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Timely Topics

The League's Failure—
Mexico and China—
Philadel—
Labor's
Organ—

By Thomas

PEAK average in this—
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Nations and
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that the most im
out and far reach
ing event of the last week, so far as
American foreign affairs are concerned,
had to do neither with the League of
Nations nor Mexico.

That doesn't mean that I underestimate the significance of events in Europe or the future of the League of Nations. We still have a lot to learn as to what happened behind the scenes at Locarno, at Geneva, and in between. We still have to learn a good many things as to why it happened. The honors at Geneva for straight dealing and real interest in peace went to Sweden and Germany, and the dishonor, so far as I can make out, to Italy, France and Great Britain. Not these powers, but Spain, Brazil and Poland openly acted the role of bad boys, but most observers believe that they were inspired not only by their own jingoism, but by the intrigues of some of the larger powers. I can't see why any American should rejoice at the situation. If the League fails in Europe, it will be not labor but the fascists, the blind nationalists, and the militarists everywhere who will gain. There can be no disarmament. New war, probably on a world-wide scale, will be as nearly inevitable as any future business event. I am of the opinion that at the present stage of proceedings American membership in the League, except on conditions to which the American people themselves are not converted, would not help matters. I am certain that the League has so far failed as an agency of internationalism outside of Europe, for example, in relation to the Riffs and the Syrians. But in Europe with all its weaknesses and faults, the League is the agency to which they look who are doing most for the cause of peace. That is why I hope the League will not perish or be supplanted by a chaos of secret bargaining between nations drunk with fear and hate and greed.

So far as Mexico is concerned, the clamor for intervention seems to be subsiding. For this I am disposed to praise not so much the morals of my fellow countrymen as their discretion. To "clean up" Mexico would be a job for a big army. It would mean war. The average American may be willing to be taxed for the benefit of his rich compatriots, but he is not yet willing to fight their wars in Mexico. Now if Mexico were like Haiti, a little country where the marines could do the job, it would have been "cleaned up" long ago—all "To the greater glory of God." Which is the polite way of saying, "To the greater security of American property."

This is a long preface to my main point, which is that in China the American State Department has recently taken a step which may bring forth enormous future disaster. Heretofore the United States, at least as compared with Great Britain and Japan, has played a role friendly to the Chinese and their national aspirations. It was possible to hope that the great influence of the United States might be used to permit the Chinese to solve their own problems and to remove from that people the injustice of the unequal treaties. That hope has been greatly lessened by the action of our government in joining the other powers in an ultimatum demanding the removal of mines and other obstructions to navigation in the Pei River. Following the Boxer troubles the Great Powers forced China to accept a protocol guaranteeing that the Pei River should be open at all times to the ships of the powers—this on the theory that under such terms foreigners in Peking and other interior cities could best be rescued. In the fighting around Tientsin, near the mouth of the Pei River, the Nationalist forces closed navigation by forts and mines. This act hurt the chances of Chang Tso Lin, the Manchurian dictator and friend of Japan. The powers revived the old unequal treaty with the support of the United States. The weak Chinese government yielded to their ultimatum. Great crowds of students in Peking held demonstrations against the government's action. They were fired on by the troops. Thirty or more were killed. Meanwhile, as was to be expected, the soldiers of Chang won the fight around Tientsin.

Before the massacre of the students, the Kuo Min Tang (China National Party) cabled an appeal with a request that it be transmitted to organizations friendly to Chinese, including the Socialist Party.

This appeal, printed elsewhere on (Continued on page 2)

Chinese Denounce U.S. Imperialism

SCHWAB'S MINE TOWNS ARMED CAMPS

Wire Fences, Guns and Guards Give Complete Military Picture

By Art Shields

BROWNSVILLE, Pa.—High power searchlights that blaze in the traveler's face at night are part of the military atmosphere with which Charles M. Schwab surrounds the countryside about his open-shop mining operations in Ellsworth, Bentonsville, Marianna and Cokeburg, in Washington County, Pa. Steel wire fences enclose the mine buildings and the company houses where the scabs live. Numerous armed guards and detectives, who run out to take the license numbers of passing autos, help to complete the picture.

The Bethlehem Mines Corp. signed the Jacksonville mine wage agreement early in 1924. Within a year its mines closed in a lockout to starve away the more militant union members. Last autumn the pits offered work at the 1917 scale.

Ninety-eight percent of the 4,000 miners stood pat. The company began running in scabs, and to date it is estimated that several thousand have been brought, of whom less than a thousand are working today. The labor turnover is enormous. They come and go. The kind of men the company gets is indicated by a clergyman who is on the ground. A squad of scabs had shot down the deep shaft of the Ellsworth mine in the passenger case. They gasped for breath as they do on taking the first time. "I never did this before," said one, as he recovered on hitting the bottom. "Then what the hell are you doing here now?" shouted the straw boss. A few days later the straw boss received a typewritten warning from Pittsburgh on the stationery of the Burns detective agency, advising that he keep his mouth shut about the qualifications of the men furnished.

Men are shipped from southern and northern West Virginia and the slums of big cities, like Cleveland, with promises of \$8 to \$16 a day. Nothing is said of a strike. What they are actually paid appears on a pay statement dropped on the road by a departing worker. It is made out to Ernest Payne, and credits him with \$1.60 for loading three tons of pick coal, or at

(Continued on page 2)

Demands Strike Probe



VICTOR L. BERGER, Socialist Congressman, who has moved for a federal investigation of the Passaic textile strike.

U. S. PAID HIGH TO FIGHT UNION

Trenton—Trenton labor is learning something about the high cost of railroad strike-breaking from the Federal Government's suit against William C. Gennerich, of the Ascher Detective Agency, and Captain Reginald Fay, superintendent of the marine department, New York Central Railroad. The detective and rail head are charged with conspiring to defraud the U. S. Government by padding the railroad's payroll in wartime when the line was under Federal control.

Letters from Fay to Gennerich, introduced into the proceedings, tell of the number of men hired to break a strike in the marine department of the railroad. The government seems to be using the letters to prove that the defendants drew wages for men who were not on the company payroll—dummy strike-breakers. The Ascher firm of detectives was paid \$127,000 at the conclusion of the strike and the government reimbursed the railroad for the amount, which it now claims was excessive. The government is not protesting its payment of money for strike-breaking, but for what it declares an excessive charge for the job.

U. S. Socialist Party Gains 4000 Members In Year Just Ended

Organization Definitely Launched on a Whirlwind Revival, J. Mahlon Barnes Reports

A GAIN of 4,000 members in the year ending February 27 is recorded by the National Office of the Socialist party, J. Mahlon Barnes, manager of The American Appeal, in New York, this week announced. Barnes declared the National Office has received definite indications of a real turn of the tide in Socialist Party fortunes. The revival is under way, he said. "It's like old times," Barnes said. "Inquiries are pouring daily into the National Office in connection with the formation of new branches. Old members are flocking back and bringing new ones with them."

"Best of all is the definite indication that the Socialist Party is staging a whirlwind come-back in the shape of the increase of membership by 4,000 in the year ending February 27. A great part of the increase has come since January 1. New branches have been formed and old ones are coming to life again. The National Office is strained to overwork handling the virtual deluge of promises of support and inquiries concerning membership. The tide has definitely turned. The Socialist party is clearly on the road to a come-back."

U. S. PROBE OF PASSAIC STRIKE MOVED BY BERGER AND LA FOLLETTE

WASHINGTON.—Preliminary investigation of the Passaic textile strike by the Senate committee on manufactures was granted, and the way opened for a thorough probe of the causes and incidents of the struggle, when Senator LaFollette introduced a resolution calling for the inquiry. This resolution set forth the charges made by the 16,000 strikers against the mill owners and police and other officials responsible for their grievances. It also set forth the basis of the claim that the strike is unjustified and is promoted by Communists for propaganda purposes. It cites the fact that both sides have asked for a congressional investigation. It proposes that the committee on manufactures be empowered to make a thorough investigation, taking testimony in Washington and in New Jersey or elsewhere, and to report its findings to the Senate.

A similar resolution to that of LaFollette has been introduced in the House by Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist, of Wisconsin. In the list of charges made by the strikers are included the starvation wage, long hours of work, insanitary conditions dangerous to the health of the employees, degraded standards of living due to low wages, failure of state and local officials to protect life, limb and the homes of the strikers, abuse of federal immigration laws through threats of deportation of citizen strikers, denial of rights of free speech and assembly, arbitrary refusal of peace officers to enforce the laws, destruction of private property by violent acts of the police, and denial of the rights of habeas corpus to citizens arrested, jail and held incommunicado without proper warrant.

From the mill owners' side, there is recited the claim that the wages and conditions in the mills are made necessary by competition from New England and other textile districts. Also that a prolonged strike will force them to raise the price of wool and silk fabrics. And finally, that wages and hours are reasonable and that the strike has no just economic basis but "is the result of propaganda for the spread of subversive governmental doctrine."

By getting unanimous consent for immediate reference of his measure to the manufactures committee, of which he is a member, LaFollette made certain of at least a preliminary inquiry. McKinley of Illinois is chairman of that committee, the other members being McNary, Weller, McLean, Metcalf, LaFollette, Smith, Reed of Missouri, Edwards of New Jersey, Wheeler and Tyson. Reed and Wheeler are two of the ablest examining lawyers in the Senate.

Company are out of jail not because they are innocent. On the contrary, decisions have gone against them. They are out because of their enormous wealth and for no other reason. And they are likely to stay out for the same reasons.

New Cabinet in Czechoslovakia

The uncertain political situation in Czechoslovakia since the elections of last November materially reduced the majority of the Czech parties. They intensified party differences which came to a head on March 17 with the resignation of the Cabinet presided over by Anthony Svehla since October, 1922. The immediate cause of Svehla's resignation was a Parliamentary jam over the question of legislation affecting the working conditions and salaries of civil service employees and over a proposal to raise the taxes on grain and foodstuffs in general, but the underlying causes are to be found in the strife over de jure recognition of Soviet Russia, in autonomy demands of the Slovak Clericals and in the violent protests by the Germans in the new decree regulating the status of the various languages used in the republic. Three days after Svehla quit, a new Government, consisting partly of non-partisan experts, was formed by ex-Premier Corny, with Dr. Eduard Benes at his old post of Foreign Minister and Dr. Englis still handling the nation's finances. The Czechoslovak Social Democrats held two seats in the old Cabinet, but it is doubtful if they accepted any in the new one, especially as they are not over-enthusiastic at the somewhat drastic provisions of the language regulations, although recognizing the need of setting up some standard of official speech. Racial disputes, which divide even the Socialist forces, and religious differences make the task of the really progressive leaders, like Dr. Benes and President Masaryk, a hard one, but they feel that time fights on their side and that the

Labor's Dividends

HAMMONTON, N. J.—Despite complaints, the Pennsylvania Railroad has for several months run southbound trains on northbound tracks and vice versa. Elias Bretha, a track walker, has been struck and killed at Woodcrest by a northbound train while he was walking north on a southbound track, the usual practice of track walkers.

A double drowning occurred in the East River. Two dock repairmen, Frank Esposito and Serofine Santemarie were the victims.

Martin Durkin, a laborer, plunged eleven stories to death when a hoist used in the construction of a building broke and fell.

HAGERSTOWN, Md.—A freight train on the Western Maryland figured in three accidents near here. Two men were killed and another was seriously injured.

Michael Chiggo, a rock driller, was killed when a two-ton hoisting bucket under which they were drilling in an excavation, fell on him.

Egbert Adolphi, a lineman, was crushed to death by a falling pole.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The engineer of train No. 6 on the Nickel Plate road, was killed when the train was derailed.

LORAIN, Ohio.—Edward Krump, motorman, and Herbert Courtney, conductor, were burned to death when a freight train jumped the track.

Striking a twelve-inch gas main as they were drilling with a compressed air drill through rock, two employees of the William F. Kenny Construction Company of New York City were asphyxiated.

CHICAGO—Two trainmen were killed in a head-on collision of an Illinois suburban train and a Michigan Central fast freight.

Robert La Pointe, an electrician's helper, was killed when he came in contact with a live wire carrying 13,000 volts in the Public Service Production Company's plant in Duffield.

AMERICA JOINED IN ULTIMATUM OF POWERS

39 Students Slain in Protest Against Dictation of Foreign Nations

THE brutal government assault on Chinese students and workmen in Peking, in which as many as 39 men and women are reported to have been killed, was a direct consequence of an ultimatum to the Chinese authorities to which the United States attached its name.

The interference of the United States came when it joined in demanding from China that the Taku fort, whose activity had hampered the progress of business conducted by foreigners, be dismantled.

The massacre of students, among whom were more than ten girls, was fully as unjustified as the notorious Shanghai massacre for which the powers are now trying to escape blame. The Chinese government apparently had no choice in the matter but to accede to the mailed fist of the Powers.

Following submission to the demands of the ultimatum, the students assembled near the Executive Offices to protest against the clear instance of foreign interference in Chinese affairs. Though unarmed, they were attacked; two scores were killed; several scores were wounded.

A protest against the American interference in Chinese affairs has been cabled here by the Kuo Min Tang (the Chinese National party), founded by Sun Yat Sen.

The protest says: "United States Government associated in fresh acts of aggression against sovereignty of China. This very moment national armies are engaged in decisive struggle against avowed reactionaries at Mukden and other militarists. Ultimatum calculated to hamper national armies and assure victory to forces of reaction. Appeal to you to exercise your influence to restrain government action plunging China into worse chaos and oppression."

The American Committee for Justice to China has forwarded the cable to President Coolidge. With it has gone a plea, signed by Harry F. Ward, chairman of the committee, urging the United States to take the lead in readjusting treaty relations with China and thus give that country its full rights as a nation.

After quoting the above cable, the letter to President Coolidge continues: "This cablegram refers to the ultimatum delivered to China by a group of powers in relation to the removal of obstruction to navigation from Taku bar to Tientsin, due to the civil war now proceeding in that vicinity. We understand that this ultimatum and the action thereby threatened is justified legally under the protocol of 1901 which guaranteed unimpeded navigation in the Pei River to the ships of the Great Powers. All Chinese parties, however, agree that this protocol, together with the other 'unequal treaties' embody limitations of Chinese sovereignty that are now both unnecessary and intolerable."

"It is exceedingly interesting in this connection that a representative committee of American missionaries at Peking who are supposedly the chief beneficiaries of the protocol of 1901, in a protest to Minister MacMurray, endorse the Chinese point of view and point out that our association with the ultimatum will severely strain, if it does not break, the historic friendship between China and the United States."

"The consequences that these missionaries fear will remain even though the Chinese yield to the superior force behind the ultimatum. At this very moment there comes to my hand a newspaper announcing a great student demonstration against the government's acceptance of the ultimatum. Troops fired upon the students killing 17 and wounding 16. No formal acceptance of the ultimatum will blot out of the minds of the Chinese people the bitter memory of this deed."

"Thomas F. Millard, the most experienced American journalist in the Orient, in the New York Times, March 17, speaks of the ultimatum as 'sustaining the selfish motives of certain powers.' He points out that our participation in the ultimatum 'will establish a precedent as indicating the attitude of America toward the whole set of existing treaties which steadily and constantly are breaking up.'"

"We earnestly protest against the association of the United States with actions of other powers based on (Continued on page 2)

A DIGEST OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Crime Wave Still Waving

What is known as the "crime wave" shows no abatement and although authorities in criminology, psychiatry, penology and psychology have for years been offering their conclusions, crime is still a mystery to our public guardians. Judge Gary continues to float his National Crime Commission and some specialists at Columbia University propose to cooperate with this commission. We suggest that they investigate those who are higher up in the world, let us say, as high up as Gary of the United States Steel Corporation. It is just possible that the ease with which our eminent oligarchs break the law without having their sleep disturbed may provide an incentive for lesser mortals to follow their example on a smaller scale. Of course, the little fellows are all wrong and it is the lesser fry that the crime commissions and most of the "experts" are always studying. The little ones constitute the problem, not the big ones at the top of the social heap. While Columbia University announces its new venture a cable comes from London that emphasizes the point we make. It is reported there that our crime wave has induced British students to browse in the "Black Library" of the famous Old Bailey Court of London for suggestions that would serve us here. The cable mentions the death penalty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for stealing. One poor devil went to his death for stealing "one basket and one cloth" and another for stealing a pair of shoe buckles. Admirable suggestion! British legislation in these two centuries created a great mass of paupers, especially by land enclosures in the interest of a few thousand wealthy families. Hunger drove many to petty pilfering and the ruling classes decreed death for stealing. The big criminals at the top who stole the land made the laws for the poor devils

below. We pass this information on to our "experts," especially to Gary's crime commission, for their consideration. It may have an interesting analogy for us.

Leze-Mussolini Crime in Italy

While the main spectacle in the circus labeled Italian Justice was being produced in the big tent at Chieti, where five of Il Duce's bravest fought through the semblance of a trial for the murder of Giacomo Matteotti, the little side-shows in other parts of the country are doing their best to amuse their smaller audience and to show the world that the recently enacted law providing prison sentences for persons guilty of "insulting the Premier" is not a joke. Following the sentencing of an "ex-hilarated" Englishman in Florence to eight months for having made indiscreet remarks about Mussolini (he was subsequently freed and banished from Italy), the court in Perugia has moved for the trial of Senator Luigi Lucchini, a noted lawyer and editor of the Penal Review. It appears that Senator Lucchini, who is 55 years old and highly respected, in printing the full text of the dictator's wild Brenner Pass speech noted that it "offered students of criminology a fine subject for study." Enough said. Such blasphemy must not go unpunished. But the black-shirt chief may cheer up! According to a Hearst news dispatcher, Isaac Marcossan, an American retailer of fact and fancy in the form of interviews, etc., told the American Chamber of Commerce in Milan that Mussolini was a sort of "super-Roosevelt" and that if he was a dictator then Europe needed more of the only country making serious efforts toward rehabilitation. Nevertheless some American investors seem to be skeptical regarding Italian progress, as it is reported that a large slice of the \$100,000,000 loan negotiated last November by J. P. Morgan & Co., di-

rectly after the Italian debt "settlement" is still in the hands of the bankers and the life of the flotation syndicate has been extended sixty days. Il Nuovo Mondo, the New York Italian labor daily, has started a movement to erect a monument to Deputy Matteotti in this country and contributions are coming in rapidly.

A Review for Doheny and Co.

The notorious oil scandal again bobbed up in the news this week when the Supreme Court decided to review the legality of the Doheny lease of oil lands in the Elks Hills reserve of California. The lease was cancelled by one court, the cancellation was affirmed by a higher court and now the Supreme Court will review the whole matter. Then the District of Columbia Court of Appeals granted a motion to allow special appeals in the conspiracy growing out of the oil lease cases. This means a review of Justice Stafford's decision against the defendants in this country and contributions are coming in rapidly.

Company are out of jail not because they are innocent. On the contrary, decisions have gone against them. They are out because of their enormous wealth and for no other reason. And they are likely to stay out for the same reasons.

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final victory of political, religious and economic liberalism is certain.

Serf Labor in The South

Since the fall of slavery in the southern States convict servitude has survived in a large number of communities. Twenty-five years ago miners in Tennessee who were held in State servitude rose in armed rebellion and stirred the nation by their revolt. Last year the brutalities that brought death to a North Dakota boy in a Florida lumber camp shocked thinking people. Now it is Alabama that bulks prominent in the headlines. In that State convicts are farmed out in many instances to private corporations. In the mines of that State are men who endure horrors that recall the debtors prisons 100 years ago. A special representative of the World reports that in talks with "ex-convicts or convicts outside the mines, where they no longer were under control of State officials, he found many complaints." In the mines the slaves refuse to talk or else say nothing against their brutal drivers. One can understand why these workers decline to talk. The present publicity given to the Alabama horrors is due to the death of one convict who was reported as dying of heart disease. He really died because of cruelty of his keepers and to conceal the brutality the prison authorities injected bichloride of mercury into his body and caused a verdict of suicide to be returned. The semi-feudal South recalls the slavery and indentured servitude of the American colonies when workers were bound to serve a property owning class in producing the original forms of capital upon which the whole system of capitalism rests today. Southern capitalism has resorted to this colonial servitude in many forms and for the same purpose. The Fourteenth Amendment is a mockery under such conditions. It is time that Mexico sent a message of protest against the barbarism of capitalism in this region.

The Field of Labor

Union Strength Ebbs in Massachusetts

Boston.—Reductions both in the number of local unions and in total trade union membership in Massachusetts during 1924 are shown in a detailed report by the state department of labor. The number of local unions fell from 1,392 at the end of 1923 to 1,362 at the end of 1924. In the same period total union membership declined from 365,969 to 353,977, a drop of 5 percent.

Laundry Workers Run Shops to Help Strikers

Chicago.—Two laundries owned by the Chicago Laundry workers union are running full blast to help bring capitalist employers to time. One of the labor-owned laundries is near a big place where several hundred workers walked out to enforce demands for a wage raise. As low as \$3 a week is paid to girls and \$12 to men in the struck shops. The start in organizing Chicago laundries will be followed up until the city is a union town on wash-day, President M. F. Murphy of the local declares.

Farmer-Labor Exchange Opens New Branches

Chicago.—Carload lots of Florida fruit and southern vegetables consigned to the Farmer-Labor exchange will be routed from now on either to the Chicago headquarters or to newly established branches in New York, St. Louis, Kansas City and lesser wholesale centers, in accordance with the most favorable market price for the grower. Large lots of cabbage, carrots, beets, green peppers, beans and other early vegetables are moving north, the exchange reports. The market is also declared good for peaches, southern poultry and eggs. The union label of the Farmer-Labor Union of America appears on all shipments from the Rio Grande Valley handled by the exchange.

New Quarters for Women's Trade Union League

Chicago.—A drive for \$35,000 is being launched by the Chicago Women's Trade Union League for a new clubhouse. The plan is to finance the enterprise by selling 25c. and 50c. stamps to girl and women workers in Chicago so as to give them a stake in the property. Additional money is expected from women's clubs and other sympathetic sources. Meeting rooms, tearooms, lecture rooms and a gymnasium will be installed in the new location.

A. C. W. Issues Call for May Day Celebration

The following call to observe May day as International Labor day is issued by Secretary Joseph Schlossberg of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "May day is of much greater significance today than before the war because the need of labor solidarity is felt more strongly. The agreement arrived at by the powerful labor movements in Soviet Russia and in Great Britain is of tremendous historical significance. There is a growing realization of the interdependence of the several labor movements, including the former 'enemies' such as England, Germany and France. We have faith in the spirit of May day."

Pullman Porters' Union Gets New Supporters

Endorsement of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters by the Baptist ministers conference of Pittsburgh and vicinity, including 150 churches and about 45,000 persons, is announced by union headquarters. The ministers' resolution was passed after hearing brotherhood organizer Frank R. Cross-waith tell of the movement.

Green Invites Students to Join Carpenters' Union

"May you be actively identified with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and may your membership in that renowned organization prove to be a great benefit to you and of great value to the many thousands of members who compose it," was American Federation of Labor president William Green's concluding word to the 22nd annual dinner of Pratt Institute Woodworking Alumni Association.

Mass. Painters Cheated of Health Protection

Boston.—"So called health regulations for painters, added to the state industrial code, are a tragic illustration of official indifference to the safety of labor," comments the Workers Health Bureau after analyzing the new regulations. "No attempt was made by the department to cut out the most serious dangers in the painting trade. The spray machine remains in use, casting 52 times as much poison into the air in a given time as hand painting."

"Liberty" Is Anything but That for Workers

Chicago.—By open shop methods and systematic sweating of its employees the Chicago Tribune is hoping to crawl out of its colossal deficit. The Women's Trade Union League reports through Delegate Challinor that the weekly, which made a stab at putting the Saturday Evening Post on the shelf, is particularly hardboiled in exploiting women bookbinders.

Chicago Millinery Workers Add Members

Chicago.—Girls are joining the new Chicago millinery workers union in increasing numbers and building up a good skeleton organization for the beginning of the next rush season. It is reported from the millinery marts called by Melinda Scott, organizer for the Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.

Boston Unionists Plan Organization March

Boston.—Eleven Boston trade unions have already voted to parade on April 11 to Faneuil Hall to formally open the local activities of the American Federation of Labor organization drive. Painters, postal clerks, longshoremen, leather workers and leather handlers, horseshoers, electrolyzers, garment workers, metal polishers, Cambridge plasterers, stationary firemen, and Norwood painters will be in the five parades planned from different directions to the hall. Boston Central Labor Union is having 10,000 circulars announcing the meeting printed and distributed to all unions and in the large unorganized factories of the district.

Scranton Street Car Men Make Gains

Scranton, Pa.—One-man car operators gain 20 cents a day, instead of the 25 cents an hour sought, by the one-year agreement signed by the local trolley workers union and the company. The one-man car men get their increase by being paid for time between leaving the car at the barn and reporting to the office—about half an hour's trip for which they were not previously paid. The rest of the street car workers are to continue at the old rates instead of getting the 11 to 17 cent increases asked.

Journeyman Tailors to Plan Strike

The Journeymen Tailors' Union, local 1, New York City, has called a monster mass meeting of all custom tailors in the city for Thursday, April 1st, 8 p. m. at Bohemian Hall, 321 East 73rd street. The question of a general strike this spring will be taken up.

Shirt Makers Carry on Successful Strike

The end of the first week of the New York Shirt Makers' strike brings the union nearer to its goal. The morning of Monday, the shops of seventy independent Shirt Manufacturers were opened but the workers were not there. The workers were at the Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. They struck in order to compel their employers to renew the agreement with improved modifications for the term of another year. The time chosen for the strike and the energetic manner in which the struggle is conducted makes it a fight of short duration. In a week's time fifty of the seventy manufacturers called out have accepted the terms of the organization.

Shirt Makers Elect Delegates to Convention

While engaged in a strike the N. Y. Shirt Makers do not neglect to pay due attention to internal affairs of the organization. The sixth Biennial Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is to take place in Montreal, Canada, the second week in May. The Joint Board has unanimously chosen as its delegates Brother J. Lipsey, The Cutters Local, No. 248, has elected Brothers G. Goode and A. Greenstein. The Pressers Local, No. 243, has elected Brothers T. Caruso and S. Pettilli. The Operators Local, No. 248, having its membership scattered in all parts of Greater New York, has decided to have polling places during the week of March 22nd in all parts of the city.

Socialists Praised for Strike Aid

"Had we in any degree received from the workers in general the support which we received from the Socialist Party a different story could be written about the struggles of the working class in West Virginia."—Will C. Thompson, secretary of the United Mine Workers of West Virginia.

RELIEF work by the Socialist party for the West Virginia mine strikers receives unstinted praise in a letter the N. Y. Socialist Party's City Committee has received from Will C. Thompson, Secretary-Treasurer of District 17 of the United Mine Workers. Had other workers responded as the Socialists did, Thompson declares, the strike, which has just been called off, would have been won.

In response to Thompson's letter, the Socialist Party, through Secretary August Claessens, expressed its willingness to again, at any time, join in relief work for a similar cause.

Thompson's letter follows: "In answering your letter of recent date relative to further need of clothing for the miners of West Virginia, I wish to advise that due to the ability of the non-union coal operators and the support rendered them by the county and state officers (who appear to be completely subsidized by the vested interests) to import strike breakers, receiving both county and state assistance in terrorizing and intimi-

dating striking union miners who ask for recognition of the right to collective bargaining, our strike here became ineffective after it was apparent that they were able to produce almost (if not entirely) their former normal production of coal in the non-union mines; consequently, we have called off all activities and advised our members to secure employment, which many of them have already done. Therefore, I feel that there is no immediate need for further contribution at this time.

"I wish to take this means in behalf of the loyal union men and their families to thank you and your associates in the Socialist Party for the assistance rendered which I assure you will never be forgotten. I regret very much our inability to secure the valued assistance of all workers in like proportion, as that which we received from the members of the Socialist Party. Had we in any degree received from the workers in general the support which we received from the Socialist Party, a dif-

ferent story could be written about the struggles of the working class in West Virginia.

"Again thanking you for your co-operation and valued assistance, I remain,

"Yours very respectfully,
"WILL C. THOMPSON,
"Secretary-Treas. District No. 17,
"UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA"

In reply, Secretary Claessens wrote:

"Brother Thompson:

"We are glad in one respect that your strike is at an end and that further assistance is no longer needed. Although the conclusion to the long battle is far from what was desired by the workers of the coal region, we nevertheless wish to assure you that our co-operation in your struggles is at your command whenever our services are needed.

"We wish to thank you for your kind expressions of gratitude for the humble and meager assistance we have been able to render and trust that you will keep us in mind for whatever further assistance we may be in a position to give you."

DOLLARPATRIOTS ORGANIZE

CHICAGO.—All who make application at once will be charter members. And it costs you only \$50, once for all, to be a Founder-Life member, or \$5 every year to be a Regular-Active member. Or, if you were prominent enough in secret snooping on your neighbor during the war, or in profiteering, or in getting a good political job to dodge the draft, you may persuade the promoters to put you on the national advisory board, which apparently costs you nothing.

This great opportunity is advanced by the Civil Legion, which is seeking a national charter from Congress. If you did anything at all in the late war for democracy, except fight, the officers will accept your \$50. For example, if you were unfortunate enough to miss the call to the front and had to content yourself as a member of a local draft board with sending others to the scene of glory, your cash is good. If you found out as a member of the American Protective League that a suspected doctor of probable Hun ancestry kept reporting cases of German measles to the local health department instead of diagnosing Liberty measles, the Civil Legion will welcome you. If you made your supreme sacrifice as a Four-Minute Speaker to restless movie audiences, the Founder-Life (\$50) or the Regular-Active (\$5 per annum) is none too precious for you.

The gent at the head of the aggregation is none other than old Frank Comerford, who once had dreams of becoming a great labor-defense lawyer, with visions of million-dollar defense funds gathered from the trade unions. He gave that up during the war to capitalize on the Bolshevik panic as a special prosecutor against Illinois "Reds," followed by a fruitless attempt to cop a judge's job from an ungrateful constituency. He now appears on the Civil Legion letterhead as Hon. Frank Comerford, Illinois, National President.

SCHWAB

(Continued from page 1)
the rate of \$3c. a ton. The union rate for pick coal is \$1.03 a ton. Off the \$1.60 was deducted \$1.56 for various charges, so that Payne had 4c. coming to him. The back of the pay envelope advises in bold type: "Out of this envelope deposit all you can spare with National Bank of Ellsworth." But Payne used it for carfare.

Department workers, fed up with the life behind the wires, tell union men that it is bad enough to live near the guards, but worse to have to support them. They say they are charged \$5 a two-weekly pay each for "protection." The guards are rowdies of the cheapest kind, though dignified with the title of Coal and Iron Police, and licensed by the State of Pennsylvania. Several union men have been assaulted. Production in the Bethlehem mines is low. The open-shop effort is costing Schwab heavily today, but he is investing for the future in alliance with Pittsburgh Coal and Consolidation Coal companies. A life and death struggle for the union is being waged in this key field.

THE COMMUNITY FORUM

Park Ave. and 34th St.
SUNDAY, MARCH 28th
8 P. M.

SCOTT NEARING

"Economic Development of the United States"

11 A. M.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"Problems of the Unmarried" (Preached again by request)

New Jersey's Governor on Coal

IN his inaugural address Governor Moore of New Jersey proposed that the states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York make a compact to create some kind of a coal commission to condemn certain anthracite coal land, build a new railroad to tidewater and, by competition with the existing coal companies, cut the price of anthracite to consumers. There never was such a half-baked proposal advanced by the wildest radical. Nobody is likely to pay any particular attention to it, and Governor Moore probably never thought they would. But it may help him show the people how he loves them when another election comes around. He is a good democrat and a good vet, and that's all the brains he needs to have. If he weren't a good old party man you can imagine how the papers would howl. It is worth while to examine his proposal briefly to point out to what absurdities men are driven who want to be considered friends of the people and yet avoid all Socialist taint. In the first place, the use of anthracite and legitimate interest in anthracite is not confined to the three states Governor Moore named. Anthracite is a national asset and a national problem. In the second place, while compacts between states have their uses, it takes time to work them out, and the more states are involved the more cumbersome is the policy. Fourteen states at least are interested in anthracite and any one of them can block the compact. In the third place, it is a grave question whether a new railroad would be economic or self-supporting. What we want is proper control over the railroads we already have. In the fourth place, Governor Moore's commission would have to condemn existing mines or land belonging to them. If it acquired the good mines or coal lands the court would probably exact a fantastic price. If it acquired the poor mines, operating costs would be excessive. In either case the consumer would get no benefit in cut price. Finally, anthracite is a monopoly. The consumers need virtually all of the present normal output of the mines. Under these conditions the cost of producing coal in the high cost mines tends to fix the price. Thus, the middleman who conceivably might buy part of his coal from some state commission at, let us say, \$9 a ton, but who would have to pay \$11 a ton for the rest of his supply, would fix his

CHINA

(Continued from page 1)

treaties that infringe upon the sovereignty of China from whose onerous provisions the Chinese have for some time past been seeking relief. Such a policy if continued can only lead to a repudiation of these treaties by China with disastrous consequences to the peace of the world. We therefore urge you at once to disassociate the United States from all policies and acts of other powers that involve the use or threat of force to uphold treaties, the present validity and value of which are now called in question by many impartial foreign observers.

"We believe that present conditions in China present to you as the head of this government a unique opportunity to take the lead in securing the readjustment of treaty relations with China, upon which in no small degree depends the future peace of the world. We appeal to you if you cannot obtain the co-operation of the British and Japanese governments to act independently in accordance with the highest American traditions of friendship with China, respect for her sovereignty, and far-sighted devotion to the preservation of international friendship and peace."

The "United Front"

Editor, The New Leader:
Just a few words about this United Front talk. In the opinion of the writer, the Socialist Party has nothing to regret or apologize for as to what it did previous to, during or since the World War. Our experience in uniting in 1924 should satisfy us for some years to come.

What some of our members should do who are not informed is to read the "United Front" press at least once a month, if their stomachs are strong enough, and they will then realize what they are called upon to unite with.
EDWARD J. DUTTON.
New York City.

Pangalos Fears to Attack Greek Socialists

SOME light is thrown upon conditions in Greece under the dictatorship by the following report from Athens received by the Zurich office of the Socialist and Labor International: "General Pangalos has been ruling our country as a dictator since the end of December. By a decree he has alienated the leaders of the republican parties. He is continuing to persecute the Communists and his soldiers are talking of shooting two or three Communist prisoners for having asked for Macedonian autonomy. The dictator has not yet dared to suppress the Socialist movement. Nevertheless, the fate of the organizations of the workers is exceedingly insecure. It is more than five years since the Trade Union Federation met in congress. A meeting called recently has just been postponed.

"In spite of all the drawbacks of a difficult situation, our comrades at Piraeus have just started a new weekly Socialist Party paper, To Vima ton Ergaton ('The Workers' Gazette'), which, although for a time prohibited, is now again allowed to appear. Moreover, a new Socialist movement is growing, especially in Saloniki, to which all the expelled members of the Communist Party have rallied, and which is called the 'Labor and Socialist Party of Greece.' These comrades do not want to join any International. We are hoping to be able to convince them of the need for international unity.

"In reply to an invitation from the International Federation of Trade Unions with regard to the participation of the Greek workers in the congress which is to take place in Sofia on April 9, the workers' organizations of Piraeus are proposing to send a strong delegation to this congress.

"The results of the local elections at Saloniki, which for the second time gave the mayor's seat to a Communist, Petrikios, have had considerable repercussion and would seem to show that Communism is pretty strong in

Labor Doings Abroad

Moscow Woos Mexican Labor, but Loses

That the Moscow fox had concluded the Mexican grapes were sour even before the recent annual convention of the Mexican Federation of Labor passed by the following summary of developments in the relations between the Red Trade Union International and the "Crom" (the Mexican Federation), made by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Some time ago the organ of the Red Trade Union International published an official announcement, reprinted in all Communist papers, to the effect that the Mexican trade unions had been in touch with the R. T. U. I. and had invited it to take part in the next Mexican trade union congress. The Communist press seized upon this opportunity to enlarge upon its favorite theme, i. e., the declining influence of the Amsterdam International and the triumphal march of the R. T. U. I. From this time forward the Communists had not a word to say against the Mexican trade union leaders, whom they had previously been calling accursed traitors to the cause of the Mexican workers, and lackeys of American capital. On the contrary, they suddenly discovered that, after all, the Mexican trade unions were not at all badly organized, etc.

But International Press Correspondence has just published an article which begins by saying that the interest which the R. T. U. I. has shown in the Mexican trade union movement has been in marked contrast to the attitude of the I. F. T. U., namely, "because it has invited the Mexican Trade Union Center (Crom) to take part in the second congress of the R. T. U. I. in Moscow." This quite remarkable kindness was, however, openly rewarded with base ingratitude, for "Crom accepted the invitation and dispatched three delegates, but these never turned up at the appointed place. The reason for their failure to put in an appearance was not a railway accident, however. Crom explained itself in a letter in which it stated that 'at present it does not intend to affiliate with any of the existing Internationals; nor has it given any of its delegates instructions to issue invitations to its congress.'"

The R. T. U. I. replied by expressing the earnest wish that the Mexican trade union congress must come out united on the side of the "one and only International, which includes the workers of all continents." This desire for unity is further demonstrated in a recent volley of abuse against the Mexican leaders, for whom suddenly again there is not a good word to be said, and who, it now appears, are guilty of "a crass fault against international solidarity."

The membership of the Mexican Center, over which the Communists were formerly reeling, is now to be regarded with the utmost reserve, as the figures are "only" quoted on the authority of the Communist press. They have even been added to by the Amsterdamers. They end by making Gompers the scapegoat. "Crom's decision," they say, "is influenced by the ideas of the late Samuel Gompers, who has found worthy successors in William Green, the present president of the American Federation of Labor, and the Pan American Federation of Labor, and also Santiago Iglesias, the secretary of the latter."

Tom Shaw Reports on the Textile Industry

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Association of Textile Workers held recently in Zurich, Tom Shaw, the International Secretary, reported on the situation in the textile industry with special reference to conditions in the Japanese, Chinese, Indian, Brazilian and Mexican trades. Organizational conditions in those countries, and the efforts being made to get the various national textile workers' unions to affiliate with the International, were discussed. With a view to furthering these efforts, and also for the purpose of obtaining first-hand information, Tom Shaw will before long pay a visit to those countries. The application of the American Textile Workers for admittance to the International was accepted.

San Salvador Labor Enjoying Progress

Remarkable progress in organizing the workers of the Republic of El Salvador has been made during the last year, according to reports received from that Central American country, via Amsterdam.

Among the newly organized trades are weavers, clothing workers, boot and shoe operatives, masons and carpenters. The Trade Union Federation now has twenty-six affiliated organizations, two of which, with the aid of well-managed strike funds, have already organized several successful strikes. The Trade Union Federation of Salvador pays great attention to the organization of women, particularly in the textile and tobacco industries. The wages of the women workers are on an average only a quarter of the men's wages, although the women's hours are nearly everywhere the same as the men's. Another useful piece of work is the institution of a workers' educational club and a library.

Norwegians Join Tailors' International

Since January 1, last, the Norwegian Tailors' Union, with a membership of about 1,400, has affiliated with the International Clothing Workers Federation, as the result of a referendum of its members showing a big majority for such affiliation.

A Parliamentary Adviser for British Labor Party

The Parliamentary group of the British Labor Party has created a new office in order to secure a better distribution of the work within the group, and especially to submit all matters, sent in by workers' organizations of all kinds to the group or to individual members, to thorough investigation and preparation. This function resembles, but is not completely so, the Group Secretaries of many parties on the Continent. The adviser is to work with a committee of four, consisting of the leader of the party, Macdonald, the Chief Whip, Henderson, and two other executive members, Lansbury and Lees-Smith. Comrade Charles Robert Butt, who is an ex-member of parliament, has declared himself ready to accept the new honorary office, which will take up his whole time during Parliamentary sessions.

Public Service Men's Convention Hears of Gains

DELEGATES from eleven European countries attending the seventh congress of the International Federation of Employees in Public Service, held recently in Berlin, were cheered by a report by International Secretary Van Hinte, showing that the membership of the affiliated union was about 480,000, against 428,806 at the beginning of 1925. Recent accessions to the ranks of the International are the public service organizations of Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Luxembourg.

The Congress defined its attitude toward the newly founded Civil Servants' International, since especially in France and Belgium civil servants and teachers are affiliated with the ordinary workers' trade union center, and consequently regard the International Federation of Employees in Public Service as the only competent body. The Scandinavian countries also have made a definite pronouncement against the new Civil Servants' International, because, for the present at least, it admits civil servants' unions of various countries which are not organized on free trade union lines. A resolution was passed declaring that it is the duty of all national unions of employees in public services to establish closed relations with free civil servants' unions on a national basis.

The Congress also passed resolutions against Fascism and war. In the first of these, it expressed its sympathy with the campaign of the I. F. T. U. against Fascism, and promised the Italian comrades far-reaching assistance in their fight to recover freedom of speech and of the press, and of the right of association. In the second, it declared itself to be in accord with the resolutions passed at the various conferences of the free workers' movement, calling upon the working class to fight for peace and disarmament.

The rules of the International were amended so that the executive committee, which consists of representatives of every affiliated country and meets once a year, is to pick a bureau of five, including Secretary Van Hinte, to transact all urgent business. The affiliation fee was fixed at 5 Dutch cents (2 cents) per member per year.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

this page, was backed by the judgment of so good a journalist as Thomas F. Millard and by a committee of American missionaries in Peking. Alas, it came too late to accomplish what the senders hoped. It did not come too late to help arouse American opinion against our interference in Chinese affairs in behalf of our own imperialist, any of our own imperialists, or the imperialists of Japan and Great Britain. Unless the exploitation of China can be stopped, not Europe but Asia, not the Atlantic, but the Pacific may be the scene of the most tragic of all wars.

You may have gathered that I am not an optimist about the present condition of the organized labor movement in America as to its ideals, its energy or its social vision. Therefore I rejoice all the more at every encouraging sign. Emphatically, one of these encouraging signs was the enthusiastic dedication of the new Labor Institute in Philadelphia. The comrades, particularly of the Jewish movement, are to be congratulated on their success in purchasing and remodeling the old Musical Fund building. It makes a delightful center for labor activities.

The courage and solidarity of the Passaic strikers continues unabated. The great problem, of course, is to

build out of the present strike a lasting organization which can be extended to other textile centers. I hope this can be done without any more dual unionism. As a matter of fact, there is too much of that anyway in the largely unorganized textile industry. The United Textile Workers has one more opportunity to show what it can do. In the past it has not distinguished itself in the textile field. The difficulties admittedly are great, but the glory of a labor union is in facing and conquering great difficulties. Those who are more afraid of "Communist agitators" than of capitalist exploitation are not likely to conquer great difficulties.

POETRY FORUM

Always Interesting
Program Constantly Changed
ADMISSION 25c
Every Tuesday
8-10:15 p. m.

The Labor Temple

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Weekly Meetings, Musicales,
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Send stamped addressed envelope for information to
433 Lafayette St., New York

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 169th St.,
SUNDAY, MARCH 28th
8:30 P. M.

Tribute to Judaism

By representatives of other Faiths

Rabbi Irving F. Reichert

will respond

GENEVIEVE KAUFMAN

Jewish Songs

Admission Free

H. F. Feingold Dead

Readers of the New Leader and Socialists in general will be shocked to learn of the death of Harry F. Feingold of the F. and S. Clothing store. Comrade Feingold died in Florida after an illness lasting two weeks. He was buried last Sunday in New York City. Feingold was at all times a staunch supporter of the Socialist press. He was a member of the 15-16 A. D. branch of the Socialist Party.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION
(8th St. and Astor Place)
at 8 o'clock

FRIDAY, MARCH 26th

DR. MORRIS R. COHEN

"Science and Modern Superstition"

SUNDAY, MARCH 28th

HORACE BRIDGES

"The American Man for Over-Legislation"

TUESDAY, MARCH 30th

S. K. RATCLIFF

"The Rebirth of Society"

Admission Free

Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL
(Lexington Ave. and 25th St.)
at 8 o'clock

SATURDAY, MARCH 27th

HOUSTON PETERSON

"The Drama of Death"

MONDAY, MARCH 29th

MORTIMER J. ADLER

(Instructor in the Psychological Laboratory of Columbia University)

"The Methods of Psychology"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 31st

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN

"Why Religion?"

THURSDAY, APRIL 1st

DR. E. G. SPAULDING

"The Evolution of Ideas"

Admission Twenty-five Cents

A Socialist Program for California

By Upton Sinclair

(A Letter Accepting the Nomination of the Socialist Party for Governor of California)

Pasadena, California.
Socialist Party of California.

Comrades:

I have your letter advising me that I am your nominee for Governor in the coming campaign. I appreciate the honor, and welcome the opportunity to recall the people of this state to the principles of American Revolution.

There have been two crises in our country's history, but none more serious than the present. The people of California must decide in the next few years whether their great state is to become an industrial empire or an industrial republic; whether its natural wealth shall be controlled by the few for the benefit of the few or by the whole people for the general welfare. The great water power monopoly which is now weaving its web over the state is the most sinister menace to free government and free industry that has yet appeared in American life. Interlocked as it is with finance and the other public services, it means that rule by the people becomes a forgotten dream.

Campaign Views Suppressed

Already our campaign to awaken the voters has begun; and I receive at the outset an illustration of how it is to be carried on. When the news of my nomination came over the wires, I was called up by the great reactionary newspaper of Los Angeles. Would I state the issues upon which I proposed to conduct the campaign? I answered that I would; and I wrote out the second paragraph of this letter, all but the first sentence. The statement contained 104 words, surely a modest demand upon the space of a great newspaper, from the nominee of a party which received over 400,000 votes at the last election. Yet the great newspaper could not find space for these 104 words; it said: "Sinclair intimates that the chief issue of his campaign will be the repeal of the criminal syndicalism act."

Men Jailed for Opinions

It is seldom good tactics to follow the enemy's lead; nevertheless, the criminal syndicalism act will not be overlooked by the Socialist party's nominee. We seek to educate the people; and we are confronted by a law which penalizes the expression of political opinions by fourteen years in the jail at San Quentin. I wish to state to the voters, with all the earnestness of which I am capable, that I have studied the court records of the criminal syndicalism cases in California, I have talked with six lawyers who have defended the prisoners, and it is a fact that never in any court was an act of violence proven against any defendant, nor was any such act even charged. These men are in jail because of doctrines alleged to be taught by their organization, and crimes alleged to have been committed by other members; these crime-committing members being men who were paid the sum of \$250 a week by the state of California to travel about from place to place and give testimony to the effect that ten years ago they committed crimes—the purpose of their paid testimony being to send to prison other men, who had committed no crimes, and had not even belonged to the organization at the time the alleged crimes were committed. One of these men, being no longer under subsidy by the state of California, is now freely declaring that his hired testimony was false.

Imprisonment for Suspicion

This criminal syndicalism law means not merely that men are convicted and sent to prison for advocating certain political ideas; it means that they are arrested and kept in jail for months and even years, because some police official suspects them of holding such political ideas. I myself was arrested, less than three years ago, for the crime of attempting to read the Constitution of my country, while standing on private property, with the written permission of the owner of the property. I was held "incommunicado" for eighteen hours, and the charge which stands against my name on the blotter of the police station at San Pedro is "suspicion of criminal syndicalism." I would wager that the number of days in jail spent by men on the charge of "suspicion of criminal syndicalism" is twenty times the number of days spent by men after actual conviction for "criminal syndicalism."

I asked our present Governor to state to the people his attitude to the issue of the repeal of this most wicked law, but he refused to answer. Other questions of mine he answered, and printed his reply and sent it broadcast over

Upton Sinclair States His Platform As Socialist Candidate for Governor

the state; but this question he sidestepped, upon the plea that the repeal of the law is a matter for the legislature. I wrote again, pointing out to the Governor that it is his custom to transmit recommendations to the legislature; and would he recommend the removal of this blot from our state? The Governor acknowledged the receipt of that letter, but did not answer the question. Let me say that, as a candidate for Governor, I will answer any fair question that is put to me by a voter; and if I am elected, I will not dodge the vital issues of my administration.

Service for the People

People call us Socialists "destructive" critics. Therefore let me list the constructive measures I will work for, if I become governor of California. First and foremost, the public services of the state belong to the people, and have been taken from the people by fraud. The demand that they be restored to the people is one, to the voicing of which I am devoting my life.

I will work for a new Water and Power Act, and will do everything in my power to see that no private corporation ever gets a waterpower franchise in California, and that those which now have such franchises shall sell them at cost to the state.

Incidentally, I will demand a law making it a state's prison offense for any public service corporation to spend

a dollar of its funds, whether directly or indirectly, upon political propaganda; the guilt will be personal, and the directors and officials who break that law will take the place of the "wobblies" now in the jail at San Quentin. The Water and Power Act was beaten in this state by money put up by the public service corporations; they admitted before a legislative committee that they had put up more than half a million dollars to carry the election, and they have since added those expenditures to their costs, upon which they are entitled to draw dividends, wrung from the public they have swindled.

State Bank of California

I demand public ownership of water, gas, electricity, power, transportation and marketing; nor do I propose to run the state into debt to get these services. I suppose to get them by breaking the private monopoly of credit, which is the basic evil of our civilization, and the source of all other oppressions and robberies. Credit is the life blood of modern industry, and the private control of credit is the modern form of slavery. We put a dollar in a bank today and under our national banking laws, that dollar becomes the basis of some thirty dollars, loaned out by the banker to his friends, the great captains of speculation and exploitation. I say, let us have a State Bank of California, with branches in every city and town; by

this means the people can use their own money to finance those public enterprises which are necessary to the people's life.

Land Values Tax

I point to land speculation as another great evil of our social life. Land is held out of use, both in city and country; and for this the producers pay, while the speculators reap. I know of cases where city land has doubled in value in a single year; and the owners have done nothing but to profit by the public need. This "unearned increment" is a tax upon all production, for the benefit of a horde of parasites. I urge a tax upon land values, graduated so as to penalize the holding of land out of use. Such a law will make farm land easy to get, and will make food plentiful and cheap; also it will deliver the home-seeker from the grip of the speculators who hold the tracts on the outskirts of our cities. Take the money derived from such a tax, and set up public markets and department stores in the cities, and put out of business the middlemen who now triple and quadruple the price of food between the farmer and the consumer. By this means we can make poverty forever unknown to our state, and with poverty will go her hateful twin children, prostitution and crime.

State Newspaper and Radio

I call for a state newspaper, to tell

the people those facts which are deliberately withheld from them at present. I call for a law requiring that any newspaper which publishes a false statement about any person, shall publish a retraction of the statement upon demand. I call for a law barring from California any news-distributing agency which does not sell its service for a uniform price to any newspaper in the state which demands it; all newspapermen will know what I mean by that, and will understand that I am striking at the vitals of big business control of the news. Also I call for a state radio distributing station, to break the grip of the exploiting corporations upon this form of education. Finally, I want to undo as rapidly as possible the work of our present Governor, who has starved the schools and the public welfare agencies. I believe in economy, but I desire to see it practiced by those non-producers who at present are skimming off the cream of our industry. If the voters of this state make me their governor, the banking trust and the water power trust, the gas and telephone and railroad magnates and the great landlords will begin a regime of severe economy; but I see no reason why state employees should work for inadequate salaries, nor why the ranchers should see their profits grabbed by speculators and middlemen, nor why the industrial workers should produce vast quantities of wealth, and get a bare living wage in return. I welcome an opportunity to help the Socialist party explain these matters to the people of our might-be-happy country.

Yours for Social Justice,
UPTON SINCLAIR.

Was Any American War Necessary?

By Victor L. Berger

Congressman, Wisconsin. An address in the House of Representatives on a resolution to appropriate funds for the sesqui-centennial fair to be held in Philadelphia.

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen, after all the poetry and oratory that you have heard I am going to tell you in plain prose that I am for this bill. I am going to vote for it and I do so gladly. (Applause.)

I will give you the reasons for my decision. I would rather vote for ten world fairs or vote for ten international industrial expositions than to vote for one battleship. I believe international fairs help international relations a good deal more than any number of battleships.

A world's fair is a sort of international competition in the achievements of civilization. Every nation participating in it is striving to show the progress it has made in industry, art, science and culture.

Fair Not a Military Show
And, therefore, I am opposed to any show of militarism at this world's fair, as was originally contemplated by some people who wanted to appropriate \$1,500,000 for the Army and about \$750,000 for the Navy to show them off in Philadelphia.

A world's fair is not a place to display our military strength or to prove our preparedness for war. I cannot see the necessity for a demonstration of our Army in Philadelphia. All we need is a couple of music bands and a few airplanes to add to the cheer and the spectacular, and we ought to devote the rest to exhibits of agriculture and science and industry.

In this morning's Washington Post I read a report of a speech of a gentleman about the Spanish War. He claimed that the Spanish-American War made America a great nation and put the United States on the map as a world power.

I absolutely deny that any war has ever made this nation great or even helped it to any perceptible degree. And I am also prepared to prove that every war in which we have participated during the short time of our existence as a nation could really have been avoided with a little foresight and good-will.

Some Historical Facts
But the War of 1812 could have been avoided, and did bring us neither honor nor profit. While school histories make much of General Jackson's defense of New Orleans, and of the battles on Lake Erie, this is simply a camouflage in order to avoid telling

"Every War We Fought In Could Have Been Avoided"

the school children that in that war we were licked practically all the time. Such knowledge might be detrimental to their childish war patriotism.

The historical fact is that our troops ran away in Indiana, ran away in Michigan, and they finally, in 1814, ran away at Bladensburg, right near here, although our soldiers outnumbered the British six to one. And our "Anglo-Saxon, white and Protestant" (Nordic) brothers took Washington and burned the Capitol. The British soldiers held a mock meeting of Congress and declared the United States dissolved and America a British colony. Great Britain was very busy all that time with Napoleon; otherwise we might have fared very badly.

The war with Mexico in 1846 was surely inexcusable. It was opposed by all the best men in Congress. It was a war favored by the South to extend black slavery. It surely did help the United States only in one way—it added to our territory. But wars for the sake of adding territory are not favored much among civilized nations in our time.

Then we had the Civil War. That war also could have been prevented, and would have been prevented, if our leading men had followed the advice of Henry Clay. He wanted the Government of the United States to buy the slaves at their full value and liberate them. The slavery question could then have been solved without any bloodshed or waste of treasure.

The extremes on both sides, however, would not listen to that proposition. Nevertheless, I deny that the Civil War solved even the Negro question, or any other question, for that matter. All it did was to add a few dead-letter amendments to our Constitution. And, of course, the Civil War helped neither the North nor the South.

Brookwood Holds Giant Power Institute

KATONAH, N. Y.—"There is a challenge to the labor movement to awaken to the possibilities of governmental control of Giant Power developments, rather than large-scale corporations notoriously anti-union, as are other electrical companies," said Morris L. Cooke at the two-day institute on Giant Power held for students at Brookwood Labor College. Cooke is director of the giant power commission appointed by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania to investigate the possibilities of large-scale electrical transmission.

"The transmission of electric current has been revolutionized by the war so that power can be transmitted for 300 miles," he stated. "The argument that there is a tremendous loss in transmitting current was proved false during the war, when the government forced interlocking of districts to supply a shortage of power in one district with the surplus of another. There is a line in Ontario of 160 volts which transmits power of 160 volts a distance of 200 miles with a loss in current of less than 10 per cent."

The significance of this fact is that power can be produced at the source of fuel, thus saving freight costs on coal, he continued, and distributed to large and small industrial centers and to rural districts at costs on par with one another. Hitherto the industrial plants have had the advantage in the rates.

Electricity on the farm, in the small town and in industry was further discussed by Mr. R. W. Bruere, who told of her investigations in the Province of Ontario, Canada, where electricity is furnished by the government hydro-electric company from Niagara Falls. The cities are free from smoke and grime of coal-using plants, rents are cheap, and living conditions not congested, she said. In small towns like Woodstock, with a population of 10,000, Mrs. Bruere found that out of 28 industries, only two were not electrified.

On the farm it is possible for women

And now as to the Spanish War. That war also could have been avoided. It was opposed by most of the big men of that time—even by the conservatives. President McKinley was opposed to it. Speaker Reed was opposed to it. The Army and the Navy and the war patriots, however, wanted to try out our big Navy.

Then came the explosion of the Maine. I do not believe that the Spaniards blew up the Maine. I do not believe that there is any intelligent man in the Navy today who believes it. If the Spaniards had any intention to blow up the Maine, they would not have chosen the time when most of the officers were on land, as was the case that night. Everything points to the fact that the explosion was the result of spontaneous combustion in the coal bunkers of the ship.

The glory that was achieved in the Spanish-American War was cheap enough. The Spanish wooden tubes could not and would not stand up, and even their so-called battleships did not amount to much. And we won great naval battles, like the Battle of Manila, without losing a single man, and the Battle of Santiago, in which we lost one.

What did we achieve by that war that we could not have achieved without war?

The freeing of Cuba and Porto Rico could have been accomplished without war and with less expense by handing Spain a piece of money, which that kingdom needed badly. And as for the Philippine Islands, you know what Speaker Thomas B. Reed said about the acquisition of those islands.

Gains(?) of World War

The less said about that the better. And I am not going to say much. Most of the intelligent British opinion of today agree that the world would

have been better off and that the European countries would have gone back to normalcy after the war if we had not joined as the twentieth nation to bring about a complete knockout of Germany.

The World War would otherwise have been a "partie remise"—a battle in which neither side was a victor—and Europe would have peace now instead of being an armed camp of hate with a half dozen dictators.

And what did we get out of it? Let us see. Our share was 123,000 dead, about 200,000 maimed, an expenditure of about \$40,000,000,000—if we figure in what the All-Lies will not pay; prohibition, the "flu," the American Legion and the Ku-Klux Klan. Fine things to go to war for.

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We had some of the best inventive geniuses the world has ever produced, and we also made free and full use of all the inventions made by the geniuses of other countries.

We applied the motive power of steam and of electricity as early as any other nation.

It is the railroad systems of this country, the telegraph, the telephones, the steam shovels, the modern plows, the harvesting machines, and appliances of that kind that made this a great nation—not the Spanish-American War.

That war simply started us on the road to imperialism.

I consider the World's Fair in Chicago a greater achievement than the Battle of Manila, and the architect, Burnham, in Chicago, who planned it, a greater man than Admiral Dewey, who was supposed to have started the battle with the famous sentence, "Let her go, Gridley."

Inventions Did It, Not Generals

I am glad to state that this country has never produced a great, shining military genius like Hannibal, Caesar, Frederick the Great, or Napoleon.

From the days of George Washington to the days of Pershing our generals were not much above the average in the galaxy of military leaders. We have a right to claim a number of American inventors of world-wide renown, however.

From the days of the spinning-jenny, which made cotton king, to the time of steam as motive power for railroads and ships, down to the days of Graham Bell, who utilized the telephone, and Henry Ford, who sells us flivvers, America's inventive genius was always in the front rank.

This is what our exposition is to show, and this is what I hope it will show.

Some Coolidge Economy

I am very sorry that President Coolidge practiced his economy stunt in cutting down the allowance from \$3,000,000 to \$2,000,000, as was originally intended by the committee. The President could have, with a great deal more justification and consistency, compelled the paring down of \$100,000,000 each from the Army and Navy appropriations. The \$200,000,000 could have been used to help education or road building or for the advancement of public-health work in our country. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I shall vote for this appropriation. Every world's fair, to my mind, tends to create an era of good feeling among the nations that participate in it and a sort of holiday atmosphere in the country that arranges it.

But I have said enough. I hope that this appropriation for the world's fair to be held in Philadelphia will be accepted by an overwhelming majority. (Applause.)

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Thousands in America Renounce Mussolini's Italy

By Esther Lowell

THOUSANDS of Italian workers in the United States are offering renunciation of their Italian citizenship in demonstration of their sympathy with anti-Fascist editors here who are being deprived by Dictator Mussolini of their citizenship and property (if they have any) in Italy. Vincenzo Vacirca, Socialist editor of the daily Italian labor and anti-Fascist *Nuovo Mondo*, and Carlo Tresca, editor of *Il Martello*, are two opponents of Fascism hit by present action in Italian courts. Their cases are among the 200 of other exiles under the Fascist law against all critics of Mussolini and Fascism.

In the greatest anti-Fascist rally New York has seen, a large group of Italians anticipated Mussolini's attack upon them and publicly renounced their Italian citizenship.

"We feel ashamed of being citizen with the murderers of Matteotti, with the blackshirts, in the land of black-reaction," their statement reads. After mentioning their natural affection for their native land, they add: "But we are now not proud to have been born there, where murderers like Mussolini can head the government."

The signers presented a united front of anti-Fascist opinion despite otherwise varied views: Arturo Giovannitti of the Italian Chamber of Labor, Luigi Antonini of the *Inti*, Ladies Garment Workers union, Gioacchino Artoni of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers among the trade union signers; Giuseppe Genovese, 52-year-old Garibaldi and veterans of the last war; Carlo Tresca, Girolamo Valenti, G. Cannata, etc. Vincenzo Vacirca is expected to sign on his return from a speaking trip in western Pennsylvania. He reports from Pittsburgh that thousands of workers there offered to renounce their Italian citizenship in sympathy with him and that hundreds of letters and telegrams are encouraging him to keep up the fight.

Tried to Kill Vacirca

"Mussolini's reason for picking me among the first seven must be my unflinching opposition and denunciation of his system and crimes," Vacirca asserts. "He tried to have me assassinated while I was a member of the Italian parliament; a Fascist agent shot at me four times, missing me and killing two of my friends. My house has been devastated, my mother and children have been terrorized, my wife beaten and I was finally compelled to escape to Switzerland and then to America."

"After the Matteotti murder, I devoted all my strength to vindicate my great friend," says Vacirca, who was of the right wing in the Italian Socialist party, "persuaded as I am that Mussolini ordered his assassination. This is a trivial thing for a man who has suffered what I have suffered at the hands of Fascism."

Carlo Tresca comments that he has always considered himself "a citizen of the world" and that the recent Fascist law legalizes his position. Tresca and Vacirca become men without a country by Mussolini's action. "What will the United States government do if it wants to deport me?" Tresca asks grinning. "I certainly intend to keep on with my activities, to which the government previously took exception." He served several months in Atlanta for a birth control ad which appeared in his paper during his absence, although he declares that his anti-Fascist and radical work really brought the prosecution.

New Yorkers Issue Statement
The following statement was issued at the anti-Fascist Alliance in N. Y. C.: "We, the undersigned, were born in Italy and it is, therefore, natural for us to harbor a deep, passionate love for the country that gave birth to Bruno, Galileo, Masiniello, Bandiera, Pisacane, Pellico and Matteotti. In Italy, on our mothers' knees, we learned to speak the language of Dante; in Italy we left our parents, friends, schoolmates and childhood companions; in Italy we received our

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education and had our individual conscience shaped.

"To Italy our thought turns with filial devotion. We cannot, however, forget that in that very Italy we were taught by our parents, who had almost witnessed the heroic deeds of the 'risorgimento,' that the Savoja tyrants first persecuted and then exploited the two giants Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, the former advocating a spirit of brotherly love

among all the people of the earth, the latter being always ready to fight for liberty in every land.

"In Italy we also learned, by gazing higher and beyond, to confidently expect the advent of a better day, when, with the elimination of all the frontiers, the people of the earth would consider themselves the children of one great mother.

"In Italy we worked, too, for the propagation of this new faith, mingling

our voice with that of Benito Mussolini, the renegade of today.

The Murder of Matteotti

"As long as Italy marched together with all the civilized countries we considered an honor to be one of its citizens. But today we feel ashamed to be the countrymen of Giacomo Matteotti's murderer.

"A land controlled by a band of brigands; a land where all liberties are denied, where all rights and the

very existence of the people are dependent on the will of professional murderers; a land whose judiciary is the servant of the tyrant smeared with the blood of so many martyrs of an idea; a land where so large is the number of people, who, either through fear or for the lust of gain have voluntarily submitted to a gang of thieves and murderers; a land of this kind is a blot to all men hating self-respect and dignity.

"You want by the new law of the expatriates, to deprive us of our Italian citizenship. It is not necessary to relate all the murders, destructions and violence that are the history of Fascism. The facts are well known. We simply say that as long as the Italian Government is headed by a man like Mussolini who sold himself to a foreign country in 1914, who has become from 1920 to this very day the hired assassin of a hungry and liberty

destroying middle class, the murderer of Giacomo Matteotti, we do not know what to do with the Italian citizenship.

The Brigand of Predappio

"Let all the thieves, murderers, black shirted marauders claim it. We repudiate it. We tear it into pieces in your face, Brigand of Predappio. "We do consider ourselves the sons of Italy, but of that Italy which rests and waits and prepares in silence the day of liberation.

"The day will come when the chains will not bind Italy any longer and liberty will cease to be a 'rotten god-dess.' We will ask, then, to be reinstated as citizens of Italy. That day will probably find us at our place, as the refugees who went back to deliver their native land from the black shirted assassins.

"However, as long as the present shameful condition is allowed to continue, we feel dishonored before the world to be born in the same country that gave birth to the murderers of Pilati, a war cripple, to the men responsible for the slaughter of Turin, to the Duminis whose arms are the dagger and the club.

"No, you cannot take the citizenship away from us.

"Brigand of Predappio, we toss it at your feet.

Carlo Tresca, Pietro Allegra, Alberto Guabello, Alberto Pullini, Gerolamo Valenti, Gioacchino Artoni, J. La Rosa, Eduardo Molisan, Natale Cuneo, Y. S. Cavalla, G. Cannata, Luigi Quintiliani, Francesco Coco, Enea Sorrenti, Giuseppe Altieri, Francesco Cancellieri, A. Giovannitti, Luigi Antonini, Giuseppe Genovese, Brutus Pertiboni, Leonardo Frisina.

::: Can Socialism Come Through Bolshevism? :::

By Bela Low

THE article by Otto Bauer on "Soviet Russia Today," recently published in four installments by the New Leader, is so at variance with the opinion of most Socialists that it challenges an answer. Unfortunately, a thorough criticism would take much more space than the article itself, so that this answer will have to be sketchy.

Bauer's arguments can be briefly summarized as follows: The recent progress of Russian economic life though far from satisfactory, improves the conditions of the workers and increases their confidence in the Soviet regime; Russia is in a state of transition from capitalism to Socialism, the working-class everywhere has therefore a vital interest in shielding the Soviet Republic. This does not mean that we have to refrain from criticism; we should demand amnesty for the Socialists now in prison and legal recognition of the Socialist parties, but it would still be too perilous to restore now full freedom of press and assembly in Russia. Socialists should defer sending a delegation to Russia until such amnesty and legal recognition is granted and the slander against the Socialist parties in the different countries ceases.

Bolshevism Is Dropped

What Bauer says about the revival of industry and agriculture, which is chiefly due to the "new economic policy," is perfectly correct. But he omits to point out that this policy is a complete betrayal of Bolshevik principles. The justification for seizing power, for terror, for dictatorship, was the immediate inauguration of Socialism. Now that this experiment is an admitted failure, what is the reason for continuing the autocratic regime?

It is furthermore, wrong for Bauer to expect that improvement in the condition of the workers will result in their becoming reconciled to Bolshevism. On the contrary, the revival of the economic life instills new strength and hope and fighting spirit into the working-class and makes it feel the despotism more acutely than when it was immersed in abject misery. Dan, one of the leaders of the Mensheviks, says: "Not the death of the productive forces, but their growth, administers the most destructive blows to Bolshevism."

In describing the economic improvement, Bauer states that it is still far from satisfactory. Industry, he says, produces with a diminished productivity; unemployment is widespread; the miners now receive 66 2/3 percent, the metal workers 74.4 percent of pre-war wages. Are these, perhaps, conditions which are characteristic of a transition from capitalism to Socialism, which Bauer claims to exist? Socialists have so far always thought that an improvement in the material welfare of the workers and an increase in productivity are the prerequisites for the beginning of the process of socialization.

No Socialism Remains

The fact that the government is in control of foreign trade and of some industries by no means signifies that Russian economics, as Bauer puts it, also contain very many Socialist elements. Even Zinoviev, Kamenev and Krupskaya (Mrs. Lenin) now deny this, and all the scholastic quibbling of Stalin and Bukharin cannot prove any remnants of Socialism in present-day Russia. As a matter of fact, it was only after the peasants and capitalists were given privileges that the economic life revived, and the tendency is decidedly to continue in that direction lest Russia perish. The leap from primitive economics to Socialism is impossible, and whether we like it or not, Russia will not be spared the fate of all countries to undergo a capitalist development until it becomes ripe for Socialism. Bolshevism

Otto Bauer's Views on Soviet Russia, Printed in The Leader, Called Illusions

Russia certainly cannot, as Bauer hopes, demonstrate "that capitalists are not essential to a state."

When Bauer declares that "in the best interest of Socialism the great experiment of the Russian revolution shall not be disturbed by capitalist powers," he evidently lives in the past, not the present. Russia lives on friendly terms with most governments, among them the most reactionary.

Such conflicts as exist with England and the border states are no different from conflicts between openly capitalist states and have not their foundation in any opposition between capitalism and Socialism. Not capitalism or foreign imperialism, but democracy and a free labor movement are the enemies which Bolshevism fights ruthlessly.

Are Bolshevists Socialists?

The cardinal point of Bauer's stand toward Russia is best expressed in a

sentence of his which he wrote after the International Congress at Marseilles: "The Bolsheviks are a party which is undoubtedly supported by a part of the Russian proletariat, undoubtedly a revolutionary and undoubtedly a Socialist party." Kautsky, the greatest Socialist scholar, is of decidedly different opinion. Thus he wrote in the Vienna "Kampf" in September, 1925:

"For our attitude towards a person or a party it does not matter whose child it is, but how it behaves in the present. . . . Mussolini and Millebrand also once were flesh of our own flesh. . . . The proletariat in Russia is an outlawed mass, ruled by a clique by means of a strictly disciplined bureaucracy, army, police. Should its proletarian nature be demonstrated by the fact that a part of the bureaucrats, soldiers, policemen, was taken from the proletariat? Only in phraseology is the Russian government proletarian. It enslaves the pro-

letariat in the name of the proletariat, as Bonaparte enslaved the French people in the name of the sovereign people."

In the October number of the same paper, Kautsky takes direct issue, in a long article, with the above quoted sentence of Bauer. "Already long ago the phrase was coined that in Russia the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat is in reality a dictatorship over the proletariat. But one usually imagined it as a dictatorship of the most energetic, daring, revolutionary, the most Socialist part of the proletariat over its indifferent, hesitating, unsteady mass. Now we see that it is rather a dictatorship of the most unprincipled, cowardly and submissive part of the proletariat over its firmest, many elements, a dictatorship through scabbing and doglike blind obedience, which as long as it exists not only makes any ascendancy of the proletariat impossible, but rather degrades it lower and lower. It is simply impossible for me to find out where the proletarian, revolutionary, Socialistic character of Bolshevism lies." And at another place in the same article: "For us Social Democrats cannot discover the least community of interests with this regime, but only an opposition which is as strong and irreconcilable as that between capitalism and Socialism."

Differences of opinion about the attitude towards Bolshevism exist in the Socialist movement, even among the Russian Social Democrats themselves. Kautsky's opinion is, for example, shared by the veteran Axelrod, while Bauer's approaches those of Dan and Abramovich. But Bauer goes much further than they; one can safely say that in his denial of democracy for Russia, he stands alone among the prominent leaders of Socialism. "After all that has happened in Russia. . . . it would still be too perilous to restore now full freedom of the press and assembly in Russia. . . . I hold that one may demand amnesty for the Socialists now in prison and legal recognition of the Socialist parties." The Socialists will decline to ask for special privilege of possessing political rights and thus enter into a partnership in the denial of civil rights to the great masses of the people. Their demand was always for full liberty.

Bauer's friend, Dan, writes in the "Kampf" of last July: "The Bolshevik dictatorship is not less, but still more absolutist than the Romanoff des-

potism was. The political life in the last decade of the monarchy was an era of liberty compared to the Bolshevik jail-life. Kautsky is a thousand times right when he calls upon the International to fight Bolshevism and when he sees in Bolshevism the greatest danger to the proletariat." And in the same article: "The Social Democracy clearly realizes that the above described change of the Bolshevik dictatorship will not lead to democracy, but to a regulated Bonapartist despotism. If the process will proceed without obstacles. And it is clear that the only way to avoid such outcome of the crisis and to lead its liquidation into democratic channels consists of the active interference in the process of liquidation on the part of the working-class."

In his denial of full democracy to Russia, Bauer is in conflict with an expressed statement of the International contained in a resolution adopted at the Marseilles Congress which, strange to say, Bauer himself introduced. In this it was said:

"This gives the right to the Labor and Socialist International to call upon the Russian people to strive towards full political and industrial freedom."

But putting aside the lack of justification, from a Socialist point of view, to demand from the Bolsheviks not freedom, but legalization of Socialist parties, this demand shows, together with his demand for the real application of the Soviet constitution, a high degree of naivete. It is an undeniable fact that the Bolsheviks consider the Socialists much more dangerous enemies than the capitalists and, let us say, probably justly so. To expect a party, to whom political power has become an object in itself, to give political rights to its enemies, to expect a party which has no democracy in its own organization and where every Communist opposition is ruthlessly oppressed and persecuted, to really apply the Soviet system, which would mean to give all rights to all workers and the immediate downfall of Bolshevism, such an expectation is nothing but an inexplicable illusion.

Neither from a practical nor from a theoretical point of view can the Socialists agree with Bauer on the Russian question. They will stand by the declaration of the International at Marseilles, which said that "the International supports with the utmost emphasis the endeavors of the Socialist parties in Soviet Russia towards the democratization of the regime in the Soviet Union and the establishment of political liberty." A clear understanding of the nature of Bolshevism and an unflinching support of free Russia are equally important duties of the Socialist movement.

Young Socialists of World Forge Ahead

WHEN the delegates of thirty-three organizations, with about 230,000 members, met in Amsterdam the last days of May for the congress of the Socialist Youth International they will find that the young Socialists of Holland have done wonders in preparing to make their stay both pleasant and profitable. This is evident from the reports made by the representatives of the young Dutch Socialists at a meeting of the Bureau of the S. Y. I. held in Amsterdam, Jan. 24-25.

attended by Bureau members Voogd of Holland, Ollenhauer of Germany, Heinz of Austria and Paul of Czechoslovakia, as well as by Verriuk, Schumacher and Toornstra of the Dutch organization. The meeting was chiefly occupied with preparations for the Congress and the International Youth Day. Comrade Vorriuk reported that the Dutch government had placed a sufficient number of tents at the committee's disposal to allow all those taking part in the Youth Day to be lodged in one camp. Among the preparations for the Youth Day are contemplated a great opening ceremony on Whitson Saturday, an international demonstration in the stadium on Whitson Sunday, and a torchlight procession through Amsterdam of those taking part in the Youth Day on Sunday evening. On Whitson Monday the delegations of the various countries will meet in a park and show their skill in athletics, dances and games.

For the Second Youth Congress, in addition to business matters there are on the agenda reports on the international and national fight for the protection of youth, the international collaboration of youth as a medium for the Socialist peace policy, the significance of the educational work in the Youth movement for Socialism and the relations of the Socialist Youth organizations toward the bourgeois youth organizations and towards public education for the care of youth and the youth movement.

The Bureau resolved that at one of the first executive meetings to be held after the international congress the question of the splitting of the youth work in the Socialist movement

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A Super-Rotarian

By Frank D. Halsey

ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1919, at the age of fifty-six, Mr. Edward W. Bok relinquished the editorship of "The Ladies Home Journal" in order to devote all his time to humanity. Since then he has served on several civic committees, he has established several awards and prizes, and every now and then he writes a book. This (Dollars Only. By Edward W. Bok. N. Y. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.75.) is the latest.

"Dollars Only" will probably enjoy a tremendous sale; but, speaking from a literary, philosophical, sociological, moral or ethical viewpoint, or what have you, it consists of some 250 pages of pure gurry.

We say this more in sorrow than in anger, for it is our own belief that Mr. Bok is thoroughly sincere. We do wish, however, that in spite of having been editor of *The Ladies Home Journal* for thirty years, he had learned to write—that he would not smear every page with soporific clichés or split his infinitives twice so wide open. Or that, after making a plea for thoroughness and accuracy, he would not, on the very next page, speak of a snowflake as an "atom."

Service for Business Men! What's the book all about? Search us. As near as we can figure out, it is a plea to American business men to leave off chasing dollars and to devote their ripened years to service, like some of those heroes whom he mentions in chapter 6—Edward T. Clark personal secretary to President Coolidge; Herbert Hoover; good old Andrew Mellon; General Dawes; John

G. Sargeant, sitting "at his sacrificial desk in Washington"; and, of course, Edward W. Bok.

In brief, Mr. Bok is a super-Rotarian. He dedicates his book to "the real men of service," and he sprinkles his pages with such sage observations as this: "At the same time, no one can be un-mindful of the moral tonic which an age of dominant industrialism brings into the life of a nation. Thrift, for instance, a higher standard of honor, the keeping of a man's word, steadiness, sobriety, a recognition of honorable dealings—all these Christian virtues have been brought directly into the life of civilized nations by industrialism. The whole fabric of business rests upon these moral forces."

And now, children, if you will all sit quietly and not ask any more questions, we shall turn to page 46 and quote again: "Ask a hundred men to choose the greatest word in the English language. . . . It isn't Love. It isn't Brotherhood. It isn't Friendship. It is a word that embodies the spirit and the meaning of all three of these words. The word is: 'Service.'"

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

St. Benito And St. Nick

MUSSOLINI, NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER and St. Francis of Assisi. There's a combination for you, boys and girls. The president of Columbia University (God save the mark) has obtained the blessings of Matteotti's Murderer upon the Italian House at Columbia, which will be dedicated to the memory of the gentle founder of the order of the Franciscans, of whom it is written:

"He had a sudden conversion in the midst of a life of pleasure, and, taking a vow of extreme poverty, he gave himself up to an imitation of the life of Christ, and to the service of the sick and wretched, and more particularly to the service of the lepers who then abounded in Italy."

How like the lives of Mussi and Nick! Think of the abundant benevolence of Benito, the Christ-like humility of that Great Lover of the Little Peoples, Nicholas Murray Butler, Ph. D. Spreaders of sweetness and light, carriers of castor oil and applesauce, what more fitting than that these two should get together to do homage to the dead saint whose example they have so faithfully followed.

Last week I had a gloomy sinking spell over the sad state of the American labor movement. There are, of course, silver linings to this cloud.

One of them is over in Passaic, New Jersey, where more and more textile workers are striking against inhuman working conditions. There's a strike with go and verve to it. I never watch it close hand without feeling a tremendous respect for young Weisbord, its leader, and his militant rank and file. I am aware that for the boys of the A. F. of L., and I am sorry to say, for certain of our comrades as well, this is not a strictly kosher strike. The argument runs that in the secret places of his soul Weisbord cherishes social, economic and political beliefs that are, to say the least, heterodox. So his critics say, "File on this man and his strike," and either pass by on the other side of the road or take active steps to help break the strike.

When 16,000 workers strike for nine long weeks, when things are so well organized that relief is right at hand for every needy family, when the bosses are sitting up nights cursing dark curses, when mill after mill is practically shut down, when strike leaders are dogged by fat-foots from the Department of Justice, when, in despair, the old stale cry of "Bolehevism" is raised, then, it seems to me, the man or woman who fights that strike is indeed a traitor to everything for which the working class stands.

I've rarely seen a quicker display of wit than that shown by young Weisbord when, the other day, he was visited by certain solemn patriots from the American Legion. This delegation, headed by a heavy personage bearing a military bearing, marched onto the stage of the Belmont Park Pavilion while a strike meeting was in progress. Weisbord had just finished speaking to a packed hall of workers. Captain Blah Blah announced in ominous tones that he came from such and such a post of the Legion, and that while, of course, "he was in sympathy with the workers," his organization was strictly non-partisan. Weisbord listened courteously. The Captain, looking a bit foolish and clearing his throat continuously, then said that his post had decided to present the strikers with an American flag to be prominently displayed at all strike meetings so as to show everybody that the strikers were real Americans. Would Weisbord accept this gift, held forth in a huge package? Without a moment's hesitation, the youngster said, "Why, certainly, I'm glad to have it," and shook the hand of the unhappy warrior.

Thereupon the flag was draped across the back of the stage while Weisbord announced to the delighted audience that he had gratefully accepted the Legion's gift, that the legionnaires had declared themselves to be in sympathy with the strikers. He said that all present would remember that the flag stood for liberty and freedom, and that it might be a good idea for the same Legion committee to go around to the mill owners and protest against the un-American methods they were using to prevent the workers from organizing to obtain said liberty and freedom.

At this there much muttering in the wings from Captain Blah Blah and his cohorts. They were very much taken aback. Here they had come around with their flag expecting apparently that the strikers would rise en masse and trample it underfoot, and instead they had received a lesson in real Americanism and incidentally courtesy, from this outfit of "Hunks and Yids." They are still wondering what happened and they cannot harbor the kindest of thoughts for those great minds that got them into this ridiculous position.

Another silver lining to the cloud of inertia, Bab-bittism and Bull that hangs over the American labor movement today is the work that is being done by the organizers for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. A. Philip Randolph, Frank Crosswaith and Roy Lancaster are doing yeoman's work in their fight for our colored comrades. Every week at St. Luke's Hall on West One Hundred and Thirtieth Street, New York, and in other halls through every railway, center in the country they are gathering their forces in their knock-down and drag-out fight with one of the most hard-boiled corporations in the country—the Pullman Company. They have already forced the company to grant an eight per cent. increase in wages paid the porters, an increase which is largely mythical, to be sure, but which shows which way the wind blows.

The other night, after hearing about conditions in Passaic, they took up a collection and sent a handsome check to the relief committee of the strikers there, as fine an example of solidarity as I've seen for a long, long while. Follow the work of Randolph, Crosswaith, Lancaster and the others, and give these comrades a hand every time you have the chance. They are fighting a grand fight, grandly.

McAlister Coleman.

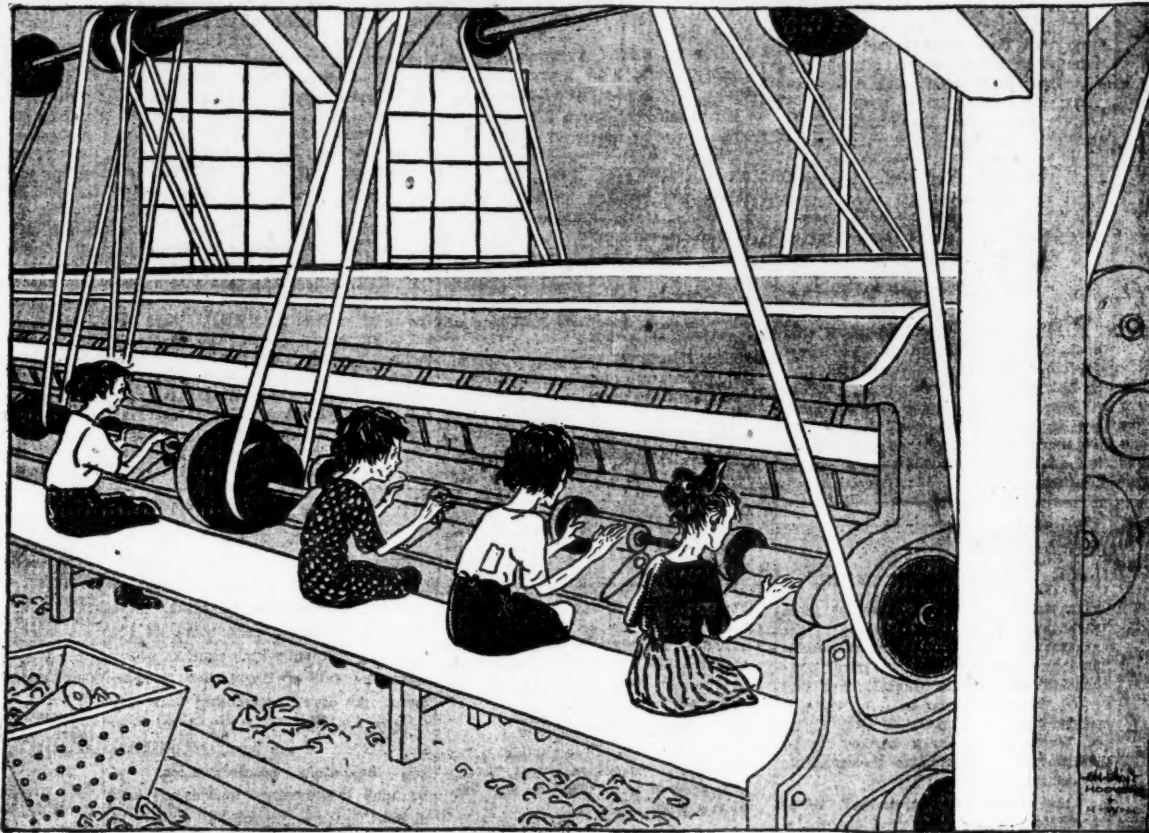
Peace on Earth

In an old Book's mystical pages,
There is written a wonderful story—
A vision and dream of the ages,
With Peace for the crown of its glory.
It tells of a star-flame eternal
That shone o'er the field and the fen,
While the song of the Singers supernal
Floated down to the children of men.
In the Night of the World they came bringing
To the far-off land of the East
A promise of Love in their singing,
When the wars of the world shall have ceased.

All scarred are the fields where the dying
But yesterday lay with the slain,
Where Hell's blackest banners were flying
And haunting the triumph of Cain;
But I hear the refrain of a story
The Shining Ones sing from afar,
And the world is reflecting the glory
Of a light that flames forth from a star.
O Labor! the song they are singing
Is the fair song of Freedom again,
And "Peace" is the message they're bringing,
And good will to the children of men.

—H. E. Holland.

Daughters of the Revolution



—Drawn by Ellison Hoover

The Moral Basis of Socialism

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

THE Fabians approach Socialism from the historic, the industrial and the economic angle. To Sidney Olivier, afterwards Lord Olivier and Secretary for India under the Labor Government, was left the Moral Basis.

Individualism and Socialism. Olivier maintains that, so far from Socialism being the antagonist of individualism, it is "the offspring of individualism, . . . the outcome of the individualistic struggle, . . . the necessary condition for the approach of the individualist ideal. The opposition commonly assumed between individualism and Socialism is based on the confusion between personality and personality, between a man's life and the abundance of things that he has. Socialism is merely individualism rationalized, organized, clothed and in its right mind. Socialism is taking form in advanced societies and the social revolution must be brought to its formal accomplishment through the conscious action of innumerable individuals seeking an avenue to rational and pleasant existence for themselves and for those whose happiness and freedom they desire as they do their own."

Present System Immoral. The present system of private ownership is immoral, Olivier declares. Most of our opinions regarding social morality are adapted to a system in which every citizen is contributing active service. The most ancient and universal judgments of mankind as to the virtues of industry, of honesty, of loyalty and forbearance between man and man, point to societies composed of free and

equal individuals dependent for their subsistence upon the exercise of each one's abilities. In the present society the livelihood of the typical workingman is earned by the exercise of his faculties for useful activity. On the other hand, that of the typical capitalist, or owner of property, "is obtained without any contribution of his or her activity, in the form of a pension called rent, interest or dividend, guaranteed by law out of the wealth produced from day to day by the activities of the proletariat."

Under such conditions the parasitic class, while preaching thrift and industry, becomes interested not so much in productive endeavor, but in agreeable and exciting methods of passing time. And this parasitism leads to snobbery and a laudation of useless endeavor as opposed to honest toil, lying and hypocrisy.

Effects of Capitalism on Character. No class can live in idleness except by a double labor of another class or classes. The exploited class remains generally industrious and kindly, "thus exhibiting the two most important qualifications for social life. It remains to a great extent honest, though competition and capitalism are directly antagonistic to honesty." But the capitalist order is constantly engaged in thrusting workers from their occupations to unknown fields. Thousands of them suffer from unemployment. The strong survive, but the weak invariably become outcasts and paupers, unprofitable and hopeless. Their children become street Arabs. This situation is leading to an increasing demand that society shall re-establish a moral

social order where each individual has an opportunity to earn a living, and where there is a compulsion upon him so to do.

Under present conditions, the average worker lacks intelligence in his amusements and refinements in his tastes. "But when society has ensured for man the opportunity for satisfying his primary needs—once it has ensured him a healthy body and wholesome life, his advance in the refinements of social morality, in the conception and satisfaction of his secondary and more distinctly human desires, is solely and entirely a matter of education. . . . But education in the sense alluded to is impossible for the lad who leaves school at fourteen and works himself weary six days in the week ever afterwards."

Need of Education. Social morality will be repaired by means of various forces. One is the educational system. The ideal of the school implies leisure to learn, "that is to say, the release of children from all non-educational labor until mind and physique have had a fair start and training, and the abolition of compulsion on the adult to work any more than the socially necessary stint. . . . The schools of the adult are the journals and the library, social intercourse, fresh air, clean and beautiful cities, the joy of the fields, the museum, the art gallery, the lecture hall, the drama, and the opera; and only when these schools are free and accessible to all will the reproach of proletarian coarseness be done away with."

Industrial Co-operation Aid to Social Morality. Yet the most important in-

fluence in the changing of social morality may be found in Socialist forms of property. "Nothing so well trains the individual to identify his life with the life of society as the identification of the materials of his material sustenance with those of his fellows, in short, as industrial co-operation. . . . The individual worker under machine production earns his living not by direct personal production, but by an intricate co-operation in which the effect and value of his personal effort are almost indistinguishable. The apology for individualist appropriation are exploded by the logic of the facts of communist production; no man can pretend to claim the fruits of his own labor; for his whole ability and opportunity for working are plainly a vast inheritance and contribution of which he is but a transient and accidental beneficiary and steward; and his power of turning them to his own account depends entirely upon the desires and needs of other people for his services. The factory system, the machine industry, the world commerce, have abolished individualist production; and the completion of the co-operative form towards which the transition stage of individualist capitalism is hurrying us, will render a conformity with social ethics, a universal condition of tolerable existence for the individual."

The morality of Socialism is only that which the conditions of existence have made necessary. "It is the expression of the eternal passion of life seeking its satisfaction through the striving of each individual for the freest and fullest activity."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

Chapter VI (Continued)

SENATOR GOODNITE rated himself an independent, but his vote did not show it. He had a list of absences recorded against important bills. He was a huge, fat man, with a round, hard face, and a bluff, jovial manner that usually beat down all opposition by its bluntness or joviality. He smoked cigars continually, and told everyone—as he himself said—"to go to hell." Goodnite was chummy with Dan. Why, Dan did not know, or understand. He often met Goodnite at the cigar stand when Dan went to banter Billy Wentz, proprietor, and Goodnite to buy cigars.

"Look here, Minturn," Goodnite said one day, "I want you to go out to lunch with me—today—now." Dan refused—gave some excuse. He was rigid in his position. He ate at a lunch stand not far from the Capitol, "The Senate," where a table d'hôte meal was served for 30 cents. That was good enough for him.

"Now, look a—here, Minturn, I won't bite you. I know a dandy joint downtown where they serve a 55-cent lunch which can't be beat."

Dan did not go. . . . But several days later, when Andrewson asked him to go to lunch with him, Dan reluctantly accepted. Andrewson was the minority leader, he argued. Andrewson selected a cafe in one of the better hotels downtown. It was an unusual place with sunlight filtering through slatted curtains, an unobtrusive fountain—a Niobe—and a screened orchestra. To Dan it seemed as if he were entering a room where it was always springtime. He took the chair which the girl, a picture of

cleanliness in starched linen, pulled out for him, with a sense of guilt.

In some distant background of his consciousness the worn figure of his mother lingered, she who smelt of grease and smoke; she, who had never had anything for herself; a face cut by deep wrinkles, eyes too often filled with blank despair—Bah! He must not think of her.

The orchestra was playing a Neapolitan dance song. The water glittered on the breasts of the Niobe. How beautiful that figure's body was! It was good to be here.

After the steak was eaten, and the coffee was drunk, Andrewson and Dan had cigars. It was in that half hour that followed that the full appeal of dining at the Niobe came over Dan. A languor, a sense of ease, and infinite glow of comfort stole over him, something he had never known before, his first taste of sophisticated leisure. Andrewson seemed never to want to go, and no one seemed to care whether he and Dan went or not.

About the spacious room other diners, over cigarettes and coffee, were holding tête-a-tête. Casually Andrewson pointed out to Dan that the party yonder comprised the Lieutenant-Governor and the Attorney-General. They often dined here, he said, rather proudly. Another party numbered the vice-president of a great Northwest railway system and the head of a downtown department store corporation.

Andrewson talked well—not about politics—about raising sheep and the last boxing match he had seen. Dan leaned back, warmed, drowsy, content to listen, to see. His stomach was splendidly full. The aroma of the Havana soothed his nostrils. The girl in starched linen had nice eyes. The

orchestra, so politely distant, had forsaken jazz for an opera melody. The violins made romance of a familiar aria.

Somehow, in that cafe, Dan found for the first time some small fulfillment of his anticipations in regard to being in public affairs.

"This was more like it," he thought. "He was Representative Minturn at last."

4

Dan and Billy often spoke in words carrying forbidden implications.

"Good morning," Dan greeted her. "This is a good morning for me, you know, or do you know?"

"It's your birthday or something?"

"Yes. That's why I gave myself a treat by coming in here."

"For a cigar? What brand, sir?"

Billy could be as arch as molly.

"Just give me one puff of Billy Wentz—that's my favorite." He knew he was being foolish. He did not care what he said, so long as she allowed his voice to vibrate huskily, without rebuke, and so long as she answered softly with eyes averted.

"Well?" She turned toward him defiantly. "Why don't you take that puff? Or are you waiting for a light?"

She extended her flaming hair toward him.

"Some day I'll surprise you by taking you up."

"If you only dared. You're all talk. You're really afraid of wild women."

"Give me a chance. Not here."

"Always thinking of your reputation."

"No; your reputation."

"I'm not running for office."

"You may be some day."

"What—dog-catcher?"

"No; guess of the yamps."

"Or secretary to Representative Minturn, like Miss Knibbs." She was dazzling in her impudence.

"That would suit me. Let's begin to know each other now."

"Well, I offered you a puff a while ago. You're slow."

"I won't be slow, if you'll go to the Tamborine" with me. Honest, Billy, you owe it to me."

And then would begin all over again his pleadings, and her obduracy. She would never yield. Dan called her flirt, trifter. She only smiled—her defiant, maddening smile.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Belgium's Unions

"The Trade Union Movement in Belgium," by C. Mertens, general secretary of the Belgian Trade Union Commission, is the first of a series of brief histories of the labor unions in various countries put out by the publication department of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam. It is packed with information from cover to cover. It describes the history of the movement, its struggles, conflicts and successes right from the beginnings up to the present day and also gives an account of the constitution of the Belgian Trade Union Commission, its internal organization, its aims and activities. Anyone who wants to know more about the Belgian trade union movement will find all the facts in this little book, presented in a clear, concise and readable manner. It sells for 25 cents and may be had from Bruno Wagner, 243 East 84th street, New York.

Some of my admirers will undoubtedly urge me to have the suggestions contained herein copyrighted and thus place me in the enviable position of reaping the rewards due my capacity. I am, however, a modest man. Money and glory are nothing to me. Whatever praise is due belongs to Mr. William B. Ward, head of the Benevolent Bread Trust. It is he, not I, who points the way up from industrial slavery to industrial charity. Mr. Ward has already volunteered to take charge of the health and education of the unfortunate children who eat his bread, even to the full extent of the dividends on the common stock of his concern which he is so generously distributing among his preferred stockholders.

Let others follow in Mr. Ward's sanctified footsteps. There is nothing like faith, hope and charity and the greatest of these is charity. I have faith in Mr. Ward. I hope that his brothers in trust will follow his example. I pray for Industrial Charity. Long live this republic of Washington, Lincoln and Ward.

Industrial Charity

MUCH has been said of late about industrial democracy but not a word about industrial charity. And yet there are many more signs of industrial charity than there are of industrial democracy.

There are the foundations, for example, the Rockefeller, the Russell Sage, the Carnegie and sundry other foundations which are to lead bleeding and bled humanity to moral, mental, economic and physical salvation.

All these institutions are charitable in their nature. And all are engaged in tossing the crumbs from the table of our industrial Dives to the poor Lazaruses who, having set the table, are now setting under it.

The latest manifestation of industrial charity is made by the benevolent William B. Ward, head of the billion-dollar bread trust. He assures us that the bread trust is not a soulless corporation. After payment of dividends on preferred stock, Mr. Ward tells us that further profits are to be used for insuring the right of American children to health and education. This is to be done before anything is paid on the common stock.

...

Sounds awfully nice, doesn't it? But when Chaffy Ward was asked, "how do you expect to make common stock attractive to investors?" he replied, "Oh, well, it is not being sold now anyway; a share of it is being given away with every share of preferred stock."

Now let's see how Brother Ward's Industrial Charity, Inc., stacks up.

Let us charitably assume that the bread trust owns property to the amount of \$250,000,000 on which it issues five hundred million shares of preferred stock and five hundred million of common which makes,

Actual investment	\$250,000,000
Pluto water	250,000,000
Charity water	500,000,000

Total\$1,000,000,000

After the bread trust has paid ten, twenty or thirty per cent. dividends to its preferred stockholders as a fair and reasonable return on its 250 millions of property and an equal amount on Pluto water (not forgetting an occasional stock dividends of a few hundred per cent.), the balance, if there be one, will go as dividends to the common stocks which is so common that it is given away. And if the stockholders then see fit to devote their earnings to sweet charity, the children of the suckers who paid the dividends in excessive bread prices may get some of their parents' money back in the form of health, education and uplift.

...

Ordinarily I do not believe in charity. If there were justice there would be no need for charity. If the working people received all or even the bulk of what they produce, they could take care of themselves without the divine intervention of those who mule them now. But as there is no wild demand for economic justice even among those who suffer from present injustice, industrial charity may be the only thing to make life endurable for the masses.

At the same time we should not allow ourselves to become dependent upon the voluntary benevolence of men like Ward, for instance. If industrial charity is the hope of the nation, then let's have compulsory industrial charity.

...

By the simple expedient of compelling our trusts and corporations to double their existing stock issues and by diverting the dividends on this stock into the public treasury, the social and governmental functions of the nation could be financed, provided earnings on these securities were also made compulsory. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana, for instance, was capitalized at one million dollars in 1892.

In 1912 there was a stock dividend of 2,900 per cent. In 1920 there was a stock dividend of 150 per cent. In 1921 there was a stock dividend of 100 per cent.

Thus without a cent of new investment the original capital of \$1,000,000 increased to \$150,000,000. In addition to the above stock dividends the Standard Oil of Indiana declared \$125,248,969 cash dividends between 1911 and 1924. Or to put it in another way, for every \$100 invested before 1912, the investor received \$27,000.

Now if the Standard of Indiana were compelled under the provisions of my Compulsory Industrial Charity Act to double its outstanding stock of \$150,000,000 and devote the income from that additional issue to public charity, the proceeds from that source alone would suffice to pay the expenses of every presidential campaign. By this method, politics would soon become independent of big business. Minor parties and poor but deserving politicians of all parties would have their campaign expenses defrayed from the public treasury and thus be free to serve the public.

Similarly, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey which is already taking care of the hook-worm and sleeping-sickness among the backward nations of Georgia, Tennessee and Porto Rico, through the good offices of the Rockefeller foundation, could be made to support a national health department. An enlarged and extended Carnegie foundation in conjunction with the steel trust could take over our army and navy, pay the salaries of the judges of the world court and the delegates to the next disarmament conference and at the same time carry on research work in the uses of poison gas for the chemical warfare department. Any funds remaining from the above activities for the preservation of war and peace could be devoted to putting new tablets extolling Carnegie upon the fronts of libraries which already ornament our towns and hamlets.

Doubling the stock of the rubber, aluminum, meat and sugar trusts would produce sufficient revenues to support all our institutions of higher learning, while lower education could be financed from stock issues forced upon the Chemical foundation, the safety razor combine, the tobacco monopoly, the Coca-Cola corporation and the Association of Stuffed Olive Manufacturers.

Illustrations such as the above could be multiplied an hundred fold but enough has already been written to make it clear to any thinking person that if the outstanding stocks of our corporations were doubled, the income would be enough to run our whole national shooting match without calling on the taxpayers for a penny.

...

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Adam Coddigee

The Ruhr's Problem

By M. H. Hedges

HAVE we stressed too greatly the economic motive as a maker of wars? That is the question which the reading of Guy Greer's "The Ruhr-Lorraine Industrial Problem" (Macmillan Co., N. Y., \$2) at once suggests to laborists. Greer conclusively shows that "all Europe, until the Great War interrupted the process, was being welded together into a great economic unit, the national foundations of which were coal and iron." He explains the chemical affinity of the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine in the making of steel, and establishes conclusively that one industry is useless without the other.

He calls attention to the fact that German firms owned iron mills in Lorraine and French firms owned coal mines in the Ruhr. Yet the war came. Then, "at the very beginning of the struggle, Germany seized the French part of the Lorraine iron fields and shortly thereafter she had obtained possession of all the coal mines of Belgium and most of those in Northern France, thus securing complete control of all the basic elements of one of the greatest industrial centers in the world. Consequently the Ruhr-Lorraine industrial system was operated during the four years of warfare even more as an economic unit than before."

It was the peace, not the war, that "literally tore this great economic unit to pieces." And for five years there was bitterness and feud, culminating in the occupation of the Ruhr by the French army. But when "passions cooled" and business judgment again held sway the broken fragments of this economic unit began to close again.

Indeed, Mr. Greer believes "that the one hope of non-military solution of the problem of security lies in moral disarmament." He goes further, and predicts:

"If political barriers are removed, the two principal elements of the

Coal and Iron the Real Issues Beneath the Ruhr-Lorraine Controversy

Ruhr-Lorraine industrial system may be expected to become more closely welded together than ever before. This was plainly the trend of economic development before the war. As the years pass and the emotions of the war give place to the more normal activities of life, the economic union between France and Germany will have a tendency to end the age-long feud between them. Even as the coke of the Ruhr and the iron ore of Lorraine have been a source of conflict in the past, they might become a common basis for renewed prosperity and genuine peace."

What would a French worker in Nancy and a German worker in Essen think of the facts and social attitudes presented in this book? This is not a mere academic question. It is obvious that what the common men who bear

the burden of industry in peace time and the burden of battle in war time think about industry and war will determine the direction of what men are pleased to call civilization.

There is evidence in the fraternization of Fritz and Jean in No Man's Land that they did not feel the nationalistic hatred which stirred the elder statesmen of France and Germany.

Greer shows that these nationalistic emotions were and are more powerful than economic ties. Socialists hold that nationalistic hatreds are engendered by fulmination of press, pulpit and school directed by vested economic interests. But if the industrial interests were linked together before the Great War in the Ruhr and Lorraine, why should they choose to practice war?

It is a tangle illuminated by this book, but not plumbed to its deepest depths, where the mystery still lies. Only Fritz and Jean can answer the problem, and as France and Germany are constituted they will have little chance. Perhaps a labor government in both countries is not such a remote contingency.

West, Please Note

By Jessie Wallace Hughan

EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY, ITS RISE AND ITS DECLINE, by Shih Shun Liu, Ph.D. (Columbia University), bears the earmarks of the Columbia thesis in its elaborate research, its impartial treatment and its studious avoidance of what might possibly strike the professional mind as propaganda.

The institution of extra-territoriality is traced to its ancient source in the once prevalent conception of the personality of legal jurisdiction and is followed through its modern development in the Near and the Far East.

The Turkish Capitulations originated as voluntary concessions from the Sultans to foreign merchants, and marked no departure from the custom of their Christian predecessors at Constantinople, who had for some years granted exceptional rights to a Mussulman settlement in that city. With the growth of nationalism in the nineteenth century the territorial idea of jurisdiction gradually displaced the personal conception throughout Europe. In the Turkish Empire alone the old exceptions continued, partly because of the marked religious and cultural differences between Turkey and Western Europe, partly because of the governmental weakness of Turkey and its lack of national unity. Not until the belated arrival of nationalism with the Young Turks and the World War did Turkey rise against the capitulations, at first attempting, with but partial success, to cancel them by high-handed abrogation, but finally securing their complete abolition through diplomatic negotiations culminating in the Treaty of Lausanne.

In the Far East, on the other hand,

extra-territorial grants were far from voluntary. Arising as they did in the nineteenth century, they were totally disconnected from the medieval conception of personal jurisdiction, and owed their existence to the suspicion of Oriental legal processes on the part of Western merchants, backed up by the power of their home governments to secure exceptional rights.

This distrust is not, indeed, to be wondered at when we read the statement of Sir George Staunton in 1838, quoted by Mr. Shih: "The Chinese laws as specially applied, and endeavored to be enforced, in cases of homicide, committed by foreigners, are not only unjust, but absolutely intolerable. The demand of blood for blood, in all cases, without reference to circumstances, whether palliative or even justifying, is undoubtedly an intolerable grievance."

The Chinese world has not stood still, however, and the author, with all his deference to the cool spirit of passionless research, has succeeded in emphasizing several important considerations. The processes of consular jurisdiction are inconvenient and often defeat the ends of justice. The judicial systems of the countries in question are being definitely improved. The modern conception of territorial sovereignty (here Mr. Shih throws out a subtle suggestion rather than a statement) cannot long be reserved for Western consumption alone. The Chinese is ready to wait a while. He has dealt so long in centuries that a few years' delay does not ruffle his patience. But extra-territoriality must go. Western civilization please take notice.

The Lecture Calendar

Friday, March 26th
BLANCHE WATSON, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "India and Its Revolution."

ROBERT W. DUNN, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.: "The Labor Spy."

Saturday, March 27th
JOHN COWPER POWYS and WILL DURANDY, Labor Temple, 244 East 14th Street, 8:30 p. m.; debate: "Have the English or the French Made the Most Valuable Contribution to Literature?"

Sunday, March 28th
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Community Church, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 11 a. m.: "The Problems of the Unmarried."

SCOTT NEARING, Community Forum, 34th Street and Park Avenue, 8 p. m.: "Economic Development of the United States Since 1920."

LEON ROSSER LAND, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.: "A Tribute to Judaism." SCOTT NEARING and J. ROBERT O'BRIEN, Manhattan Opera House, 2:30 p. m.; debate: "Should the United States Recognize Russia?" Frank P. Walsh, chairman.

F. E. JOHNSON, Labor Temple, 244 East 14th Street, 8:30 p. m.: "Prohibition—Coming or Going?" AUGUST CLAESSENS, East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway, Manhattan, 8:30 p. m.: "Socialism and Religion."

Monday, March 29th
MORRIS PARIS, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "Ancient and Medieval History."

JOHN LANGDON DAVIES, Peoples Institute, Berwick Hotel Ball Room, Newark, 8:15 p. m.: "A Nordic on the Nordic Myth."

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.: "The Home—Present and Future."

Thursday, April 1st
SAMUEL ORR, 13th-19th A.D., Kings, 41 Debevoise Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "The Housing Problem."

Friday, April 2nd
JOSEPH M. OSMAN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m.: "Emotional Development of Male and Female, and Its Dangers." PAXTON HIBBEN, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, Bronx, 8:30 p. m.

August Claessens Speaks at Bronx Fellowship Wednesday
August Claessens will speak at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Wednesday, March 31, at 8:30 p. m. sharp. His subject will be "The Home—Present and Future." Admission is 25 cents.

Man vs. Machine

By Joseph T. Shipley

TWO ways of looking upon the machine, equally valid and fruitful as starting points for speculation and theory, have emerged from the early indignation or enthusiasm of the industrial era. On the one hand the machine is viewed as a separate entity, a creation of man which makes its own demands and dictates terms and conditions to society, which it may end by dominating.

The machine, like its father, fire, is a powerful slave and a tyrannic master, and it seems for the time to have enchained the world. This view is put strongly forward by Samuel Butler, whose "Erewhon" points out that just as we grow animals to give us fuel, the machine uses us; that just as we have appendices we no longer need, the machine has its vestigial; that the only human function the machine lacks is reproduction, and already machines are reproducing parts of themselves. In this fantastic but suggestive fashion it is urged that man has created a Frankenstein, has given birth to a monster who controls and will destroy him.

What Will Be the Ultimate Controlling Factor in Civilization?

On the other hand, it is shrewdly suggested that the machine is the final step in organic evolution. Man in himself is a feeble creature; he would easily have been wiped out in the struggle for existence if chance or destiny had not given evolution a new course. For instead of new creatures coming with more power in themselves, man continued the evolutionary process by discovering how to attach new parts to himself. The ailing and the hammer are extended and more powerful fists; the shovel, the hatchet, the knife, are improved teeth and claws. Besides being farther reaching and stronger, these extensions of the individual have other advantages. They are temporary; instead of always bearing about a great mass, the man may don as required a hide tougher than an elephant's, he may add an eye sharper than the eagle's—and put each aside for another convenient addition. They are easily replaceable, as compared to the difficulty an animal would experience in trying to grow a new limb; their destruction does not necessarily materially injure the organism of which they are temporarily part. Some six machines—the Lever, the Inclined Plane, the Wedge, the Pulley, the Wheel and Axle, and the Screw—gave man his initial and tremendous growth; when fire came to aid him, man's possibilities became without bounds.

It is this point of view the author of "Haphestus" takes; from it he launches into a most exuberant and hopeful picture of beneficent fire and the world it will help to make. He presents an ingenious attack upon the materialistic philosophy, pointing out that one of the fundamental ideas of mechanism is the denial of a purpose in life, whereas actually every machine has both a general and a specific purpose. Beyond the general use for which it was constructed, the tool or the machine, being an extension of the individual, is animated by the particular purpose of its director; the aim of the director is "the soul of the machine."

This attitude may be the more consoling to mankind, it may even be the truer; but the author fails to consider, or to indicate, that the purposes of men may be personal, may draft machines to the service of their passions; that the undreamed-of power suddenly made actual by the inventions of this mechanical age has swept men off their balance into orgies of selfish and self-centered grasping, domination, and destruction. That the world is divided into those who direct the machines and those who serve them the author feels; he even attempts a justification of this state, declaring that those who have to do humdrum, monotonous work should reflect that the leader's way is hazardous, while their own jobs grow into comfortable habits. This pat on the back to the many who must work the machines for the profit and glory of the few is a fit gesture from one who sees the world through rosy clouds raised by the fires where his machines are forged. Others observe that more of the smoke is sooty.

This accounts for what looks like a dropping off in the unemployment figures; but in reality there has been no such decline.

A table is also given showing the poor law returns. This shows the official figures of relief recipients to have been 384 per 10,000 of the population in October, 1924, and 436 per 10,000 in October, 1925. In November, 1925, the figure had gone up to 448.

During the first eleven months of 1924 wages increased in the aggregate by £473,900 a week. In the corresponding period of 1925, under Tory rule, wages decreased by £74,200 a week.

In spite of numerous promises, no effective steps have been taken to establish a more economical system of production and distribution. Food prices have gone, and are still going up.

The Tory election literature promised that Mr. Baldwin's policy would be to "re-establish and maintain our trade at home and overseas, and develop new markets." Yet in 1925 imports increased by over £45,000,000, while exports went down by nearly £28,000,000.

Teachers' Conference Held at Brookwood

A four-day conference for teachers in workers' education was held at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., Feb. 19-22. About 20 leaders in this field were present for the series of round-table discussions, which are held annually under the auspices of Brookwood Local 189, American Federation of Teachers.

Subjects for discussion included: Opening the local field for workers' education; keeping up interest; gaining union support; summer institutes; utilizing the workers' experience; labor drama; labor education in Europe; subjects which should be taught; competent teachers; psychology of the workers.

Among those who led in the discussion at the conference were: A. Lefkowitz, director of the New York Labor College; Scott Nearing, who spoke on European conditions; Tom Tippet, in charge of workers' education, Sub-district 5, United Mine Workers, Illinois; Algernon Lee, director of the Rand School, New York; Dr. Amy Hewes, head of the Department of Economics at Bryn Mawr; Lloyd H. Crossgrave, Workers' Education Bureau; Mary Dent, Washington (D. C.) Labor College; Gunnar Hirdman, principal of the Labor College at Vasteras, Sweden; Harry Dana, Boston Trade Union College; Ellen Kenner, instructor, School for Printers' Apprentices, New York; Paul Fuller, in charge of workers' education, District 2, United Mine Workers, Pennsylvania.

A play, "Miners," written by Boncht Friedman, a Brookwood student and member of Local 248, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York, and presented by Brookwood students under the direction of Hazel MacKay, was given on Saturday night as an example of what can be done in dramatizing the lives of workers. The setting of the play is a mining camp during a strike, and the characters and action are typical of such a situation.

decidedly "yellow." Marx was unfortunately in not having Wicks to "interpret" Lincoln for him.

In exploring the economic and political history of the United States there is room for difference of opinion in interpreting various phases of our history, but malice and ignorance cannot contribute anything to an understanding of our past.

A Year of Misgovernment

Under the title "A Year of Tory Misgovernment" the British Labor Party has just published a pamphlet which forms a smashing indictment of the Tory Government which came to power after the fall of the Labor Government. An array of striking facts and figures are brought forward to show that instead of the promised stability, Mr. Baldwin's administration has brought the country uncertainty and chaos. Unemployment has increased, wages have fallen, and the industrial revival which began under Labor rule has been checked; and destitution has been greatly accentuated.

The tables of the unemployment figures during Labor's term of office in 1924 and the same period in 1925 are particularly edifying. An average of the ten monthly totals for the respective years shows a monthly figure of 1,160,900 unemployed for 1924, under Labor rule, and of 1,307,100 for 1925. This should be contrasted with the announcements which appear periodically that there has been a "great decline" in unemployment in Great Britain. The truth is that as a result of the new regulations, as a result of which the claims of over 100,000 workers have been disallowed, large numbers of the unemployed have ceased to register.

MOTHER OF JAMES ONEAL DIES IN TERRE HAUTE

Word has been received by the New Leader of the death, following a short illness, of the mother of James Oneal, in Terre Haute. Comrade Oneal left Wednesday to attend the funeral.

THE WICK IS BURNING LOW

By The Editor

THE Communist movement in the United States has exhibited a marked decline in the past six months, especially since its amusing transformation on a shop and street "nucleus" basis its tortuous evolution out of some eighteen warring sects since 1919 has witnessed some bizarre declarations and ideas, but it is doubtful whether it has ever reached such a nadir of ignorance as it exhibits in the writings of its professional "Marxist," H. M. Wicks.

Wicks always solemnly considers everything, from the baby's toothache to the price of potatoes, in terms of "Leninism." After sweeping nearly everything into his "Marxian" bin he turns to American history. The Democratic Party is his theme. He must write its history so that the "millitants" will have an authoritative interpretation of it. He accomplishes this in the Workers Monthly for January. After this performance we suggest that the "millitants" pay him to remain silent. His silence is more educational than any knowledge he may unload on his victims.

Frankly, this article on the Democratic Party is asinine. No other word is applicable. He reads fiction into the subject, inverts facts, and even stumbles where a high school boy would not err. Why was Jefferson re-elected in 1804? His answer is because "Jefferson had unfranchised many new voters previously prevented from participating in elections." In the first place, neither the President or Congress has any power to extend the franchise. Suffrage was then and is now a matter of state action except for the Federal amendment which granted the franchise to women. There were practically no suffrage extensions by the states from 1800 to 1804, so that Wicks introduces fiction to account for something which he does not understand.

The Dope on Jackson
He has a decidedly original interpretation of Jackson and Jacksonian Democracy. Jackson is presented as the representative of "powerful combinations of plantation owners." Again: "There was one dominant class in the country and the party of that class ruled the nation, with but two intervals, from the inauguration of Jackson until the inauguration of Lincoln." But this is not all. "During his two terms Jackson did everything within his power to increase the might and prestige of the slave holders of the South." There you are! Just as easy as writing a "thesis" on the ideological tasks of the organizational nucleus of the proletariat of Siam.

Sole Heir and Executor of Karl Marx Regales With Some Hysterical Tales

This explanation has the advantage of simplicity even if it is in conflict with facts, and facts can easily be ignored when you are writing for the "millitants." Let us ask a few questions. If Jackson was the tool of the powerful slave owners, why did he make ready to send an army into South Carolina to suppress this class when it threatened nullification? Why did that class fight him to the end of his second term? Why did the small farmers of the interior of the South support Jackson and also oppose the powerful slave owners? Why did the small farmers of the new states in the West support Jackson if the latter was a tool of the great planters? Moreover, why were the great majority of the workers of the northern cities Jacksonians if Jackson represented these slave owners?

A Few Reversed Facts
The facts are that while Jackson was not opposed to slavery he hated the higher aristocracy of slave owners because of their aping of the English squirearchy, their social arrogance and their pretensions to aristocratic eminence. All his life had been spent among the poor whites and frontiersmen who expressed contempt for the southern cads and the parvenu rule of northern commercial and industrial centers. This contempt was also shared by the farmers and frontiersmen of the West, where Jacksonian majorities were conspicuous.

With respect to Jackson in the South, Wicks has the facts reversed. All the evidence goes to show that the upper section of powerful slave owners were Whigs. The smaller slave owners feared the oligarchs almost as much as the free farmers of the back sections of the South did. The Whig Party in the South was the party of the blue blood aristocracy. John C. Calhoun was the most powerful exponent of this upper slave-owning class, and for this reason he found no difficulty in being a Whig despite the fact that at an earlier period he was a Jacksonian. In the cities of the North and in some of the northern states the Jacksonian Party almost to the middle forties served the working class in the extension of the franchise and a ballot-armed working class in the North was feared by the upper class of the South.

Wicks no more understands the Whig Party in the North than he does that

same party in the South. Throughout the North, with some exceptions in the frontier states, the Whig Party was the party of the higher capitalists, banking and commercial men. Wicks regards this opposition party as based almost exclusively upon hatred of Jackson and his policies, and adds that the Whig Party was "intended to suggest encroachments of the executive." And this from the professional "Marxian!" We had supposed that political parties represented something more than personal antagonisms and an abstract theory of "encroachment of the executive." Wicks is driven to this "bourgeois ideology" because the Whig Party is just as much a mystery to him as the Democratic Party in this period is. The very fact that the Whig Party represented the higher aristocracy of the slaveocracy might have suggested the idea to even an expert "Marxian" that this party also represented the higher aristocracy of capitalism in the North.

Forgets Marx Again
Our "Marxian" cuts just as pitiful a figure when he tries to explain the Tyler Administration to the "millitants." Harrison and Tyler were elected in 1840 as Whigs. Harrison died after one month in office and was succeeded by Vice-President Tyler. The latter was read out of the party by the Whigs, Henry Clay leading the fight against him. What is the explanation? Wicks explains that it was "principally because of the antagonism of Henry Clay, the real leader of the Whig party. Clay was arrogant and imperious and not inclined to bow before so insignificant a figure as Tyler."

How profound! We had supposed that the explanation is to be found in the economics of the period. Not at all. "Clay was arrogant and imperious." There you have the explanation of a "Marxian." In the first place Tyler was not "insignificant." He came from a blue blood family of Virginia was a man of ability, and had considerable influence in politics. Tyler was in reality a Democrat, but had been unable to work with the Jacksonians. When he unexpectedly ascended to the presidency the Whigs found that they had a Democrat for President instead of a Whig. The history of Tyler's Administration shows that he vetoed bill after bill which the Whig leaders desired. Had he been a

the man who was one of the most conspicuous products of the frontier, is presented as "the agent of the industrial capitalists of the North." Lincoln desired to save the union so that "cotton mill owners of the North could get the raw cotton from the South instead of permitting that material to go to the mills of England." As though the textile mills had not obtained their supply as well as the textile industry of England! The "millitants" are told that Lincoln did "everything within his power to perpetuate slavery" and with "the most reprehensible bestiality" he condemned "human beings to slavery because to do otherwise might thwart his political ambitions."

All this is positively disgusting. Where the 100 percenters make a saint of Lincoln, Wicks takes the same man and transforms him into a malvolent ogre. Certainly, Marx, who followed the struggle in the United States with keen interest and who inspired the letters of British workers to Lincoln, who even referred to the latter as "the single-minded son of the working class," must have been

Now the "millitants" get enough fiction without Wicks piling his mythology on top of it. If his stuff is pounded into the heads of the faithful they will go out into the world with as much historical bunk as the patriotic historians are supplying young hopefuls of capitalism in our universities. We do not begrudge the "millitants" any illusions. They have lived on them since 1919 but there is a limit to all things. Wicks is the limit. He should be suppressed by his loving associates before he starts a course in palmistry and offers it as a contribution to the understanding of American history.

As He Sees Lincoln
One other matter. In The Worker of February 13 Wicks "interprets" Lincoln in relation to his period. There have been myths woven about Lincoln, and the great "Marxian" in his effort to combat them, again draws upon his store of ignorance. Lincoln,

the man who was one of the most conspicuous products of the frontier, is presented as "the agent of the industrial capitalists of the North." Lincoln desired to save the union so that "cotton mill owners of the North could get the raw cotton from the South instead of permitting that material to go to the mills of England." As though the textile mills had not obtained their supply as well as the textile industry of England! The "millitants" are told that Lincoln did "everything within his power to perpetuate slavery" and with "the most reprehensible bestiality" he condemned "human beings to slavery because to do otherwise might thwart his political ambitions."

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25 Years of International Trade Unionism

By Johan Sassenbach

Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions

ON August 21, 1901, at the Scandinavian trade union congress of Copenhagen, a meeting was held by representatives of the Belgian, British, Danish, Finnish, German, Norwegian and Swedish National Trade Union Centers, to discuss the possibility of a closer connection among their various centers. It was agreed that conferences should be held at regular intervals by the secretaries of the Trade Union Centers. These should be held at about the same time as the trade union congress of the country in which it was decided to hold the conference. It was decided to meet at Stuttgart in the following year, at the German trade union congress.

A few attempts to bring about international co-operation had been made prior to this Copenhagen conference by the British. In 1833 a delegation from the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress had attended a congress of the French Labor Party in Paris, and in 1888 the same committee convened an international congress in London. This was attended by 116 delegates, half of whom were British. In 1896 an international Socialist and Trade Union Congress was held in London, which was also attended by representatives from Anarchist unions. Their experience of co-operation with the Anarchists led the British unions to decide at their next Congress to admit to future congresses only delegates who represented the same principles as the British trade unions.

A further attempt to bring about international co-operation was made by the French trade unions. At an international congress held in Paris Dec. 17 and 18, 1900, they advocated the establishment of an international labor secretariat, to make preparations for the founding of a Workers' International. In addition to the French, this congress was attended by some British, Italians and Swedes. In view of the inadequate attendance, however, the plan of founding a secretariat was abandoned, and the French National Trade Union Centre was instructed to get in touch with the trade unions of other countries and find out their views as to the convening of a fresh international congress.

As neither the British nor the French efforts led to any organization it is the Copenhagen conference in 1901 which must be regarded as the real starting point of the international trade union movement. And consequently, this

year, 1926, sees the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of this movement.

The Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions has decided not to let this go by without celebrating it; and moreover to take advantage of the opportunity to carry on trade union propaganda, and to emphasize the necessity of the international solidarity of the working class. For reasons of expediency, the anniversary celebrations will not be held on August 21, but on the third Sunday in September. The week before this will be devoted to a special campaign in the various countries. The form which the propaganda takes will vary from country to country, according to methods best suited to local conditions. But the essential feature will be the same everywhere; in every country the propaganda will concentrate on the one question, which is of the deepest interest to the workers all the world over, whether organized or unorganized: namely, the fight for the introduction, or recovery, of the eight hour day.

The I. F. T. U. Secretariat has been instructed to carry on the propaganda, and furnish the national centers and international trade secretariats with suitable material, with the watchword: "Back to the Trade Unions—Join the Fight for the International Eight Hour Day." It has further been decided to bring out a brochure giving a short sketch of the development of the international trade union movement from 1901 to 1926.

It is to be hoped that the propaganda work for 1926 will lead to a strengthening of the trade union movement in all countries.

When W. Va. Union Operator Turns Open Shop

By Art Shields

Sharples, W. Va.—The Boone County Coal Corp., that stretches along the 10-mile battleground of the armed marchers of 1921, has broken the union since those days. Its high accident record bears witness to that fact. In the last few days two mine motormen had their arms severed and a coal digger was killed not long before. The workers are compelled to take chances undreamed of in union days, and to work at high speed. The 8-hour day exists only on paper. It is common practice to work overtime without extra compensation till a 9, 10 and 11-hour day is put in.

I talked with workers at the company mines at Sharples and Blair just inside the Logan county line. They were former union men and are bitter at conditions. And bitter at William Wiley, vice president and general manager of the corporation.

Wiley helped arm the marchers for their battle with the Logan thugs in 1921. Then he assisted in the prosecution of his own employees for treason and murder. The battle began at his company town of Sharples, then union territory. There was no fighting in the early days. The men had turned back at the orders of Frank Keeney,

president District 17 and were on their way home.

Then came the raid of Captain Brockus of the state police with 400 gunmen over the Logan hills into Sharples. They shot up the suburb of Peach Creek, the property of Wiley's company, killing two and seriously wounding two more. The marchers turned in fury at the news and the battle began. In the meantime Wiley called his own employees into his brick office at Sharples and told them to help themselves to 60 army rifles on the racks and ammunition. The arsenal had been stocked years before. "Go to it boys," said the boss. They went to it, guarding the union operator's property and fighting back into the hills, capturing machine gun nests, with fire falling on each side.

Two weeks later came the senatorial investigation. In Logan courthouse I heard Wiley accuse the union of lawlessness and inefficiency. At the trials he went still further.

But four years of open shop operation have aged him. The virile man of 1921, who thrived at mine management when wage rates and adjustment of disputes were standardized, is gray and bent with the new policy. It has brought cheaper costs but added a host of worries.

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JOHN HALKETT, President SYDNEY PEARCE, Rec. Secretary HENRY COOK, Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary CHARLES FRIEDL, Business Agent

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1465, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4992
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President
Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olsen, Fin. Sec'y Ludwig Benson, Recording Secretary
Christopher Gubander, Recording Secretary Charles Johnson, Sr., Treasurer Ray Clark, Business Agents

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Day room and office, 160 East 65th Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 8339
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THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

COMPRESSED AIR and FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. N. C. & C. L. of A.
Office, 12 St. Marks Place 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day
DRY DOCK 6052
Meetings every First and Third Wednesday
DANIEL HUNT, President JAMES MORAN, President
PETER LINNEN, Vice-President JOHN McARTLAN, Fin. Secretary JOSEPH MORAN, Bus. Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at the LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
W. H. WELLS, President and Business Agent
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAHY, Recording Secretary
THOMAS SHERMAN, Fin. Sec'y JOSEPH LAMONTE, Treasurer
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 82 East 106th Street Telephone: LEXINGTON 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 8 P. M. at 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, President J. HENNENFELD, Recording Secretary
Financial Secretary

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 1st Sunday of Every Month at 8 P. M.
SHIELD'S HALL, 87 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.
Phone Watkins 9188
LEON H. BOUNK, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
John J. O'Connell, Recording Secretary
Theodore F. Douglas, Secretary-Treasurer
Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Hillwell 6394.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
JOHN W. SMITH, President
WILLIAM MCDONALD, Vice-President
WILLIAM MCDONALD, Recording Secretary
WILLIAM MCDONALD, Secretary-Treasurer
CHARLES MCDONALD, Business Agents

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 465, of NEW YORK CITY
Office: 503 Fifth Avenue, Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday, at 8 P. M. at 123 East 84th Street
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President JOHN WALSH, Vice-President
FRED DESIGAN, General Secretary TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary
Business Agents: GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 10 Fourth Avenue, Phone: Sterling 9733.
Regular Meetings Every Monday evening, at 103 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board Meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer

Amalgamated Lithographers

of America, New York Local No. 1
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 225 WEST 14th ST. Phone: WATkins 7704
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at
ARLINGTON HALL, 13 ST. MARK'S PLACE
FRED DESIGAN, General Secretary ALBERT E. CARTER, President
Pat's Union, A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Elton, Frank Schel, Treas.

The AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 137
Office and Headquarters 12 St. Marks Place, N. Y.
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Friday at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone Orchard 2768
M. ROSEN, President D. MACY, Vice-Pres.
J. I. NEWMAN, Recording Secretary L. SHREKED, Secretary
Financial Sec'y

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone: Orchard 9460-1-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
Executive Board meets every Monday
CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday
Executive Board meets every Monday

All Meetings are held in the
Headgear Workers' Lyceum
(Beethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street.

United Hebrew Trades

115 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 1 P. M. Exec-
utive Board same day, 5:30 P. M.
M. ABRAHAMSON, Chairman
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & S. W. of N. A.
115 E. Broadway, Orchard 4130
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL. GEBAL, President
L. KORN, Manager, S. JACOB, Sec'y.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL, Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street Stuyvesant 7078
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Sam Harris, President, N. Ullman, Rec. Sec'y.
Murray Chisling, J. Rosenzweig,
Vice-Presidents, Recording Secretary & Treas.
Gus Levine, Business Agent.

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. L. of O. Office: 885 Hudson St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ANTONIA HALL, 62 East 4th St. Executive Board meets on 3rd and 4th Thursdays at 175 East Broadway, Room 1.
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent. MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

Structural Iron Workers

UNION, Local 361, Brooklyn
Office: 511 Pacific Street Telephone: CUNEBRAND 0159
Open Daily from 7:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M.
Meetings Every Wednesday, at 9 P. M., at Columbus Hall, 330 Court St.
Charles McDermott, E. B. Calvert, President, Sec'y-Repres.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.
Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday
243 East 84th Street, 3rd Floor, City
Frank Walter, H. Kramer, Rec. Secretary
A. Fosselotte, Wm. Dettelbach, Fin. Secretary
H. Yule, August, Rec. Sec'y
Treasurer Business Agent

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 388 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Lenox 4629
Day Room Open Daily, 9 A. M. to 4 P. M.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President, Fin. Secretary
M. McDONALD, BENJAMIN A. DAVIS, Recording Secretary
WILLIAM MCDONALD, Vice-President
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

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Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810
Headquarters, 219 Sackman St. Telephone: DICKENS 1144
M. Brodie, Pres. I. Bernstein, Treas. Philip Ritz, Sec'y
Union Drivers West 13th Street S. Rosenzweig, Bus. Rep.

PAINTERS' UNION

LOCAL 993
Office and Headquarters: 114 E. 59th St. Tel. RECENT 3415
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening
at Williams, 183 E. 59th St.
President Recording Secretary
Peter Goldie, J. J. Connell, Vice-President, Fin. Secretary

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve-
ning at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
BRUND WAGNER, President.
CHAS. KOENIG, Rec. Sec'y.

WAITERS' UNION

Local 219, H. A. R. E. A. R. L. L. of N. Y.
Office and Headquarters 170 E. 8th St., N. Y.
PHONE LENOX 1944
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MAX GOLDBERG, BERSH, KAHN, President, Secretary
ADOLPH SPERLING, MAYER SCHACHAR, Recording Secretary, Treasurer

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 3148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lenox 4130
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY at the OFFICE of the UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

DISTRICT COUNCIL MISCELLANEOUS TRADES OF GREATER NEW YORK

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
Office: 2 WEST 16TH STREET Telephone Chelsea 3148
The Council meets every 2nd and 4th Wednesday.
The Board of Directors meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
M. GREENBERG, President. S. LEFKOWITZ, Manager.

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4549
Office: 251 E. 14th Street.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—251 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—E. 17th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bklyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—71 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINTO, Secretary-Treasurer.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION Local 8, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.
Melrose 7430
CARL GRABHER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloth and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 31st Street. Telephone 7148-Walton.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 16th St. Phone STUYVESANT 7088
Executive Board Meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office.
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
LOUIS FELDHEIM, Secretary-Treas.
L. D. REIGER, Rec. Sec'y.
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 7106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager HOLLY LITVIN, Secretary

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-714
Telephone: STUYVESANT 6300-1-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-3-4-5
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. STUYVESANT 5596.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 1 P. M. in the office.
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1887
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
MOBIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN KOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.
Office: 355 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 5190
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
Rec. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
J. Beronville, Sam'l Berger, Chairman, Rec. Sec'y.
J. Fortner, J. Kleinfeld, Bus. Agent, Fin. Sec'y.

Lapel Makers & Pairs

Local 161, A. C. W. A.
Office: 2 Delancey St. Drydock 3809
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Children's Jacket Makers

OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10.
Office: 355 Bushwick Ave., Pulaski 5190
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
Rec. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
J. Beronville, Sam'l Berger, Chairman, Rec. Sec'y.
J. Fortner, J. Kleinfeld, Bus. Agent, Fin. Sec'y.

Pressers' Union

Local 2, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
31-37 Arden St., Bklyn, N. Y.
LOUIS CANTON, Chairman
M. TAYLOR, Rec. Sec'y
LEON BECK, Fin. Sec'y

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 16th STREET, N. Y. Phone Spring 3084
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman. CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and Headquarters, 3 St. Marks Place. Phone Orchard 1299
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
AL GREENBERG, FRED CALOGLA, SAM SCHNALL, FLORENCE GELLER, President, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y.
Organizers: GEORGE E. POWERS, THOMAS DINONNO, Delegate, JOSEPH DIMINO.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers'

THEATRES

An expose of New York Night Life!

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Just One Laugh After Another!

LEWIS & GORDON in Association with SAM H. HARRIS Present

"EASY COME, EASY GO!"

with **OTTO KRUGER** and **VICTOR MOORE**

Direct from the Biltmore Theatre

Week of April 5th

"LADIES OF THE EVENING"

with Beth Merrill, Edna Hubbard and the entire Broadway cast intact

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

SEASON FAREWELL OF **WILHELM FURTWÄNGLER**

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve. at 8:30; Fri. Aft. at 2:30

Handel: Concerto in D for 2 Violins, 'Cello and String Orchestra

Messrs. Guld, Lang and Schult, Soloists

WEDNESDAY: Invitation to the Waltz, BEETHOVEN: "Eroica" Symphony

Arthur Judson, Manager. (Steinway Piano)

N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER Guest Conductor

FINAL CONCERT THIS SEASON

MECCA AUDITORIUM, SUNDAY AFT. AT 3

Petrushka (Concert Version) STRAVINSKY

Concerto No. 1 in F (Brandenburg) BACH

Symphony No. 2 in C minor BEETHOVEN

GEORGE ENGLES, Manager. (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL MARCH 30

TUES. EVE. AT 8:30

Levitzi

Concert Mgt. Don't Mayer, Inc. Steinway Piano

DRAMA

"Devils" a Corking Good American Play

Daniel N. Rubin's Idea of Mississippi Backwoods Is Engrossing and Gripping Drama

In this season of more or less frothy theatrical fare it is a joy to welcome such a strong play as "Devils," a new American play by Daniel N. Rubin, which opened at Maxine Elliott's Theatre last week.

A program note quoted following epitomizes the theme of the play, which falls into the "Hell-Bent for Heaven" and "Sunrise" type of entertainment, but with strong and individual features entirely its own and different from these previously successful offerings.

"In the isolated farming communities in the 'back woods' of the South people are intellectually starved, emotionally frustrated, but spiritually self-sufficient. Two forces dominate them—the cotton crop and religion. Cotton is king, but religion is master—a religion of fear and vengeance. Their hearts are rich ground for the seed of fanaticism and intolerance, and with their emotional life so twisted and ill-expressed, the fruit of the seed flourishes. A conflict arises in the minds of these sincere and kind-hearted people which often is the cause of much well-meaning cruelty."

Briefly, the story concerns itself with the advent into the home of a backwoods Mississippi cotton and corn

RUTH MERO



Does some splendid and sincere work in "Devils," the new play of Mississippi backwoods folks at the Maxine Elliott Theatre.

farmer of a young girl from a cotton mill town, who is distantly related to the farmer and through the death of her parents becomes his charge. The action of the play revolves itself around the conflict in the home this young and pretty girl raises in the logical sequence of events with everyone from the farmer himself to the farmer's son and various neighbors swept along to the denouement. Stalking through the play from start to finish is the grim, sardonic and fanatical minister, whose main occupation is casting devils out of the members of his congregation. With poignancy the sufferings of the young girl are unfolded until the inevitable horrible tragedy comes to pass and the poor girl seeks the only solace that is left for her, suicide.

The leading role of the young girl is played by Ruth Mero, who, without doubt, is one of the theatrical "finds" of this season. From the minute she enters the hostile atmosphere of the farmhouse until almost the final curtain when she rushes off the stage to kill herself in the barn, Miss Mero gives a performance that ranks among the best individual pieces of acting that has been seen on the boards in New York this season. Wistful, poignant, heart-rending is the portrayal she presents, and as a terrified child in the climax of the drama, when the crazed minister exhorts a false confession from her, her acting is superb. If we are not mistaken, a new star is rising in the theatrical firmament.

The play is well cast and well acted. John Cromwell, as the fanatical preacher, gives an excellent performance, with David Landau, as the farmer, and Janet Adair as the farmer's wife contribute notable characterizations.

The lover of good drama and splendid acting should not miss this treat.

give a recital next Friday evening at Steinway Hall.

Lauritz Melchior, the Danish tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company, will make his concert debut Tuesday evening at Aeolian Hall. Mr. Melchior will include in his program a group of unfamiliar Scandinavian songs.

The New Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Other Woman's Story," with Alice Calhoun and Robert Frazer.

CAMEO—Ernest Lubitsch repertoire week.

CAPITOL—"The Devil's Circus," by Benjamin Christensen, with Norma Shearer, Chas. Emmett Mack and Carmel Myers.

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

RIALTO—"Bride of the Storm," from the story, "Maryland, My Maryland," with John Harron, Otto Mathieson and Sheldon Lewis.

RIVOLI—Pola Negri in "Crown of Lies," by Ernest Vajda, with Noah Beery and Robert Ames.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Missouri

An interesting celebration will be held in St. Louis on Saturday, April 17, when the Socialists and trade unionists will celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the eight-hour movement and the silver jubilee of the labor press.

The two important Socialist and trade union weeklies in St. Louis are Labor and The Arbeiter Zeitung, both edited by G. A. Hoeft, the first an English weekly and the second a German weekly. Editor Hoeft has given over thirty years of service to the labor movement and is just as confident today of the final triumph of the working class as he was when he enlisted in the movement as a young man.

Ohio

The State convention of the Socialist Party was held in Cleveland on March 13 and 14 and attention was given to plans for organizing the State. Resolutions were adopted demanding the repeal of the anti-syndicalist law, recording the party against the proposal to create a State constabulary which would only serve the enemies of the trade unions, favoring the restoration of the citizenship of Eugene V. Debs, protesting against a so-called Bible bill which violates the principle of separation of church and state, and protesting against bills now pending in Congress for the registration of aliens and deportation of them for various reasons.

New Jersey

The State Committee met Sunday, March 14, with Comrades Bohlin, Guentherman, Wittel, Craig, Leemans, Tailman, Miller and Bausch present. Bohlin reported that Norman Thomas would speak in Bergen County and that \$90 had been voted to the striking miners of West Virginia. Guentherman reported that reorganization of South Camden had not yet been completed but that Branch 11 was making progress. Newman reported plans for open air meetings, that the Jewish Branch of Newark is conducting various social affairs and that an effort will be made to organize the Ypsels in Newark. Leemans reported arrangements for a May Day celebration and a picnic in August in co-operation with the Socialist Educational Club. The club is collecting funds for purchasing food for the Passaic strikers and several large bundles of clothing have been sent to the miners of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Miller reported arrangement for a May Day celebration in Passaic. State Secretary Leemans was instructed to write Emil Herman regarding terms for organizing work in the State. The State Committee also voted \$25 for the relief of the Passaic strikers. All branches are urged to engage in the campaign for the restoration of the citizenship of Eugene V. Debs. The treasurer's report showed a balance on hand February 14 of \$493.56; receipts, \$22.05; total, \$515.61; disbursements, \$30.14; balance March 14, \$484.47.

Essex Notes

Petitions are being circulated through the county asking Congress

"Easy Come, Easy Go" Coming To Bronx Opera House Monday

"Easy Come, Easy Go," Owen Davis' latest farce, comes to the Bronx Opera House Monday night after a six months' run at the Biltmore Theatre.

The chief locale of the piece, Dr. Jasper's health farm, is said to be a replica of a sanitarium in which Mr. Davis underwent a lengthy treatment for gout, a chronic ailment which still causes him considerable discomfort.

Otto Kruger and Victor Moore have the principal roles as the two genial crooks. Edward Arnold, last seen in "The Nervous Wreck," and Shirley Grey have the chief supporting parts.

"Ladies of the Evening" will be the following attraction.

"Is Zat So?" at Chanin's Forty-fifth Street Theatre, celebrated its 500th performance in New York with Wednesday matinee. James Gleason, co-author with Richard Taber, is appearing in the London production at the Apollo Theatre. Another edition is now playing Philadelphia.

John Erskin is working on a dramatization of his recent novel, "The Private Life of Helen of Troy."

JACK SQUIRE



In "Rainbow Rose," the new Zelda Sears musical play which opened at the Forrest Theatre last week.

for the restoration of the citizenship rights of Eugene V. Debs. Belleville Branch met last week and nominated delegates to the coming National Convention, also attending to other routine business. The comrades of that branch are making an effort to increase the circulation of our papers in their locality. Comrade Newman, County Organizer, will be working through the Oranges the coming week calling upon the members and friends of the party in those sections.

WANTED—100 Socialist Veterans to attend a reunion to be held at 183 Springfield Avenue, the first Monday in April, 8:30 p. m. Prizes and surprises. Come and see, all things are free.

The members of the State Committee from this county report an interesting meeting of that body at its last session. Much of the old time spirit was in evidence. A committee was elected to ascertain what the party could do towards assisting the Passaic strikers.

Pennsylvania

Pennsylvanians desiring to learn more about the Socialist Party can do so by writing Socialist Party of Pennsylvania, 415 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning Labor and Radical groups should be sent to the same address for publication in the New Leader.

PHILADELPHIA

A banquet marking the close of the dedication exercises of the Labor Institute at Eighth and Locust Streets, was held Saturday, March 26, and attended by about 200 of the leaders of the Labor and Socialist movements of Philadelphia. The principal speeches were made by Norman Thomas and Meyer London. About \$30,000 was pledged to the building fund. This building promises to become the labor headquarters of Philadelphia, and those in charge of its erection are to be congratulated upon the wonderful work they have accomplished. The Socialist Party headquarters have been located on the third floor of the building for several months and many of the most active labor unions also have their offices in it.

PITTSBURGH

The Pittsburgh Educational Forum is offering an intellectual treat to the people of southwestern Pennsylvania, on Wednesday, March 31, at 8 p. m., when the question, "Should the United States Join the League of Nations," will be debated in Carnegie Music Hall (Schenley Park). The affirmative will be upheld by Morris Hillquit and the negative by Clarence Darrow. Neither of these men needs any introduction. Tickets can be secured at Melior's, 604 Wood Street, or Hirsch's, 1623 Center Avenue. It is advisable to make reservations early as over 1,000 people were turned away at the Darrow-Dearing debate.

New England

The Boston Central Branch is having a debate Thursday, March 25, at 21 Essex Street. The subject to be debated is: "Resolved: That the Familiar Socialist Doctrine that Wages Ought to be Increased so as to Enable the Workers to Buy Back All That They Produce Is Unsound and Injurious." Henry W. Pinkham is taking the positive, and Louis Marcus is taking the negative.

Harry Laidler will not be able to lecture here in March as was previously stated but will lecture some time in April. A notice giving all details will be published in all Socialist papers.

The Boston Y. P. S. L. is preparing for a musical and dance to be held Monday, April 19, at 21 Essex street. Just as soon as definite arrangements have been made we will be glad to announce them.

New York State

The State Executive Committee met at the Peoples' House last Sunday, Feigenbaum, Gerber, Kobbe, Newkirk and Theresa B. Wiley being present. The Committee fixed the representation to the 1926 State Convention as follows: Albany 1, Cohoes 1, Bronx 5, Broome County 1, Jamestown 1, Elmira 1, Cortland 1, Poughkeepsie 1, Buffalo 2, Kings 10, Kenwood-Sherrill 1, Rochester 2, New York 16, Niagara Falls 1, Utica and Oneida County 2, Syracuse 2, Port Jervis 1, Queens 2, Richmond 1, Schenectady 3, Ithaca 1, Glens Falls 1, New Rochelle 1, Yonkers 1, Port Chester 1. Socialists in unorganized counties are invited to come to the convention for the purpose of conferring on the problem of organization in unorganized territory. Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Norman Thomas and Louis Waldman were designated a committee to prepare a State platform.

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Yipseldom

On Saturday evening the first shell of the annual declamation contest of the Y. P. S. L. will be fired by Circle 7, Manhattan. They then start training for the championship of the New York League. The debate will be: "Resolved, that compulsory military training in the schools shall be abolished." Comrade Hochberg upholding the affirmative and Comrade William Walcofsky the negative. All are welcome at this gathering. After the debate, dancing and refreshments will be served.

Members who have received letters from Comrade Lee about the Rand School classes, please take notice. The first class in Socialism will take place on Saturday at 1:30 p. m. sharp. At 3 p. m. August Claessens will conduct a class in public speaking for Yipsels. Please be on time, so that we can start promptly.

Bronx Juniors

Circle 3 meets on Friday nights again. They are winding up the winter's work with a few weeks of hectic activity. Friday nights find 1167 Boston Road with an open door. It is the center for the progressive and free-minded youth of the Bronx. Come up and enjoy yourself.

Saturday, March 27, will be Circle 4 night. They are holding an entertainment and dance at their clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, that evening. Admission is free. All Ypsels and friends are invited.

Bronx Junior Ypsels are planning to produce Upton Sinclair's "Second Story Man" in the near future. Isidore Polstein, an experienced coach, will formulate the cast and aid in the production of the play. Watch for the date.

Brownsville Ypsels

Circle 2 met March 21. About twenty-five young Socialists attended, eighteen of whom were members. An interesting report of the city convention was given by Comrade Schulman, the proposed activities for this year being emphasized.

Miss Rebecca Rafkind was admitted to the organization. Comrade Erkus gave a review of current events that touched upon the Geneva question, the Passaic strike situation and the prohibition straw vote. After comments by club members, Comrade Press reviewed Edith Wharton's "Ethan Frome." This led to a discussion of the advisability of reviewing books that have no direct bearing upon Socialism. Comrade Afros, director, suggested that only books relating to the Socialist movement or that could be looked upon and discussed with regard to liberal thought be reviewed. Whether his advice will be adhered to remains to be seen.

The Ten Commandments Amended

The Ten Commandments made the front page of the New York Times the other day. It was this way. Somebody got the great idea that the crime wave in New York could be stopped by having the Ten Commandments read to the public school children at least once a week. Personally, I am afraid that such a device would be about as ineffective for its purpose as is the daily pledge of allegiance to the flag in stopping bootlegging. But it wouldn't have occurred to me to get so excited one way or the other, as did the embattled partisans at the public hearing on the question held by the Board of Education. The verbal battle produced one gem of thought which should not be lost on an indifferent world. A woman member of that ever precious organization, the National Security League, set out to edit the Ten Commandments in the interest of more and better wars. Mrs. Granilla Black, God bless her honest soul, "objected to the resolution because of the Commandment, Thou Shalt Not Kill. "When your country is invaded," she said, "the invaders must be killed." It is not altogether clear whether Mrs. Black would leave out all reference to murder lest we dampen the ardor of prospective patriots. Perhaps she would make the Commandment read: "Thou Shalt Not Kill Unless Your Country is Invaded." Surely, if what Mrs. Black would have to say is the word of a very careful, obviously, with the Great War in mind, Mrs. Black would hardly maintain that we should wait until our country is invaded before doing our killing. The revised Ten Commandments must make room for the boys who had to do their killing in France, Flanders and Siberia. How would this do, Mrs. Black? "Thou Shalt Not Kill Unless the President of the United States Commands It." Or should we substitute the National Security League for the President?

Brooklyn

Williamsburg Educational Alliance

Friday, March 26, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will deliver his second lecture of a course of five on "Set and Society." The special discourse Friday evening will be "Prostitution—Its Causes and Abolition." Questions will be asked and answered. Arranged by Branches 3, 4, 6, and 325 Workmen's Circle. Admission 15c.

Central Committee

The Central Committee meeting will be held Saturday, March 27, at 8:30 p. m. sharp, at the County Office, 167 Tompkins Avenue. Delegates are urged to be on time, as there are very important matters to be transacted.

Williamsburg Theatre Benefit

At the Amphion Theatre, Bedford Avenue and South Ninth Street, a benefit performance of "Green Fields" will be given for the Williamsburg branches of the Socialist Party, Friday evening, May 26. All members and sympathizers should attend this performance and help make it a success.

13th-19th A. D.

The Thursday night lectures are becoming a very popular event in the district. The next lecture will be held on Thursday, April 1, 1926, at 41 Debevoise Street. The lecturer, Comrade Samuel Orr; subject, "Housing." Admission free.

One Big Union

Dr. Rae Melnickoff and Dr. Arthur J. Ellwood, members of the 23d A. D., Brooklyn, were quietly married in the home of the bride at 276 Kingston Avenue, Brooklyn, on Sunday afternoon, March 21. Members of the branch rejoice in this union.

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MUSIC

Chaliapin Returns to Met. in "Faust" and "Don Quichotte"

"SIEGFRIED" will open the last three weeks of the Metropolitan season Monday evening with Larsen-Todsen, Branzell and Laubenthal, Whitehill.

Other operas next week: "Faust" as a special performance on Tuesday night with Mario, Howard and Martinielli, Chaliapin.

"Traviata," Wednesday evening with Borl, Egner and Gigli, Danise.

"Petrushka" and "Bohème," Thursday evening, the former interpreted by Rudolph, Friedenthal and Bolm, Bonfiglio; the latter sung by Lewis, Hunter and Lauri-Volpe, Scotti.

"Parsifal," on "Good Friday" afternoon, with Larsen-Todsen, Ryan and Melchior, Schorer.

"Lucia," Friday evening with Marlon, Talley, Egner and Gigli, Danise.

"Don Quichotte," given for the first time by the Metropolitan, Saturday matinee with Easton, Anthony, and Chaliapin, DeLuca.

"Der Freischütz" and "Skyscrapers," Saturday night, the former sung by Mueller, Kandt, and Laubenthal, Schuttenberg; the latter interpreted by Mme. DeLeporte and Messrs. Troy and Dodge.

A gala concert will be given this Sunday night for the benefit of the Opera Emergency Fund.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The final concert of the New York Symphony Society this season will be held at Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon with Otto Klemperer conducting. The program will include the concert version of "Petrushka" by Stravinsky; Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 in F Bach, and Beethoven's Symphony No. 1 in C Minor.

Klemperer will sail on the Berengaria next Wednesday. After conducting two special concerts of the Hamburg Philharmonic Orchestra, of which Dr. Karl Muck is regular conductor, he will turn to his own orchestra in Wiesbaden. His return visit to this country as guest conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra next season is scheduled for January 3 to March 6. Walter Damrosch will conduct during the first half of the season.

PHILHARMONIC

The final concert of the Philharmonic season are drawing close. This Saturday night at Carnegie Hall, the eleventh students' concert, will be given under Wilhelm Furtwaengler. Sunday afternoon the orchestra plays at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Mr. Furtwaengler will be the soloist at the Thursday evening and Friday afternoon concert in Carnegie Hall. The program includes: Weber, Overture to "Euryanthe"; Bach, Concerto in F minor for piano and orchestra, and Beethoven, Symphony No. 3 ("Eroica").

Furtwaengler to Return Next Season With the Philharmonic

Wilhelm Furtwaengler, the talented conductor who now leads the New York Philharmonic Society, will return to this city next season to conduct the same number of concerts that he is giving this winter. The Philharmonic season of 1926-27 will be identical with this one in the arrangements for conductors. Mr. Mengelberg will be the first conductor, Mr. Toscanini the second and Mr. Furtwaengler the third. Arrangements for the season of 1927-28 have not yet been considered and rumors of Mr. Furtwaengler's engagement as permanent conductor of the Philharmonic are announced by the management to be unfounded.

Music Notes

Miss Enrica Clay Dillon, director-general of the Opera Players, will arrive Tuesday on the Olympic, returning after a week spent in London to see the English production of Rutland Boughton's "The Immortal Hour," the opera with which the Opera Players will inaugurate their first subscription season at the Grove Street Theatre Tuesday night, April 6.

Mischa Levitzki, just returned from a tour of the Orient will give his only piano recital at Carnegie Hall Tuesday night. His program will include the Liszt Rhapsody No. 4; a group of Chopin; Sonata, A major; Mozart; Sonata, E minor, Op. 57 (Appassionata); Beethoven, and "Winterreise," Dohnanyi.

Baldwin Allan-Allen, baritone, with Roger MacGregor at the piano, will give a recital of "Folk songs and Ballads" Tuesday evening at Steinway Hall.

Victor Prah, baritone, will make his first appearance in this country Thursday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Gdal Saleski, Russian cellist, will

MISCHA LEVITZKI



The talented and brilliant pianist will give his only local recital Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall.

THE NEW LEADER

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Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

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Six Months	1.25	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1926

THE MATTEOTTI VERDICT

THREE Italian Fascisti have been found guilty of the death of Giacomo Matteotti, the secretary of the Italian Socialist party. They will go to jail, but within three months will be back in the bosom of their precious movement in time for a few summer beatings, assaults, or murders, as the occasion may require. Murder, committed by a loyal Fascist against a Socialist who makes things uncomfortable for Mussolini, is punished by 75 days in jail. That is the new Italian law.

Only a faint suggestion of the farce enacted in the Chieti courtroom has reached us thus far. One correspondent found it necessary to flee Italy and file his dispatch from France in order that some of the truth might seep through. We know that the chief witnesses, Filippelli, the ex-Fascist editor, who implicated Mussolini, Rossi, now a refugee in Paris, and Marinelli, like Filippelli, bought into silence by Fascist bribery, did not come near the courtroom.

Matteotti's wife and fellow-Socialists scorned to participate in the trial and thus lend their prestige to what they knew would be a hollow farce.

The important thing is not the conviction and virtual freeing of three Fascists for the murder of Matteotti. More important is the fact that Mussolini has, for a time, again forestalled the inevitable implication of himself as the inspirer of Matteotti's death. That the brutal slaying was in full accord with his principles and established practice cannot be denied; but, when Italians once again begin to own their souls, when the Fascist tyranny has gone the way of every government built on murder and oppression, it will be revealed that Mussolini was more than a silent partner in this particular murder.

MAYOR OLVANY

SINCE Mayor Olvany took office in the new City Hall in Fourteenth Street the routine of the work has so occupied his attention that he has had little time to make any report to the faithful subjects who entrusted him with the honors and responsibilities of the office. It is said that official business has slumped somewhat, so that Olvany's able assistant, James Walker, could take a vacation in Florida. The Mayor is very considerate of those under him and this favor shown his assistant is regarded as typical of the Executive's consideration for all employees.

The City Hall spokesman is credited with saying that Mayor Olvany is pleased with the way in which things are shaping in his administration. He is very close to the people and he regards their mandates as a sacred trust. He insists that all his appointees shall so conduct themselves in office that confidence in the Mayor shall not be impaired. Mayor Olvany has let it be known that he will not swerve from this point of view and that any of his appointees who fail to rise to the standard of public service, which the Mayor himself observes will be subject to instant discharge.

The City Hall spokesman for the Mayor was pressed for more information by the reporters, but he waved them aside, indicating that there was nothing more to be said for the present. Pressed by a World reporter as to whether the Mayor's assistant in Florida was recovering, he asserted that Mr. Walker was in good spirits and expected to report to Mayor Olvany within a week or two. The reporters left the conference with a marked impression of the sound common sense of Mayor Olvany.

A STATESMAN

THE letter of Secretary of Labor Davis declining to consider himself a candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania is a model of political hokum. He must have studied some of the American classics to compose this literary pearl. It harks back to the type that was common before the Civil War, a type that marked the expert and the professional.

He prepares the way by recalling his humble origin, the boy who at the age of eight "was driving Messrs Smith's cows to pasture for a dollar and a quarter a month." Then he took a post graduate course in "sorting nails at the marked advance of fifty cents a day." Certainly, we here have a statesman in the rough. It recalls the fact that when Harrison was being marketed as the "log cabin" candidate for the presidential nomination in 1840 Webster's capitalist backers in New England were gloomy until they recalled that he was born in a log cabin.

Davis continues the classic formula by confessing his pleasure in the knowledge "that

the call from my fellow-Pennsylvanians to be their Governor is as sincere as it is strong." That observation flatters the wisdom of the voters and incidentally delivers a wreath of roses to the writer of the letter. But Davis cannot yield to the "call" despite the fact that if he responded he would "humanize our public institutions." Unfortunate voters. They are to be deprived of this great boon. True, Republican governors have ruled Pennsylvania with rare exceptions since the Civil War and one is left to wonder why there are any institutions to "humanize" in that state. But never mind this little contradiction. Davis is talking to people whose intelligence he has flattered and anything goes in replying to a "call" that is "strong."

Davis is firm. He will not yield, much as he would like to "humanize" the province of anthracite and steel. Why? My Lord Calvin thinks that this statesman of the Order of Owls is needed in Washington. He cannot be spared. Probably there are institutions there that are yet to be "humanized." At least the names of Daugherty, Fall, Forbes, Denby, Mellon and Doherty would suggest this explanation. At any rate, Lord Calvin "has expressed to me his sincere gratification with my services," so that Pennsylvania will have to remain dehumanized.

It was a wonderful letter, revealing the logic, brains and ability of which the professionals in politics are made.

THE NEXT WAR

IN A new book entitled "The Origin of the Next War," John Bakeless asserts that the last war will be a Sunday school picnic compared with the one that is to come. To be sure, the old weapons will be used, but they will be improved and to them will be added methods of killing that will make war still more deadly. One of these is the spreading of disease bacteria. "Can anything be more horrible?" he asks, "than to see the medical institutions of the world turning their work of healing into agencies of destruction?"

We do not know. Anything is possible at the hands of the "Christian Powers." He stresses the fact that the last war abolished the distinction between the combatant and non-combatant population. There will be no such distinction in any future war because "airplanes will strike at crowded centers of population." The same is true of the spreading of bacteria and poisoning of streams. The big berth, which at a distance of 75 miles enabled the Germans to shell Paris, also warns us that the non-combatant population will no longer be a distinction in the next war.

This means that men may be conscripted by the war lords, but they will not be alone in the zone of war. Capitalist civilization has brought the women and children, the aged, the crippled, the sick and babies within the zone of modern war. Poison gas has been so perfected that it will mercilessly pursue human beings into basements, choking and burning them into oblivion. In the face of these facts it is ridiculous to think of war as involving only those who are dressed in khaki.

Mr. Bakeless asserts that we are living in a fool's paradise if we rely on "the intelligence of the world's statesmen" to avert war. All the causes that make for war are more active than they were in the two decades before 1914. It is a gloomy picture for those who accept capitalism as permanent, but it should renew our efforts to make Socialism the receiver of a bankrupt and menacing social order.

THE NEW CHINA

THE imperialistic powers of the world might as well resign themselves to a new China. All evidence available points to the fact that the new generation of Chinese will not follow the fathers in quiet submission to measureless exactions by foreigners. Thomas F. Millard cables the Times from Shanghai that the firing on the Chinese demonstration last May by foreign soldiers was a turning point in the new China. He compares that act with the battle of Lexington in the American Revolution. As Pitcairn at Lexington cemented anti-British opinion, so Everson, the responsible officer in the Shanghai affair, helped to create a national solidarity in China.

For many years the Chinese have labored under the belief that in the United States they had a friend. There was some justification for this because more than twenty years ago when John Hay announced the Open Door Doctrine for China American capitalism was still mainly interested in investments in Latin America, the territory wrested from Spain, and the rich spoils that were yet to be gathered at home. But our entrance into the World War and the part played by Wilson in the peace negotiations came as a shock to the thinking Chinese. The amazing insolence of the powers in turning over to the Chinese some astronomical instruments in the hands of Germany and then turning Shantung over to Japan was the beginning of Chinese disillusionment regarding the United States.

The Washington Conference found the American "friend" largely wanting. Now the United States has associated itself with the Powers in an ultimatum related to the removal of obstruction to navigation from Taku bar to Tientsin and which follows the civil war in that region. The Kuomintang, or the National Party of China, has cabled the American Committee for Justice to China a protest against the "United States Government associated in fresh acts of aggression against sovereignty of China." The Kuomintang insists that the ultimatum of the Powers tends to "hamper the national armies and assure victory to the forces of reaction." When any section of the Chinese use language of this sort in relation to the United States we may be sure that they no longer have any confidence in the professed friendship of the American Government.

China is the coming Giant of the East. Eventually she will expel her tormentors and take possession of her own house. China deserves the sympathy and aid of all who are opposed to the imperialistic invaders who have brought suffering and chaos to the Chinese people.

:-: Me, Them and You :-:

:-: A Visit to The Sargent Exhibition :-:

By E. M. Foster

Author, "A Passage to India"

I HAVE a suit of clothes. It does not fit, but is of stylish cut. I can go anywhere in it and I have been to the Sargent pictures at the Academy. Underneath the suit was a shirt, beneath the shirt was a vest, and beneath the vest was Me. Me was not exposed much to the public gaze; two hands and a face showed that here was a human being; the rest was swathed in cotton or wool.

Yet Me was what mattered. For it was Me that was going to see Them. Them? Them persons what govern us, them dukes and duchesses and archbishops and generals and captains of industry. They have had their likenesses done by this famous painter (artists are useful sometimes), and, for the sum of twenty-five cents, they were willing to be inspected. I have twenty-five cents, otherwise I should have remained in the snow outside. The coins changed hands. I entered the exhibition, and found myself almost immediately in the presence of a respectable family servant.

"Wretched weather," I remarked civilly. There was no reply, the forehead swelled, the lips contracted haughtily. I had begun my tour with a very serious mistake, and had addressed a portrait of Lord Curzon. His face had misled me into thinking him a family servant. I ought to have looked only at the clothes, which were blue and blasing, and which he clutched with a blue-veined hand. They cost five hundred dollars perhaps. How cheap did my own costume seem now, and how impossible it was to imagine that Lord Curzon continued beneath his clothes, that he, too (if I may venture on the parallel), was a Me.

MURMURING in confusion, I left the radiant eddy and went into the next room. Here my attention was drawn by a young Oriental, subtle and charming and not quite sure of his ground. I complimented him in flowery words. He winced, he disclaimed all knowledge of the East. I had been speaking to a member of the present Government, to Sir Philip Sassoon. Here again I ought to have looked first at the clothes. They were slightly horsey and wholly English, and they put mine to shame. Why had he come from Tabriz, or wherever it was, and put them on? Why take the long journey from Samarcand for the purpose of directing our aeroplanes and denouncing our Socialists? Why not remain where he felt himself Me? But he resented analysis, and I left him.

The third figure—to do her justice—felt that she was Me and no one else could be, and looked exactly what she was: namely, the wife of our present

Ambassador at Berlin. Erect she stood, with a small balustrade and a diplomatic landscape behind her. She was superbly beautiful and incredibly arrogant, and her pearls would have been but many of her fellow-possessors on the walls. What beat in the heart—if there was a heart—I could not know, but I heard pretty distinctly the voice that proceeded from the bright red lips. It is not a voice that would promote calm in high places, not a voice to promote amity between two nations at a difficult moment in their intercourse. Her theme was procedure, and perhaps it is wiser to allow her to develop it in solitude.

AND I drifted from Them to Them, fascinated by the hands and faces which peeped out of the costumes. Lord Roberts upheld with difficulty the rows of trinkets pinned on his uniform; Sir Thomas Sutherland was fat above a fat black tie; a riding costume supported the chinless cranium of a Duke of Portland; a Mr. John Fyfe "who showed conspicuous ability in the development of the granite industry" came from Aberdeen in black; and a Marquess of Londonderry actually did something: he was carrying the Sword of State on the occasion of King Edward's Coronation; while a page carried his train. Important people!

Sometimes the painter saw through his sitters and was pleasantly mischievous at their expense; sometimes he seemed taken in by them—which happens naturally enough to a man who spends much time dangling after the rich. In spite of the charm of his work, and the lovely colors, and the gracious pictures of Venice, a pall of upholstery hung over the exhibition. The portraits dominated. Gazing at each other over our heads, they said, "What would the country do without us? We have got the decorations and the pearls, we make fashions and wars, we have the largest houses and eat the best food, and control the most important industries, and breed the most valuable children, and ours is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory." And, listening to their chorus, I felt this was so, and my clothes fitted worse and worse, and there seemed in all the universe no gulf wider than the gulf between Them and Me—no wider gulf, until I encountered You.

YOU had been beautiful enough in the snow outside (your proper place), but I had not expected to find You here in the place of honor, too. Yours was by far the largest picture, in the show. You were hung between Lady Cowdray and the Hon. Mrs. Langman, and You were entitled "Classed." You were of godlike beauty—for the upper classes only allow the lower

classes to appear in art on condition that they wash themselves and have classical features. These conditions You fulfilled. A line of golden-haired Apollos moved along a duck board from left to right with bandages over their eyes. They had been blinded by mustard gas. Others sat peacefully in the foreground, others approached through the middle distance. The battlefield was sad but tidy. No one complained, no one looked lousy nor overtired, and the aeroplanes overhead struck the necessary note of the majesty of England.

It was all that a great war picture should be, and it was modern because it managed to tell a new sort of lie. Many ladies and gentlemen fear that Romance is passing out of war with the sabers and the chargers. Sargent's masterpiece reassures them. He shows that it is possible to suffer with a quiet grace under the new conditions, and Lady Cowdray and the Hon. Mrs. Langman, as they looked over the twenty feet of canvas that divided them, were still able to say, "How touching," instead of "How obscene."

STILL, there You were, though in modified form, and in mockery of your real misery, and though the gulf between Them and Me was wide, still wider yawned the gulf between us and You? What would become of our incomes and activities if You declined to exist? You are the slush and dirt on which our civilization rests, which it treads under foot daily, which it sentimentalizes over now and then, in hours of danger.

But You are not only a few selected youths in khaki. You are old men and women and dirty babies also, and dimly and obscurely You used to move through the mind of Carlyle. "Thou wert our conscript, on Thee the lot fell. . . ." That is as true for the twentieth century as for the nineteenth, though the twentieth century—more cynical—feels that it is merely a true remark, not a useful one, and that economic conditions cannot be bettered by the booming on the brotherhood of man. "For in Thee also a godlike flame lay hidden, but it was not to be unfolded," not while the hard, self-satisfied faces stare at each other from the walls and say, "But at all events we founded the Charity Organization Society—and look what we pay in wages, and look what our clothes cost, and clothes mean work."

The misery goes on, the feeble impulses of good return to the sender, and far away, in some other category, far away from the smobbery and glitter in which our souls and bodies have been entangled, is forged the instrument of the new dawn.

Arise, Ye Children Of the Night!

By Raymond Fuller

"Thru this book I address a desperate appeal to the conscience of mankind." (Author's Preface to Chains. By Henri Barbusse.)

DESPERATE, indeed! Conscience of mankind—a large audience! How much, then, of mankind has a conscience—that is, about wrongs 3,000 miles away? About wrongs that have become historic? To be conscience-stricken—that is to say, to be penitent and regretful—a man must know that he has done a wrong. And to mankind it is given that he see himself a sinner only when the object or consequence of his doings are within "the length of his cable-tow (as the Masons put it). To expect a world to be smitten acutely by an abstract universal principle of fundamental wrongness, is—to be a poet. A poet, an idealist, a monomaniac.

But there is method in Barbusse's fine frenzy (Chains. By Henri Barbusse. N. Y. International. 2 vols. \$5.00). His words are written on plates of wax—emotion, with a stylus of hardened passion. The poet in him intuitively acknowledges that reason does not motivate the masses, but that sentiment may. He is tired of argument, impatient of opportunism. So he must launch into a trembling jeremiad that shouts—not "Woe, woe, to Israel, if she repent not!"—but he stands in the market place crying unto every worker everywhere: "Zepent not, have faith no longer, believe no more, for the kingdom of the kings is at hand!"

Workers of the World, unite—and disbelieve!—you have everything to gain. Action, he demands. Men are educated, he knows, swiftly by events, by pain, by hunger, by cold; but slowly by argument or theorizing. Action! . . . Here in this book I show you what you are, what you have suffered, how you have been exploited! Doubt me no longer, wait no more—you have nothing to lose but your chains!

But, alas, the masses have their perception at all that the historic, the plausible, the accepted, the respectable, are all chains, chains, chains. Can they ever hear them clink and rattle until their ears are opened by honest education? It is doubtful if, uneducated, they can ever realize the unreality of reality and the blackness of white. How to be educated; how to see as historians and scientists see, that the whole ghastly story of man is the story of duped ignorance and tyrannical power—the few over many!

Perhaps only in two ways. Not by naked history as a teacher, for she will never get as far as the worker's door in her nakedness; nor under the schoolmaster's statistics, for he is so uncompromising, so brutal, as to appear cocksure, biased, undependable. But (1) by poet (like Barbusse, Shaw, Capek, Toller, and many lesser), (2) by events; by the sword-pricks and ox-goads of economic law.

And these two means have a feature in common: the poet has a relation to the event which he foresees. For shifts in social structures are like the pumping of water from a well. Long disused, the pump has dried-up valves; it has long since lost its "priming." Water cannot be drawn up to baptize a new John or irrigate a new Canaan until that priming is restored. Poets and prophets are primers. (Intellectuals are primers, too; also parlor Bolshheviks, radical newspapers, the "La Follette vote.") But events are the thing! Until there is wide economic need for the well, water is little called for. However, unless there be a priming in the suddenly thirsty land, water will be hard to get. When the land wants water, the "primers" will man the pumps.

So blasphemous, Barbusse! Challenge, deny, plead, curse, educate, prime the world's agitators. Some day, perchance, the masses will pant hot for the well of life, and then, not till then, they will get its life-giving waters.

The two-volume prose-poem (or whatever you call it) is 75 per cent too long. It is not a work to read through—it is something to browse in and be thrilled by. It is not a novel; it is a new "Song of Songs" which is the Workers'. The author has written singing words on about all the tyrannies, deceits, cruelties, horrors, persecutions that are in the books since history began. The stark awfulness of his "Under Fire" crops up anew when he at last reaches 1914 in his chronicle. To the reviewer (who did not fight in France) it seems incredible that the terrible scenes and experiences of the Great War should have been so lightly forgotten. How, within the decade that held the War, can human beings even contemplate another war as a possibility any more forever? Easy come, easy go! But stop, it is to such a "humanity" that Barbusse appeals! From such visionless, "obedient" masses does he expect militant consciences! . . . Ah, well, let us hope—as he hopes!

"In reality there are only these two realities, face to face: reaction and revolution. The society which will arise from the heavy twilight of our day must be that of kings, or that of men. Theoretical debate and practical measures are inextricable—look at the chaos all around you—unless one goes to the very foundations. . . . All the sickening nuances that men discover for their amusement between the white flag and the red—all this is now disappearing under the pressure of facts, falling away to the right or to the left." So, Barbusse would say, I, but hasten that Day, the Coming of the Kingdom on Earth; the kingdom of the many over the few.

:-: THE CHATTER BOX :-:

Tool Merchant Sings a Spring Song

Take away my merchandise,
And clear these ugly laden walls,
That I may show a line of dreams,
Of gentle rhymes and madrigals. . . .
Fill my shelves with chuckling tunes,
Old ode and older vanelle;
A prune for all your heavy sums;
A fig for what you buy and sell. . . .
Oh, free my shelves of weighty wares,
My scales that measure worth in drams—
And fill them up with April songs,
And little idle epigrams. . . .

Prize Contest Announcement

The Chatterbox is pleased to announce from this date that it will award \$100.00 in cash for the best poem submitted, in the opinion of Messrs. Floyd Dell, E. Ralph Cheney and Joseph T. Shipley, who are the three arbiters of award. No poem will be considered if it arrives here later than May 15, 1926. The rules of the contest are as follows:

1. No poem shall be more than 100 lines in length.
2. No particular theme, no creed, color, or sex, no geographical limits are in any manner or form important.
3. While it is in no way obligatory, we suggest that every participant keep in reading touch with the Chatterbox during the next two months, as special announcements may be of interest to the poets who enter the contest. Fifty cents puts you on the mailing list of The New Leader for three months.
4. Send an addressed envelope with stamp if you want your MSS. back after the contest. None others will be returned. By all means keep a copy of your entry, as we can assume no responsibility for its preservation, newspaper offices still being what they are.
5. There is no limit to the number of entries you may submit.
6. Please mark all your contributions, "For May Poetry Contest."
7. We shall be glad to explain any of the above rules in greater detail later on, if enough of you declare yourselves in doubt about any particular point.
8. We guarantee to all contestants that everyone of the judges will pass upon every poem submitted. We have set the date of award announcement, as the first issue in June—Saturday, the fifth, 1926. If more time will be found necessary on account of our thoroughness, we will so announce at the proper time.
9. We hope to make this an annual feature of The New Leader. Your large interest and response in this contest will determine the future of the Annual \$100.00 Poetry Prize Contest of the Chatterbox.
10. Send all entries care of the Chatterbox, The New Leader, 7 East 15th St., New York City.

N. B.—Henry Harrison, President of the Grub Street Club and the Epitaphers' Amalgamated Union, is the official press agent of this contest.

Sorry, folks, but last week the make-up man left out the following poem, sponsored by Blanche Watson, as having appeared in the Indian "Volunteer." Last week's column carried the comment, but had carelessly thrown off the most important matter:

Sky and Mill

How tender are the red persuasive gleams
Of evening which flood
The sky so still . . .
Against it like a mighty monster dreams
Some rich man's cotton mill
Of poor men's blood.

How different is the red

Which fills
The evening sky
From that of mills
Where mouths are fed
On blood-stained bread,
Where workers die
Without being dead!
One wonders why
God in his plan
Of perfect sky
So pure, so still,
Included the first man
Who made a mill?
Poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya.

With Apologies to J. Weaver

I know dere's lots o' fishes in de sea,
An' Annie Morgan (dat's my lady friend)
Sex lots o' fellers thinks de world o' me.
"Say, why not chuck dis guy?" she sez, "an' send
'Im on his way. Fer one wise crack like what
He pulled on you, I'd fix him good—de rat!"
'Cause it was at de bindery, y'see that
Cal made dat remark. Up where we're workin' at.

We're sittin' at de table, pastin' in—
Annie an' me an' dis new Carney gal
(She's got good looks, I'll hand 'er that, Too thin
Tho. . . . Somethin' mean about her). In comes Cal.
He lumps dis kid an' smiles an' says, "Sweet skirt."
Den somethin' in me crumpled up. It hurt.
—Samuel Lesser Thaw.

Comrade Esther Friedman, the lovely white lady of sonnets more articulate than our effusions over the Dark Lady, is engaged to meet in immortal combat with Dorothy Stevens over the subject, "Small Women Have Special Legislation in Industry." Date, Wednesday evening, April 7; place, Rand School Auditorium. We insist that all artists, aesthetes and troubadours, as well as the serious minded thinkers of the community come on in droves to see that rare combination in femininity at intellectual hammers and tongues. And Dorothy Stevens, let us announce to the cosmos, is there, fellers—like our own Esther in wit, language and in looks.

Max Donner, late of the Bronx and lately in Miami, has up and done it with a sonnet to A Miami Dark Lady that puts our Northern dame to ignominious flight. We cannot print the entire poem on account of postal regulations relative to truth, and to print part of its metrical majesty would be vandalism, so we will just remark that it is about the Miami street ladies that sell wares more tragical than swamp bogs, and the cruel bartering that takes place, more frankly than even the negotiations over land parcels on Flagler Street. Here is a mighty fine opportunity for us to indulge in a trade on land booms and their attendant viciousness under this system. We refuse the obvious lure. Prostitution is the badge of private enterprise under a system of individualistic competition and will be as long as it exists—as long as men or women must sell for money, life, limb, dream, art, personal or impersonal wares, in order to live. This is peculiarly indisputable; a trite truism; why elaborate on it?

Rather are we interested to tell here about Dark Ladies in Harlem, at this newly found Paradise for sense tickling—the black and tan cabaret, where supposedly the black man and his mate are on show, with white intellectuals mingling. There, it is told us, the jungle creeps through the white man's veneer, and limbs twitch to the tom-tom witchery of saxophony song. Some day will we hie thence to view for ourselves what new form of truth or bunkierino lieth there. Then will we speak that all may hear, and, as usual, disbelieve.

S. A. de Witt.