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# THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and  
Labor Movement

VOL. 1

Ten Pages

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## Debs, in Bermuda For Rest, Spied On By Authorities

By Norman Thomas

THE committee which prepared the agenda for our National Convention did a good job. I hope comrades in various localities have discussed the questions which are raised in their reports. It so happens that I haven't heard or seen much discussion, and so I have decided to start a little on my own account in this column.

The one outstanding job of the Socialist Party in America is to hasten the day when we shall have a genuine party of the workers, which must include farmers. To this great end all our plans of organization, education and statements of policy must be adapted. We can rest assured that a genuine labor party, once it is established, cannot help moving forward on socialist lines. That does not mean that we must not continue to give education in sound Socialist principles. For the sake of winning the friendship of the so-called progressives, we cannot, for instance, adopt such old-fashioned and essentially non-progressive measures for dealing with private monopolies as the trust-busting program still so popular with Bob La Follette and his friends. It does mean that it is our duty to seek the issues and the manner of presenting them which will best bring the American workers to an understanding of the principles on which they can build a better world.

Next week, if nothing happens to deter me, I shall discuss the application of this principle to the issues raised by the Committee on Agenda, and to some that are not raised. This week I want to consider the League of Nations and our position with regard to it both from the standpoint of sound international policy and good party tactics.

**The League and Imperialism**  
Let me begin by saying that the immediate importance of America's position with regard to the League of Nations is, in my judgment, exaggerated alike by the enthusiastic friends and the bitter enemies of the League. The great enemy of peace throughout the world is imperialism. Imperialism is born of capitalism and nationalism. So far, in no part of the world, save possibly to a limited extent in Western Europe, has the League markedly affected imperialism either for weal or for woe. Whatever it might once have become, it has not actually developed into a league against Russia, as our Communist friends aver. The League, on the whole, is probably less imperialist than the Great Powers which have seats in its Council and with which Russia has established diplomatic relations. To be sure, the League without Russia and the United States is not really a world organization. This is particularly true because Russia and the United States, however great the difference between them, have abundant energy and great natural wealth. They hold in their hands the immediate future of the world. Conceivably Russia and America might impose conditions which would make the League of Nations far more truly a world-wide organization. This will not happen automatically simply if the United States joins the League without conditions. Indeed, for the United States to join the League without Russia might perhaps strengthen the anti-Russian complexion of the League. One does not have to be a Communist to admit that this would be a danger to world peace.

**Some Critical Considerations**  
Critics of the League may justly point to its complete failure to lighten the burdens of imperialism on the backs of exploited peoples. The League has done nothing for China, the Syrians or the Rifis. This failure is the more glaring because France holds Syria on a mandate from the League. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the League may yet do something, at least to the grievance of these exploited peoples, and certainly to abolish the League will not help the subject peoples.

When we turn to the affairs of Western Europe, there is something to be said for the League. The fiasco at Geneva leaves the League's prestige even there at low ebb. But it is significant that most of those parties and individuals who sincerely desire peace in Europe are supporters of the League. The opinion of the Socialists of Europe on this matter has weight, and I believe that our party here in the United States should endorse the position of the Socialist International, which is stated in paragraph four, under the head League of Nations, in the agenda. I do not believe that it is necessary in endorsing this general position for our party to favor the entrance of the United States in the League of Nations at this time. Certainly not, except on conditions much more rigorously and explicitly stated than any contained in paragraph four of the agenda. I believe that we can help our comrades in Europe get things they want far more easily if

EUGENE V. DEBS, trailed and spied upon by U. S. Secret Service agents for the greater part of his life, has not avoided their solicitous attention even for the few weeks he is taking on a vacation, with Mrs. Debs, in Bermuda.

Writing to the national office, Debs says:

"Soon after we reached our hotel here the proprietor, a very fine man, informed me that some government agents wanted to see me and they would soon arrive for that purpose. Half an hour later the Immigration Inspector, accompanied by the Chief of Police and the Sergeant of Police, appeared, stating that they had come to investigate my case. A long and detailed interview followed in which they demanded specific and detailed information, but treated me with all personal courtesy. They asked me questions without number covering my life from the day I was born, taking down my answers in writing and making copious notes covering several pages. Of

course, I answered fully and frankly, withholding nothing as to my position, my principles, activities, etc. They even had to know when and where my father and mother were born, and much more about my family life, my own, of course, in particular—what labor organizations I belonged to, what political party, what business I was engaged in in the various periods of my life, what subjects I lectured on, whether I had ever been in England, or Canada, what prisons I had been in, and when, etc., etc. They were particular to know every detail of the Canton speech, the Cleveland trial, the conviction, sentence, imprisonment, commutation, with dates of each. They wanted to know my attitude toward the World War, and I told them flatly that I was opposed to it—they asked the reason why and I frankly told them—They asked about my Socialism and received full information; they then asked me if I had brought any propaganda matter with me, and it

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## LOVETT IS RE-ELECTED HEAD OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY LEAGUE

ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT, professor of English literature at the University of Chicago and an editor of the New Republic, was re-elected president of the League for Industrial Democracy, Inc., at the meeting of the Board of Directors of the League held on Wednesday, April 7, 1926. The other officers re-elected for the year April, 1926-27 were as follows:

Vice-president, Zona Gale, of Portage, Wis., author of Miss Lulu Bett; John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church, New York; Vladimir Karapotoff, professor of electrical engineering, Cornell University; James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and of the Workers' Education Bureau, and Vida D. Scudder, professor of English literature, Wellesley College.

Treasurer—Stuart Chase, certified public accountant, author of "Tragedy of Waste," director of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Chairman of the Board of Directors, Norman Thomas; secretary, Harry W. Laidler.

Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas were also reappointed executive directors; Paul Blanchard, field secretary, and Bertha Dubrow, assistant to the directors.

## FUR STRIKERS ARE HELD PRISONERS BY BOSSES; COMPLETE VICTORY NEAR

A SPECTACULAR rescue of eight fur workers from a farm in Spring Valley, New York, occurred on Friday April 2. Early in the week the union received word that a certain Benjamin Eisenberg had telephoned his son-in-law to say he was being prevented by armed guards from leaving a farm where the firm of S. Ratner & Sons of 146 West 25th Street, New York, was running an improvised manufacturing shop. Eisenberg said he had been induced by a representative of the firm to go with him to Spring Valley and had been told that if he did not like the job there, he could leave it any time. When a few days after his arrival he tried to return to his home, he was threatened by the armed guards and held virtually prisoner for three weeks.

Ishid Shapiro, a member of the Strikers' Law Committee, accompanied by two New York detectives visited the farm in Spring Valley on April 2 and rescued not only Eisenberg but seven other workers who wanted to leave but had been prevented from doing so. The union is preparing to bring the facts in this case before the grand jury, and ask for an indictment of the firm on a charge of kidnapping.

The manufacturers tried a new tack this week in their efforts to split the

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## U. S. EMPIRE HAS ITS COLONIAL OFFICE

Congressional Foreign Affairs Head Admits Porto Rico Is Military Colony

THAT Porto Rico is a military colony was ascertained when the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, Mr. Kless, in reporting the bill to provide a form of civil government for the Virgin Islands, declared that "Section 8 places the jurisdiction of the Virgin Islands under the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department. The Bureau of Insular Affairs is equipped to do this work, as it now has charge of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands."

"It is really," Mr. Kless said, "our American colonial office for overseas possession."

The American Federation of Labor appeared before the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions of the Senate to declare itself against the civil governments of these islands being placed under military orders and authority, because it is repugnant to every principle of the United States democratic form of government, that the civil rights of these peoples be subjugated to military bureaucracy. In connection with this, the speech delivered by President Coolidge before the last American Legion convention was recalled, when he called attention of the military power to refrain from intervening in the civil affairs of the country.

If the bill of Mr. Kless is passed, the military intervention in civil affairs will be legalized by an act of Congress.

The American Federation of Labor has demanded time and again of Congress and the President that the affairs of the Porto Rican people be transferred from the War Department to a civil department.

## Shoe Town Workers Victims of Anthrax

HAVERHILL, Mass.—A 65-year-old worker at Lennox & Briggs Company tannery and a woman, formerly a shoe worker, who has a boarder at her home from the same factory, are victims of anthrax, malignant neck disease occasionally contracted by leather workers. The man affected has been handling raw skins, some from India and Africa. The woman seems to have received the disease through an arm scratch which came in contact with the boarding tannery worker's garments. By serum treatment, victims of this formerly fatal disease are now usually saved.

## Belgian Socialists Form Anti-Fascist Guard of Workers

RECENT provocative acts by the handful of Belgian reactionaries who would like to see a dictatorship à la Mussolini running that progressive little kingdom instead of the Socialist-Catholic coalition have caused the labor union and Socialist party organization to take steps to nip any incipient Fascism in the bud.

When the emulators of the Italian black shirts, incited by ex-army officers and a few discontented ex-service men, tried to make a violent street demonstration last February against the reduction of military service to ten months forced through the Chamber of Deputies by the Socialists, the Belgian labor leaders concluded it was time to do something definite.

**Donations Asked For**  
Consequently, the Trade Union Committee and the General Council of the Labor Party issued a joint manifesto denouncing Fascism and warning the reactionaries that violence would be met with violence. This has been followed up by the beginning of the or-

ganization of an anti-Fascist militia on the style of the Austrian Socialists' Republican Defense League.

Louis de Brouckere, speaking for both the unionists and the Socialists, has called for popular donations for the purpose of organizing and uniforming the anti-Fascist and funds are coming in rapidly. De Brouckere notes that the young reactionaries are being instructed by emissaries of Mussolini in the tactics of street warfare and he concludes that it is necessary to fight the devil with fire.

Already there have been big anti-Fascist demonstrations. In Brussels on March 21 more than 10,000 husky young workers marched in solid columns through the streets, after having attended a number of meetings at which Fascism and all its works were denounced by Socialist and union leaders. A few days before there was a clash in Liège when a number of Socialists and Flemish college students rushed an organization meeting of

(Continued on page 3)

## NEW YORK WOMEN AGAIN LOSE FIGHT FOR 48-HR. WEEK

NEW YORK women workers got stung on their hope for a 48-hour work week law from the present legislature. In spite of numerous questionnaires answered by workers in textile mills, knitting mills, shoe factories, stores, etc., showing an overwhelming opinion among women for the shorter work week, the Republican legislators killed the bill and women workers must continue under the present 54-hour rule. Ten Republican assemblymen voted for the law, but 17 favorable votes were required in addition to the full Democratic support. Assemblyman Shonk, Republican sponsor of the bill, blames the New York Associated Industries for defeat of the bill by spreading misinformation.

The Republican party pledged support of a 48-hour law for women in its 1924 platform. Last year the Women's Trade Union League, Consumers League, and other women's organizations working for the passage of the bill reproached the Republicans for not living up to party pledges. But the women's action seems to have had no effect on the big manufacturing interests backing the party and fighting the reduction in women workers' hours. The only women workers who opposed the bill were company union agents from New York City subways.

## TEACHERS' UNION WILL HOLD TENTH CONVENTION IN NEW YORK JUNE 29

THE annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, celebrating its tenth year of existence, will open in New York City, June 29, the national headquarters in Chicago announces.

"Hoboes riding the rods pass in the night," the bulletin points out, "each seeking an escape from the point which the other hopes to reach. Each August the itinerant teachers paying first-class fare manifest the same psychology." Some towns report entire change of teaching forces at the end of the school year. The stupendous rate of annual turnover among teachers, the federation says, is a heavy burden on education.

"The teachers see the country," it agrees, "the public saves its money, the children in a fashion survive the inhuman ordeal and the great public school system somehow holds together. But the relations between teachers and children must be formal or superficial for there are no real contacts, no real interest, the one in the other. Interest by the teacher in the work. In the school, in the children and the homes they represent and in the community will make the teacher infinitely more valuable and will convert him from an itinerant into a citizen. But without security of tenure all else is doomed to failure."

## MELLON'S FIGHT ON COAL UNION FIZZLES

Secretary of Treasury Bested in Attempt to Lower Pittsburgh Miners' Standards

"PITY the poor coal barons" reads a Wall Street Journal headline introducing editorial comment on the annual report of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. But labor will see in the report evidence of how the Mellon brothers have fizzled in the attempt to put their big coal company into the nonunion column.

Just a year ago Secretary Mellon and his brother put a dummy president in charge with orders to fight the union. On April 1, 1925, the Federated Press carried the story that Pittsburgh Coal had locked out its miners. In a little over a month it tried to operate mines on the 1917 wage scale. But after nearly a year this big ally of the steel trust has not succeeded in bringing production to one-sixth of normal.

What little production they obtained was secured only by hiring so many armed guards that the extra cost of scabs has pretty much cancelled the 45c. a ton cut in wages. According to Black Diamond, leading journal of the industry, the independent operators have hesitated to follow Pittsburgh Coal, "influenced by the fact that the operation was costly on account of the expense of gathering men together and the expense of deputies, while even without any unusual expense the difference in wages between the November, 1917, scale and the union scale hardly makes up for the low price at which the coal must be sold on account of non-union competition."

Pittsburgh Coal produced only 4,294,579 tons of coal in 1925 against a normal production running as high as 20,000,000 tons. A large part of the 1925 production was in the first quarter while the company was still union. On the financial side the report shows a loss of \$1,268,940 or 29c. a ton. In 1924, the last full year of union operation, there was a net profit of \$281,883 or 3c. a ton on a production of 9,070,873.

The fizzle of Mellon nonunion operation is rendered even more obvious by the recent strike of the Federated Miners union, an organization which the company allowed to be organized among the scabs. To quote the March 27 Black Diamond, "Quite a sensation was caused in local coal circles when it was announced last week that the Federated Miners union, which was organized by the employees of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. who have been working under the 1917 wage scale since last August to the number of more than 1,000 had gone on strike."

The strike was precipitated by the company's refusal to return to the Jacksonville union scale. The union officials have advised the Federated members to join the United Mine Workers. The company issued a sour grapes statement saying: "The Pittsburgh Coal Co. permitted the officials of the Federated Miners union to attempt to organize that union in their mines in the belief that Mr. Harris was sincere and the miners desired an independent union. Events have proved that they do not want another union nor to pay dues to such a union."

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

### The Smutters Are Challenged

One of the phases of our post-war "freedom" is the espionage maintained by private organizations on literature. The smut hound has become a permanent institution. In the name of "morality" he would prevent us from knowing anything of the more sordid phases of life. Assuming that the United States is the holy land, the smut hounds cannot admit that ugly social sores exist, and they send the police after those who insist that our social life may be diseased. The New England Watch and Ward Society has organized smut espionage into a business, the Rev. J. Frank Chase being the official smutter. That worthy has fallen foul of an article in the April number of the American Mercury which considers a phase of small town life in the Middle West. The Rev. Chase will hardly deny that the article is true to life. He will content himself with asserting that it is improper to conceal what the article reveals. The smutters have been challenged by H. L. Mencken, the editor, who arranged to go to Boston and sell a copy of the offending magazine to the Rev. Chase. Ere this appears in print it is certain that copies of the April Mercury will be selling at a premium, and the publicity which the magazine will obtain will bring it a big increase in circulation, especially in New England. The smutter is generally too stupid to understand that publicity for his trade defeats its object. We wish that The New Leader could get a substantial boost from this source, and we certainly envy the good fortune which has fallen to the American Mercury. Incidentally, Mencken has brought suit against the smutters for \$50,000. We hope that he will be awarded every cent and that the costs of the suit will also be charged to Rev. Chase and his cronies. Espionage, whether private or public, if left unchallenged, will be directed against the working class and the

whole labor movement, and we hope that it will get a smashing blow in Boston.

### Grafters Form One More Klan

The United States is a paradise for charlatans. With the Ku Klux Klan on the decline the "Supreme Kingdom" appears to take its place. The new organization is sponsored by E. Y. Clarke, who sold the Klan to morons all over the country when Colonel Simmons was the Imperial Wizard. Clarke afterwards was exposed in a nasty mess with a sweet "lady" who also engaged in marketing Koo Koolism. Through the Supreme Kingdom Clarke now proposes to make war in defense of religion, morality, God and the Constitution and war against evolution, atheism and redism. We have no doubt that this worthy will succeed in selling this thing to many thousands until the leaders begin to fight over the plunder that falls into their hands. Then the history of the Klan will be repeated. There will be factional wars and dupes will desert the Kingdom like rats in a sinking ship. Clark and the other charlatans may then start the Super Kingdom. We understand that Simmons, who was edged out of the Klan by Evans also has a side graft of his own that pays him a nice dividend. Many of the state Klans have been generated from the national organization on the ground that the state charlatans are fools to share any part of their gains with a supreme charlatan in Atlanta. Just how many varieties of Klans and Klanlets are now picking the gudgeons there is no means of knowing, but we may be sure that the game is still paying dividends or Clarke would not start another one. The tragedy of this is that workers are divided by such movements and are herded together by professional grafters in behalf of aims that are illusory. Whether he believes or does

not believe in a particular creed his welfare is bound up with the welfare of all workers. Our problem is economic, not religious, and our aim should be the realization of industrial democracy.

### A Solon Visits Passaic's Hell

The strike of Passaic textile workers continues while Senator Edwards of New Jersey and bank president as well, offered his ponderous intellect to an understanding of the struggle. After visiting Passaic he said "there isn't any strike," but later observed that "only 10,000 workers are involved." As a conspicuous "wet" we wonder whether his bootlegger served him from the wrong vat. Then the Senator is sure that "low wages have nothing to do with the case." We turn from this Democrat to consider an affidavit made by Miss Justine Wise, daughter of Rabbi Wise, who for four months in 1924-1925 worked in Passaic cotton mills under an assumed name. Miss Wise found that women worked all night and that the night law of the Senator's state was ignored by the textile masters. And what of wages which the Senator says "have nothing to do with the case?" Miss Wise found wages so low "that mothers and grandmothers were forced into the mills, no men, with the exception of a few highly skilled workers, receiving anything near what has been determined by the U. S. Department of Labor to be a minimum wage." Spies infest the textile mills and Miss Wise herself was discovered because of the espionage system that prevails. Miss Wise "found the workers terrorized by the espionage system, which was doing more than any other single factor with the possible exception of the starvation wages, to prevent the workers from becoming Americans in anything but their physical presence in America." Senator Edwards either has a great deal to learn about his textile backers or else he knows what he is

not willing to admit. At any rate, it is humiliating that in a great industrial state like New Jersey a man like this can go to the U. S. Senate with the consent of working-class voters. Passaic is one result of this folly.

### Looting Farmers' West Continue to Of the Nation

Farmers of the west continue to desert the farms for the cities. The economic revolution which has confiscated the savings of two and three decades has for six years been transforming troops of Republican yeomen into wage slaves. The Department of Agriculture estimates that the farm population of the United States has decreased nearly 500,000 in the calendar year 1925. On Jan. 1, 1926, the estimated farm population was 30,655,000, as compared with 31,134,000 on Jan. 1, 1925. There was a movement of 2,935,000 persons from the farms to the cities and towns and a movement of 1,135,000 from cities and towns to farms, a net downward swing of 901,000 persons. This figure is reduced by the excess of births over deaths on the farms. The births on farms totalled 710,000 during the year while deaths were 288,000. This made a natural increase of 422,000, reducing the trend to the city to 479,000. The corresponding figure of net loss in 1924 was 132,000 persons. What is apparent is that the United States is rapidly becoming industrialized. We have not seen the figures of the loss by regions but there is little doubt that the section west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and north to the Canadian border show the heaviest losses. It is this region that the bankers, railroads, elevator companies, packing houses and grain gamblers have looted, confiscating—after a legal fashion of course—the fruits of a lifetime of labor. The economic prostration of this section is the most serious in American history but eastern publications are saying little about it. Thousands of small banks have been

carried down in the general ruin and sheriff's sales are common. This is the reward of many who decided to keep cool with Coolidge.

### Socialist Gain in Argentina

Completion last week of the official count of the votes cast in elections of March 7 for one-half of the members of the Chamber of Deputies of Argentina showed that the Socialist Party will have nineteen seats in the new Chamber, against eighteen in the old one. The Socialist popular vote in some parts of the country is reported to have made big jumps, but just what the gains amount to will not be known until the arrival of detailed accounts of the election. Under the Argentine system, half of the Chamber of Deputies is elected every second year, so in the absence of data showing how many Socialist Deputies had to step out this time, it is impossible to say just how big the victory was. The feature of the election was the defeat of the Radicals supporting President Alvear, who saw their Deputies fall to thirty-four, while the Radicals back of ex-President Irigoyen won fifty-nine seats, thus becoming the strongest party in the Chamber. The Conservatives won forty-three seats and the Democrats three. On April 1 President Alvear ordered the ending of the sessions of the old Chamber of Deputies. In Buenos Aires the Socialists cast 63,589 votes and elected four Deputies—Dickman, Repetto, Spinetto and De Tenasco. The Irigoyenistas cast 79,452 votes, and won ten seats, while the Alvearistas got only 37,520 votes and no Deputies. The Socialist vote in Buenos Aires in March, 1924, was 80,500. According to a cablegram from Guayaquil to the Associated Press, the Socialists of Ecuador have organized into a party. It will probably take part in the election of the Constituent Assembly scheduled to meet May 24 to choose a new President of the Republic and reconstruct the Constitution.

## OUR SPECIAL MAY DAY ISSUE

Order a Bundle

Our May Day Issue (May 1st) will contain a number of Special Articles on the Significance of Labor's International Holiday. It will be a splendid propaganda number, ideal for distribution at May Day and other meetings.

This Number will be off the Press Thursday Evening, April 29th, ready to be shipped in time for your meetings.

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Get your Local or Branch to order a bundle. It will help the Cause and The New Leader at the same time.

THE NEW LEADER

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## The Field of Labor

### Boston Building Workers Strike and Settle

Boston.—About 100 cement finishers, terrazzo workers and helpers are striking because employers failed to sign the new wage rates with the union. The proposed rates are \$1.25 an hour until September 1 and \$1.37½ for the remainder of the two-year contract period. Steamfitters and helpers are to strike for an increase from 80 to 90 cents an hour.

### Capital Builders Threaten Strike

Washington.—Threat of a general walkout of building trades from jobs controlled by contractors in the District of Columbia who try to use strikebreakers at steam shovel operations, is made by union officials. Strikebreakers have already gone to work on a number of big downtown excavations. The strike for a 32 cent raise by the steam shovelmen began April 1, half of the strikers winning their demand the first day.

### Silk Union Organization Drive Begins

Patterson, N. J.—Unionization of the \$5,000 workers in all branches of the silk industry at Patterson is the goal of the Associated Silk Workers. First steps are being taken to organize silk dye house workers who do 85 per cent. of the silk dying of the country. The union is also consolidating its organization of broadsilk workers preparatory to presenting demands for a higher wage scale at the opportune moment. The industry has suddenly slumped so that the union is not ready to make its demands.

### Plasterers Discuss \$14 Day and 40-Hour Week

Chicago.—While union demands have not been presented to the Chicago contractors, Local 5, Plasterers' International Association, is practically ready to ask a \$5 a day raise to \$14 and to cut the 44-hour week to 40 hours, to be worked in five days, with Saturdays and Sundays marked for overtime. The new rate would come to \$1.75 an hour in place of the \$1.50 scale, which expires May 1. A bonus of several dollars a day has been made customary by contractors to rush big buildings, the owners figuring that an extra month of rentals will far outweigh the relatively small addition to the construction wage bill.

### Bookbinders Launch Campaign for 44-Hour Week

Chicago.—A campaign for a universal 44-hour week in the industry is the principal election plank in the platform of James Haley for president of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. The election will be by referendum in August, following the international convention in Des Moines in July.

### Half of Capital Strikers Quickly Win

Washington.—Within 24 hours after they went on strike for a raise in pay from \$10 to \$12 a day, half of the 135 steam shovelmen working on excavation jobs in the District of Columbia won their demands. Employers of the remaining half formed a fighting association and announced that they would employ strikebreakers.

### Westchester Painters Want No Saturday Work

No more Saturday painting, asks Westchester county district council of painters No. 20. The five-day week and \$12 minimum daily wage scale are features of the new contract demanded by the painters' unions. Double pay for certain holidays and no work Saturdays under any circumstances are asked.

### Reading Roadcarriers Form Local Union

Reading, Pa.—Sixty-seven Reading roadcarriers of various nationalities, including Negro workers, have taken the first steps toward forming a local union. Unorganized roadcarriers here receive 25 to 35 cents an hour less than workers in unionized districts. Business Agent Jesse George, plumbers' union, told the roadcarriers he had never seen a more fraternal spirit among such a diverse group.

### Conductors and Trainmen Meet Rail Executives

Chicago.—Wage conferences began April 5 between the Order of Railway Conductors and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on one side and the wage committee of the western railroads on the other. Return to the 1920 peak scale is being discussed.

### Only 140 Out of 400 Illinois Mines at Work

Springfield, Ill.—Of the 400 Illinois coal mines, only 140 are in operation and most of those on part time. While the smaller mines were shut down first, quite a number of the large ones have also suspended.

## DEBS SPIED ON

(Continued from page 1)

seemed to relieve them when I answered in the negative. They then opened a ponderous volume and read to me the law concerning the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, and I could certainly be excluded without straining its drastic provisions. The immigration inspector then served notice on me that if I attempted to make any speech or engaged in any propaganda, they would have to deport me at once from the island, to all of which I listened with smiling indulgence if not approval.

"Now as to what will be the outcome of the investigation, I, of course, do not know. My present attitude is certainly one of 'watchful waiting,' and quite as certainly can I go or stay with

like composure and serenity, and if I have any preference it is due wholly to the state of my wife's health.

"Now finally, it is not at all certain that I shall be permitted to re-enter the land of my birth. I know that I am kept under careful and constant surveillance, and I am sure that strenuous efforts will be secretly made to bar my entry to the United States. This may not come to pass but I am prepared for it, and I shall not be surprised if I had to view the statue of Liberty by Bartholdi (who once called me a 'noble American') in New York harbor from afar through the wistful eyes of an undesirable alien.

"How strange it seems that my humble speeches and my feeble efforts and activities in the cause of the people should have excited the fear, wrath and vengeance—or shall I say, inspired the anxiety, vigilance and solicitude of the two most powerful and professedly the most Christian, humane, enlightened and progressive governments in the world!

"If we are to remain for awhile I dearly wish you and all you good comrades at headquarters who are working so hard and loyally, and who so well deserve it, could be here to enjoy with us the beauty and wonder of these enchanted islands. I feel something strongly akin to a sense of guilt in permitting myself to enjoy what is so rigorously and cruelly denied to many who most deserve it."

### A Course of Nine Lectures

By

LEON SAMSON

at the

Labor Temple

244 East 14th Street

Saturday Evenings

at 8:30

Schedule of the First Four Lectures

April 10th

THE GOLDEN AGE (A Study of Primitive Communism)

April 17th

THE BIRTH OF CIVILIZATION (The "Fall" Sociologically Considered)

April 24th

CIVILIZED PROPERTY (The Economics of Slave Societies)

May 1st

THE CIVILIZED FAMILY (Its Rise and Evolution)

Questions and Discussions After Each Lecture

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8 P. M.

"A FRIENDLY UNIVERSE"

LEON ROSSER LAND

8:30 P. M.

Open Forum

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN

"Land, Land Values and Housing"

Admission Free

## THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION

(5th St. and Astor Place)

at 8 o'clock

FRIDAY, APRIL 9th

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"The Meaning of a Liberal Education"

SUNDAY, APRIL 11th

Concert by the

American Orchestral Society

Chambers Union, Conductor

TUESDAY, APRIL 13th

DR. HENRY NEUMAN

"Three Types of Social Change: Which Will America Choose?"

Admission Free

Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL

(Lexington Ave. and 23d St.)

at 8 o'clock

SATURDAY, APRIL 10th

HOUSTON PETERSON

"The Drama of Ibsen"

MONDAY, APRIL 12th

MORTIMER J. ADLER

(Instructor in the Psychological Laboratory of Columbia University)

"The Methods of Psychology"

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14th

DR. HORACE M. KALLEN

"Why Religion?"

THURSDAY, APRIL 15th

DR. E. G. SPAULDING

"The Evolution of Ideas"

Admission Twenty-five Cents

## Framed Utah Miners Cleared After Serving Year in Jail

By Frank L. Jensen

KUKIS, Pagialakis, Kralis and Kambourakis have been released from prison. No, this is not a story from Greece, but from the heart of the United States.

This action followed a decision of the Utah State Board of Pardons to parole these men made at its regular meeting Saturday, March 20, 1926. Three of the men were released and returned to their jobs immediately. Kukis was released later upon receipt of his parole papers.

All of the men arrested as a result of the strike in 1923 are now at liberty and in the ordinary course of events, they will have a complete pardon in the course of a year. One other case, that of Zukalis, is still pending on appeal and an early disposition of his case is expected. He is at present at liberty on bond.

The action of the Board of Pardons brings to a close a long, drawn-out fight for the freedom of innocent victims of industrial warfare in Utah. The strike of 1923 was called on April 1. At the very beginning of the strike trains carrying strike breakers into Spring Canyon, Carbon County were picketed by members of the United Mine Workers. This picketing was highly effective and the operators soon learned that unless it could be stopped in some manner, they must lose the strike and see the Utah fields completely unionized. They were compelled to use every artifice and trick known in the industry or see their long cherished dream of a non-union field in Utah shattered.

Militia Interference Sought. Accordingly they began a systematic campaign to bring in the militia with the object of depriving the miners of the right of peaceful picketing.

Their murderous gunmen used every artifice and insult to bring about a clash. In some instances, as at Scofield, these gunmen on horseback deliberately charged into throngs of assembled miners. With unparalleled arrogance they subjected the miners and the miners' families to every indignity and they even denied the Governor of Utah to use a public highway.

But in the face of such extreme arrogance, they were still unable to create a state of violence that would justify the bringing in of the militia. They importuned and beseeched the governor and other State officials with telegrams and personal appeals; they invented the most outrageous lies; all for the purpose of bringing in the militia.

Finally on June 14, 1922, they succeeded in provoking an armed clash. On that fateful day a carload of strikebreakers was being brought to the Standardville mine. Ten or twelve armed gunmen were on the train and were instructed by their superintendents to use their own discretion as to when to begin shooting. A group of miners hurrying up the roadway as they had done every day for more than two months to picket trains at a point known as Jacobs Switch, where the train would have to stop, were fired upon by these gunmen on the train. The miners returned the fire and the battle was on. The violence long sought by the operators had occurred. Now they could show that violence existed in Carbon County. Now was their opportunity to force the hand of the governor to bring in the militia and win the strike.

Gunman Killed. In the battle some of the miners were wounded and one gunman, A. P. Webb, was killed.

The miners involved in the shooting immediately left the State, realizing from experience that all the blame of this clash would be placed upon them if the mine operators and an all too willing officialdom could fasten the blame upon them. Accordingly they immediately left the county and the State. The next day the militia was transported to Carbon county by direction of Governor Charles R. Mabey and assumed control. Miners were rounded up from the various camps and two surveyors' helpers accompanied by the operators' sheriff, the operators' paid attorney and the operators' financial representative, identified numerous men of various camps as being participants in the battle. The county attorney issued complaints charging sixteen miners, identified in this manner, with first degree murder.

Then began a long legal battle. These "Greek strikers" must be taught their places. They had questioned the right of operators to rule their hired assassins to rule Carbon County. They must be rebuked so that the divine right of these operators to rule would henceforth never be questioned. Passion and hatred ran riot. There was no such thing as a disinterested party in Carbon County. Every man, woman and child was either pro-miner or pro-operator and the pro-operator element succeeded in sitting on the juries.

Filmy Evidence Used.

The first case called was that of

Kukis—the man just paroled. He was convicted of second degree murder on evidence so flimsy that it is now, for the most part, recanted. Then followed the others in succession until all chance of selecting a jury in Carbon County was gone. Then a change of venue was given in the Pagialakis case to the neighboring County of Emery and his trial was held at Castle Dale. The feeling in Emery County, which adjoins Carbon County, was substantially the same as in Carbon County and Pagialakis drew a sentence for voluntary manslaughter of ten years.

Thereafter the cases were transferred to Salt Lake County, where reason and justice had a firmer hold and the prosecution thereupon collapsed.

After defeating all the operators in Salt Lake County, the remaining victims were admitted to bail in ridiculously small amounts. Men charged with first degree murder were released on a bond of one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars. The prosecution realized that the operators' cause was bound to fail in future trials in Salt Lake County stipulated that no more trials would be held until the Supreme Court passed upon appeals. Appeals were technically of such character that the Supreme Court felt in duty bound to confirm the convictions in spite of the fact that in the case of Pagialakis the Attorney General of the State of Utah agreed with the contents of the brief of the defense. Thereupon it was decided that further appeals were useless and that the only hope of obtaining justice for these poor martyrs to the cause of industrial freedom in Utah lay through the avenue of whatever mercy the Board of Pardons might see fit to extend.

Untried Men Freed. Moves were made looking to the dismissal of the eight untried cases and after a number of preliminaries were successfully met, the eight untried cases were dismissed by action of Deputy Attorney Farr on November 19, 1925. The following month (December) an appeal was made to the

Board of Pardons for clemency for Peto Kukis. The Board gave the matter some consideration but because of some opposition within the Board, deferred action until March 20 when his parole was granted.

Next came the case of Pagialakis, Kralis and Kambourakis. These men were out on bond but surrendered themselves to the prison authorities in order that their case might legally come before the Board of Pardons on February 20. The Board still felt disinclined to take favorable action and continued their cases until March 20, when they were released.

Liberty loving Utahans will long remember that eight of these men were held in prison on the flimsiest of pretexts for eleven and a half months before being admitted to bail. They realize that for all practical purposes these innocent victims were given a jail sentence of eleven and a half months for incurring the wrath of the ruling operators in Carbon County.

Union Gives Thanks.

The final chapter is yet to be written but it has to do solely with legal formalities incident to a complete pardon and with a more enlightened and considerate officialdom now holding the reins of power, the result cannot be otherwise than favorable.

The miners' organization in Wyoming deserves the utmost thanks for its insistent refusal to forsake these Utah victims in their hour of need. Though the burdens were almost impossible to carry, they recognized, however, that these Utah miners had fought for a principle vital to the safety and well-being of union men everywhere and the loyalty of the organization to the victims of Utah mine-guardism, was in fact loyalty to the underlying principles of the labor movement; and indeed, loyalty to the principles of American freedom.

We in Utah rejoice in the belated results so far attained and are prepared to carry on the fight to the day when the miners of Utah may enjoy the peace afforded by the protective mantle of the United Mine Workers of America.

## Rumania Socialists Prepare To Contest New General Election

WHEN the new Rumanian Government, headed by General Averescu, sees fit to set the date for general elections for a new Chamber of Deputies to take the place of the body dominated by the Bratianu brothers for the last four years it will find the Socialists of that turbulent Balkan land ready and eager for the campaign. In fact, the gains scored by the Socialists and their allies of the various opposition parties in the February municipal

elections, despite the handicap of manifestly unfair election laws, have so encouraged Dr. Pistiner, the only Socialist in the Chamber of Deputies, and his fellow leaders that they are confident of making a fine showing in the coming battle at the polls.

The Rumanian Socialist Party is comparatively weak and in the February elections it felt obliged to enter into temporary combinations with the other Opposition groups in order to defeat as many of the so-called Liberals as possible, but in Czernowitz, where Dr. Pistiner edits Vorwarts, a daily Socialist paper, the Socialist vote rose to 3,404, making it the strongest party in the city. In the first trial at the polls the Government party (the Liberals) ran third, so in the final election its voters joined with the Opposition Bloc against the Socialists and Agrarians. This new combination polled 6,132 votes, which, under the Rumanian municipal election system, gave the bourgeois Opposition twenty-four aldermen, against five Socialists and one Agrarian. Dr. Pistiner was first on the Socialist list, thus heading the invasion of the Czernowitz city council by the workers.

In many other cities and towns the Socialists played a big part in rolling up a popular vote, far in excess of that cast by the Government party, although the Bratianu forces managed to manipulate the results so as to put their partisans in the majority in many cases where the verdict at the ballot box was against them. In most of the larger cities, such as Bucharest, Jassi, Constanta and Temesvar, the Opposition beat the "Liberals" by big majorities. In the province of Bessarabia, where high-handed Rumanian rule has frequently led to peasant uprisings, and where the sentiment of the majority is said to favor joining the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the Bratianu party failed to carry a single city.

While there is every prospect that the new Chamber of Deputies will have a safe majority for General Averescu, it is expected that the Socialists will elect enough Deputies to make themselves a factor in Parliamentary debates and activities. The new election law passed just before the old Parliament adjourned provides that the party polling 40 per cent. of the votes

gets half the Deputies and then participates in the proportional division of the rest of the seats. This makes it easy for the government to insure itself a safe majority.

A picture of conditions in Rumania and also of the fighting spirit of the Socialists there is given in the following appeal to the voters, issued by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party for the February elections: "For the first time the working masses in Rumania are called upon to take part in municipal elections in town and village. In spite of the fact that the election registers are full of gaps and numerous men are deprived of their rights; in spite of the franchise law of proportional representation for men and women being grossly falsified; in spite of the Liberal oligarchy, treating politics as a profit-making concern, in spite of everything, the moment has now come to put an end to the government in power.

"These elections have tremendous significance. The Mafia regime of the Liberals, which weighs on us like a curse, has not yet given up hope of ruling us further. A success of the Liberals at the municipal elections would mean a continuation of the state of martial law, the suppression of the press, the repression of the right of association, and of every free action. It would mean a continuation of the regime of military courts and of the appalling tortures in the dungeons and military prisons. And it would also mean a strengthening of the police spy system of the Siguranza and of the gendarmes in officer life—a danger not only to general freedom but indeed one to personal security.

"Remember all those who as a sacrifice in the fight for freedom have languished in prisons and in the salt mines! Remember all those who have been ill-treated and murdered. Remember the underhand persecution of all organizations, the autocracy, the terrorism and anarchy of the Liberal regime! Remember all this and ask yourselves whether your honor can still endure this robber system!"

### Hillquit and Wheeler Speak in Newark April 18

At the close of a successful spring season, The People's Institute of Newark will hold a banquet on Sunday evening, April 18, at Schary's Manor, Clinton Street, Newark. The subject will be "What Is New in the Political Field for Forward-Looking People?" Morris Hillquit will represent the Socialist viewpoint and Senator Burton K. Wheeler that of the Progressive Democrats, and a speaker will be announced who will represent the Progressive Republicans' point of view. Those who are interested may secure tickets from Dr. Louis Weiss, 128 Springfield Avenue, Newark, N. J.

### The Revolt Against Mammon

ROBERT HERRICK

UPTON SINCLAIR

A LECTURE BY

Carl Van Doren, A.B., Ph.D.

COMMUNITY AUDITORIUM

Park Avenue and 34th Street, Manhattan

Thursday Evening, April 15th,

at 8:15

Admission 25c. Discussion

## Labor Doings Abroad

### Labor's Anti-War Committee Meets

The day before the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam on March 19 there was held a meeting of the anti-war committee, which is composed of the I. F. T. U. executive, and representatives of the Trade Secretariats which are chiefly concerned, viz., the miners, metal workers, transport workers and factory workers.

Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart and the three secretaries, Oudegeest, Sasenbach and Brown, attended as the representatives of the executive, and Flimmen (Transport workers), Hodges (Miners), Ilg (Metal workers) and Stenhuus (Factory workers) for the Trade Secretariats. Detailed discussions took place on the basis of the communications which had been received from the trade secretariats concerning the possibility of taking measures in the event of an outbreak of war. It was finally decided to give further consideration to the first draft of a scheme put forward by the Miners' International, and, after consultation with the National Centers, to go carefully into the details of the scheme.

In view of the fact that the whole question is very difficult and complicated, it was decided not to discuss these schemes outside of the committee for the time being.

### London Parley Advances 8-Hour Day

IF the various governments represented by their ministers of labor at the conference on the application of the eight-hour working day convention of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, agreed to at the Washington meeting of 1919, held in London last month ratify the promises made there the prospects for the final triumph of the eight-hour ideal will be materially improved.

The States represented at the London Conference were Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy. The International Federation of Trade Unions was represented by Leon Jouhaux, C. Mertens and Jan Oudegeest. The labor men were there to give their views whenever needed on the probable effect of the putting into effect of the eight-hour convention.

After a lengthy discussion, reports the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U., general agreement was arrived at by the government representatives as to the interpretation of the various articles. Interpretations had to be arrived at on obvious points, but which nevertheless apparently needed a further joint discussion.

Great Britain, for instance, wanted to know what was to be understood by a "working week," a point which is assumed to be generally known. Germany considered that, in view of the Dawes Plan, the authorities no longer had any control over railwaymen's hours; while Italy was of opinion that, according to the provisions of the convention, time lost for holidays was to be made up outside the eight-hour day. In addition to all this there was great divergence of opinion concerning Article 14 of the convention, which states that the eight-hour day shall cease to operate in case of war or national danger. Germany and Great Britain were both of the opinion that this clause was also valid for serious economic crises.

These were a few of the conceptions held respecting the more important matters, while in addition a whole series of desiderata of secondary importance were also dealt with. After numerous incidents, agreement was finally arrived at in the night of March 18 concerning a general interpretation, by which the workers are guaranteed all the rights which had hitherto been conceived as due to them by virtue of the convention.

One or two governments succeeded in securing interpretations which slightly lower the value of the convention by stipulating that the morning and afternoon fifteen-minute pauses allowed in certain industries in some countries—are not to be counted in the working day. For the rest—thanks to the attitude taken up by the labor ministers of France and Belgium, strongly supported by Albert Thomas, the director of the I. L. O., the result of the conference was to establish an interpretation of the convention which guarantees the principle of the eight-hour day.

It now remains to be seen whether the British Government will now actually ratify. There are serious doubts on that point. Except for Czechoslovakia, which may be considered a country of industrial importance, only a few of the smaller States have so far ratified the Washington convention. Italy, it is true, has ratified, but as a number of exceptions have been provided for, the application of the convention in certain industries leaves very much to be desired. In Great Britain the opinion appears to be held that nothing is being done in the continental countries which have passed the eight-hour day act, to secure its proper observance. Prior to the opening of the conference in London, a decision was made by the governing body of the International Labor Office to the effect that a special commission is to be appointed at every International Labor Conference to investigate how the ratified conventions have worked out in the various countries.

### Spain Unions Active, Despite Rivera

REPORTS from Spain received by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions indicate that the General Union of Workers of Spain is very active, despite the handicaps of a dictatorship.

One of its recent tasks was the arrangement of a conference of the Galician landworkers, held March 7-9, in Lugo, and attended by representatives from thirty-two local unions. It had as its object the amalgamation of the numerous local landworkers' unions into one large district organization attached to the Spanish national center. The conference had a very full agenda before it, which had been prepared by three committees, whose recommendations were passed unanimously. Especial attention was given to the question of co-operation with the emigrant land workers' organizations in South America. The great extent of the emigration of Spanish workers to the South American countries may be realized from the fact that something like 250 million pesetas per year are received by the Galician savings bank from South American emigrants.

The Spanish Miners' Union in the Province of Austria recently succeeded, after lengthy negotiations, in securing a 4 per cent. wage increase. A joint committee set up by the cabinet makers, sawyers and paper hangers' unions in Madrid is at present engaged in preparing the way for the establishment of a national wood workers' federation.

### Dutch Keep Disarmament Plan Alive

THAT the Dutch unionists and Socialists are determined to keep their disarmament plan before the people, regardless of changes of cabinets or objections raised by the reactionaries, is shown by the report just issued by the joint commission set up by the Social Democratic Party and the Federation of Trade Unions some time ago to investigate the status on disarmament on the international field.

The compilers have pronounced themselves unanimously and without reservation in favor of national disarmament, and are thus following in the footsteps of their Danish comrades. As in other countries, there has been a movement in Holland during the last few years, which, though it has advocated national disarmament in theory, has really worked against it by insisting that Holland can only disarm when all the other countries do the same. So, for instance, immediately after the Dutch workers began their campaign, a committee "against one-sided disarmament" was set up.

The report expresses clearly and plainly the opinion that it would be absurd to hold up national disarmament until the other countries take the step. While on the one hand the report admits that a country like Holland, in effecting complete disarmament, is running the risk of losing her national independence temporarily, on the other hand it affirms that the danger of war is only increased by national armaments. National disarmament, in the opinion of the commission, should be advocated with all the more determination, as the growth of the labor movement and the simultaneous development of the League of Nations into a more democratic institution, will steadily lessen the dangers to which a defenseless country is exposed.

Without either considering or advocating the possibilities of disarmament in other countries, the commission expressly points out that in countries where militarism is still very powerful, the labor movement will have its hands full for the present in reducing the pressure of armaments and fighting for the democratization of the army and adds: "The Labor parties of the small countries may not rest, however, until complete disarmament has been accomplished. They show thereby that they are willing to do everything for the sake of peace that would be expected from the working class. They thus give a good example in the national struggle against warfare, which sooner or later will be fruitful for international social democracy."



# The Sagamore Miners Give Battle

By Art Shields

I saw the Sagamore miners bury John Cramer, who gave his life at 74 in the fight to make the Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal Co. keep its contract with the United Mine Workers. He was a charter member of the union and had been through all its big struggles in District No. 2 till the attack of influenza that followed his eviction from the company house he had occupied for 20 years in this little town in the hills northeast of Pittsburgh.

As they lowered him to the grave Paul Fuller, educational director of District No. 2, who is serving as the strikers' pastor, prayed that Brother Cramer's sacrifice might not have been in vain and that a leisure class might not continue to live on the blood of labor.

The evictions last fall were carried out with a ruthlessness that amazed the community. World War veterans and 20-year residents were put out without ceremony and their belongings in several cases dumped in the rain and smashed. Among the evicted ones were a constable of Sagamore who happened to be a striking miner also, and a justice of the peace, who had likewise erred against company morality by demanding a union price for the coal he dug. There were few newcomers in the town; nearly all were old and trusted employees. There were families who had spent hundreds of dollars in fixing up the places they regarded as home. One middle-aged man, who had been a Buffalo & Susquehanna motor boss for 15 years, told me of the bath tub he had just installed when the eviction order came that made way for a scab who "turned the place into a pig sty and a speakeasy."

## New Head Brought Strike

Till a year ago labor relations were unusually peaceable for a coal town. Such strikes as there had been were merely "suspensions," and petty grievances in between were adjusted by the committee. But a year ago came a storm cloud in the person of a certain Calloway, newly elected president of the company. If you look him up in coal directories, you will find that he is also president of the Davis Coal & Coke Co., incorporated in Baltimore, and with 24 mines in West Virginia and another big one in Boswell, Somerset County, Pa. And all non-union; another merger of the many that is mobilizing the enemy's strength against the miners' union.

Calloway began moving in on the miners' union. Following the standard open shop tactics, he ordered a lock-out. After six months the firm went through the motions of "leasing" its Sagamore properties to a dummy concern, Sutter & Rinn, that had not signed the Jacksonville agreement. The strike began. Then Calloway brought in a trained union buster, "Billy" Diamond, once international board member for the Michigan district of the United Mine Workers.

The union promptly pulled out its members in a big Buffalo & Susquehanna mine at DuBois, some 50 miles away, and the strike there is a hundred percent effective. At Sagamore few of the oldtimers have broken away, and the company is depending for its feeble production from one of four mines on imported labor, which goes as fast as it comes.

## Barracks House Strikers

The evicted strikers are cared for some by friends in nearby communities, most in union "barracks" and the hotel the union leased on the rising ground by the road the strikebreakers pass on their way to work. You can



No Color Line Divides These Pale.—Children of West Virginia Strikers in Powell Creek Tent Colony, Boone Co., W. Va.

## Young and Old in the Mine Trenches of Two States



Here Elbert Mitchell, a loyal Boone County, W. Va. striker stuck out a four year battle with his wife and seven children.



United in Fight Against Wage Cut.—Thirty-three adults and 79 children live in ten rooms in union barracks behind this couple.

see them all there at dawn when the choir is singing to the job thieves. It is a hard life, but the spirit is fine, even in the crowded quarters. There are 79 children and 33 adults in 10 barracks rooms and as many more crowded in the hotel rooms. They live on \$3 per week per family, the standard relief furnished by District No. 2. They need clothes and they need more

help of all kind. It is a job for the labor movement as a whole to take part in. If Sagamore stands, then other towns in this important field stand, and if the miners lose, the rest of the labor movement loses with them. The Presbyterian choir of Sagamore is welcoming spring, and the early morning sunrise. All through the long winter the chorus of 20 singers has

been assembling in the snow and darkness on the land the miners' union leased above the road. The strikebreakers must take this road on their way to the Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal Company mine, which is attempting to operate on the 1917 scale basis in violation of the 3-year contract signed in 1924.

The choir is made up of striking

coal diggers and their wives and daughters, with several school teachers assisting. They began singing to the scabs when the Kittinging court issued an injunction forbidding picketing. They have sung scores of scabs away in the course of the 6-month strike.

Last Monday three more carloads of the invaders left town. They couldn't face the singers any more. I used to watch the strikebreakers passing shamefacedly, starting at the frozen road before them, as the choir sang at them:

Oh stranger, why did you come here, And take our homes and bread away; Oh won't you quit your work today, And join us now, we pray.

So begins one of the songs composed by Clara Johnson, a public school teacher, and Mrs. Arthur Cook, a striker's wife and choir singer. The chorus rings on:

Want you join us? Won't you join us?

In fighting for our rights today; We're going to win, we know we will, So join us now, we pray.

The voices peeling down the narrow road that leads past the singers from the company tenements to the mine mouth.

Only a few strikebreakers are brazen. These usually come from the farms of Armstrong county. In this part of Pennsylvania there is a wall between the farmer and the industrial worker. But the imported strikebreakers are quicker to sense the shame of their position. This is especially true of those whose skins are dark, and who were imported without having been informed of the strike. The first morning to work the strike message comes with the choir's voices. They get the entreaty of mothers dispossessed from the homes they are now occupying. And the strikebreaker will work a few days, sometimes a few weeks, till he is able to pay his way out and say goodbye. Then the operator fetches in more to go through the same experience. But the company has never got enough to work more than one of the four mines, and that on a reduced basis.

One morning last January state police and guards raided the choir line and took a group before the justice of the peace, who fined them \$5 each. The union paid the fines and the singing appeals go on.

In the early morning they raise their voices in the last triumphant stanza of the Oh Stranger song: In union there is strength and might, So why oppose a cause that's right?

## Passaic and Pennsy Strikers Need Your Aid

Clothes and money for the Passaic strikers and for the miners in the soft coal fields in Central Pennsylvania are being collected at Room 635, 799 Broadway (corner of 11th Street), by the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. This is a committee formed by the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union, and all its expenses are guaranteed. Every cent given goes direct to the strikers, and the cost of packing and shipping clothing is met by the committee.

The office is open every day from 9 to 5 and on Saturday until 1, and if you have a dress or a coat or shoes—anything in good condition that you can spare—take it in to the committee's office, or mail it, parcel post, and it will be sent by parcel post, and it will be sent by parcel post, and it will be sent by parcel post.

Most people know all about the struggle of the textile workers in Passaic, but many do not know that in Central Pennsylvania 10,000 men, women and children have been living in shacks and tents all winter because the mine operators broke the union agreement and locked the workers out. They are standing firm for their rights, but it promises to be a long, bitter fight. They need your help.

You know how it cheers you up to have some nice clothes. That's the way it affects these plucky strikers. When they are well dressed they face the bosses and scabs with fresh courage. Boxes of clothing are going out every day. Send what you have immediately. Checks, large or small, are very welcome. They should be drawn to the order of Evelyn Preston, Treasurer.

The New York Socialist Party, 7 East 15th Street, will also be glad to forward clothes and money to the strikers.

## Socialists Plan May Day Affairs

May Day will be celebrated this year in a manner surpassing previous years. A joint conference was held, comprising the United Hebrew Trades (representing over 60 trade unions), the Socialist Party of Greater New York (represented by some 30 branches), the Young People's Socialist League, Senior and Junior Circles (15 circles), and the Jewish Socialist Verband (12 branches). These co-operating organizations will hold some forty demonstrations, mass meetings (indoor and outdoor), concerts and dances in various parts of the city. A more detailed announcement will soon be forthcoming.

Relief work in relation to the Passaic strike and the soft coal miners of Pennsylvania is progressing splendidly. Money and clothing are being forwarded as rapidly as received.

The Socialist Party will co-operate in the Peace Week demonstrations to be held during the second week in May. Rennie Smith, Member of Parliament and one of the most eloquent of British Socialists, will be available for some dates during May. Requests for his services should be made at once to August Claessens, secretary.

The referendum ballots and copies of the by-laws for the consolidation of the locals of Greater New York will be in the possession of all branch secretaries early next week. A number of outdoor meetings are being arranged to start during the first week in May in various sections of the city. These meetings will be held weekly until the campaign begins.

A general party membership meeting will soon be called to consider and act upon resolutions governing the conduct of Socialist Party members of trade unions in their respective trade union organizations. This conference will also restate the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the trade union movement and consider ways and means of effecting closer co-operation and more efficient service in the industrial struggles of the workers.

## Jewish Movement Active

There is a revival in the Jewish Socialist movement in New York. The thirteen branches of the Jewish Socialist Verband, with a membership of 600, have become active again. They meet regularly, conduct interesting lectures and discussions and carry on a systematic propaganda.

The resumption of activities is due mainly to the newly organized City Committee of the Verband, of which David Meyer is organizer. Comrade Meyer visits all branches and helps arrange the lectures and discussions.

Lectures and Mass Meetings There are lectures and discussions not only at the branches, but also at six open forums which the Verband conducts. These forums meet every Sunday morning and are attended by about 1,500 persons. The forums are invaluable as a means of propaganda, as they afford us an opportunity to reach so many persons every week and in every part of the city.

The branches are now arranging mass meetings to celebrate Interna-

tional May Day. The City Committee took up with the United Hebrew Trades and with the Socialist Party City Committee of Greater New York and the Y. P. S. L. Circles of Greater New York this matter of celebrating May. This was about eight weeks ago. A conference was finally called at which it was decided to celebrate, not by arranging one monster mass meeting, which the City Committee of the Verband was planning, but rather a series of smaller meetings all over the city. It is some of these meetings that are now being arranged by the Jewish branches.

May Day will also be celebrated at the Forum with the Verband, as was also the Paris Commune. On that occasion Sunday, March 21, was set

## Anti-Fascist Guard Formed

(Continued from page 1)

Fascist and broke it up in a few minutes. It is stated that the Belgian anti-Fascist are not to be armed, but De Brouckere says that in case of a real fight the proper means will be found to make the Socialist resistance effective.

## Text of Manifesto

The Socialist and union manifesto warning the Fascist reads as follows: "Men who cannot rest when they think of the laurels of the Italian dictator, Mussolini, and who are terrified at the progress of Democracy and Socialism, are setting up Fascism. Frankly and quite openly they are affirming their intention of wiping out democratic institutions and are speaking of suppressing by violence the organizations by which the working class of this country are pursuing its work of social emancipation."

"Up to the present we have not taken these people seriously. They are moreover, few in numbers and incapable of realizing by their own methods their program of social retrogression. But they are very turbulent and quite ready, as was shown on the occasion of the ceremony of the surrender of the flags by the disbanded regiments, to have recourse to the worst methods to attract public attention and to deceive it as to their real strength. The organized working class has paid attention to their menace."

"The Fascist must know that violence will be met with violence, and that the workers, united in their class organizations, are from now ready to do everything to defend threatened democracy, and to preserve their achievements from the clutches of reaction. There are nearly 600,000 in the country, workers in all trades and professions, manual and brain workers, who at the first attempt on the part of the Fascist will rise in a formidable movement to bar the way. All necessary measures have already been taken to this end. And the present democratic government, which has the care of the country's interests, will do well to bring the maniacs in the Fascist leagues to reason so as to avoid further misfortunes for our country. "Down with Fascism! Long live the democracy of labor!"

The sweetest and most inoffensive path of life leads through the avenues of science and learning; and whoever can either remove any new prospect ought so far to any obstruction in this way or open up any new prospect ought so far to be esteemed a benefactor to mankind.—David Hume.

To keep men in a state of struggle and uncertainty about their animal satisfactions, about such elementary needs as food, clothing, and shelter, is to keep them in bondage to their lower wants; a bondage which prevents them from advancing to a human life, distinguishable in its qualities from the life of brutes.—F. Hender.

## The Lecture Calendar

### Friday, April 9

NORMAN THOMAS, 7th A. D. Socialist Party, 4315 Third Ave., Bronx, 8:30 p. m. "Incentives in Industry." JOSEPH M. OSMAN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, "The Inferiority Complex," 8:30 p. m.

### Saturday, April 10

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Circle 8, Y. P. S. L., 137 Ave. B, Manhattan, 9 p. m. "Patriotism."

### Sunday, April 11

MARY GOFF, Circle 6, Y. P. S. L., 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn, 5 p. m. "Socialism."

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Joe Bialy, Sr., Circle 13, Y. P. S. L., 420 Hindsdale St., Brooklyn, "Socialism," 5 p. m.

ADELA KEAN ZAMETKIN, East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway, Manhattan, "The Food Abuses of Our Civilization," 8:30 p. m.

LEON ROSSER LAND, The Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, the Bronx, "A Friendly Universe," 8 p. m.

JUDGE JACOB PANKEN, The Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, "Land, Land Values and Housing," 8:30 p. m.

REV. JOHN HERMANN RANDALL, The Community Church, 34th St. and Park Ave., "The Coming of a New Humanity," 11 a. m.

PROF. J. J. CORNELIUS, Community Forum, 34th St. and Park Ave., "Indian Problems in the Hands of British Propagandists," 8 p. m.

HARRY F. WARD, The Labor Temple, 244 East 14th St., "Gandhi and His Message," 8:15 p. m.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE, Labor Temple, 244 East 14th St., "Some American Ideals," 7:30 p. m.

### Monday, April 12

DR. SIMON BERLIN, 3-5-10 A. D. Socialist Party, 7 East 15th St., Room 402.

### Wednesday, April 14

AUGUST CLAESSENS, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, "The Natural Differences of Men and Women," 8:30 p. m.

### Thursday, April 15

ESTHER FRIEDMAN, 13-19 A. D. Kings, Socialist Party, 41 Debevoise St., "What I Saw in France and Italy," 8:30 p. m.

CARL VAN DOREN, Community Auditorium, Park Ave. and 34th St., "The Revolt Against Mammon: Robert Herrick, Upton Sinclair," 8:15 p. m.

### Friday, April 16

JOSEPH M. OSMAN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, "Facts, Fables and Fables in Psychology," 8:30 p. m.

An idler is a watch that wants both hands, As useless if it goes as if it stands. —Cowper.

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# Vest Pocket Unionism on the Nation's Railroads

By Robert W. Dunn

IN VIEW of the new railroad labor pact (Parker-Watson bill) supported jointly by railroad union officials and management, and in view of optimistic predictions that company unions could be outvoted by real unions in fair elections on the Pennsylvania and other hard-bolled roads under the proposed law, the extent and structure of railroad company unions becomes of special interest now.

Company unions or employer-controlled shop committees, works councils and employee representation plans are among the most significant developments in American industry. Company union devices started shortly before the war, gained a long stride in the period of labor shortage and so-called reconstruction, subsided somewhat in 1921 and have fluctuated between 800 and 1,000 since. The number of workers involved totals well over a million.

## Strong on Railroads

The American Federation of Labor company-union-questionsnaire to its 2,000 volunteer organizers brings replies indicating the toll company unions take among regular trade unions. The few pages of organizers' reports in the January American Federationist show almost every State and industry included in the company union circle. Added to the general manufacturing and public utility companies, note particularly railroads reported affiliated: Southern Pacific, Denver & Rio Grande Western, Chicago Burlington & Quincy, Union Pacific, Rock Island, Atchafalaya, Topeka & Santa Fe, Pennsylvania, Great Northern, Erie, New York Central, Lehigh Valley, Delaware Lackawanna & Western, Kansas City Southern.

These are but samples, for a Railroad Labor Board survey shows some 300 separate company vest-pocket associations now functioning on some 65 railroads. None is affiliated with either the A. F. of L. or Big Four brotherhoods. Some are insignificant local bodies but others ramify whole railway systems, throwing across the country a network of committees, councils and lodges, sometimes modeled closely after regular rail unions.

**Run From Company Headquarters**  
Others are mere committees functioning from company headquarters and using the check-off arrangement for collecting dues. A letter to the operating department or personnel division of the railroad brings a reply enclosing copies of rule books and by-laws of associations, with assurance that the "arrangement is proving very satisfactory to both contracting parties." There is no attempt to disguise that both parties are run from management's front offices.

Practically every class and craft of railroad worker falls within the domain of company unionism, although by far the greatest strength has been reached among shop crafts, clerical forces and maintenance of way men. Among the last mentioned we find company unions represented in 1924 on some 25 roads. The regular maintenance of way union claims to have won a complete victory on 13 of these since, ousting company committees from representing workers before the Railroad Labor Board.

The typical situation on most railroads seems to be recognition of the four train service brotherhoods while refusing to deal with other unions wherever able to break their strength and substitute any kind of company union scheme. The extent of company unionism stands in inverse ratio to the power of the regular union.

## The Pennsylvania "Union"

"How far will the Pennsylvania Railroad go in recognizing labor unions instead of its own hand-picked employee representation plan?" This question is asked by workers on that road as rail executives, led by General Atterbury (Pennsylvania R. R. president)

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## Pennsylvania and Santa Fe Lines Taking the Lead In Fostering Subservient Company Unionism

and rail union heads execute a lion-and-lamb reconciliation before the hearings on the new rail labor act before Congress.

Do the "new spirit of co-operation," the "opportunity to preserve self-government in industry" and other sanguine phrases used both by attorneys for unions and by railroad counsels mean anything? Specifically do they mean that labor-hating Atterbury has hit the trail at a labor union revival?

And will the strikes of 20,000 shopcraft workers, on since July 1, 1925, to prevent the Pennsylvania from violating a Labor Board order and from instituting a company union, be discontinued? Will the shopcrafts system federation No. 90 as well as the regular railroad clerks, maintenance of way, and telegraphers' unions be called back to negotiate agreements in place of the arbitrarily created puppet unions now functioning from General Atterbury's office? In short, will the million dollar company union be scrapped and the trade union movement again be dealt

with as during the days of Federal control?

What Atterbury "Democracy" Casts Labor, official organ of rail unions, reports that Donald Richberg in Washington hearings answers the question of whether the P. R. R. could carry on its company unions by asserting: "That sort of activity by a company union is absolutely forbidden under this act." The P. R. R. officials, however, are reported in the New York Times as declaring that nothing in the bill interferes with the present Atterbury rump union plan.

Meanwhile the rank and file of Pennsylvania railroads should not forget what the Atterburian idea of "industrial democracy" has cost them to date. It is in its sixth year. The company has stoutly refused to deal with representatives of what it calls "absentee organizations," meaning regular labor unions, outside of the four train service brotherhoods.

The company set up in face of the overwhelmingly adverse votes of work-

ers in certain branches of service, its powerless company committees, bought and paid for and completely under management's heel.

It refused to recognize the unmistakable mandates of its shopcraft, telegraph, clerical, and maintenance of way workers when in election after election they chose the established rail unions as their representatives. It cast aside all these ballots and dealt only with its hand-selected local and regional committees.

In doing this it thumbed its nose, not only at its workers, but at the ineffective Railroad Labor Board and the Supreme Court itself, both of which severely condemned and censured it.

## Broke Strike of Shopmen

It broke the strike of shopmen called to combat the company union, by use of every method in the catalogue of strike smashing: gunmen, guards, espionage, discharges, cancellation of furloughs, force and intimidation.

It drove a stout wedge into the unity of rail workers and still further sep-

arated the big four brotherhoods from the more weakly organized crafts.

In the course of its campaign, road officials stated categorically in railroad hearings that they would deal with workers in less effectively organized crafts as individuals, but not as representatives of labor unions. This is the road's position today. Its company union exists to carry out this fundamental principle of its management.

American rail workers on some 65 roads, now faced with company unions face the same contradictions and problems as those on the Pennsylvania. That the mediation boards under the new legislation offer the way out, these workers wait to have proved.

## On the Union Pacific

The Union Pacific is a typical Western company union line. Its "independent" associations—shop craft, maintenance of way, etc., introduced as strike-breaking agencies in 1923, use both the check-off for dues and the yellow dog

contract. A certain Hines, assistant to the company vice-president, overjoyed at wage reductions accomplished by the plan, declared in the Railway Review that the company unions were "the embodiment of the fundamental ideals which lead to pure unadulterated Americanism." The slogan of one U. P. association is A Day's Work for a Day's Pay, and the other is One Hundred Percent Americanism, either one of which, Hines says, "is an inspiration to every man to give the best that is in him every minute of the time."

Rock Island shop craft employees sign individual employment contracts which force them to join the Association of Mechanical and Power Plant Employees and to keep out of regular shop craft unions. Violation of this contract is considered the worker's resignation from the employ of the company. Missouri Pacific supervisory officials are instructed to work with the Mechanical Department Association "with a view to keeping up interest in the association." They are ordered

to see that men under them attend company union meetings regularly. These company officials go to meetings in person to see that the workers confine themselves strictly to company boosting and other business favorable to the management.

**Hope Law Will Kill Fake Unions**  
Workers on 65 or more railroads, besides the Pennsylvania, are waiting for the liquidation of company unions expected by some rail labor officials from passage by Congress of the new "peace act," Watson-Parker bill. Some of the company unions now used to fight labor unions are:

Southern Pacific Shop Crafts Protective League; Missouri-Kansas-Texas Association of Shop Employees; Soo Line Shop Employees Association; Great Northern Associated Organizations of Shop Craft Employees; Illinois Central Association of Machinists' Helpers and Apprentices; Norfolk & Western Mechanical Department Association and an Association of Railway Clerks; Lehigh Valley Association of Maintenance of Equipment Employees; Atlantic Coast Line's recently imposed Strike-breaking Association of Telegraphers, and the Missouri Pacific and Santa Fe similar bodies directed by company management.

Many of these company unions issue monthly official journals, sign agreements with the company, establish constitutions and by-laws, locals, lodges and regular dues, hire business agents and other officials, and otherwise ape the regular American Federation of Labor unions' structure which they supersede. Many claim an appearance of independence from the mother company and hold themselves superior to the Pennsylvania Company unions which function merely as company committees.

**How Santa Fe Works It**  
The Santa Fe Company unions are typical, though their purpose and make-up reveal them equal to the P. R. R. committees in subservience to management. Santa Fe shop associations were used by the company as lobbying agencies against the Howell-Barkley bill in 1924. Their by-laws prevent members from affiliation with any regular labor unions. They are, like other such organizations, committed to the "open shop policy of our employer" and all members of A. F. of L. unions, formerly recognized on the road, are termed "radicals."

In addition to a regular monthly bulletin published by its associations, the Santa Fe has for several years issued an employee magazine, given over to boosting the road. The management contends that its company unions have reduced turnover, improved morals and increased production. It does not mention that they have also reduced wages and lowered working conditions. The Maintenance of Way and Miscellaneous Foremen, Mechanics and Helpers' Association, Santa Fe Company Union, claims a membership of 3,500. One divisional chairman, in thanking the company for assistance rendered in enrolling members in this pet union, says the company should consider it "money well spent."

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## Anthracite Breaker Boy Is Injured

SCRANTON, Pa.—A 16-year-old breaker boy, at Old Forge colliery of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, fell into conveying machinery and fractured his left arm badly. A fellow-worker saved the boy from more serious injury by pulling the belt from the pulley quickly.

## Mutual Aid League Will Hold Spring Frolic April 10

The League for Mutual Aid will give its annual Spring Dance and April Frolic on Friday evening, April 10, at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street. April Frolic will not only be a social event where artists, writers and radicals get together for recreation, but also a benefit for raising funds to help carry on the work of the league. Tickets may be had from the league offices at one dollar each, which includes wardrobe and refreshments.

Ye build! ye build! but ye enter not in,  
Like the tribes whom the desert devoured in their ain;  
From the land of promise ye fade and die,  
Ere its verdure gleams forth on your wearied eye.  
—Mrs. Sigourney.

## A Sample of "Communist" Decency

By A. I. Shiplacoff  
in the Pocketbook Worker

IN the Daily Worker of Tuesday,

March 21st, an article appears under the following headline: "Renegade Socialist Lines Up with Labor Fakers and Bosses to Sabotage Passaic Strikers." The renegade Socialist, according to this article, is A. I. Shiplacoff, your manager. The gentleman who wrote the article claims to be a member of our union, and he concludes his article by saying the following:

"I would gladly permit you to print my name to this article, but as in my union the penalty for attempting to tell the truth or having your own opinion about things is suspension or expulsion, you will please sign it from a pocketbook worker correspondent."

I shall place the bare facts of the case before our readers so that they may see for themselves what conception of truth and decency the editors of the American Communist sheet have.

On March 6, 1936, the office of our union received a communication from Passaic asking for financial help. That same evening the Joint Board met and voted \$100.

About the same time I received an invitation to address the strikers in Passaic. On March 9 I addressed two big mass meetings in Passaic, together with Weisbord, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Esther Friedman and others.

On March 8 the Joint Board was informed that a collection for the strikers was made in one of the shops. Knowing that these "independent" shop collections are subject to the abuse of kleptomaniacs, the Joint Board reaffirmed an old decision that no shop collections may be made without the permission of the Joint Board. A few days later official lists were sent to the shop chairmen, and following are the two communications I have sent to the shop chairmen:

## Letter No. 1

Dear Fellow-Worker:

The attention of the Joint Board was called to the fact that in a number of shops collections have been made for the textile strikers of Passaic. While there can be no doubt that the cause is a very worthy one and deserving of the support of all class-conscious workers, it is nevertheless contrary to the best interests of a labor organization to permit any collections to be made in the shops without the consent of the organization. The Joint Board voted \$100 from its treasury in response to the very first appeal that came from the strikers, and no doubt the Joint Board would be only too glad to authorize the shop chairmen and bend every effort to help win the just struggle of the strikers if such a request were made.

You will therefore please take notice that at its last meeting the Joint Board reaffirmed its decision to permit no shop collections to be made without permission from the office. If your shop has already made such a collection, you will please bring the money with the subscription list to the office so that your organization may be credited with the work and also that the responsibility for the funds be centered in the organization itself. We hope you will understand that any other method of doing this kind of work is bound to cause trouble sooner or later.

Fraternally yours,  
A. I. SHIPLACOFF, Manager.  
Letter No. 2  
Dear Brother Chairman:  
Enclosed you will find a subscription list for the Passaic textile strikers which it is hoped you will use to good advantage.

The undersigned spent half a day with the strikers, talked to many of them, and addressed their meetings; and I can say without reservation that I haven't seen a similar condition of poverty and exploitation in many years.

The loss of the Passaic strike would be a very serious blow to many trades, ours included. Please see that everybody gives as generously as possible and then bring the money with the list to the office and get a receipt for it.

Fraternally yours,  
A. I. SHIPLACOFF, Manager.

## AMERICAN APPEAL

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## Christ in Rutgers Square

By D. G. Plotkin

(Copyright, Thomas Seltzer, 1926)

He stepped upon the high soap-box:  
A glory shimmered through his locks:  
The brown-haired youth gazed at the skies—

The stars were mirrored in his eyes:  
The beauty of his face was blown  
Across each muddled cobble-stone  
Until the gutter was a shrine  
That echoed with God's Word divine;  
And you could notice in his face  
The Passion of the wondering race  
That builds God's citadel sublime  
Upon the wreck of Death and Time.

The Traffic belled like the yell  
Of howling maniacs in hell.

He scanned the pallor of the men,  
The painted wives and girls, and then  
He felt the crush of Sinai's thews  
Until he drooped, a bodied Brute:  
His body shook like a heavy sea  
Athrob with the beat of Eternity.  
Then Wrath descended like a Storm  
Until he felt his bending form  
Spring rigid—like an iron rod  
Within the potent flat of God.

The Traffic's devils banged their drums  
And howled and clamored through the slums.

Christ's voice was like the crack of doom  
That thundered through the ghetto-gloom;

It was a bomb, and with a roar  
He hurled it at the Beast of War:  
And then they eyed above his hair  
The Horror gallop through the air;  
The Crimson from its wings unfurled  
Dripped down upon a dying world;  
Its eyeballs blazed with lust to kill;  
And Jesus pictured war until  
They heard the shrieks of murdered men.

The cannon blew to bits; and then  
You saw, in all their wild unrest,  
The Ages rolling from his breast—  
The Ages bloodied with the gore  
Of splendid youth destroyed by War,  
The spawn of Greed and Babel's where.

The scowling Law strode up and down  
And raked the Prophet with a frown:  
He heard the trumps of Traffic blow  
And crash the walls of Jericho. . .  
The limbs of fainting Nazareth  
Collapsed until he felt the breath  
Of God against his frantic face.  
The Passion of His wide embrace:  
He stiffened like an iron rod  
Within the potent flat of God;  
And then he flogged the wincing Crowd  
With whips of wrath, and cried aloud:

"The man who smites not, fury-shod,  
The Gods of Greed betrays his God!  
O God is nailed unto a Tree—  
Your torment is His agony—  
And He'll be free when you are free!  
Aye, he who bolts Rebellion's heat  
Has sinned against the Holy Ghost!"  
A hecker hurled a verbal brick:  
"You dirty Jew! You Bolsheviki!"

The scowling Law strode up and down  
And raked the Prophet with a frown  
As Jesus drooped, a bodied Pang,  
Wherein the world's red sorrows sang.

The Traffic flung a bomb that hurled  
The lid of hell across the world. . .

Then Wrath descended like a storm  
Until he felt his bending form  
Spring rigid like an iron rod  
Within the potent flat of God.  
He grasped a shop-girl in the crowd,  
And while she kicked and cried aloud  
He wiped her maak of rouge and paint  
And showed the White Destroyer's taint:

He waved aloft her rag of youth  
And blasted Mammon with the Truth;  
And, as he smote the temple-knave,  
He laashed the Pious to their grave—  
The Pharisees who pray and smirk  
Within the synagogue or kirk;  
Who built their sacred altar-stones  
Upon a heap of harlots' bones,  
And spawed their monster blasphemies  
Within their funneled factories  
That mangle children as they run  
To Things you dare not look upon!  
And while he panted, you could see  
The tot he blessed in Galilee  
Aswoon beneath their agony:

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## By Sam Fisher Student at Brookwood Labor College

The chief characteristic of capitalist society is a permanent class of wage earners. To explain how this class came into being, there are three theories put forward by economists. The production theory shows that man's economic position is determined by and changes with changing modes of production. It shows, for example, that in the agricultural stage, society was governed by a landed aristocracy. In the handicraft stage the dominant class was the merchant guildman. Then comes capitalism under which production is conducted on a basis of private ownership of the means of production. Thus a class of wage earners is created.

The marketing theory tries to show that the access to markets has been the deciding factor in social evolution. Even the methods of production are determined by the extent of markets. Without markets, production would not take place. Thus man's development is the result of marketing changes and the position of the different classes in modern society is the ultimate outcome of these changes. World markets and large scale production as distinctive features of modern capitalism gave birth to the modern working class.

The bargaining theory explains the industrial evolution of the working class by the struggle of conflicting interests of different economic groups in society at different periods. The result of this age-long conflict is that industry ultimately became separated from agriculture, and this began the domination of a class who controlled the manufacturing process. With further development, the manufacturing and the credit functions became separated, and today financiers are able to dominate the economic and social life of the community. Thus there are various interested groups concerned in production, and an eternal conflict of the bargaining classes goes on. The bargain ultimately arrived at is shown by the amount of wage which each bargaining group is able to win from production. Labor's share is known as "wages."

During the itinerant stage, the worker with his tools on his back went from farmer to farmer and searched for employment. If he was a tailor, he was taken into the home; board and lodging were furnished and a stipulated wage for the work was paid. This wage was also the price of the finished product. He worked directly for the consumer, the farmer. There was no profit element existing and hardly any conflict. Population increased, industrial centers grew; these changes enabled the skilled workers to settle down to stationary occupations. This arises the custom-order stage, which is known as the "bespoke work" stage. Here the skilled worker becomes the master-workman. Now the customers come to

him, whereas before the itinerant worker went to work for the consumer, in the consumer's own place. This master-merchant-mechanic has the better side of the bargaining. The prevailing type of economic organization of the custom-order stage was the merchant guild which aimed at controlling the standard of quality of production by keeping up bad wages. New industries came into being and some of these made necessary large fixed capital. The master-merchant gave way to the merchant-employer who through his ability to bargain off his manufactured stock was also able to control the commodity market. That's how competition arose, but trade was still in the "retail shop" stage. Merchant-employers and journeymen co-operated and joined hands in an attempt to suppress "unfair competitive practices."

When the Revolutionary War was over the market began to expand from local to national. The "wholesale order" stage followed and the wholesale merchant was a necessary agent. Of course, it was the wholesale-merchant who controlled prices because he controlled the market. The small manufacturers, master-mechanic-employers, began to protest. The wholesale merchant was discriminated against because he dealt with foreign products, a procedure which touched the honor of the young nation. Home markets were developed, protected and boomed with government assistance. Such assistance is cited as the cause of capital accumulation in America. With the aid of the government new methods of production were found and many inventions were made. All this made for the rise of the modern manufacturer. Furthermore the improvements in access to markets, with the accompanying large scale of business, and with the indispensable long-time credits, necessary to carry on such business, brought forth the all dominant merchant capitalist. Business methods became

## Fur Strike Progressing

(Continued from page 1)  
ranks of the strikers. The Greek National Herald printed a story saying that the families of the Greek workers were suffering greatly because of the strike and that the union was making no move to help them. The paper urged the Greek workers to break away from the Union which was a Jewish organization and to deal direct with the Greek fur manufacturers. The Greek workers held a mass meeting the day this story appeared and drew up a resolution of confidence in the union, stating their determination to stand with their fellow workers solidly supporting the leaders of the strike and to work with them to win all of the demands of the workers. When a delegation of Greek strikers went to present this resolution to the Greek National Herald, the news-

paper summoned the police and 15 workers were arrested. The paper refused to print the resolution, but it was later printed by the workers' weekly, Embros.

Because of the Jewish holidays during the past week there were no mass meetings in the various halls, but the picketing of shops was carried on without interruption. About 60 arrests occurred during the week on charges of disorderly conduct, but the majority of them were dismissed.

The worse the man the better the soldier.—Napoleon I.

Tyranny is power without right, and superstition is credence without evidence.—Patrick Edward Dove.



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Assorted Spring Thoughts

### The Harding Memorial

WASHINGTON, D. C. Is full of monuments to great men whom no one seems to remember. The committee of Congress on Grounds and Public Buildings really ought to get out a catalogue of these forgotten heroes of the stone and bronze age.

Of course, there is the Washington monument and the Lincoln memorial, which represent men whose deeds are so implanted in the life of the nation that they really require no monument to keep their memory green. But now comes a movement to erect a memorial to Harding, which, according to its promoters, is to put it all over the memorials of George and Abe as far as bulkiness and bigness are concerned.

I wish the boys wouldn't fly in the face of the eternal fitness of things by trying to outbuild the Washington and Lincoln monuments. What is wanted in the case of Harding is a plain concrete pedestal, representing the ground floor of a chemical foundation, from which rise four columns or statues depicting Daugherty, Fall, Forbes and Jess Smith, bearing on their shoulders a replica of the roof of the little green house on K street.

Behind a modest bust of Harding two allegorical figures should be placed, representing Ned McLean in the act of spreading mustard on a hot dog sandwich in the hands of silent Cal, while a cherub representing Doherty, Jr., is hovering over them with a little black satchel.

The above is only a raw outline of what I think a Harding memorial should look like, and the committee in charge is at liberty, of course, to fill in such details as they may regard appropriate in carrying out the general scheme.

For my own part, I never had a hankering to see myself standing on a cold granite pedestal, serving no better purpose than to offer a convenient surface for belated drunks and sightseers from the hinterland to strike matches on. What joy can there be balancing one's self on a stone for years and years and in all sorts of weather, listening to such insults as: "Say, Mike, who's that rusty gink up there?"

"Search me, Bill. Behind here it says 'Victor of Tippecanoe.'"

"Well, he looks like he might have rocked the boat." So I say no monument for me. If the monumental thoughts I have scattered around this vale of tears are not sufficient to keep my memory green, far be it from me to seek canned immortality.

### Earn Daily Bread by Not Eating It

The glass cage industry is booming in Germany since the announcement that the gate receipts of a professional faster named Jolly reached 25,000 marks for the first twenty foolhardy days. Now manufacturers are flooded with orders for glass cages like the one in which Jolly is making his living by starving, from ambitious Teutons who claim that food is the least of their worries.

The exhibitors, however, accept only their champion food misers, and so far only three of the horde of applicants have been accepted. Of the lucky ones, two claim they got their education during the war, while the third boasted of twenty-eight eatless days in Paris, but does not say whether as a prisoner of war, innocent bystander or guilty unemployed.

Come to think about it, there is nothing so excruciatingly funny about earning one's daily bread by not eating it when we consider that there are plenty of people, even in this land of the rich, who starve themselves for the sake of a "decent burial."

And how about the cheerful idiots going under the title of millionaires, who ruin their health, disposition and offspring, to say nothing about their immortal souls, by scraping more money together than they could spend in a dozen lifetimes?

What about a nation that saves millions in booze to spend billions on one glorious jag? What about the pious souls who drop a dime in the collection box for heaven's sake and then spend \$5,000 with Mayo brothers to keep out of heaven for a few years longer?

Yes, folks, this is a rummy old world and there are a heap of things crazier than starving for the sake of eating.

### Born Tired

When grandmother complains that Willie is "born tired," perhaps she is right. The popular suspicion that some people are weary from birth is supported by science. Dr. Max Seham of Minneapolis, professor of pediatrics at the University of Minnesota, declared in addressing the Midwest Conference on Parent Education in Chicago.

There are those whom science calls asthenics, meaning without strength. The asthenic cannot be expected to do what his more vigorous brothers do, any more than an engine can perform the work of one having greater horsepower.

Yet, while some children are born tired, others attain chronic weariness or have it thrust upon them by a nervous and emotional civilization, according to Dr. Seham. The growing complexity of social life threatens the health, nervous stability and future success of children, he warned.

"The trend of civilization toward excessive nervous and emotional habits affecting men already in early life makes the fatigue problem of vital importance," he continued. "It is unnecessary and dangerous for a child six or seven years old to study music and do home work."

Thanks, professor, them my sentiments exactly. I'm one of the little Willies that was born tired, and the more I see of our nervous age the more tired I get.

### The Bolshevik Hits Kansas

Lawrence, Kansas, had an awful scare the other day. Some one had hoisted the red flag of Bolshevism over the State university. It is true the hammer and sickle were missing on the crimson banner, but the rest was enough to make the good people of Lawrence see red.

It was at first believed that an emissary of Moscow or some student with a hankering to overthrow the government of the U. S. by force and violence had flaunted the red flag before the student body. But when the superintendent of grounds succeeded in dislodging the fluttering flag of revolution, they found nothing more incendiary than a beautiful pair of red bloomers.

The purty squad of the university is now directing an investigation to find out whether the bloomers were borrowed or stolen. For the sake of the good reputation of Kansas, let us hope they were only stolen.

Adam Coalidigger.

### The New Doxology

Praise Gold, from which all blessings flow;  
Praise it, all creatures here below;  
Praise it above the heavenly host;  
Of all our gods, praise it the most.

Praise it, ye poor, who want for bread.  
When by your priests and masters bled;  
Praise it, ye rich, for most of all  
The tollers' share to you doth fall.

Praise it, ye war lords, when ye thrive,  
When from your murders millions grieve;  
Praise Gold, your God, your Saviour King,  
To it with unctuous voices sing.

Praise Gold, from which all worries flow;  
Praise it, all sections here below;  
Praise it, ye d. d. the Trinity,  
The new, the true divinity.



## WISDOM OF THE POOR FISH

Progress Is All Right, but It's Got to Stop Some Place

## Industry and Incentive Viewed by the Fabians

### HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

ANNIE BESANT, since famous as the advocate of Indian reform, discusses the problem of industry under socialism. Among the most enticing portions of her discussion is that which deals with future incentives. The first general stimulus to labor under socialism, she maintains, is the starvation which follows the cessation of labor. Generally, men will prefer short and well-paid work to starvation. "The individual shirker will be dealt with much as he is today: he will be warned, and, if he prove incorrigibly idle, discharged from the communal employment. The vast majority of men now seek to retain their employment by a reasonable discharge of their duty: why should they not do the same when the employment is on easier conditions? The next stimulus would be the appetite of the worker for the result of the communal toil, and the determination of his fellow-workers to make him take his fair share in the work of producing it."

... If there is one view more certain than another to be unpopular in a socialistic community, it is laziness. The man who shirked would find his mates making his position intolerable, even before he suffered the doom of expulsion.

Reasons for the Gold Hunger Under Capitalism. But there would be more compelling motives for doing one's best than the negative motive of fear. "Under our present social system, the struggle for riches assumes an abnormal and artificial development; riches mean nearly all that makes life worth having, security against starvation, gratification of taste, enjoyment of pleasant and cultured society, superiority to many temptations, self-respect, comfort, knowledge, freedom, as far as these things are attainable under existing conditions. In a society where poverty means social discredit, where misfortune is treated as a crime, where the prison of the workshop is a guerdon of failure, and the bitter carving harassment of daily wants unmet by daily supply is ever hanging over

the head of each worker, what wonder that money seems the only thing useful, and that every other thought is lost in the frenzied rush to escape all that is summed up in the word poverty?

Non-Profit Incentives. "But this abnormal development of the gold hunger would disappear upon the certainty for each of the means of subsistence. Let each individual feel absolutely secure of subsistence, let every anxiety as to material wants of his future be swept away, and the longing for wealth will lose its leverage. The daily bread being certain, the tyranny of pecuniary gain will be broken; and life will begin to be used in living and not in struggling for the chance to live. Then will come to the front all those multifarious motives which are at work in the complex human organism even now, and which will assume their proper importance when the basis of the physical life is assured.

"The desire to excel, the joy in creative work, the longing to improve, the eagerness to win social approval, the instinct of benevolence; all these will start into full life, and will serve at once as the stimulus to labor and the reward of excellence.

"It is instructive to notice that these very forces may already be seen at work in every case in which subsistence is secured, and they alone supply the stimulus to action. The soldier's subsistence is certain and does not depend on his exertions. At once he becomes susceptible to appeals to his patriotism, to his esprit de corps, to the honor of his flag; he will dare anything for glory, and value a bit of bronze which is the 'reward of valor' far more than a hundred times its weight in gold. Yet many of the private soldiers come from the worst in the population; and military glory and success in murder are but poor objects to aim at.

"If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and strenuous effort, thrown by young men into their own games! The desire to

be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke of the Cambridge boat, victor in the foot-race or the leaping, in a word, the desire to excel, is strong enough to compel the exertions which often ruin physical health.

The Fabian Outlook. The essays close with a summarizing chapter or "Outlook" by Hubert Bland. Bland, expressing the sentiments of most of the Fabians, sees no hope in physical force revolution. "The physical force man, like the privileged Tory, has failed to take note of the flux of things, and to recognize the change brought about by the ballot. Under the lodger franchise the barricade is the last resort of a small and desperate minority, a frank confession of despair, a reduction to absurdity of the whole socialist case."

Assume that the process towards trustification goes on. Changes must follow in the political field. The extension of the suffrage has done more than make the working class articulate. It has given them consciousness. They will henceforth be heard clamoring for relief. Thus the coming struggle between the "haves" and the "have nots" will be a struggle of political parties, each conscious of the goal and the life and death character of the struggle. Political progress has, however, generally lagged far behind economic progress. We must therefore not be surprised if the progress in the future has no proper relation to the rate at which we are travelling toward Socialism in the spheres of thought and industry.

Principals Fighting on Side of Socialism. Nevertheless "those who resist socialism fight against principles and powers in economic places. . . . The continuous perfecting of the organization of labor will hourly quicken in the worker the consciousness that his is a collective, and not an individual life. . . . The intensifying of the struggle for existence, while it sets bourgeois at the throat of bourgeois, is forcing union and solidarity upon the workers. And the bourgeois ranks themselves are dwindling. The keenness of competition,

making it every year more obviously impossible for those who are born without capital ever to achieve it, will deprive the capitalist class of the support it now receives from educated and cultivated but impetuous young men whose material interests must ultimately triumph over their class sympathies. . . . Inquiry proves that socialism is built upon a triple rock, historical, ethical, and economic. . . . By the light of the socialist ideal he sees the evil—yet sees it pass. Then and now he begins to live in the cleaner, braver, holier life of the future; and he marches forward, steered and stimulated, with resolute step, with steadfast eye, with equal pulse."

Summary. Thus the Fabians of the eighties concluded their survey of economic trends toward a cooperative commonwealth, and their picture—based on developing tendencies—of the socialist society. With the Marxians they see socialism coming as a result of great economic and social forces. As has been elsewhere brought out, they had more faith than did the early Marxians in gradual, peaceful progress, as a result of the steady extension of the functions of the state, more effective political action, the development of education and the arousing of the moral forces of the community. They had little faith in a violent revolution as a result of cataclysmic changes. They emphasized in economic theory the inequities resulting from the private appropriation of economic rent rather than from surplus value. They sought to inspire devotion to the cause by visualizing the possibilities of associated production, while avoiding the impossible imaginings of the utopians. On the other hand, having as their chief objective the conversion of the middle class, they failed to provide to the worker the clarion call to action through the emphasis on the class struggle which the Marxians provided. On the whole, however, their contribution was a very considerable one to the socialist thinking not only in England, but throughout the world.

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

### Chapter VII BATTLEMENTS OF POWER

SENATOR GOODNITE wheeled his bulk slowly in the creaking chair and smiled.

"It's thumbs down for you, Minturn," he said. "You're a winner. You can go where you like, as far as you like, the sky is the limit for you."

One liked Goodnite even while one beheld his grossness and preponderant carnality. His moon-face, great belly and placid assurance were irresistible.

"Unlimited possibilities," he continued, his voice reverberating in his mammoth abdomen. "The governorship—the senatorship—and beyond." The "beyond" was indicated by an ungraceful flourish of the cigar.

Dan was reaping the reward of a personal triumph—the sweetest of all triumphs, those which artists win and feel most keenly. It had begun the moment he had left the House floor after the anti-injunction speech. His colleagues were now his followers. Even Andrews, defiant yet contrite, acknowledged his power by showing him difference in little things, and the majority leaders, including Hurst, made him feel himself a marked man.

Goodnite showed his appreciation by renewing his invitation to dinner. Dan refused and then suddenly accepted. It was different now, he concluded. He had put himself on record. They knew where he stood now.

Goodnite had chosen a Chinese restaurant. To its lacquered beauty, its air of sequestered leisure, its incense and quasi-romantic atmosphere Dan was sensible. He missed what was cheap and meretricious in the surroundings, and accepted only the surface appeal. In these surroundings his ego expanded. He felt himself Daniel Minturn, the potential leader of

his party. These Oriental trappings, the soft-stepping, almond-eyed Chinese waiters, the tea, the bamboo cages where canaries hung made a grand opera of the spirit for Dan. He lolled back in his chair with almost the abandon that his companion had. He was warm, sure, content.

Dan had not taken the trouble to answer Goodnite as he rambled on in his own good-natured way. As one man had put it, "listening to Goodnite was like standing on a railroad crossing, waiting for a train of empty freight cars to pass." The recollection of this joke made Dan smile and allowed him to feel superior.

"Thank the Lord one man's as good as another in this country," Goodnite declared. "You're the living proof of it, Minturn. Here you are a mere kid, with the political world at your feet. And you're a poor man, too."

"Yes, thank God!" Dan answered fervently, thinking of the little man and his luxurious home with whom he had adventure several evenings before.

"I like you, Minturn, because I am a good deal like you, independent and all that. I can look any man in the eye and tell him to go to hell. I liked the way you plunked it to 'em on that bill the other day. I heard about it from Hurst. It was big. That's what it was, big and potential. You'll go far. . . . Been to the University?"

Dan shook his head. "No? Taint nothing against you?" Dan said that he wished that he had a chance to live a University education down.

There was more of this "gravy" from Goodnite, so much of it that its effect upon Dan was lost. What Dan liked was the faint aroma of romance—the intimation of power—which being there with Goodnite gave them.

Finally the Senator said: "Look here, Minturn, there's a fellow I should like to have you meet. One of your kind, a self-made man, a winner, who has not a taint of the snob about him.

I think it would do you good to know him, Dan." This was the first time Goodnite had dropped into a full tone of intimacy. "A young fellow like you with such a brilliant future before you deserves a boost, and Hiram Goodnite is the fellow who likes to give it." His voice dropped to a whisper. "You know, Gaylard is in a position to help a likely young fellow like you in the political game."

This last idea popped out of the stream of lazy conversation into the center of Dan's consciousness with a shrill report. So it was Gaylard? And just what was the import of this fat man's kindness?

"I wouldn't cross the street to meet Gaylard," Dan declared, slowly and passionately.

Goodnite chuckled. But as he chuckled his shrewd eyes from under puffy lids never left Dan's face.

"Oh, ho!" he shouted. "You thought I was trying to fix you. Now, didn't you? You're as touchy as a racehorse. When I was only trying to do you a favor. I know Gaylard will slightly. I never play with him myself. I'm independent, you know. I can look any man in the face and tell him to go to hell—even Gaylard. I just thought it would be nice, you know, to help a likely young fellow along a bit." He chuckled.

"I don't need help from Gaylard," Dan answered proudly.

Goodnite ignored Dan's rising impatience. "Say," he asked, "you're not afraid to meet him, are you?"

"Dan blustered." Of course not. "You're not one of those fellows that's all talk are you, Minturn?" The fat man leaned back, his head upraised, poised, his mobile face stiffened, for once, in an a cute, teasing leer.

Dan hesitated. "I'll see him," he declared suddenly. "Though why, I don't know." When Dan had said that, Goodnite abandoned the subject, and suggested

they go to show, to the Garter, Lena Daly was there.

At the burlesque, the fat man . . . suddenly to have fallen into repose. He quitted in the chair his glowing eyes fixed on what he called the "live-stock" on the stage. There was one girl in the chorus whom Dan could not keep his eyes off. Her pretty legs moved so proudly; her face never lost its smile and radiant smile; she seemed glad to be there, youth unbroken, unbruised, on parade. Dan wondered how she could be so gay, alive, so unspoiled. Again and again his eyes came back to her. He thought he would like to know her, to dance with her. In that moment, he forgot Bricktop, and he hadn't forgotten her in days.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

### Panken and Claessens At Bronx Fellowship

Judge Jacob Panken will address the Open Forum of the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday, April 11, at 8.30 p. m. His subject will be, "Land, Labor Values and Housing." At the 8 o'clock meeting Leon Roser Land will speak on "A Friendly Universe." Solos by Genevieve Kaufman.

On Wednesday, April 14, at 8.30 p. m. August Claessens will speak on "Natural Differences of Men and Women."

### Norman Thomas to Lecture This Friday Eve. in Bronx

Dr. Norman Thomas, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, member of National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, associate editor of The Nation, and Socialist party candidate for Mayor in the recent election, will lecture this Friday evening under the auspices of the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue, on "Incentive in Industry." Lecture is followed by questions and discussions. All are invited.

## Banks and Hot Dogs

MORRIS ERNST told us this one. It seems that a Scotchman hired a hot dog stand in front of the Chelsea National Bank. A friend of his approached him and asked for a loan of ten dollars. "I'm very sorry I can't oblige you," said the Scot, "but you see it's this way. I have made an arrangement with the bank. They have agreed not to sell hot dogs and I have agreed not to loan money."

As we read the Bible, things were setting on pretty well until Paul got into the picture. "Then Paul spoiled it all." He was a hunch-backed neurotic who had visions and delirium. But he was also the First Go-Getter. So hot was his passion for organizing that he sold the Skeptic Greeks the idea of humility and non-resistance, two things about as alien to Hellenic paganism as one can well imagine. He set up Christian Rotaries and Kivans all through the provinces clear to Rome. He took the teachings of a sweet, lovable, rebel and made them orthodox. Because of Paul we have today absurdities such as the Y. M. C. A. with its snooping, neurotic, sex-baffled secretaries. Because of his work we have a church split into a thousand parts, as far from the real gospel of the Nazarene carpenter as Paris is from Peoria. Because of Paul again we have millions of harassed and unhappy souls who insist in the name of morality that everyone else shall be in the same condition. "But," says someone, "how would the teachings of Christ have ever been broadcast except through Paul's organizing genius?" And that, Brothers and Sisters, is the trick we all must master. How to organize idealism and still keep to the ideal. How to sell the spirit of Brotherhood without becoming Babbitts. If any little boy or girl knows the answer to these questions and will send it in to us neatly written out on one side of the paper only we will give him two of our bonds in the Irish Republic.

We were so hot up last week about the letters we got cursing us for our mild criticism of the labor movement (we could have done one of those "Now It Can Be Told" things, but we were too good-hearted to tell all we know about labor skates) that we plumb forgot to tell you the glad news, "Funny Face," Isabel's daughter, is the proud mother of three beautiful, fat kittens. They were born in our shoe closet two weeks ago and now have their eyes open, and very magnificent eyes at that. Isabel is not too stuck on her grandchildren. Every time she passes the closet, she lets out the most unearthly hiss. And when mother comes out to the kitchen to get her liver, grandmother sticks out her claws and makes passes at her.

We are going to take Isabel to one of those dirty old men with beards and have her psychoanalyzed. What sort of complex is it when you get a hate on your grandchildren? Whatever it is, it should be sublimated. They can't get away with this suppressed desire stuff this time because Isabel is herself enclitic (to put it delicately) and already her "kittens to be spoken for." But if you want any one of three unusually brilliant offspring of Funny Face's (they were born on torn up copies of The Daily Worker and have a distinct reddish tinge) drop us a line and we will be glad to send you the same f.o.b. Ninth Street.

Psychoanalysis fascinates us strangely. We think we will take it up as a business. To sit around all day and listen to nervous young ladies telling about their scarlet pasts strikes us as an amusing way to make a living. As a matter of fact, for some time we have been doing this, but purely in an amateur spirit. There seems to be something about us that inspires confidences from females. After one look at us they break down and cry and tell us that no one understands them. We can understand why they cry after one look at us. But it is hard to figure out why they think it is necessary to go on and tell us all about their intimate affairs. But as long as they insist on doing this, we might as well capitalize our peculiar talent. We understand that there is a lot of jack in this psycho stuff, and who are we to spurn the filthy stuff?

We got to meet a lot of interesting people. The other day we met the Pretender to the Throne of Scotland. Honest. He wore kilts and his knees were red and knobby. He wants to get up a revolution and seize the throne. We are for this. We said to him that he could count on our claymore (whatever that is) to the last drop. We are now busy composing march songs for the Pretender's army to sing as they seize the throne. We sing them in the tub in the mornings. Some of them are quite farcical. They are all about how much we dislike Englishmen. Particularly visiting Englishmen who go around telling you "decent people" should eschew Socialism. Yes, we mean Gilbert Frankau. If you want our opinion of that particular Englishman send us a two-cent stamp and we will mail it to you writ in blood on non-inflammable paper. Of all the

Will we see you at the dance given by the League for Mutual Aid on April 16? We hope so, because Mutual Aid dances are always grand affairs. In case you have never seen us you can identify us by looking for a good-looking young man about six feet two with rather charming blond curls and dark blue eyes, the one who does the Charleston so well, we mean. Till then, yours as ever,

McAlister Coleman.

### The Tramp

They talk of the joy of the open road,  
They preach of the pastures green;  
They sing of the lure of a nomad life,  
Who have only the bright side seen.

Yes, there's joy in the winding lane,  
Tween the scented hedgerows sweet  
(When there's money in your pocket  
And good boots upon your feet).

When the season's joyous spring,  
And the trees are all a-glow  
With the radiance of blossom,  
And the bees hum, sweet and low.

Yes, then there's joy in tramping.  
But when the trees are bare  
And the keen East wind is blowing  
And the ice fields leave their lair,

'Tis then the tattered nomad,  
Half-starved, ill-clad, wet-shod,  
Feels the cold wind grip his vitals  
And he feels like cursing God.

For it's hell to be a vagrant,  
Midst human vermin chased,  
When hope is down to zero  
And joy's flag at half-mast.

—Harry Lazenby.











# A m u s e m e n t s

## DRAMA

### Splendid Revival Of Old Melodrama

"The Two Orphans" Comes  
Back Strong at the Cos-  
mopolitan

THE treatment that the Shuberts, Dwight Deere Wiman and William A. Brady, Jr.—the last in direct charge of the staging—are giving to the old melodrama, "The Two Orphans," in all-star revival at the Cosmopolitan Theatre, sheds a gleam over the old play, and adds the weight of superb performance and true scenic presentation to the spirit of the play itself. Set in a fashion that recalls the time of its original performance, with the advantage of years of ease of motion, and acted in the spirit of good melodrama, without any attempt to often seen in revivals recently—to play down to or burlesque the parts, the acting alone would be enough to justify the long evening (8:15 to 11:30, though that will probably be shortened, somehow, soon). Henry E. Dixey unquestionably stood out, for his part as the valet gave him most opportunity of a spectacular sort, with rich comedy admirably captured. Of the other men, Jose Ruben had just the proper repressed fire for the cripple who helps the fair maid; Wilton Lackaye, who lacks the hardness the dialogue says he should have, swung his character into a splendid reproduction of his own nature; Robert Warwick flaunted his strong villainy as old stage villains should; and the rest, beyond mention, contributed to the limit their parts allowed.



Mary Nash

Of the women, it is impossible to select. Florence Nash has the early chance for a tearing scene she takes full advantage of, but Mary Nash has a wider variety of experiences to carry through with charm. Pay Bainter as the blind Louise undoubtedly evoked the greatest effusion of tears from the audience, highly wrought up over the fate of the poor orphan. May Robson was infinitely striking as the second-drearily mother of the cripple and the rogue; Henrietta Crosman—but we cannot go on indefinitely, and we wish to mention Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, hurrying over from her box at the opening of "Pinafore" (she being the original Buttercup), to play the matron of the prison where two of the fair heroines are imprisoned.

### Spanish Players Coming Here For Spring Season

Maria Guerrero and Fernando Diaz Mendoza, said to be prominent actors in Spain, will come to New York this spring with their entire company. Under the management of Walter O. Lindsey, they will be seen at the Manhattan Opera House during the week of May 17. It will be their sole appearance in this country aside from an engagement in Tampa.

Their repertory, as yet unannounced, will include plays by Jacinto Benavente, Angel Guimera, Eduardo Marquina and others.

Manager Arthur Jarvis of Luna Park announces that the "Mile Sky Chaser" and "The Pit" will be open every weekend until the official opening of the entire amusement park on Saturday, May 15. Several thousand enjoyed these thrillers Easter Sunday.

Marc Connelly, author of "The Wisdom Tooth," continues as an actor in his own show at the Little Theatre, due to the illness of Malcolm Williams.

## THE NEW PLAYS

### MONDAY

"LOVE-IN-A-MIST," a comedy by Amelle Rives and Gilbert Emery, will open at the Gaiety Theatre Monday night, with Madge Kennedy as the star. Sidney Blackmer and Tom Powers are featured in the cast, which also includes Frieda Inescort, Alice John, Mary Marble and Jack Willard. Charles L. Wagner is the producer.

### TUESDAY

"WHAT EVERY WOMAN KNOWS," by Sir James M. Barrie, will be revived Tuesday night at the Bijou Theatre by William A. Brady and Lee Shubert. Helen Hayes and Kenneth McKenna will head the cast. Other players include Lumsden Hare, Adelaide Prince, Dennis Cleugh, Rose Hobart, Jack Terry and Eugene Weber.

"THE BELLS," by the famous Frenchmen, Erickmann-Chatrain, will be revived Tuesday evening at the Bayes Theatre by A. E. and R. R. Riskin. Horace Braham, Sidney Paxton, John Brewer, Joseph Sellman and Violet Fortesque are in the cast.

### WEDNESDAY

"CHERRY PIE," an intimate revue, will be presented at the Cherry Lane Playhouse Wednesday night by Inter-Theatre Arts, Inc. The book has been written by Carroll Carroll and the music by Eugene L. Berton.

### In The Brussels Theatres

OF the three leading theatres for prose plays in Brussels, one, the "Theatre du Marais," is financed by a group of disinterested lovers of dramatic art; the second one, the "Theatre des Galeries," is self-supporting, and relies largely upon the financial success of Parisian boulevard plays, while the third one, the "Theatre du Parc," follows the middle of the road by offering now and then a light comedy in between modern plays which may or may not draw full houses.

Only a scanty number of Belgian plays, continues the correspondent of the "Christian Science Monitor," figure on this winter's program of the three above-named theatres. Henri Soumagne, the young lawyer-playwright, whose "Nouvel Meuble" proved a success in Paris two years ago, has had his play, "R. I. P.," accepted by the "Theatre du Marais," while the "Theatre du Parc" put his comedy "Fac-Simile" on its program with Suzy Prim of the Comedie Francaise in a main role. Paul Demasy's "Cavalier Elsa," also tested in Paris, will be heard this winter for the first time in Belgium at the "Marais," but interpreted by the actors of the Parisian Studio des Champs Elysees. The Parc Theatre recently showed "Les Autres," by the Belgian author Gustave van Zype and promises for this winter a play by Albert du Bois, a Belgian residing in Paris.

In fact, the lack of confidence in national productions is so great that the Brussels stages will accord more evenings to foreign plays than French than to the Belgian drama.

The "Marais," for instance, plans an entire Shakespeare cycle and has invited Pitoeff and his troupe to come from Paris and show G. B. Shaw's "Saint Joan" in Brussels; the Parc Theatre intends to have Suzanne Despres interpret Shaw's "Candida"; Pirandello had a vogue in Brussels during the past winter, but will have

a weaker showing this year since only Madame Simone plans to give one performance of "Vetir Ceux qui Sont Nus," her Parisian success, in Brussels at the "Parc." Two of Pirandello's compatriots, on the other hand, will have first nights in the Belgian capital this winter: Goldoni with his "Loandiera" and Rosso di San Secondo with "Passions de Fantoches." Plays by Gogol, Strindberg and Evreinov are scheduled at the "Marais," while the "Danish Mollers," Louis Holberg, will be reserved an evening at the "Parc." The Parc Theatre also will offer "Peer Gynt" with Grieg's music and performed by the Parisian cast which made the drama a fine success last winter in Paris.

French plays abound on the program of the leading Belgian stages. Of the classic and romantic drama, there will be some samples of Moliere, Beaumarchais, Diderot, Musset, Georges Sand, Corneille and Racine this winter. But modern dramatists of France will be represented from Francois de Curel and Henri Bataille down to the youngest: Alfred Savoir, J. J. Bernard, Fernand Nozieres and Zimmer. There will be a goodly number of Parisian boulevard plays, mostly by Andre Birabeau or Tristan Bernard, shown on the stage of the "Theatre des Galeries."

As usual, the Brussels theatres will invite Parisian stages to send their entire troupes for a number of guest performances to the Belgian capital. Thus Brussels is to see the actors of the Atelier, of the Comedie des Champs Elysees, of the Studio des Champs Elysees, of the Theatre des Jeunes Auteurs (formerly Vieux-Colombier), of Lugne Poe's Theatre de l'Oeuvre, of the Grand-Guignol, as well as one regular monthly performance of the Comedie Francaise. It must be added that these guest performances of French theatres draw the best houses in Brussels.

LOUISE GALLOWAY



Has the role of Martha in the new musical play, "Rainbow Rose," at the Forrest Theatre.

### Go From Times Square to the Neighborhood Playhouse by Bus

There will be no excuse for the lover of good drama if the theatregoer does not visit the beautiful Grand street institution, where they are presenting repertoire: "The Dybbuk" the first part of the week and three lyric dramas the latter.

A bus service will be inaugurated this Friday evening between Times Square and the Neighborhood Playhouse, the management of the theatre has announced.

The motor will leave Times Square before each performance and return from the theatre as soon as the curtain goes down. On the way back the bus will stop at various elevated and subway stations reaching all parts of the city. For the evening performance the bus will leave at 7:50 o'clock and for the matinees at 1:50 o'clock.

## "Juno and the Paycock"

Sean O'Casey's Dramatic Play of Irish Working  
Class Life Well Done at the Mayfair

"JUNO and the Paycock," Sean O'Casey's play of Irish folks in the midst of rebellion and civil war and struggle for bread, is a veritable delight. The piece that is showing at the charming Little Mayfair Theatre was written out of the very heart of a member of the Irish revolutionary and Socialist movement and it reeks with tears and rocks with laughter—one of the most amazingly human plays I have seen in these many days.

The scene of the play is a tenement in Dublin. It is the home of the Boyles—"Captain" Jack Boyle, his wife and their children, John and Mary. Mary is on strike against the "vintagization" of a girl she didn't like, but then "a principle's a principle," she says. John had been shot through the hip during Easter week, and then his arm had been blown off in the Free State war, all for the sake of Ireland's freedom. The "Captain" was a public house lounge, a good-for-nothing wastrel, and one of those Irish characters that are so delightful to read about, and undoubtedly so hard to live with. Juno found it hard enough to live with him, as he "st-thruted around like a paycock."

The Captain has a boon companion named "Joker" Daly with whom he wandered from barroom to barroom, with whom he poured out his heart's secrets and with whom he valiantly dodged all the jobs that came his way.

Mary had as her sweetheart Jerry Devine, charming and upstanding young man who knows more than the lot of the rest of them and who is working himself up to be secretary of his union.

In this more or less happy household the poor, maimed Johnny stalks around like a skeleton at the feast. He loves Ireland so very, very much—but he will not work to lighten the burden of his mother's life. Mary will strike for the sake of a principle—but she will not lighten her mother's life. The "Captain" undoubtedly loves his wife—but as soon as a job looms on the horizon he develops terrible pains in his legs.

Into the Boyle family comes Charlie Benthon with news of a legacy for the "Captain," a heritage left by a cousin who had died. Some half-forgotten relative had left a will with provision "for my first cousin and my second cousin." With his cordial welcome in the family Charlie takes Mary, and in a moment Jerry is forgotten for the shower, the more flashy youth. And the family celebrates its good fortune spending a lot of money (which had been borrowed).

While the lot of them are celebrating everything is interrupted by the funeral of an Irish boy, one of the neighbors who had been found dead on the roadside "beaten Flingless, riddled with bullets." There is a scene of terrible grief as the mother,

whose boy had died for the Irish Republic, sobs out her heart that sons should kill each other while their mother still live . . . and Johnny, soldier of the Free State, is lying on his cot with a bullet through his groin and his arm blown off in the fight on O'Connell street.

A month later; nothing has been heard of the legacy, and Mary is eating out her heart over the absence of Charlie. Soon we learn two terrible things—Mary is pregnant and Charlie is nowhere to be found; and there is no legacy.

The whole house tumbles about their heads. Jerry comes to ask Mary to take him again but when he hears that she is pregnant he runs away from her. "Why did you tell him? You didn't have to tell him before you were married," shouts Johnny. And the "Captain" and his bosom friend go out to celebrate with their last few pennies, and while they are gone the furniture is taken away and Johnny is taken away and shot as a traitor to Ireland and Juno and Mary are taken to view the body—and the "Captain" and "Joker" come rolling into the house dead drunk shouting, "Ireland sober will be Ireland free!"

Is it a comedy or a tragedy? The audiences sometimes laugh and sometimes cry—but they come to see this picture of poor old distracted Ireland as it is pictured by one of the fighters for Irish freedom, a man who came out of the ranks of Labor and who wrote what he says untrifled and unblinded by prejudice.

As the "Captain" Augustin Duncan gives one of the most remarkable performances of his brilliant career. A perfect picture of our dear Comrade Joshua Wanhope with his red face, his brogue and his burly figure. And the rest of the cast is perfect—all Irish, all intensely human, all delightful as Irish are delightful. "Juno and the Paycock" is a veritable joy.

W. M. F.

### "The Enemy" Coming to Bronx Opera House Monday

Channing Pollock's "The Enemy" begins a week's engagement Monday at the Bronx Opera House, after a lengthy run at the Times Square Theatre.

The cast includes Florence Rittenhouse, Russ Whytall, Charles Dalton, John Wray, Harold Vermilye, Walter Abel, Lionel Watts, Jane Seymour, Olive May and Donald Hughes.

"What Price Glory" will come to the Bronx Opera House the following Monday.

Dennie Moore is now appearing in the leading role of "Hush Money," Charles K. Gordon's melodrama at the 49th Street Theatre.

"By the Way," now at the Gaiety, will open at the Central Theatre on Thursday night, April 15, with a spring edition.

WINTER GARDEN

THE WORLD'S GREATEST ENTERTAINER

AL.  
JOLSON  
"The Big Boy Himself"

Second Edition

ARTISTS and MODELS

Cast includes PHIL BAKER  
and 18 GERTRUDE HOFFMANN GIRLS

WINTER GARDEN

SUNDAY NIGHT CONCERT

Always the Best Sunday Entertainment in Town

Stars from the LEADING BROADWAY

MUSICAL SUCCESSES and OTHER

HEADLINE ACTS

JACK ROSE, Master of Ceremonies

Opening Monday Night 8:45

RICHARD HERNDON

ALEXANDRE

GAVRILOV'S

BALLET MODERNE

PRINCESS

GEORGIA INGRAM, VERA STRELSKAYA

and a company of 15

TECHNICAL ARTISTS

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## THEATRES



A.H. WOODS  
presents  
**FLORENCE REED**  
in **THE SHANGHAI GESTURE**  
MARTIN BECK  
JOHN POLTON  
JOHN POLTON  
JOHN POLTON

## The NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

456 Grand St. Telephone Drydock 7515  
Evenings at 8:30. Matinees at 2:30.  
Repertoire—Thru April 25th  
Tues. Wed. and Thurs. Evens.  
and Wednesday Matinee  
**The DYBBUK**  
THREE LYRIC DRAMAS  
A Burmese Pwe  
A Haydn Opera-Bouffe  
A Chinese Fantasy  
"The Neighborhood Playhouse has made it exquisitely clear that it is not a playhouse for a neighborhood, nor indeed for the entire city—but for the whole world."—Frank Vreeland in the Telegram.

## DRAMA

DWIGHT FREY



In the Theatre Guild production of  
"The Chief Thing," now in its fourth  
week at the Guild Theatre.

Powerful Drama  
Is Well Acted

Excellent Performance of Werfel's  
"Schweiger," with  
Ben-Ami, at Mansfield

IN Franz Werfel's "Schweiger," presented at the Mansfield Theatre, the German dramatist achieves a tension and power more coherently sustained than even in his "Goat Song." The play is a probing and suggestive study of the relations of two sensitive persons held apart, despite their deep love, by the mystery that clouds one of them. And the clearing away of the clouds, that should bring sunshine of happiness, yields instead a light that is blinding, that destroys.

We are prone, these days, to seek everywhere for symbolism. Schweiger is too complex in his own nature to be wholly explicable as symbol. Something of the universal he does carry, of the non-resister, of the redeemer bringing relief to other sufferers, of sensitive man.

The characters that close upon Schweiger are more readily wrapped in symbol, for every force that plays upon sensitive man sees for his powers. Love, precurrent passion, of the earth that breeds and nourishes, is deepest; with its promise of new life, strongest at his side for the fight against evil. Science is there, with its over-charge of superstition and its promise of healing; religion, with its accoutrement of miracles and its held hope of salvation; the panacea of politics. All these whirl in a vortex of evil impulses and hatred, rising—and here the philosophy of the drama is searching and profound—out of loneliness. Evil is the tortured impulse of the lonely soul, of the spirit that finds no one to understand, to share, its hopes. When love is withdrawn, Schweiger cries backward—as madmen do—to the soothing of religion, man's earliest defense against dark terror. This falls him, and evil seems triumphant; but a memory of love brushes him to his own destruction; he conquers evil by dying. Insofar as this ending is not the dramatist's concession to his audience, it is Werfel's refusal of complete pessimism: man in his conflict with evil may destroy himself, but a new generation rises ever to continue the battle.

Loneliness, the source and ill-spring of all evil, seems an inevitable and eternal force, the "original sin," springing from man's inability to escape his ego, to enter wholly into the soul and spirit of another. From this rise all the moral inequities of earth, from the petty lies and deceptions of every day, to the manias, the dementia precox, Werfel exhibits as an example of man's need gone astray. Sympathetically translated and well acted, the play is one well worth the reading or seeing; no one can thoughtfully contemplate "Schweiger" and fail to have his vision broadened, his impulses deepened, his emotions made more true.

Paramount has purchased the screen rights for Theodore Dreiser's "An American Tragedy," and the book will be filmed exactly as it is written, so it is asserted. Plans for the production of "An American Tragedy" call for the making of the picture on a gigantic scale. The picture is to be produced by D. W. Griffith.

The Film Arts Guild will present this Sunday at the Cameo "Cyrano de Bergerac," Rostand's immortal drama, filmed entirely in natural colors.

W. L.

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## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

Just as fast as delegates to the National Convention are elected, their names and addresses should be sent to the National Office, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

A husky new local has been organized in Morgantown, West Virginia, and the State Secretary, Augustina Garbarino, promises others in the near future.

The following is a letter from a strong-hearted Socialist in Oklahoma: "I carried a petition for Debs' citizenship; got 37 signers. I live in a little town of probably 50 voters. I waited on most of them and have gotten six more dollars, which is enclosed, for the American Appeal, and am not done yet. We are going to start a Socialist local in this town, all right. I am 38 years old and my father used to read the old Appeal to me when I was a stripling."

State Secretaries and District Organization Secretaries are going the limit in co-operation with the National Office for organization work with the Special Organization Letter.

California's State Secretary, Lena Morrow Lewis, is in the field, neglecting nothing in her devoted efforts to help the comrades help themselves in Party building.

## 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.

## State Candidates

The Party enters the 1926 campaign with a full State ticket for the first time in years. We secured the necessary 100 signers in each of 10 counties to petitions to place the name of our candidate for U. S. Senator on the primary ballot. This is an unusual accomplishment. Only last summer we failed to secure the required number of signers in five counties. This is only one indication of the revival of the Socialist movement. Several requests for information have come in recently and indications are that we shall have several new branches soon. Plans are being made for the formation of a new branch in Altoona and a Jewish Branch in Erie. Names of Socialist candidates who will appear on the primary ballot are: For U. S. Senator, Cora Hixler, Lancaster; Governor, John W. Clayton, Pittsburgh; Lieutenant Governor, Henry Ernest Close, Philadelphia; Secretary of Internal Affairs, Dr. William J. Van Esen, Pittsburgh.

Montgomery County candidates have

## CHANNING POLLOCK



Author of the anti-war play, "The Enemy," which opens a week's engagement at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday.

D'Annunzio's Mystery  
Play Produced in Milan

BOTH D'Annunzio and Ida Rubenstein—the poet and the interpreter of mystery plays—received great ovations at Milan recently. "The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian" was produced for the first time in Italy, having been given fifteen years ago in Paris, when Debussy declared that he had put into practice all his theories on music for the theatre, so that his composition formed body and soul with D'Annunzio's libretto.

The presentation at the Scala was applauded, but did not escape sharp criticism. The tragedy was made somewhat bourgeois, and the martyr's strange Russian dance, exquisitely interpreted by Ida Rubenstein, struck a false note in a Christian drama. The Roman Catholic Church is no more pleased today than she was in 1911 that the heroic warrior saint should be impersonated by a woman whose charms would anciently have roused ignoble admiration in the Emperor Diocletian.

On the night of the performance at the Scala numerous young Catholic men assisted at a religious ceremony in the Church of St. Raphael, where the Sacrament of the Mass was exposed, and at which the Cardinal Archbishop officiated. Some of the congregation afterwards passed in procession in front of the Scala Theatre with uncovered heads, reciting a prayer in an undertone. The demonstration, though orderly and dignified, created a great sensation in Milan.

been nominated for Congress and State Senator, and the necessary 200 signers secured for the primary ballots, as well as 100 each for four representatives in the General Assembly.

Westmoreland County has also nominated a complete ticket and filed petitions. In this county the Socialist vote is so considerable that the old party candidates tried to secure the Socialist nomination, and in this instance a Democrat has filed a Socialist petition for the Congressional nomination. This means that there will be a contest in the primaries between the regular Socialist nominee and the other candidate. The regular Socialist nominee is our well-known State Committeeman, Harry Eckard, of New Kensington. The Democrat is Albert H. Bell. All Socialists in Westmoreland County should attend the primaries and vote for Eckard. We must not allow old party politicians to secure our nomination by any such trick. A contest is unusual for Socialists, with the result that most of our comrades do not go to the primary election. This is a mistake, as it gives the old parties a chance to steal our nomination. Westmoreland Socialists are urged to get out a full vote on May 18. The other regular Socialist candidates in Westmoreland County are: For Assembly, First District, John Fradel, Latrobe, and George H. Hunter, Unity Township (two to be nominated); Second District, Bertha Timney, New Kensington, and Henry J. Hufnagel, Irwin (two to be nominated); Third District, Anton Zornik, Herpinle, and Oscar O. Simpson, South Greensburg (two to be nominated). Vote for all of these candidates and guarantee your right to vote a straight Socialist ticket next November.

The State office is co-operating with the National Secretary in the membership drive. An attempt will be made to reorganize some of the towns where there were locals functioning prior to the World War.

Delegates to National Convention

Every good-standing member is urged to vote in the pending referendum on National Convention delegates, getting a ballot from his secretary if unable to attend meetings. The candidates for delegate from the 1st District (Bronx and Manhattan) are Claessens and Thomas; for alternate, Algernon Lee. The ballot for the 2nd District contains the names of the following comrades for delegate: James Battistoni, Buffalo; Wm. Hildesheim, Rochester; Herman Kobbé, Nassau; Edward H. MacDonald, Poughkeepsie; James Oneal, Queens; R. J. Riley, Kings; Theresa B. Wiley, Schenectady. The candidates for alternate are Claude Coumbe, Poughkeepsie; Henry Hotze, Syracuse; Ray Newkirk, Utica; Charles H. Roth, Buffalo; A. I. Shipplaff, Kings; George Weber, Rochester. Ballots should be cast on or before April 21 in the 1st District, and on or before April 23 in the 2nd District.

Important Notice!

The ballots on State Referenda "A," "B" and "C" are due next week. If you are qualified to vote, see that the proper party official has your ballot in time, so that it may be counted.

## New Jersey

State Secretary Leomans urges all organizations and individuals who desire to help the Passaic strikers and insure that all aid will go to the strikers to send funds or supplies to Herman Miller, 360 Lafayette Avenue, Passaic, N. J.

## Connecticut

The Socialist locals of the State are now voting for a delegate to the national convention. Karl G. Jursel and Jasper McLevy are on the ballot.

Any one desiring to donate to the fund that the State organization is raising to pay the expenses of the delegate to the national convention should send it to Martin F. Plunkett, Wallace Block, Wallingford, Conn.

## New Haven

Local New Haven held its regular monthly meeting Wednesday evening, April 7. Joseph Pede, State Executive Committeeman made a report of the doings of the last State Committee meeting.

Professor Jerome Davis of Yale college will be the next speaker at the New Haven Trades Council Forum, Thursday evening, April 15. He will speak on "The West Virginia Coal Strike."

## New England

Harry W. Laidler will speak in Boston April 22 at the Socialist Party headquarters, 21 Essex street. The subject is "Mexico's Struggle for Freedom."

Preparations for the New England District Convention to be held Sunday, April 11, at 10:00 a. m., at the party's headquarters, 21 Essex street, Boston, Mass., are complete. Indications point to a very successful convention and also that every Branch and Local in New England will be represented.

## New York State

The call for the election of delegates and alternates to the unofficial State Convention has been sent out by the State office. The following locals are entitled to more than one delegate: New York 16, Kings 10, Bronx 5, Queens 2, Schenectady 3, Utica 2, Syracuse 2, Rochester 2, Buffalo 2. Names and addresses of delegates and alternates must be filed with the State Secretary on or before June 15.

Organizer Stille has recovered from a severe illness and is canvassing for subscriptions to Debs' Liberty Bonds.

State Secretary Merrill announces that the Schenectady Trades Assembly

## WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers!

Always Look WAITERS & For This LABEL Waitresses' Union

LOCAL 1 162 E. 23rd St.

Tel. Gramercy 0843 LOUIS RIFKIN President

WM. LEHMAN Sec'y-Treasurer

## Yipseldom

After three months of planning and hard work by the members of Circle Seven, Manhattan, comes their annual dance on Saturday eve, April 10, at Webster Hall. The success of this undertaking will determine the amount of active Yipseel work that will be done in the Fourth A. D. Manhattan.

On Sunday, April 11, a few of the circles will get together and hike to the future camp of the Y. P. S. L. Circle Eight, Manhattan, has made some very fine arrangements for this gathering. All those interested in having a real good time and also seeing the summer home of the Yipseels, meet at Van Courtland Park Station not later than 9:30. Don't forget to bring some spuds along.

The third meeting of the newly organized Circle Two, Manhattan, will be held this Sunday at 3:30 p. m. sharp at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. The membership has doubled since its first meeting.

Mary Goff, a graduate of Brookwood College, will lecture at Circle Six, Brooklyn, this Sunday, April 11 at 8:30 p. m., at 167 Tompkins Avenue. Admission will be free.

The third session of the class in Socialism directed by Comrade Lee will convene at 2:30 p. m. sharp. Students will kindly take notice. Please come on time so that we may start promptly. Regular Rand School registration cards entitling members on the Y. P. S. L. to all privileges will be given at this class. At 4 p. m. the class in public speaking, directed by Comrade Claessens, will be held.

The meeting of Circle Two, Brooklyn, April 4th, was attended by 40 young Socialists of whom one half were actual members. The Circle has accepted a challenge to meet the New York University Freshman debating team on the question, "Resolved, that the U. S. Government take control and operate the coal mines." The team to represent the circle will be chosen by the process of elimination.

## Bronx Juniors

Circle Four's get-together on March 27 was a big success. Eleven new members were introduced at their meeting on Sunday, April 4. Dorothy Steinberg was elected in place of Kate Polstein as organizer. On April 11, acting upon the suggestion of William Babbitt, the new director, the circle will have an open discussion of the crime wave, laying stress upon the part that the youth of the land is taking in it.

On April 18, Marius Hansome, of the Rand School, will lecture. Subject announced later. Needless to say you are invited to come for a pleasant afternoon every Sunday, 2:30 p. m. at 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue.

On Friday, April 9, Samuel A. De Witt will give a talk on poetry before the Juniors of Circle Three at 1167 Boston Road. He will give his version of good poetry and illustrate by readings from various modern poets. Need we urge you to come?

## Never Yet

Share of Truth was vainly set  
In the world's wide fallow:  
After hands shall sow the seed,  
After hand, from hill and mead,  
Reap the harvests yellow.  
—Whittier.

## WORKMEN'S SICK &amp; DEATH BENEFIT FUND

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
ORGANIZED 1884

MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.  
Number of Members December 31, 1925

57,115

346 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York  
TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925.....\$2,530,781.98

Benefits Paid  
Death Benefit.....\$3,481,370.89  
Sick Benefit.....\$,461,033.81

WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES!  
in case of sickness, accident or death!

Death Benefit, \$250. Sick Benefit, \$360 to \$900 for 20 Weeks.  
For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch  
Financial Secretary of Your District

EAT YOUR BREAD WITH  
A CLEAR CONSCIENCE

Never before have the Bakery Workers been more in danger of going back to slavery conditions. The employers are now making terrific onslaughts on their hard won gains after many years of struggle.

Now, as never before, the Bakery Workers need your moral support.

The best and only way that you can help is to insist on the above Union Label.

EAT YOUR BREAD WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE  
and know that you are not doing so at the expense  
of Slavery to the BAKERY WORKERS.

## MUSIC

Last Week of the  
Metropolitan Opera Season

"THE TALES OF HOFFMANN" as a special matinee will open the last week of the Metropolitan Opera on Monday afternoon, with Talley, Lewis and Tokatyán, Didur. Other operas of the week:

"Don Quichotte," Monday evening, with Easton, Egner and Chaliapin, DeLuca.

"Bohème" matinee on Wednesday, with Bori, Hunter and Gigli, Scotti.

"Faust," Wednesday evening, with Mario, Anthony and Lauri-Volpi, Danile.

"Goetterdaemmerung," on Thursday evening, with Larsen-Todsen, Mueller and Laubenthal, Schorr.

"Don Quichotte," Friday evening, with Telva, Anthony and Chaliapin, DeLuca.

"Andrea Chenier" and "Petrushka" will be the Saturday matinee double bill, the former sung by Easton, Bourskaya and Gigli, Danile, the latter interpreted by Rudolph, Friedenthal and Bolm, Bonfiglio.

"Gloconda" will close the season next Saturday night, with Larsen-Todsen, Brannell and Lauri-Volpi, Basola.

At this Sunday night's concert Verdi's "Requiem Mass" will be given, with Mmes. Easton and Brannell and Messrs. Gigli and Mardones.

"Pierrot of the Minute" was first presented by Gavrilov in 1920 at Covent Garden. It has never been presented in this country. The choreography of this ballet is based on the principles of the Italian school. It was suggested to Gavrilov by the poem of Dawson, and the music is that of Granville Bantock, the English composer. "Spectre de la Rose" was one of the most brilliant numbers of the Diaghileff Ballet Russe, and was danced alternately by Nijinski and Gavrilov with that ballet in 1916-1917.

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## THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1926

## CALIFORNIA WINS!

WHEN New York had its Lusk's running amuck we were inclined to think that this state had won the palm of infamy. We still think so, but in the competition of the states for this distinction California has forged to the front and now leads all others. We are not now referring to its savage prosecutions under the anti-syndicalist law, by which the will of capitalists and bankers is enforced as law by the state.

What we have reference to is a recent dispatch from San Francisco which reads: "Children attending schools in California cannot be asked to write essays on the subject of Communism. Attorney General U. S. Webb ruled today. He held that the writing of such essays would necessitate a study of a subject which is taboo in this country."

We certainly have little affection for the American soviet, but since when has a particular view of society become "taboo"? Has the Attorney General of California the power to exclude consideration of certain views by the children of the schools? We do not think that he has any such power conferred upon him. Yet here he is exercising such power. He could just as well select spiritualism, trade unions, or any other ism or osophy that does not meet with HIS approval.

The same day on which this dispatch appeared another from London announcing that over 7,000 more square feet of space has been granted to open air speakers in Hyde Park. No discrimination is made against any movement. While England enlarges the area for free discussion an official upstart in California restricts it because it happens to be "taboo" to him and others. The difference lies in the fact that England appears to be civilized.

Brother Lusk will weep when he gets the news. The palm of infamy goes to an under-study in California.

## THE PENNSY HOG

RARELY have we seen a more informing contrast than the two items which appeared in the Herald-Tribune on Tuesday. In one column the handsome profits of the Pennsylvania Railroad are reported together with the happy cackle of President Atterbury over the juicy melon to be enjoyed by the owners. By the side of this is found a short statement in a box stating that this corporation had refused the request of the clerks for an increase in wages.

Observe this leading paragraph in the first story: "Complete recovery of the Pennsylvania Railroad from the effects of war-time Federal control and post-war labor tribulations is revealed in the 1925 annual report of that company made public today, one of the most notable in the history of the system. The road's net income for the twelve months ended December 31, last, was the greatest in a decade, aggregating \$62,220,324. This represents an increase of \$24,085,547 over 1924, and is equivalent of a return of 12.46 per cent. on the company's capital stock."

However, there is no "complete recovery" of the clerks from their "tribulations." They have been seeking to restore the balance of a wage reduction made in 1921 which amounted to \$7.24 a month. While President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad cackles over his juicy melon, managing officials of the corporation tell the clerks that the situation in the industry does not justify any increase in the rate of pay!

The contrast between these two news items is even more glaring than the reading of them indicates. Practically every railroad in this country carries an immense load of "water" upon which dividends are paid. The real return of the corporation on its stock is much higher than the 12.46 per cent. reported. This is a sample of the "prosperity" that prevails. Capitalism belongs to the hog family, its ideal being expressed by the Pennsylvania's rejection of the request of the clerks.

## PARTY BUILDING

A READER of The New Leader writes that a recent issue contained some news that is of considerable importance. He referred to the sale of due stamps by the National Office of the Socialist Party for the first two months of this year which shows an increase of 4,000 members throughout the country. Of course, this increase in the sale of stamps does not necessarily mean 4,000 new members, but the increase is so pronounced that it indicates a healthy growth in membership. That the party has reached a period of substantial rebuilding is practically certain, but there are problems associated with this work that are important.

With the entrance of the United States into the World War the membership increased at a phenomenal rate. It is now evident that such rapid increases are not a source of strength, but a source of danger. Those who are induced to join an organization under the stress of some abnormal situation are not necessarily good material to serve the organization either in a period of a crisis or in a period when normal conditions return. To render such new members a stable acquisition

we cannot rely upon the emotional loyalty which induced them to join. Valuable as enthusiasm is for any movement, unless it is accompanied by some sound educational work the enthusiasts are likely to be attracted by all sorts of views and to become the prey of any factional cliques that may appear on the scene.

This is actually what happened in 1919. We must build on a more firm foundation. The Socialist movement is something more than an ideal of a new society that will liberate the working class. It is also a movement of struggle, within the present capitalist system. Capitalist society is a complex thing and a Socialist movement to be stable and to function intelligently must see to it that its members acquire a sound knowledge of the present social order so that emotions will not dominate reason when acute situations face the party.

Long before the dissenting factions appeared in the party in 1919 there had been numerous "short cut" philosophers sniping from side lines. The only thing each had in common with other snipers was the habit of hair-splitting. They did not educate. They theorized and demoralized and paved the way for the organization of eighteen or twenty factions, sects or parties after 1919.

All this was costly experience from which we should learn. With certain evidence of an increasing party membership the next national convention faces important work, and it is to be hoped that it will avoid past mistakes, and as the party grows that it will deal more effectively with any "short cut" prophets who may appear on the scene.

## POST-WAR ESPIONAGE

HUNDREDS of thousands of workers drawn from civil life died as soldiers on the ground that the war was to "make the world safe for democracy." Just how safe it is may be judged from the exclusive story which The New Leader carries this week regarding the experience of Eugene V. Debs, who, with his wife, is spending a brief vacation in Bermuda.

Following the armistice in November, 1918, the governments continued their complex machinery for watching suspects and aliens. Identity cards were required. Suspects must report to the police at stated intervals. They must get the consent of police to travel from one place to another. When arriving at another place they must report to the police and when they leave they must make another call. They were indexed, tagged, and branded and their family history was stored in police archives.

One would think that nearly eight years after the armistice this bureaucratic police state had been junked. But not so. All of Debs' activities during the war and since the war are available to the police, and there is reason for believing that for a number of years the governments have been exchanging records of their suspects. It is certain that the British police in Bermuda know what part Debs played in the World War, yet he was forced to endure prying into his life and subjected to the humiliation of something like the third degree.

Where is the "democracy" for which billions were spent and rivers of blood flowed? With spies swarming in every port and men and women who think being dogged by police agents, the old Romanoff regime has been grafted upon the governments of England and the United States. Language fails us in expressing contempt for the official oligarchs who are responsible for this espionage, coercion and insolence.

## AMERICAN HISTORY

THE NEW LEADER calls the special attention of its readers to the first of a series of articles in this issue on the evolution of industry and the labor movement in the United States by Sam Fisher. This series has the merit of studying American origins. It has been the habit of American Socialists to draw upon British economic history for an explanation of the evolution of American capitalism. A study of British history is important, but unless it is accompanied by a study of American origins erroneous conclusions are likely to be drawn.

Although there are many factors that are common to the history of both countries, there are two of fundamental importance that are not. British capitalism issued out of feudal society, but American capitalism did not. American evolution has also been profoundly affected by the sweep of a people across a virgin continent, while England did not have this factor of the frontier in shaping its history. The British feudal analogy does not apply in this country except, to some extent, to New York, and, singularly enough, where the analogy does have some application it has been ignored.

While the evolution of American capitalism has many features in common with the development of capitalism in general, it also has its special aspects and without a knowledge of them we will fail to understand it and the labor movement which is its child. Then the institution of slavery is also another exception to the British analogy and its influence on American politics, psychology and economic history has been marked. That influence has by no means been obliterated because slavery was abolished sixty years ago.

Of course these articles are not to be considered final. They are, however, suggestive in their interpretation of American economic development and as such are worth the careful consideration of our readers.

The Federated Press reports this remarkable statement by Senator Edwards of New Jersey: "I am a high tariff Democrat. . . . Low tariff used to be a Democratic idea, but where Democratic states are developing factories they are changing over to high tariff principles." This is literally true, and it has special significance. Low tariff and free trade were dogmas of a ruling class in the South resting on slavery and agriculture. Democrats of that region expressed the interests of the ruling class. But when industry develops Democrats turn to the support of the new ruling class, owners of industry and their financial allies. Edwards knows whose collar he wears and the new ruling class knows where to find their poodles.

## What Is a Gentleman?



## True Blue-Bloods; Take Your Choice

By Yaffle

ALL of us, I suppose, must at some time or other seek an answer to the question, "What is an English gentleman?" "Can I be one?" "Are there any correspondence courses?"

We get so many ideas on the subject given to us that it is difficult to extract the truth from a mass of conflicting data. Many of you have been misled by the reports of the behavior of English ladies and gentlemen in Switzerland. They read how the members of the Sports Club at Murren, which is exclusive to public school and university men, get drunk every night, raid visitors' rooms and destroy their property, and go out in the small hours to make a noise for the purpose of waking up the patients in the sanatorium. So that many aspirants think that a gentleman is one who makes a nuisance of himself.

But these papers have not been fair. They have not explained that these gentlemen had to behave as they did. You see, the Swiss are a nation of waiters and hotel proprietors. And everyone knows how difficult it often is to distinguish between a waiter and a gentleman in evening dress. Sometimes it creates awkward situations. Only the other night I was having a bite at the Savoy and called to a man in evening dress and what, in the bad light, I took for common-place features, and told him to get me a Scotch. He replied, "Who the hell (gules) are you talking to?" And then, of course, I knew he was a gentleman. It was most embarrassing. So you see, as the Swiss are a quiet sort of people, real gentlemen have to be the opposite to show that they are different. It's an instinct.

And that brings me to one of the really remarkable things about Mr. Gilbert Frankau's book, (Masterston, A Story of an English Gentleman, Harper, N. Y.). For at one and the same time it not only tells us what a gentleman really is, but also tells us what the Independent Labor Party really is. I think they ought to have charged double for the book. But first let me tell you about the English gentleman. His father was a millionaire and left the lot to him. Being a gentleman he was a little ashamed of it. For a gentleman, you must know, is one who demands moderation in all things. A few hundred thousands—yes; a few, only a few, houses; a few, only a few, cars and horses; a few servants, and a few, only a few, brains. But when it comes to a million pounds the matter begins to verge upon bad form.

So he was inclined to let the millions slide and retain just enough for his simple pleasures, such as traveling

MR. GILBERT FRANKAU, rated in England as a novelist, is now lecturing in the United States. He has come to tell us what a gentleman, as distinguished from a Socialist, is. This review of his latest novel will give those who fail to avail themselves of the opportunity to hear Frankau a chance to know what he is all about.

about the world and doing a little shooting and hunting.

For you must have a certain amount of cash to be a gentleman. You must be able to get other people to work for you, in order to show that you really are the ruling class. You can't be a born ruler if you've only a cat and a push-bike to rule bornly. You must also be magnanimous, and you can't be magnanimous if you haven't anything to be magnanimous with. It is impossible to magnify with a packet of Woodbines. He also wished to keep on his job, which was unpaid adviser to the Nigerian government. He did that because he wanted to teach the natives how to be better, wiser and more humane. But he often despaired because Nigeria belonged to the Nigerians and not to the white man. So we may, I think, conclude that a gentleman can see no hope for a country unless it belongs to him.

However, he decides to come home and be of service to his country. But he didn't know anything about politics. Which brings me to the next great characteristic of the real Gent. Here is John Masterston, an honorable, generous, clean-living man with a strong sense of justice. You will ask, "Are those the marks of a gentleman? May we assume that everybody who has them is a gentleman?"

Not at all. You must have other qualifications; and what distinguished John from you is that he didn't know anything about anything. I hear you ask, "Do you mean he was just a fool?" Tut, comrade. He was a he-man of the open spaces, and was healthy indifferent to those subtle shades of thought, those emasculating introspections which—well, perhaps you're right. But what of it? He knew, or at least his author did, that he had enough to do in just being a strong, silent man. And so, when his friend told him what Socialism really was, he knew, doubtless with that instinct for self-defence which nature gives to hunted animals and millionaires, that his friend was right. And his friend told him, amongst other self-seeking aims at home, but mainly from involuntary contributions wrung

from the pockets of the Trade Union workingman."

The gentleman still thought, however, that the Socialists might mean well, but his friend soon scotched that by showing him their war records—how they "preached . . . the secret word to the enemy and the knife in the soldier's back." That convinced John. As he said, he had always thought that they wanted to help the working class, but he "couldn't get round that record." He knew then that such people "must never rule a race of soldiers which, whatever its faults, has never let delusion blind it to the truth."

The upshot was that the gentleman stood for Parliament, and here we get a real insight into the I. L. P.'s methods. The constituency was a Socialist one, where the Member "helped himself out of the workers' pockets," while his son was mayor and ran the place on graft. There the Council dummies earned more than skilled engineers, whole families drew \$25 a week for nothing, and there were "more Communists to the square yard than fleas in a blanket." It was a fine piece of writing. The only thing, I thought, that marred its perfection was that it left me in doubt as to which blanket.

Then came the election and the description of that ought to finish the I. L. P. for good. For, visualizing defeat, the Socialist candidate "summoned his toughs." On polling day he organized armed gangs, so that many of the voters dared not leave their houses, and at one meeting one of the Socialist's supporters attacked the gentleman with a razor.

Some people say that Mr. Frankau has got his facts wrong: that he is confusing the I. L. P. with the Communists and the Communists with something else that is not quite clear. Well, what if he is wrong in a few technical details? It's the spirit of the thing that counts. People who are in the wrong always fix on some trivial mistake of their opponents in order to try and escape. People try, for instance, to whitewash Nero by saying that he did not play the fiddle while Rome was burning, but that it was a mouth organ (organum mugs). To all that sort of argument I say Flah, except in the presence of ladies, when I say Tush.

What does it matter if Mr. Frankau, in trying to write about the I. L. P., is unwittingly describing the methods and theories of the Fascists or the Hungarian Monarchists or the Society of Awakening Magyars? His intention is just the same and the message of his masterpiece is clear. I'll just look through it once more and then perhaps I shall be able to tell you what it is.

## THE CHATTER BOX

## Lazarus

He may stumble stiffly—being obviously dead—  
This LAZARUS whom I meet every day,  
Or strut with braggadocio,  
As though to cheat the worms.

They know, and shrewdly find a certain way  
To pierce whatever coffin he may wear.

## NOCTURNE

I can resist the moon, the full moon,  
Glamorous, but obvious as an advertisement,  
The confidant of all too many lovers  
For me to breathe to her the secret of my love.  
To confide to the moon resembles writing  
To an "Advice to the Lover's" column.  
But I could not help whispering it last night  
To a small white star which winked at me.

—E. Ralph Cheyney.

## Escape

Blue fierce sky:  
Sky, you are blue and fierce today.  
But you do not scare me:  
I could endure you far more  
Than my silent home.

—D. S.

## Precaution

Here upon the hilltop  
The wind is loud and clear;  
It sings a song, beloved,  
That you must not hear.

And as we lie together  
I speak of many things,  
So that you may not listen  
To what the wind sings.

## Mockery

I am a little breeze,  
I fan the spark of your desire  
(To a glowing flame);  
And when its greedy tongue  
Leaps to devour me  
I run away and hide.

—Kate Herman.

Every now and at other times we come across a news item in the dailies where a young woman is found dead under mysterious circumstances. During the queer mixture of news reporting and scandalous print mongering that usually follows the discovery, the phrase "by a criminal operation" somehow seeps through the maze and leaves behind a trail of scarlet imputation.

We realize, indeed, how difficult it is to write truthfully about the substance of this "criminal operation" matter. The truth, to be understood in this case, must necessarily be blunt and bawdy; and rather than invite postoffice interference with this journal's mailing privileges, we must skid along deviously and just do a bit

more than hint the facts out to your understanding.

There are undoubtedly stern laws of the land that forbid, under pain of imprisonment, any unnatural prevention by medical men of a conceived embryo. And, just as with dope, liquor and prostitution, men who practice the enjoined art wax rich with their extortion, and the petty legal authorities who wink and even protect the malfeasances enjoy some of the illegal gains. It is hardly necessary to supply here descriptive phrases and psychology in order to portray what a cold, miserly, grasping and inhuman lot these abortionists medice are. The furtiveness with which they convey mystery to their distracted patients, the brutality they employ to wring the last penny from a frightened swain and the unfortunate sweetheart; the dangerous haste with which they hustle off their cases after the operation has been performed, are only part of the dreadful tale. When death does occur, and that usually from hemorrhages impelled by the crude hurriedness, the patient is not found on the premises of the physician, and so, unless the boy or man or the nurse turn State's evidence, it is indeed difficult to trace the direct responsibility. But all this is not altogether in point with our purpose.

Unwanted children, in a world like ours particularly, will always be the crux of a most complex sexual and economic problem. The rich can afford the highly trained specialists in surgical prevention of childbirth. The poor must either be celibates or have children. The more we see of the children of the poor the more we believe in dispensing surgical assistance by law through the Department of Health to such families as cannot afford to feed and clothe and house the living properly, let alone the unborn. We do not believe that even proper clinics for birth control, education, and practice will be a cure-all for our present-day economic cancerous existence. But we do feel bitter about the fact that the rich certainly do buy the finest surgical talent for these criminal operations, because they have the money for the extortion, while the poor cannot bear the burden of bearing further living weight in the form of unwanted children, and surely have not the means of prevention, by the way of huge doctor fees.

Of course, the high moralists will inject here the argument that this would open the sluice-gate of immorality among our unmarried youth. It might interest these begoggled Grundies to know that fully 50 per cent of the abortionist trade comes from the youth they are so much worried about, and heaven alone knows where it gets the hundreds of dollars per fee in this wild-oats unsowing process. And the Grundies might as well learn now that under prohibition our youth is drinking the older generations to shame and that dope is as plentiful today as ever it has been, for all of your laws. Take extortion out of abortion; take away the low graft from the low political protectionists; make clean, careful and life-giving surgeons out of miserable, law-doing, hasty money-grabbers, and let us apply clear thinking and humane reasoning to this most delicate of all our problems—sex, child, and life.

S. A. de Witt.

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

(Continued from page 1)

the United States of Coolidge, Mellon and the House of Morgan stays out of the League. If we stay out of the League there is a good fighting chance that the Socialists, or at least the liberal forces in Western Europe, may capture enough of their respective governments to make the League to some extent their agency. The America which supports Mussolini with its money which, if a member of the League, tip the scales the other way.

Again, while it is quite true that the whole world is a neighborhood and that nations are interdependent the Atlantic Ocean is still wider than the Rhine or the English Channel. Europe has some problems which are primarily European and ought to be worked out by the nations involved. League of Nations or no League of Nations, Europe will not get far toward peace until its small states move, if not toward a United States of Europe, at least towards some kind of economic union. Instead of being angry at the United States—the European nations ought to bless whatever gods they worship that we did not join the League in 1919 and underwrite the imperialist intentions of its founders. Such progress as they may have made towards sanity in Western Europe has been hastened because the imperialists of the allied nations could not count on the active support of the United States in the League. In an important sense, Europe must work out its own salvation. The United States should go more than half way to deal with it on problems of debts and disarmament. It should confer with the League on specific questions like the opium problem and disarmament. This does not require it to join the League.

It is quite idle to say that if the United States took the right attitude it could make the League better. Assuredly. But before we marry the League to reform it, we ought to reform ourselves. I should be quite willing to see the Socialist Party lay down specific conditions under which it would favor joining the League—such conditions as the inclusion of Russia and Germany, the democratization of the League, the end of the attempt of France to pack the Council, reservations against the use of war as a sanction, etc., etc. Such a program might be genuinely educational. It should be carefully worked out by a committee. Whether the Socialists of Europe know it or not, to refuse to advocate joining the League save on conditions would be far more nearly in line with the spirit of their declarations on the League, given the present state of the League and of public opinion in America, than a flat declaration by our party in favor of joining the League.

It will be seen that my main argument against joining the League has to do with international politics. A secondary but not unimportant argument has to do with tactics and goes back to the position stated in the second paragraph of this column. Those who would most likely be our natural allies in building a labor party in America are for reasons good, bad or mixed opposed to our joining the League. We ought to educate some of them out of their isolationist attitude. If it was clearly our duty on other grounds to advocate joining the League we should not be stopped by immediate consideration of tactics. In this case the international argument and the tactical unite in opposing a flat declaration in favor of joining the League. But let's remember that whatever the Pittsburgh Convention says on this subject the Socialist Party in America has far more important issues to face just at present than its attitude toward the League of Nations.

May I use this last paragraph of my column to urge New York Socialists to vote for August Claessens rather than myself as a delegate to the Pittsburgh Convention. I say this without even knowing whether Claessens is right—that is, agrees with me—on this League of Nations question. I know that on every count he deserves to represent the Party and can do a good job. I should never knowingly have run against him. This is the more true because as I told Comrade Merrill when I accepted the nomination there is considerable doubt whether I shall be able on those particular dates to go to Pittsburgh. He said to run anyhow and let any alternate go, but he didn't tell me I would be running against August Claessens.

Sheridan once said of some speech that it contained a great deal of what was new and what was true; but that what was new was not true, and what was true was not new.—Hazlitt.

Every new truth has to fight its way into recognition. Ancient prejudices have to be overcome. But the struggle on your part develops all your latent powers.—Eugene V. Debs.

If you want to know what are the civilization and culture of a country, study its working classes. . . . The other parts are but a replica—in fine clothes.—Michael Fairless.

A lie which is all a lie may be met and fought with outright. But a lie which is part a truth is a harder matter to fight.—Tennyson.

The man of virtuous soul commands not nor obeys. Power, like a desolating pestilence, pollutes whatever it touches.—Shelley.