aged man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of Eskimos, automobiles, the D. A. R.'s and machine guns.

But we are going to try our best to be more educational and instructive and uplifting. We are preparing a monograph on "The Use of the Aorist Among the Natives of Northern Mongolia" which we are in the near future.

McAllister Coleman.

## The Outline of Injunctions

Labor Singled Out For Double Punishment—Denied Safeguards Surrounding Even The Ordinary Criminal

By Louis Waldman

QUITE aside from the legal principles involved as the basis for injunction, it is asserted, that the method and procedure incidental to their issue has proved a great hardship to the workers. Briefly, there are three phases to the procedure:

(a) The temporary injunction. (b) The injunction pendente lite, which means the continuance of the temporary injunction up to the trial of the issues.

(c) The perpetual and permanent injunction—after the trial of the issues and the determination of the case.

The temporary injunction is obtained on affidavits ex parte, which means without hearing the union representatives at all and is intended to continue only until the argument on the return day of the motion. As a matter of experience this temporary injunction, issued without any opportunity for the union to be heard, sometimes continues for four, five or six weeks before the judge hearing the motion can decide whether the temporary injunction was obtained properly and on sufficient legal basis or not. In the meantime, the union is restrained from picketing and from other activi-

ties. If issued in a crucial moment in a strike, it has the effect of breaking the strike. So that even if the union proves to be in the right and it wins on the argument, the temporary injunction issued perhaps without any legal basis, has already done its damage and determined the fate of the strike.

The injunction pendente lite is obtained after hearing both sides in an argument before a judge on the basis of affidavits prepared by both sides. The court does not see the witnesses. There is no examination and opportunity for cross-examination. There are absolute-ly none of the incidents and safeguards of a trial. Very often the court grants injunctions pendente lite on affidavits which are either wholly false or which state half truths. Later, perhaps a year after the injunction was issued and the strike completely broken, on the trial of the case, these people who made the affidavits, when submitting to cross-examination, have a different story to tell. The injunction then may be denied on the merits, but in the meantime, the damage was done.

The legislation that is pending in Albany this year is largely designed to remedy the abuse of the procedure. It does not go to the heart of the question.

The anti-injunction bill introduced by Senator Shipstead goes too far and does not go far enough. Although paradoxical, this statement is absolutely true. It goes too far in that it seeks to take away from the court the power to interfere by injunction in any case involving intangible property. Such legislation is unwarranted. Very useful purposes may be served by injunctive relief in the general business and property relationship

where there is threatened injury to intangible property. If that bill is intended to curtail the power of the court to issue injunctions in labor disputes, it does not go far enough because it would not prevent the issuing of injunctions on the various grounds constituting the basis of federal injunctions. It certainly would not prevent the courts from employing what I term, indirect economic pressure, unlawful, and enjoin it by a decree.

I do not want to be understood to say that labor desires an absolutely free hand to do as it pleases regardless of the law. It goes without saying that if and because of labor activities anyone breaches the peace or commits a crime, he should be brought to trial and punished promptly. The criminal law is a standing injunction and is constant in its operation.

As a practical matter, labor may be said to be singled out from among all classes of the population for either double punishment for the same offense or for punishment in a proceeding conducted by a judge without a jury, deprived of all the safeguards surrounding even an ordinary criminal. Labor is singled out for double punishment where the injunction granted is on the alleged ground of the use of "intimidation". The particular men or women charged with the offense are convicted of violating some law or ordinance. After such conviction and punishment, these very defendants and the union of which they are members, are punished again by the issuance of an injunction against them, basing that injunction on those very convictions.

It is not true that the criminal law

and the ordinary law of damages are insufficient for the protection of property and of the public. England, whence comes our common law, and which is more nearly like our country industrially than any other country in Europe, does not employ the injunction in labor disputes as a means of protecting property or the public. There the contest between employer and employees has been regulated almost wholly through the criminal law and the law of damages. In recent years even the right to compensation for damages resulting from a struggle in a labor dispute has been abolished. England seems to be entirely satisfied with the results it is obtaining without using the injunction. From all indications, there is not as widespread a distrust in the law in labor circles in England as there is in labor circles in the United States.

Even in our own country, no injunctions in labor disputes were granted until 1888. That year the first injunction was granted in the State of Massachusetts: that in the case of Sherry v. Perkins (147 Mass. 212; 1888). Up to the year 1888 civilization in our country seemed to develop rapidly and industry thrived without invoking the remedy of injunction of labor disputes.

It seems to me that it is the duty of the courts and the lawyers to so fashion the law applicable to labor and enforce it so impartially that it will restore complete public confidence in the law.

Inasmuch as the issues involved in injunctions are matters of public policy rather than of law, it is for the legislators and for Congress to declare what those policies shall be.

The End

## Book Review

History Coming Of Age

By James Oneal

THERE are two cultural trends in American life that are as far apart as the poles and since the end of the World War there has been a race between the two. One leads back to the censorship of the Puritan saints and the smothering of all independent thinking; the other is subjecting our myths, traditions and superstitions to the test of scientific research and analysis. For a number of years our barbarians have had the best of it with their 100 per cent Americanism, their Nordic nonsense, the Ku Klux fever, ancestor worship and fundamentalism, and other primitive ideas. These cults of the illiterate are still active, but debauched Ku Klux legislators and the oil-smeared 100 per centers have helped to turn the tide against the march back to medievalism.

In no field of American culture is the trend toward civilized thinking more apparent than in American historical writing. It is my opinion that the year 1927 will come to be regarded as an epoch year in this field for that year contributed two magnificent works and four volumes of another that have set a new standard. Farrington's two volumes on "Main Currents in American Thought" and the Beard's "Rise of American Civilization" mark the farthest advance in American historical interpretation. The first four volumes of "A History of American Life" to be complete in twelve volumes, edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, and published by Macmillan, also give high promise of measuring up to the standard set by the other two works. We hope that the promise will be realized by the other volumes that are to appear. The four now before us have unequal merit and this is to be expected as the whole is a cooperative work to which twelve historians contribute.

A Promising Prospectus One cannot improve upon the prospectus of the series announced by the editors, part of which we quote. They declare its purpose "to present both for the historian and for the general reader the story of our civilization from its far-off beginnings to the present moment; to show how Europeans became Americans, how farmers, fishermen, planters, merchants and the rest grew rich or poor, how they organized their common life, how they built their common institutions—churches, schools, and all the multifarious social enterprises which in total make the substance of our civilization."

"The authors are always seeking explanation of the phenomena they discover and present, either from contemporary philosophers and literatures or from the logic of the facts themselves; but in their richly furnished narratives the reader finds the concrete evidence and instances needed to sustain their judgments. . . . Factional rivalry, party strife and statecraft, which after all have never been an important personal concern of many people, have been left to the political historians, but fundamental matters like the broadening of the suffrage, the democratizing of political control through conventions and the like, and such expressions of the public conscience as movements for 'reform' are all given due attention. The 'economic interpretation' has been found inadequate for American life as a whole; those responsible for this series prefer to trace it in terms of social evolution."

Yet in three of the volumes before us the economic interpretation bulks large. Strip them of this characteristic and each would shrink to the size of a pamphlet and even the fourth (Fish's) would probably be reduced one-half. To be sure, "social evolution" also bulks large but it also has its setting in the economic background. One wonders whether the last sentence quoted from the prospectus above was not written to soothe some timid schoolmasters, for both Schlesinger and Fox have themselves done some excellent work in economic interpretation.

The Colonial Period Besides the editors, professors H. I. Priestly, T. J. Wertenbaker, James Truslow Adams, E. B. Greene, C. R. Fish, A. C. Cole, Allan Nevins, H. U. Faulkner, and Ida Tarbell and P. W. Slosson contribute volumes. Wertenbaker's volume ("The First Americans, 1607-1690") presents a vivid narrative and interpretation of colonial life in the seventeenth century. It is the period of American origins in which rank and class, custom and opinion, church and state, labor and leisure, unfold and settle in the American environment. A chapter on The Practice of Physics presents a little known phase of colonial life, the "remedies" provided for human ills. Some of the potions are grotesque and revolting. Imagine the patient afflicted with smallpox required to gulp the ashes of burnt toads! Others are ludicrous, such as the prescription for fever, two herrings slit down the back and bound to the soles of the feet.

In his study of Virginia planters a few years ago Professor Wertenbaker cruelly destroyed the old Virginia myth of that colony being settled by some blue-blooded Cavaliers from which descended the First Families of Virginia and the essentials of this thesis appear in this volume. We cannot always follow him in his interpretations, for, for example, that colonial New England was not aristocratic (p. 75) which appears in contradiction with the view on page 93. However, the handicrafts, clerical rule, punishments and life of the "lower classes" are fully portrayed and the volume may be commended to those who think of our colonial forbears in terms of an angelic host.

James Truslow Adams has rapidly forged to the front rank of American historians, his mastery three volumes on New England showing a courage and revealing a scholarship not exceeded even by Beard. His volume in this series ("Provincial Society, 1690-1763") is the most remarkable and informative of the four. It is a masterpiece of historical interpretation and if this book were the only one to his credit it would stand out as a great achievement. Adams has taken a mass of complicated material and knitted it into a comprehensive narrative of the evolution of colonial life in terms of economics, geography, culture and immigration. The sense of continuity and unfolding of many factors in each colony and in the colonies as a whole is maintained throughout the book. The increase of wealth and its impact upon society and politics, the rise of aristocracy, the development of class conflicts out of land speculation, town proprietorship in New England and the spread of slave estates in the South; struggle between frontier communities and eastern aristocrats, suffrage limitation, the old story of profiteering war contracts in the struggle for French Canada, the "de-

flation" of farmers and workers that followed, all constitute the prelude to the war of the American Revolution. As in the other volumes, there is a chapter on the growth of culture which is also informing. The volume enriches our understanding of the backgrounds of the American Revolution but it is not enlightenment which the Daughters of the American Revolution will welcome.

Labor Movement Ignored Professor Fish's volume ("The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850") measures up to the others in the chapters on Manners and Morals, the Religious Scene, Industry, Invention and Trade, Art, Science and Literature, but it is disappointing in another respect. Into the period which his volume considers falls the rise of the American labor movement and the title of the book would lead one to expect an adequate treatment of this movement but the reader is disappointed. There are only a few casual references to it and we feel that Professor Fish has missed a big opportunity. Had either Fox or Schlesinger surveyed this period we are sure that the book would not have suffered from any such defect. Brownson and Frances Wright receive only incidental mention; Byllesby, Skidmore, Simpson and Kellogg are not mentioned at all, and only George Henry Evans gets some attention, and this is far from being adequate. The excellence of other sections of the volume, it seems to us, cannot make up for this shortcoming.

The volume by Nevins ("The Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1878") falls into the period of reconstruction, the editors calling attention to the fact that the author has not made a single reference to Charles Sumner or Thaddeus Stevens. Considering the leadership of these two men in Congress, Sumner in the Senate and Stevens in the House, this study is unique. It supplements the able studies of Oberholzer and Dunning but it is more concerned with industry, agriculture, and the economic and social forces of the period than with conflicts over reconstruction and almost completely ignores the politicians. The social, economic and cultural history of the period is the theme of Professor Nevins who has presented a close-up view of the rise of the new capitalism and its vulgar impact upon politics, business and government. It is a candid portrayal of the

fruits of the revolution which destroyed the planter oligarchy, a bitter disappointment considering the idealist hopes of the humanitarians of the ante-bellum period who believed that the passing of slavery would usher in the golden age of American history. Rarely in history has there been such an anti-climax as the rise to power of the professionals and the mercenaries, the grafters and corruptionists, after the southern planters had been overthrown. The book fulfills the promise outlined in the prospectus of the editors.

Each volume (\$4) is illustrated with photos, illustrations, or quaint drawings which enhance its value and concludes with an ample bibliography. The typography is also excellent. Those who possess these volumes will look forward with considerable anticipation to those that are to follow.

### Internationalism

IN "Education for Tolerance," reprinted from "Independent Education," John E. J. Fanshawe makes a pleasant plea for an international sense of humor, for a display of tolerance and an effort to understand different viewpoints, as bases of ultimate peace. He selects America and England for his illustrations, to show that even a common language may not bridge understanding, and he draws frequent and apt examples to his points.

This is one of those rare books that recognize that, even on the intellectual plane, persuasion is better than force.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

### Railroads Chop Off 110,000 Jobs

The Interstate Commerce Commission wage report for January 1928 shows fewer railroad employes than at any time since 1921-22, when the carriers were deliberately subcontracting maintenance work or leaving it undone in order to inflict the unemployment cure on the railroad unions. In the 6 months since July 1927 the railroads have laid off 209,055 workers, bringing the total number on the payrolls down to 1,614,280 or 110,000 less than in January 1927.

Subscribe for THE NEW LEADER

OUR voice may be weak but we want all to know that our hearts are strong for the spirit of Internationalism. May the day hasten when there will be no vultures of capitalism from one country feeding upon the misfortunes of another country.

LOCAL YUMA of the SOCIALIST PARTY YUMA, ARIZ.

LESTER B. WOOLEVER, Secretary.

## THE CHATTER BOX

"I Sing The Beauty of Defeated Things"

Down into cursed oblivion sans song; Not the tremor of tears nor the quiver of pity expend. Nor the thought sympathetic of sentimentality born. Nor the weak consolation for brow-beaten armies of loss!

Assemble the instruments brass, and of string, and of wind, and percussion, the instruments tender, cajoling, capricious and fierce, coarse, conflicting or mellow;

Dancers to decorate streets with the carpets of roses; Banners of witty inscriptions and slogans of praise; Masks and confetti to scatter like blizzards of snow on the crowded parades;

Dinners and unorganized speakers and women to wait on attendance with hymns of unquestioning service;

Entertainments of clowns and trapeze acrobatics; Multi-voiced choirs in jubilee loud and triumphant; Honor on honor to honor the name of the winner.

Though tongues yap applause or derision, Do your words at the first match your words at the finish!

Bravah! You indomitable lovers, Bravah! for those in whose veins liquid fire runs riot, whose hearts hold communion with trinity glorious (love for the truth, for the right, for the beautiful), the length of whose strides are not measured with yardsticks, who perceive the infinity of an ideal progression.

For they are the winners and theirs is the beauty I sing.

Aaron Rosen.

LETTERS from the Nation, our worthy contemporary, inform Eddie Levinson, Jim Oneal and myself that we are invited to join a Blacklist Party on May 9th, at some place or other. Of course, it infers that we are mentioned by the Daughters of the American Revolution as un-American, Red, Radical, Revolutionary, and therefore unworthy to appear as speakers, lecturers or otherwise to guest at any of their functions.

I for one refuse to help raise any unnecessary hubbub about a very natural occurrence. I cannot for the world of me understand why any person of intellect or just honest judgment, would want to appear before the venerable ladies, nor why these same outmoded, and mummied ladies of red flannel aristocracy should want to hear what any of us liberal, radico-reds had to say.

To my dumb way of thinking, altogether too much pother has been wasted on the Blacklist by all on all sides. It seems too much like everybody, liberal and conservative alike, rushing in to pose before the camera of publicity. Too much like trying to get their names in the papers. Too much like cheap-jack blarney and conservative alike.

I am glad the D. A. R. was consistent and almost unanimously voted to squelch the squeals of revolt from the few misguided Daughters of a now long-forgotten Revolution. I cannot bear with rebels who expect to usher in the New Day with the gesture of a and old crushed flowers about these sort of rebellions. Too much like paying a debt to a memory. Too much minut. There is too much of the smell of lavender pose of indignation, too much dignity of stiffened pleats and ruffled frills; too much truculent truck and tattle . . . entirely too little honest intent to fight it out to the last. I am learning to dislike a large number of the old literary-liberal-reds on that account. I am learning too that as soon as some of the champions of the people grow old in unrequited service, they yield more and more to the senility of self-publication. They seem to find some opiate in silly self-vanities. Like that other cheap Jerry, Trader Horn, they find a definite vindication for all they have been and said, by exhibiting old wounds and scars. And always there is the desire for the public print . . . what it will say about what they have said . . . or done . . . or usually left undone.

As far as I am related to this pertinent question, I wouldn't give you a sniff of hay fever pollen for all the notice of the press of the enemy has to say about me. They'll have to steal a snap of me to my own unawares to get my mug for their purposes. And when Eddie mentioned to me the poor position we Socialists received from the World and the like during our Convention, I merely shrugged my ancient collar bones, and shooed a "Tut tut" in his ear. We would be doddling dolts to hope for more than a patronizing pat or a snooty sniffle from any of those dope sheets about our doings. Why should they give us favorable publicity? What sensible interest can they have in us who are their avowed antagonists? Who can explain a Hearst that preaches sweet peace on one side of the page, and yells bloody murder to Mexico on the other? Or the World that makes a glorified pretense for democracy, free speech, and even defends us Socialists, when we are ousted from Legislatures for our opinions and on account of our true views on Sacco-Vanzetti? And, as for the real publicist himself on these sheets, what can explain a Heywood Brown who comes back to the World after his resignation? . . . You see all this quite clearly all of you. You howl quite loudly, all of you about the tainted press, the poisoned news, the jungle journals of the day. And yet some of you nurse a secret love, an illicit desire for such winks, and touches and blandishments as these inky courtesans flip your way.

That is why I refuse to get all het up about the Blacklist, the Blacklist party, the D. A. R. and the rest of this particular incident. If ever I get my name in the papers, I hope it will be for something I have done, some poem I have written, or some bank that I have held up at the point of a gun. I don't want it there because a money grubbing scoundrel has made up a proscription of his own in order to bleed timid old ladies out of their pin money, and has by some accident included my humble monicker among the rest. Such rascality is too low for any of my notice. I even refuse to grow excited about what effect this Blacklist will have or has had upon civil liberties and public welfare. A day may come when the plutes will refuse to accept the mandate of the people at election. When a Mussolini will arise and effect a Fascist dictatorship here in order to defeat the political voice of an aroused citizenry. I hope then to be on a real Blacklist, where my life will perhaps pay for the inclusion.

This D.A.R. business is too much like a "London Bridge is falling down" game played by a lot of washed out, short-skirted, witch-hunting marmas. I think the sooner we drop this Blacklist Brotherhood idea, and go out to elect Norman Thomas and Jim Maurer on a straight, out and out ticket of public weal and common decency, the cleaner we will all feel about it. Here's three boots and a sniffle for my name being on the Blacklist. And here's for keeping our own decent names out of the papers. On our own at least. . .

S. A. de Witt.



## Union Health Center Offers Unions' Talks

The organizing work among the labor unions of this city in behalf of the Union Health Center is in full swing. Since the representatives of organized labor at two conferences decided to accept the opportunity to use the services of the institution offered them, the only thing that remains to be done is to put into action the resolutions accepted at these conferences.

The resolution which is of chief concern to unions is the plan by which a labor union can affiliate with the Union Health Center, and obtain the splendid services for its members. The affiliation fee is low and within reach of every local organization, especially compared with the benefits derived. It is now merely a question for the unions to decide and act. Postponing the issue will not solve the problems either of the sick members or the position of the Union Health Center. It is therefore timely to suggest that unions act at once. Let them put this matter on their order of business. There is no time to lose.

The following letter has been sent out to local unions. Readers of The New Leader are requested to bring it before their meetings. A speaker from the Union Health Center will be glad to come and address the meeting—if so desired and notified a few days in advance.

"To Local Labor Unions in New York City:

"Dear Sisters and Brothers:

**SCHOOL OF NATURAL EYE SIGHT**  
We teach how to develop your eye muscles, whereby defective sight becomes normal. Glasses permanently discarded. Cataracts, partial blindness, crossed eyes, drooping eyelids corrected. Results: Health, Facial Rejuvenation.  
806 Riverside Dr. (157th St.)  
Phone: Edg. 9432

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## Committee Headed By Thomas Rushes Aid to Penn. Miners

Special relief for food, clothing and medicine is being rushed to the families of coal miners in a storm area in Southern Pennsylvania, by the Emergency Committee for Miners' Relief of which Norman Thomas is chairman, Presbyterian Building, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The area, which is the south and east of Pittsburgh is in the grip of a late spring snowstorm which has cut off telegraphic communication and held up train service.

In this area there are nearly one hundred thousand miners and their families who have been on strike for more than a year. They are living in hastily erected barracks and as the winter precautions for heating these places have been somewhat relaxed during the spring, the miners are suffering doubly. The Emergency Committee, a national non-partisan organization is financing the purchase of food in large quantities and of medical attention for the strikers.

## Lecture and Symposium On Russia, to Close Work Of Tremont Forum

The Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, announces a lecture on "Liberty Under the Soviets," by Robert N. Baldwin, who recently returned from Russia, for Friday evening, May 11th, at 8:30 sharp. The lecture will be followed by a symposium on the subject, in which will participate Algernon Lee and Bela Low, after which the floor will be thrown open to the public for questions and discussions. With this programme the work of the forum for the season will close. As a large public is expected for this lecture and symposium, prompt attendance is urged.

## Expect Canadian Pacific To Boost Shop Men's Pay

Montreal.—Railroaders are speculating on what the Canadian Pacific, privately owned transcontinental line, will do to match the 1-week vacation with pay recently announced for shopmen of the government owned Canadian National Railways. Union circles believe that instead of following suit the Canadian Pacific will raise wages to match the innovation. For shopmen getting 75c an hour the week off with pay represents a raise of about 1 1/2c in the hourly rate. The average wage is less than 75c however. Wage rates on the 2 lines have been kept fairly parallel.

**Laugh D.A.R. Out**  
Dissolve the "blue menace" of the J. A. R. in laughter, advised Elizabeth McCausland, Massachusetts newspaper woman, over W. E. V. D. labor radio station. "A reign of dictaphones, informers and stool pigeons can easily develop from the embryonic 'blue menace' existing in this country," she warned, "unless the nation's common sense asserts itself."

## A Book on Vandervelde

It is in itself something out of the common when a monument is erected to a contemporary, and all the more so within the labor movement which has never encouraged hero-worship. The book now issued by a group of leading comrades in the Belgium labor movement under the title "Emil Vandervelde, The Man and His Work" (Emile Vandervelde, L'Homme et son Oeuvre), L'Eg. Antine, Brussels, 1928) is indeed a monument to the great leader of the Belgian workers, the "chief" as he is called in Belgium. But it differs from the ordinary type of monument by making no attempt to honor Vandervelde otherwise than by a reproduction of his achievement, which indeed requires no words of adornment and glorification.

Louis de Brouckere himself introduced by Vandervelde into the Socialist movement, "brings before us a picture of the man whose personality cannot be better characterized than by saying that he is a Socialist. Rene Jardot expounds to us the philosophical ideas of Vandervelde, Louis Pierard the artist and man of letters, Alberic Deswartes the speaker, and Arthur Wauters the theorist; while August Delvinne depicts Vandervelde's activity in the Belgium Labor Party and thereby imparts to us something not much less than a history of the Belgium Labor movement. The international activity of the Belgium Foreign Minister and President of the Second International, who took a leading share in moulding the European international situation, is sketched by Joseph Saxe; and finally Messine draws a picture of the work accomplished by Vandervelde as minister. Lastly a table of the principal writings of which Vandervelde is author shows once again the extent of the fruitful activity, embracing all spheres of the labor movement, which we owe to Emil Vandervelde.

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# AMUSEMENTS

## The Week On Stage

By Art Yun

IF you have watched the Pacific coast as closely as I have, you will have noticed that it is famous for two things besides wonderful climate—Chinatown and Hollywood. It so happens that Chinatown and Hollywood sometimes cross swords. And why? Just because the business of Hollywood loves to film the old Chinatown, while the new Americanized Chinese resents such patronage. Not very long ago, a conflict occurred. A movie director, eager for Chinese color, pounced down upon the helpless Chinese quarter in Los Angeles to catch the old flavor that has made the works of Thomas Burke and LeBra famous. The invasion precipitated a new riot of youthful Chinese who abhorred the idea of publicizing their people in ancient costumes.

The American movies today are reeking with Chinese color. "Chinatown" is announced as a forthcoming super-special, while "The Streets of Shanghai" is enjoying a nation-wide run in the leading picture houses of America. One believed that the old-time fashion in melodrama of the wildest variety had gone out of date when directors stuck reasonably close to reality in the depiction of foreign peoples and places. But the present flood of Oriental films indicate clearly that no such thing has happened.

**A Strange Shanghai**  
Any person who has spent any length of time in Shanghai will inevitably come out of the theatre where the "Streets of Shanghai" is being shown with the feeling it is nothing less than a travesty. This applies alike to the representation of Chinese and Americans, missionaries, marines, and consular representatives. It is not necessary to take a Chinese word for it. A Cleveland man who had spent years in Shanghai reported his impression of the film in the Cleveland Plain Dealer as follows:

"It is absolutely wrong in make an unsuspecting American public believe that such things can or do take place in Shanghai, or any other city in China, as the attack on the mission property by the Chinese, the closely guarded consulate, the access by marines to women's rooms in the consulate and by women into marine quarters, the type of educational institution being given in the mission, and the raiding of a Chinese gambling club by a missionary girl and a squad of American marines."

"All these are about as impossible in Shanghai as they would be in Cleveland, and this film, which was evidently made in Hollywood or other studio this side of the Pacific, ought not to be allowed to misrepresent to American audiences American and Chinese life and relations in Shanghai as this does."

**The Chinese Protest**  
The Chinese have protested frequently. In Los Angeles, they blocked the camera's lens, shout, hoot, and on many occasions it was necessary to dispatch extra squads of policemen to quell the disturbance. The Chinese in Doyers street, New York, have always made the filming of their section a difficult feat. The race as a whole, however, has never hitherto vigorously, for it is against a Chinaman's philosophy to bawl at things which he knows to be false.

The new generation of American-born Chinese, brought up according to American standards and American ways of looking at life, accustomed to the latest in jazz, bobbed hair and bell-bottoms in the Romanesque, do not seem to believe the caricatures as untypical of American fairplay, and resist as Americans would resist similar conditions in other lands.

In the eyes of Mr. Americano and his family, the estimation of the Chinese is rather low—due to two principal causes. One is that the only class of Chinese with which he comes in contact is the laundress or chop-see keeper, who are certainly not representative of the best sons of Cathay. It is unfair to judge a race by this class—as unfair as if the Chinese in China were to judge America by the American bums, tramps and what not in Shanghai. The other reason is the constant falsification and exaggeration which the Chinese suffer on the stage, screen, and daily print.

When a low-down sees a Chinese, he thinks in terms of "Chink," or "yellow boy." The American youngster, who admires Bill Hart or Tom Mix shows, shudders—and oftentimes marvels—at the cunning and devilry of the Chinaman, when he does his stunt on the screen. The soda-fountain girl and the high-school flapper likewise develop her shocking horror of Chinamen from similar sources.

**The Departed Queer**  
The movie Chinamen of San Francisco, Chicago or New York are adorned with long-winding queues, but they are today as common as women pig tails on Main street. The Chinese queue, introduced when the Manchus gained control of China, vanished with the overthrow of their dynasty seventeen years ago. Opium is depicted as part of the diet of the average Chinese, but how many spectators of the American theatre know that the drug was forced upon China against her will, and the country made and is still making every honest attempt to destroy it.

Chinatown is often reproduced as a colony of lawlessness and crime. But, as a matter of fact, gambling, opium, and long fights—despite newspaper write-ups—no longer represent the life of Chinatown. Films vilifying the Chinese occasionally employ Japanese to act



SYLVIA HOFFMAN, who plays Elizabeth in "The Waltz of the Dogs" by Leonid Andreyev at the Cherry Lane Playhouse.

as Chinese, and when such are lacking, Americans disguised as Orientals, do the job. That is very unfortunate.

Yet the screen is not the only medium that clogs the wall of understanding between Chinese and Americans in this country.

There are the sight-seeing buses in Manhattan that exploit the Chinese quarter by showing make-up scenes. There are a few Gospel people, often misled in their duty, who paint a lurid picture of China in order to elicit sympathy in their work and financial support. There are out-of-date school texts too romantic on the old China and too dumb on the newer phases of modern China. And there are stage plays.

A patriotic Chinese student, boiling with resentment, withdrew from a Mid-Western university because a play, sponsored by the authorities, falsified Chinese religion. "A scholar may be killed, but he can never be humiliated," he said. In some quarters, it is believed that protests are useless, but to all of the-bunked Americans they have registered with good effects. When the Chinese students in the United States aimed a de-bunker at Will Hays, movie czar, several years ago, he replied that something will be done about it, and soon after Carl Laemmle announced his policy to dispense with Chinese villains.

Americans are fair-minded, and seldom fail to render justice when justice is due. Will they continue to patronize those channels of influence, which out of ignorance and false motives, continue to malign a people as the "Streets of Shanghai" does?

## DOG-TIRED

At the Cherry Lane Playhouse, where the New Playwrights were recently experimenting with propaganda on the stage, Celia Avramo has now put forward the movie premiere of Leonid Andreyev's "The Waltz of the Dogs." This sincere and searching presentation of the character of man is not so poignant as the author leads us to expect, what with self were to tell me this work is poor, I would not believe him. For if I believed it to be poor, I could not live at all! Is there any significance in the fact that the play is posthumous? "I would be ended." "The Waltz of the Dogs" represents the most hidden, cruel meaning of tragedy, which renounces the meaning and reason of human existence."

Considering the play apart from any pronouncement of the author's, it gives a bitter picture, indeed, of life. The younger brother of the Tille family, Carl, confesses himself a scoundrel as the play begins, but only to us; on stage he is a dissembling, cruel villain. But we gradually come to see that the "respectable" brother who is supporting Carl has even bigger plans of villainy; beside Carl's petty pimping, Henry's plot is a giant, larger letters on Broadway than any star has ever enjoyed before.

Paul Ash, Western maestro, of syncope, who makes his Broadway debut on May 12th, when he begins an intricate, "The \$24 Island."

## —AND BONES

A "mystery thriller" entitled "The Skull" has been brought to the Forrest Theatre a full bag of bones from any three dozen earlier plays of its type, and shaken them to form the skeleton of a play that makes you shake and quake and quiver and shiver indeed, indeed. In the first place, the last place you would think of for evil spirits to frequent is the scene of the action: a church. Stop! It is an abandoned church, and there, I suppose, the hordes of the hosts of hell chiefly throng. At any rate, the rational explanation at the close of the evening is slight atonement for the series of shrieks that pierced my ears, as women to right of me, women to left of me, grew beyond their nerves' control at one moment or another.

## THEATRES

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Robert Bencher's Motion Picture Newsreel—Other Novelties

definite engagement as Master of Ceremonies at the Paramount Theatre, will have registered several box-office records when he ends his long Chicago engagement at the end of this month. Since Ash first opened at the McVicker's Theatre in the Windy City in 1925 he is credited with having played more than 6,000 performances at the McVicker's and Oriental Theatres to a combined total of almost 20,000,000 theatregoers.

Broadway expressed its appreciation for the debt it owes S. L. Rothfeld at a dinner and dedication ceremonial Monday evening. The Broadway Association gave a dinner at the Manger Hotel in honor of the showman known to millions of theatre-goers and radio fans as "Roxey" followed by the unveiling of a bronze tablet in the lobby of the theatre bearing his name.

In support of Miss Billie Burke, who comes to the East Coast on May 7th in "The Happy Husband" by Harrison Owen, Gilbert Miller has assembled a cast of players which includes three members of the original production of this comedy. Miss Burke, who appeared earlier this season in Noel Coward's "The Marquise" returns in "The Happy Husband" to the Empire Hotel where she has appeared under the Frohman management in so many of her past successes.

The Sovkino production, "Czar Ivan the Terrible," directed by Yuri Tarikh and acted by players from the Moscow Art Theatre with L. M. Leontoff in the title role, is to be seen at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse the week beginning today.

This film, subtitled "The Wings of a Serf," is a vivid picturization of Russia in the second half of the sixteenth century under the reign of the mad Ivan IV. Besides picturing the barbaric court and private life of the Czar, the film gives an insight into the manners and customs of sixteenth century Russia, its institutions, the landed gentry, the "boyars," the fields, serfs and vassals. The intellectual intolerance of the period is shown when a serf, with genius ahead of his time, discovered the first crude principle of the aeroplane and was punished by the Czar as an ally of the devil. On the same program will be a Charlie Chaplin Comedy.

One of the most serious phases of post-war Germany—the restlessness of youth and the desire for freedom from the bigotry of old-age—is treated in "Primernebe" (First Love) at the 55th St. Playhouse, beginning Saturday, May 5th. "Primernebe" is a study in adolescence, was directed by Robert Land, and features Fritz Kortner and Paul Otto in the cast. "Variety," the American theatrical weekly, called it the best film produced in Germany during the past year.

On the same program will be shown Robert J. Flaherty's camera poem of Manhattan, "The \$24 Island."

## Hoover Seer and Guide of Power Trust, Evidence Before Trade Commission Shows

Singled out above all other public men for support by the power lobby, as disclosed in its printed documents before the Federal Trade Commission, is Herbert Hoover.

To Hoover's office the power lobby went for its active director, Stephen Davis. This man, for directing the activities of the Joint Committee of National Utility Associations, received \$50,000 a year. When Hoover wanted him back, to act as chairman of the American delegation in the international conference last fall in order to block all proposals that might curb the liberty of American private corporations, the Joint Committee handed Davis over for a month.

When Hoover made a speech, September 29, 1924, denouncing public ownership and operation of electric plants, the National Electric Light Association published it in pamphlet form.

In hearings before Commissioner McCulloch on April 25, Ira L. Grimshaw, assistant director of the Joint Committee—salary \$10,000—identified letters, reports and telegrams showing how the power lobby was reorganized last June to fight the Walsh resolution of investigation, the Muscle Shoals government operation bill and the Boulder Canyon dam and power plant construction bill. A fund of \$400,000 was raised to fight the Boulder Canyon bill alone. One of the first pamphlets published by Davis for the Joint Committee was entitled "Government—Federal, State, Local—Falls in Industry." It was aimed at Muscle Shoals and Boulder Canyon. On the title page appeared a quotation from Herbert Hoover.

"The very first fundamental obstacle to government ownership that our form of government presents," said Hoover, "is the relation of the state to the federal government. For in our plan we conceive that liberty requires a great measure of decentralization in authority." On the next page is another Hoover statement, three paragraphs long. On the third page is a still longer declaration attributed to Hoover's Conference on Industry, held in Washington, December 11, 1925. And in the main text of the pamphlet Hoover is quoted on four more pages, at length.



Herbert Hoover



# SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## New York City

The handsome propaganda booklet published by Local New York City is ready for sale. The book contains the principal articles that were published in a limited edition of the National Convention Souvenir Journal. There is considerable new matter, including the National Platform. The pamphlet contains 56 pages of reading matter and is profusely illustrated with cartoons, photographs and woodcuts. It is one of the most handsome publications gotten out by the Party. It retails for 25 cents. Branches and individuals who desire quantities can obtain some at wholesale sale rate by getting in touch with the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

## Upper West Side

The next meeting of this branch will be held on Thursday evening, May 10th in the office of Dr. Simon Berlin, 245 West 74th Street. One of the delegates to the National Convention will be present to report on the proceedings and actions of the Convention. Other business will include nomination of delegates to the State Convention and plan of work for the coming Summer Educational Campaign.

## Harem

A well attended May Day Meeting was held under the auspices of the Harem Branches of the Socialist Party, 62 East 106th Street. The speakers were: Echeverri, Brown, Paul Dembitzer, S. Levitas, August Claessens. Chairman, Barret Schub. 22nd and 23rd A.D.

Reorganization of our Washington Heights Branch will be effected at a meeting arranged in the apartment of Comrades Max and Dora Delson, 610 West 163rd Street, Apartment 2B, on Tuesday evening, May 10th at 8:30 p.m. The Washington Heights Branch has not been meeting for some time and at this meeting a reorganization will be effected, new officers will be elected and a welcome extended to a score of new members who have recently made application for membership in the Socialist Party. Thanks to Comrade Delson, there is every indication that a live and functioning branch will again be established in this part of the city.

## BRONX

Socialist Party, Bronx County Committee has arranged a Theatre Party in the Provincetown Theatre for Saturday evening, May 5th. The play is "Him". Tickets are on sale at the County Office and at the Box Office of the Theatre. All Bronx Socialists and sympathizers are urged to assist in making this Theatre Party a success.

## Branch Seven

The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Tuesday evening, May 15th at the headquarters, 4215-3rd Avenue.

## Branch Seven East

A well attended meeting of this branch was held on Thursday, April 26th. Two applications were received from new members. Report by branch organizer shows that due to personal canvassing of enrolled voters by our active branch members we have succeeded in getting in new members as well as many new subscribers to the New Leader.

Thanks to the good work by the women comrades at the Russian Branch, our joint May Day Festival was a success. The speakers of the evening were: L. George Dobson in English; Valatier and Ravich in Russian and Kantovich in Yiddish. These present greeted enthusiastically the speakers of the evening. A fine musical program plus plenty to eat and drink was enjoyed by all. Our next meeting will be held on May 10th at 2093 Daly Avenue.

## 5th A.D.

There will be a business meeting of this branch on Friday, May 4th, at 1167 Boston Road (near Home street). After this business meeting Henry Fructier will be the speaker.

Another meeting of this branch will be held at the Freeman Mansion, 243 Southern Blvd., 8:30 p.m. on Friday evening, May 11th. This will be in the nature of a mass meeting to which enrolled and independent voters of the 5th A.D. will be invited by special invitation. Comrades Esther Friedman and Enry Fructier will address the meeting. Both of these comrades are active in the National Convention and they will speak upon its proceedings, action and promise for the campaign of 1928. Every effort is being made to make this meeting a very successful one and to obtain additional members for this young and growing branch.

## 8th A.D. Branch

This branch which meets in the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments is now well established and making headway. A great number of the Socialist Party members residing in the apartments and who are still members of other branches in different parts of the city are transferring and will soon become active members in this branch. The work of the 8th A.D. Branch will not be confined to the Amalgamated Apartments but to the surrounding neighborhoods in the northern part of the 8th A.D. This section of the Bronx is rapidly growing a residential district and there is every reason to believe that good work can be accomplished and a powerful Socialist Party Branch established in this part of the city. The Branch will meet every 1st-3rd Monday in one of the apartments of the Amalgamated House.

## KINGS

On Friday evening, May 4th, as well as successive Friday evenings, an effort is being made by this branch to invite by letters of invitation enrolled voters living in the neighborhood to attend meetings of this branch in its clubhouse, 420 Hindsdale Street. This Friday evening, one of the delegates to the National Convention from Kings County, will be present to report on the work of the Convention and the prospects in the campaign of 1928.

## NOW ON SALE SOCIALISM TODAY

The first literature of the 1928 campaign, is now on sale.

Articles by Norman Thomas, James H. Maurer, Morris Hillquit, Daniel W. Hoan, Jacob Panken, James Oneal, McAlister Coleman, Algernon Lee, Jessie Wallace Hughan, and others.

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## WILLIAMSBURG

The drive is on in Williamsburg. Joint meeting starts campaign for increased enrollment and membership. Committee organized to direct able and energetic workers.

The first move to increase the membership of the Williamsburg Branches was made at 167 Tompkins Avenue, last Tuesday.

A joint meeting of the 4-14th, 5-6th, 13-19 and Williamsburg Jewish Branch was held to devise ways and means of projecting vigor and energy into the Socialist Party in this part of Brooklyn and the first step in this direction was the election of an Executive Committee for Williamsburg.

The whole-hearted support of every member has been pledged to this committee and it is now busy engaged in appointing field workers, arranging home gatherings and in laying plans for a vigorous, two-fronted fight on the indifference of the Williamsburg Voter.

An informal get-together is being arranged and will be held in the near future.

## 16th A.D.

A joint meeting of the branches in the 16th A.D. will be held this Sunday morning, May 6th at 11 a.m. sharp at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd St. and 14th Ave. Letters of invitation have been sent to the membership of the 9-16th A.D. Branch, Bensonhurst Jewish Branch and the Coney Island Branch. The purpose of this meeting is to nominate candidates for the State Senate and Assembly and to effect an organization for the preliminary work of the campaign of 1928.

## 16th A.D. Branch

A May Festival will be held this Saturday evening, May 5th at the W. C. Center, 7316-20th Avenue. A program has been arranged for the evening's entertainment: Comrade Mary A. Gates, soprano and other artists will be present; August Claessens has also consented to attend; refreshments will be served. Admission fee of 50 cents will be charged. Socialists of Bensonhurst and surrounding territory have been invited to participate and spend an enjoyable evening.

## 18th A.D.

Jacob Axelrad delivered an interesting talk on The Economic and Ethical Bases of Socialism on Friday evening, April 27th. Despite the downpour of rain, the meeting was fairly well attended. The Package Party and Dance Sunday evening, April 28th, was a success from almost every standpoint, except that the expense the branch went to, to afford amusement and entertainment to its members was not permitted of much money being made from this affair. However, everybody had a good time.

Louis P. Goldberg will report on his impressions of the National Convention of the Socialist Party on Friday evening, May 4th, at the Branch Headquarters, 690 Rockaway Avenue.

The 18th is cooperating with other branches in the Brownsville district in a monster May Day Celebration at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

## William Karlin Will Speak in Yonkers, N. Y.

William Karlin has been delegated by the Socialist Action Committee of which he is a member to represent that body at a meeting of the Socialist Party and the Circle of Yonkers. These comrades have just acquired a building at 252 Warburton Avenue which will be run as a workers cooperative center. On the 18th of May, Karlin will be in the official opening will be celebrated with an appropriate program. Comrade William Karlin will be the principal speaker.

## The Young People's Department

### National Executive Committee

The Y. P. S. L. National Executive Committee was in session March 3rd and 4th. Present were Max Wagner of Milwaukee, George Field of New York, Savel Syrjala of Boston and Aarne J. Parker, National Director. For Sunday's session, Emanuel Switkes, alternate New York member, was seated with full rights.

In the absence of the regular chairman, Comrade de Witt presided. Reports followed. The general spirit was that of optimism locally and pessimism nationally. The task before the committee was the drawing out of conditions in the National Office. Steps in that direction were planned. First, the committee felt that a great deal depended

upon the action of the National Convention of the Socialist Party. This action has since been favorable. The second step was to write to all possible and eligible candidates for the office of National Director. This is in progress at the present time.

It was voted to accept the offer of the New Leader to establish a column for the Young People's Department and the present column is the result. A special report and interpretation of the relations of the Senior and Junior Y. P. S. L. was drafted. A half page was voted for the Souvenir Program of the Socialist Party National Convention. The question of holding a Y. P. S. L. National Convention was discussed and it was agreed to make no arrangements until the next meeting when preliminary complications will have been straightened out.

Educational Committee: Reba J. Pushkoff, Ida Yavner.

Organization Committee: Harry Diamond, Irving Cohen.

Auditing Committee: Alice C. Altman, Eli Cohen.

Athletic Committee: Irving Cohen, and Comrade Zolan.

Of course, now that the committees are elected, it doesn't mean that the rest of the membership will be able to sit back and watch their servants at work. Everybody will have to chip in for the year which will spell progress for the New York Y. P. S. L.

M. V. Hulschka reports that the Chicago Circle held a very successful meeting last Sunday. A summary of the National Convention was presented by Comrade Halushka who was a delegate from Illinois. He suggested that other offices keep in touch with the Chicago comrades, through either Pearl Greenberg, 1243 S. Homan Avenue, their energetic secretary, or M. V. Hulschka, 1059 N. Carolina Avenue.

G. F.

## NEW YORK CITY

The May Day celebration was a huge success. In addition to assisting the Socialist Action Committee at various meetings, some of the Circles had meetings also. The plans for this week-end call for a Hike to Silver Lake in Staten Island. One of the Rand School faculty will lead it. The comrades are requested to get up early Sunday morning and meet at the Rand School, 210 East 15th Street, at 9:30, when a committee will greet you. We will leave the Manhattan Shore at 10:00 a. m.

## Circle Six

This Sunday evening at 8 p. m., Dora Wolinsky will speak on Chopin, His Life and Work; representative selections will be played by Comrade Wolinsky. The "Goodbye period" will be followed by means of the new cooperatively purchased portable victrola, and dancing, after the Educational Program.

## Circle Two Juniors

Circle Two, which recently has been reorganized, announced that an entirely new spirit pervades the present membership, one of true comradeship and intelligent cooperation. The Executive Secretary who was Circle Two, is now in the reorganization, says it is an excellent group. Their new officers are: Organizer, Israel Rokkin; Secretary, Sol Perlmutter; Social Director, Moe Shutter. The Circle meets Friday, 7:45 in the evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

## To the Y. P. S. L. in Other Cities

The New York Office has a one reel film portraying the New Yorkers on a hike. It is a very interesting and instructive film. There are also some scenes relating to other phases of our organization. By writing to the City Office, Rand School, 210 East 15th Street, New York, you may borrow this film. The only condition is that you return the film in good order.

## Circle Two Seniors

The group, spoke of in last week's New Leader are progressing and there has been more interest created among the members due to the favorable reports given at the City night meetings.

Last Sunday the Circle decided to reorganize the Dramatic Group. After the meeting the Circle went out in full force to distribute the May Day circulars. They then marched to the Packard Party held at the Headquarters. Due to the League Hike next Sunday there will not be any meeting of the Circle until the 18th of May. The members at all members are urged to share the Sunday evening, May 13th, with prominent Yipsels, new and old, will deliver talks on the past, present and future of the organization. Don't forget the date!

## Y. P. S. L. Publication

The Board of Directors of the Free Youth Publishing Association met on Saturday at the Rand School. Plans were made to set the machinery in motion before the summer months set in. However, thanks to the hospitality of the New Leader, we will have this month's issue of the Free Youth Publishing Association. Every member will receive a written communication from the City Office, urging them to subscribe at once to the New Leader. To make this space a real force toward the growth of our organization.

It is only last week that our column was started and with an aid for contributions from members. Consequently, we could not expect to receive anything at this writing. But, it is hoped that for next week a few of our members will have acted on the suggestion. Brief articles, news items—anything of youth interest, will be welcome. Do not fail this week to address your contributions to the Editor, Young People's Department, New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York.

## N. Y. Central Committee Meets

The first meeting of the newly elected Central Committee of the New York League met last Saturday evening. The greater part of the evening was spent in the election of working sub-committees as follows:

Executive Committee: Jack Allan, Eli Cohen, Glen Glantz, Reba Pushkoff, Ben Senitzer, Abe Wisotzky, Ida Yavner, and Julius Umansky. Executive Secretary: Morris Dvortzoff, Financial Secretary as ex-officio.

## Lecture Notes

Sunday, May 6th, at 11 a. m., Dr. Frank Oliver Hall will preach at the Community Church, Park Avenue and 34th Street. His subject will be "The Religion of a Manly Man."

Tuesday, May 8th, the Kips Bay Co-operative Housing Association will have a meeting for those interested in cooperative housing in the Community Church.

At 8:15 p. m., there will be a discussion of current events, led by Mr. McAfee, Social Service Director of the Church.

Thursday, May 10th, "The Dramas of Eugene O'Neill" will be the subject of an address by John Hayes Holmes.

"Religion Without God?" will be the subject of Rev. Dr. Leon Ross Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship service, 1301 Boston Road, near 169th Street, Sunday evening. At the 9 o'clock open forum, William Pickens, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, will speak on "Poetry and Music in the Life of the Negro," questions and discussion from the floor will follow both lectures, and a musical program by Genevieve and Zelma Kaufman has been arranged.

## Morris Hillquit on "Marxian Socialism" At Tremont Forum

Morris Hillquit will deliver a lecture on "Marxian Socialism," this evening, (Friday, May 4) before the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx. This lecture has been expected for several weeks, but owing to the convention work, two adjournments were unavoidable. Preparation to meet the large number who may seek admission to the lecture has been made.

Two questions of vital importance to the noble freemen of the republic will face them at the election in November. One is, how much oil is required to run the Republican machine? The other is, is Tammany really capable of cleaning a sewer?

## FALE DWORKIN & Company

Public Accountants

570 Seventh Avenue  
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NEW YORK

Members of Accountants' Union

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
Local 20, I. L. C. W. U.  
Board meets every Tuesday evening at 7 P. M. at the headquarters, 110 East 15th Street, New York City.

All locals meet every Wednesday evening at 7 P. M. at the headquarters, 110 East 15th Street, New York City.

MOORE BLUMENFELD, Manager  
BYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

## Embroidery Workers' Union

UNION, Local 6, I. L. C. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St. Melrose 7600

CARL GRABER, President.  
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## United Hebrew Trades

113 E. 2nd BROADWAY  
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St. Melrose 7600

M. TIGEL, Chairman  
M. VOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

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

130 East 5th St. Madison Square 1934  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8 P. M. at the headquarters, 130 East 5th St. Madison Square 1934

D. GINGOLD, President  
MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

## BROOKLYN LABOR LYCEUM

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Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals.  
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## Labor Temple 248-217 EAST 40th ST. NEW YORK

Workers' Educational Association  
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p.m.  
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## Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
Office 113 East Broadway  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening  
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.  
PETER MONAT, Manager.

## The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 541, I. U. of T.  
Office 541 W. 11th St., City.  
Local 541 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at the headquarters, 541 W. 11th St., City.  
BEETHOVEN HALL  
210 East 15th Street  
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.  
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Ave., Phone 1621 Stagg  
Office open daily from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening  
CHARLES PFLUM, Fin. Sec'y  
FRANK F. LUTZ, Treasurer  
ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 195 East 166th Street  
Telephone Melrose 3474  
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y

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# UNION DIRECTORY

## THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.  
St. John Block, Attorney and Counsel,  
223 Broadway, Room 2209-10, New York.  
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 248 East 40th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P.M.

## WORKERS! Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers

Always Look WAITERS & For This LABEL LOCAL 1

162 E. 23rd Street  
Tel. Gramercy 0843  
LOUIS RIFKIN, President.  
LOUIS RUBINFEID, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Regular meeting every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8 P. M. at the headquarters, 162 E. 23rd Street, New York City.

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple, 11-27 Morris Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman  
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Sec'y.

## BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. W. Way.  
Regular meeting every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 8 P. M. at the headquarters, 175 E. W. Way, New York City.

AL GRABEL, President  
L. KORN, Manager.

## BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10173.  
Regular meeting every Tuesday at 8 P. M. at the headquarters, 62 East 4th St., New York City.

GABRIEL BRISCOE, J. GREEN, Vice-Pres.  
JACOB RAFFAPORT AARON RAFFAPORT, Treasurer.

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7033  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office of LOUIS FELDMAN, President.  
ED. GOTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.

L. D. HUGER, Manager  
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

## Bonnaz Embroiderers'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. C. W. U.  
7 East 15th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3637  
Executive Board meets Every Tuesday Night, in the Office of the Union  
L. L. FREEDMAN, President  
LEON HATTAB, NATHAN REISEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

## WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION



# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to  
the Interests of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement.  
Editor..... James Oneal  
Assistant Editor..... Edw. Levinson

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1928

## A Fruitless Political Policy

THE sorry plight of American trade unionism of the old school and its impotence as a factor in politics are exhibited in its conflicts and divisions where unity should prevail. Most of the A. F. of L. organizations formally support Governor Smith for President but in the large cities where the unions are the tail of a Republican ring they will approve the Republican candidate. They have in the past and they will in the coming election.

But this is not the whole story of division and conflict. Twelve labor organizations in the railway service through their presidents have approved the candidacy of Herbert Hoover in the Indiana primary. This provides two presidential candidates of two parties with a union label even before the convention nominations are made. Smith and Hoover are almost certain to be the candidates so that the conflict and division will continue to the day of the election. Incidentally, the farmers of the North-west are supporting Lowden in the Republican primaries, one of the most extensive land owners and a powerful railroad magnate in the bargain.

What a pathetic situation! These divided councils do not even have the virtue of a record to show that the official choices are followed by the members of the organizations. Republican members of the unions will not vote for Smith and Democratic members of the unions will not vote for Hoover. The policy does not unite those who must be united to achieve anything. If a similar divided course were followed in the unions regarding economic questions and issues every strike would be lost and the unions themselves would eventually disintegrate.

All these considerations enforce the logic of working people supporting Norman Thomas and James H. Maurer. They are the Labor candidates and they were nominated by a Labor party. If Labor is ever united it must act as Labor. It can never achieve unity by chasing after the professional politicians of the old parties. It will chase in divided groups and have no power to mass the members in a solid and united army. If one group is behind a candidate who wins, the result is not due to this support but because the drift is toward that candidate.

Denouncing the leaders for the present tragedy will accomplish nothing. The fact is that they reflect the lack of initiative of the members. When more than a minority want a change the members will be united in support of their own candidates in city, state and national elections and Labor will be emancipated from a barren political policy that is absurd in action and fruitless of good results.

## The Miners' Leisure

J. S. BACHE & COMPANY keeps brokers and speculators informed on what's going on in the world through *The Bache Review* issued each week. In the issue of April 7 the miner is X-rayed for the benefit of its clients and he appears to be a mysterious creature. The Review observes that in the non-union field of West Virginia the payroll is 36 percent smaller than in the last four years of operation under the union scale and that production has increased 66 percent.

Good news for speculators and brokers, of course. Another thing about the miner is "that the custom among union miners is to take many days off, and they are said to be disinclined to work more than two or three days a week." How account for this strange conduct? The Review hazards a guess. It believes that "There is a fascination about an occupation which allows such leisure."

Isn't that delicious! The same issue quotes a West Virginia mine official as saying that the annual earnings of the company's miners has been \$1,456. Imagine the "fascination" associated with an occupation which allows "such leisure" as that annual wage affords. The miners must be under the constant charm which a mining region radiates from every pit and every bleak hillside. The lord of the manor strolling through his flower beds never enjoyed life more than these miners do their "leisure."

We vote a garland of skunk cabbage to the chap who placed this literary treasure before the brokers and speculators who subscribe to this service. There must be some fascination about his occupation that enabled him to discover these happy miners.

## Judicial Malice

A BOY of eighteen under a sentence which may stretch to three years because of a silly poem declared to be "unpatriotic" and "obscene" is not calculated to enhance our respect for judges. The verses appeared in a Communist organ. If its editors were normal human beings they would have returned the contribution with some needed advice. But these wise journalists accepted the stuff and made themselves accomplices with the judges in sending this boy to jail.

What stands out in the record is that the judges injected their views of good taste and their social, economic and political creed in their decision. The boy might just as well have been tried by a committee of Tammany or of a Republican club on the ground that he had offended the ethics of sewer politics on the one hand or oil politics on the other. The sentence itself as well as the remarks of the judges bear evidence of malice, not of an objective application of the law.

It is such actions by gentlemen of the bench that invoke cynical laughter when they gabble about ours being a "government of laws, not men." Judges do not and cannot empty their heads of their social, political and economic views when they ascend the bench. The severe sentence given this boy confirms this view. The youngster is a university student and his offense cannot be viewed as other than an indiscretion of youth. To pen him up for a number of years is an abominable injustice and we hope that the conscience of thinking men and women will be awakened to obtain his release.

## Two Poodles Owned by One Keeper

ONE of the striking evidences that the Republican and Democratic parties are poodles housed in the same kennel and owned by the same keeper is a practice of Tammany in some weak Republican districts. Like a brother taking care of a cripple, Tammany will organize a Republican club. This has a number of advantages. It preserves the fiction of a two-party antagonism and under the guise of Republicans Tammany gets a few more heelers for its work at the polls.

Then there is the experience which Alderman George U. Harvey, Republican, had in ferreting out the sewer graft in Queens County. He appears to be a man of some convictions and integrity. He thought that if members of his party would not on the score of principle help expose the thieves they would at least on the ground of partisan prestige aid in the exposure.

But he had some sad experience. He found that Republican leaders in his own organization had no desire to root out the crooks. From the time that he filed charges against Connolly and his machine he met stubborn opposition in his own party. Three weeks ago he declared: "I have been fought by powerful interests within my own organization. One Republican district leader issued orders to his election district captains to discourage persons from giving any support whatever to the movement for a thorough investigation. Another leader protested that the sewer investigation was hurting business and should be stopped."

What better evidence is needed to convince intelligent voters that the two parties are two poodles fed and groomed by the same interests? Moreover, the same situation may be found in most of the other large cities. Get wise.

## America and Europe

WE must dissent with the weekly news service of the A. F. of L. which declares that "In America all power comes from the people; in Europe from the king" and that "Europe is essentially monarchial" while here it is otherwise. Forms are often deceptive and they frequently conceal the real substance of things.

Not that we disagree with the statement that in the United States "all power comes from the people." It does, but it is also a fact that the kingly prerogative of the veto which the King of England does not exercise survives in the presidential office. The Constitution associates the Executive with a legislative power equal to two-thirds of the membership of Congress. Then the courts exercise a veto power over legislation as they exercise in no other country. In war the President practically becomes a dictator as commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

Some historians have aptly described the American scheme of government as an "elective monarchy." This becomes more apparent when we remember that the President's ministers are not responsible to Congress. They are responsible to the President, just as the ministers were responsible to the Kaiser under the old regime in Germany. A congressional election in this country may go overwhelmingly against the administration but the ministers are not required to resign. In the parliamentary system of Europe and England they must resign when an election goes against them in order that the administration may correspond with the verdict of the voters.

Nothing is to be gained by ignoring glaring facts and much may be lost by drawing comparisons with Europe that will not stand the test of criticism.

## To Our Contributors

THE NEW LEADER is blessed with a host of able contributors who have helped to make the paper what it is. So many worthwhile contributions have accumulated in the past few months that it is difficult to make selections for publication. The result is that many of our contributors are disappointed because their articles do not appear even many weeks after they have been received. This cannot be helped as the space of THE NEW LEADER is limited. We can only assure those who contribute that, if an article is not returned it is retained in the expectation of using it some time. This statement is made in order to reduce the correspondence made necessary by the accumulation of material.

## "Red Vienna" Points The Way

The Vienna Branch of the Austrian Socialist Party has just issued its report for 1927. In the bygone year two notable events marked the development of Socialist organization in Vienna: the elections of April 24th and the occurrences of July 15th. The elections brought immense success to the organization. The Socialist poll rose to 694,539, i. e., an increase of 122,414 over that of the last elections on 21st October, 1923. For the first time 71,375 women and 51,039 men voted for Socialist candidates; compared with the 1923 elections this indicates a growth of 21.4 per cent, or for women alone 27.3 per cent, for men 18.5 per cent. "In no single district of Vienna was there any decline in the poll to be registered, and the minimum increase in poll in any district amounted to 10 per cent."

The development of the party organization has made vast strides in the period reported, not least in consequence of the attempts by reaction to exploit the bloodshed of July 15th. Membership of the organization has risen by 57,493, an increase of 17.41 per cent. The increase in male membership is 31,848 or 14.02 per cent, in female membership 25,645 or 14.9 per cent. At the end of the year the aggregate of persons organized in the Socialist Party was 387,877; in proportion to the electorate which amounts to 94,539, this is 55.82 per cent. Since then the membership has further risen and has already exceeded 400,000. An explanation of this success may perhaps be found in the statistics included in the report as to the numbers of party agents. On December 21st, 1927, there were active in Vienna 17,263, 14,310 men and 1,353 women. During the period reported their number has risen by 2,264, or 15.1 per cent.

## Educational Activities

An equally pleasing picture is offered by all the educational and various special organizations of the Vienna workers. The women's movement, with a total membership of 128,658, shows an advance of 25,645. In the number of votes the women are still behind the men but are steadily approaching them. While out of every 10,000 men in Vienna 6,275 vote Socialist, only 5,822 of every 10,000 female votes are cast for Socialists. Notwithstanding the party's share in women's votes rose from 52.82 per cent in 1923 to 48.22 per cent in 1927.

Last but not least we may mention the extension of the educational organization of the party which is striving in increasing measure to train the new members of the party into conscious Socialist-Democrats. Thus there were held during the period 398 special lectures (22 courses of lectures, 59 schools for party agents, 23 schools for trade union officials, 43 women schools, 17 schools for young people, and 11 courses on sundry subjects. In addition the party school and the trade union school of the Vienna branch are still in activity.

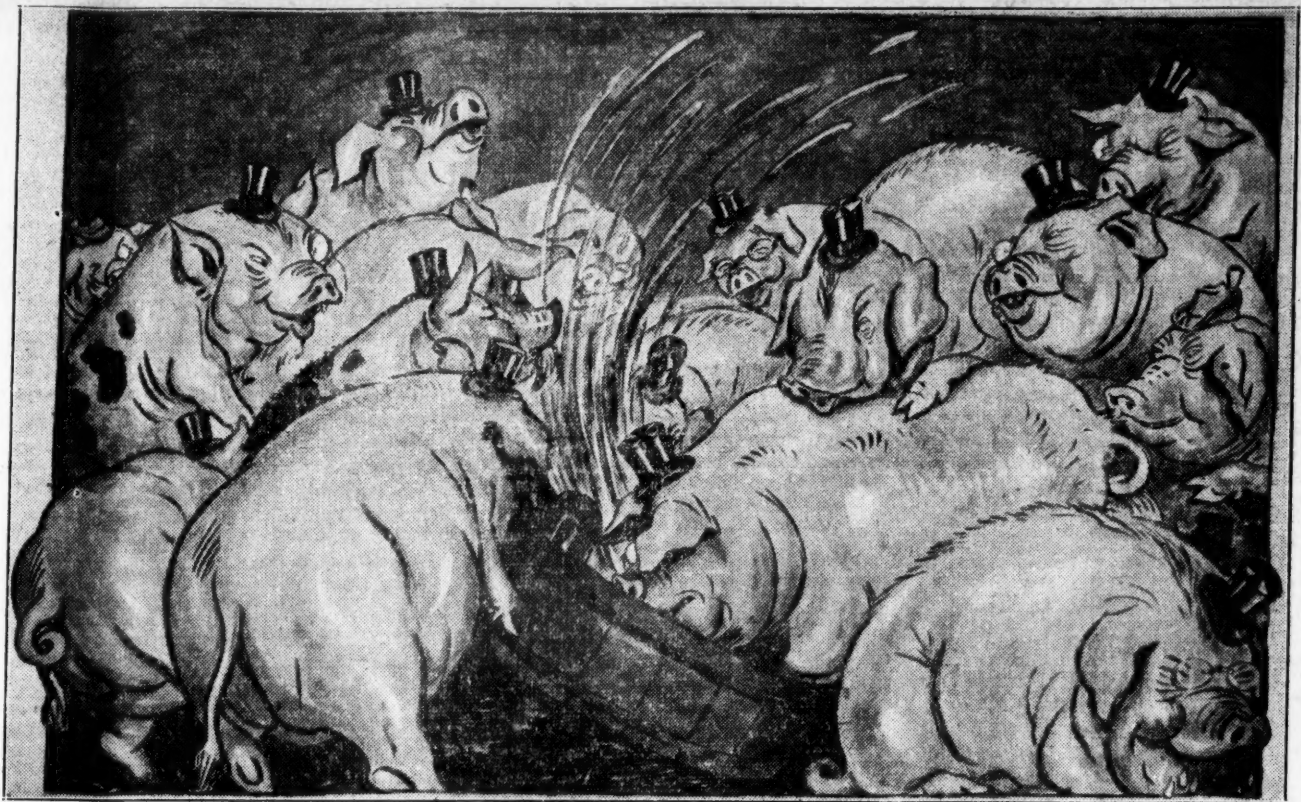
Thus the report unfolds to us a picture of fruitful Socialist effort which justifies convincingly the title of "Red Vienna."

## Maurer Re-Elected Brookwood President

Katonah, N. Y.—Extension classes in workers' education are to be added to the activities of Brookwood Labor College, according to plans perfected by the board of directors at their annual meeting April 21-22. Tom Tippet, formerly educational director for the United Mine Workers of Sub-District 5, Illinois, will be in charge. Two directors whose terms expire this year were elected to succeed themselves—Phil Ziegler, editor of the Railway Clerk, and Robert Fechner, vice-president of the Machinists Union. James H. Maurer, Socialist candidate for vice-president, was re-elected as president of the corporation.

A summary of the activities of Brookwood graduates showed one as director of workers' education in Pennsylvania, and four in active charge of city labor colleges in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Salem, Mass.

## The Capitalist "Order"



## We Blush A Deep Red

### FROM MAINE

Editor, The Leader:  
Yesterday's issue of The New Leader is the best yet. Because it gives an inspiring account of the Convention we shall need many copies of this number. Will you send us a bundle of 50?

Today seems to be the dawn of the greatest advance Socialism has made. More power to you and our press.

WENDELL F. FARRINGTON,  
Freeport, Maine.

### FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Editor, The Leader:  
Congratulations to you and your party on your splendid candidates and your truly remarkable platform. And here is hoping you poll a great vote and surprise the nation. I am enclosing check for renewal of my subscription to your corking paper, though I do not know when it expires. As head of a non-partisan and so-called "liberal" organization I have no avowed politics, but my husband and I expect to make some contribution to your party fund through the local Socialist group.

M. W. D.

Massachusetts.

### BROOKLYN TOO

Editor, The Leader:  
I am herein enclosing my fee for a renewal of my subscription. I hold your paper of inestimable value for my personal edification. Then your articles, situations, both political and social, have become more intelligible. Your paper (my paper) has been instrumental in filling up a mortifying hiatus in the trend of my convictions. While, I, as one of the powerless mass, have not the "privilege" of obtaining trustworthy and exact information of the affairs of government and society, I feel that your paper provides for such as I, an illuminating fountain and has become indispensable to me.

LEONARD SCHUMANN,  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### FROM THOMPSON'S CITY

Editor, The New Leader:  
I think the Leader is the best paper that ever came under my notice and it really deserves as much cooperation from the Comrades and all liberal people as possible.

CHAS. FOGORELEI,  
Chicago, Ill.

### A PROFESSOR RENEWS

Editor, New Leader:  
Please find enclosed check for renewal of my subscription to The New Leader. I like the New Leader very much. My position as a professor in a college in the Land of Babbitry forbids any open solicitation for your paper. But in my history class room I preach as liberal and as socialized a doctrine as I dare, short of losing my job.

E. O. K.

Illinois.

### WELL NAMED

Editor, The New Leader:  
Place my name on the roll for the New Leader. In the mean time I will try and get some subs for it. My mother called me after the best man in the world, and when I was a little fellow I had many a fight at school defending it, now I am very proud of having the honorable name of Eugene V. Debs Morton.

We have a little country precinct here of about 400 voters and have 80 Socialists registered, so you see before long we hope to be like Reading or Milwaukee, we call our little town Socialville.  
EUGENE DEBS MORTON,  
Blairsville, Pa.

## Wisconsin Advises The A. F. of L.

SOME good advice has been given to the American Federation of Labor by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

In view of the unrestrained use of cruel injunctions against the workers by the federal courts, the Wisconsin body calls attention to a few beneficial labor laws which are enjoyed in this state, such as:

The right to trial by jury in contempt cases. Prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes before the lapse of 48 hours' notice to the union. Defining a strike to exist as long as the union is engaged in it—not merely until the employer claims it is over. Prohibiting the nefarious activities of so-called private detectives, guards, professional gunmen, and strike breakers. Legalization of strikes, picketing, peaceful persuasion, etc. And it mentions that there are other valuable laws too numerous to set forth in its circular letter.

To curb the injunction activities of the federal courts, the Wisconsin Federation makes four recommendations:

The enactment of a federal law to the effect that no federal court shall issue injunctions without 48 hours' notice to those sought to be enjoined. A law abolishing the appointment of federal judges and providing that they shall be elected by the people. A constitutional amendment abolishing the life tenure of federal judges and providing that they shall be elected for not to exceed six years.

All of which is excellent—and we would add to it the following:

The splendid Wisconsin laws would not be in existence if there had not been a loyal bloc of Socialists in the state legislature. To get the above recommended laws through congress we need more Socialist congressmen from all states. To get the states themselves and the judges thereof to do the right thing, we need a big Socialist bloc of state legislators in each state. The American Federation of Labor would do well to consider these recommendations also, and throw its whole-hearted and vigorous support to the Socialist party in the national, congressional and legislative campaigns this year, instead of dividing and wasting itself on old party candidates who do not deliver the goods when elected.—THE MILWAUKEE LEADER.

## On May Day

UP Fifth Avenue, under the brilliant blue of a day in May. Between the tall white buildings so arrogant in success, Marches a company of men and women. They are little and stunted and some are twisted and warped, As though the weather of life has beaten too fiercely upon them. The girls, when they laugh, laugh too loudly. And when they are silent their faces have a strange, sullen look. Their clothes are shabby, or blare with shrill color. There are many banners with flaming signs. They pray for the long life of the unions And for the death of war.

Traffic is impeded by the stream of these men and women. It flows on and on, a vast river of labor. The men and women on the sidewalks are impatient. A man scowls and says: "It shouldn't be allowed." And another sneers: "These people ought to be put down; They're beginning to think they own the world." The plate glass of the shop windows shines, And shows forth the well-guarded treasures of jewels and satins, And lace, and little china dogs, and rainbow-lovely hats; And a woman who is small and straight and slender And delicately pretty as a puff of milkweed down, All dressed in a swish of silken things, Throws back her lovely head and cries: "What people—on the Avenue!"

But, scoff as it will, Fifth Avenue is conscious of the army of workers. Its shining automobile must perforce wait while the tide sweeps along. There are, of course, many policemen ready to quell disturbances. And traffic officers, but with the best they can do there are delays. And many women are late for matinee or tea or afternoon dance. And many men chafe uselessly As the plodding army of men and women, The little, stunted, gray-faced men and women, Marches on and on, between the white buildings, Under the blue sky, Sometimes to the tune of the "Marseillaise."

MIRIAM TEICHNER