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Three Months75

THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 10

Ten Pages

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1926

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

TIMELY TOPICS

By N. J. as

MAN of the man on the one comfort in worthy President rumpus. Of course, the public generally is refusing to get excited. The exception seems to be a certain section of the Catholic church, which is going to be vocal at a hearing in Washington on a bill to withdraw recognition. According to the best figures I have seen, the Mexican government, acting under the Mexican constitution, has deported about 200 clergymen and nuns for exercising functions open only to native-born Mexicans. Deportation is not a pleasant process, and probably it has not been carried out with perfect courtesy. There have been some riots in Mexico itself in connection with these deportations. Few, if any, of the deportees were Americans. I have been unable to learn that any of the deportees were as badly treated as the victims of our own anti-Red raids under Mitchell Palmer. I cannot see the slightest reason for any action by our government. And I am as reluctant to be dragged into intervention by priests as by profiteers. I don't want to fight either for petroleum or piety.

Socialists can read Colonel House's letters with considerable satisfaction—albeit satisfaction of a rather melancholy order. They were right about the war. The Colonel makes it clear that neither he nor President Wilson understood the real causes of the war or had any adequate conception of the power of the United States, both moral and economic, to make peace. They were not as completely and pathetically pro-British as Ambassador Page. But, in spite of the evidence lying all around them, they accepted the theory of the high moral purposes of the allies. They made no attempt to get at the facts themselves. Colonel House seems to have believed almost anything that Grey, Balfour & Co. told him. Before our entry into the war he and his chief were as apparently ignorant of the secret treaties as the farmer boys of Kansas whom they sent to be killed for democracy. The truth of the matter, of course, is that the excessively benevolent neutrality of the United States toward the allied powers and the increasing extent to which American economic interests seemed to be bound up in allied success made our entrance into the war almost inevitable. Wilson, it is plain, wanted to keep us out. But he did not know the way. One may forgive him for not knowing the way. But one cannot at the same time give him high rank as a statesman. The great question is whether the light we are getting on the last war will help to keep us out of another.

People who are afraid of the League of Nations as a super state or a vast conspiracy against Russia must be put to it to explain the sorry spectacle of incompetence and bickering which it recently gave at Geneva. Just what happened, I don't pretend to know. I don't for a minute believe that Brazil and Spain, on their own hook, broke up the meeting. I am quite sure that some of the big boys put the little devils up to it. Any way you look at it, it was a tragic exhibition of petty nationalism which puts the world backwards and not forward. Incidentally, while everybody was fighting over the enlargement of the Council, France escaped being brought to task for her criminal mishandling of the Syrian mandate. The "spirit of Locarno," which may or may not have been saved in Europe, was never meant to apply to Syrians and Rifles. On the whole, I think the Geneva quarrels can best be settled by the European states themselves. I can't see what good the United States would have done Europe if a member, nor can I see what good it would have done us to add to our wet and dry quarrels at home the furious combats of pro-French and pro-German groups in this country. The best we can do for the League now is to extend our sympathetic hope that it can survive this crisis.

Speaking of wet and dry battles, more than ever it looks as if the only political issue in which Americans are spontaneously interested is the question: What, when, where and how shall we drink? It will be fought out on non-partisan lines within both parties, and make our political chaos crazier than ever. The only way out would be an agreement on the part of

Mussolini, On Trial For Murder, Silences Witness Against Him

HORTHY TERROR JAILS MORE SOCIALISTS

Bethlen's Only Reply to Forgery Exposure Is Suppression and Intimidation

DESPITE the recent revelations of graft, counterfeiting and general crookedness involving practically every branch of the Hungarian White Terrorist Government the courts of that unhappy country continue their work of jailing and fining newspapermen and other critics of the administration presided over by Nicholas Horthy.

With Premier Bethlen so mixed up in the frame-counterfeiting scandal as to cause even his former supporters to wonder at his nerve in going to the League of Nations assembly in Geneva last week, Hungarian Socialist deputies are disinclined for saying hard things about him, although the Premier himself, according to press reports, does not hesitate to call his critics liars in open sessions of the National Assembly.

Karl Peyer Suspended

Following the recent sentencing of Karl Peyer to six months in jail for having said at a dinner given by the Budapest Democratic Club in December, 1925, immediately after the fatal bomb throwing by Awakening Magyars at a Jewish ball in Csongrad, that Hungary was divided into two classes, one of which consisted of bomb throwers, and their protectors and the other of all the decent people, this militant Socialist deputy was suspended from the chamber for thirty sessions on Feb. 15 by the votes of the government majority.

Alleged Slayer



BENITO MUSSOLINI

DENMARK NEAR DISARMING

WITH the passing on its third reading of the disarmament bill by the Folketing on March 12, by a vote of 75 to 71, the Danish Socialist Government came a step nearer to its ideal of complete abolition of the Army and Navy and its substitution by a small frontier and customs guard. While the reactionary majority in the Landsting (Senate) is able to hold up the disarmament bill, it is possible that the general sentiment of the country in favor of stopping the waste of money on an organization that would be useless in case of any real war may compel the acceptance of the Socialist program. The recent signing of unlimited arbitration treaties between Denmark and Sweden, between Sweden and Norway and between Finland and Sweden, thus practically outlawing war among the Scandinavian countries, makes the prospect for disarmament brighter.

Another victory for the Government headed by Theodor Stauning was the approval by the Lower House on January 29, by a vote of 72 to 64, of a plan for controlling the profits of such concerns as might be helped over the present industrial crisis through the use of state funds. The reactionaries had clamored for an all-around in-

(Continued on page 3)

Fascists' Premier Leading Defendent In Matteotti Case

Italian Ruler's Part in Slaying as Told by Filippelli Corroborated in Testimony of Dumini in Chieti Courtroom

THE trial for the murder of Socialist Deputy Giacomo Matteotti is now in progress in the Fascist-garrisoned town of Chieti, Italy, with the chief defendant, Premier Benito Mussolini, absent. Amerigo Dumini and four other leading Fascist lights are standing trial in person. But the entire world pictures Mussolini, exposed as the chief instigator of the slaying of Matteotti, sitting in the midst.

And with but a few days of the trial completed, the suspicion of Mussolini's guilt is stronger than ever.

The chief witness against Mussolini is not likely to be called. But that does not matter. His testimony has long been on record. Filippo Filippelli, who clearly implicated Premier Mussolini in a secretly circulated document in the early months of 1925, is now a free man—or as free as any man can be in Fascist Italy. The price he paid for his freedom seems to have been his promise to remain silent during the present trial.

Soon after the murder of Matteotti, arch-critic of the Fascists, in Rome, June 10, 1924, Filippelli, among other Fascists, were arrested as co-conspirators in the crime. Incensed with the attempt of Mussolini and the Fascist party to shift responsibility for the crime they perpetrated to his shoulders, Filippelli, editor of the official Fascist newspaper, "Corriere Italiano," circulated a disclaimer insisting on his innocence.

Dumini had, on June 9, 1924, borrowed from Filippelli the murder car which carried Matteotti away. On returning to his office near midnight, the next day, Filippelli says:

"Dumini entered with a parcel of newspapers and asked me to find a place to keep the machine over night. Becoming suspicious, I demanded information and he replied that he had acted in conformity with precise orders from Rossi and Marinelli formally authorized by Mussolini."

Rossi is now in Paris, an exile, and cannot return to Italy to testify except at peril of his life. Subsequent to his release from prison, where he had been sent with Filippelli and Marinelli, he was approached with a bribe offer for his silence. Refusing the bribe, he fled the country. Marinelli, also released, seems, like Filippelli, to have

bought his freedom by pledging silence during the present trial.

Filippelli's statement continues:

"Wednesday morning Rossi hunted me up to tell me that the affair was serious, that the President, Honorable Mussolini, knew everything, that he (Rossi) and Marinelli had given orders after coming to an understanding with Mussolini, that it was necessary at all costs to keep the matter quiet, otherwise Mussolini himself would be ruined."

"I thought it well to tell De Bono, Finzi, Marinelli and others. I learned from Finzi (then under-secretary of the Interior Department, Mussolini's right hand man; relieved of office after the Matteotti murder) and the others: 1. That the victim of the Dumini assault was Matteotti; 2. That the order to suppress him had come from the Cheka of the Nationalist, Fascist Party, the material exponents being Dumini and others known to Mussolini himself; 3. That they had talked with Mussolini on Wednesday. He begged me to prevent the machine, furnished by me, being discovered. Question of State. The regime is in peril he kept telling me. Mussolini was in danger of losing his position and his head."

"What was I to do?"

(Continued on page 2)

Victim



GIACOMA MATTEOTTI

N. Y. YIPSELS TO CONVENE

The sixth annual convention of the Greater New York Young Peoples Socialist League will open at 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon, at the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street.

The convention, which is the annual congress of the local young Socialists, will have before it plans that have been worked upon in the last few weeks which are intended to bring the League back to its standing of a few years ago.

The convention will be significant in the sense that it will have to adopt a plan of action for activity for the coming year which will be carried out by the younger comrades in the organization. It will be the gathering place for those who have carried the burden of activity in the past years and those who have played a less important role during their period of apprenticeship and are now ready to take up the generalship. The young and old of the young will gather to work out a plan to get more young people in the organization in the coming 12 months. The convention will be the starting point for Benjamin Goodman the newly elected young secretary of the Local Y. P. S. L.

The convention will be addressed by Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, James Oneal and August Claessens.

DEBS SCORNS TO ASK FOR PARDON

Sargent Says Case Can Only Be Taken Up On Personal Request

WASHINGTON.—Attorney General Sargent is opposed to amnesty for Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader, and others whose sentences for violation of war acts have been commuted, unless applied for personally.

"Until a man is ready to say he will abide by the laws governing every one else," Sargent said, "it is my informal opinion that he is not entitled to clemency."

The attorney general is of the opinion also that if civil rights are restored through a pardon applied for by another person the recipient must take the oath to the Constitution which is required when pardons are granted in the regular order.

"Under no circumstances will I apply for pardon," said Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader, when asked to appeal for the restoration of his citizenship rights. "I made no defense when I was tried in 1919 for violation of the espionage act because I believed that I had committed no crime. If I should now appeal to the President for pardon it would be a direct acknowledgment of guilt."

"I opposed the war and, believing in the constitutional rights of free speech, I said so. The Constitution states that every citizen shall have the right of free speech and this right shall not be abridged by any act of Congress. The espionage act was passed by Congress in opposition to the Constitution. I firmly believe in the constitutional rights of free speech and I went to prison for my beliefs. Now, under no circumstances, will I ask for a pardon, an act which, in my eyes, would be denial of all that I have stood for."

"I am not taking this stand for any caddish or petty personal prejudices. I hold my principles and my cause as the most important things in the world and life would mean nothing to me if I should compromise in what I believe right."

Mr. and Mrs. Debs, who planned to leave Friday for a trip to the Bermudas, have had to postpone their trip for a few days, owing to the illness of Mrs. Debs.

... A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK ...

The Booze Referendum

The straw vote being taken by a number of newspapers throughout the nation on the booze question shows a decided majority against the Volstead Act. As was to be expected the urban centers are casting the heavy vote, the rural regions tending to favor the bone-dry sentiment. The referendum itself offers no intelligent solution of the problem, although evidence is abundant that the Volstead Act can no more be enforced than the Fugitive Slave Act could be enforced. It is no accident that the morning World ran a leader Tuesday under the caption of "The Major Issues." It anticipates that the booze question will be for some time to come. It is probably right, but it is regrettable that this herring should be drawn across all other issues only to be a hindrance to intelligent action. Recently Klanism served the purpose of diverting attention from the real problems that should mobilize voters into intelligent groups. Now it is to be John Barleycorn. If the Volstead Act is a failure it does not follow that capitalism in the production and sale of booze according to the option of each state is a solution. Certainly the old bootlegging tended no more to intelligent thought than the covert traffic of the bootlegger in his mysterious potions does. What is needed is the recognition of booze as a social problem and framing of a program based on this recognition. Public ownership and distribution with rigid inspection to insure purity of the output would eliminate the malign influence of the capitalist distiller and vender in politics. The saloon might easily become a social center where a man could take his family as he would into a restaurant. Making the agent responsible for any persons who became

The Troubles At Geneva

The situation at Geneva is a crossword puzzle, but it is evident that nationalistic maneuvers for strategic advantage in the League of Nations are at the bottom of the differences. Brazil opposes Germany's claim to a permanent seat, but Brazil appears to be a manikin operated by strings in the hands of parties unknown. Whether Great Britain, or France, or Italy is pulling the strings we do not know, but each is suspected. On the other hand, all the other Latin-American nations oppose the veto by Brazil and are supporting Germany. A solution of the tangle was suggested in the resignation of Sweden and Czechoslovakia and election by the Assembly of two new members for temporary seats, one of them to be Poland, but this was upset by Brazil's claim for a permanent seat. With the collapse of the proposed compromise the cables buzzed with reports of representatives to their governments. In the background there are secret conferences aplenty. This situation, following the feast of love at Locarno, left many of the statesmen in a gloomy mood. Pro-French and pro-German feeling are in part responsible for the tempest, as there are still those among the Allied Powers who fear a recovered Germany. On Tuesday the tension was somewhat relieved. Brazil remained unshaken in her decision and Sir Austen Chamberlain, the British foreign secretary, announced that Germany's admission would be postponed until the September session. This action gives a breathing spell for negotiations and we may be sure that the

Hoover's Hukum

Hoover's campaign against foreign government price control of commodities essential to American industries has culminated in a report by the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It is asserted that this policy by other governments violates economic laws, artificially limits production, and results in extortionate prices. All of which may be true but it is amazing insolence for Hoover and his congressional allies to make this charge. It is especially impudent when it comes from the party which for decades has been wedded to the very policy which it condemns in governments abroad. It is the party of high tariffs, a policy which it originally formulated on the ground that "infant industries" must be nursed and protected in order that they might grow. The infants have become Frankenstein monsters and the nursing bottle has become a huge tank from which they are fed. It is also the same party that has fertilized railroads with subsidies of land and public funds, incidentally winking at these transportation infants when they wallowed in a mire of graft and plunder. As for extortionate prices, under the protection of Hoover's political cronies we have been plundered and skinned, skinned and plundered, and have often been thankful that the gang left us a pair of trousers to get home. A significant thing about this report is the support that Democratic members have given it. These members merely content themselves by adding some "additional views" to the report. The progressive development of capitalist production in the South has cooled the affections

Italy Again in The Spotlight

With the farcical trial at Chieti of five tools of Mussolini for the murder of Giacomo Matteotti under way and with Cesare Rossi, one-time press agent of the dictator, publishing his expose of the inner workings of the Fascist hierarchy in The New York Times and other papers throughout the world, Italy again bulks large in the news of the week. That the so-called trial in the little mountain town in the Abruzzi is only a miserable tragedy staged to try to wash the blood of the Socialist deputy from the hands of the counterfeit Caesar is confirmed by the computations of foreign correspondents showing that even if Amerigo Dumini and his fellow bravi are found guilty of some kind of "modified" murder there are enough legal reductions of sentence in sight to set them immediately at liberty. Rossi's account of his relations with Mussolini and other prominent Fascists is largely a detailed repetition of his memorandum of December, 1924, in which he charged it due with direct responsibility for the Matteotti murder, but it is interesting and confirms the accusations made by the Socialists of Italy directly after the crime of June 10, 1924. Further proof that the big financial interests of Italy were behind Mussolini almost from the beginning of the Fascist movement was brought out during the recent whitewashing trial by the Senate of several officials of the defunct Banca di Sconto. It was testified that the board of directors had contributed 20,000,000 lire to help equip the blackshirts for their march on Rome and that other gifts

Referendum in Germany Sure

When the two week period for signing the demand for a referendum on the expropriation of all the properties claimed by the ex-kaiser and other former rulers expired last Wednesday, it was estimated that about twice the needed 4,000,000 signatures of voters had been secured. Consequently, the German government will have to submit to the Reichstag the Socialist-Communist bill confiscating the properties in question, and upon that body's refusal to enact it into law will have to arrange for the referendum desired by the monarchists and other reactionaries. According to Berlin reports, quite a number of middle class Germans and even some members of the wealthy classes signed the demand for the referendum. In order to make the plebiscite successful it will be necessary for many millions of non-Socialists and non-Communists to come to the polls, as the test is void unless one-half, or nearly 20,000,000 of the qualified voters participate. In the final presidential election of April 26, 1925, Wilhelm Marx, candidate of the Republican combination, polled 13,751,615 votes, and Gustav Thaelmann, the Communist candidate, 1,931,131, against 14,655,766 for Hindenburg. Despite the refusal of the Democratic and Centrist parties to endorse the referendum, Socialists and Communists are hoping for several million votes from the working class members of those parties, as well as from the rank and file of the People's Party (the big business group).

Pioneer Youth Holds Bronx Conference Thursday, March 25

A large meeting of parents, educators and laborers in the Bronx next week will be addressed by Joseph Schlossberg, Norman Thomas, Miss Sarah L. Patrick and S. A. DeWitt. The meeting will be held Thursday evening, March 25, in Public School 4, Fulton avenue and 173rd street, and is arranged by the Bronx Committee of Pioneer Youth with the co-operation of various parents and public school groups in the county, trade unions and educators interested in the development of this new children's movement.

Joshua Lieberman, Executive Secretary of Pioneer Youth, will show moving pictures of the children's activities in the Pioneer Youth Summer Camp and will tell of the organization's work. The Pioneer Youth Children's Orchestra under the direction of Herman Epstein will play a number of musical selections.

Among those cooperating with Dr. Leon R. Land in arranging the Bronx meeting are Mrs. Isabel R. Friedman, secretary, membership committee; Mrs. Anna Antin; Mrs. Jennie Babbitt and Mrs. Eva Goldstein. Mrs. Alfred Boulton, chairman of the general membership committee, and Mrs. Simon Hirsensky, principal of Public School No. 4, are to be guests.

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The Field of Labor

Fur Bosses Denied Injunction

Manufacturers conspiring to embarrass the carrying on of the New York furriers' strike by getting out injunctions were dealt a bodyblow by a Supreme Court decision handed down by Judge Mitchell L. Erlinger. Judge Erlinger denied the injunction asked by Kabanek, Dalka & Green against the officers and members of the Furriers' Union to restrain them from interfering with the firm's business, its property, or its members.

The firm had been given a temporary injunction by Judge Glennen on March 6, when it claimed that on March 5 members of the union had forced Kabanek to go to the union hall and had held him there all day. The union declared that Kabanek was a member of the union, that he had never resigned and had gone into business after the strike had been called.

Suit Against Miners' Union Fails Again

Fort Smith, Ark.—The second mistrial of the Pennsylvania Mining Company's \$50,000 damage suit against the United Mine Workers of America resulted here, when a jury reported itself unable to agree upon a verdict after more than fourteen hours of deliberation. The coal company's suit was the outgrowth of the Jamestown labor troubles several years ago, and was similar in many respects to the famous Coronado case, which was tried in Federal Court for the third time last December. All three of the juries which heard the Coronado case failed to agree upon a verdict. The Pennsylvania case was tried originally in 1920, the jury failing to reach a verdict.

Green Hits Guatemala Labor Law

Washington.—William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, charged that Guatemala was subjecting workers to involuntary servitude, in violation of an agreement made with other governments of Central America and with the United States.

Enactment by the Guatemalan government of a compulsory labor law has been effected, according to information reaching Green. Under this law, it was reported, consoling work collectively is made a crime punishable by eight years in prison. It through the activities of the strikers a death occurs it is classified as murder and all are equally guilty. Those guilty of violence, threats or intimidations are subject to imprisonment for three years. Any striker inducing a strikebreaker to cease work is subject to two years' imprisonment. Strikes are placed under control of the military, thus removing industrial disputes from the jurisdiction of the civil courts and making punishment a matter of court-martial charges.

Covered Button Workers Declare Strike

Several hundred covered button workers, members of Local 137 of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, have declared a strike at better working conditions. The strike, which went into effect Tuesday, has already scored great progress, winning a number of demands for the men.

Hosiery Workers Push Union as Industry Booms

Short skirts and the preference of women and girls for vari-colored silk hose is booming the full-fashioned hosiery industry and the Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Expansion of the union is recorded in the new fashioned hosiery department of the Textile Worker, monthly organ of United Textile Workers, with which the hosiery union is affiliated as an autonomous organization. Alfred Hoffman, national executive board of the hosiery union and Brookwood Labor College student, is editor of the hosiery news.

Lynn Boot and Shoe Union and Employers Win

Lynn, Mass.—The Boot & Shoe Workers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and the Lynn Shoe Manufacturers' Bureau, Inc., win by the decision of Judge Robert Hill over the Lynn Turnworkers' Local 3 of the Shoe Workers' Protective Union. The turnworkers' union charged conspiracy between the Boot & Shoe union and employers to force their local into the A. F. of L. union. The Shoe Workers' Protective is an independent union, strongest in Haverhill.

Farmers Strike Against Cannery

Chicago.—A strike of farmers raising sweet corn for the cannery near Mill-ford, Ill., is reported by C. F. Willis of the Chicago Federation of Labor after a visit there. The farmers demanded pay for deliveries of sweet corn based on cost of production plus a reasonable profit. The cannery refused. The farmers have organized and are negotiating with the Farmers Co-operative & Educational union. A co-operative cannery is also under consideration.

Steam Engineers' Board Meets

Washington.—Forty representatives of local unions of the International Union of Steam and Operative Engineers have been in attendance at the semi-annual meeting of their general executive board, presenting arguments on internal disputes. Between 60 and 70 cases were decided by the seven board members in the first three days. A. M. Huddell is general president and David Evans general secretary of the organization, which claims 35,000 members. Ten thousand of these men are in the building industry, and their minimum wage rate is \$1.25 an hour.

Boston & Maine Shopmen Complain

Billerica, Mass.—As the Boston & Maine Railroad makes its ninety-third annual report, showing a net income of over five millions last year, shopmen of the road are meeting to complain of intolerable conditions of work. The men are on a strike and claim that the company has been paying them less than good workmen who have served the company three years or more are paid. They are charged on the assertion that they cannot keep up the fast pace set for work. The workers' grievance committee and an upholder were fired for complaining to the United States Labor Department. Workers who attend the protest meetings are threatened with discharge upon discovery.

Teamsters' Council Quarter Century Old

Chicago.—At the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Chicago Teamsters Joint Council No. 25, President Wm. Neer recalled that teamsters were working from \$5 to \$9 a week without limit on hours when the council was first organized. Now union hours per week range from 44 to 48, and the average weekly pay is in the neighborhood of \$40.

Chicago Labor Notes

Chicago.—A number of railroad labor offices will pack up and pull out when the U. S. rail labor bill turns up its toes, pulling in its net and joining the long list of historical fiascos. The railway clerks who transferred their research department from Cincinnati to Chicago last year will probably move it to Washington where the new rail labor adjustment machinery is to have its headquarters. It is possible that the branch organization of the engine service brotherhoods will be reduced and the entire headquarters of certain smaller rail unions may leave Chicago. Eighty dollars is the record scale demanded by Chicago Hebrew Typographical Union 93 in negotiations now under way with the Hebrew publishers. The present scale is \$65 a week which, with New York Hebrew Typographical, is the top notch in the I. T. U. Auto Painters' Union 396 announces 130 shops signed up in the Chicago district. The union painters put their label on autos repainted by them.

Hugo Miller, Socialist and Unionist

A NOTHER veteran Socialist and trade unionist has passed on in the death of Indianapolis of Hugo Miller, aged 69, fourth vice-president of the International Typographical Union and secretary-treasurer of the German-American Typographic. He was a member of the latter organization for 53 years. He was born in Germany in 1856, came to the United States in 1873, and immediately joined German Typographic No. 7, in New York.

Miller represented the German printers in the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, now the A. F. of L., in Cleveland in 1882. In 1893 he represented No. 7 at the Chicago convention

of the International Typographical Union and was present at every convention since that year. In 1894 the German printers consolidated with the American organization and Miller moved to Indianapolis where the parent organization had its headquarters. Every year since that time he has been elected secretary of the German section of printers and was also editor of the German organ.

Miller was a Socialist all his life and was also a delegate to the national convention of the Social Democratic party which nominated Eugene V. Debs for President in 1900. He was influential in the Socialist agitation in Indiana 25 years ago.

Free Meeting Rooms Offered

The Culture Circle, located in the Haas Building, 433 Lafayette street, offers the use of its clubrooms, seating about 300 persons, free of charge during the day to Labor Unions for strike meetings, etc.

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MONDAY, MARCH 22nd

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(Instructor in the Psychological Laboratory of Columbia University)
"The Methods of Psychology"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24th

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"Why Religion?"

THURSDAY, MARCH 25th

DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"The Evolution of Ideas"

Admission Twenty-five Cents

Holland Socialists Demand Election as Clericals Split

OUR SOCIALIST WORLD TODAY—II. HOLLAND

Deputy and President of the Social Democratic Labor Party

By W. H. Vliegen

[On March 4, a few days after the following article was written, the Cabinet crisis was temporarily relieved by the formation of a so-called non-partisan government, headed by Mynheer De Geer. Unless the Clericals, however, manage to compose their differences, the new elections demanded by the Dutch Socialists cannot be long postponed.]

Amsterdam

IN Holland the coalition of the Right, the "Christian" Coalition, consists of three parties of Roman Catholics, with 30 seats in the Second Chamber; of the Anti-Revolutionary Party (orthodox Protestants, Calvinists), with 13 seats; of the Christian Historical Party (also orthodox Protestants, defenders of the National Dutch Reform Church), with 11 seats. They have 54 out of the 100 seats.

Before the elections of July 1, 1925, these Parties had 32, 16 and 11 seats, respectively. They lost five seats, but only two to the Left Parties. For three Protestant dissenters and one Catholic dissenter were elected. Before only one of these was in Parliament. The Left consists of 42 members who, however, form no united block. The Social Democratic Labor Party has 24, the Liberals nine, the Free-thinking Democrats or Radicals seven. In addition there is one Agrarian and one Communist. Before the July elections these figures were respectively 20, 11, 5, 2 and 2.

The leader of the Anti-Revolutionaries, Colijn, became Prime Minister. The Ministry consisted of four Catholics, two Anti-Revolutionaries, two Christian Historicals and one Independent.

The leadership of the very reactionary Colijn, who before the elections was Finance Minister, was vigorously fought by us and also very much disliked by the democratic wing of the Right. But they submitted to it, and the government seemed to stand firm. In Holland the elections were fought from the clerical side not on political

and social questions, but on religion. Since women have voted this has been more pronounced. And the "Christian" Parties have been successful in keeping really large masses of "ordinary people" away from us. In this the Christian and Catholic trade unions have played no small part.

Since proportional representation was introduced in 1918 the Catholics have had the majority in the Coalition. They appointed the Ministers, the chairmen of the First and Second Chambers; they held striking demonstrations, founded a Catholic university and played first fiddle in everything. This aroused indignation in orthodox Protestant circles and at the last election the increase of dissenters from one to three was especially an expression of this indignation. These dissenters are keen anti-Catholics. This imposed caution on the Christian Historicals and, although they still participated with the Catholics in the government, they undertook to offer firm opposition to the "arrogance of Rome." In the very domain in which hitherto the Coalition has had its strength, namely, religion, the fundamental antagonism has now come to a head. Instead of the single idea of Christianity, a split between Protestantism and Catholicism has come about.

On the first section of the Budget, the estimates for expenditures abroad, a conflict arose over the Embassy at the Vatican. When, in 1920, the church possessions were annexed by Italy, Holland was the first State to withdraw its ambassador from the Vatican. But in 1915 the embassy was "provisionally" restored. It was hoped that a useful step toward peace might come from the Pope and it was desired to support this step. In 1920 the provisional embassy was made permanent, against the votes of the Christian Historicals. A section of the Left voted for it and so secured the majority. Since then the Christian Historicals have protested against it, and before the last elections they pledged their candidates to vote against the embassy.

When after the elections the esti-

mates for expenditures abroad came up one of the anti-Catholic dissenters, the Rev. Kersten, moved the rejection of the appropriation of this embassy. Thereupon, the leader of the Catholics, Dr. Nolens, delivered his ultimatum. Should the proposal of Kersten be accepted, he said, then the Catholics would have to consider whether they could continue to work with Parties which had formerly agreed to accept the embassy. The position now was that every member of the Opposition who voted for the retention of the embassy was helping rescue the threatened clerical Coalition. It naturally followed that the whole of the Left voted for the Kersten amendment. The Christian Historicals and the Protestant dissenters held the same. The amendment was carried by 52 votes against 42.

The Prime Minister then announced that four Catholic ministers had resigned. The following day the other ministers surrendered their portfolios to the Queen. That was on Nov. 13.

Our Party at the beginning of the crisis declared itself ready to collaborate in the formation of a parliamentary ministry of the democratic bloc, which in this case meant a ministry of the Catholics (among whom the democratic wing according to number is the strongest), the Free-thinking Democrats and the Social Democrats. The Conservatives among the Catholics, however, succeeded in getting through a negative reply. "Only the case of utmost necessity" would the Catholic Party be prepared to work with the Socialists and such a case has not yet arisen.

Since then all attempts to weld the Coalition together again have been frustrated. The Right is just as completely split as the Left was formerly. The danger is that in the end Colijn and his colleagues will simply remain in power. Against such a possibility our Party has issued an appeal and demanded elections.

The above article is the second of a series The New Leader will publish dealing with the Socialist position in the leading countries of the world today. The first, by Arthur Henderson, on England, appeared last week.

Mussolini on Trial for Murder

(Continued from page 1)

"Every word and gesture of mine could compromise Mussolini. I say Mussolini himself personally, and for the moment I kept silent. Especially because Marinelli and Rossi narrated to me dramatic conversations with the Duce."

Filippelli's sensational statement ends with a protest over his arrest because he was "guilty of having believed in Mussolini."

The two days of the Chieti trial have completely substantiated the facts as outlined by Philippelli. Dumini has been the chief witness. He admitted having kidnapped Matteotti and having carried him away in a car. He attempted to establish the alibi that Matteotti was not harmed but expired from a sudden recrudescence of pulmonary tuberculosis. He bled to death from a hemorrhage in the car, Dumini asserted.

Dumini's story broke down under cross-examination by the president of the court. First, he was unable to explain the presence of many severe bruises on several parts of his body when arrested two days after the murder. He denied the existence of the bruises, but the president confuted this by producing the medical certificate given by the doctors who examined Dumini and the other accused men as soon as they reached the prison.

Then he was unable to explain how he could have driven the car for several hours at a mad speed, as he had stated in his story, though suffering from a practically paralyzed arm.

Next Dumini failed to explain how it was that the back of Matteotti's coat presented several large bloodstains, if his story that the blood found on the cushions of the car in which Matteotti had been kidnapped had been vomited by the victim.

Finally, he failed completely to give any evidence that Matteotti had been in any way connected with the murder of Bonerservi, a Fascist, in Paris, whose death, he claimed, he wanted to avenge on Matteotti.

Dumini stated that he went to Paris in September, 1923, in order to investigate the murder of two of the Fascists there. While in Paris he frequented the offices of the Communist newspaper Humanite and learned that "a plot was being hatched by French Socialists, in agreement with an Italian Socialist Deputy, against the Fascist leader, Bonerservi."

On his return to Rome, continued Dumini, he began watching Matteotti's house. One day, while he and some of his friends were standing near Mat-

teotti's home with a motor car, Matteotti himself suddenly stepped out of his house.

"I sprang upon Matteotti, pushed him into the motor car and then myself took the wheel and drove rapidly away. I intended to take him to some quiet spot and question him concerning his share in the murder of Bonerservi."

When he had driven some distance, continued Dumini, he heard his companions call to him from the back of the car to stop.

He applied the brakes, turned round and saw Matteotti "all doubled up and copiously vomiting blood. Five minutes later he was dead. Neither I nor my friends had placed a hand on him, except to push him into the car. I might have brought on an acute recrudescence of the tuberculosis from which he suffered."

Dumini then drove the car "like mad" for some 200 miles without knowing where he was going; so much so, that suddenly he discovered he was only twenty miles from Rome and decided to bury the body there.

He and his companions dug a shallow trench by the light of matches with a file and spanner found among the tools in the car. Into this trench they forced Matteotti's body, after having denuded it in order to render recognition more difficult. His clothes they partly buried, partly buried in various places. They forgot to dispose of Matteotti's trousers, which were found by the police in Dumini's handbag.

"This is exactly how the events occurred," concluded Dumini: "Matteotti was not murdered, he died. His death was a tremendous blow to me. When I realized he was dead, I almost went out of my mind. For a long time I didn't know what I was doing. I assume full and entire responsibility for kidnapping him, but am in no way responsible for his death."

The president of the court asked Dumini to explain how he could have driven the car for several hours, although having one arm partly paralyzed.

Dumini answered he was in a half-crazed condition after the shock of Matteotti's death and did not know what he was doing and could not feel any pain.

The president next asked Dumini to give an account of the wounds found on his body when he was arrested.

Dumini replied that some were war wounds and others were wounds received in affairs with Communists.

The president remarked that the doctors declared some of the wounds and bruises were of very recent date. The president then read excerpts from an official report stating that, though Matteotti's body when found was in such an advanced state of decomposition that it was impossible to tell with certainty what caused his death, it could be deduced with a degree of certainty that he was killed with knife thrusts.

The president finally asked Dumini to justify his assertion that Deputy Matteotti was concerned in the Bonerservi murder. This he was quite unable to do.

"I know it is so," he said, "but I cannot prove it."

What will be the verdict? It would not be at all surprising if the defendants were found guilty. Mussolini's skin would thus be saved for the time being. But conviction of the other five defendants will beyond a doubt establish his own guilt in the eyes of the world.

Conviction will not work any great hardship on the defendants either. They will probably escape with light sentences if they get any at all. The New York Times, anti-Socialist and generally friendly to Mussolini, has the following illuminating comment to make on the possible outcome of the Mussolini trial:

When Mussolini Seasons Justice

Forecasts of the probable verdict in the trial of the alleged slayers of the Socialist Deputy Matteotti stir childhood memories of a certain type of problem in commercial arithmetic. What is the actual price of a piano or a sack of potatoes, allowing for a discount of 40, 50 and 20 percent on the asking price?

"The five accused in the Matteotti trial are to be tried for 'willful but unpremeditated murder,' for which the penalty, where the victim is a member of Parliament, is from twenty-two to twenty-four years. This, however, does not make allowance for several heavy discounts. If the murder was committed in 'political passion,' the sentence may be cut down by one-third to one-half. If the jury finds that 'the act exceeded the culprit's intention,' the Judge may reduce sentence by an additional one-third. If the jury finds other extenuating circumstances, sentence may be reduced by another one-sixth.

Finally, there is the recent partial amnesty in cases of political violence, along with the period the accused have already spent in prison, and the result is that a potential sentence of twenty-four years may be discounted down to eleven months. It would seem that a really shrewd lawyer should experience no great difficulty in discovering one more step in mitigation, with the result that the Matteotti defendants, if found guilty, would be entitled to a silver medal, a pension, and life exemption from jury duty and local taxes.

The preliminary investigation has lasted something like two years. In Anglo-Saxon jurisdictions there has always been a feeling that the Continental method does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the accused. We say that in Europe the accused is presumed to be guilty until he establishes his innocence. This easy generalization is usually denied; but in any case the presumption of guilt would seem to be a comparatively minor handicap in the case of a Fascist caught in the toils of the Fascist law."

You are members of the human race. . . . the prosperity of humanity is your prosperity, its suffering is your suffering. Whatever is good or bad for humanity is equally good or bad for you yourself; a happy humanity is your heaven, a suffering humanity is your hell.—Blatin, French Free Mason.

Labor Doings Abroad

Ecuador Workers Praise New Government

William Green, chairman of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, has received a memorial from the National Labor Confederation of Ecuador, containing a statement outlining the situation of that republic in connection with labor. "The government of Ecuador that fell was oppressive and despotic; it was against the popular rights. The actual government is doing a little more for the working classes. It has created a minister of social welfare and labor, and has offered guarantees to the citizens, and we believe that the abnormal state of things in our country is going to be straightened out in the month of May, when through popular elections we expect to have a constitutional government," the statement says. The Labor Confederation of Ecuador charges that the American companies which own the Guayaquil and Quito railroads, and the gold and petroleum mines in the provinces of El Oro and Guayas, are treating the workers very badly.

Porto Rican Investigation Demanded

Senator Santiago Iglesias of the legislature of Porto Rico has sent to the chairman of Senate and House committees a complete statement relating to the tragedy that has been raging in the island of Porto Rico with ever-increasing bitterness—industrially, economically and politically.

In letters to Senator Willis and Representative Kiehn, Senator Iglesias states that, being fully acquainted with the problems and tribulations of the people of Porto Rico and as a principle of elementary justice, he asks that an investigation of the affairs of the island be carried on by Congress. He further states that the government and the people of Porto Rico are almost helpless, and unable to do more to relieve the horrible situation of the masses of workers that is prevailing today.

Cuban Railmen Threaten Strike

The Railroad Brotherhood of Cuba Workers has sent a memorial to the Pan-American Federation of Labor denouncing the actions of Milton S. Hershey, general manager and co-owner of important lines of railroads of Cuba which are especially engaged in the sugar transportation of the island. The memorial asserts that Hershey is denying the Cuban railroad workers the advantages of their national organization by putting in operation the company union and the open shop policy, and that, with this union-smashing tactic, Hershey hopes to crush the Railroad Brotherhood of the Cuba Workers, using the same policy that he got from the Pennsylvania Company. In view of this intolerable condition the brotherhood has resolved to announce that a general strike will be in order if an agreement cannot be reached in due time.

President Green of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been requested by the Cuban railroad workers to communicate with the proper authorities of the governments of Cuba and of the United States asking them to intervene with their good offices as mediators and conciliators to settle the existing differences thereby avoiding the recourse of a strike, if possible. President Green is willing to co-operate with the workers of Cuba to that end.

Strength of the Russian Trade Unions

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Russian Trade Unions, Dogadov, the secretary, stated that the membership stands at 7,800,000. The membership of many unions is rapidly increasing; the building workers' union shows an increase in membership of 70 per cent. in one year, the landworkers' union 40 per cent. Wages in the first half of 1925 went up by 24 per cent., remaining at that level in the second half of the year. Real wages, however, have not yet reached their pre-war level. Even in large scale industry the wages have only just reached 98 per cent. of the pre-war level.

A comparison with the statements made by Tomsky at the recent congress of the Russian Communist party, shows that these facts require supplementation. For, in spite of this increase in membership, there has been a slight decline in the percentage of organized workers (due to the rapid increase in the number of workers in industry). According to Tomsky, the percentage of organized workers on Jan. 1, 1925, stood at 93.1 per cent., and on April 1, 1925, at 92.3 per cent.; on Jan. 1, 1925, there were 600,000 unorganized workers, and on Jan. 1, 1926, 870,000. Tomsky said in this connection: "These facts show that the trade unions are not yet in a position to satisfy the demands of the most progressive categories of workers, and to accommodate them to those of the more conservative. They have not yet succeeded in getting the workers to come into the unions as a matter of course."

The Fight for the Eight-Hour Day in the Balearics

The Mallorca textile workers' fight, which began by a lockout on Dec. 21, 1925, in consequence of a labor dispute, has developed into a new phase. The employers reopened their factories, thus tacitly recognizing the principle of the eight-hour day. Accidentally, however, the workers heard that the employers intended to cut wages as soon as they went back to work. So they promptly refused to go back on such conditions, and the lockout has therefore developed into a strike.

As a consequence of the workers' firmness, one of the employers has already given in, and it seems likely that the other employers will soon be following suit—all the more so as the strikers are being supported, morally and financially, by the whole Spanish trade union movement.

French Throttle Freedom for Labor in Tunis

FOLLOWING the recent banishing by the French courts in Tunis of six of the leaders of the Tunis Confederation of Labor on alleged charges of plotting against the Government, but in reality for their efforts to organize the native workers and, possibly, because they were Communists, two decrees have been published in the official paper for Tunis that spell the death of free speech and agitation in this French colonial possession.

The restrictions are so severe that many persons who criticize the government, even in private, or give expression to unfavorable political opinions, may be arrested, without distinction of nationality. For the civil servants and workers in public services these decrees spell the loss of all liberty. The press is so gagged that it has not even the right of appeal against any indictment. Leon Jouhaux, in the Paris People, expresses his indignation as follows:

"These decrees constitute a violation of the foundations of French Justice, and actually mean the destruction of personal freedom. They amount to a complete disregard of the most elementary rights of the citizen. They are an infringement of the principles on which the whole public law is based. In a word, they are a juridical monstrosity. As a member of the Tunis Reform Commission I make a strong protest against these decrees. It is scandalous that, in the very moment when the Tunis Protectorate authorities have issued a decree ensuring the right of association, the basis of French liberty should be annihilated by a stroke of the pen on the part of the representatives of the French Government."

Portuguese Brutally Broke African Strike

Light is shed on the barbarous methods employed by the Portuguese authorities in breaking the strike of railway and dock workers in Lourenco Marques, the main port of Portuguese East Africa, briefly reported in The New Leader of December 25, by the following quaintly worded letter in English sent to the South African National Union of Railway Harbor Services by the strike committee:

"We have been the victims of the most brutal oppression. In strike during 30 days owing to a new organization of the service in which our salaries are reduced in period when our money is depreciated in about 75 per cent comparing to yours. On its side the Government only has violence to annihilate us. Mobilized illegally in face of a law the validity of which terminated with the end of the war, the Port and Railway workers are followed like wolves. About 200 in prison now, and these are placed in a cruel manner in a wagon in front of the engine of all trains which white men drive.

"But the prisoners, four white men, are in front exposed to the sun during six hours and escorted by natives.

"Our wives, in a desperate position, on the way to ask the Government to withdraw the instructions of taking the prisoners in front of the engines were dashed with swords. No respect for sex. The house of the workmen was sacked. The issue of our newspaper prohibited. And all this violence with no justification whatever. We want to put the position before Portugal, but with the Government's instructions our telegrams are not accepted in these terms."

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:-: The "Lefts" Right About Face :-:

By Louis Silverstein

Communism in Slogan and Practice in the Garment Workers' International

THE "lefts" have had their own way and they have chosen the way of the "rights." The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has only seemed to have passed through a revolution; in reality, the officers have simply been changed.

The scene is Philadelphia; the time Monday morning, December 14, 1925; the occasion the eighteenth biennial convention of the I. L. G. W. U. "Left" Resolution No. 33 is before the delegates. It is revolutionary-fool-proof, a perfect wish-fulfillment of every radical. It recites in part:

WHEREAS, in the bitter struggle on all industries between workers and employers over the division of products of labor, we have learned that in order to defend their interests the workers must have powerful trade unions following a militant policy and animated by a clear conception of the fundamental antagonism of interests between the workers and capitalists; and

WHEREAS, the present leadership of our Union, contrary to this fundamental conception of the aims of the labor movement, has followed the class collaboration policies of the leadership of the A. F. of L. by submitting the demands of the cloakmakers to the Governor's Commission of "capitalists," which Commission has failed to make a single important decision in the interests of the workers and in all probability will issue decisions which will even tend to reduce the present deplorable conditions of the cloakmakers; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention repudiates the policy of submitting our demands to a commission composed of individuals who, according to their social position and interests, belong to the ruling class, and therefore cannot make decisions in favor of the workers.

The resolution, then, concludes with instructions to the General Executive Board to place eleven demands before the employers, the most controversial being the last:

"No provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike."

T. U. E. L. Founded

In back of Resolution No. 33 lay several years of agitation. The boom of 1913 that followed the close of the World War put the American labor movement in a buoyant mood. The number of union members was increasing, collective bargaining had been made respectable by request of the government and wages were high. There was much talk of "workers' control," "industrial democracy," "Plumb Plans" and "shop delegate systems."

Then came the industrial depression of 1920 and 1921 with the open shop drive by employers under the pretext of establishing the "American Plan." The unions were put on the defensive. The old leaders were condemned for giving way. Progressive unionists, filled with the hopes of 1919, demanded an increased responsiveness to the rank and file and a more aggressive fight against the "bosses."

The Trade Union Education League was founded in 1920 by William Z.

Foster to organize this intelligent vanguard. Then politics entered to complicate the situation. In 1921, the International Communist Congress decided upon a policy of "boring from within" to "capture" the trade unions, the American Communists emerged from their subterranean activities as the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League aligned itself with this organization as the sole hope, in its opinion, of carrying out its program.

This frightened away the ordinary progressive labor man, who was interested simply in the industrial functions of his union, as well as the non-Communists such as the socialists, the syndicalists and the anarchists. "Lefts" and "rights" began to appear in the unions in the manner of the political arena. Progressives and reformers were placed in a position of having to unite with conservative labor leaders in order to ward off Communist domination and endorsed the policy of expelling the "lefts" as the only way out. The unions thus became more conservative.

In the Garment Workers' Union All these changes were reflected in the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in a magnified form. The adverse industrial conditions continued in the women's apparel industry until 1924. In addition, there were special circumstances that aggravated the situation. The simple styles that women had adopted with their new social status and the vogue for fur coats which had come with war prosperity caused a decline in the cloak and suit trade, the backbone of the ladies' garment industry.

A surplus of labor resulted. Then the influx of native-born girls into the industry, who formerly shunned factories for clean jobs in offices, put the dress trade in the hands of unorganizable elements and induced employers to move their shops out-of-town.

Then, too, the vagaries of women's styles, produced the short busy season with the prolonged periods of unemployment. The result has been the growth of the "jobbing" system. The "jobber" buys the textiles, cuts and sends them to "sub-manufacturers" or "contractors" who do the actual manufacturing of the garments. On account of the little capital required to start a shop, numerous sub-manufacturers enter the business, some of them only for a season or part of a season, who compete with each other to obtain work from the jobbers. Cut-throat competition results and the workers in a shop very often will accept secret reductions of wages in order to enable their boss to obtain work so that they may have employment during the few weeks that make up a season. The jobber benefits by cutting down his manufacturing costs, saving on the maintenance of a factory all year round, which would otherwise be necessary, and avoiding contact with labor. The conditions just described vexed the ladies' garment workers and it is, therefore, not at all surprising that many joined the communists in an organized movement of discontent.

President Sigman's Program

It was not until 1923, however, when Morris Sigman became president of the International, that a constructive program to solve the industrial problem that faced the union was worked out. Sigman's suggestions were incorporated in the demands upon the employers in the cloak and suit industry in New York in the summer of 1924. These proposals sought to get at the root of the evils by proposing:

- (1) The employment by jobbers of sub-manufacturers who have shops with at least fourteen machines.
- (2) The adoption of a sanitary union label.
- (3) The establishment of an unemployment insurance fund.
- (4) A minimum guaranteed period of employment.
- (5) The designation of a minimum number of steady sub-manufacturers by each jobber, with the obligation to furnish them with work to enable them to give their workers the minimum period of employment.
- (6) An increase in the minimum scale of wages.
- (7) A reduction of working hours from 44 to 40 hours per week.

The employers had rejected these demands and the members of the union had voted in favor of a general strike when Governor Smith intervened. Both sides agreed to submit their dispute to an Advisory Commission appointed by him. On June 27, 1924, this Commission recommended the adoption of the first three mentioned demands of the union, the further investigation and study of the other proposals, and the signing of an agreement for one year. For four weeks beginning July 8, 1924, a general stoppage was conducted to reorganize the industry in accordance with the Commission's recommendations. In the spring of the following year the Commission advocated the renewal of the agreement for another year, that is, until June 30, 1926. This was accepted by the membership by referendum vote.

"Lefts" in Protest

It is this Advisory Commission and the policy of the Administration in accepting the recommendations that drew the fire of the "lefts." Resolution No. 33 was the outcome. In the discussion on the floor of the convention the "rights" showed a superior knowledge of practical unionism. They were in favor of the resolution in principle, but would it work? Little by little the "lefts" retreated from their original position. They made oral modifications of the written text. They were not opposed to arbitration, but they were in favor of using it only when the workers were already out on strike. As Charles Zimnerner, a Communist leader of the "lefts," explained:

"I think it is perfectly clear. We are opposed to arbitration as a weapon. Our weapon is the general strike. Your weapon is arbitration as was proved by the fact that you submitted the demands to

the Governor's Commission before you called the workers out on strike. We want the future policy to be that when the workers decide by referendum to go out on strike, that they first be called out on strike and then after four or five more weeks the time comes that we cannot strike any longer and we must find a way out of it and the proposition of arbitration is made, we are not opposed under all circumstances to arbitration."

And as for insisting upon "no provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike," it was decided that this should not be made a general policy but that it should be left to the judgment of local officials. With these oral explanations, Resolution No. 33 was adopted by the convention. At no time did the "lefts" produce any program as a substitute for the Administration's remedies for the ills of the industry.

"Left" Slogan Tested

When the convention adjourned, the delegates returned to their homes more than ordinarily curious as to what the future would bring. The "lefts," through their control of the New York Joint Board, were masters of the local situation. There they could work out their policies unhindered. How did they do it with respect to arbitration and "class collaboration," the key-stone of their militant program? Two opportunities soon presented themselves: (1) a dispute with the dress manufacturers and (2) hearings before the Governor's Advisory Commission in anticipation of the expiration of the agreement in the cloak and suit industry.

On Tuesday, February 16, 1926, Julius Portnoy, acting manager of the dress department of the New York Joint Board, served notice that the union considered its agreement with the Association of Dress Manufacturers violated by the dress contractors, who made up its membership, because the latter had failed to supply sufficient clerks to accompany the union's agents in investigating grievances in the shops.

The contractors were told to make individual agreements on Thursday, Friday and Saturday of that week and those who refused would face strikes in their establishments. That sounded militant enough. Under ordinary circumstances, to break up the employers' association would be unjustifiable on account of the difficulty of arranging and enforcing individual contracts but in this case the "left" officials thought it wise. The industrial situation was completely favorable to the workers.

Vote For Strike, But

On Wednesday the contractors' association applied for an injunction to restrain the Joint Board from calling a strike. The writ was returnable before Supreme Court Justice Joseph M. Proskauer. On Thursday, a shop chairman's meeting voted in favor of a strike and Morris Rothenberg, counsel for the union, announced that he would not seek to postpone the court proceedings. On Friday Justice Proskauer withheld action on the application for an injunction but offered

to mediate between the two sides. A conference was called for Tuesday afternoon. Charles S. Zimmerman, ardent Communist and manager of the Dress Division of the Joint Board, spoke for the union and submitted nine demands, the most significant being the fourth, calling for the immediate submission of pending grievances to a temporary impartial chairman and the ninth, suggesting the mutual selection of a permanent one for the dress industry.

This was the fiery "left" of the convention, who insisted on calling out the workers on strike before accepting arbitration and condemned the old administration for their class collaboration in submitting to a commission of capitalists. The final agreement contained these provisions with the additional requirement that "the union shall call no stoppage or strikes, except as expressly provided in the (old) agreement." Evidently, practical experience had made some inroads upon theories.

The Daily Worker, the Communist newspaper, sensed the inconsistency involved and prefaced its account of the developments by these headlines:

NO INJUNCTION ISSUED; FAVOR ARBITRATION

Dress Union Faces New Danger

On the very day that the final settlement was announced, it printed an editorial, warning of the threatening pitfall. An extract follows:

"RESIST ARBITRATION: . . . But arbitration is far more disastrous than the injunction. For acceptance of arbitration presupposes the abandoning of the mass struggle and places the destinies of the union in the hands of its enemies. There never was nor can there be an impartial umpire in a contest between capital and labor. The danger is still greater when the arbitrator is a Tammany Judge, as in the case in New York."

"The dressmakers should resist the arbitration threat with all their power!" But that was not the end of the affair. The strike having been settled on the 23rd, the Jewish Socialist daily, Forward, opened fire with an editorial on the 25th of February. Its accusations of financial maladministration are not the subject of our discussion in this article. What concerns us is its allegation that the "left" administration had gone to a well-known friend of the union and had used him as an intermediary in approaching Judge Proskauer in order to induce the latter to offer his services as a mediator.

A bitter feud between the Forward and its Communist rival, the Freiheit, ensued. On March 4, 1926, the Forward announced in a leading editorial that it was in receipt of a letter from Julius Portnoy, acting manager of the Dress Division of the New York Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Dress and Reefer Makers' Union, denying the accusations of the Forward and suggesting the appointment of a committee to investigate these charges, which committee was to consist of five persons, two from each side and a fifth, Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, as chairman.

The Forward accepted this challenge and went further by naming Portnoy himself as the person who had approached the sympathetic go-between. It refused to name the latter for reasons of expediency, except to the committee, but those in the needle trades unions know who he is. His name, like that of Jehova, must not be used in vain. Portnoy tried to squirm out of his predicament by charging quibbling and ignoring the indictment against himself; the Forward reiterated its accusations, including that against Portnoy, and with that the affair ended.

"Lefts" Submit No New Demands

The second example of an about-face on the part of the "left" leaders occurred when the Governor's Commission in the cloak and suit industry announced that hearings would be held from Saturday, March 6, to Monday, March 8, inclusive. The parties concerned were given the opportunity to submit any new demands they thought necessary. It might have been expected that the "left" administration of the Joint Board would ask for an inclusion in the agreement of "no provision . . . depriving the worker of the right to strike." It was feared that these radicals would ask for a guaranteed period of employment of thirty-six weeks instead of the thirty-two desired by the old leaders, for the moderateness of which they had been severely attacked.

But no. The "lefts" resubmitted the original demands. The hearings came off without any fireworks. The participation of the new administration in the proceedings, strictly speaking, itself signified a surrender of theories, yes, even of principles, to a concrete situation.

So the "lefts" have been tamed. Faced by reality, they have renounced their former "class collaboration" union strategy and tactics. There is nothing objectionable in what they have done in and by itself. What is despicable is their mouthing of abstract principles, their duping of the rank and file, when they know that they, in the place of the officials whom they censure, do exactly the same thing.

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The Passaic Strikers 100% American

By K. Louise Garber

THE demand of the foreign-born worker in our factories for shorter hours and higher wages—a demand which leads often to prolonged strikes—may be considered an indication that American ways of living have begun to take hold on the imagination and formulate his desires. After his first bewilderment in the strange environment has died out, the alien tends to see and to think in terms typically American. He is now naturalized; why, then, can he not enjoy the evident superior economic independence of the majority of his fellow Americans?

Take, for example, the strikers of the Botany Worsted Mill of Passaic, N. J., who have attained a great deal of publicity in newspaper headlines recently because of the clashes which occurred between them and the police. The strikers of the Botany Mill are for the most part immigrants from Hungary, Poland, Italy and Germany. Almost all of them, even the grandmothers, have picked up the commonest expressions of the English language, although signs in Magyar and German stand out everywhere from the store windows of Passaic, Clifton and Garfield, mill centers. For although the mill workers speak English, they feel more comfortable and can express themselves more eloquently when they speak those tongues which fall upon the ears of one limited to the use of English as so much gibberish. The younger generations, however, speak perfect English.

America the Model Along with the acquisition of the English language has come the American point of view. To the immigrant newly arrived in the United States, to these very immigrants when first they arrived, the wages of the textile mills seemed mythically large. Before the establishment of the quota restrictions in immigration, textile manufacturers could hire labor at cheap rates. When the United States Government, by the statutes of 1917 and 1924, barred the great mass of aliens seeking entry into the country, it cut off the supply of raw material for factory labor. Now

Desire for a Better Standard of Living Behind the Revolt

that labor in this country is no longer forced to compete with yearly-fresh immigrants who are willing to work at a mere living wage, factory workers are gaining the courage to demand shorter hours, higher wages and other measures of economic independence which in the past have not always accompanied naturalization.

A great number of the mill workers of the Passaic factory are naturalized. Naturalization carries with it more than a partaking in American citizenship with the right to vote; it carries with it the privilege of participation in enjoyment of the better life of the country.

Those streets of Passaic, Garfield and Clifton which are given over to the factory section bear witness of a desire on the part of the foreign-born residents to imitate, even in cheap details, metropolitan standards of luxury. Shops lining the streets display gaudy second-hand bedroom suites and ladies' apparel in flimsy materials, while at the same time—incongruous alliance—the door signs bear unpronounceable foreign names.

"Mock Broadways"

Fowls hang in Americanized butcher shops, their heads drooping limply toward the floor. Drug stores are bright with advertisements of popular lotions and nostrums; pink and white girls in silk evening dresses with exemplary talcum powder complexions stare alluringly from posters. The passer-by is everywhere stimulated by the desire to buy what is evidently sanctioned by the decrees of American fashion. Yards of ramshackle cafes and untempting soda fountains line the streets. Newspaper stands scream with papers in all languages.

These mock Broadways, so pretentiously aspirant, are a mark of the eagerness with which foreign-born citizens adapt themselves to American customs and conventions.

"Mama, I want some candy," wails a little girl with black eyes and pierced ears, tugging at her mother's black

cloth coat. Her sister is urgent in seconding the demand.

At this moment they are passing a store, in the window of which boxes of lozenges, pink and green all-day suckers, and cigars tempt the pedestrian. The mother is wheeling a baby carriage. She has a good-natured round face, blanching white like a face which the sun rarely shines upon, and an unfashionable dumpy figure. They go into the store, baby carriage and all, and presently emerge, each little girl biting jubilantly at a cake of chocolate.

Wives Keep Shop

Of the existence of the higher luxuries of life—private residences in spacious lawns, automobiles, radios and motion picture theatres—the mill workers are not ignorant. They see the thoroughfares of the better sections of the towns bordered with comfortable frame and brick houses set back on well-grassed lawns and surrounded with shrubbery. Tourists, speeding by in cars of popular make, pass the workers as they walk to and from the mill. The foremen themselves, many of them, own cars.

But the mill workers have no first-hand acquaintance with these higher luxuries. There is no need to build garages in the mill district of Passaic, Clifton and Garfield. Unlike Broadway, there are no motion picture theatres and no beauty shops. Most of the workers occupy the second and third stories of buildings whose first floor serves as a shop. Sometimes the husband works in the mill and the wife keeps shop. But this is true only of the more prosperous families.

One of the husbands of such a family, a stout, good-natured man with the white flesh and blue, friendly eyes typical of a certain strain of Hungarians, gave his own version of the strike. He spoke in broken English, and often he stopped to grope for suitable words. It was painful for him to express himself in English. When he said "cut in wages" it

sounded like "cut in wages." His wife, black-haired, plump and amiable, stood behind the counter of their little candy store.

A Worker's Protest

"I stopped work last week," the Hungarian said, making a demonstrative gesture with his right hand, in which he held an old pipe which was not lighted.

"Up to that time I have been working. But the strike is too much. We stop."

"Too many bosses in the mills. The bosses are over us, the workers, and over these bosses are other bosses. So there are too many. These bosses, they get \$200 a week. Some of the workers get 45 cents an hour. I got 50 cents an hour."

"There are night and day shifts. I went to work at 7 o'clock in the morning and I got out at 4. But the wages, the money I made, was not enough for us to live on. At one time my wife worked in a night shift. But it was too much for her."

He nodded to his partner, while she beamed all over with cheerful pride. "I saw little boys so high (he indicated with the palm of his hand) on the streets at 11 o'clock at night. Their mothers were working in the mill."

"I was working with 10 men in a department. We take the trimmings of wool, cut them up in a machine and make them new again into wool that is good. Then they let some of the men go, but we, the ones who stayed on, did not get more pay. We did the work of the men who went and our own work too. Then comes the cut in wages."

To the mill workers the "cut in wages" can mean only one thing—further deprivation of those luxuries to which they already have access, as candy for the children, an occasional new silk dress for the wife, with a Saturday night at a billiard hall for the husband. As for those supreme evidences of American prosperity—the motor car, the radio, the theatre and the like—they are more than ever out of the question.

Senator Wheeler's Plan to Nationalize the Anthracite

By H. S. Raushenbush

A bill to establish a Federal Anthracite Corporation to take over all or part of the anthracite coal industry upon the threat of a new emergency has been introduced by Senator B. K. Wheeler. The board of directors is to be appointed by the President from representatives of the anthracite consuming states and from the union, the two groups most interested in steady production at a reasonable price. The corporation is also empowered to enter the business of wholesaling coal wherever that is necessary to check profiteering. The bill carries a maximum appropriation of \$400,000,000 to buy the mines, on which the corporation is obligated to pay interest and sinking fund charges regularly.

Senator Wheeler said in behalf of his bill:

"The establishment of this Federal Anthracite Corporation is absolutely necessary. It will end the ludicrous situation in which this country has found itself so often, that during a coal shortage no bill is considered because it cannot be passed in time to end the shortage, and after the emergency is passed no bill is considered because we have a fool's hope that everything is permanently settled. At present there is no bill before the Senate that will protect the country when the present truce in the industry ends.

"The country must remember that wage negotiations may begin all over next January and that the truce may end then for the simple reason that both sides think it means very different things diametrically opposed to each other. The operators in their official organs say it means arbitration. The miners through their officials say they have defeated arbitration. Both sides have been claiming great victories. In such an acute difference of opinion where there is any promise of even a five years' peace?

Face Facts Squarely
"There is no protection for the public in the administration bill providing for fact-finding and emergency control of distribution. We tried fact-finding with the \$600,000 Coal Commission. It did not prevent the three weeks' strike of 1923 or the five months strike of 1925-26. Even the chairman of the anthracite operators, Mr. S. D. Warriner, has publicly favored a fact-finding agency. Control of distribution in an emergency, when there is almost no coal to distribute, is not only locking the barn door after the horse has

Montanan Proposes Plan to Take the Mines From Private Hands And Operate Them for the Service of the People of the Nation

escaped. It is locking it after the horse has starved to death."

This is an honest looking facts in the face. No other bill before Congress does anything but nibble, in a deceiving way, at the edges of the anthracite coal problem. Fact finding is good. It is not good enough. The present settlement, like the three that preceded it, does not tackle the essential economic deadlock in the industry. It is this deadlock which Senator Wheeler's bill gets at.

Unification Necessary
The deadlock is this: The operators are a unit and the union is a unit. So when there is a wage increase all the operators, all the companies, have to pay it to all the workers. Some of the companies make great profits. They would have little trouble in pay-

ing the increase. But some of the companies in this last year or two have been making very little profit. Possibly one-fourth of the anthracite production has so low a margin of profit that they have in the past few years only been able to stand wage increases because they were able to raise prices and people would still buy their coal at any price. Now those days are about over. People want anthracite coal badly. But they will not year in and year out pay what many people of New York were forced to pay, \$1.60 a hundredweight, \$32 a short ton. Some of the operating companies can no longer go on increasing prices and sell the large and necessary production all year around that will show a profit and sustain them in their industry.

That is only the first half of the deadlock. The second half lies in the fact that some of the companies, a large proportion of them, earn very considerable profits and can pay increased wages without increasing the price of the coal.

There is no reason to believe that as long as the miners see large profits and stock dividends being taken out of the industry and watered capitalization in it that they will ever be content to forego a claim to it. What goes out of the industry in the form of payment on excess capital claims the miners cannot get in the form of wages, and they know it.

The disputes in anthracite are less between the miners and the operators than between the miners and the organization of the industry into a

monopoly that does not work like a monopoly, does not establish uniform prices, does not pay all stockholders the same return and does not even out the sums annually available for wages among all its workers.

Federal Anthracite Company
This situation, the figured failure of the industry to function, the great need of consumers and workers, their essential common interest, all lead to Senator Wheeler's proposal for a Federal anthracite company. It is to have a Federal charter, is to act as a governmental agency for the regulation of interstate commerce in anthracite coal and for the maintenance of a continuous supply in commerce at fair and reasonable prices.

With the threat of the very next emergency it is given the right to ex-

ercise the right of eminent domain for the purpose of acquiring any or all anthracite coal mines and the necessary coal lands and even wholesale coal storage yards if necessary. It is empowered to control and manage the industry.

The present security holders are to be bought out at the cost of their prudent investment. Upon demand of the board of directors of the corporation, the Secretary of the Treasury is to issue U. S. bonds, the funds of which are to go to reimburse the present security holders. The interest on these bonds and a fund for their amortization are to be the first charge upon the industry. The bonds are not to exceed \$500,000,000.

Union-Consumer Control
The formal control of the company

is to be invested in the parties most concerned in having the industry fulfill its social function—the consumers and the workers. Three of the directors are to be appointed from the anthracite consuming states and three are to be appointed from nominations made by the union. They are to choose a chairman from outside their number. This board of directors is to run the industry, to appoint managers (and there is no reason to believe that the present managers will not be retained except in cases of notorious inefficiency) to fix the price of coal and fulfill all the functions of any ordinary board of directors.

These two groups have so much in common that their hearty co-operation on the board of directors is to be expected. They both stand to gain from increased efficiency and continuity within the industry. There will under the Federal anthracite company no longer be any question as to the "facts" of the industry on the ground that the operators are continuing their past practices of charging capital expenditure into costs and inflating depreciation and depletion charges. There will be no further question of the motives and purposes of the banking groups behind the operating companies. The essential nub of the deadlock—the high cost companies—will have been eliminated into the average cost of all the companies. In addition, with excess capital claims held down, there will be more to distribute between the two groups than there is now. The main opposition to this will come from those who prefer the uncertainties of a gamble to the surety of a fixed income. In other words, we may expect the opposition to this Federal anthracite company to come from those who still want to consider the companies of the anthracite industry as a speculative investment.

Collective Bargaining Maintained
While the fundamental causes for strikes are removed, the freedom of collective bargaining is maintained. The anthracite mine workers have had a union for over a quarter of a century. They have developed from their own ranks leaders of ability, thoughtfulness, social sympathy and understanding. Their quarrel has never been with the consuming public—it has always been with the excess claims of the investors and the peculiar structure of the industry that made them stand a large part of the burden of those claims. They have been forced to spend most of their time and energy in an attack upon these factors. This company will remove that necessity. They will be free to contribute their ability and skill to eliminating waste and other losses attendant upon the present practice of their opponents. They should be encouraged to develop their union activity in such a way as to play an increasingly responsible part. Their right to bargain collectively with the board of directors is protected. They will have little cause to suspend production, but if they choose to do so, after proper deliberation and consideration of all that is involved, they should no more be restricted in this right than consumers should be restricted in the right to stop buying anthracite coal.

Some of the members of the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, formed at the suggestion of the League for Industrial Democracy, were consulted in the drafting of the bill.

::: A MINER'S REPLY TO EUGENE V. DEBS :::

By Christ J. Golden
District 9, United Mine Workers

As a miner who has spent twenty-two years in the anthracite mines, worked at every occupation from a breaker boy to a contract miner, and has been for the past seven years president of District 9, United Mine Workers of America, with 43,000 members, I deem it my duty to reply to Mr. Debs' criticism of the United Mine Workers of America and their leaders.

Mr. Debs saw fit to attack the United Mine Workers of America and their leaders on the recent settlement of the anthracite strike. I do not intend to reply to Mr. Debs in a spirit of bitterness, for in his long career he has fought loyally and bravely for the working class. I wish to give the miners' side of the recent struggle in answer to Mr. Debs, for, because of his prominence in the working class, thousands are likely to be misled by his unwarranted and misleading statements.

From the first day of the anthracite strike the mine workers were fighting against a campaign of the anthracite operators for a reduction of wages and compulsory arbitration, fighting against the most powerful foe that ever went to battle against any labor organization, a combination of banks, trust companies and railroads backed up by a pussy-foot government. This combination was able, by a careful campaign against the miners, to work up a public opinion through the press, although our cause was just.

Lewis Vilified
The most vilified person in this concerted attack happened to be International President John L. Lewis, who was leading the fight. He was pictured by the operators as arbitrary, tyrannical, stubborn, as un-American because he would not yield to arbitration.

Back in the coal fields he was attacked as a traitor, as were the district officials, by roving strangers who posed as Communists, One Big Unionists and

President Golden Takes Issue With the Charge That the Anthracite Miners Lost Their Strike

Reds. They were doing the work of the anthracite operators, preaching a strange doctrine for the purpose of dividing the miners, and eventually to defeat them.

The anthracite strike of 1925-1926 was a fight in which Mr. Debs and all others who professed to have at heart the interests of the working class should have been with us. Notwithstanding the great opposition, the fight was won, compulsory arbitration defeated, our fundamental principles unimpaired, no backward step was permitted, our wages, with a 10 per cent increase added in 1923, retained, and our standard of living kept up. In addition we have the check-off provision, for which we have fought for twenty-five years, and equalization of rates in the industry was made mandatory.

The settlement was hailed by the 158,000 mine workers and their families as the greatest victory that was ever achieved. Their fight was won because they stood firm, regardless of spies, intrigues and plain fools, who tried to disrupt them. I will admit many were hungry and in need, and that individuals had to sacrifice in the longest and most bitter strike in the history of the labor movement. The workers always have had to pay for their gains, and even Mr. Debs' way gives no promise of an easy way to the ultimate victory.

Unions Gave Aid
The strike was won by the assistance that was given us by the trade union movement of America and our own strength. Dollar relief running into millions of dollars was distributed by our organization to mitigate suffering. We did the best that we could. Our enemies centered the attack on Mr. John L. Lewis for the purpose of crushing him and our organization. Did

he falter, did he take the road of least resistance—that of arbitration—did he dodge the issue, did he or the other leaders spin smooth phrases like so many who call themselves radicals and dreamers, did he yield to arbitration, did he give up the right to strike? He did not, but stood and fought like a man.

The miners did not falter either for they had confidence in their spokesman and, with their solidarity and the leadership of Mr. Lewis, they were victorious.

What have the United Mine Workers done for the people of the anthracite region? Ask any of them, Mr. Debs, and you will find how far you have misunderstood the facts. As one who can look back to the past, who worked for \$2.50 per week, six days a week and ten hours per day, as against the men now receiving \$4.62 per day of eight hours, this is only one example of what the United Mine Workers of America have done for every miner working in the anthracite fields.

If the sun does not bring heat and happiness to the earth and to the

people, if the suckling babe does not bring comfort to the mother, then, Mr. Debs, the miners have lost as you say they have.

Challenges Debs' Facts
One would think that a radical would applaud firmness and frankness of the miners and their leaders in this fight, and the decisive defeat of the operators. Instead, we find Mr. Debs joining the radical pack who are baying and barking at the heels of all trade union leaders.

Who gives Mr. Debs the right, long outside of the immediate economic struggle, obviously not conversant with the fight just won by the anthracite miners, to wield the whip over us?

Our struggles and fights with the employers are real, and must continue to a conclusion. We cannot call it a day's work, as you do after making a revolutionary speech at a banquet with an admiring audience in attendance. Nor can we call it a day by writing an open letter with a pen dipped in vitriol addressed to the anthracite miners. We in our every day

Shirt Makers Answer the Strike Call

Three thousand workers were directly and indirectly affected by the strike called by the Joint Board Shirt and Boys' Blouse and Collar Workers' Union. As early as 6:30 a. m. Monday workers began to gather at the headquarters of the strike, 7 East 15th street. When the hall chairman, G. Goebel and S. Belcamino, called the meeting to order at about 10:30 all the workers against whose employers the strike was called were present.

Great activity was displayed by the strikers during the day. A shop which was unorganized for a number of years was added to the number of the union firms yesterday. In the morning Organizers Lo Brutto, Stern and Monas approached all the employees of this firm and invited them to join the strikers. They did so. Very soon the employers appeared in the office of the union and agreed to make a settlement granting forty-four hours, union conditions and an increase in pay. The strikers, happy in their quick victory, returned to work Tuesday morning.

Finn Socialists O. K. Coalition

ASTEP toward the Left in theory and a step toward the Right in practical politics has been taken by the Social Democratic Party of Finland. Reports of the fourteenth national convention held in Helsinki, February 1 to 6, show that while the delegates approved in principle eventual participation by the Socialists in a coalition government if the defense of the interests of the workers could best be effected in that way, the election of Matti Passivouri as chairman of the

party, in place of Valno Tanner, is regarded as a victory for the Left. Tanner, who made a trip through the United States last year, will now devote all his time to the powerful Finnish co-operative movement in which he has been a leading figure for some time. Dr. K. H. Wilk, Finland's member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International, was chosen party secretary in place of T. Tainio.

Participation in a coalition government by the Socialists is to be conditioned upon a strong Socialist program and dependant upon the approval of two-thirds of the National Executive Committee and two-thirds of the Parliamentary group. As the present bourgeois Cabinet, headed by Kyoesti Kallio, seems to be more elastic than its predecessor, it will probably hold the more or less conflicting bourgeois and agrarian groups in line until the general elections of next year, after which any material increase in the present Socialist strength of 60 out of 200 deputies might make the question of government participation timely.

The convention decided that although the Communist movement was losing ground to Finland, having only eighteen Deputies. It might be advisable to form a united front with them in the provincial elections, provided there was no sacrifice of Socialist principles and the Communists refrained from attacking their temporary allies. The new party program demands the abolition of the taxes upon the necessities of life, better administration of municipalities especially regarding schools and local taxation, and the waging of a campaign for the en-

forcement of prohibition. Personal abstinence from alcoholic drinks was made a duty of the party leaders. The planks dealing with military matters and nationalization of industries were sent back to committee for re-drafting and submission to the next convention.

Practically all the delegates reported greatly increased Socialist activities in their districts and a general revival of enthusiasm and militancy. The trade union movement in Finland is still in a divided condition, due to the clashes between Communists and Socialists, but it is expected that at the May congress, the pro-Amsterdam faction, under the leadership of Former President Huttunen, will be able to put through a motion lining the Federation up with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The Finnish unions are not affiliated with the Red Trade Union International, but the Communists have exercised a sort of moral control over them which has finally forced the Socialist elements to combine forces in an effort to shake off the handicapping influence of Moscow. This reversal of the "cell building" game, has evoked loud walls in the Communist press.

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Gurley Flynn Talks On Passaic Strike In Bronx Sunday

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn will address the open forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday, March 21, at 8:30 p. m. Her subject will be, "The Passaic Strike." Miss Flynn has been actively connected with this strike. At 8 o'clock George Mackay, Unitarian Minister, will speak on "Conflict."

On Wednesday evening, March 24, August Claessens will speak on "Marriage and Economics." Lecture at 8 o'clock. Youth meeting every Friday evening. All young people invited.

Brownsville Labor Lyceum Organizing Baseball Team

A crowd of kids were observed playing shadow baseball in the dusk at Washington Square the other evening. They had no ball, bat or gloves, but they couldn't resist going through the motions. Spring is here, no matter what the calendar may say.

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum is going to begin this year to develop its own baseball team. Recruits are urged to report at once to Manager Rosen at the Lyceum, 229 Sackman street. There are openings for all positions. Pipelets and their friends are especially invited to join the squad which will go into spring training at Betsy Head immediately.

Manager Rosen also wishes it to be known that the Brownsville Bears, or whatever they are to be called, are ready, even anxious to hear from other Socialist and labor organizations who have teams. Spring is here.

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"We Want America!" Mertens Declares

By Nellie Seeds Nearing

CORN. MERTENS is the general secretary of the Belgian Trade Union Commission, a position analogous to that of the late Samuel Gompers in America. He is also a member of the central executive committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions (I. F. T. U.), at Amsterdam, and is in close touch with the representatives of the various other countries in the Federation.

Tall and brawny in physique, he impresses one as a man of strength and determination. He speaks English fluently, has been in the United States (1919) and in England frequently, and is conversant with the situations there.

We discussed, first, the question of World Labor Unity.

"Its importance is primary, of course," he said. "All are eager for it if it can be secured without sacrificing our principles. The Belgian labor movement has been considerably hampered, particularly of late, by Communist activities. It is not so much that they have great strength—only two deputies and less than a dozen provincial representatives—but they impede our activities. The events of the last month all point to the possibility of the Russian Trade Union Movement's accepting the terms of Amsterdam and coming into the Federation. Tomski would probably come in now if his position were strong enough. If they do the Communist minority here will be finished. We shall have no more difficulty with them."

"But we want America in the I. F. T. U. even more than we want Russia, and we want them in first. If they do not come in this year it is to be hoped that they will do so next year."

"Once America and Russia are in the Federation it is quite possible that it may be necessary to alter our constitution in various respects. But this cannot be done first. They must accept our terms, and come in without conditions. Relations between the I. F. T. U. and the American Federation

of Labor have not been so cordial as they might have been. At the convention last year in Atlantic City the I. F. T. U. was not invited to send a delegate. But we hope that this will not continue to be the case if we can effect a union between the American and the European labor movements."

In reply to the question as to what he thought of the economic prospect in Belgium, Mertens was unexpectedly hopeful.

"Conditions are not so bad here as in Germany." Of course, we shall have an industrial depression that may last a few months. That is inevitable with the stabilization of the franc. But we do not look for the same amount of unemployment and acute distress as that from which they are now suffering in Germany."

"And France?" I asked.

"I have just returned from Paris," he replied. "They are through with the worst of their schisms. I think."

The Belgian Trade Union Commission, of which Mertens is secretary, is the economic expression of the trade unions, in the sphere of class war, as the Belgian Labor Party is the political representative and defender of working class interests. Only national labor organizations can affiliate with the commission. Its purpose as defined by its constitution is briefly: to work for the material and intellectual emancipation of the proletariat, the suppression of exploitation and the socialization of the means of production; to secure closer collaboration with similar organizations in other countries; to promote the interests of labor generally through legislation, mutual agreements, organization of new unions, establishment of benefit funds, settlement of disputes, etc.

The membership of the commission in 1924 was 577,885. Of these members, 97.19 percent are centralized. Of the affiliated organizations the largest group is the metallurgical group consisting of 111,403 members.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

(Continued from page 1)

all parties to submit the question to a popular referendum. Meanwhile, it is to be observed that the Democrats in their languid search for an issue finally got as far as voting with the insurgent Republicans to investigate the Tariff Commission. It remains to be proved that anything much will come of it.

Now, if we had sense enough to look for real issues, there would be matters like the defeat of the Alien Registration and Deportation Bills and the passage of Senator Wheeler's coal bill to get excited about. As it is, Wheeler's coal bill (which I understand will be discussed elsewhere in The New Leader) barely got notice in our New York papers. Congressman Meyer Jacobstein of Rochester, who wants the Democratic nomination for Senator or Governor, or what have you, decided that it was politically expedient to go back on his promise to introduce the same bill in the House, and introduced instead a wholly unsatisfactory bill to establish a fact-finding commission and give the President power to take over the mines in an emergency. Yet some people say we don't need a labor party.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

A Movement That Isn't

At the Brookwood Labor College last week Robert Bruere, who is one of the best reporters of our acquaintance and the best human being to boot, told of the company unions that the General Electric company has in force.

I wish every Old Guard of labor had been there to hear him, particularly President Green of the A. F. of L. For here is a development that should make the stuffed shirts sit up and take notice. The General Electric has such a nice tight little company union that the old-time unions don't even dare to approach their plants. The workers are divided into groups of two hundred and to each group is assigned a staff of technicians who explain the work in hand, show the individual his relations to the industry as a whole and devise ways and means for greater efficiency. Every now and then a ballot box is passed around the plant and the workers go through the empty form of voting for officials of their union, candidates carefully hand-picked by the company. Shares of non-voting stock are sold to all the employees, so that today 30,000 employees own twenty million dollars' worth of stock. Is it any wonder that with their limited knowledge of the industry, their everlasting jurisdictional disputes, their profound ignorance of human nature and their suspicion of all technicians and experts, the old-line union men are unable to make even an effective gesture towards organizing this outfit? When your worker is marching around your plant with some six hundred dollars worth of stock in your company, when he has the opportunity to consult freely with the best experts obtainable about his job, there is a swell chance of persuading him to join a regular union, particularly when no one can make up his mind which particular craft he belongs in. The blunt and brutal truth is that the best brains and greatest ambitions are year by year being weeded out of the organized labor movement, leaving a pretty shopworn brand behind. You have "leaders" like John L. Lewis, of the miners, who writes: "Every thinking business man should gladly subscribe to the policy of the United Mine Workers of America." You have "leaders" like Green, who runs up and down the country apologizing for the A. F. of L., saying in effect that here is a good, housebroken labor movement that wouldn't think of doing anything to hurt the bosses and Big Biz. So be easy with us, Mr. Boss, because if you bust us the Bolsheviks are right behind and they will raise hell with your plant. Ask my good friend Bishop Manning if that isn't so. "Labor's Old Guard" not only dies but seems pathetically eager to surrender, as has been remarked before.

Unless there is a decided shift in tactics, unless the pay-roll gang wake up and find out what progress is being made by company unions and the like, there won't even be the labor movement that exists today, and, God knows, that is nothing to cheer about. Next April, for example, the Jacksonville agreement for the soft coal fields expires, and every union operator will demand a big wage cut on the very justifiable ground that it is impossible to compete with the scab fields of West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee and pay the present union wages. What is Mr. Lewis and his brief-bag pushers at Indianapolis doing about this? Don't ask. There's the answer in the fact that two weeks ago he called off two big strikes and abandoned practically all of West Virginia to the union busters.

Some time back there was a lot of talk about organizing the automotive workers, and the A. F. of L. promised a grand campaign. Now that has been officially abandoned on the ground that it would involve jurisdictional disputes and might make Henry Ford mad.

But don't be discouraged, boys and girls, the A. F. of L. is conducting a mammoth campaign of education. They are sending a picture, a real moving picture, around through union territory, called "Labor's Rewards." Before the picture starts a bullet-headed gent blunders through an hour's dreary talk. He reads his stuff from a prepared manuscript and by the time he is through he has emptied the hall as effectively as a fire. Then comes the picture, which isn't such a wow, and then the real work starts in. This consists of a grand bally-hoo for a brand of cigars that are made by union members. You see pictures of the president patting his help on their heads. You see close-ups of him marching in front of his obviously adoring workers. You see him in his home and at picnics and in his nice shiny automobile. When this is over a bird staggers out on the platform with a basket and distributes the cigars to the crowd, what there is left of it after labor has had its rewards. When you go out you are a bit bewildered. You can't recall whether this picture was intended to sell you unionism or cigars.

But, I hear some one remark, what about the splendid work that is being done by the Workers' Education Bureau under the auspices of the A. F. of L.? And I rise to repeat, "what about it?" To be sure, among the miners in Pennsylvania and Illinois, and also among the Philadelphia textile workers, I believe some educational work is being done. The Workers' Bureau had nothing to do with the Illinois miners, and I suspect that Mr. Maurer and Mr. Brophy are doing most of the real work in Pennsylvania. When you consider what could be and what isn't being done in workers' education you get a swift pain in your left ear. There is no such thing as simply marching into a meeting, getting the boys to stand up and promise they will get educated and then going away and leaving them. Real workers' education is no part time job. It means hard work and more of it. It means a permanent staff of teachers of the type of the men and women at Brookwood, technicians who know their stuff and know how to get it across.

I'm sorry to have been such an old scold in this column. Wish I could have filled it with sweetness and light. But there are some things that need to be told about our union organizations that do not organize and are rarely united. It's our job as Socialists to get at the truth, "or clothed or naked let it be."

McAlister Coleman.

The Higher Life

Can I but make a sad face bright,
And tear-dimmed eyes make smile,
And comfort bring to aching hearts,
To give them joy awhile,
I'll feel my life has been well spent,
Though wealth I may not gain,
I would prefer the higher life
And true to it remain.

I do not wish to sell my soul
And live for worldly wealth;
But I would rather help improve
A nation's moral health;
And teach mankind to upward look,
To nobler aims of life,
Instead of spending all our lives
For mammon's selfish strife.

—Martha Shepard Lippincott.

Exhibits for a Museum of War Relics



1917-18
Period Furniture
In use by Swivel-Chair
Field Marshals

Typewriter
On which Directors
of Publicity Composed
671307 Stories of
Enemy Atrocities.

Reproduction of Table
at which 17341 Patriotic Educators
and Bankers ate 201366 Win-the-War
Dinners

Copy of Scriptures
Widely Quoted by
Clergymen and Diplomats
to Foster War Spirit.
(Exception: Passage
from 1 John, 4th Chap.
8th Verse)

The Economic Basis of Socialism

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

EXCHANGE VALUE. From this discussion of rent, Shaw turns to the analysis of the exchange of commodities, including labor power. Here he takes issue with Marx. The exchange value of a commodity, according to Shaw, depends not on the quantity of labor embodied therein, but on its utility. "No mortal exertion can make a useless thing exchangeable, nor is it exchangeable if it is unlimited in supply." Exchange value is fixed by the utility, not of the most useful, but of the least useful part of the stock.

Should much profit be obtained from their sale, the tendency is for the commodities to be so increased in amount that the price secured for them is brought down to the cost of their production, or, at least, the cost of production on the margin of cultivation. This means a very considerable profit to those who produce more economically, "as commodities produced well within the margin of cultivation will fetch as high a price as commodities produced at the margin with much greater labor. Under these conditions individuals are constantly striving to decrease the supply so as to force the value of the commodities they handle to the highest possible point."

Labor Power. The proletarian has a commodity to sell. That commodity is labor power. Over this commodity he has practically no control. He is himself driven to produce it by an irresistible impulse. So plentiful has this commodity become in England that it can be had for the asking. "The proof of this is the existence of the unemployed who can find no purchasers."

Wages. What is the explanation of wages, the price received by the worker for this commodity? The wage of the worker is not the price of himself. He is worth nothing. It is his keep. "For bare subsistence wages you can get as much common labor as you want."

And the more the workers are de-

graded and robbed of all artistic enjoyment, the more they are thrown back on the gratification of their instinct to produce fresh supplies of men. They breed like rabbits. Their poverty breeds filth, ugliness, dishonesty, disease and murder. "You withdraw in disgust from the other side of the town from them; you appoint special carriages on your railways and special seats in your churches and theatres for them; you set your life apart from them by every class barrier you can devise; and yet they swarm about you still; your face gets stamped with your habitual loathing and suspicion of them. . . . they poison your life as remorselessly as you have sacrificed theirs heartlessly. You begin to believe intensely in the devil. Then comes the terror of their revolting; drilling and arming bodies of men to keep down the rest; the prison, the hospital, paroxysms of frantic coercion, followed by paroxysms of frantic charity."

Riches vs. Wealth. It is often said that wealth is increasing side by side with poverty. Riches are increasing, which is a different thing. "In the things that are wanted for the welfare of the people we are abjectly poor; and England's social policy today may be likened to the domestic policy of those adventures who leave their children half-clothed and half-fed in order to keep a carriage and deal with a fashionable dressmaker. But it is quite true that whilst wealth and welfare are decreasing, productive power is increasing, and nothing but the perversion of this power to the production of socially useless commodities prevents the apparent wealth from becoming real. The purchasing power that commands luxuries in the hands of the rich would command true wealth in the hands of all. Yet private property must still heap the purchasing power upon the few rich and withdraw it from the many poor. . . . With all its energy, its 'self help,' its merchant prince enterprise, its ferocious sweating and slave driving, its prodigality of blood, sweat and tears, what has it heaped up, over and above

the platitude of its slaves. Only a monstrous pile of frippery, some tainted class literature and class art, and not a little poison and mischief."

"This, then, is the economic analysis which convicts private property of being unjust even from the beginning, and utterly impossible as a final solution of the problem of adjusting the share of the worker in the distribution of wealth to the labor incurred by him in its production."

What Socialism Involves. Shaw maintains that the private appropriation of land is the source of the unjust privileges against which socialism is aimed. Socialism, however, does not involve at present a literal restoration of the land to the people. . . . The land is at present in the hands of the people; its proprietors are for the most part absentees. The modern form of private property is simply a legal claim to take a share of the produce of the national industry year by year without working for it. . . . Socialism involves the discontinuance of the payment of these incomes, and addition of the wealth so saved to incomes derived from labor. As we have seen, incomes derived from private property consist partly of economic rent, partly of pensions, also called rent, obtained by the subletting of rent called interest, obtained by special adaptations of land to production by the application of capital; all these being finally paid out of the difference between the produce of the worker's labor and the price of that labor sold in the open market for wages, salary, fees or profits. The whole, except economic rent, can be added directly to the incomes of the workers by simply discontinuing its exaction from them. Economic rent, arising as it does from variations of fertility or advantages of situation, must always be held as common or social wealth, and used, as the revenues raised by taxation are now used for public purposes, among which socialism would make national insurance and the provision of capital matters of the first importance."

"This excess of the product of labor over its price," writes Shaw in a footnote, "is treated as a single category with impressive effect by Karl Marx, who called it 'surplus value'."

Fabians Go Beyond Henry George In Applying Law of Rent to Capital. As may be gleaned from the above analysis, Shaw was greatly influenced by Henry George in placing the law of economic rent in the center of the stage in the discussion of the economics of socialism. However, Shaw, Webb and the other Fabians went beyond George, Ricardo, and Mill, and applied this law to capital as well as to land. They claimed that the world of business enterprise was as diverse in its productivity as were the various classes of soil. The differential advantages of sites, of machinery, of the more favored business, consisted of great industrial rents, which did not result from the mental and bodily efforts of the capitalists.

Taking the contention of Henry George and the Single Taxers that, unlike land, capital is created by labor, and therefore the proper subject of private ownership, Shaw and the rest of the Fabians first insisted that much of the value of land is also due to labor. It is true, they admit, that nature bestows on land "natural capabilities"—climate, virgin soil, and mineral elements. But these qualities are of no value unless the land is found in accessible positions "and their advantage to the proprietor of the land increases rapidly as human society develops in their neighborhood; whilst in all advanced societies we find large areas of town lands whose usefulness and value have nothing to do with their soils, but are due entirely to the social existence and activity of man. . . . 'Fratricide' value is a fiction. Unpopulated land has only a value through the expectation that it will be peopled. The 'natural' capabilities of land are thus increased, and, indeed, even called into existence, by the mere development of society. But, further, every foot of agricultural and mining land in England has been improved as an instrument of production by the exercise of labor."

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter VI

(Continued)

SOMETHING amazing happened. It occurred about the middle of the session. Dan discovered that he was not happy. He thought: "I am just like a silly girl, who has married thinking that marriage will bring fulfillment of all her plans—only to discover that it shatters them." The realization came one morning as he awoke. He had often found that as he emerged out of sleep, vaguely aware of the day's tasks ahead, the little, peevish boy who dwelt somewhere deep within him always somehow asserted himself over the man that he was. The boy shrank from life and living. So it was on this morning. He awoke afraid of having to introduce an amendment to a bill of Hurs's—a job assigned him at a party caucus the night before.

As he recovered his poise, he tried to discover whence came his discontent. It was not that he wasn't making a place for himself; he was, if not on the house floor, in the caucuses of his party. Only last night had Andrews paid him the compliment of being jealous of him. Andrews had said: "Minturn will learn floor tactics about the third session. Just now he is too eager to break up party formation, to show off his voice." Yet Dan had carried his point, and was assigned the job of bringing in the amendment to Hurs's bill. To be sure, the bill was of no great consequence.

It was that his life seemed so mean: his room, first of all; his old hat that he had hung on a chair; himself, yes, himself, with his ill-kept hands—his printer's hands—with ink which he had touched more than a month ago still discoloring the nails. Life was not in-

tended to be mean. Somewhere—yes, at this very moment—there must be places where life lived grandly, even magnificently.

There was Bricktop. He felt no degradation because of his passion for her. He was sure that she wasn't "tough," and, yet, there was nothing original about her. She was hard and she allowed to play about her his wild red hair, pale eyes, slightly upturned nose, her inexplicably soft voice, and hard slenderness invited brutality. She offered a fragile resistance, yet she seemed capable of great endurance. And a woman—he asked himself—shouldn't a woman be something more than this? What more he could not say—not merely a mother, he did not mean, but a music, a light streaming out of darkness, a nameless and baffling beauty. . . . Yet, Bricktop was far more than Alice. She was potent—an insistent voice.

His room here was better than the one he had had at Mrs. Erickson's—a second-story front room with bay window and soiled lace curtains. A sheet-iron stove, which he could see now from where he lay in the cot, defied the room. There were ashes on the faded rug under the stove. Gray, murky light came in at the windows. That afternoon Dan went to Minneapolis, to see his mother, he said, but in reality to look up Rakov. He wanted to talk with Rakov.

He found his mother in the kitchen, her dress smelling of grease and smoke, but her face, oh so radiant. Yet as she talked about "how she missed him," "how fond she was of him," "how long he had been gone," it annoyed Dan, for she accepted him as a master of life, a giver, one who had conquered all things, whereas he was in so much need of help. Nothing was settled. Nothing. He pitied his

mother. Every time he looked upon that worn, radiant face, he was filled with rebellion. Yet he could not be comfortable with her. He felt a vast distance for her and for her house. He escaped to Rakov's, but found the book-shop closed. Assign bearing Rakov's scrawl said that he would be back in a few days. In an eating house on Washington street he heard that Rakov had entered the publishing field and was interested in bringing out an unexpurgated edition of the memoirs of a seventeenth-century prostitute.

That evening Minturn went for a walk, first along the river bottoms, where the houses looked like the landmarks of a vanished country-side, but where the smell of poverty clung insistently; thence under the hill, and finally went along Summit avenue. The inevitable fascination which the houses of the rich had for him led his steps hither. He went peering curiously into windows from which lights gleamed. He had not lost the restless of wealth did not lessen it.

In front of a colonial house his eye was arrested by an open door. Some one was emerging. In a moment this person had traced the hundred steps and stood beside him. He was a little man, excited and gesticulating. "Stop a moment, will you?" he implored. "Come in just a moment." Dan was surprised. He thought: "A ludicrous mistake had been made. He started to explain.

"Hurry, please." The little man took his arm and half-dragged, half-guided him into the house. It was a luxurious room into which he was led, a room filled with mellow light, which gave off a sense of deep restfulness. The little man ran toward a radio instrument in the corner, picked up the receiver and

clapped it on Dan's head. "See, I've got Paris. What do you think of that?" He danced about like a boy, or a weaned child.

Dan was fascinated. Someone was talking in his ear in a language he did not understand.

"Do you think it is Paris?" he asked.

"Sure, listen."

Dan could not say, but there was something profoundly moving in this eavesdropping upon a universe. His mind tried to traverse the miles which lay between him and the voice. Paris! If it were only Paris, Ohio, it was thrilling.

Suddenly the voice stopped. Like the going out of a light, and an ocean and half a continent lay opaque between. "You heard?" demanded the little man.

"Yes," Dan replied, slowly. "To think that the first time I ever listened in I heard Paris talking."

He, himself, the little man, the instrument that lay inanimate upon his lap, suddenly became romantic.

"I'll get you Calgary, or would you prefer to hear Atlanta, or Dallas?" As the fanatic tinkered with his set, Dan surveyed the room. What impressed him most was its size and massiveness. It reminded him of a public hall, richly embellished, and filled with ornate furniture. There were great spaces of floor, covered with soft-toned rugs, and chairs of dark wood richly carved in arabesque. Oil paintings displayed under hooded lamps were hung in regular intervals on the high walls. A fire of logs crackled in the fireplace.

It was good to be there, somehow, though strange. The little host bustled round and brought out cigars and drink, better stuff than what one got in June's room. They heard Calgary

(Continued on page 7)

The Use and Abuse of Work

MEN were created to play. This is proven by the fact that Adam was placed in an environment where he could get a living without work. Eve was given to him, not as a helpmate but as a playmate. There were no meals to cook, no laundry to wash, no floors to scrub and no Sunday papers to pick up in Paradise. So what was there for Eve to do but play with Adam?

But Adam and Eve didn't appreciate a good thing when they had it. There was the forbidden tree, for instance. No doubt the apples on that tree were not as sweet as the other apples about them. No doubt also that tree was harder to climb and, perhaps, sported thorns on its bark. But being forbidden, nothing would do for Eve but scale it, and, although the Good Book doesn't say so, I bet my head against a crab apple, that Adam boosted her up.

In short, Adam and Eve made themselves work when they should have played as intended. As a result, they were bounced out of Paradise and the curse of work has plagued men ever since.

Had I been in Adam's boots, this calamity never would have happened, for there is only one thing I like less than work, and that is more work. I also notice that the majority of my fellow sojourners in this vale of tears are similarly afflicted. Why, then, do they work? And why, above everything, do some of them let on that work is a virtue?

Ask the first man you come to why he works and he will tell you that he works for a living. So it's a living and not work that he wants. Or he tells you that he works so he won't have to work by and by, which means that he works for the sake of loafing. Or he tells you that he works so his children won't have to work. In short, most everybody is working to get out of work, and the saddest part of this is that while working to get out of work, we get so in the habit of working, that only the undertaker can stop us, and by that time a fellow is usually too dead to enjoy life.

To the credit of men it must be said, however, that they have done their little best to get out of work, even going so far as to invent labor saving devices. Now a labor saving device is a device which is supposed to save labor. The next question is, "Do labor saving devices save labor?" If they do, they are a blessing. If they don't, they are nothing of the kind. And what I am about to spring on an astonished world is that labor saving devices do not save labor.

"But Adam's assertion is not proven."

Well, wait, can't you? Take fire, for instance. When one of our hairy ancestors wanted fire, he rubbed two sticks of wood together, until one of them burned. Then he would whistle for one of his cave women and say, "Kiddo, hustle some dry wood and keep this fire going, and whatever you do, don't let it go out, for it is holy fire, and if you let it die, the bow-wow will get you."

Now some perverted souls may call it work to keep up a wood fire in the open air. It's nothing of the kind. It's pure and unadulterated pleasure. If you don't believe it, ask any camp-fire girl, camper, or boy scout. But men could not let well enough alone. Some galeot invented matches. They were handy to have around. They emancipated women from the heart-breaking task of tending to nice little wood fires, beneath the murmuring pines. But the making of matches required wood, sulphur, and phosphorus. The ingenuity was rarely found in the same locality. So men set to work mining sulphur in Spain, phosphate in Chile and cutting timber in Wisconsin. To assemble the makings in, let's say Akron, Ohio, required ships, harbors, docks and railroads operated by tens of thousands of workers.

Then some one invented match-making machines, which required the labor of metal miners, coal miners, smelters, machinists, draftsmen, pattern makers, electricians, patent attorneys, Congressmen, Supreme Court judges, and goodness knows how many others. The simple process of rubbing two sticks of wood together and drowsing before a nice little fire spread out until it called for the labor of millions of people in every nook and corner of the world.

Meanwhile the match-making machine, that is, the labor-saving device for the making of a labor-saving device, became so big, complicated and costly that it had to produce billions of dollars to pay for itself. The output became so great that it could no longer be consumed in the vicinity where it was made. So traveling salesmen were sent over the width and length of the country, to sell matches. These salesmen built hotels for Akron match salesmen. Forests were denuded to manufacture paper for the newspapers and magazines, which advertised matches, and Texas rangers raised steers to feed New York match editors. And by the time Sweden developed a match machine that had it all over the Akron labor-saving device, and Swedish matches flooded the American market. Thereupon the Akron outfit scrapped its match machine and procured machines that could make twice as many matches as the Swede contraption, and American matches invaded Sweden.

Before long every civilized country produced more matches than it could consume, and missionaries, marines and other high pressure salesmen were sent to China, Hindustan, and Hottentoland to bring the blessings of matches to the heathens. And as is only natural where competitors meet, it was not long before the different match makers fell upon each other in an effort to sell their matches to the aborigines. When the scrap was over some ten million men were busy feeding worms, buzzards and sharks, and enough wealth, including labor-saving devices, was wasted to give man a hundred-year holiday.

The point I am trying to make is, that the machine, instead of saving labor, has multiplied labor. It is true, the hours of labor are less now than they were in the beginning of the machine age. But I defy anyone to prove that the artisan or peasant of two centuries ago worked either as hard or as many hours per life as the modern machine slave.

I also concede that present-day man has more things to monkey with than our ancestors. "Even the great Caesar did not have sanitary plumbing in his marble palaces. Well, Caesar should have worried. In the first place, he never heard about the convenience and, in the second place, he did not have to worry about plumbing bills or crawl around the basement looking for gas leaks. "Neither did Caesar enjoy the luxury of automobiles, radio or telephone." Sure, and neither did he get gray hair trying to meet installments or be tortured by static, or lose his immortal soul trying to get the right number.

Ever since man came on earth he has had life made miserable by wanting things he could do just as well without. And modern life is increasing his wants by leaps and bounds, until he's run ragged trying to raise money to buy the things which our confounded labor saving devices are turning out in ever-increasing quantities and varieties.

When we come down to brass tacks, the real joys of life are simplicity and inexpensiveness themselves. A singing lark in an azure sky, a murmuring brook, a shady nook, a lover's kiss, a gurgling babe, a striking bass, a tug on the line, a sunset over a sleepy lake, diamonds glittering in dewy grass, the song of the somber pines, the hug of a friend, red wine in the jug. What's cheaper, what's better than these? And what are the joys of heaven we talk so much about—a halo, a harp, the blanch of a palm, singing on shimmering clouds and not a thing to do? Simple and cheap. Sure, and yet how hard to break into heaven.

Now suppose we demand a heaven with steam heat, sanitary plumbing, electric stoves, curling irons, vacuum cleaners, radio sets, player pianos, silk hose, automobiles, taxicabs, telephones and flying machines. How many of you ginks would earn such a heaven?

Well, brethren, it's the same thing with this heaven on earth. We can't catch up with happiness by increasing our wants, and that is exactly what the machine is doing by turning out a dozen new wants before every pay day.

"Well, then let's destroy the machine!" No, not that. All that is needed is a Messiah to teach the foolish world that labor saving devices are not here to create wants but to save labor.

Adam Coldigger.

Mutiny in the Colleges

By Norman Studer

DIRECT of issues in the colleges today is the undergraduate revolt against compulsory military drill. During the past months it has jasssed up the plodding pace of academic life considerably. This war against what one student calls the "consent army in time of peace" has reached immense proportions and its possibilities of extension are infinite. For drill is compulsory in 33 American colleges; and already the battle cry of revolt is sounded from the City College of New York to the University of Honolulu.

Almost to a man the college presidents are with the drill sergeant. The 33 were almost unanimous in their approval, last fall, of compulsory drill. Instead of curtailing the college military they pled to Congress for more appropriations. "We desire to make military instruction rather than less so . . ." The yellow press is also against the students, with terrifying headlines, "Coe Finks Scored by Reserve Corps" . . . "Talk of Pacifists, Communists, Bolsheviks is Rife." Also the windy professional patriots with their mouthings about patriotism, their hints of large sums of money from Moscow. The students' only aid is usually whatever undergraduate publication they are able to capture. Professors, being hired men of the college, are silent, with outstanding exceptions.

Three groups of students have already registered majorities against compulsory drill. The 2,692 to 349 victory for optional training at C. C. N. Y. was soon followed by a less decisive one at Ohio State University—1,079 to 709. On February 4, Coe College (Iowa) registered disapproval of required drill by a vote of 170 to 155. In all three cases the movements were centered around vigorous and outspoken student newspapers.

Hawaiians in Fight
Two schools are at present the scenes of controversy, the Universities of Hawaii and of Indiana. On February 15 the Hawaii student publication dropped a bombshell on the campus in the shape of a round denunciation of compulsory drill. Headlined "A Mighty Dramatic Force," the paper demanded optional drill. "It is to be regretted," it said, "that America is to some ex-

THE MODERN SOCRATES

The college presidents are all for compulsory training. At the recent meeting of the presidents of land grant colleges they were almost unanimous in their plea for Congress and the War Department to augment the college corps.



tent adopting the German theory of Preparedness which the world denounced about ten years ago." President Arthur L. Dean is not alarmed at this outburst of the three Orientals who edited the paper. He considers it a boyish prank. However the students view it differently. They intend to continue their propaganda. When the referendum is taken, the student body, now quite evenly divided on the issue, will possibly uphold the editors.

Through The Vagabond, an outstandingly intelligent college literary magazine, the University of Indiana was drawn into the skirmish. Following its article denouncing the R. O. T. C., an organization was formed on March 3 to combat required drill. A counter organization was formed backed by the military officers and with the blessing of President W. L. Bryan. Debates are planned and eventually a referendum.

At other places the flame of revolt is low, but burning nevertheless. This student publication at California Institute of Technology says the issue "can no longer be ignored." The University of Washington calls the Military Science course "The most absolutely useless and discreditable course in the University. Builds the young men up, niti! Teaches 'em discipline, niti! Makes good citizens of the boys, like so much!" At the University of Missouri where presidential intervention blocked a referendum last fall word comes that the students have "just begun to fight."

Part of a General Revolt

This revolt is more than the dough-boy's mutterings over stale bread and spoiled meat. It is part of a general student revolt against drill master methods in education. There are also protests against compulsory religion, demands for greater freedom in classrooms and insistence that teachers deal with living ideas rather than mere information and pale unworried pedantries. In short, the students are tiring of the goose step.

More than a dozen colleges might be named where dogged war is on against compulsory chapel services. At three colleges, Yale, Pennsylvania State and Vassar, students have shown a majority for optional attendance. At the University of Dubuque, Chapel was recently made optional because of "continued agitation on the part of the student body."

Students everywhere are reading the famous Dartmouth Report of twelve undergraduates. This report called for the abolition of compulsory daily lectures and asked that the student be put on his own initiative. Modern large-scale education is accomplished by the lecture system, which emphasizes docility in taking notes in class and faithfulness in handing back to the professor this information in the shape of occasional quizzes. There is a general demand that this be done away with, at least for the students who show exceptional ability.

Boycott the Dull Ones

More use is being made of the students' main weapon—the right to kick. Hitherto the teacher's job has been easy. He ground out his weekly quota of lectures whether the students learned anything or not. Now the students are finding ways to make the needs of the learner felt. The University of Indiana Vagabond sent a stenographer to the classroom of the "highest advertised professor on the campus," and published his drool for the edification and uproarious delight of its readers. Last fall the Harvard Crimson published a discriminatingly critical survey of the college courses, and over a dozen other papers have followed during the course of the year. And now that Harvard and Yale have decreed that seniors are not obliged to attend class, students elsewhere have seized upon this plan to be used as a boycott of unfruitful professors.

Perhaps the most important feature of the revolt is the growing independence of the college press. Hitherto student publications have been little more than house organs for boosting bigger and better universities. Now there is a considerable group of student publications critical of the universities' acts and often at odds with the majority of the students themselves. The number of suppressions of papers and dismissals of editors this year is indicative of a newer and braver spirit. At the University of California a literary publication was suppressed for publishing a story giving a natural interpretation to the birth of Jesus Christ. At Trinity College (Connecticut) an editor was suspended for criticizing the dean's statement in chapel that "Our duty in college is to disregard the individual and turn out a Trinity type." The editor of a newspaper at Baylor University,

a Baptist institution in Texas, was dismissed for writing an editorial in protest against a local board of movie censors. A literary magazine at the University of Illinois was suspended for the rest of the year for publishing realistic sketches of life in the zinc industry. Some near-by captains of the zinc industry protested. Thus boldly operates the college censor.

A Blank Editorial Page

There are also the less spectacular cases. The editors of the William Jewell Student (Missouri) announced calmly at the beginning of the year that a committee of faculty censors passes on everything appearing in the paper. Whereupon another editor suggests this notice appear in the masthead: "Professor Pry censors every issue of this publication. Let all editors, contributors, reporters bear in mind that the professor is a Republican, a Baptist, a firm believer in the sanctity of private property and a member of the Ancient Order of Elks." A blank editorial page appeared in the Louisiana State University paper, a silent protest against the "unjust, unreasonable" censorship of Colonel Boyd, president of the University. Another editor, whose name must not be mentioned lest this article reach the eyes of the Mussolini who rules his campus, writes: "We have just passed through the first stages of a great endowment campaign. Our chancellor has just had his trousers pressed from a begging session before the Methodist Church and the Rockefeller Foundation. Our coaches have instructions to produce a winning team to pay for our new stadium. The Blast is dependent upon a Chamber of Commerce Merchants' Association for support—all of which are reasons why we confine our uplift activity to the office cat." There are many other editors who "know better than they print."

All of these are evidences of a spirit of unrest in the colleges. It is not a self-conscious radicalism, it has no common philosophy; seldom does it get at the roots of the goose-step system. But it is led by a spirited minority often in possession of the strategic points—the college newspaper and literary magazine. Co-ordinated by an intercollegiate magazine, The New Student, it is achieving a great deal of strength through unity. And there is the hope that, in groping about, these students will eventually come upon the deeper reasons for the complete futility which they sense in the present system of higher education.

Horthy Jails More Socialists

(Continued from page 1)

of "Nepszava," the Budapest Socialist daily, so that he might be sued for libel by a city official who felt offended at something printed about him.

Deputy Vanczak was sentenced to six months in jail last fall, but was released for a three-month intermission the last week of December.

Socialist Editor in Net

On Feb. 5, Georg Szekely, acting editor of "Nepszava," received a three-year sentence in the Toroksy Senate of the Budapest Criminal Court on a charge of having "insulted the Hungarian nation," and incited to revolt. The editor's "crime" consisted in having written that it was naive to talk about an "independent court" in Hungary, as everyone knew that the Awakening Magyars, the "Race Protectors," and similar reactionary bodies could get away with murder, while anybody trying to defend the interests of the workers were sent to jail for long terms. Editor Szekely boldly told the court that he had written and printed the articles in the interest of the public and that he was not guilty of any offense. It took the judges two minutes to decide otherwise.

Back in 1920 Desider Schoner and Victor Gergely, Socialist writers, translated Octave Mirbeau's "Garden of Torments" from French into Hungarian. At that time there was a pre-publication censorship of books and the translation was passed by the censors. But two years later, when a second edition came out, the book was confiscated and the translators brought to trial on charges of having exalted crime and grossly violated the sense of modesty. The case was carried to the highest court, which on Feb. 13 sentenced the Socialist writers to four months in jail. Possibly the Horthy judges thought they recognized something familiar in the French author's graphic description of the Chinese method of torturing criminals.

These cases are illustrative of the kind of justice being ground out by the courts of a country where hardly a day passes without some indignation, or exasperated, citizen being punished

The Lecture Calendar

Friday, March 19
JUDGE JACOB PANKEN—Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8.30 p. m. "Land, Land Values and Rents."
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN—Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, Bronx, 8.15 p. m. "Civil Liberty in America."
Sunday, March 21
DR. SIMON BERLIN—6-8-12th A. D. Socialist Forum, 137 Avenue B, New York, 8.30 p. m. "The Art and Philosophy of Henrik Ibsen."
AUGUST CLAESSENS—East Side Socialist Forum, 204 East Broadway, New York, 8.30 p. m. "Socialism and Religion."
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN—Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8.30 p. m. "The Passaic Strike."
REV. GEORGE McKAY—Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8 p. m. "Conflict."
REV. JOHN HERMAN RANDALL—The Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 11 a. m. "A Plea for Tolerance."
WARDEN LEWIS E. LAWES and MRS. KATHLEEN NORRIS—The Community Forum, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 8 p. m. "The Abolition of Capital Punishment."
Wednesday, March 24
AUGUST CLAESSENS—Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8.30 p. m. "Marriage and Economics."
Thursday, March 25
LOUIS WALDMAN—4-14th A. D. Kings, 345 South Third Street, Brooklyn, 8.30 p. m. "Crime and Society."
ALFRED BAKER LEWIS—13-19th A. D. Kings, 41 Debevoise Street, Brooklyn, 8.30 p. m. "The Immorality of Capitalism."
AUGUST CLAESSENS—Monticello Workmen's Circle, Monticello, N. Y., 9 p. m. "The True Bonds of Love and Marriage."
Friday, March 26
BLANCHE WATSON—Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8.30 p. m. "India and Its Revolution."
AUGUST CLAESSENS, Williamsburgh Educational Alliance, 76 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn, 8 p. m.: "Prostitution."

Stetson School to Give Dance, Concert, Exhibit At Rand School, April 2

The Modern School, of Stetson, N. J., has arranged a concert and dance to take place at the Rand School Auditorium on the evening of Friday, April 2. A very pleasant program of music has been arranged, and an exhibition of the work of the children of the school will be shown. During the evening short addresses will be given by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Harry Kelly. Tickets may be gotten from Harry Kelly, 70 Fifth Avenue, or at the door.

Two examples of corporate nerve and greed have us riled through and through: (1) The nerve of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co., in trying to collect through the New York Telephone Co. higher rates from us consumers when the A. T. & T. has just declared its highest dividends—almost 12 percent. (2) The nerve of the coal dealers in trying to shift their soft coal on us instead of anthracite. They robbed us during the strike and said it was on account of strikes they ran in loading up with substitutes. Now they try to shift all the risk and loss to us—after charging us \$30 to \$48 a ton for substitutes.

for "insulting Regent Horthy," the man who was on the Allies' list of war criminals because of his having ordered the dropping of bombs upon Venice, but who became their chief tool in preventing the Hungarian Socialists and liberals from setting up a republic after the fall of Bela Kun. On Feb. 6 Stephen Vagi and six of his fellow members of the Independent Hungarian Socialist Party were set at liberty after having been held under arrest for seven months on unproved charges of making incendiary speeches, and trying to revive the illegal Communist Party. Vagi was the leader of the small faction of extremists who broke away from the regular Hungarian Socialist Party last spring.

The sixth anniversary of the unpublished murder of Bela Somogyi and Bela Baco, editors of "Nepszava," by Horthy's minions, was observed on Feb. 17 by the pilgrimage of 5,000 or 6,000 Budapest workers to their graves, where there was a speech by Deputy Stephen Farkas, and several Socialist songs were sung. The wreaths deposited upon the graves bore no red ribbons or inscriptions, as this had been banned by the police, who were present in great numbers. When Deputy Farkas, in telling of the martyrdom of the two murdered Socialists, shouted that it was a disgrace for their slayers to be at liberty, many voices in the crowd cried, "We know who they are. The day of reckoning will surely come!"

Regardless of how the counterfeiting scandal turns out, the Hungarian Socialists will keep on fighting both Bethlen and Horthy to the end.

Nearing to Debate On Russian Recognition

Scott Nearing, recently returned from Soviet Russia, will argue for the recognition of Russia by the United States in debate with J. Robert O'Brien, of the National Security League, to be held, Sunday afternoon, March 28, at the Manhattan Opera House. Proceeds of the debate will go to the New Masses.

The Negro of Today

By James Oneal

THOSE who think of the American Negro in terms of the shuffling, uneducated, happy-go-lucky Afro-American of tradition will find it difficult to think of any section of the race in any other sense. They think of him as a "problem" the solution of which depends largely upon white determination, a solution which the educated Negro must accept and carry out if he is not to offend his "betters." But another Negro is not only emerging out of the old tradition. He is already here. To be sure, he is not numerous but his numbers are increasing. His emergence into the field of the drama, poetry, fiction, history, art and music recalls the type represented by Gorky who emerged from the Russian abyss to give notice that genius, although smothered by a criminal social order, could not be destroyed in the proletariat.

What the Negro is capable of is forcefully brought to our attention by the appearance of one of the most notable books in a generation (The New Negro. Edited by Alain Locke. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. \$5). This book marks a turning point in the development of the American Negro. Time was when Booker T. Washington was the prophet of the race, the evangel underwritten by exploiting whites to carry the message of social redemption to those in the social pit.

"Put money in thy purse." That was the substance of the message, but with it came the counsel of acquiescence in social exclusion and political ostracism until the Negro could set up in business for himself. Negro Babbitt was the ideal.

Then Came Garvey

A counter proposal to this program appeared in the screamingly funny Negro movement, a queer form of Garvey chauvinism and nationalism which visioned a Free Africa with a charlatan at its head surrounded by toadies in brilliant uniforms, glistening swords, and observing a feudal ritual of worship.

Just how Garvey was to get the white usurpers out of Africa and all the Negroes of the world in, just why the Negro proletariat would be more happy under a Negro capitalism in Africa than they would be under a white capitalism in the United States, was never explained. Some queer legend in handling funds that came into his hands landed Garvey in a "home" in Atlanta, and, for the time

Rand School Notes

Today when we press for the passage of labor laws protecting women in industry, we find ourselves opposed not merely by the manufacturers' associations but by the National Woman's Party as well.

To Socialists this attitude seems like an attack on laws designed to protect women wage workers. The National Woman's Party claims that they are protecting women against laws whose results inevitably will be to throw women out of work by subjecting their labor to restrictions which do not apply to the labor of men.

The question "Is Special Labor Legislation for Women Desirable?" will be debated at the Rand School Auditorium on Wednesday, April 7 at 8 p. m. Esther Friedman, who needs no introduction to Socialists and trade unionists, will take the affirmative. Doris Stevens, vice-president of the National Woman's Party, a former militant suffragette, and author of "Jailed For Freedom," will take the negative.

Tickets are only 50 cents and are on sale at the Rand School and the Woman's Trade Union League. On Tuesday, March 23, at 7 p. m., August Claessens will lecture in the Rand School on the subject "Socialism In Its Relation With Religion and Ethics."

On Wednesday evening at half past eight Alexander A. Goldenweiser will lecture on "Our Changing Morality." Next Saturday afternoon will be held the first sessions in two special courses arranged for members of the Young People's Socialist League. At 1.30 p. m., Algernon Lee will conduct a class in Socialism, and at three o'clock, August Claessens will follow with a session in public speaking. It is expected that these classes will continue till the latter part of May. Only those who attend the class in Socialism are to be admitted to the work in public speaking.

Beginning on Friday, April 2, at 8.30 p. m., Leo E. Salda will give a series of six lectures in modern literature, dealing with the work of Leo Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Henrik Ibsen, John Galsworthy, Gerhardt Hauptmann and Anatole France—or possibly, if the class so desires, substituting the Spanish Unamuno for one of these. A debate has been arranged under the auspices of the Rand School between Mrs. Esther Friedman of the Socialist Party and Miss Doris Stevens of the National Woman's Party, on the question of special labor legislation for women. As is known, the National Woman's Party stands for the wiping out of all legal discrimination between men and women, and as a part of this program it opposes labor laws which apply only to female wage-workers and not equally to males. The Socialist Party, in common with the trade unions, holds that special legislation for the protection of wage-working women is necessary in their own interest and in the interest of the working class as a whole. This vital question will be discussed by the able representatives named, in the Debts Auditorium at 7 East 15th Street, on Wednesday evening, April 7. The admission fee at the door will be 75 cents, but tickets may be bought in advance at 50 cents.

Race Is Now Taking Its Place in the Foremost Ranks of American Cultural Leadership

being, his "Negro Empire" has not reached the de facto stage.

But all the time the cultured Negro was reaching out of the depths and he has finally emerged. He bears none of the servile traditions of Booker T. Washington. Neither does he take stock in any of the childish dreaming of Garveyism. He is writing, singing, painting and sculpturing his way to the front, and by sheer genius is compelling recognition of his humanity, his scholarship, and his place in the scheme of things. The tragedy of his race provides rich materials which no white can probe or use. This is evident in the remarkable book before us. He has progressed so far that he can laugh at his follies just as we laugh at our Babbitts.

"Even Cullud Policemans"

One finds it difficult to give an idea of the work. It must be read to be understood, but it seems to us that Rudolph Fisher, in "The City of Refuge," has probed the depths of experience and illusions for the southern Negro. Imagine a North Carolina Negro who fled the state to escape a lynching. He reaches Harlem and "in Harlem black is white." The color line is gone. Negro restaurants, papers, theatres, movies. More amazing is the Negro traffic policeman whose shrill whistle and wave of the hand work magic. Whites and blacks obey his command! "Even got cullud policeman—even got cullud—" Certainly, this is a Negro Utopia of Freedom.

Then disillusion! The Negro grafter, the dope den, the Negro swindlers of their race. Gillis, our Negro, is snared by his own kind though innocent. A rush of hate, a desire to wreak vengeance—and then "Gillis found himself face to face with a uniformed black policeman." Prepared to resist, his mood changes; he goes along, "and the grin that came over his features had something exultant in it." There is nothing to be added to a situation which would be spoiled by elaboration. But, Gillis, happy in the clutch of a Negro cop, remains with us. That a Negro could write this story is of itself evidence that the New Negro has arrived.

One criticism we have to offer. Why the editor overlooked the extraordinary small group like Randolph and Cross-waith in the labor movement we do not understand. For sheer merit these men in their writings and leadership measure up to the best that may be found in any section of the white labor movement. They are just as much representative of the new Negro in their particular field as Jean Toomer is in fiction, and their contributions are just as scholarly. In fact, the writer knows of no publication in this country that has carried so much of sound information and accurate analysis of American society in terms of American economic history as "The Messenger," the organ of the Negro labor movement. For a year or two it lapsed by running "inspirational" articles regarding Negroes in business, but it is returning to its old standard. To neglect this phase of the new Negro is unfortunate as it leaves an important phase of contemporary Negro history untold.

New Masses Editors Join Passaic Strikers On Their Picket Line

Passaic, N. J.—The New Masses had its real revolutionary birthday the other day when the magazine office was closed down, and the whole staff of editors, artists, business manager, office boys and poets came here to Passaic to march on the picket line and to express their solidarity with the textile workers.

The group marched in the picket line at the Lodi and Gera mills.

James Rorty, who won the Nation prize for poetry one year, an ex-soldier, and one of the editors of the New Masses spoke at one of the meetings. Joseph Freeman, Hugo Gellert, the artist, and Michael Gold were others who spoke. Among other artists and writers in the delegation were Egmont Arens, Ruth Stout, Fay Stout, Clara Michaelson, Louis Lozowick, Morris Pass and Freda Kirchwey, editor of the Nation.

Some fine material is already in for the first number, which will appear on May 1, the editors report. Babette Deutsch, Bishop Brown, Nathan Asch, Floyd Dell, Charles W. Wood, Art Young, Boardman Robinson, William Gropper, M. H. Hedges, McAlister Coleman, Mary Heaton Vorse and others will be represented.

A Rare Coupon-Clipper

LETTERS OF PROTEST, by Kate Crane-Gartz (Mary Craig Sinclair, Pasadena, Cal.), is an interesting record of a rich woman who personally does what she can to right existing wrongs. A large part of her income goes to supporting radical causes or to bailing out persons arrested for their views or activities.

There are letters to educators, officials, bankers, editors, friends, strangers and Coolidge. As an example of polite letter-writing, how is this to Cal? "If you care about making yourself a famous President instead of a colorless one—" This to a district attorney: "I bailed out nine yesterday, and I will continue to do so as fast as you put them in."

Concerning her unearned income she writes: "As for Crane Co., or my source of supply, that has nothing to do with my activities of which you complain. I realize that I am living on the charity of those thousands of people who work there, so I may be free to loaf and play cards, if I choose, like every other 'society woman'; and if I

did, you and every one else in Pasadena would think I was a perfect lady."

Esther Lowell.

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Garland Fund Disposes of Million Gift, But Still Has Nearly a Million Left

THE third report of the American Fund for Public Service, to which Charles Garland left his fortune, shows that the board had given away, loaned or pledged over half of Garland's original gift of \$500,000 up to last July, the period covered. Subsequent gifts, loans and pledges have brought the total to over the entire original amount. Because of a phenomenal increase in the value of the First National Bank stock in which most of the money was invested, the assets of the fund have so increased that there was still in hand on January 1st about three-quarters of a million dollars. The report shows a marked increase in the amount of business handled by the fund, both money given away and in loans. The loans were five times the amount of the year before, gifts increased by 12 percent, and the applications favorably acted upon almost doubled.

This condition was due, according to the officers of the fund, to increasing needs in the labor and radical movements which have found it difficult to finance their own new enterprises during a period of depression. Commenting on this condition the report says: "The progressive forces in the American labor movement are at low ebb. The drive toward progressive achievement which marked that movement just after the war has been blocked by the offensive of employers against organized labor and by economic conditions unfavorable for organization and experiment. The radical movements are also affected by the same forces, and experiment and enthusiasm in them have greatly decreased. Faced with these conditions the directors felt that rather than hold the fund for a more fruitful day, they would continue to spend it now on the most promising movements for the advancement of workers' causes. Workers' education, research and publications, as a part of a broad educational movement, seemed best to meet that view."

Governor Minturn

(Continued from page 5)

and Atlanta, rich southern voices pronouncing rounded "a" and soft "r." Dan rose to go abruptly, the thought suddenly striking him that he was intruding. At the door the little man again detained him.

"May I have your name and address?" he asked. "You see, I happened to be all alone here tonight. Even the butler is out. I want to announce to the press tomorrow that I got Paris, and I want you for a witness."

For some reason this explanation aroused in Dan all the latent class feeling and suspicion. He saw the whole pleasant incident as a cheap device or insult.

"I'll be damned if I will," he declared, and bolted out of the house.

leaving his host speechless.

He tramped the empty streets past other imposing houses, indignant. "All he could think of was getting into the papers—the fool." Occasionally below in the river bottoms Minturn caught a glimpse of swinging lanterns on a moving train, and arc lights amidst smoke and dust. He tore along, puzzled, angry. Whenever he smashed into the other class, he manifested his contempt for it by renewing his resolution to get ahead. He would seize power—the governorship. They would see.

"My God! What a room! That house must have cost as much as the capitol. Did I really hear Paris? Paris? The whole world could be made one."

(To be Continued Next Week)

Porters Flock to Real Union After Fluke

New York.—Not a single change in the agreement between the Pullman Company and its company union for porters resulted from the so-called wage conference held to forestall bona fide union organization among the workers. So reports A. L. Totten from Chicago to Roy Lancaster, both organizers for the Independent Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Totten has seen the conference minutes and attended the previous conference, which signed the old agreement.

The Pullman Company did offer the porters an 8 percent increase in the basic wage, now \$67.50 per month. But wage arrangements are not written into the company union agreement. The Pullman Company also changed the hourly mileage basis for excess

mileage payment and succeeded in making the hand-picked company union delegates think they were getting a further increase. Actually, says Lancaster, the change wipes out any gain the porters might make by the 8 percent basic wage increase. The porters are so disgusted that they are joining the real union faster than ever.

Two delegates refused to sign the company union agreement despite the prayer sessions with Perry Parker, grand chairman Pullman Porters Benefit Association—another company controlled project. Bluffs and threats also failed to move them. Three men signed under protest. The Brotherhood urged the delegates to fight for \$155 per month basic pay; 34 hours maximum regular work; conductor's pay for conductor's work; time and a half for overtime; pay for porters reporting for duty whether sent out or not; elimination of Filipinos put on club cars as a threat to the real union; right of porters and maids to join a union without interference or discrimination against them by the company.

Seventeen company union delegates were those recommended by company agents, as ballots from 16 districts marked according to recommendations proved.

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Executive Board meets every Monday

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Amusements

DRAMA

ESTELLE WINWOOD



Will play the leading feminine role in the Theatre Guild production, "The Chief Thing," opening Monday night at the Guild Theatre.

'The Trouper' Deals With Show Folks

The Nugents' Latest Effort at the 52nd Street Theatre Full of Sparkling Lines

The amazing Nugent family—all three of 'em—have collaborated in still another version of the old "The Show Must Go On" theme, this time called "The Trouper," now on exhibition at the not-so-luxurious Fifty-second Street Theatre, under the auspices of the Playhouse. This time the play is by Father J. C. and Son Elliott, and the chief roles are taken by Father and Daughter Ruth.

"The Trouper" is a play about show folks, not the new-fangled "legits," the Nugents will have you understand, but the old-time trouper, who knew his business, who never quit, who would put on his show no matter what happened. Mr. Nugent is cast as Larry Gilbert, just such an old-time trouper, nothing remarkable, nothing brilliant—just a good, steady, dependable actor who could do anything in a pinch.

Twenty years ago he had visited Shanesville, Pa., had fallen in love with a beautiful girl, had married her and then had lost his one real love when she left him to go back home. A girl was born, who was adopted by the mother's folks when she died, a year or so later. Tilly didn't remember her mother and had never seen her father; her life was bound up by hard, narrow, unlovely religious bigots who damned every decent and human impulse as ungodly.

We now find ourselves in Shanesville, Pa., where Tilly's uncle is the hard, grasping deacon. Dwight Allen is a son of a wealthy Philadelphia who had run away to go on the stage, and while on tour he had found some old friends in Shanesville. Likewise, he meets Tilly, learns who she is, discovers that his pal, Larry, is her father and seeks to break the force of the blow that will come when she learns that he is not a star, not a manager or a director, nothing but an old-time ham.

But Larry has a chance to demonstrate what he really can do. The show is on the rocks, not a penny in sight; the actors don't know how they're going to get out of town, when in Tilly's presence and under her inspiration, Larry takes charge, forces the rest of the company to rehearse and drill a program of old-time slapstick farces with American flags and other sure-fire stuff; he gets in touch with the fire company and runs the show as a benefit for it; he makes \$300 out of it, the first real money the actors have seen in months, and he books up the show for several towns in the neighborhood when managers there hear of the success of the old-new entertainment.

The lines sparkle with homely sayings that brought chuckles to the surface, and incidentally there are some keen insights—if I may coin a word—on the Actors' Equity strike of 1919.

Altogether a delightful play and delightfully acted. Ruth Nugent as the daughter of her father was a radiant sight to behold and when she and Harold Elliott gazed into each other's eyes and kissed—her first kiss (although we aren't told what his score is, and Ruth didn't ask), you don't blame him. Nor her, either; he's such a nice, handsome boy. W. M. F.

Shakespeare on the Air

FOR nearly seven weeks now the WEAF Players have been putting the plays of William Shakespeare on the air each Saturday night. For fifty minutes each week Shakespeare dominates the air—at 492 metres, and thousands of people who had never heard a Shakespearean scene sit down by their receivers and absorb the greatest classics of the English-speaking stage.

The plan was conceived when a census discovered that the radio audience did not seem to assimilate as it should the radio fare which was being served to it.

In an effort to give real distinction to its programs Station WEAF, the broadcasting unit of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company approached Katherine Emmet and asked her to prepare for radio broadcasting a series of Shakespeare's plays.

Two serious handicaps were imposed upon Miss Emmet. Her plays, dialog and exposition combined, could not be given more than fifty minutes, and her audience would be blind.

To crowd her presentations into those limits Miss Emmet had to sacrifice the comic and other sub plots with which Shakespeare padded and relieved his work. There was room for nothing but the main outlines of the story and the scenes which actually advanced the theme of the play.

Those same limitations made it necessary to cut down or eliminate some of the splendid philosophical dissertations which embroider the great tragedies she was studying again. All in all, the adaptation of the plays was the most serious problem Miss Emmet had to consider.

With a cast of seven persons the Shakespearean repertory company of WEAF took to the air on Saturday night, February 6. Its first bill was "The Merchant of Venice," and the response was immediate. Letters came in from several sources where texts had evidently been requisitioned, announcing that the listeners in had had great difficulty in following the

cuts, and requesting the announcer to warn them of all cuts in advance. The fact that to do this would consume practically all the time allotted to the production had probably never occurred to them.

There were others, however, who felt that they could get over the ground much more quickly and enjoyably if the WEAF players would cut out the poetry and stick to the story.

On the whole, however, the WEAF-ers, if there is such a term, have found that they are carrying Shakespeare to many people who would not, or could not have gone to the theatres where those dramas are being presented.

The new technique of playing has not been easy to acquire over night. The stage effects have not been missed, for there were few known in Shakespeare's time, and the plays do not suffer from their absence.

But the mobs, for instance, which are recruited from those about the studio, become so interested in the action that they forget their cues and have to be reminded of their blood-thirstiness from time to time.

Although it is possible to read the lines it has developed that when the lines are learned there is much more verisimilitude, and there are technical tricks of delivery, which have to be learned by the actors from experience.

However, the calibre of the WEAF Players is improving. Pedro de Cordoba has agreed to appear in the roles of Hamlet and Romeo. The full roster of the company includes Lawrence Cecil, Gerald Stopp, Charles Webster, Philip Leigh and Alfred Shirley.

"The Merchant of Venice," "As You Like It" and "Julius Caesar" have already been produced so far, and on successive Saturdays "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Taming of the Shrew," "The Tempest," "Twelfth Night" and "Macbeth" are to be presented.

Anyone with a Shakespeare complex can tune in any Saturday night for the next month—wave length 492 metres.

AL JOLSON



The noted blackface comedian will join the New Edition of "Artists and Models" at the Winter Garden this Saturday.

Neighborhood Playhouse Begins Repertory Season Next Week

Repertory will be introduced at the Neighborhood Playhouse next Tuesday. "The Dybbuk," Ansky's, remarkable talk of Jewish folk life, will be presented the first part of the week. Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings and Wednesday matinee; and the three lyric dramas: "A Burness Pwe," "The Apothecary," Hayden's opera-bouffe and "Kuan Yin," a Chinese fantasy, will be presented by the players Friday, Saturday and Sunday nights with a Saturday matinee. This program will continue for five weeks, when the new subscription play is due. The Playhouse seems to be really anxious to develop real repertory. Much encouragement should follow from the intelligent theatregoer of this city.

Strong Revival of "Ghosts"

Actors' Theatre Players Do Exceptionally Good Work at Comedy Theatre

IN 1881 Henrik Ibsen, having turned from the poetic consideration of philosophic points of view, and in "The Doll's House," having found a method of application that enabled him to search deep into social problems, went ruthlessly forward with "Ghosts." It is hardly necessary today to review either the story of the drama, or its historic position in the fight for the new theatre. No play of recent times has been so bitterly attacked, so roundly defended; through it the battle for theatrical freedom from traditional plays of the surface of life has been fought in almost every country. It is, therefore, if not Ibsen's greatest play, historically his most important; of it Brandes has said: "In 'Ghosts' Ibsen becomes the most modern of the moderns. This, I am convinced, is his lasting glory, and will give lasting life to his works."

Certainly, in the present performance, "Ghosts" has lost none of the power it has always had to hold tensely, to move profoundly, to rouse to sober thought. Coming after the romanticism of the author has been curbed, and before his symbolism grew to an over-elaborate flourish, the play is almost bare of effects. With the exception of the overworked fire of the foundlings' home, which was so thoughtfully left unadorned, no moments seem artificial, seem extraneous to the inevitable action. The asinine pastor is, of course, too much of a type, and the unfortunate Oswald too much the mere ghost of his father, but the other persons and all the theme are vital, real, necessary. The humdrum life to the country home would have bored old Captain Alving, with all his vigorous manhood, his "joy of life," just as Oswald pictured it growing on him; Mrs. Alving would have looked on herself as just such a suffering martyr; though her growth

to understanding of her husband, through the suffering of the son, so that she can, even when looking upon the innocent victim, forgive the source of the evil, is an enlarged view of life less often granted. But it is truly won through the woman's suffering, as the play moves with grim truth (whatever the scientific exactitude of the symptoms) to its end in torn horror and pity.

The cast, as we have learned to expect of the Actors' Theatre, is of exceptional quality, though Edward Fielding was none too sure of his lines. Lucille Watson especially was richly interpretative as Mrs. Alving, portraying the growth of understanding and determination with restrained yet powerful will and intelligence. Jose Ruben, as Oswald, has grown in his emotional depth, and he too in his restraint was able to draw the ultimate breath of thought and feeling from his part, and help give the collaboration of sympathetic portrayal to a great play. J. T. S.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The amusement features on the entertaining program at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, next week will have on the stage Ann Codes, the French comedienne; Arthur and Morton Havel, will appear in "Lover's Lane," a playlet, with music and lyrics by Harry Green and Charles Smith; Ben Light revue, "Melodyland"; Jack McLellan, assisted by "Sarah," and Fred Sanborn; Art Frank and Harriet Towne; Arthur Bryson and Strappy Towne; dancers de luxe; Homer Romanine and other acts.

William S. Hart in his latest screen story, "Tumbleweeds," will be the screen feature. This picture marks his return to the screen after an absence of over two years. Barbara Bedford and a large cast are seen in support of Hart.

PALACE

Sam Bernard and Louis Mann in a condensed version of their legitimate success, "Friendly Enemies," by Samuel Shipman and the late Aaron Hoffman. Jay C. Flippen; Olga Steck; Alleen Stanley; "Rhyme and Reason," with George Weist and Ray Stanton; Weaver Brothers; Harrington Sisters; The Original John Brothers; Four Chocolate Dandies, and the Three Nitos.

The Theatre Guild's final production of the season will be a comedy by C. K. Lunt, Lynn Fontanne and Jean Cadell will have the principal roles. Miss Cadell, who played Miss Shoe in the London production, will play the part here.

JUSTINE JOHNSTONE



Is back on Broadway in "Hush Money," the entertaining crook play, which opened at the Ritz Theatre Monday night.

THEATRES

OPENING TUESDAY NIGHT

RICHARD HERNDON

will present
WHAT'S THE BIG IDEA?
A QUINCY NEW COMEDY
by MARTHA HEDMAN and HENRY ARTHUR HOUSE
Staged by MISS HEDMAN
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45th St. W. W. N. Y.
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

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Symphony Orchestra of 40
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FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES!
2,000 Seats at \$5.00. First Balcony, \$2.50, \$2.00 and \$1.00. Wednesday Matinee, Best Seats, \$2.50; Saturday Matinee, Best Seats, \$5.

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"IT WAS THE MOST OPULENT SHOW I'VE SEEN IN MOONSH."—Alan Dale, N. Y. American.

498 TIMES

IN NEW YORK

The Comedy Knockout

IS ZAT SO?
by James Gleason and Richard Taber
Chanin's 46th St. Theatre
Mats. Wednesday and Saturday, 2:15

Broadway Briefs

Daniel N. Rubin's new play, "Devils," which William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman opened at the Maxine Elliott Theatre Wednesday evening, deals with the subject of religious intolerance in the Lower Mississippi Valley.

"The Monkey Talks" closes its engagement at the National Theatre this Saturday.

Earl Carroll will stage a new musical show named "Bubbles." William A. Greene wrote the book. The music is by Clarence Gaskill.

Richard Herndon's production of "The Patsy," with Claiborne Foster its bright light, celebrated its 100th performance at the Booth Theatre Wednesday.

The Playboy is at it again. This time it will be a "Congo Circus," and will be held at Webster Hall this Friday night. Get out your jungle costume. The office of the Playboy is 39 West Eighth street.

Lennox Pawle has been engaged by Charles Frohman, Inc., for the principal comedy role of Rudolf Lothar's satiric farce "The Duchess of Elba," in which Francine Larrimore is to play the star part.

Frank Mcintyre is now rehearsing with "Queen High." Laurence Schwab and B. G. DeSylva's adaptation of "A Fair of Sixes."

Raquel Meller (the Spanish star) will open at the Empire Theatre April 12 and play four performances a week, one matinee and three evening shows. Kurt Schindler's orchestra will furnish the music, and motion pictures of the Spanish country from which the folk songs of the Meller repertory are drawn, will be shown between times.

A. L. Erlanger completed all arrangements yesterday for the erection in West 44th street of a new playhouse to cost \$1,000,000 and to be called Erlanger's Theatre. The site of the new

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THE CHIEF THING
A Comedy by NICHOLAS EYREINOFF
CAST INCLUDES:
McKAY MORRIS
Dwight Frye
ERNEST COSART
HENRY TRAVERS
EDWARD G. ROBINSON
AND OTHERS
ESTELLE WINWOOD
HELEN WESTLEY
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THEATRE
44 St. W. of B'way
MATS. THURS & SAT

A. H. WOODS presents
Green Hat
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Staged by GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC
with KATHARINE CORNELL, MARGALO GILLMORE and LESLIE HOWARD
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EVENINGS 8:30—MATINEES WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY
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RAINBOW ROSE
with SHIRLEY SHERMAN LOUISE GALLOWAY HANSFORD WILSON
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PAISLEY NOON 2:45 CHARLESTON CHARMERS

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with **CLAIBORNE FOSTER**
BOOTH THEA. 45th St. W. of B'way.
Eves. 8:30—Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

theatre is just west of the Little Theatre.

MARY ELLIS and ALBERT CARROLL

Capek's New Book On the Theatre

KAREL CAPEK, the Czech writer, author of "The Insect Comedy," whose play, "The Macropus Affair," is now running at the Charles Hopkins Theatre, has just published an amusing little book entitled "Producing a Play: Together with a Guide Behind the Scenes."

For some time Mr. Capek was one of the producers at Prague's repertory theatre, the Vinohrady Divadlo, and this book is evidently the first-harvested fruits of that experience. Just as he wandered through "the garden" known as England, producing his charming "Letters from England," Mr. Capek now wanders like a child through this weird world of cardboard and flesh-and-blood. All around him he observes strange, new habits; yet all is so odd, and yet so human. For him the casting of a new play, which seems simple enough at first, has curious and unexpected consequences. He finds even the critics amusing.

Josef Capek, his artist-brother, has made some pleasing drawings in the spirit. The book is being translated into German and English.

Play the lovers in Ansky's "The Dybbuk" at the Neighborhood Playhouse—which institution, by the way, is introducing repertory beginning next Tuesday night.

THE NEW PLAYS

MONDAY

"THE CHIEF THING," a comedy by Nicholas Eyreinoff, translated from the Russian by Herman Bernstein, will open at the Guild Theatre Monday night—the fifth production of the season. The cast includes McKay Morris, Estelle Winwood, Ernest Cosart, Helen Westley, Dwight Frye, Edward G. Robinson, Henry Travers, C. Stafford Dickens, Alice Belmore Cliff and Esther Mitchell. Philip Moeller staged the play.

TUESDAY

"WHAT'S THE BIG IDEA?" new comedy by Martha Hedman and Henry Arthur House, will be presented by Richard Herndon at the Bijou Theatre Tuesday night. The players include Lillian Ross, Hubert Wilke, Erskine Sanford, Arthur Donaldson, Phil Bishop, Ethel Strickland and Harry Lyons.

"SCHWEIGER," a new play by Franz Werfel (author of "Goat Song"), will be presented at the new Mansfield Theatre Tuesday evening. Jacob Ben-Ami appears in the title role. Others in the cast include Ann Harding, Minnie Dupres, Edward Van Sloan, Philip Leigh, Georgina Tilden, Hugh Buckler and Edward Forber. The translation is by Jack Charash and William A. Drake.

THEATRES

The NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE 486 Grand St.
FRIDAY, SATURDAY and SUNDAY, March 19, 20 and 21, SATURDAY MATINEE
Three Lyric Dramas
A BURMESE PWE with music by Henry Bloch
A HAYDN OPERA-BOUFFE
KUAN YIN A Chinese fantasy, with music by A. Avshalomoff
BEGINNING TUESDAY EVENING, MARCH 22—REPERTORY FOR FIVE WEEKS
THE DYBBUK Tues., Wed. and Thurs. Even. and Wednesday Matinee
THREE LYRIC DRAMAS Fri., Sat. and Sun. Even. and Saturday Matinee

HEYWOOD BROWN IN THE WORLD SAYS: "YOU OUGHT TO SEE 'LOVE 'EM AND LEAVE 'EM'"
A COMEDY IN AMERICAN
LOVE 'EM AND LEAVE 'EM
SAM H. HARRIS THEATRE, W. 42d ST. Even., 8:30
Matinee Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30

A. H. WOODS presents
FLORENCE REED in
"THE SHANGHAI GESTURE"
BY JOHN COLTON. Staged by GUTHRIE MCCLINTIC
MARTIN BECK THEATRE 45th St. N. W. Even. 8:30
MATINEES WED. and SAT. 2:30

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th St. E. of Third Ave.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

Return Engagement by
Popular Request
EARL CARROLL presents

"WHITE CARGO"

A Love Play of the Tropics
with
CONWAY WINGFIELD
Direct from a Run of Two Years
on Broadway
The Talk of Two Continents

Week of March 29th
"EASY COME, EASY GO"
with **OTTO KRUEGER**
and **VICTOR MOORE**

Broadway Briefs

Crosby Gaige will send five companies of Channing Pollock's "The Enemy" on tour next fall. Three of the five companies will open in Boston, September 27; Paterson, N. J., October 11, and Norfolk, Va., October 18.

"Behold This Dreamer," a comedy adapted by Aubrey Kennedy from Fulton Oursler's novel of the same title, has been accepted by George C. Tyler for production. Ernest Truex, last seen here in "The Fall Guy," will play the leading part.

"The Taming of the Shrew," recently played at special matinees at the Klaw, will be continued as a night bill, according to arrangements consummated by J. Fletcher, Inc., as soon as some of the leading players have fulfilled their present contracts. A new play for spring production is also announced by the Fletcher management.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

FURTWÄNGLER, Conductor
Carnegie Hall, Sunday Afternoon at 3:00
Soloist: Leo Schull, Cellist

SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 1, SAINT-SAËNS: Concerto for Cello and Orchestra, BEETHOVEN: "Leonore" Overture No. 2.

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Ev. 8:30, Fri. Aft. 2:30

Soloist: Wander Landowska

FRUCHTER: "Romantic" Symphony No. 2, ART: Concerto in D for Piano and Orchestra, HAYDN: Concerto in D for Harpsichord and Orchestra, WEBER: Overture to "Euryanthe."

Carnegie Hall, Sat. Even., March 27, at 8:30. Last Students' Concert.

Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)

N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Conductor
MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sunday Afternoon at 3

Soloist: **ALFREDO CASELLA**

Overture, "Midsummer Night's Dream," MENDELSSOHN

Symphony No. 2, BRAHMS: Concerto in D for Piano and Orchestra, CASSELLA

Overture, "Leonore" No. 2, BEETHOVEN

GEORGE ENOLES, Manager. Steinway Piano.

Aviation Hall, Song Recital—LULA

Tues. Ev. 8:30

MYSZ-GMEINER

Concert Mgr. Dan't Marx, Inc. Steinway Piano.

MUSIC

Final Weeks of Metropolitan Opera Season—First "Oracolo"

"PETRUSHKA" and "Bohème" will open the twenty-first week—last but three—of the Metropolitan season, Monday evening, the former danced by Mmes. Rudolph and Friedenthal and Messrs. Bolm and Bonfiglio; the latter sung by Dori, Hunter and Lauri-Volpi. Scotti.

Other operas next week will be:

"The Tales of Hoffmann," special matinee Wednesday with Talley, Peralta and Tokatyan, DeLuca.

"The Bartered Bride," Wednesday evening with Mueller, Telva and Laubenthal, Schutzendorf.

"La Vida Breve" and "Le Rossignol," Thursday evening, the former sung by Dori, Howard and Tokatyan, Pico; the latter with Talley, Bourskaya and Errolle, Didur.

"Tristan and Isolde" will be the last of the Wagner Cycle on Friday afternoon with Larsen-Todsen Bransell and Laubenthal, Scherer.

"Oracolo," "Petrushka" and "Cavalleria Rusticana," Friday night. The first given for the first time this season, sung by Mario Wakelind and Errolle, Scotti; the second danced by Rudolph and Friedenthal and Bolm and Bonfiglio, the third sung by Easton, Alcock and Gigli and Bastola.

"Madama Butterfly," Saturday matinee with Sahankieva, Bourskaya and Martineau, Scotti.

"Rigoletto," Saturday night with Morgana, Flexer, and Lauri-Volpi, DeLuca.

At this Sunday night's concert Mieczyslaw Munz, pianist, will be the soloist.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

This Saturday night the Philharmonic Orchestra will give its tenth students' concert at Carnegie Hall. Conductor, Wilhelm Furtwaengler. The program: "Spring" symphony, No. 1, B flat, Schumann; "Transfigured Night," Schoenberg; "Till Eulenspiegel," Richard Strauss.

Leo Schull will be the soloist at the Philharmonic concert Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall. Furtwaengler will conduct the following numbers: Respighi, old dances and airs for the

FLORENCE REED



Does some splendid work in "The Shanghai Gesture," John Colton's drama of the Orient, at the Martin Beck Theatre.

DRAMA

DONALD MEEK



In "Love 'Em and Leave 'Em," the Abbott-Weaver comedy, at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, which just passed its fiftieth performance.

"East Lynne" Is With Us Again

Real Heart Throbs In Old Fashioned Drama At the Greenwich Village

"EAST LYNNE," that dear old thriller of our grandfather, has come to seek our laughter in the Provincetown Players' production at the Greenwich Village Theatre. The play seemed somehow still to produce a tear or two in some of the tenderer listeners, but it was hardly to be viewed in the light of serious drama.

From the point of view of historical interest, as a play that through several generations moved countless audiences, "East Lynne" would be well worth seeing, its last serious revival beyond the days of the younger theatre. However, from this point of view we were not able to behold it, for the present production aims largely at the cheaper end of winning our laughter at the foolishness of our forebears. With this in view, the play is performed in a vein of low burlesque, with all the effects overstressed, with even the stage villain a caricature of what he might have been. Furthermore, the play is reconstructed none too wisely, five acts being condensed into three, and the stress being laid on sentimentality rather than on melodrama. Melodrama effectively burlesqued can be continuously amusing, but two overdrawn dead scenes in quick succession move neither the tear ducts nor the walls of free-flowing laughter. And the final overture of the villain is omitted.

There are perhaps three moods in which one could attempt a revival of such a play as "East Lynne." An effort could be made to give a faithful representation of the original performance, with fidelity to all details of costume, acting, setting, and other aspects of the early offerings. This might interest students of the drama. There could also be a stressing, for the sake of burlesque and the self-satisfaction of the audiences of today, of those elements of theatrical technique which the passage of time has out-moded, without yet lending them the charm of the antique. This sort of appeal led to several productions on the heels of "Fashion," two seasons ago. Finally, there could be a complete revision of the play that, seriously presented, held audiences for fifty years; its crudities (or what seem so to our conventions) could be ironed out, and crisper dialogue cut for the same theme. This revisiting would reveal what validity there may be in the central idea of the drama. Unfortunately, the present performance attempts none of these three methods, but an inharmonious blend of the first two. The result is that present audiences leave with a false notion of what our ancestors enjoyed, as well as a failure to find anything to themselves enjoyable. The Provincetown Players should more thoughtfully analyze and organize the potentialities of such a revival before again venturing in the field.—W. L.

PHILHARMONIC CHILDREN'S CONCERT

The Philharmonic concert for children will be given at Aeolian Hall this Saturday morning and repeated again in the afternoon. Ernest Schelling, conductor. This is the final pair of the series. Awards will be given for the best notebooks. The program includes a movement from Beethoven's Fifth Symphony and the "Carnival of Animals" by Saint-Saëns. Soloists, Yolanda Mero and 10-year-old John Blair.

Music Notes

Irene Scharrer will give another piano concert next Friday afternoon at Aeolian Hall.

The Barre Little Symphony will give the last of a series of three concerts at the Henry Miller Theatre this Sunday evening.

Lulu Mysz-Gmeiner, the Hungarian lieder singer, will give her second recital at Aeolian Hall Tuesday evening, when she will present a group of Beethoven songs, a group of Schumann, a group of Brahms and a group of Hugo Wolf.

Walter Gieseking, the German pianist, and Joseph Sigel, the Hungarian violinist, will give an "Afternoon of Music" Wednesday at Town Hall. This will be the last appearances this year of these two artists. The program is

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

The national convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Pittsburgh on May Day and the Socialists of that city are arranging to make the convention a notable affair and one long to be remembered by the delegates and visitors.

In the meantime the National Office of the party has started a campaign among the isolated Socialists of the country for their organization into locals of the party. One of the difficulties which the unattached Socialist finds in taking up the work of organization is sending out letters to Socialists and sympathizers. He does not have the time and often he finds it difficult to compose an effective letter. The National Office has met this difficulty by designing a very compelling letter of four pages which any unattached Socialist may send to other Socialists for purposes of organization. The letter is in printed form with especially attractive type and in two colors, black and red. It is a powerful appeal to Socialists to organize and affiliate with the Socialist Party. A blank space is reserved for the insertion of the time and place of a meeting. The letters can be obtained by addressing the National Office, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. We advise every unaffiliated Socialist to write for a sample. Upon receipt of it we are sure a supply will be ordered. No charge is made for the letters.

New York State

The State Executive Committee meets at the People's House Sunday, at 10 a. m. The State constitution of the Socialist party provides that the State Executive Committee shall provide the rules, order of business, agenda and

LILLIAN ROSS



Plays an important role in "What's the Big Idea?" a new comedy by Martha Hedman and Henry Arthur House, opening at the Bijou Tuesday.

The Opera Players Open Grove Street Theatre April 6

When the newly organized Opera Players open their first season of opera in intimate form at the Grove Street Theatre on April 6 with Rutland Boughton's "The Immortal Hour," performances will be given on all nights of the week except Mondays. There will be two weekly matinees, Wednesday and Saturday. The schedule is to include a private subscription on Sunday nights and it is the purpose of the organization to continue other productions through the Summer.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—William S. Hart in "Tumbleweeds," with Barbara Bedford.

CAMEO—Ernest Lubitsch repeats week.

CAPITOL—Rex Beach's "The Barrier," with Lionel Barrymore, Henry B. Walthall and Marceline Day.

COLONY—"The Cohens and Kellys," from Aaron Hoffman's play, "Two Blocks Away," with George Sidney, Charles Murray and Vera Gordon.

RIALTO—"Desert Gold" by Zane Grey, with Richard Dix, Neil Hamilton and Shirley Mason.

RIVOLTO—"The New Klondike," by Ring Lardner, with Tom Meighan and Lila Lee.

a classic one of Bach, Beethoven and Mozart sonatas.

"Eljah," "A Tale of Old Japan," and a miscellaneous concert program at the Halifax, N. S., festival on April 12, 13 and 14, next, will have Lewis James in the tenor parts. Grace Leslie is the contralto of the quartet.

A free orchestra concert will be given this Saturday evening at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Conductor, David Mannes.

Misha Levitzki will give his only New York recital in Carnegie Hall on Tuesday evening, the 30th.

The Stringwood Ensemble at its last concert of the season in Aeolian Hall Monday evening, will play a piano quartet by Brahms, a new string quartet by Porgie and a new composition by Engel-Bellison and Weinberg.

platform for the convention, and cause the game to be published in advance. It has been the custom for the committee to select a Platform Committee largely outside its own personnel, and such committee will undoubtedly be selected Sunday.

The State secretary has requested locals to forward as soon as possible any agenda proposals they may have. Referendum ballots for the election of national convention delegates and alternates will go to the membership within a few days.

State Secretary Merrill announces that paid-up membership appears to be on the upgrade once more and asks that financial secretaries do their best to get in all arrears of dues before the summer campaign opens up.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn more about the Socialist Party can do so by writing the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 418 Swede street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Labor and Radical groups should be sent to the same address for publication in the New Leader.

State Office Notes
Nomination petitions for candidates to be nominated at the coming primary are being circulated up at least twelve counties of the State, several of which have already secured the required number of signatures, and prospects are bright that all our candidates' names will be printed upon the primary ballots. Comrades living anywhere in the State feeling that they are able to secure a substantial number of signatures to such petitions are urged to communicate with the State Office immediately, for, in case we cannot use their services this year, we want to have their names and addresses for future use, as they are making the election laws more difficult each year.

The Locals

Local Allegheny is putting on a very active organization drive in connection with its preparations for the National Convention to be held in Pittsburgh, beginning May 1. Local

Berks is also doing wonderful organization work and has already bought as many due stamps as it did in the entire year 1925, and reports more members in good standing than it did for several years past. Local Philadelphia's Action Committee is on the job, has arranged for lecture meetings and is securing signatures to nomination petitions.

Local Montgomery has nominated a complete ticket for representatives in Congress and State Legislature and is securing the required number of signatures to its nomination petitions. In Mercer County Comrade McKay, a member-at-large, is canvassing former members and expects to have a strong organization in the near future. Socialists throughout the State are urged to boost both the American Appeal and The New Leader. Both of these papers are performing a great service for the Socialist movement and comrades who read them regularly soon become more active in party work.

Local New York

The monthly meeting of Local New York will be held on Friday, March 26, 8:30 p. m., at the Band School. At this meeting the delegates of Local New York to the City Convention will submit their report. Action will be taken thereon.

The Executive Committee will submit a report, which will require action by the meeting. There are a few other matters of importance that the meeting will have to act upon.

In view of the action of the City Convention, providing that the business and work of the locals in the City of New York be carried on from one central office, it will be necessary at this meeting to arrange for the proper winding up of the affairs of Local New York, so that the organization be turned over to the new City Organization in a proper manner, and this meeting will have to take the necessary step in that direction.

Admission will be by party cards, and only members in good standing will be admitted.

Arrangements will be made so members in arrears will be able to pay their dues before entering the meeting rooms.
Executive Committee,
Local New York.

First and Second A. D. meets every Thursday.
Sixth, Eighth and 12th A. D. meets on Friday, March 26.

Fourteenth, 15th and 16th A. D. meets Thursday, March 25. John Stark will lecture on "The Causes for the Decline of the Radical Movement in America."

BROOKLYN

Commune Celebration

About 100 Brooklyn Socialists gathered at the commune celebration and get-together dinner in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum last Saturday evening. A good dinner was served, which was enjoyed by all. Gertrude Well Klein recited Edwin Markham's "The Man with the Hoe," which was rendered effectively. Sam Pavloff served as toastmaster and introduced Judge Panken, August Claessens and James O'neal as the speakers. March 13 being the 1st anniversary of Comrade O'neal's birth, the diners presented him with a cluster of red carnations. In responding O'neal said that he would never grow old and that no man or woman possessed with the Socialist ideal could grow old. Ponce de Leon, he continued, searched in vain for the Fountain of Eternal Youth but died a disappointed man. He lived too early in the world's history to find it. We who give our service to the Socialist movement have found the fountain, and so far as the speaker was concerned he never intended to grow old.

5th A. D. Celebration

The coming of spring and of renewed activity in the branch will be celebrated by the 5th A. D. Kings, at a spring entertainment and dance, which will take place Saturday night, March 20, at 329 Stuyvesant avenue, the home of Samuel H. Friedman. An interesting program is in preparation, and all Brooklyn comrades are invited to come and make merry.

Two of Tammany's Best

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

IN HIS delightful column in The New Leader our serious-minded and philosophical friend, Signor Augusto Claessens, unwittingly commits a grave wrong against a noble and patriotic statesman. Permit me to correct him.

Describing an incident during the Assembly session of 1913 when a minister named Rev. Mr. Kilgour undertook to take a hand in the proceedings where he wasn't supposed to have anything to say, the Professor Claessens, D.D., attributes the righteous protest against the ministerial interference with the business of the assembled statesmen to one Martin G. McCue, sometimes prizefighter, bartender, and now as then a shining light of Tammany Hall.

It wasn't the Hon. Marty, August. It was an even nobler statesman, the Hon. Peter P. McElligott, representative in the Assembly of Tammany Hall and the barrooms of the Third A. D. Much can be said against Martin McCue and I have taken many occasions to say it. I don't like the type of bruiser, backslapper, handshaker and loud-mouthed name-caller that McCue is. I never liked him in the Assembly, I loathed his type when he spilled venom over the Socialists for opposing the passage of a graft bill (the repeal of which he fought for the following year) that was being supported in the holy name of "patriotism," and I never warmed to him even when he pretended a friendliness that in his crude way I suppose he actually felt. McCue is the old barroom type of good fellow who slaps you on the back, and in a kind of rough (very rough) and ready eloquence calls names and rants incoherently and thinks that he is being eloquent.

That is McCue's type, and for a sort of low and vulgar humor, for a crude bonhomie and camaraderie, for an ability to penetrate the motives of men—when they are as low and materialistic as his own—he has risen high in Tammany. Unfit as an Assemblyman, he was promoted to be Senator. Disqualified for the position of clerk of the Surrogate's Court that for some obscure reason he craved, because the position was protected by civil service rules, he sponsored a bill and piloted it through the Legislature taking that particular job out of the civil service—and then he was appointed to it.

But Marty has a sense of humor—as rough and crude as he is, but still real, in a sense. Peter P. McElligott was not similarly blessed. A lawyer of mediocre attainment, he was intensely serious and dull. He would make long, rambling speeches that we martyrs would listen to because his very earnestness made some of us think that maybe he

was actually saying something.

His contribution to the legislation of the year was peculiar. Peter P. got the brilliant idea that, 1913 being war time, it should be treasonable for any one to think a thought or say a word or breathe a sigh that did not coincide with Peter P.'s patriotic soul. His bill was a shocking piece of espionage legislation that would have made the California "criminal syndicalism" law seem like a Bill of Rights by comparison, had it passed.

The Sweet machine put the bill on the calendar for second and third reading, and the ways were cleared for its passage. We Socialists opened up on it. How I enjoyed that fight! We put everything we had into it. Our arguments that Theodore Roosevelt would be jailed under such a bill for criticizing Woodrow Wilson were answered by the logical remark that while under its provisions he undoubtedly would be guilty, nevertheless the bill was designed for "unpatriotic" critics of Wilson, like us, and not for real patriots who called Wilson names. Peter P. seriously urged that bill. His dull mind couldn't see anything wrong about it and it was actually about to be passed when a young Bronx Tammanyite with more brains in his little finger than the whole Bowery gang together saw that his party was making asses of itself. We Socialists knew him, and realized that he had sense enough to see that. We besieged him and finally shamed him into rising and making a brilliant speech against it and his speech killed the bill. That man was Joseph V. McKee, now President of the Board of Aldermen of New York.

The prayer incident happened as August has written it. Even McCue laughed at McElligott's pompous solemnities. The idea of a man actually taking offense at the prayer of a chaplain (who got \$5 for the prayer) when the chaplain prayed that God should help the statesmen in their wisdom, and requested that God aid the lawmakers to eradicate a great abuse from the country, was uproariously funny.

Anyway, McCue and McElligott are interesting exhibits in the gallery of those that Tammany Hall has graciously permitted New York to wear upon its neck—no credit to Tammany Hall and infinitely less credit to the workers who have the legal right not to vote for the clowns, ignoramuses, bruisers and blackguards that are offered them for election and who reject the opportunity.

DENMARK NEAR DISARMING

(Continued from page 1)

crease in tariff rates, but the Socialists submitted a scheme under which considerable sums would be appropriated for the support of industry, with the provision that a commission was to pass upon all applications for such aid, that no concern receiving state support should use such help to put its competitors out of business, and that in case more than the usual dividends were earned, three-quarters of such excess profits was to be turned over to the unemployment fund.

This plan was denounced by the Conservatives as "the abolition of the rights of private capital" and 100 per cent. Socialism. They demanded that the Government resign and that new elections be held. Premier Stauning refused to be bluffed, reminded his opponents that the only way new elections could be forced was through a vote of lack of confidence, for which they were too weak, and put the bill through. Incidentally, Stauning noted that the ruthless reactionary opposition during 1925 had resulted in the organization of twenty-one new sections of the Socialist party, and he hoped the Conservatives would keep it up.

The high mark of unemployment was reached in January, when 87,000 persons were on the benefit lists, against 43,000 the year before. In February agricultural activity began to pick up and unemployment dropped to 79,000. If the proposed plan for state aid to industry gets by the Senate, a rapid decline in unemployment is expected. Part of Denmark's industrial trouble has been due to the rapid advance in the exchange value of the crown, which has practically reached par, thus handicapping exports, but apparently the Government and the bankers thought the best thing to do was to get the job of stabilization over with and avoid the uncertainty of material exchange fluctuations in the future.

A drop of about 12 per cent. in the cost of living since last July has brought about a corresponding reduction in wages in most enterprises, including the state railroads and the shipping industry.

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6885

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SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1926

THE GOVERNOR'S PLAN

WE agree with the World that Governor Smith has cleared himself of the charge of Socialism in relation to his plan for hydroelectric power. In fact, there is no reason why his plan should not induce the great power interests to help float his campaign for the presidency. Smith makes a sharp distinction between development and distribution. "The first of these two activities," observed the World, "the Governor looks upon as the proper business for the State. The second he would leave to private industry."

Admirably put! It is as though the Governor should say: "Gentlemen, superpower is the coming great industry. The State should develop it through its own public corporation. Having developed it into a big concern and made distribution possible on a great scale, we shall call in private capitalists to enrich themselves through this distribution. The State will retain control, but the rich plums shall go to capitalist investors. Don't be afraid. Capitalism is just as safe in my hands as it would be in the hands of a Republican Governor."

The World asked the Governor to make this point clear and Smith has complied. A Socialist Governor would strive to prevent any plums going to private investors and would have consideration for the thousands of workers employed in the industry. Smith says nothing about the workers. He is concerned with capitalist investments in distribution, the safety of the principle involved in capitalist property, and would retain nominal ownership in superpower merely to avoid long leases to private corporations.

Capitalism is safe in Smith's hands and a trial balloon for the presidency gets some more publicity.

THE HIRE LEARNING

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN observes in the April Yale Review that "higher learning" and "higher journalism" have suffered because of the necessity of "meeting an industrial demand." He goes on to explain that, "through this process many of our college presidents have become merely business managers, and certain of our professors have been subdued like our editors, till they are mere caterers to popular taste."

This is rather a cautious way of saying that the clammy hand of capitalism bears heavily upon the universities and the press. They meet "an industrial demand" and this demand issues out of the needs of our ruling classes. Capitalist control has come about by large investments in "education," while the powerful newspaper has become an industry for making profits like a coal mine or a steel plant. In the case of the universities, they in turn invest in railroads and other corporations and are thus bound by strong economic ties to the capitalist order.

It need be no surprise that college presidents tend to "become merely business managers." Why shouldn't they? The university is more of a business than an educational institution and it requires a business manager and not an educator. Then it naturally follows that the professors become "subdued" to the business needs of the business plant engaged in producing business education. The result is that in no other country has educational institutions come so completely under the control of bankers and capitalists as in the United States.

Fortunately, there are signs of revolt against this servility and Mr. Chapman can observe a new class of thinkers emerging in university life, teachers who "are not afraid to face unpleasant truth." With the increasing revolt of students it is possible that within the next decade there will be as pronounced assertions of intellectual freedom as in the old Prussia.

THE SLAVE STATE

THE professional apologists of capitalism can never again charge Socialism with bringing slavery, because the present order and a considerable section of its supporters are frankly engaged in an attempt to reduce all to a dull level of servile routine. The State of Mississippi has joined the list of States legislating against teaching evolution in the schools. Leading Democratic candidates for Governor in Tennessee are pledging their support to a similar law in that State.

At Washington, Congress has before it a number of bills that bring us nearer to the Slave State. There are bills for indexing aliens, registering them, providing for deportation of those who do not apply for citizenship within six months after their arrival, and all tending to a revival of the permit system established by southern legislatures in the days of slavery. Then there is the conscription bill which proposes to conscript prospective cannon fodder, but not the property of the ruling classes. If the legislation regarding aliens should pass it is absurd to think that citizens would not later be the subjects of the same legislation. The whole tendency

of the evolution of government under capitalism is to produce the Slave State which the apologists of capitalism have always ascribed to Socialism.

In fact, this is the tendency of every social system when it gets old and the brains of its ruling agents become ossified. In their stupid way they understand that their order is on the decline. They know that it cannot survive free initiative and thinking. They turn to red tape, bureaucracy, intimidation, intolerance, fear and despotic measures. The capitalist system in this country has approached this stage and its retainers present an amusing spectacle in charging us with wanting to do what they are doing now.

THE KOO KOO PLAGUE

IT IS a peculiar defense of the Ku Klux Klan which Wizard Evans presents in the current issue of the North American Review. He plainly admits that he is leading squads of ignoramus. He asserts that they are not "highly cultured" and that "most of us lack skill in language," which simply means that, lacking knowledge, the nightgown heroes stutter.

Another handicap which Evans considers just as serious, in fact, the "worst of all," is "the need of trained leaders," which "constantly hampers our progress and leads to serious blunders and internal troubles." This is what one would expect of a movement resting upon the support of thousands who "lack skill in language." As for the "internal troubles," in practically every instance they have grown out of factional wars as to who should get the funds which the members pay into the various state organizations. We do not believe that there has been one exception to this.

Evans has "no fear of the outcome." Neither have we. Koo Kooism is as old as the republic. It is our national measles. About every twenty years our grown-up children get it and it becomes epidemic. The present plague is subsiding and the next one is due about 1950. It will go the same way as have all the others.

UNATTACHED SOCIALISTS

UNORGANIZED Socialists who wish help in organizing a Local of the Socialist Party generally find it difficult to send out a letter to a long list of names. This difficulty has been eliminated by the National Office, which has designed a four-page letter in black and red which meets the requirements of an effective letter addressed to unattached Socialists. The type display immediately arrests the attention of those who receive the letter and a blank space is left for the sender to fill in the time and place for a meeting. The letter also is an effective plea for organized effort by Socialists.

The national convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Pittsburgh on May Day and this letter campaign is the beginning of a national effort to induce the isolated Socialists to organize and affiliate with the Socialist Party. One active man or woman in any community can take the initiative in this work with practically no expense and very little effort. We advise every unattached Socialist to send for a sample of this letter. We are sure that upon receipt of it he will ask for a supply to send to Socialists and sympathizers. Address the National Office, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A press dispatch from Moscow credits William Z. Foster with an article in Pravda criticizing the American "militants" because of their "intemperate words and acts" in relation to the trade unions and ascribing the failure of Communist agitation in the anthracite strike to these methods. Considering that the "militants" insist that they have made remarkable progress in this agitation we rise to put the question, Isn't Foster a counter-revolutionist?

It is an encouraging sign when at the spring meeting of the Lower Hudson Valley Association of Teachers of History and Social Studies a number of teachers protested against the "bunk" that is being served as history. "Debunking" history was a favorite theme. It is another sign of the increasing independence of history teachers and if it continues we may yet get a true biography of Uncle Sam.

General Smedley D. Butler is said to be on the verge of a nervous breakdown in California. The pompous warrior attacked Kate Richards O'Hare in an address at San Diego as a "former convicted radical and spy." The County Federation of Trades and Labor Unions demanded an investigation of his remarks. Two days later he was reported as "suffering from a sore jaw." Butler has overworked his jaw and permitted his brains to be idle for many years.

The city of Indianapolis is located in the State that was once the home of Abraham Lincoln and just to add to a world "made safe for democracy" the city council has passed a "Jim Crow" ordinance which segregates whites and Negroes. Just to make the Negroes appreciate this legislation the councilmen should erect a monument to Lincoln.

The World We Create

Oh, who can tell of the bitter shame
To sink from man's estate,
And to humbly take for his children's sake
The coin that is fung? Oh, the hearts that break
In this world that we create.

For the plan of God was the same for all,
The right to be, and do
If only we could learn to see
That the world was made for you and me,
And not for a chosen few.

And we call it Fate when our brother falls,
Because of the load we give,
Who suffers need through others' greed,
Trampled by selfishness though he bleed,
That others at ease might live.

Oh, the saddest sight in the world today
Is our neighbor passing by
With a weary pace and a blanching face,
Who is out of work and out of the race,
And we make it—you and I.

—Emma Playter Seabury.

The Flapper's Friend

MR. GEORGE JEAN NATHAN'S "Autobiography of an Attitude" (Alfred A. Knopf, N. Y., 1926) has gone into the second printing, and it is depressing to think that there are enough of the drug-store cowboy sophisticates and flapper intelligentsia in the country to make such a demand.

The book, apparently a hodge-podge selected from the writer's contributions to the "Mercury" and "Judge," from the ambitious section headings, is intended to be sage reflections on American life. For those who like their epigrams warmed over, it must be a riot.

The art of caricature is the ability to accentuate a salient feature, by that exaggeration calling attention to the weakness of the subject and so turning the weapon of ridicule upon the attacked. Mr. Mencken—I beg pardon; of course, I mean Mr. Nathan (it's so hard to keep those Siamese twins separated)—Mr. Nathan's mirror of life is one of those curved and distorted affairs that are found in dime museums and at Coney Island. It distorts, but without accentuating any vital or essential feature. Anything that hails from west of Buffalo is screamingly funny to Mr. Nathan, the mere mention of Kansas City being sufficient to send him into gales of laughter.

His attitude towards women and sex is that of the Princeton sophomore and the young lady who takes a flat in Greenwich Village in order to get a vicarious thrill from the ginned-up youngsters who regard Roman Mary's place as a sink of iniquity.

His jibes at the "Boobery," as he calls them, are very, very careful jibes, indeed; and his attacks upon society touch only the surface. The tender fabric of civilization as it is will never be harmed by his rude horse-play. In his heart you know that he is convinced that the world rests securely upon a firm foundation of bourgeois respectability. If you can stand such triteness as "No woman can be too beautiful and be a lady" and "The victories of peace endure only until someone invents a new gun," then you will find "The Autobiography of an Attitude" amusing and quotable. But, then, so is the "Prisoner's Song."

Alexander Williams.

A Socialist Primer

A BETTER name for this small booklet (A Socialist Primer, by Gordon Hosking. The Labor Publishing Co., London) of eighty-eight light essays on social institutions under Socialism would be "Socialism for After Dinner Speakers." Written in a facile flowing popular style, it can be readily understood by those who enjoy musing upon the rosiest distant future when such a society will exist.

In the essay, "What the Socialist City Would Be Like," the author waxes truly utopian and prophetic, promising that "The air will resound with the song of birds and the joyful shout of children at play," which, of course, we all hope will come true but doubt whether such hopes are based on anything but vague and nebulous desires.

Written in a light, superficial manner, the book hops from one social institution to another, depicting it as it will exist under Socialism. Very often the essays are merely planks from any social reformer's note book; at other times they accomplish the task of explaining an involved economic theory in a few simple comprehensive sentences, as is done with the theory of value.

Morris Lattman.

The Mountains That Sought Mohammed

Here is a legend of old Norway and new America splendidly told by a master craftsman. (The Emigrants; Johan Bojer. New York: The Century Company, \$2.) Johan Bojer feels the courage of his people, feels the bitter struggle with which they met the strange new dangers of a foreign country.

The youth of Norway saw poverty slowly sapping the will of their country, saw no way of wresting wealth, or even decent livelihood out of the mountainous soil of the mother land. They wanted wealth, all youth does, but it would not come to them. So, with the deep courage of all pioneers, they determined to go to it, to seek it in its fabled haunts, America. Whole towns were drained of their young men and young women to people the far prairies.

And when they arrived, under the leadership of one of their companions who had already surveyed the possibilities of the virgin country, what did they find? A country like their own.

THE CHATTER BOX

Tempest

I was fashioned like a tree
Where my fathers seeded me,
When you flashed the fierce surprise
Of a lightning in your eyes—
When you caught me in the storm
And the fury of your form...

Now my trunk and limbs are spread
On an unaccustomed bed,
And my roots are out of sod,
Making grimaces at God.
All my poses and my poise
Are like fragile tinseled toys,
All unstrung and flung away,
Having served a holiday.

I was rooted like an oak,
When the tempest brewed and broke,
And your beauty put to rout
All this strength and tore me out.
Strange to lie so low and be
Your prey, so helpless and so free...

These moods of self-pity are products of March days. The air is filled with vague disquietude; even the soft coal soot cannot blanket the premonitory rumblings of the spirit... Winter has lost his grip, the awakening hills are slipping from his grasp, the creeks and rivers are already leaping away in cataracting mad joyousness, and when the rain drops escape his icy jaws, they pelt down on the lingering hardness of earth like tipsy lumps in a dizzy saraband. Soon, as soon, the liberated world and its highways will sing a Lorelei, and all of us will wax our ears with duty, and stick firmly to the masts and oars of our grind—that we may not be tempted to wreck our little lives on the reefs of wanderlust, on the rocks of an undisturbed happiness. There is one touch of nature that tries in vain to make a whole world sin.

King Jimmy O'neal is fifty-one today; seventeen years our senior, and we, poor old me, so much more worn and haggard with the stress of the struggle. Twenty years from now, Jimmy will still be playing with the miggles and agates of economic industrial history, while we, perhaps, will be teaching prosody to a class room of little red barbed-tailed imps, in a land where the coal question will never be a question. Here's to his eternal youth.

Epitaph

Life after all
Is just a piece of chintz
Hung between the poles
Birth and Death,
On which man
Walks awkwardly
To the grave.

Laverne Webster Colwell.

Tankas of the Whimsical

I stand before the
Restive sea, and gaze upon
The dim horizon.
I can glimpse nothing beyond.
What I see is Life to me...

Her face was winsome,
But I could not see beneath
The flesh. I glanced at
Her yellow hair, and noticed
That the roots were black as sin...

I swam naked in
An obscure creek. Soon a rain
Came bellowing down,
And I sought shelter within
The warm and bubbling water...

I sat in a chair
That was softer than velvet,
Writing a poem
Of hardness. On a hard chair,
I wrote a verse of softness...

Henry Harrison.

but richer, the rolling land their eyes were used to, strange, still not so different? They found a flat hill-less country, only rolling into the far horizon, only broken where the grass grew taller, a deadly plain. After days of weary trekking over this flatness, their leader stopped. They had arrived at the spot in the prairie that he had chosen for their future home.

They had reached the end of their journey.

Toward evening they halted—and the emigrants stood looking about them. Was this the place? Had they really arrived at their new home? Not a house, not a tree, not a hill anywhere. Nothing but an ocean of earth with the sky above, just as it had been all along. They had always thought that they would reach something definite. Surely it could not be here?

But it was. And here in this monotonous land they found more than their Mohammeds of wealth. Through long years they struggled against the land, against the storms, against the deadly monotony of flatness. One of their number went insane. He fought against the flatness, he built himself a little hill in his backyard just to break that lined skyline. But it did not avail. Finally they had to take him to an asylum in the nearest town.

So, the long fight went on. Their leader died; a new one was chosen. After long weary years a town sprang up where those first farms had been. The railroad came. The battle was won, and the great West was peopled by brave pioneers who found their Mohammed.

It is a splendid tale, well worth the reading. It will leave even the most casual reader with a certain sense of awe, a sense of the majesty of those early people who had faith in the prairie and clung to it.

Gloria Goddard.

Before Banana Journalism

IF these essays, indeed, as the jacket avers (New Writings by William Hazlitt. Collected by P. P. Howe, New York: Dial Press, \$2.50), "give Hazlitt at the height of his powers," we must conclude that they are vertiginous steep. For Hazlitt in his prime would not begin a sentence in the singular and end it in the plural, start a paragraph in the third person and finish it in the second, open an essay by declaring he is "one of those who do not think that much is to be gained in

point either of temper or understanding by traveling abroad" and close it by a rhapsodic list of such advantages as gained! Writing of this sort is on the downward path, and with boots well worn from the climbing. But it must be remembered that this book contains only magazine articles missed by his other editors; and even at his worst we are thankful for Hazlitt.

From his early days Hazlitt wrote like a genial old gentleman, a grandfather whose observation of the world has made him kindly, forbearing, and, although unexcited, keen. "Too well read Hazlitt," he might be called; for the wealth of his allusions, while never ostentatious, still provides ornament that too often replaces his own well woven cloth. Almost one suspects him of timidity, of that self-withdrawal which the spectator, not the creator, feels in the presence of art; and many of his ideas seem to him so well phrased by another it would be presumptuous to reward them. He, therefore, weaves a magic carpet of many threads, each with its own intrinsic spell; he moves along a twilight road with friendly spirits attending at his elbow; he summons the writers of the past to add their eloquence to his unhurried strain.

So Hazlitt is always refreshing to read, and these random articles on social, political, literary subjects—on anything at all, hold much of his spirit. The editor of the volume has added to its value by painstakingly identifying all the quotations and allusions, and to those who are not acquainted with Hazlitt at his best these informal pieces make an excellent introduction. They show what magazine and newspaper writing were before the banana became the banner of journalism.

Joseph T. Shipley.

The New Leader Mail Bag

The Passaic Strike

Editor, The New Leader:

It is to be hoped that every class-conscious worker who saw the cartoon in the New York Evening Journal of March 6 has cut it out to use it as a means to enlighten his fellow workers. The cartoon, which is adorned with the following captions: "The Jersey Cossacks," "Beating Up the Citizens," "The Old Czarist Methods in the Textile Strike," depicts a ferocious-looking mounted policeman with what is intended to be a Slavic countenance, clubbing and riding down—what? Strikers? No, the victims are tagged "newspaper reporters" and "innocent bystanders." Ah, there's the rub. Therefore the cartoon. Newspaper reporters and innocent bystanders were clubbed and injured. And there are "citizens." Striking workers are not citizens, and, therefore, must be treated like mad dogs. The cartoonist prudently gave his policeman a Slavic visage, even though the police in almost all American cities are of Irish extraction, for when can it be said that these ever clubbed strikers?

Passaic is, geographically, a part of Paterson, where the first Socialist alderman, Matthew Maguire, was elected, and thereupon was the Socialist candidate for the vice-presidency in 1896. Since then, many strikes of the silk workers occurred, and as often the policemen's clubs beat the tune of "the land of the free and the home of the brave" into their heads so effectively that the grateful workers have ever since been voting, not only for more clubbing, but for the luxuries which are now handed to them, and surely it would be a breach of faith, if those, whom they elected, did not give them what they voted for. Permit me, as one who has addressed these strikers in most of that time, to predict that the strikers will cast a larger vote than ever, at the next election, for a continuance of these blessings of American Capitalism, and should they be called upon again to make the world safe for the bosses of the silk mills, of the steel mills, of the coal mines they will cheerfully shoot down their European brethren who are fast preparing to make the world safe for the workers, the creators of all wealth, the producers of all foods, necessities and all other things conducive to human happiness.

I am sending the cartoon to Europe with my comments in the international language. I do so that the workers of the world may learn, may help to educate the American working class to act through a political organization of their own.

FRED KRAFFT.

Ridgely, N. J.

Landlordism

Editor, The New Leader:
How can the workers retain possession of the things they produce while paying landlords in Greater New York \$500,000,000 ground rent with which they rob the workers of the buildings, machinery, autos, food, clothing, etc., that they produce?

How can the workers buy the things they produce and hand over \$500,000,000 to landlords in Greater New York every year (for nothing) that leaves the workers \$500,000,000 short in purchasing power? Is not the capitalist system based on the landlordism system?

GEORGE LLOYD.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

It would be an easy matter to convince those who have lived during the period of 1914 to 1918 as to the need of peace, because they have had experience of the horrors of war. Our difficulty is that the new generations growing up do not realize and appreciate the horrors of war.—J. H. Thomas, British M. P.

S. A. de Witt.