Three M ths.

By Norman Thomas HE committee which prepared the agenda for our National Conven-tion did a good job. I hope com-rades in various locals 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 socialistic 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 can-not, 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 ollette 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 s better world.

Next week, if nothing happens to deter me, I shall discuss the applica-tion 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

The League and Imperialism

Let me begin by saying that the immediate importance of America's posi-tion 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 pos-sibly to a limited extent in Western Europe, has the League markedly affected imperialism either for weal or for wee. 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 abounding energy and great nat-ural 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 en 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

point to its complete failure to lighten | send the police after those who insist the burdens of imperialism on the that our social life may be diseased. backs, of exploited peoples. The New England Watch and Ward League has done nothing for China, Society has organized smut espionage the Syrians or the Riffs. This failure into a business, the Rev. J. Frank is the more glaring because France Chase being the official smutter. That holds Syria on a mandate from the worthy has fallen foul of an article League. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the League may yet Mercury which considers a phase of do something, at least to air the grievances of these exploited peoples, and certainly to abolish the League will the article is true to life. He will connot help the subject peoples.

When we turn to the affairs of Western Europe, there is something to be said for the League. The flasco at Geneva leaves the League's prestige who arranged to go to Boston and sell even there at low ebb. But it is sigeven there at low ebb. But it is sig-nificant that most of those parties and the Rev. Chase. Ere this appears in individuals who sincerely desire peace print it is certain that copies of the Europe are supporters 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 in New England. The smutter is generunder the head League of Nations, in the agenda. I do not believe that it is

Debs, in Bermuda For Rest, Spied On By Authorities

UGENE V. DEBS, trailed and spied upon by U. S. Secret Service agents for the greater part upon by U. S. Secret Service agents for the greater part upon principles, activities, etc. They vice agents for the greater part of his life, has not avoided their solicitious attention even for the few father and mother were born, and weeks he is taking on a vacation, with much more about my family life, my Mrs. Debs, in Bermuda.

Writing to the national office, Debs

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 inevstigate my case. A long and detailed interview followed in which they demanded specific and detailed information, but treated me with all personal the courtesy. They asked me questions them without number covering my life from the day I was born, taking down my answers in writing and making copious any propaganda matter with me, and it notes covering several pages. Of (Continued on page 2)

own, of course, in particular-what labor organizations I belonged to, what political party, what business I was engaged in in the yarious periods of here the proprietor, a very fine man, my life, what subjects I lectured on, informed me that some government whether I had ever been in England, or Canada, what prisons I had been in and when, etc., 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. The 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 So-cialism and received full information; they then asked me if I had brought

LOVETT IS RE-ELECTED HEAD OF INDUSTRIAL COMPLETE VICTORY NEAR **DEMOCRACY LEAGUE**

an editor of the New Republic, was reelected 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:

Vive-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 elec trical 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—Stuare Chase, certified public accountant, author of "Tragedy of Waste." director of the Labor Bureau, Inc.; Chairman of the Board of Directors, Norman Thomas; secre-

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

FUR STRIKERS ARE HELD PRISONERS BY BOSSES:

SPECTACULAR rescue of eight R OBERT MORSS LOVETT, professor of English literature of Valley, New York, occurred on the University of Chicago and Friday April 2. Early in the week the union received word that a certain Benjamin Eisenberg had tele-phoned 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 zo with him to Spring Valley and had been told that if he did not like the job there, he ould leave it any time. When a few days after his arrival he tried to re turn to his home, he was threatened by the armed guards and held virtually prisoner for three weeks.

Isidor 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 (Continued on page 4)

ITS COLONIAL **OFFICE**

Congressional Foreign Affairs Head Admits Porto Rico Is Military Colony

HAT 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 Insu- the reduction of military service to ten lar Affairs is equipped to do this work, as it now has charge of Porto Rico of Deputies by the Socialists, the Beland the Philippine Island.

"It is really." Mr. Kiess said. "our time to do something definite. American colonial office for overseas possession."

The American Federation of Labo placed under military orders and authority, because it is repugnant to every principle of the United States lemocratic form of government, that NEW YORK WOMEN the civil rights of these peoples be sub-jugated to military bureaucracy. In connection with this, the speech de-livered 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. Kiess' is passed the military intervention in civil affairs will be legalized by an act of Con-

The American Federation of Labo has demanded time and again of Concress and the President that the affairs of the Porto Rican people be transferred from the War Degirtment to a

Shoe Town Workers Victims of Anthrax HAVERHILL, Mass.-A 65-year-old

vorker at Lennox & Briggs Company shoe worker, who has a boarder at her home from the same factory, are vicdisease occasionally contracted by has been handling raw skins, some living up to party pledges. from India and Africa. seems to have received the disease through an arm scratch which came in contact with the boarding tannery disease are now usually saved.

U. S. EMPIRE HAS Belgian Socialists Form Anti-Fascist Guard of Workers

R ECENT provocative acts by the ganization of an anti-Fascist militia on the style of the Austrian Socialists who would like to see a dicta- Republican Defense League. orship à la Mussolini running that progressive little kingdom instead of both the unionists and the Socialists the Socialist-Catholic coalition have has called for popular donations for caused the labor union and Socialist the purpose of organizing and uniformparty organization to take steps to nip ing the anti-Fascisti and funds are 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 nen, tried to make a violent street demonstration last February against months forced through the Chamber labor leaders concluded it was

Donations Asked For Consequently, the Trade Union Com-

mittee and the General Council of the appeared before the Committee on Ter-ritories and Insular Possessions of the denouncing Fascism and warning the Labor Party issued a joint manifesto Senate to declare itself against the feactionaries that violence would be civil governments of these islands being met with violence. This has been followed up by the beginning of the or-

Louis de Brouckère, speaking for

coming in rapidly. De Brouckère notes that the young reactionaries are being instructed by emissaries of Mussolini in the tactics of street warfare and he ncludes 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 lead-A few days before there was a clash in Liége when a number of So-cialists and Flemish college students rushed an organization meeting of (Continued on page 3)

AGAIN LOSE FIGHT FOR 48-HR. WEEK

NEW YORK women workers got stung on their hope for a 48hour 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 vorkers 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 spon or of the bill, blames the New York clated Industries for defeat of the ill by spreading misinformation.

The Republican party pledged support of a 48-hour law for women in its 1924 platform. Last year the Women's rt of a 48-hour law for home from the same factory, are victims of anthrax, malignant cattle League, and other women's organizations working for the passage of the leather workers. The man affected bill reproached the Republicans for not 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. worker's garments. By serum treat-ment, victims of this formerly fatal the bill were company union agents security of tenure all else is doomed

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

HE 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 rden 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

ON COAL UNION Secretary of Treasury

MELLON'S FIGHT

Bested in Attempt to Pittsburg Miners' Standards

66 PITY the poor coal barons' reads a Wall Street Journal headline introducing editorial Pittsburgh Coal Co. But labor will see in the report evidence of how the Mel-lon brothers have fizzled in the attempt to put their big coal company into the nonunion column.

Just a year ago Secretary Mellor and his brother put a dummy presi-dent in charge with orders to fight the union. On April 1, 1925, the Federated Press carried the story that Pitts-burgh Coal had locked out its mineral 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

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 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 ac-count 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 outerter while the company was still union On the financial side the report shows a loss of \$1,266,940 or 29c. a ton. In 1924, the last full year of union opera-tion, there was a net profit of \$281,888 or 3c. a ton on a production of 9,070,-

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 employes of the Pittsburgh Coal Co. who have been working under the 1917 wage scale since last August to the number of

nore 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 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

onage maintained by private organizations on literature. The smut hound has become a permanent institution. land, the smut hounds cannot

The Smutters

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 that ugly social sores exist, and they In the April number of the American small town life in the Middle West. The Rev. Chase will hardly deny that tent himself with asserting that it is improper to conceal what the article reveals. The smutters have been challenged by H. L. Mencken, the editor, April Mercury will be selling at a big increase in circulation, especially ject. We wish that The New Leader

One of the whole labor movement, and we hope not believe in a particular creed his, not willing to admit. At any rate, it carried down in the general ruin and

Grafters Form States is a para- democracy. One More Klan dise for charla-tans. With the when Colonel Simmons was the Im- struggle. Through the Supreme charlatans may then start the Super Kingdom. We understand that Sim-

The United should be the realization of industrial consent of working-class voters. Pas-

tans. With the Ku Klux Klan on the decline the "Supreme Kingdom" appears to take its Passaic's Hell The Strike of Passaic textile workers continues while Senator Ed.

The Strike of Passaic textile workers continue to desert the farms for the cities. The The strike of place. The new organization is spon-sored by E. Y. Clarke, who sold the Klan to morons all over the country tellect to an understanding of the After visiting Passaic he perial Lizard. Clarke afterwards was said "there isn't any strike," but later exposed in a nasty mess with a sweet observed that "only 10,000 workers are "lady" who also engaged in marketing involved." As a conspicuous "wet" we wonder whether his bootlegger served Kingdom Clarke now proposes to make him from the wrong vat. Then the war in defense of religion, morality, Senator is sure that "low wages have God and the Constitution and war nothing to do with the case." We turn against evolution, atheism and red- from this Democrat to consider an af- on Jan. 1, 1925. There was a movehave no doubt that this fidavit made by Miss Justine worthy will succeed in selling this daughter of Rabbi Wise, who for four thing to many thousands until the months in 1924-1925 worked in Passaic cotton mills under an assumed name. position of the Socialist International, ally too stupid to understand that arated from the national organization ined by the U. S. Department of Labor

phases of our that it will get a smashing blow in welfare is bound up with the welfare of all workers. Our problem is state like New Jersey a man like this reward of many who decided to keep economic, not religious, and our aim can go to the U.S. Senate with the cool with Coolidge sale is one result of this folly.

> Farmers of the In Argentina economic revolution which has condecades has for six years been trans-old one. The Socialist popular vote forming 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 cal-accounts of the election. endar year 1925. On Jan. 1, 1926, the estimated farm population was 30,-655,000, as compared with 31,134,000 year, so in the absence of data showon Jan. 1, 1925. There was a move-ment of 2,035,000 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 | feat of the Radicals supporting Presileaders begin to nght over the plunder that Miss Wise found that women worked of 901,000 persons. This figure is redent Alvear, who saw their Deputies history of the Klan will be repeated. all night and that the night law of history of the Klan will be repeated. In hight and that was ignored by the deaths on the farms. The births on textile masters. And what of wages farms totalled 710,000 during the year fifty-nine seats, thus becoming the which the Senator says "have nothing to do with the case?" Miss Wise found wages so low "that mothers and the trend to the city to 479,000. The and the Democrats three. On April 1 mons, who was edged out of the Klan grandmothers were forced into the corresponding figure of net loss in 1924 President Alvear ordered the ending of mons, 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 separated from the national organization after the control of the exception of a few highly skilled workers, receiving anything near what has been determined by the U. S. Department of Labor have not seen the figures of the loss of the loss of the old Chamber of the sessions of the old Chamber of which is stated in paragraph four, publicity for his trade defeats its ob- on the ground that the state charle- to be a minimum wage." Spies infest by regions but there is little doubt that and De Tomaso. on the ground that the state charta. The transport of the textile hells and Miss Wise herthe agenda. I do not believe that it is necessary in endorsing this general position for our party to favor the experiment of the United States in the League of Nations at this time. Ceratically not, except on conditions much more rigorously and explicitly stated than any contained in paragraph four of the agenda. I believe that we can of the agenda. I believe that we can of the agenda. I believe that we can of the agenda. I believe that the section west of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and north to the soplionage system that supreme charlatant is source, and we certainly envy the in Atlanta. Just how many varieties of Klans and Klanlets are now plucking the splonage system, which was doing the esplonage system, which was doing from this general position for our party to favor the League of Nations at this time. Ceratically the splonage system, which was doing from the splonage system, whic 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 (Continued on page 10)

The tragedy of this is that workers and be tragedy of this is that workers are divided by such movements and but their physical presence in Americans in anything time of labor. The economic prostration of the section is the most serious to their physical presence in American history but eastern publications are saying little about it.

The costs of the suit will also be charged to Rev. Chase and his cronies. Espionage, whether private or public, are herded together by professional grafters in behalf of aims that are illusory. Whether he believes or does backers or else he knows what he is Thousands of small banks have been the Constitution.

Completion last Socialist Gain week of the offi-

tions of March 7 for one-half of the

members of the Chamber of Deputies

new Chamber, against eighteen in the

in some parts of the country is re-

ported to have made big jumps, but just what the gains amount to will not

be known until the arrival of detailed

year, so in the absence of data show

ing how many Socialist Deputies had

on. This is the

cial count of the

votes cast in elec

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The Field of Labor

Boston Building Workers Strike and Settle

-About 100 cement finishers, terrazso workers and helpers are strik-se employers failed to sign the new wage rates with the union. The woposed rates are \$1.25 an hour until September 1 and \$1.37% for the remainder of the two-year contract period. Steamfitters and helpers are take for an increase from 80 to 90 cents an hour.

Capital Builders Threaten Strike

Washington,—Threat of a general walkout of building trades from job atrolled by contractors in the District of Columbia who try to use strikehave already gone to work on a number of hig downtown exeavations, a strike for a \$2 raise by the steam shovelmen began April 1, half of the likers winning their demand the first day.

Silk Union Organization Drive Begins

industry at Paterson is the goal of the Associated Silk Workers. First s are being taken to organize silk dye house workers who do 85 per cent. steps are being taken to organize slik dye nouse workers who do of the slik dyeing of the country. The union is also consolidating its organization of broadslik 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

hiesge.—While union demands have not been presented to the Chicago ractors, Local 5, Plasterers' International Association, is practically ready to ask a \$2 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 \$1.58 scale, which expires May 1. A honus of several dollars a day has been made customary by contractors to rush big buildings, the owners figuring that an extra month of will far outweigh the relatively small addition to the construction

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, fellowing the international convention in Des Moines in July,

Half of Capital Strikers Quickly Win

Washington.—Within 24 nours after they went on strike for a raise in pay from \$10 to \$12 a day, half of the 125 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

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 helidays and no work Saturdays under any circumstances are

Reading Hodcarriers Form Local Union

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

Conductors and Trainmen Meet Rail Executives

Chicago.—Wage conferences began April 5 between the Order of Railway enductors and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on one side and the rage committee of the western railroads on the other. Return to the 1920

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 tit large ones have also suspended.

DEBS SPIED ON

seemed to relieve them when I answered in the negative. They then pened a ponderous volume and read to me the law concerning the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, and I straining its drastic provisions. The migration Inspector then served no tice 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 listened with smiling indulgence if not approval.

"Now as to what will be the outcom of the investigation, I, of course, do not laly one of "watchful walls or quite as certainly can I go or stay with

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"Now finally, it is not at all certain 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 surrised if I had to view the statue of Liberty by Bartholdi (who once called ne a 'noble American') in New York harbor from afar through the wistful eyes of an undesirable alien.

to the state of my wife's health.

'How strange it seems that my humole speeches and my feeble efforts and activities in the cause of the people immediately left the State, realizing party in the city. In the first trial at should have excited the fear, wrath from experience that all the blame of the polls the Government party (the and vengeance—or shall I say, inspired this clash would be placed upon them Liberals) ran third, so in the final electhe anxiety, vigilance and solicitude of if the mine operators and an all too tion its voters joined with the Opposi-

the world! dearly wish you and all you good com-rection of Governor Charles R. Mabey four aldermen, against five Socialists rades at headquarters who are work-and assumed control. Miners were and one Agrarian. Dr. Pistner was ing so hard and loyally, and who so rounded up from the various camps first on the Socialist list, thus heading well deserve it, could be here to enjoy and two surveyors' helpers accom- the invasion of the Czernowitz city with us the beauty and wonder of these panied by the operators' sheriff, the council by the workers. enchanted islands. I feel something strongly akin to a sense of guilt in ators' financial representative, identi- Socialists played a big part in rolling

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Framed Utah Miners Cleared After Serving Year in Jail

By Frank L. Jensen

UKIS, Pagialakis, Krairis and Kambourakis have been re-leased 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 re-1926. turned to their jobs immediately. Ku-kis was released later upon receipt of his parole papers.

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 Zulakis, 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 innecent victims of industrial warfare in Utah The strike of 1922 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 com-pletely unionised. 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 system-atic campaign to bring in the militia with the object of depriving the miners 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 as sembled miners. With unparalleled arrogance they subjected the miners and the miners' families to every in dignity and they even denied the Governor of Utah to use a public highway

But in the face of such extreme ar rogance, they were still unable to create a state of violence that would justify the bringing in of the militia. They importuned and besieged 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 mi-

Finally on June 14, 1922, they succeeded in provoking an armed clash On that fateful day a carload of strike-breakers was being brought to the Standardville mine. Ten or twelve 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 have any preference it is due wholly two months to picket trains at a point that I shall be permitted to re-enter train would have to stop, were fired the land of my birth. I know that I 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

Webb, was killed. The miners involved in the shooting

operators' paid attorney and the oper-Then began a long legal

this manner, with first degree murder, their partisans in the majority in many These "Greek strikers must be taught box was against them. In most of the their places." They had questioned larger cities, such as Bucharest, Jassy, the right of operators with their hired Constansa and Temesvar, the Opposi 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 in Carbon County. Every man, woman and child was either pro-miner or prooperator and the pro-operator element succeeded in sitting on the juries.

Flimsy Evidence Used The first case called was that of

THE COMMUNITY FORUM Park Ave. and 34th St.

SUNDAY, APRIL 11th

Professor J. J. Cornelius of India 'Indian Problems on the Hands of British Propagandists''

11 A. M.

John Herman Randall The Coming of a New Humanity

Kukis—the man just parolled. He was convicted of second degree murder on evidence so filmsy 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 thange 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

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

County and Pagialakis drew a sen-

After defeating all the operators in Salt Lake County, the remaining vic-tims were admitted to bail in ridicu-lously small amounts. Men charged with first degree murder were released 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 the Supreme Court felt in duty bound to confirm the convictions in spite of the fact that in the case of Pagialakia 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 Pete Kukis. The Board gave the matter some consideration but because of some opposition within the Board, de parole was granted.

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

Liberty loving Utahans will long remember that eight of these men held in prison on the flimziest of pretexts for eleven and a half months 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 merely with legal formalities incident to a complete pardon and with a more enlightened and considerate officialdom new 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 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 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 esults 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**

7 HEN 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 Februelections it felt obliged to enter into temporary combinations with the other Opposition groups in order to defeat as many of the so-called Lib-In the battle some of the miners erals as possible, but in Czernowitz, were wounded and one gunman, A. P. where Dr. Pistner edits Vorwaerts, a daily Socialist paper, the Socialist vote rose to 3,404, making it the strongest the two most powerful and professedly willing officialdom could fasten the tion Bloc against the Socialists and the most Christian, humane, enlight- blame upon them. Accordingly they Agrarians. This new combination in spite of the Liberal oligarchy, treatened and progressive governments in immediately left the county and the polled 6,132 votes, which, under the e world!

State. The next day the militia was Rumanian municipal election system, in spite of everything, the moment has gave the bourgeois Opposition twenty-

In many other cities and towns the rigorously and cruelly denied to many as being participants in the battle. The who most deserve it."

fied numerous men of various camps up a popular vote, far in excess of that cast by the Government party, alcounty attorney issued complaints though the Bratianu forces managed charging sixteen miners, identified in to manipulate the results so as to put cases where the verdiet at the ballot tion 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 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 member the underhand persecution of a safe majority for General Averescu, is expected that the Socialists will elect enough Deputies to make themselves a factor in Parliamentary de-bates and activities. The new election law passed just before the old Parlia adjourned provides party polling 40 per cent. of the votes

ROBERT HERRICK

UPTON SINCLAIR

COMMUNITY AUDITORIUM

Thursday Evening, April 15th, at 8:15

gets half the Deputies and then par ticipates 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 their rights; in spite of the franchise law of proportional representation for men and women being grossly falsified; ing politics as a profit-making concern, ment in power.

"These elections have tremendous significance. The Maffia regime of the Liberals, which weighs on us like a 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 appailing tortures in the dungeons and niean a strengthening of the police spy system of the Siguranza and of the gendarmerie in citizen life-a danger not only to general freedom but indeed one to personal security. "Remember all those who as a sacri-

said to favor joining the Union of fice in the fight for freedom have languished in prisons and in the salt mines! Hemember all those who have 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 apring

eason, The People's Institute of New The Revolt Against Mammon ark will hold a banquet on Sunday ening, April 18, at Schary's Manor, Clinton Street, Newark. will be "What Is New in the Political Field for Forward-Looking People?" Morris Hillquit will represent the Soialist's viewpoint and Senator Burton Carl Van Doren, A.B., Ph.D.

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, vis., the miners, metal workers, transport workers and factor;

Jouhaux, Mertens, Leipart and the three secretaries, Oudercest, Sassenbach and Brown, attended as the representatives of the executive, and Fimmen (Transport workers), Hodges (Miners), Ilg (Metal workers) and Stenhuls (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

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

F 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 "working week," a point which is assumed to be generally known. Gernany considered that, in view of the Dawes Plan, the authorities no longer and 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 divergency 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 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 atters, while in addition a whole series of desiderata of secondary importance vere 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

ue to them by virtue of the convention.

One or two governments succeeded in securing interpretations which dightly 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 Interna-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 recommenda-tions were passed unanimously. Especial attention was given to the question

America. The great extent of the emigration of Spanish workers to the South

American countries may be realised from the fact that something like 256

million pesetas per year are received by the Galician savings bank from South 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.

of co-operation with the emigrant land workers' organizations in

Dutch Keep Disarmament Plan Alive

THAT the Dutch unionists and Socialists are determined to keep their dis-armament 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 determinaion, as the growth of the labor movement and the simultaneous development of the League of Nations into a more democratic institution, will steadily

essen the dangers to which a defenseless country is exposed. Without either considering or advocating the possibilities of disarmament nother 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 democratisation of the army and adds: "The Labor parties of the small countries may not rest, however, until complete disarmament has been accomplished. 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."

Delhi Assembly Defending Unions

on the organization of labor while astensibly enacting Tegislation protecting at legalizing such organizations are meeting with stubborn resistance in the National Assembly at Delhi, according to reports reaching here. The government was recently defeated in the Assembly on a vote on an amendment to the Trade Union bill.

This bill was drafted two years ago in response to the insistent demand for the legalization of the unions. Registration of a union is voluntary; but only registered unions will enjoy a status comparable to that conferred on British unions by the trades disputes act. Hegistration means, moreover, submission to a considerable measure of government supervision and control. On the pretext of safeguarding members against the possible dishonesty of officials, all accounts will be subjected to government audit. What these K. Wheeler that of the Progressive government controls would mean in practice it is not hard to guess, and thereDemocrats, and a speaker will be anfore the trade union leaders are endeavoring to remove the restrictive condinounced who will represent the Progressive Republicans' point of view.

Those who are interested may secure elimination of a clause of the bill which provides for the government regulation tickets from Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 of the salaries of trade union officials—a clause which had been inscript on the Springfield Avenue, Newark, N. J. plea that otherwise officials might vote to themselves any salaries they chose.

The Sagamore Miners Give Battle

By Art Shields

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 evictions 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

The evictions last fall were carried out with a ruth essness 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 employes. 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 18 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 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 grie ances in between were adjusted by the committees. 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 & ist League, Senior and Junior Circles 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 lockout. 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 of British Socialists, will be available 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 dred percent effective. At Sagamore few of the oldtimers have broken away, in the locals of Greater New York will be few of the oldtimers have broken away. and the company is depending for its feeble production from one of four 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

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to Color Line Divides These Pals.— 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 childrens.

choir is singing to the job thieves.

see them all there at dawn when the help of all kind. It is a job for the been assembling in the snow and dark-coal diggers and their wives and choir is singing to the job thieves. | labor movement as a whole to take ness on the land the miners' union daughters, with several school teach-

It is a hard life, but the spirit is part in. If Sagamore stands, then leased above the road. The strike-error assisting. They began singing to other towns in this important field breakers must take this road on their the scabs when the Kitanning court There are 79 children and 23 adults in the labor movement loses with them.

10 barracks rooms and as many more crowded in the hotel rooms. They live on \$3 per week per family, the stand, and if the miners loses with them. The Presbyterian choir of Sagamore is welcoming spring, and the early ard relief furnished by District No. 2.

They need clothes and they need more winter the chorus of 20 singers has this important her way to the Buffalo & Susquehanna Coal Company mine, which is attempting to operate on the 1917 scale basis away in the course of the 6-month violation of the 3-year contract signed in 1924.

They need clothes and they need more winter the chorus of 20 singers has the first miner slows. Susquehanna to the labor movement loses with them. Coal Company mine, which is attempting to operate on the 1917 scale basis away in the course of the 6-month strike.

Last Monday three more carloads of the invaders left town: They couldn't be invaders left town: They couldn't be stand, and if the miners lose, the rest way to the Buffalo & Susquehanna to operate on the 1917 scale basis and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs when the Kitanning court way to the Buffalo & Susquehanna to operate on the 1917 scale basis.

They have sung scores of scabs when the stands and if the miners lose, the rest intox take this found in the scabs when the Kitanning court way to the Buffalo & Susquehanna to operate on the 1917 scale basis and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and an injunction forbidding pleketing. They have sung scores of scabs and

Socialists Plan May Day Affairs

n a manner surpassing previous vears. A joint conference was held. comprising the United Hebrew Trades (representing over 60 trade unions). Socialist Party of Greater New York (represented by some (15 circles), and the Jewish Socialist Verband (12 branches). These cooperating organizations will hold some forty demonstrations, mass meetings (indoor and outdoor), concerts and dances in various parts of the city. A nore 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 Parfor 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 taries early next week. A number of production from one of four outdoor meetings are being arranged on imported labor, which goes 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 meet-ing 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 Verband, with a membership of flags by the disbanded regiments,

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 rrange 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 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-

May Day will be celebrated this year 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.

> also the Paris Commune. On that occasion Sunday, March 21, was set Socialist Party.

aside to celebrate that holiday, and of its time to the Commune.

Recently the City Committee of the Verband entered upon a new venture. It organized a Credit Union of the, a striker's wife and choir singer. The members and for the members of the chorus rings on Party. The Credit Union, though still Won't you join us? Won't you join us? Won't you join us? great success. A great many members in fighting for our rights today; have joined already and new members are coming in at every meeting.

A general membership meeting of the Jewish Verband will be held on Monday evening, April 12, at the Forward building, room 304. The purpos May Day will also be celebrated at the Forum with the Verband, as was tions and discuss the agenda of the coming National Convention of the

Anti-Fascist Guard Formed

(Continued from page 1) Fascisti and broke it up in a few minutes. It is stated that the Belgian anti-Fascisti are not to be armed, but De Brouckère says that in case of real fight the proper means will be found to make the Socialist resistance effective.

Text of Manifesto

The Socialist and union manifesto arning the Fascisti 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 ocialism, 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 cialist movement in New York. The ready, as was shown on the occasion of thirteen branches of the Jewish So-600, have become active again. They have recourse to the worst methods to meet regularly, conduct interesting attract public attention and to deceive lectures and discussions and carry on it as to their real strength. The organized working class has paid atten-

tion to their menaces . "The Fascisti must know that vio lence will he 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 Fascisti will rise in a formidable movement to har the way. All neces. 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 Fascisti leagues to reason so as to avoid further misfortunes for our country. "Down with Fascism! Long live the lemocracy of labor!"

The sweetest and most inoffen-sive 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 o 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. Hen-

The Lecture Calendar

Friday, April 9

NORMAN THOMAS, 7th A. D. Socialist Party, 4215 Third Ave., Bronx, 8:30 p. m. "Incentives in Industry." OSEPH 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. "Patrioti

Sunday, April 11

MARY GOFF, Circle 6, Y. P. S. L., 167 Tompkins Ave., Brooklyn, 8:30 p. m. "Socialism. AUGUST CLAESSENS, Joe Bialv. Sr Circle 13, Y. P. S. L., 420 Hinsdale St., Brooklyn, "Socialism," 5 p. n.

ADELA KEAN ZAMETKIN, East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broad-way, Manhattan, "The Food Abuses of Our Civilization," 8:30 p. m. LEON ROSSER LAND. The Bronz

Free Fellows 1301 Bost the Bronx. "A Friendly Universe, JUDGE JACOB PANKEN. The Bron 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 Brit-

ish Propagandists." 8 p. m. HARRY F. WARD, the Labor Temple 244 East 14th St. "Gandhi and His Message," 8:15 p. m. Temple, 244 East 14th St. "Some American Ideals." 7:30 p. m.

Monday, April 12 DR. SIMON BERLIN, 3-5-10 A. D. So-cialist Party, 7 East 15th St., Room

Wednesday, April 14 AUGUST CLAESSENS, Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, "The Natural Differences of Men and

Thursday, April 15 ESTHER FRIEDMAN, 13-19 A. D. Kings, Socialist Party, 41 Debevoise

"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: Rob-ert Herrick, Upton Sinclair." \$:15

Friday, April 16 JOSEPH M. OSMAN, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, "Facts, Fakes and Fables

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

-Cowper.

in Psychology," 8:30 p. m.

the invaders left town: They couldn't face the singers any more. I used to watch the strikebreakers passing shamefacedly, staring at the frozen

United in Fight Against Wage Cut.— Thirty-three adults and 79 children

daughters, with several school teachers assisting. They began singing to

ad before them, as the choir sang at Oh stranger, why did you come here And take our homes and bread away; Oh won't you quit your work today

So begins one of the songs com posed by Clara Johnson, a public school teacher, and Mrs. Arthur

We're going to win, we know we will,

So join us now, we pray. the voices pealing down the narrow road that leads past the singers from the company tenements to the mine

Only a few strikebreakers are brazen. These usually come from the farms of Armstrong county. In this part of Pennsylvania there is a wall etween the farmer and the industrial worker. But the imported strikebreakers are quicker to sense the shame of their position. This is espe-cially 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 nessage comes with the choir's voices. ossessed from the homes they are now occupying. And the strikereaker will work a few days, times 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 po-ice 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 singng 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

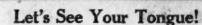
soft coal fields in Central Pennsylvania are being collected at Room 635, 799 Broadway (corner of 11th Street), by the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief. This is a committee formed by the League for Industrial Democracy and the American Civil Liberties Union, and all its expenses are guaranteed.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

ing and shipping clothing is met by the committee. The office is open every day from to 5 and on Saturday until 1, and it you have a dress or a coat or shoesanything 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 express in one of the packing cases. If you can collect a quantity of clothing in some one place the committee will call for it. Telephone Stuyvesant 6661.

Most people know all about the struggle of the textile workers in Passaic, but many do not know that i Central Pennsylvania 10,000 mer women and children have been liv ing 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

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 co 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, Treas

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



If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.



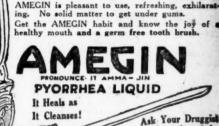
More than half your teeth are under the gums. Here lodge bits of food and the solid substances from tooth paste and powders. Here pus and pyorrhea develop.

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Vest Pocket Unionism on the Nation's Railroads

By Robert W. Dunn

N VIEW of the new railroad labor act (Parker-Watson bill) supported tly by railroad union officials and ent, and in view of optimistic edictions that company unions could outvoted by real unions in fair elecon the Pennsylvania and other ed roads under the proposed law, the extent and structure of rail unions becomes of special in-

Company unions or employer-con cils and employe representation plan among the most eignificant devel-ents in American industry. Comany union devices started shortly bethe war, gained a long stride in period of labor shortage and secalled reconstruction, subsided some-what in 1921 and have fluctuated between 800 and 1,000 since. The num-ber of workers involved totals well workers involved totals well

Strong on Railroads

company-union-questionnaire to its volunteer organizers brings reolies indicating the toll company unions among regular trade unions. The few pages of organizers' reports in the ry American Federationist show every State and industry cluded in the company union circle and public utility companies, note par ticularly railroads reported affiliated Western, Chicago Burlington & Quincy, Union Pacific, Rock Island, Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe, Pennsylvania, Great Northern, Erie, New York Central, Lehigh Valley, Delaware Lackawanna & Western, Kansas City South-

se 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 cal bodies but others ramify whole railway systems, throwing across the country a network of committees, councils and lodges, sometimes modelled closely after regular rail unions.

Hun From Company Headquarters Others are mere committees func ning from company headquarters and using the check-off arrangement collecting dues. A letter to the rating department or personnel division of the railroad brings a reply ng copies of rule books and by laws of associations, with assurance that the "arrangement is proving very satisfactory to both contracting par-There is no attempt to disanagements' front offices.

Practically every class and craft of railroad worker falls within the doma of company unionism, although by far the greatest strength has been reached mong 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

The typical situation on most railseems to be recognition of the four train service brotherhoods while 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 wer of the regular union

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

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Pennsylvania and Sante Fe Lines Taking the Lead

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 san-guine 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? crafts workers, on since July 1, 1922, to prevent the Pennsy 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 railroa clerks, maintenance of way, and teles raphers' unions be called back to ne gotiate agreements in place of the arbitrarily created puppet unions now functioning from General Atterbury's office? In short, will the million dollar

(Copyright, Thomas Seltzer, 1926)

He stept upon the high soap-box:

A glory shimmered through his locks;

The brown-haired youth gazed at the

The stars were mirrored in his eyes:

Across each muddled cobble-stone

And you could notice in his face

That builds God's citadel sublime

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

The Passion of the wondered race

Upon the wreck of Death and Time

The painted wives and girls, and then

He felt the crush of Sinai's thews

Until he drooped, a bodied Braise:

Athrob with the beat of Eternity.

Then Wrath descended like a Storm

The Traffic's devils banged their drums

Christ's voice was like the crack of

That thundered through the ghetto-

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;

Dript down upon a dying world; Its eyeballs blazed with lust to kill;

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

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

Of God against his frantic face,

The Passion of His wide embrace: He stiffened like an iron rod

Within the potent fist 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!

And He'll be free when you are free!
Aye, he who bolts Rebellion's host
Has sinned against the Holy Ghost!"—

A heckler hurled a verbal brick:

'You dirty Jew! You Bolshevik!'

As Jesus drooped, a bodied Pang,

The lid of hell across the world.

Until he felt his bending form

Spring rigid like an iron rod

The scowling law strode up and down And raked the Prophet with a frown

Wherein the world's red sorrows sang.

The Traffic flung a bomb that hurled

Then Wrath descended like a storm

Within the potent flat of God.
He grasped a shop-girl in the crowd,

And while she kicked and oried aloud He wiped her mask of rouge and paint

And showed the White Destroyer's

And blasted Mammon with the Truth; And, as he smote the temple-knaves,

He lashed the Pious to their graves-

The Pharisees who pray and smirk Within the synagogue or kirk;

Who built their sacred altar-stones

Upon a heap of harlots' bones, And spawn their monster blasphem

That mangle children as they run

To Things you dare not look upon!-And while he panted, you could see The tots he blessed in Galilee

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Within their funneled factories

Aswoon beneath their agony;

taint: He waved aloft her rag of youth

O God is nailed unto a Tree-

Your torment is His agony-

And Jesus pictured war until

The Crimson from its wings unfurled

gloom;

men

His body shook like a heavy Sea

Until he felt his bending form

Spring rigid-like an iron rod

Within the potent fist of God.

That echoed with God's Word divine;

Labor, official organ of rail union eports that Donald Richberg in Washington hearings answers the question of whether the P. R. R. could carry or its company unions by asserting:
"That sort of sctivity 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 Atter-

Pennsylvania railroaders should not forget what the Atterburian idea of 'industrial democracy" has cost them to date. It is in its sixth year. ompany has stoutly refused to deal with representatives of what it calls organizations," meaning regular labor unions, outside of the four train service brotherhoods.

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

able mandates of its shoperaft, telegraph, clerical, and maintenance of way workers when in election after election they chose the established rail 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.

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, cancellation of espionage, discharges, furloughs, force and intimidation.

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

In the course of its campaign, road officials stated entegorically in rail board 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 comfundamental principle of its manage-

American rail workers on some 65 roads, any agreed with company unions face the same contradictions and problems as those on the Pennsy. That the mediation boards under the new rail 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 strikebreaking agencies in 1922, use both the tion "with a view to keeping up interes check-off for dues and the yellow dog

A Sample of "Communist" Decency

By A. I. Shiplacoff

in the Pocketbook Worker

contract. A certain Hines, assistant to the company vice-president, overby the plan, declared in the Railway "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 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 employed sign individual employment contracts which force them to join the Associa tion of Mechanical and Power Plan Employes and to keep out of regular shop craft unions. Violation of this shop craft unions. 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 Associa-

About the same time I received an

invitation to address the strikers in

Passaic. On March 9 I addressed tw

big mass meetings in Passaic, together

with Welsbord, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Esther Friedman and others.

On March & the Joint Board was

strikers was made in one of the shops,

Knowing that these "independent" shop collections are subject to the

shuse of klentomaniacs, the Joint

no shop collections may be made with-

out 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

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

serving of the support of all class-

very worthy one and de-

sent to the shop chairmen:

Dear Fellow-Worker:

company union meetings regularly.

These company officials go to meetings in person to see that the workers con-fine themselves strictly to company boosting and other business favorable

to the management.

Hope Law Will Kill Fake Unions Workers on 65 or more railroads, be-

ides the Pennsylvania, are waiting for the liquidation of company unions expassage by Congress of the new "peace ot." Watson-Parker bill. Some the company unions now used to fight labor unions are:

Southern Pacific Shop Crafts Protective League; Missouri-Kansas-Texas Association of Shop Employes; Soo Line Shop Employes Association; Great Northern Associated Organizations of Shop Craft Employes; 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 Employes; Atlantic Coast Line's recently imposed Strike-breaking Association of Telegraphers, and the Missouri Pacific, Northern Pacific, Union Pacific and Santa Fe similar bodies directed by ompany management.

Many of these company unions issue nonthly 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 mother company and hold themselves superior to the Pennsy 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 agents 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, commit-ted 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 bul-letin published by its associations, the Santa Fe has for sevral years issued boosting the road. The management ontends that its company unions have reduced turnover, improvemorals and increased production. loes 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, cays the company should consider it "money well spent."



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In Fostering Subservient Company Unionism

and rail union heads execute a lion- with as during the days of Federal control? "Democracy" Costs

Meanwhile the rank and file of

Christ in Rutgers Square

By D. G. Plotkin

company union be scrapped and the rade union movement again be dealt overwhelmingly adverse votes of work-

The pavements crimsoned with the

Of men and mangled maidenhood

And Justice dangled from a rood!

Crept up from out its nether hell.

And greeted Jesus with a yell!

He saw the swelling people rise

The mob he goaded to rebel

The Traffic's Babel—towers of sound

Blew up and crashed upon the ground.

(The scowling law strode up and down

And raked the Prophet with a frown.)

Until their bodies topped the skies

Messiahs gazing through their eyes!

They climbed into a larger birth As tall as God, as wide as earth.

He flayed their souls to red revolt-

His voice was like a thunderbolt That God had loosed to smite the

world; His wrath was Heaven's lightning

Against the crumbling works of Baal,

And lashed the Crowd like jagged hail:

Of dust from Christ's prophetic shoes;

"For preaching "criminal anarchy" during

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

The production theory shows that

man's economic position is determined

by and changes with changing modes

that in the agricultural stage, society

was governed by a landed aristocracy

In the handicraft stage the dominan

class was the merchant guildsman

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.

that the access to markets has been

Even the methods of production are

determined by the extent of markets.
Without markets, production would

not take place. Thus man's develop-ment is the result of marketing changes and the position of the dif-

ferent classes in modern society is the

ultimate outcome of these changes. World markets and large scale pro-

modern capitalism gave birth to the

The bargaining theory explains the

industrial evolution of the working class by the struggle of conflicting in-

terests of different economic groups

in society at different periods. The re-sult 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 manufactur-ing 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

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

vorkers to settle down to stationary

occupations. Thus arises the custom-

order stage, which is known as the

and hardly any

duction as distinctive features

modern working class.

the deciding factor in social evolution.

The marketing theory tries to shows

theories put forward by economists.

And they were blinded by the gale

He damned the Gentiles and the Jews-

hurled

And from the anguish of their dearth

Broke Strike of Shopmen

It drove a stout wedge into the unity

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 fellowous 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 16, 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 ains From the land of promise ye fade

him, whereas before the ftinerant

worker went to work for the consumer, in the consumer's own place. This

prevailing type of economic organiza-

tion of the custom-order stage was the

nerchant guild which aimed at con-

trolling the standard of quality of

production by keeping up bad wares

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

control the commodity market.

his manufactured stock was also able

That's how competition arose, but

trade was still in the "retail shop"

stage. Merchant-employers and jour-

neymen co-operated and joined hands

in an attempt to suppress "unfair com-

When the Revolutionary War was

over the market began to expand from

local to national. The "wholesale order" stage followed and the whole-

sale merchant was a necessary agent. Of course, it was the wholesale-merchant who controlled prices be-

cause he controlled the market. The

small manufacturers, master-me-chanic-employers, began to protest,

The wholesale merchant was dis-

criminated 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 govern-

ment assistance. Such assistance is

lation in America. With the aid of the

government new methods of produc-

were made. All this made for the rise

of the modern manufacturer. Further-

more the improvements in access to

markets, with the accompanying large

scale of husiness and with the in-

dispensable long-time credits, neces-

sary to carry on such business, brought

forth the all dominant merchant

cited as the cause of capital accum

petitive practices."

master-merchant-mechanic has

better side of the bargaining.

This

Ere its verdure gleams forth on

N the Daily Worker of Tuesday, March 21st, an article appears under the following headline:

Renegate Socialist Lines Up with Labor Fakers and Bosses to Sabotage Passaic Strikers." The renegate Socialist, according to this article, is A. I. Shiplacoff, your manager. 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 prin my name to this article, but as in my mion 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 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, 1926, the office of our union received a communication from Passaic asking for financial help. That same evening the Joint Board met and

capitalist attended now

conscious workers, it is nevertheless contrary to the best interests of a labor organization to permit any collections Development of Bargaining Classes

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 complicated that this merchant 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 soone 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 o 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 every body gives as generously as possibl and then bring the money with the lis to the office and get a receipt for it. Fraternally yours, A. I. SHIPLACOFF. Manager.

AMERICAN APPEAL National Organ So-

cialist Party, \$1.00 per year, 50c six months, 2c each in bundles.

Editor-in-Chief **EUGENE V. DEBS**

Managing Editor MURRAY E. KING

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Fur Strike Progressing

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

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

The worse the man the better

and superstition is gradence with evidence.-Patrick Edward

functions than those involved in production. Without his function, business can not longer move. The strategic position of the retail merchant due to competition and his direct contact with the consumer led the mer chant capitalist whose interests are now in the wholesale business to look for means of reducing the cost of production. Here comes the class struggle The capitalists are interested in their profits. The system now requires the cheap labor of convicts, women and children. With the advance of machine development comes the extensive division of labor and consequently the sweat shop." Is now reduced to a minimum.

Thus we see a period where credit becomes of chief importance in manufacturing and the merchant-capitalisi is the banker; the smaller groups in industrial operation are thrown into keen and ruthless competition. Employers and manufacturers support the large profits of the merchantcapitalists and bankers. The merchant-capitalist carries on an aggres-sive campaign for exploiting the wage workers through reducing wages, introducing long hours of work, unemployment, and so on.

There remained no alternative but for the wage workers to organize into trade unions. The first to organize were, of course, those who first felt the pressure, namely, the skilled workers. Out of these early trade unions grew the Labor movement, hose bargaining power is known today in dealing between the two classes

the workers and the employers. Considering the forces of production markets, finance, we must not over look the influence of political, educational, religious and other non-eco-nomic forces. These had to reinforce and control all the other factors in society. The idea of capitalism is to do away with competition among the capitalists and to keep up competition

there are various interested groups concerned in production, and an eternal conflict of the bargaining classes goes on. The bargain ultimate-ly arrived at is shown by the amount of swag which each bargaining group (Continued from page 1) ranks of the strikers. The Greek Nais able to win from production. Labor's share is known as "wages."

During the itinerant stage, the tional Herald printed a story saying that the families of the Greek workers were suffering greatly because of the strike and that the union was mak-ing 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 want to present this resolution to worker becomes the master-worker- want to present this resolution to mechanic. Now the customers come to the Greek National Herald, the news-

rests occurred during the week or

the soldier.-Napoleon I.

DR. I. I. GOLDIN

A Radical Difference will be made in the clarity and strength of your eyesight by

D. BARNETT LBECKER OPTOMETRIST OPTICIAN

Dr. Theodora Kutyn

Dr. L. SADOFF,

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Assorted Spring Thoughts

The Harding Memorial

ASHINGTON, 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 ess are concerned.

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 platform, 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 Doheny, 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

such insults as: "Say, Mike, who's that rusty gink up "Search me, Bill. Behind here it says 'Victor of Tippe

'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 foodless 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 champion food missers, 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.

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 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 Mid-west 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 horse-

Yet, while some children are born tired, others attain chronic weariness or have it thrust upon them by a pervous and emotional civilisation, according to Dr. Scham. The growing complexity of social life threatens the

"The trend of civilization toward excessive nervous and motional 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 Bolsheviki 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 purity 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 Coaldigger.

The New Doxology

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

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 thieve, 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 £ s. 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.

as the advocate of Indian reform, discusses the problem of industry under socialism. Among the that is summed up in the word 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 employ. The vast majority of men now seek to retain their employment by a reasonable discharge of their duty: why should they not do those multifarious motives which are the same when the employment is on at work in the complex human organeasier conditions? The next stimulus easier conditions? The next standard would be the appetite of the worker for the result of the communal toil, and the determination of his fellow.

"The desire to excel, the joy in creative like longing to improve, the 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

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, selfrespect, comfort, knowledge, freedom, as far as these things are attainable under existing conditions. In a society to aim at. where poverty means social discredit, where misfortune is treated as a crime, where the prison of the workshop is a ing harassment of daily wants unmet strenuous effort, thrown by young men bourg daily supply is ever hanging over into their own games! The desire to ling.

NNIE BESANT, since famoous the head of each worker, what wonder be captain of the Oxford eleven, stroke making it every year more obviously that money seems the only thing use-ful, and that every other thought is lost in the frenzied rush to escape all the desire to excel, is strong enough

> Non-Profit Incentives. "But this abnormal development of the gold hun-ger would disappear upon the certainty for each of the means of subsitence. Let each individual feel absolutely secure of subsistence, let every anxiety as to material wants of his future be swept away, and the longing failed to take note of the flux of things, for wealth will lose its leverage. The and to recognize the change brought daily bread being certain, the tyranny of pecuniary gain will be broken; and franchise the barricade is the last life will begin to be used in living and resort of a small and desperate not in struggling for the chance to live. Then will come to the front all those multifarious motives which are ism even now, and which will ass

tive 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 subsist-ence 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 prithe population; and military glory and ess in murder are but poor objects

"If so much can be done under circumstances so unpromising, what may we not hope from nobler aspirations? guerdon of failure, and the bitter cark- Or take the eagerness, self-denial, and of the Cambridge boat, victor in the to compel the exertions which ofter 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 and to recognize the change brought about by the ballot. Under the lodger 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 articu-late. It has given them consciousness. They will henceforth be heard clamor-ing 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.

Principalities Fighting on Side of Socialism. Nevertheless "those who resist socialism fight against principalities 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 dwind-ling. The keenness of competition,

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 cultivates but impecunious young men whose material interests ultimately triumph over their 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, steeled and stimulated, with resolute step, with steadfast eye, with equal

Summary. Thus the Fabians of the eighties concluded their survey of economic trends toward a cooperative commonwealth, and their picturebased on developing tendencies 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 They had little faith in a violen revolution as a result of cataclysmic changes. They emphasized in economic theory the iniquities resulting from the private appropriation of eco-nomic rent rather than from surplus value. They sought to inspire de-votion to the cause by visualizing the possibilities of associated production while avoiding the impossible imagin-ings of the utopians. On the other hand, having as their chief objective the conversion of the midle 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 through

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 arrange-ment 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 getting on pretty well until Paul got into the picture. . "Then Paul spoiled it all." He was a hunch-backed neurotic who had visions and deleria. 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 Hellenle paganism as one can well imagine. He set up Christian Rotaries and Kiwanises 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. Be-cause 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 ques-tions 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 het 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 fergot to tell you the glad news, "Funny Face," Isabel's daughter, is the proud mother of three beau-tiful, 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 psychoanalysed. What sort of complex is it when you get a hate on your grandchildren? Whatever it is, it should be sub limated. They can't get away with this suppressed desire stuff this time because Isabel Is herself enciente (to put it delicately) and already her kit-tens to be are spoken for. But if you want any one tens to be are spoken for. But if you want any one of three unusually brilliant offsprings 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 get 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 hair was long and tied in a knot at the back 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 claymere (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 ferocious. They are all about how much we dislike Englishmen. Particularly visiting Englishmen who go around telling why "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 blose 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 classed. When hope is down to zero And joy's flag at half-mast

-Harry Lazenina

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the By M. H. HEDGES

. Chapter VII BATTLEMENTS

OF POWER C ENATOR 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. "I'nlimited possibilities." he con-

tinued, his voice reverberating in his mammoth abdomen. "The governorship-the senatorship-and beyond. "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 noment he had left the House floor after the anti-injunction speech. His colleagues were now his followers. Even Andrewson, defiant yet contrite, acknowledged his power by showing him deference in little things, and the ma-jority 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 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

party. These Oriental trappings, I think it would do you good to know they go the soft-stepping, almond-eyed Chiwaiters, 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 He was warm, sure, content.

Dan had not taken the trouble to nswer Goodnite as he rambled on in his own good-natured way. As 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 recollec tion of this joke made Dan smile and allowed him to feel superior.

"Thank the Lord one man's as good as enother in this country." Goodnite eclared. "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 be-

"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 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 You'll go . . . Been to the University?" a shook his head.

Taint nothing against you." Dan said that he wished that he had tion 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 romand -the intimation of power-which being there with Goodnite gave them.

Finally the Senator said: here, Minturn, there's a fellow I should kind, a self-made man, a winner, who Daniel Minturn, the potential leader of has not a taint of the snob about him. a

him, Dan." This was the first time Lena Daly was there. of intimacy. "A young fellow like you with such a brilliant future before fou deserves a boost, and Hiram fixed on what he called the "live-stock" Goodnite is the fellow who likes to on the stage. There was one girl in give it." His voice dropped to a the chorus whom Dan could not keep whisper, "You know, Gaylard is in a his eyes off. Her pretty legs moved position to help a likely young fellow so proudly; her tate never lost no need like you in the political game."

This last idea popped out of the to be there, youth unbroken, unbruised. stream of lazy conversation into the on parade. Dan wondered how she center of Dan's consciousness with a shrill report. So it was Gaylard? And could be so gay, alive, so unspoiled Again and again his eyes came back just what was the import of this fat

"I wouldn't cross the street to meet Gaylard," Dan declared, slowly and nassionstely. 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 only slightly. I never play with him myself. I'm independent, you know. can look any man in the face and tell him to go to hell-even Gaylard. I just thought it would be nice.

help a likely young fellow

"I don't need help from Gaylard," Dan answered proudly Goodnite ignored Dan's rising im-

along a bit." He chuckled.

patience. "Say," he asked, "you're not fraid to

eet him, are you?"

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

Dan hesitated. "I'll see him," he declared suddenly. Though why, I don't know."

hadn't forgotten her in days (To Be Continued Next Week) Panken and Claessens At Bronx Fellowship

Judge Jacob Panken will address th Open Forum of the Bronx Free Felowship, 1301 Boston Road, Sunday April 11, at 8.30 p. m. His subject will be, "Land, Land Values and Housing." At the 8 o'clock meeting Leon Rosser 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

to her. He thought he would like to

know her, to dance with her. In that

oment, he forgot Bricktop, and he

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 When Dan had said that, Goodnite followed by questions and disc ndoned the subject, and suggested Aff are invited.

Trotsky Charts Britain's Course

The Soviet Chief Outlines a Straight and Narrow Path For the Socialists and Unions of England



J. Ramsay MacDonald

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

THERE must have been a large number of people up and down the world who have asked more than once in the last five years: What going to happen to old England? Countries are like individuals in respect: they attract most atten-when they are happy and prosperous, or at the other extreme when they are ill and full of trouble. England has had strikes and lockouts and large scale unemployment; the state has been driven to the rescue to keep people alive. British employers have been operating on this sick body of old England for five years and the gloomy bulletins have been broadast over the world with monotonous

and despairing regularity. It is inevitable under these circum stances that England should attract ttention. This fair jewel in the Atlantic sea, in her inner depth of ancient power, really then exhausted? ne have even ventured to declare that England's day was ended; she was doomed and going to the dogs; she was following the parabolic track marked out on the emptiness of time by many an ancient civilization.

The Bolsheviks' Answer

With all this question-asking and head-shaking going on in the world it is natural that the Bolsheviks in turn should propound the riddle of our doom. There is now no excuse of be-

From all this uncertainty bred by a just and profound conception of the complexity of life, Trotsky and his oon companions are able to free us. (Whither England? With Preface for Americans. By Leon M. Trotsky: Americans. By Leon M. Trotsky: New York. International Publishers. our doubts and hopes and fears, our entative tendencies and bold proba-We at the best could only ee through a glass darkly. Trotsky with the radiance of eternity shining before and after and round about him sees the future of old England as it were face to face. I do not know whether Americans will shed tears over this settled fate of England's future, but let us put on our overcoats, light a pipe (but keep off the vodka!) and set off with this good comrade Trotsky into this England of the future.

In the track of this white light oused in a Russian body we can see n unmistakable objective clearness whither England is going. Here is the essential wisdom of

"The inference to which I am led by my studies (sic.) is that England is heading rapidly toward an era of great revolutionary upheavals."

Having painted that objective picure, he proceeds with his newspaper dippings and a handful of books to how these great revolutionary upheavels must objectively be so. He are either damned fools or traitors. With all the charming objectivity which has made Trotsky a name here and there in Europe, he trounces these fools, blockheads and traitors. (They are Macdonald, Snowden, Thomas, Sidney Webb, George Lansbury and the lesser fry of the leaders of the British Labor and Socialist Party.) He devotes a chapter dealing with

Mr. Baldwin and gradualness and draws the conclusion "The bourgeoisie will not yield

bor leaders, exposes their sentimen-tality, their lack of scientific spirit, and the great and immortal objective, and contrasts this heap of ruboish with the eagle-eyed clearness and unerring precision of "we Marxists." The conclusion of this chapter is:

"The working masses will swifttional-conservative discipline and will work out a discipline of their own for revolutionary action." The heads of the Labor Party will

all before these shocks from below. "Of course we do not mean that olutionist; no, he will be cast

In chapter 4 the Fabian theory of Socialism is exposed in all its nastiness. The thing is so well done from the point of view of objectivity that am sure Bernard Shaw will think eriously of using it as a background for his next play, the successor of Joan of Arc; chapter concludes with an objective

"On the day when the English proletariat frees itself from the mental baseness of Fabianism, humanity, particularly in Europe, will increase in stature by at least a head."

He might have added: "A tail and wo long ears."
Chapter 5 gets us well out on the

ourney to the promised land. It deals with the problem of revolutionary

force:

"A disbelief in violence is equivalent to a disbelief in gravitation. All life is built up on various forms of violence, on the opposi-tion of one mode of force to another, and renunciation of the use of force for purposes of liberation is equivalent to giving support to force used for oppression, which now rules the world."

andling in this chapter by the irascible schoolboy. Lansbury, for example, with his Christian pacifism, has He spends a third chapter discuss- rade Trotsky, who then creeps under

short, has a devil of a time.

He then deals with the possibilities of the next election and takes the case of a Labor majority. He shows what the other side would do, how they would have the army and the navy and the police on their side, how they would sabotage, how the present labor leaders will be helpless, how nothing other than a revolutionary will would be effective under such circumstances He feels very sorry for Macdonald and the rest of the labor leaders when they get crushed by measures of revolution ry dictatorship and says:

"You do not like this, gentle What can we do about it? The fundamental springs of action are as little dependent on us as on you. We are 'decreeing' nothing, we are merely analyzing the situa-

He concludes this chapter by show what the Communists wo with a soviet system in Great Britain. The royal power and the House of Lords would be abolished; Parliament would be liquidated: the basic branches of industry would pass into the hands of the working class; there would be be compelled to reduce unemployment dictatorship over Fleet Street and the Press; a true workers' democracy would rule; it would immediately con lude a powerful political and military alliance with the Workers and Peasnts' Russia.

"The economic plans of the two countries would be adjusted to each other in their corresponding divisions a number of years at a

And again, after quoting Karl Marx nd Paul Lafargue where Karl Marx breaks down, where Karl Marx confuses the objectivity, and what La-fargue would have said if only he had been sensible, we reach the logical

"The working class may only attain power by the path of revolutionary seizure." After throwing some pure white light

emnly what will he do now with his in his grand finals deals with the burglars? Comrade Lansbury, in British Trade Unions and Bolshevism as the preparatory theme to his final forecast of the future. He gives a newspaper cutting history of recent now and again with unexpected ob-

"In general, the electors may be divided into the wealthy, the ex-ploiters on the one hand, and the proletarians, the exploited, on the

He shows how corrupt and decadent he spirit of the unions has become but though they are at present un-doubtedly in a blind alley, their future role is of infinite proportions:

"Only revolution can save the vorking class, and with it its organizations."

"The proletarian vanguard must unify the revolutionary manhood of the Independents with the clarity of the materialist conception of the universe."

In chapter 8 we have a mass attack on the Labor leaders who are neither more nor less than the apologists of capitalism. The Tory government will insurance, to drag down wages, a protectionist policy will not help them the I. L. P., which for so many years as a small Socialist party has exercised the powers of dictatorship of the larger Labor Party, will be driven into the "ineluctible" crisis; then the Com-munist party will occupy the position in the Labor Party which is now held And so we reach the journey's end.

e arrive at this England of the fu-

"The Communist party will extend and come to power as the party of the proletarian dictatorship. There is no roundabout way. He who believes in and preaches any such way will merely deceive the English workers. That is the most important lesson to be drawn from this analysis." This is whither England is going

human power out of which always vincing. I feel it almost impertinence picture and the certainty of the vision this delightful fantasia and comedy of imps and fairies and pirates. It is all so charming and so jolly, too, to be able to live in a world where there are only two colors; to know for certain that everything can be held in hand must therefore be in the other; to know that this jolly old world is not built up of an infinite number of things, but rolls round its axes to the immortal tune "a deux." Such divine simplification has been the favorite opium food of the little manikin ever when I read this book I was car-

ried back to the sublime faith of the first generation of Christian religionists; nothing was to them more cer to an end, and that it would come to an end in a certain specified way. Nothing, that princes or potentates could do would alter the inevitable doom; they were but giants with feet of clay. Here again in Bolshevik Russia we have this sublime faculty of the simplification of the universe in which we live. All the states of the world are construed after the manner of the utterly stupid, brutal and wasteful mediaeval Russian regime which perished of its own topheaviness in blood in 1917. A sublime fanaticism as relentless as Cromwell's, as unconquerable as the first century Christians, arises out of the ashes of 19th century political Russia and reconstructs the whole world in terms of its own experience and its own

There is something deeply fascinating in the simple and unbounded en-thusiasm with which this political creed is held. It is of the same quality that has characterized the Mohammedans, all manner of religious teachers, fanatics and men with profound convictions since the rise of civilization. It carries with it all the

The Economics of History

RUSSIAN CRITIC



On the other hand this intense milithis reconstruction of the whole world in terms of a Russiah experience, carries with it exactly the same menace that militarism has incessantly bred for the last ten thousand years. There is no more striking example of selfdeception in this modern world than the claims of objectivity, inevitability, scientific certainty, which lie behind the Russian communistic picture of the future of the world. What we have here is what we have had over and over again in human history; no objective unfoldment of the scientist in his literature, but a strong passionate will, the heart full of the foundest passions, of desire and hatred; an immense psychical force pent up, repressed, oppresser, until length it breaks out with demoniacal fury to destroy its enemies.

The western world of workers watches without much concern Trotsky's theories wither away in their impotence. But they are profoundly interested in the living practical fact of social Russia. Can Russia take over the productive wealth-making power of Western Europe and, while applying it, escape the evils of West European capitalism? This is the essential work of Trotsky and his comrades. We are hungry for the good news of deeds done; of achieve-

High Finance in Fars

By James Fuchs

SSIDUOUS reading of books of travel is an essential part—and at the same time, the most pleasant sweetener-of a sound Socialist education. Socialism and provincialism are mutually exclusive terms, though—as we all know—there perceptible streak of provincial-I urge upon such cases the study of the classics of travel-Lane, Burton, Baker, Doughty, Bruce, Ebers, Stevenson, Lafeadio Hearn et id genus Look at the map, dear reader, and and fame into the Afghan mountains.

In the northwest, Persian sovereignty travel are better than none.

On this principle-analogous to the that all whisky is good, though some is better—I recommend Dr. Millspaugh's book (The American Task in Persia. By Arthur C. Millspaugh, Administrator-General of the Finances of Persia. Century Co., \$3.) to the remove backyards of capitalism where Persia. Century Co., \$3.) to the remote backyards of capitalism, where money can be made regardless of conference on the residence of the New Leader. The



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Persia and What Capitalism Has in Store for It

of high finance in foreign parts. He | horse and camel breeders; to the east, terms, though—as we all know—there has no profound insight into the structure of societies, Oriental or Occidental, mountainous countries, whose difficult no gift of vivid narrative or distinction passes are traveled by merchants and mindedness, in their mental make-up. of style. Yet the book has one great horse dealers carrying goods and live as a gentle, yet powerful, remedial merit; it chronicles—no matter how—stock into the plains of the Punjab, the latest Persian developments, at a and now and then by British detachtime when Persia is scarcely ever men- ments, trying-not very successfully-

second-rate works of graphical setting and the physical extends to the towering wall of the traits of this huge bulk of a state, Armenian mountain ranges. comprising an area of 628,000 square acement of a cheerful imbiber, miles, or a little more than the Pacific fenced off from the rain-bearing winds from Russian commerce, does not there is water, the soil is wonderfully readily lend itself to the usual "penetration" of imperialism, economic or

and is fenced in and buttressed by high mountain ranges, giving in the north upon a narrow strip of flats-

an invitation; it is an obvious and easy orthern neighbor should have gained position of predominance in the comperce of the whole of the marvellous-Mountains and the sea."

To the northeast of Persia are the Turcoman Steppes, the home of halfcivilized nomad tribes: sheep-herders,

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wheat, barley, rice, cotton, tobacco, kinds. The mountain-sides are endless table land, rising from an extent of pastures, and there are consequently maritime lowland in the south to a considerable elevation. This table brated Persian wool. There are only ten million inhabitthe Persian slope of the Caspian Sea. port three times that number. There "The Caspian Sea, lying between is no systematic irrigation, and the path between Russian and Persian disturbed below the surface. The un-Ports, and it is not surprising that the developed, agricultural character of

> The reader, schooled in precedents, will not be surprised to hear that this cabal of capitalist statesmen, with Millspaugh in particular and with for-eign publicists in general, is "the true voice of patriotic, far-sighted Persian vative, recalcitrant chiefs are noxious egotists and traitors. They want to retain their hold upon a Persia, without a railroad system worth mentioning, without a strong central governmenta far-flung easy-going country, nominally governed by a Shah and his advisors and really reigned over by the astute mullahs, warlike nomad chiefs

ringed in, the central table lands are Persia. Century Co., \$3.) to the readers of The New Leader. The suddent is an ordinary American finansuthor is an ordinary American financier, with no better mental equipment than an instinctive grasp of the shifts

The persia almost completely alone. The suddent of the peasants of the shifts than an instinctive grasp of the shifts

The persia century Co., \$3.) to the remote backyards of capitalism, where grasp and fructifying some glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons stretch of soil, long or short, according to the subject would warrant into beggars and outcasts was one of the mountain god with a word and turning back the subject would warrant into beggars and outcasts was one of the mountain the subject would warrant god with a word and turning back the subject would warrant into beggars and outcasts was one of the most ruthless episodes of brutality in British history, yet the whole structure of the rew industry had mountain guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons and a giant. Gandle overthrowing a glass mountains guarded by dragons. While this is the present stage of the transformation of the peasants into beggars and outcasts was one of the mountain in the united States, and a giant of the ransformation of the peasants into beggars and outcasts was one of the mountain in the united States, and a giant of the peasants in the united States, and a giant of the ransformation of the peasants into the peasants in opium, fruits and vegetables of all gloom of the temple, far better the betrayed traces of the modern influ-kinds. The mountain-sides are endless squalling infant, flesh of his flesh than ence. Those who want to present the more important economic factors in

to carry the dread of the British name

ants on a soil that, properly irrigated vast metallic riches of the country are for the most part slumbering un-Persia, its cantonal diversities, its oldfashioned traffic, the semi-independent character of its great landlords and rich country between the Elburz tribal chiefs-all these factors combined make of the national parliament in the main a representation of feudal estates, contending against a slowly but steadily rising faction of capitalists and astute centralist statesmen, trying "open up" the country to modern methods of exploitation, with the help

and merchants traveling up and down the country along lazy camel-roads. These Moslem Tories are slow to listen (Continued on page 7)

DON QUIXOTE **BROUN**

By Alexander Williams

IFE reduced to its essentials is a pretty simple business and ing why and whither. Heywood Broun, whose "Gandle Follows His Nose" (Boni and Liveright, \$1.50) leaves his Gandle eager to answer the whither. Why must the impetuous boy who flouts the advice and wisdom of his tains? Why can he not be content with his enchanted palace, his servile must he forsake the son, evolved from and toil? Why is the ideal dog, ungrowling, content with following the inclination of his master unsatis-

Mr. Broun wisely, makes no attempt at an answer. Gandle careening mad-ly from battles with knight-errants, to assaults upon strongholds set atop

cynical spirit of the lamp.

Man being the unsatisfactory creature that he is, must see and taste previous schools of historians to a and feel and smell for himself. De- large extent neglected. In spite of the sire is good, fulfilment and frustration American Legion and various "patriare usually one.

as the belly of a dragon, grasps at life the same thing. discover that he has wings.

possible that the boy Gandle is or was the boy Broun clambering up glass comprehensive in that it includes a mountains and sliding back on the mountains and sliding back on the seat of his pants, finding on the way down all of the broken and rough parts and being cut by the splinters. must be a lot of an earlier Heywood in the lad, but certainly there is some of the columnist in the gigantie, brown, genie, Yom

If one becomes at all impatient with Gandle, it is where with the intolerance of youth he chokes off the spirit's reminiscences. Life will always be a

wore the red ribbon in her hair.

Yes, Yom must express a lot of Mr. Broun as Mr. Broun views himself. did a book in Gandle, here's hoping Surely there is more than a suspicion that "some day you'll get the time."

By James Oneal

In England and the United States society is more and more being sough in its economic and social history. England the historians have been less subject to the coercion of reactionary reader pondering on the why and poor the result that a larger output is to be found there than in the United here as in England, but interpretation is rationed out more cautiously torians, with a number of honorable exceptions, are like a man who is emgenie and the woman created in the ployed to trace the genealogy of some respectable family only to find quite white birch, unsmirched by travail among the early ancestors. The question immediately arises whether the family really wants to know the truth or whether it would prefer that much should be left unsaid. What is likely

better a red headed, freckle faced can no longer find an audience. Fiske Bogart, rounds out a comprehensive woman, who stands shoulder to and Rhodes are probably the last of history of economic development of shoulder with him in the mysterious the old school, and even they have the United States. Those who want squalling infant, flesh of his flesh than ence. Those who want to present the the shadowy images, perfect and ready biography of Uncle Sam have to offer made supplied by the kindly and something new, and the new is only to be found in the economic, social and cultural backgrounds which the otic" organizations, the whole ten-Gandle is not a copybook hero. Mr. dency of historical writing is against Broun preaches no sermon and points them. What they want has been a no moral. There is the tale, take it or drug on the market for years and it leave it. The boy, with hair as black is useless to overstock the market with

with both hands. He moves and breathes greedily and dies still straining forward. There is nothing mawk- appear that there is no room for more ish about the book, and there are Bishop was the pioneer in the sixties, moments full of promise. Passages Then came the works of Wright, Wells, that make the reader feel that here Bogart and Coman. Recent years is a man; some day this fellow Broun have added the studies of Lippincott, will raise his foot to stride and will Cowdrick, Van Metre and Clark, and now Professor Jennings (History of It is always a temptation to identify Economic Progress in the United the leading character of a story with States. By W. W. Jennings. New the writer and it seems more than York: Crowell. \$4.50) has added a

of the newspaper hired man in the

"Just think of the opportunities I've had. I've served thousands of men who had that lamp and every one of them, every one, mind you, with just a single exception has ordered me to bring him a girl. It's been girls in the little poorer for at least one reader desert, girls on the mountain tops and because now he can never hope to know more about that girl back in The things I've seen would make a Chaldea two thousand years ago, who book. I've always meant to do a book

some day if I could get the time."
Right you are Mr. Broun, you almost

Hammonds and Prof. Jennings In New Contributions

the twentieth century.

An amazing amount of information has been gathered, beginning, of course, with the colonial period. One of the special merits of the study is that in each of the five sections into which it is divided there is a special chapter on the development of agriulture. While Professor Jennings is mewhat disappointing in these chapters in that he does not often attempt o interpret the evolution of agriculture from one stage to another, there is compensation for the material in this field which he presents. Ferhaps it would be too much to expect an interpretative treatment of agricultural development, considering that little has been done by any writer in this field for the period before the Civil War, but we believe that his famil-

our history will find Professor Jennings' work indispensable. There are fifteen informing statistical tables in the appendix and the bibliography is all that one could wish index completes what is a very serviceable volume.

Probably the most scholarly and ourageous explorers of British eco-omic history are J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, whose works on the village, town and skilled labore have become standard authorities Their thorough research in source materials, keen insight and sociological interpretation have won recognition in England. In another book (The Rise of Modern Industry. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.75) they have added another notable volume to their series of studies of the economi development of England. The general European background forms the page 24 we note the interesting fact, however, that the authors present the routes to the Bost by the Turks when they captured Constantinople in 1453. Since Professor Lybyer read his notable paper on this theme before the American Historical Association in 1914 no American historian accepts the view that the Turks "taxed this commerce almost to death." The Hammonds would undoubtedly modify their view if they were acquainted with the convincing evidence and inalysis which Professor Lybyer preented.

Aside from this criticism the book is an extraordinarily interesting and informative interpretation of the rise of capitalism in England. The emerold feudal shell of society is intimately

act, over 200 pages are devoted to related to a new philosophy which Good pastors no longer condemnd usury while wealth accumulation, which was once a sign of sin, became praised as a sign of virtue. When this class obtained supremacy with the industrial revolution "capital was a magical power; man was a benevolent creature." Leave man to his natural instincts and the play of individual ambition will bring social harmony. The church of the eighteenth century came "merely part of the civil order, without standards, authority or conscience of its own.

The process by which this class came to power was by no means in accord with the virtues which it cultivated for the masses after its victory. The deits origin in this terrible experience of British workers. The passing of the guilds is, of course, also "the history of the defeat and loss of the working classes in a social struggle." frequent holidays, saints' days and festivals of the Middle Ages were more. "The workmen put it that their sports had been converted into crimes and their holidays into fast days." The new regime bore the vulgar stamp of a class of greedy money grubbers, who smothered the best motives of mankind in egotistical calculation.

Moreover, the slave trade became a (Continued on page 7)

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attentive examination of the map, that standing with the great capitalists of the Western Hemisphere. W. Morgan be a buffer state between England and Shuster and his retinue of American Russia. After a solemn preamble, set-ting forth their unshakeable resolution to put the finances of the empire upon to preserve and defend the integrity a sound basis. They came before the and sovereign independence of the auspicious hour for American inter-Persian Empire against aggression, the two great powers made a written pact out of the country—because of interin 1909 dividing the country into a nal complications, as Dr. Millspaugh Russian (northern) and British (south-ern) "Sphere of Influence." The high of diplomatic pressure and intrigue. contracting parties tried, with unparal- After the World War, this first Amerileled effrontery, to coerce the govern- can mission of 1911 was succeeded ment and legislature of Persia into a second, under the chieftaincy of Dr. recognition of this cutting up of a live body. Diplomatic pressure tending to prospects. The book under review is that end proved a fallure—it only succeeded in making Persian Tories and which is to continue until achievement Whigs join hands in a united front of resistance. The Persian Tories objected to any kind of penetration, "peaceful" or invasive; and the Whigs knew that they could not "develop" of its reconstructive aim. Let lovers of the picturesque take a parting glance at old Persia, before it is too late: the Yankee schoolmaster of capitalist methods is abroad now in Teheran. the country, as long as its sovereign independence was restricted to a doubtful convention. That created a defensive alliance, in utter rejection of an Aoglo-Russian condominium. Shortly after publication of the nefarious the Turcoman chiefs will sell real-Anglo-Russian pact of 1909 the states-estate to the sons of the steppe Imams men and parliamentarians of Teheran and Mullahs will be succeeded by discovered America. They made the following shrewd calculation: If Hall will reign in Isfahán. Until this American high-finance could be interested to take a considerable stake in the country, the government of the United States, as the political executive committee of American highfinance, would be bound forevermore to safe-guard Persia against Anglo-ing to this glorious climax of Western-Russian attempts at partition. Ameri- ized Persia.

to the voice of democracy, liberty, can capital of sufficient volume, howprogress, foreign loans, native commissions, secret percentages—in short, to the voice of humanity, patriotism, and right reason.

The reader knows, after a brief but financial experts of assured credit and attentive examination of the reader whose stores are successful to the reader knows, after a brief but financial experts of assured credit and attentive examination of the read and safe lines. a few chapters of Dr. Millspaugh's ac-

The Economics of History

(Continued from page 6)

in the bodies of human beings was gant taste of its aristocracy, all these sweated much gold to nourish trade, served to emphasize the significance commerce and industry, but the children of working class England also from its common life. The humanism were made pack horses to satisfy the of Shelley, the passion of Byron, the were precisely the same as the apolo-gies for the slave trade," the authors write. "Cobbett put it in 1833 that the opponents of the Ten-Hour Bill had faction, or to the desire to picture a discovered that England's manufactur- past or future unlike the present as ing supremacy depended on 30,000 little girls. This was no travesty of their argument. The champions of the slave trade pointed to the 70,000,000 pounds our commerce on the slave trade. This was the argument of Chatham in one

generation and Rodney in another." In a chapter on "The Curse of Midas" the authors do what few historians have the courage to do and what many think is not even within their province. They survey the enormous powers for good possessed by the productive powers of capitalism and contrast them with their wretched maladjustment to human happiness except for a few There is a long passage on pages 218-219 which is blistering in its con-demnation of the new order. The following excerpt gives some idea of its dustrial age was richer than most ages

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systematic and organized traffic with in painters and poets, but the great the coming to power of the bourgeois achievements of its literature, the gal-class. Out of the wretched commerce leries of its private mansions, the elegreed of the capitalist class for profits.

Just as contemptible were the sanctimonious reasoning of the intellectual against the industrial spirit; the mind retainers of the new rulers in defense that had any feeling for the large of the merciless destruction of child spaces of fancy or of history turned "The apologies for child labor away from it. What there is of beauty precisely the same as the apolo- in the age belongs either to the linger-

dreams could make it." The work is rich in suggestive in terpretation, analysis of development and criticism of the bourgeois order invested in the sugar plantations, to spawned in the womb of the feudal sige. the dependence of our navy on our it is a book which the student of Britcommerce, and to the dependence of ish history will frequently turn to for

> The private ownership of land and capital stands revealed as sim-ply a device for enabling a small class to live by imposing their maintenance upon the industry of the community; diverting into their possession, as fast as it is pro-duced, the whole of the wealth created by the national industry over and above the necessary maintenance of the workers.—F.

What! Is our social ladder planted, then, with its feet in the hell of misery and poverty, its top rising to the false heaven of inane luxury and hypocrisy, and the type of man held up to admiration and imitation who works his way up, over others' shoulders, from Laza-

Let me make the superstitions of its laws or its songs, either,-Mark

Ability to discern that what is true is true and that what is false is false is the characteristic of intelligence.-Swedenborg.

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Amusements



Splendid Revival

"The Two Orphans" Comes Back Strong at the Cosmopolitan

Of Old Melodrama

HE 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 opolitan Theatre, sheds a glam-our over the old play, and adds the weight of superb performance and true scenic presen-tation 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 attempt-to often seen in revivals recently—to play down to or burlesque the parts, the acting alone will probably be shortened, somehow,

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, be-

yond mention, contributed to the limit their parts allowed. Of the women, it is impossible to elect. 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. Fay Bainter as the blind Louise undoubtedly evoked the greatest effusion of tears from the

audience, highly wrought up over the was inimitably striking as the scoun drelly mother of the cripple and the togue; Henrietta Crosman—but we cannot go on indefinitely, and we wish to mention Mrs. Thomas Whiffen opening of "Pinafore" (she being the original Buttereup), to play the matron of the prison where two of the

fair heroines are imprisoned.
"The Two Orphans" stands up well under the fire of years. Perhaps because it does not describe the time when it was written, but goes back to the months before the French Revo-lution (giving, incidentally, a good picture of the recklessness of the nobles of the time, perhaps because the French never try to make their theatre mimic life, but always accept it as frankly play; the melodrama still— for all its theatricality—has power to give genuine thrill, and will succ uch through its intrinsic crude emotional power as through the consummate cast that carries it along
J. T. S.

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 Man-hattan 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 Mar-

Manager Arthur Jarvis of Luna Park announces that the "Mile Sky Chaser" and "The Pit" will be open every week end 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 which opens a limited engagement of his own show at the Little Theatre, six weeks at the Princess beginning ade to the illness of Malcolm Williams. Monday night.

In The Brussels Theatres

DRAMA

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 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-play-wright, whose "Nouvel Messie" 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 "Cavaliere Elsa," also tested in Paris, will be heard this winter for the first time in Belgium at the "Marais," but inwould be enough to justify the long terpreted by the actors of the Parislan evening (8:15 to 11:30, though that 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 re-siding 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 other 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." during the past winter, but will have in Brussels

Gemier, Noted French Actor.

News has been just received that Firmin Gemier, French actor and stage director, who played here under the

Shubert regime two years ago, will

To Appear on the Screen

F the three leading theatres for a weaker showing this year since only prose plays in Brussels, one, the only Madame Simone plans to give Theatre du Marais," is financed one performance of "Vetir Ceux qui group of disinterested lovers of Sont Nus," her Parisian success, in Brussels at the "Parc." Pirandello's compatriots, on the other hand, will have first nights in the Belgian capital this winter: Goldoni with his "Locandiera" and Rosso di San Secondo with "Passions de Fantoches." Plays by Gogol, Strindberg and Evreinov are scheduled at the "Marais," while the "Danish Moliers," Louis Holberg, will be reserved an evening at the "Parc." The Parc The-atre also will offer "Peer Gynt" with Grieg's music and performed by the Parisian cast which made the drama

fine success last' winter in Paris. French Plays abound on the pro gram 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 dra-matists of France will be represented from Francois de Curel and Henri Bataille down to the youngest: drac, Benjamin Cremieux, Alfred Savoir, J. J. Bernard, Fernard No- of good drama if the theatregoer does zieres 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 latter. invite Parislan stages to send their entire troupes for a number of guest Thus Brussels is to see the actors of and the Neighborhood Playhouse, the the Atelier, of the Comedie des Champs Elysees, of the Studio des Champs Elysees, of the Theatre des Jeunes Auteurs (formerly Vieux-Colombier), before each performance and return from the theatre as soon as the curtain of the Grand-Guignol, as well as one regular monthly performance of the will stop at various elevated and s Comedie Francaise. It must be added that these guest performances of city. For the evening performance the Pirandello had a vogue in Brussels French theatres draw the best houses

LOUISE GALLOWAY

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

Neighborhood Playhouse by Bus

There will be no excuse for the love 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

A bus service will be inaugurated this Friday evening between Times Square management of the theatre has an nounced.



Go From Times Square to the

The motor will leave Times Square goes down. On the way back the bus

the matinees at 1:50 o'clock

Class Life Well Done at the Mayfair

make his first appearance as a cinema player in Rex Ingram's production of "The Magician." the Somerset Maugham tale, now in process of photography in Nice.

Gemier is the director of the Thea tre National de l'Odeon of France, the Trocadero, Paris. He is also one of the leading actors of France. He was one of the first actors to play Ibsen, Bjornson and Tolstoi in France, and succeeded in making a success of Shakespeare, which he presented in

original settings. He played O'Neill's "Emperor Jones," and this fall will produce "White Cargo" in Paris. Previously Gemier had not taken the nema at all seriously, and, in fact, had turned down many offers to appea before the camera as well as to direct

R. Morganstern has placed in re hearsal a comedy-drama, "Sex," Jane Mast, in which Mae West will be featured. Barry O'Neill will play the leading male role.

ALEXANDRE GAVRILOV



Head of the Gavrilov Ballet Moderne,

"Juno and the Paycock"

Sean O'Casey's Dramatic Play of Irish Working

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

of common folk in Dublin during the terrible days of 1922, shortly after the outbreak of the civil war between the Republicans and the Free Staters.

Mary. Mary is on strike against the "victimization" (we would call it blacklisting) 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 lounger, 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

The Captain has a boon companion named "Joxer" Daly with whom he wandered from barroom to barroom. with whom he poured out his heart's secrets and with whom he valiantly

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 lo on the horizon he develops terrible pains in his legs.

who had died. Some half-forgotten elative had left a will with provision for my first cousin and my second With his cordial welcome in the family Charlie takes Mary, and in moment Jerry is forgotten for the showier, the more flashy youth. And pending a lot of money (which had en .borrowed).

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

UNO and the Paycock," Sean | whose boy had died for the Irish Re O'Casey's play of Irish folks public, sobs out her heart that sons in the midst of rebellion and should kill each other while their mothers still live . . . and Johnny soldier of the Free State, is lying or his cot with a bullet through his groin and his arm blown off in the fight o O'Connell street.

ing out her heart over the absence of Charley. Soon we learn two terrible things—Mary is pregnant and Charlie is nowhere to be found; and there is

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 taken to view the body-and the "Captain" and "Joxer" come rolling into the house dead drunk shouting, "Ireland sober will be Ireland free!"

udiences 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 unterrified and unblinded by prejudice.

gives one of the most remarkable performances of his brilliant career. A perfect picture of our dear Comradprogue and his burley figure. And the rest of the cast is perfect—all Irish, all intensely human, all delightful as Irish are delightful. "Juno and the Irish are delighttui.
Paycock" is a veritable joy.
W. M. F. "Juno and the

"The Enemy" Coming to Bronx Opera House Monday

Channing Pollock's "The Enemy" be-ins a week's engagement Monday at the Bronx Opera House, after a should not be expected from it. lengthy run at the Times Square

use, Russ Whytall, Charles Dalton. John Wray, Harold Vermilye, Walter Abel, Lyonel Watts, Jane Seymour, Olive May and Donald Hughes.

"What Price Glory" will come to the

Charles K. Gordon's melodrama at the 49th Street Theatre.

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BROADHURST Thea. W. of 44th S

MONDAY, TUES. & WED. NIGHTS

GEO. MacFARLANE PRODUCTIONS, INC. RAINBOW ROSE

Pleasure to tell story in these columns. FORREST 49th St. W. of B'way. Mats. Wed. & Sat. Ph. Chick. 6231 COSMOPOLITAN The., Columbus Evenings 8:15: Mats. Wed. & Sat. e MESSRS. SHUBERT, in Association th William A. Brady, Jr., & Dwight ere Wiman, present an ALL STAR REVIVAL OF TWO

ORPHANS Prices: Best Seats, Nights (except Sat.) \$3.85; Sat. Night, \$4.40; Mats., Wed. \$2.20, and Sat., \$2.75.

Most Charming and Unique Theatre Ever Built! JOLSON'S Theatre, 59th St. and 7th Ave. Evgs. 8:30, Matinees Thursday and Saturday, 2:30.

CASINO de PARIS Theatre Bldg Phone Col. 8800. Evs. 8:30. Permitted MATS. THURSDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30 "THE REVUE ALL NEW YORK IS TALKING ABOUT!"

NIGHT PARIS "A REAL PARISIAN NIGHT" THE MOST GLORIOUS MUSICAL PLAY OF OUR TIME!



572 TIMES IN NEW YORK

522 TIMES



"Fixed for summer run."
—Metcalf, Wall Street Journal

IN NEW YORK The Comedy Knockout IS ZAT 502 by James Gleason and Richard Taber Chanin's 46th St. Thea. W. of Bwa. Evenings 8:16 Matinees Wednesday and Saturday. 2:11

A THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION -

A lively, well-acted and cunningly produced extrava-ganza . . . always on its toes.—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

A gayly colored, prankful romp of a play . . . cast generously and staged handsomely.—Alexander Woollcott, World.

THE CHIEF THING

By NICOLAS EVREINOFF GUILD Theatre, West 52nd St. Eves, 8:30, Matinees, Thurs. & Sat., 2:30

Bernard Shaw Backing New Memorial Theatre

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW not only favors reconstruction of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford, but is surprised that

writes:

"I am amazed to find myself represented as disparaging replacement of the Memorial Theatre at Stratford and advancing London's claims against motion pictures.

Start upon a transcontinental tour, terminating in Los Angeles, where she and her motion picture director will study American methods of making motion pictures. it. I cannot account for this misunill, but I really cannot have raved to this extent.

"As to saying that Stratford is a ninteresting town, I have frequented it so devotedly for many years past that I have come to regard it almost as my birthplace, and Mr. Henry Arthur Jones has publicly appealed to the mayor to throw me out of it lest I should set up a rival tradition.

"Those who have any money to spare for dramatic art should for a year at least concentrate on replacing Stratford. Its ruins are an unbearable disfigurement. The old building, though hopeless Internally for theatrical pur poses, was by no means unpresentable In its conied wat of architecture of the mid-ningteenth century. To its smoky ruin as it is now would be

a national disgrace.

"Local patriotism has given what it ean, but the town is too small to carry its giant on its own shoulders. It can cater to pilgrims and maintain the nleasant spaciousness of its street placement of the present incongruous own hall with a more suitable one is case for a general subscription from the whole English-speaking world is irresistible.

"I hope it is now clear that I am a warm advocate of the Stratford appeal and that I am recommending its general support, with the fullest knowledge of the local situation and of all Bronx Opera House the following, lic generosity. Stratford for the mo-ment comes first." alternative theatrical appeals, to pub-

Frank Fay will be featured in "The Smart Alec," a new comedy with ar occasional tune, which is now in re-hearsal under the direction of William A. Grew, co-author of the piece with "The Smart Alec" will open at the Central Theatre on its out-of-town debut in Rochester on April 12, and is due in New York on April 26.

Raquel Meller Opens at Empire Theatre Wednesday

Senorita Meller will open her season at the Empire Theatre on Wednesday night. She will appear also on Friday afternoon, April 16, and Saturday weeks only she will be seen on Mon-day, Wednesday and Saturday nights, anyone should doubt that he does. In and at Friday matinees, making only a letter to a London newspaper he writes:

four appearances a week. She will then start upon a transcontinental tour,

Broadway Briefs

"At Mrs. Beam's" will be the next Theatre Guild production, with Lynn ntanne, Alfred Lunt, Jean Cadell and Henry Travers in the cast, open-ing Monday night, April 26, at the Guild Theatre. "The Chief Thing," now at the Guild, will be moved to an

In view of capacity business Al Jolon's engagement with "Artists and extended beyond the four-week period.

"Rainbow Rose," at the Forrest, is week to the following organizations: The Young Folks' League for Aid to Hebrew Infants has the house Monday: the V. W. H. A. of Mount Vernon bene-Tuesday, and the Congregation Shaari Zedek of Brooklyn on Wednesday.

JACOB BEN-AMI



Plays the title role in Franz Werfel's "Schweiger," which is now in its fourth week at the new Mansfield Theatre.



Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The Broadway Theatre, beginning Models" at the Winter Garden may be Monday, will feature Will Mahoney and the California Road Show, Unit No. 4, consisting of Dick Lucko and His Arcadians; Toy Town Revue, with Marie Veatches; "Chicago Steppers," Claymo, Bert Rule, Johnny O'Brien. Ken Murray, Charlotto, Bud Snyder &

Co., and other acts.
The photoplay presentation next
week at the Broadway will be Cecil De Mille's "Red Dice." Rod La Rocque is featured at, the head of a large cast in this melodramatic story by Octavus

"Great Moments From Great Sports," a panorama of the principal sporting events of the years 1924 to 1925. This film includes glimpses of champion ship prize fights, athletic games, golf tournaments, air, auto, horse, swimming, races and other sporting events.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday-Anna Q. Silsson in "Her Second Chance," with Charlie Murray and Huntly Gordon.

Vaudeville acts.

Thursday to Sunday—Robey & Gould, Toto, Bovan & Flint, others, "The Grand Duchess and the Waiter," with Florence Vidor and Adophe Menjou."

A. L. Erlanger is to have a new theatre in Buffalo erected for him by the Hotel Statler Company, Inc. It will be rushed to completion so that it may be opened by Christmas.



"LOVE-IN-A-MIST," a comedy by Amelie Rives and Gilbert Emery, will open at the Galety 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

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, Erckmann-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.

"Juno and the Paycock" is a story

The scene of the play is a tenemen in Dublin. It is the home of the Boyles—"Captain" Jack Boyle, his wife and their children, John and

st-thrutted around like a paycock.

dodged all the jobs that came his way. Mary had as her sweetheart Jerry bevine, 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

In this more or less happy household the poor, maimed Johnny stalks around like a skeleton at the feast.

Into the Boyle family comes Charlie Benthan with news of a legacy for the "Captain," a heritage left by a cousin A month later; nothing has been heard of the legacy, and Mary is eat-

The whole house tumbles about their

Is it a comedy or a tragedy? The for Irish freedom, a

As the "Captain" Augustin Duncar

Dennie Moore is now appearing in the leading role of "Hush Money,"

Thursday night, April 15, with a spring

- THEATRES



The NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE

Evenings at 8:30. Matinees at 2:30. Repertoire-Thru April 25th

Tues., Wed, and Thurs. Eves.

A Burmese Pwe A Haydn Opera-Bouffe DRAMAS A Chinese Fantasy

"The Neighborhood Playhouse has made it exquisitely clear that it is at a playhouse for a neighborhood, nor indeed for the entire city—but for the whole world."—Frank Vreeland in the Telegram.

Bronx Amusements

BRONX OPERA HOUSE 149th ST., E. of THIRD AVE. POP. PRICES | MAIS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

Direct from its All-Senson Run at the Times Square Theatre CROSBY GAIGE Presents CHANNING POLLOCK'S Great Play

"THE ENEMY"

By the Author of "The Fool" One Play You'll Never Forget

Week of April 19th "WHAT PRICE GLORY"



in a New Play "SCHWEIGER"

ANN HARDING and FINE CAST

MUSIC AND CONCERTS



Carageie Sun.Aft.Apr.18

MUSIC

Last Week of the Metropolitan Opera Season

THE TALES OF HOFFMANN as a special matines will open the last week of the Metropoliian Opera on Monday afternoon, Tailey, Lewis and Tokatyan, Didur Other operas of the week:

"Don Quichotte," Monday evening with Easton, Egener and Chaliapin,

"Boheme" matinee on Wednesday, with Bori, Hunter and Gigli, Scotti. "Faust," Wednesday evening, with Marie, Anthony and Lauri-Volpi,

"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, Danise, the latter interpreted by Rudolph, Friedenthal and Bolm, Benfiglio.

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

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

Music Notes

Mischa Levitzki, the pianist, will

the Brooklyn Academy of Music, when he will present a Bach prelude and fugue, the Beethoven Waldstein Sonata, a Chopin group, and a group of Tchaikovsky Levitzki, Alber and Strauss.



Doris Canfield, assisted by Gail Gardner, soprano, will give a dance recital at the Klaw Theatre Tuesday afternoon, April 20.

Bach's B minor Mass forms the final program by the Oratorio Society under the direction of Albert Stoessel. performance will take place in Caregie Hall Saturday evening, with a chorus of 200 voices, four soloists and the New York Symphony Orchestra. The soloists will be Olive Marshall, soprano: Grace Leslie, contralto; Lewis James, tenor, and Frazer Gange

Oscar Ziegler, Swiss pianist, will give his second recital Wednesday evening at Town Hall.

A special concert of the Philharmonic Orchestra will be given on Monday evening at Carnegie Hall, with Georges Zaslawsky conducting. The program will consist of Beetho-ven's "Egmont." Overture, and Fifth Symphony, and the Tchaikevsky Fourth Symphony. Zaslawsky's debut as a conductor in

Mischa Elman will give his final recital, for three years, next Sunday afternoon, April 18, at Carnegie Hall.

Opens at Princess Monday

Gavrilov's Ballet Moderne

Richard Herndon will present Alexande Gavrilov's Ballet Moderne for a limited engagement of six weeks at the Princess Theatre, Monday night. The Gavrilov Ballet Moderne will make many departures from that of its famous predecessor, the Diaghlieff group, of which Gavrilov was a mem-ber, bringing together in a single pro-gram the influences of every period and of every land, covering every type of rhythmic expression, from the ancient and traditional dance forms to the jazz of the hour.

The program will consist of eight ballets and seven intermedes, all created by Gavrilov and staged by Serge Nadejdin. The music has been arranged by Vladimir Heifet and the orchestra will be directed by him. The scenic creations are by Eugene Dunkel, and Madam Claudi Stepanoff has executed the costumes.

In the ballets and intermedes Gav will be assisted by Georgia Ingram, Vera Strelskaya and a company of fifty Terpsichorean artists. In-cluded in the program are "Pierrot of the Minute," "The Toy Box," "Basrelief," "The Roguish Faun," "Spectre de la Rose," "The American Bar in Paris," "Pancake Holiday" and "The

Circus Story.' 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 Granville Bantock, the English com-"Spectre de la Rose" was one of the most brilliant numbers of the Diaghlieff Ballet Russe, and was danced alternately by Nijinski and Gavrilov with that ballet in 1916-1917.

Mrs. Oscar Hammerstein to Present French Opera Here

Mrs. Oscar Hammerstein, widow of the great Oscar, is again about to become an impresario, she says, thereby carrying out the dearest wish of her husband." Mrs. Hammerstein late sailed for Paris last Saturday to arrange to bring a French opera con pany to this country, with the aid and assistance of the French Government, which, she says, has been promised ner by the French Ambassador at Washington, where she has been visit ing recently. The company, according to Mrs. Hammerstein, will sing in New York the coming season, and then make a tour of other large cities.

We are entering into an order of things in which justice will be the primary virtue, grounded on equal, but also en sympathetic, association; having its roots no longer in the instincts of equals for self-protection, but in a cultivated sympathy between them, and ne one being new left out, but an equal measure being extended to all .- J. S. Mill.

The future is a convenient place for putting our dreams into.-Ana-

Judges cannot read hearts, and their strictest justice is only rudi-mentary and superficial.—Anatole

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 Wer-fel's "Schweiger," with Ben-Ami, at Mansfield

N Franz Werfel's "Schweiger," presented at the Mansfield Theatre, the German dramatist achieves 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 of the non-resister, of the redcemen ringing 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 sues for his powers. Love, procreant 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 searching and profound—out of the searching and the sear loneliness. pulse of the lonely soul, of the spirit that finds no one to understand, to share, its hopes. When love is withdrawn. Schweiger cries back ward—as madmen do—to the sooth-ing of religion, man's earliest defense against dark terror. This fails 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

Loneliness, the source and ill-spring of all evil, seems an inevitable and eternal sore, 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 iniquities of earth, from the petty lies and deceits of every day, to the manias, the dementia precox Werfel exhibits as an example of man's need gone astray. translated and well acted, the play is suggested to Gavrilov by the poem of Davson, and the music is that of 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 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.

LIONEL ATWILL



Is featured in "Beau Gallant," a new play by Stuart Olivier, which opened at the Ritz last week.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

the World War.

George

Delegates to National Convention

Every good-standing member i

dates for delegate from the 1st Dis-

trict (Bronx and Manhattan) are

keepsie: Henry Hotze, Syracuse: Ray

Newkirk, Utica; Charles H, Roth, Buffalo; A. I. Shiplacoff, Kings;

should be cast on or before April 21 in the 1st District, and on or before

Brooklyn

The 5th A. D. has organized a read-

ing and study group, which meets on

the second and fourth Sunday nights

after business meetings. There will

at 329 Stuyvesant avenue. Following

eading and discussion of Otto Bauer's

the business session, there will be a

articles on Russia, which recently ap-

is Stuart Chase's "Tragedy of Waste

New York City

Harlem branches are arranging their

May Day supperette and dance for

Saturday, May 1, at 8 p. m., at the

A strong effort is being made to

make this affair bigger and better than

anything ever undertaken by the So-

cialists of Harlem. All present will

have a good time. Tickets are \$1. Sev-

eral organizations have already made

reservations-the Y. P. S. L. of New

York, Debs English-speaking Branch

665, Workmen Circle, Harlem Socialist

Verband, and the United Progressive

Club. Organizations desiring reserva-tions should write Nathan Zukoft, 62

East 106th street, before April 25

Watch The New Leader for other an-

street.

peared in The New Leader.

Ballots

Weber, Rochester.

April 23 in the 2nd District.

National

tional 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 organ-ized in Morgantown, West Virginia, and the State Secretary, Augustina Garbarino, promises others in the near future.

The following is a letter from strong-hearted Socialist in Oklahoma: "I carried a petition for Debs' citizen-ship; 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 36 years old and my father used to read the old Appeal to me when I was a stripling.' State Secretaries and District Or

ganization 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 Penn-sylvania, 415 Swede Street, Norristown, Pa. News items concerning La bor 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 firs time in years. We secured the necessary 100 signers in each of 10 counties to petitions to place the name of be wholly explicable as symbol. Somether ties to petitions to place the name of thing of the universal he does carry, 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 forma tion of a new branch in Altoona and a Jewish Branch in Eric. Names of Sc cialist candidates who will appear on the primary ballot are: For U. S Senator, Cora Bixler, Lancaster; ernor, John W. Slayton, Pittsburgh Lieut.-Governor, Henry Ernest Close, Philadelphia; Secretary of Interna Affairs, Dr. William J. Van Essen 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 be ginning Monday.

D'Annunzio's Mystery Play Produced in Milan

OTH D'Annunzio and Ida Rubenstein-the poet and the in-terpreter of mystery playsreceived great ovations at Milan reently. "The Martyrdom of St. Sebaswas produced for the first time in Italy, having been given fifteen ears 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

The presentation at the Scala was applauded, but did not escape sharp criticism. The tragedy was made somewhat bourgeois, and the martyr's terpreted 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 im personated 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 proession 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.

Democrat Seeks Socialist Nomination

Westmoreland County has also nom-inated a complete ticket and filed petitions. In this county the Socialist vote is so considerable that the old candidates tried to secure the Socialist nomination, and in this instance a Democrat has filed a Socialist petition for the Congressional noniination. This means that there will the regular Socialist nominee and the other candidate. The regular Social-ist 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 pri maries and vote for Eckard. We must not allow old party politicians to secure our nomination by any such trick. with the result that most of our Comrades do not go to the primary elec-tion. 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, B. J. Riley, Kings; Theresa B. Wiley, Schenectady. The candidates for al-ternate are Claude Coumbe, Pough-John Fradel, Latrobe, and George H. Hunter, Unity Township (two to be nominated); Second District, Bertha Tinney, New Kensington, and Henry J. Hufnagel, Irwin (two to be nominated); Third District, Anton Zornik, Herminic, 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.

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 Leemans 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

Connecticut

The Socialist locals of the State are low voting for a delegate to national convention. Karl C. Jursek Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 106th 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 nonthly meeting Wednesday evening, pril 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. subject is "Mexico's Struggle

Preparations for the New England District Convention to be held Sunday. April 11. at 10:00 a. m., at the party's eadquarters, 21 Essex street, Bost 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 severe illness and is canvass ubscriptions 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. Presiden WM. LEHMAN.

went on record unanimously for the restoration of full citizenship to Eugene V. Debs. Also that President William Green of the American Feder-Yipseldom ation of Labor will speak in Schene tady on the 13th inst. on the subject: "Are Company Unions Democratic?"

After three months of planning and hard work by the members of Circle President Green's address is to be broadcasted by Station WGY from Seven, Manhattan, comes their annual dance on Saturday eve, April 19, at well as trade unionists, are invited Webster Hall. The success of this un-dertaking will determine, the amount dertaking will determine, the amount of active Yipsel work that will be done in the Fourth A. D. Manhattan.

The State office is co-operating with the National Secretary in the member-On Sunday, April 11, a few of the ship drive. An attempt will be made circles will get together and hike to the future camp of the Y. P. S. L. to reorganize some of the towns where there were locals functioning prior to Circle Eight, Manhattan, has made some very fine arrangements for this All those interested in gathering. All those interested in having a real good time and also seeing the summer home of the Yipsels, meet at Van Courtland Park Station not later than 9.30. Don't forget to dum on National Convention delegates, getting a ballot from his secretary if unable to attend meetings. The candi-

bring some spuds along.

The third meeting of the newly organized Circle Two. Manhattan, will ganized Circle Two, animated was 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. 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. Hils-College, will lecture at Circle Six, Brooklyn, this Sunday, April 11 at \$30 dorf, Sr., Rochester; Herman Kobbe, Nassau; Edward H. MacDonald. Poughkeepsie; James Oneal, Queens; m., at 167 Tompkins avenue. Ad-

mission 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, Brook-lyn, 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 after business meetings. There will operate the coal mines." The team to be a meeting Sunday night, April 10 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 ook to be taken up for careful study 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 Babit, 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 ave-

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?

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 & 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

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

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1926

CALIFORNIA WINS!

THEN New York had its Luskers running amuck we were inclined to think that this state had won the palm of We still think so, but in the competition of the states for this distinction Cali-fornia 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 sovieters, but since when has a par-ticular 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 move-ment. 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 The palm of infamy goes to an understudy in California.

THE PENNSY HOG

ARELY have we seen a more informing contrast than the two items which appeared in the Herald-Tribune on Tues-In one column the handsome profits of 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 ory: "Complete recovery of the Pennsylvania Railroad from the effects of war-time Federal control and post-war labor tribula-tions 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 \$24,085,647 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 wage reduction made in 1921 which amounted \$7.24 a month. While President Atterbury of the Pennsylvania Railroad cackles over his juicy melon, managing officials of the corpora-tion 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 being expressed by the Pennsylvania's rejection of the request of the clerks.

PARTY BUILDING

READER of The New Leader writes that a recent issue contained some news that is of considerable impor-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 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 associ-That the party has reached ated 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. 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 with 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 strugwithin 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

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

UNDREDS 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 state had been junked. But not so. 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 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 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 his-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 in-terests of the ruling class. But when industry develops Democrats turn to the support of the new ruling class, owners of industry and their financial ailies. 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

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

We get so many ideas on the subect 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 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 with what, in 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 is John Masterson, an honorable, gendifferent. It's an instinct.

And that brings me to one of the really remarkable things about Mr. Gilbert Frankau's book. (Masterson, A Story of an English Gentleman. Harper, N. Y.). For at one and the tleman he was a little ashamed of it. introspections which—well, per For a gentleman, you must know, is you're right. But what of it?

MR. GILBERT FRAN-KAU, 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 one, where the Member "helped himreally are the ruling class. You can't self out of the workers' pockets," be a born ruler if you've only a cat while his son was mayor and ran the and a push-bike to rule bornly. You also he magnanimous, and you can't be magnanimous if you haven't anything to be magnanimous with. It is impossible to magnam 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 which blanket. 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 houses, and at one meeting one he didn't know anything about politics. Which brings me to the next great tleman with a razor. characteristic of the real Gent. Here we assume that evrybody who has them is a gentleman?"

same time it not only tells us what a gentleman really is, but also tells us what a gentleman really is, but also tells us between the didn't know that the Independent Labor Party really is. I think they ought to have charged double for the book, But first fool?" Tut, comrade. He was a hetal the wrong always fix on some trivial mistake of their opponents in order to try and escape. People try, for incompact of the property of let me tell you about the English gen-tleman. His father was a millionaire healthily indifferent to those subtle mouth organ (organus mugus). To all and left the lot to him. Being a gen- shades of thought, those emasculating that sort of argument I say Pish, exone who demands moderation in all knew, or at least his author did, that things. A few hundred thousands— he had enough to do in just being a servants, and a few, only a few, brains. was, he knew, doubtless with that in-But when it comes to a million pounds stinct for self-defence which nature of Awakening Magyars? His intenthe matter begins to verge upon bad gives to hunted animals and million- tion is just the same and the message orm.

alres, that his friend was right. And of his masterpiece is clear, I'll just the bissage alres, that his friend told him, amongst other look through it once more and then

from the pockets of the Trade Union

The gentleman still thought, how-ever, that the Socialists might mean well, but his friend soon scotched that by showing him their war recordshow they "preached . . . the se-oret 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 one, where the Member "helped himplace on graft. There the Council dustmen earned more than skilled engineers, whole families drew \$25 a week for nothing, and there '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 ieft me in doubt as to

Then came the election and the description of that ought to finish the I. L. P. for good. For, visualizing defeat, the Socialist candidate moned his toughs." On polling day he organized armed gangs, so that many of the voters daren't leave their Socialist's supporters attacked the gen-

Some people say that Mr. Frankau has got his facts wrong; that he is confusing the I. L. P. with the Comerous, clean-living man with a strong sense of justice. You will ask, "Are those the marks of a gentleman? May something else that is not quite clear. something else that is not quite clear. Well, what if he is wrong in a few hem is a gentleman?" technical details? It's the spirit of the Not at all. You must have other thing that counts, People who are in perhaps cept in the presence of ladies, when He I say Tush.

What does it matter if Mr. Frankau in trying to write about the I. L. P., is yes; a few, only a few, houses; a few, strong, silent man. And so, when his unwittingly describing the methods only a few, cars and horses; a few friend told him what Socialism really and theories of the Fascists or the lions slide and retain just enough for self-seeking allens at home, but mainly his simple pleasures, such as traveling from involuntary contributions wrung 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 our love To confide to the moon resembles writing To an "Advice to the Lovelorn" column. But I could not help whispering it last night To a small white star which wink -E. Ralph Chevney.

Escape

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

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

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 insinuation.

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 braw; and rather than invite postoffice interference with this journal's mailing privileges, we must skid along deviously and just do a bit

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 inhumane lot the tionists medicoes 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.

more than hint the facts out to your understanding

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 extortions, 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 Grundles 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-dodging, 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 would, 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 specifis 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 could make the League better. Assuredly. But before we marry the League to reform it, we ought to re-form ourselves. I should be quite willing to see the Socialist Party lay down specific conditions under which it would favor joining the Leaguesuch 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. 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 s 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 ; eplica-in fine clothes.-Michael

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.

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