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# RADIO STATIONS BAR FREE SPEECH; NON-POLITICAL CONTROL DEMANDED

## TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE most effective speeches I make are those which someone prevents my making. Not very complimentary to my eloquence, is it? There was that speech I began to make in the crotch of the sour apple tree at Garfield. The under-sheriff stopped it and put me in jail. But two weeks later I had the pleasure of going with the lawyer to serve that same under-sheriff with an injunction, based on my experiences, which opened the halls of Garfield.

Last Sunday afternoon, all the uncounted thousands who were going to hear me on WMCA on "Freedom of the Air," were doubtless disappointed. To tell the truth, I was rather mad myself, having been invited to speak on a particular subject on a particular day and having changed my own schedule to do it, I found it annoying to be told at half past ten on Sunday morning that I couldn't speak. Nevertheless, something tells me that my remarks got more effective publicly than if I had spoken. Anyway, my friend, Donald Plam, let the cat out of the bag in beautiful fashion. "Why," said he, as quoted by the New York Times, "Thomas slammed the daylight out of the companies on which we depend for supplies. Mr. Gilliam agreed with me that it was better not to do anything rash and get into trouble with other stations on whom we depended, or with Washington." And that was precisely my point. Fear of the radio trust and fear of the officials in Washington are potent censors over broadcast.

One brave manager, Charles D. Isaacson of WRNY, has come forward to invite me to deliver a speech at his station on radio and democracy Monday, May 21, at 9.30 p. m. Always providing nothing happens, you eager listeners can tune in then.

Apparently we are in for another wave of repression in America. The Passaic strike, the radio situation, the pressure of the National Security League, the Reserve Officers' Association and kindred organizations on our colleges, anti-evolution laws and regulations in our schools, are all cases in point. None of them is sillier or more dangerous than the attempt of the bureaucrats of the New York school system to bar Arthur Garfield Hays, distinguished lawyer and friend of liberty, and James Weldon Johnson, poet and secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, from speaking in the Mount Morris High School on peace. As I write it is not clear just why these gentlemen were barred, though apparently it was due to their connection with the Civil Liberties Union. Neither is it yet determined what attitude the Board of Education will take. It is clear, however, whether in Dayton, Tenn., or in New York City, that education is only possible by fearlessly facing the facts and discussing the lessons to be drawn from the facts. Indeed I have far more sympathy with the simple folk of Tennessee than with the New York bureaucrats. The Tennessee people—or many of them—honestly believe that the teaching of evolution endangers the immortal souls of their children. Our New York functionaries don't honestly believe that a speech by Arthur Garfield Hays endangers anybody's immortal soul or the salvation of the country. They merely see a chance to make a gesture against a Red bogey man. And for the life of them they can't even define that which they are attacking. It is rather dreadful that men of such minds should have a high place in the school system. The silver lining to the cloud is that the publicity on this act of repression will reach more people than would ever have heard of the speeches.

In France the franc goes down, but the French war against the Riffs still goes on. Imperialism is the last luxury to be abandoned. The war is particularly inexcusable because the Riffs would have consented to peace on reasonable terms. Spain and France fight on for prestige and profit, which they call civilization. To prove how it she is to fight for civilization, Spain or her rulers have exiled me for the

## A.C.W. CONCLUDES AN INSPIRING CONVENTION

Factionalism Is Reduced to a Skeleton of Its Once Threatening Power

IN stating that the Montreal Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is an inspiring harmonious one, it is not merely the repeating of phrases generally used in referring to labor organizations. Rarely, if at all, in recent years has there been a large labor convention which showed itself so free from the virus of factionalism. The 300 delegates included less than a baker's dozen of Communists, whose activities have so disturbed the needle trade unions in recent years.

The convention took a clear-cut stand for a Labor Party. It decided to press forward with important organization work. It gave its continued support to the two flourishing banks maintained by the organization. It made plans for extension of unemployment insurance. To this extent it made noteworthy contributions to develop further work already begun.

A new departure, however, will be the creating of a home building organization which will experiment with the building of model apartment house centers for its members, the apartments to be rented at reasonable rentals.

President Sidney Hillman, Manager Abraham Beckerman of the New York Joint Board, and Samuel Nemeser, of Local Four, New York, the Cutters' local, deserve particular credit for the able way in which they took a prominent part in a convention whose standard of delegates was high above the average.

Great interest attached to a resolution submitted by the small Communist element demanding "amnesty" for its expelled members. The resolution recited that "many members have been expelled" in various cities.

Reporting on this resolution, the committee declared it "has no knowledge of any members who have been expelled for opposing policies of the Amalgamated administration. Nor have

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## Post-Peace Attack On British Unions Is Broken in Day

THE calling off of the general strike was followed by an amazing exhibition of ill faith, vindictive class hatred and blind stupidity on the part of the Government and upper middle classes.

The General Council had agreed to an arrangement which was understood to provide a "square deal" to the miners without forcing the government to the alternative of humiliation or a fight to the bitter end. The unreckoned fact was that the English gentlemen's boasted code of honor only applied inside his own class.

The result should perhaps have been foreseen. The government, having secured the calling off of the strike without giving any formal pledge, immediately used every available propaganda means to proclaim in the most strident tones that the strike was smashed, it was a victory of "law and order," and that it was a complete surrender of the Trades Union Congress and unconditional.

Gentlemen in an Oray The claim produced a minor orgy in the West End Wednesday night, half drunken "volunteers" of the undergraduate type parading the streets in groups, boasting that they had "beaten the strikers to their bloody knees."

In this atmosphere of phantom victory the employers at once decided to take full advantage of the situation to force the strikers to return to work at any terms offered and to smash the unions. Men reporting to the railways for work were informed that they could only be taken back at the companies' own terms. Buses and trams, etc., were the same.

This made the mass of the workers angry, more determined than ever, and rather bewildered. The effect of the attack was heartening. The threat of wage cuts, and victimizations shut the strike down again as firmly as ever. In the rail, transport and printing industries, scarcely a man moved.

Strike Ordered On Again Union executives, seeing the situation, immediately issued orders that the strike was still on. The astonished employers and the government, who had fondly believed they faced only a demoralized and beaten army, found the line of resistance as hard, resolute and determined as ever.

Excited young gentlemen who had been in the school of the school officials passed in and out Wednesday afternoon. Some of the banners said: "We want no Mussolinis, nor Gibneys either." "We demand the school board teach the Constitution." "Free speech belongs in every school."

"The schools belong to the people, not to bureaucrats." "We urge the Board to override the arbitrary and un-American suppression of free speech, of which one of its officials has been guilty," the young Socialists' spokesman declared.

CO-ORDINATION OF WORLD LABOR'S EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS IS WORKED OUT Important work on the drafting of a constitution for the Workers' Education International was done at a meeting of the International Workers' Education Committee held in Brussels on April 7. Under this constitution it will be easier to co-ordinate the Workers' Education movement internationally and to make the Education International a most useful adjunct of the International Labor Movement.

It is not anticipated that it will be possible to arrange an Education Conference this year. The committee, however, urges all workers to give the fullest support to the summer school organized by the I. F. T. U. and to the International Educational Notes published monthly by it.

The Brussels meeting was attended by Bowen (England), Bransmaes (Denmark), Weimann (Germany), Jauniaux (Belgium), and J. W. Brown (I. F. T. U.). Spencer Miller (U. S. A.) and Mertens (I. F. T. U.) were unable to be present.

ment in hand and managed it so well that within a couple of days the President, the Premier and the rest of the Government leaders had resigned or fled the capital and Pilsudski was dictator of Poland. The street fighting was of no great importance, nor was the opposition to Pilsudski in the other cities of the country very vigorous. Despite his accession to power by military means, Pilsudski hastened to declare that he had no desire to be a dictator and that he had merely chased out the corruptionists who had got Poland into such a bad mess economically during the last year or two. He averred that the reactionary record of Witos constituted a bar to that leader's return to office, and he proceeded to set up a temporary Cabinet composed of so-called non-partisans, with Casimir Bartel as Premier and Minister of Transport and Pilsudski himself as Minister of War. This Cabinet was ostensibly appointed by M. Rataj, President of the Sejm, who automatically became President of the republic when Wojciechowski was deposed. It is understood that Acting President Rataj is to convene the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate in joint session within a few days for the purpose of electing a new President. Some reports assert that the Polish Socialists, who thus far have not formally pronounced themselves but who are supposedly in sympathy with Pilsudski's efforts to head off a dictatorship of the Right, are insisting upon the dissolution of Parliament in the belief that new elections would result

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## PASSAIC PROBE DEMANDED AGAIN

Jersey Citizens Renew Plea for Investigation Before Three Senators

SEVENTEEN weeks after the beginning of the strike of 13,000 wool textile operatives in Passaic a delegation of 20 clergy, publishers, lawyers and other men representing the Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic, Garfield, Clifton and vicinity arrived in Washington to demand a Senate inquiry into the conflict. W. R. Venacke, lawyer, was chairman of the party, Rev. Michael Sotak its vice-chairman and Rev. John Wroblewski one of its secretaries.

They secured a preliminary hearing from Senators Borah, LaFollette and Wheeler, who have been favorable to action by the Senate.

Forty organizations—benevolent, social, religious and political—make up the group behind the delegation, their spokesmen said. They include many Slovak, Russian, Polish and Italian professional and business men in the Passaic district. They told of having created a Citizens' Conciliation Committee a month ago, with a judge at its head, to seek to bring the mill owners to meet a committee of the strikers. The owners refused to attend a meeting with strikers. Then the Associated Societies and Parishes determined to appeal directly to the Senate for a solution of the economic and social problem which threatens the very life of their city. They indicated their sympathy with the strikers, based on knowledge of the low wages and miserable standard of living afforded by the woolen mills. They presented a formal petition asking the Senate to adopt the LaFollette resolution of investigation, which has been held up in the Senate Committee on Manufactures since March 29.

Frank P. Walsh, volunteer counsel for the United Front Committee of the strikers, was called in by the delegation and took part in the discussions. He was interested in getting the issue of a thorough probe of profits and wages in the Passaic textile mills squarely before the Senate for a vote, thereby testing the good faith of the bosses when they declared they were not opposed to the inquiry.

The charge that Gibney maintains a blacklist of speakers whose views are resented by the politicians, business men and mossback educators who make up the school board. Court action to force the Board to permit free speech in the schools is planned.

As students, the members of the Young People's Socialist League particularly resented the suppression of freedom in the schools. A delegation of ten, picked from more than 100 who were ready to picket, paraded in front of the building while the school officials passed in and out Wednesday afternoon. Some of the banners said: "We want no Mussolinis, nor Gibneys either."

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## WEAF, WMCA Ban Talks By Thomas; WHAP Aims Attack

Fourth, City Owned, Refuses to Consider Address by Socialist—Dill Bill Approved

MONOPOLY of radio by private organizations which do not hesitate to discriminate against holders of opinions unpopular with the vested interests constitutes a great threat to democracy.

This is the position taken by Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and director of the League for Industrial Democracy, in a letter to U. S. Senator Dill urging the enactment of his bill to place the control of radio in the hands of a non-political commission, "end discrimination, break up monopoly and make the radio a genuine public utility."

Thomas' letter contained charges that the big radio companies in New York City are practicing "flagrant discrimination and actual suppression against progressives who would use the radio."

This charge is substantiated in the case of the following four broadcasting stations, whose discriminatory acts follow:

WMCA—Though this radio is owned by New York City, the property thus of all the people, the director has refused to permit Thomas to speak because his subjects are "controversial." An appeal has been made to Mayor Walker, but, thus far, to no avail.

WEAF—This station agreed some weeks ago to let Thomas broadcast an address arranged for by the Parent-Teachers' Association on "Peace." First they attempted to have Thomas change the matter in his address. This he refused. Then came his arrest in the free speech test fight in New Jersey. Under the pretext that the "Peace" address, though finally agreed upon as fit matter for the radio, was "controversial," WEAF refused to let Thomas go on the air.

WMCA—This station offered to let Thomas speak after WEAF had refused. The promise was not kept, however. Last Sunday morning Thomas was called on the tele-

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## SHOE STRIKERS ASK AID

Brooklyn and Queens Workers Engaged in Bitter Struggle with Employers

An "Appeal to All Trade Unionists," urging support and explaining the issues of the shoe strike in Brooklyn and Long Island City, was issued Wednesday by the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union through Jerome Valenti, Louis Rudomin and S. Sidel, publicity committee for the joint council of the union. The appeal follows:

"We, the American Shoe Workers' Protective Union, are engaged in one of the fiercest struggles ever forced upon a labor union by any manufacturers' association. For the last three years we have been fighting successfully to better the miserable conditions of the workers in the shops. In November, 1925, we signed a working agreement with the Shoe Manufacturers' Board of Trade of New York City, which was to be valid until November, 1928. Last April the manufacturers' association terminated this agreement and challenged us to open warfare. The union tried every possible method to settle the controversy in an amicable manner.

"It soon became obvious, however, that the one purpose of the manufacturers was to smash the union. All our efforts to avoid a strike failed, and we were forced to fight for the life of our union. We have 3,000 workers on the streets. We are facing a strongly organized body of reckless, avaricious employers. We trust that all labor unions engaged in the common issue will come to our assistance in this stand of ours against the drive for open shops in the shoe trades."

The statement issued by the Board of Trade, reporting that the strike is broken, was denied by James Grady, president of the union council. Grady declared that less than 200 of the 5,000 strikers had gone back to work.

## FUR STRIKERS TO HOLD MADISON SQUARE MEETING TO DEMAND 40-HOUR WEEK

The striking furriers have called a mass meeting for Saturday, May 22, in Madison Square Garden to inaugurate the drive for a forty-hour week for all workers.

A call was sent to every local union in the country urging that they join hands with the furriers in making this demand in all parts of the country. The demand has been endorsed by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor and the fur workers are planning to interest all other workers.

John Coughlin, secretary of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council, will speak at Saturday's meeting. Telegrams of endorsement for the fur strike and for a forty-hour week have come from the California State Federation of Labor, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia.

The furriers have also issued an appeal for funds to help in their struggle which is now in its fourteenth week. This appeal has been sent to over 31,000 leaders of labor unions throughout the country and it is part of the union's preparation for an indefinite continuation of the strike. During the past week there has been no change in the situation between the union and the manufacturers, the union standing firm for the forty-hour week and the employers declaring that they will not grant it.

The attitude of the fur workers on this demand was learned from a bal-

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## Wilson, Christian Socialist, Dies in Jersey in 83rd Year

THE Rev. Dr. Albert Wilson, a lifelong ardent Socialist, and minister of the Peoples Congregational Church, Ridgewood Park, New Jersey, died this week at the age of 83. Death was brought on by old age superinduced by unusual activity and hard work for the Socialist cause during his last years.

For many years Dr. Wilson has made his church a forum for Socialists and progressives barred from other public auditoriums in his part of New Jersey. Dr. Wilson's last visit to his church was a few weeks ago when he came to welcome Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, who delivered in the church an address which was originally scheduled for the Hackensack Public School. The Hackensack school board, because of Thomas' defense of the textile strikers, had closed the doors to him. Dr. Wilson, without hesitation, and on scores of similar occasions, opened the church auditorium to him.

Those who saw Dr. Wilson greatly weakened by his trip from his home to his church, feared that it would be his last time in the church. He would not heed the pleas of his comrades that he remain at home and conserve his energy.

Dr. Wilson's life is an epic of devotion to Socialism, to which he clung as a necessary part of his Christian faith. He came to Ridgewood Park about thirty years ago as a Methodist Episcopal clergyman. He had become interested in the labor movement while still a young man in college and continued his espousal of Socialism when he entered the clergy.

The parishioners in the Ridgewood Park Methodist Church became displeased with his Socialism. That was about 20 years ago. He refused to be swayed from his principles, however, and a fight that attracted national interest was created. The Newark conference of his church charged him with preaching Socialism, found him guilty and shunted him off to a small church on Staten Island.

Comrade Wilson remained in Staten Island for only a short time. The Ridgewood congregation—the most progressive part of it—aided by the Jersey Socialists, combined their efforts and built him what was then the largest church in Bergen County. The church was known as the Peoples Congregational Church and soon gained a large membership. Every Sunday night, Dr. Wilson or some invited speaker, chose a theme dealing with Socialism in one phase or another.

When the war swept the disciples of the Prince of Peace into a phobia of patriotic slaughter Dr. Wilson held fast to his faith and refused to join. The 1915 Jersey convention of the Socialist Party refused a meeting hall, found haven in his church. Neither threats of prison nor personal violence stayed him.

Scores of Socialists were at the Bound Brook Cemetery when he was interred Tuesday. Fred Kraft, well-known New Jersey Socialist leader, delivered a stirring oration. Dr. Wilson is survived by his wife, a daughter, Mrs. William Vossler, of Bound Brook, and a sister and a brother who live in Orange, New Jersey.



# RADIO STATIONS BAR FREE SPEECH

(Continued from page 1)  
phone and informed the subject on which he was scheduled to talk was "controversial." Therefore, Thomas could not speak, they said. WHAP—This station permitted an official of the National Security League to broadcast a vicious and ignorant attack on Thomas. Thomas asked that he be permitted to reply or that a retraction be made. Both requests were refused.

In the case of WHAP, the "controversial" subterfuge was not used. On the contrary, it was brazenly shown that when an attack on radicals controversial in nature is proposed, such matters as the right of a radical to reply or to make any simple statement of opinion, it is called "controversial."

Thomas' letter to Senator Dill refers to some of these cases. This letter follows:

"In connection with your radio bill, you may find my most recent experience with the controlled radio of public interest.

"As you know, WEAP recently refused to carry through an arrangement begun with the United Parents' Association to broadcast a speech which I was to give for that organization. This refusal got some publicity and resulted in an invitation to me from Donald Flamm of station WMCA to say what I might wish to his audience. After some exchange of letters and telephone messages it was agreed that I was to speak Sunday afternoon, May 16, on the subject 'Freedom of the Air,' with special reference to pending legislation. This subject was Mr. Flamm's own choice, and at great inconvenience to my own plans I accepted the time he offered; also at his request, I sent out advance notices of my speech. Of course, I sent him a copy of the speech and of an interview with him which I had talked over with him—again at his request.

Sunday morning at 10:30 the manager of WMCA—named, I believe, Mr. Gilliam—called me up to say I could not speak as arranged; at any rate not for a week or two, because he had been away and hadn't had opportunity to read my speech. I offered to read it to him at once, but he refused. I said I would give the matter all possible publicity. A few minutes later Mr. Flamm called up. He said Mr. Gilliam wanted the question debated. I said I would agree if the manager would at once make definite arrangements for the debate, and that I would hold up publicity until I heard. Soon Mr. Gilliam called up again, this time to say that he "thought" he could arrange a debate. I said I must have an absolute assurance of the debate, that my speech must be uncensored, and that the debate must occur within two weeks, else it would be too late to affect pending legislation. Mr. Gilliam objected that he might not be able to find a debater to take the opposite side. I replied that in that case I must be allowed to present my side so that the public could judge what was undebatable. This he said was impossible, but finally he asked for more time. I gave him till 11 o'clock. Hearing nothing, I released publicity. Later on, I understood, Mr. Flamm broadcast a pious hope that a debate might be arranged.

"If this were a purely personal matter, I should not trouble you. It happens profoundly to touch a vital public issue. In less than a month two stations have cancelled arrangements for me to speak, and a third (WHAP) has refused to permit me to correct misstatements made over it. That you may judge what I intended to say over WMCA, I enclose a copy of my speech.

"This episode is further proof of control—a control primarily, I believe, due to two facts:

"1. That so long as a cabinet officer has charge of licenses no station will risk criticism of the administration.

"2. That the direct power and indirect influence of the radio trust are paramount in the industry. "Your bill offers the best hope of relief, though I should like to associate myself with certain further suggestions on it from Morris Ernst which he has already put before you.

It is absolutely imperative that control, and not merely judicial review, be in the hands of a non-political commission. It is equally imperative that we end discrimination, break up monopoly and make the radio a genuine public utility. Otherwise its power of control over our democracy will be incalculably disastrous.

"Sincerely yours,  
"NORMAN THOMAS."

Pay increases of five cents an hour, pay weekly in cash instead of at longer intervals by check, as well as a promise by management to listen to the workers' grievance committee at reasonable intervals, have been won by the 1,100 strikers at the Raritan Copper Works, smelting plant for Anaconda Copper Co. The strikers asked 19 cents, in-

## Norman Thomas Invited To Speak Over WRNY Next Monday Night

Norman Thomas has been invited to speak on "Radio and Democracy" from the studio of WRNY Monday, May 24, at 9:30 p. m.

Mr. Thomas will discuss the present radio situation and the remedy in the light of fundamental democratic principles.

This invitation to Mr. Thomas was voluntarily extended to him by station WRNY after WEAP and WMCA had banned speeches which he had been invited to deliver. WRNY had refused to permit any discussion of a controversial issue and WHAP had refused to allow him to answer what he regarded as misrepresentation broadcast from its station by Mr. Joseph Cashman.

## PILSUDSKI RULES IN POLAND

(Continued from page 1)

In such big gains for the Left as to make it possible to establish what would amount to a Government of workers and peasants under Parliamentary sanction. This would block the Communists, who are raising the cry of a proletarian dictatorship, although they fail to explain how such a thing could be established without the backing of most of the army.

Although the Polish Socialist Party, which has 41 Deputies out of a total of 444 in the Sejm, is generally counted as very nationalistic, it contains substantial elements which are doubtless not over-enthusiastic over the Pilsudski coup and who prefer slower but surer methods of winning Governmental power.

In his early life as a Polish patriot agitating against Czarist oppression, Pilsudski was an active member of the Polish Socialist Party, helped plan uprisings against Russian rule, was imprisoned several times, made daring escapes and when the World War broke out was in Galicia. He promptly organized the Polish Legion to fight against the Russians, but he turned against the Germans following their setting up of a fake Polish Government, and was interned in Magdeburg, where he remained until the end of the World War. He returned to Poland as Minister of War, soon became President, and remained at that post until the end of 1925, when he retired to semi-private life.

Pilsudski has not been a member of the Polish Socialist Party since shortly after the end of the World War, and his opposition to any reduction of the army is in sharp contradiction with the policy of the Polish Socialists who demand a "drastic cut of the present force of some 300,000 men, largely for reasons of economy. When the Socialists allowed two of their Deputies to enter the Skrzynski Cabinet last year it was with the understanding that the army would be reduced, the administration cleaned up and taxes would be levied upon those able to pay. This stand was approved by the Polish Socialist Party convention last November, but as the Skrzynski Government failed to carry out its promises within the three months set by the convention, the Socialist members were withdrawn early in April and the Cabinet crisis that resulted in Premier Skrzynski's resignation on April 21 began.

While nationalism, reactionary intrigue and racial troubles have had much to do with making the life of the Polish Premier miserable during the last couple of years, the main cause of the crisis was economic. Imports exceeded exports by huge figures, money was spent like water by loosely controlled officials, corruption was rife, industry was depressed, the army of the unemployed reached about 400,000 in the middle of the winter, unemployed benefits were totally inadequate, the land reform was not put through in a way best calculated to give land and work to the masses and numerous other factors made the situation almost impossible.

It is asserted in some quarters that many Polish business men and some foreigners interested in the country, both materially and platonically, would welcome a dictatorship by Pilsudski or anybody else who might be able to bring order out of chaos and reorganize the administration of a country naturally rich in resources and labor. That Polish 3 percent bonds have only fallen off a few points—to about 33 on the New York Exchange—since the coup d'état seems to indicate that Pilsudski's "radicalism" does not scare Wall Street very much. But it may be enough to put an end once for all to the dreams of the Polish Fascists.

crease over their 45 cents an hour rate and shorter hours. Two shifts have been working the mills for 10 to 14-hour periods each. Time and a half pay was sought for overtime work. American Smelting & Refining Co. raised their workers' pay five cents an hour to 55 cents as soon as the Raritan settlement was announced. Barber Asphalt Co. raised its workers' rate to 54 cents instead of the old 49.

Next Lecture of Course on  
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BY  
**LEON SAMSON**  
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Each Lecture  
**ADMISSION 25 CENTS**



BRADY—  
"The memories of the general strike will undoubtedly influence future British Governmental policy."—Personal Opinion.

## N. Y. Socialists to Dine Beckerman

THE Socialists of Greater New York are going to tender their regard and love to their comrade, former Alderman and Party spokesman, Abraham Beckerman. A reception and luncheon is being arranged by the members of Beckerman's branch, the 6th and 8th A. D. in co-operation with the city committee of the Party. The following letter, which briefly explains the affair, has been sent out to all Party members and active workers in the Socialist and Labor movement:

"Those of us who are members of the needle trades unions need not be told who Abe Beckerman is or what position he now holds in the Labor movement in New York City. Just a few words to those who are not informed—our Abe is at present one of the outstanding men in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. His genial spirit, his fine intellect schooled in the Socialist movement, his boundless energy and his extraordinary courage have enabled him to achieve results that have been almost miraculous.

## Unity House Opens Doors June 18

THE Unity House, vacation home of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, at Forest Park, Pa., will open its eighth season on Friday, June 18th, 1926. It will be a great event for the I. L. G. W. U. and to its many friends.

Elaborate arrangements have been made to make this year the banner year of the Unity House. Just as Mother Earth redresses her growing offspring each year, so has the I. L. G. W. U. improved and added to the equipment of its vacation home.

The last few years have seen unions embark on new great co-operative enterprises, such as banking, schools, colleges and vacation resorts, proving man does not live by bread alone. At any rate, the members of the I. L. G. W. U. are bent on having not only bread but roses, too.

Unity House was once the summer retreat of a choice group of aristocrats. Today it is the proud possession of the I. L. G. W. U., managed by the Union, for the recreation of its members and their friends.

Today the laughter that rings through those well built social halls is not that of the idle rich, run away from the ennui or fatigue of their gay town life, but today one hears the laughter and the song of the useful service-giving workers who have come into the cool, soothing, invigorating environment of the sweet scented woodlands for real and well-deserved refreshment.

No expense has been spared to provide the best food and all other physical comforts. All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy—and Mary a dull girl. All dullness will be driven away. There will be plenty of play—water sports, field sports and good dancing, of course, every night.

The cultural needs are also well cared for. There will be ample and

## BRITISH LABOR HITS BACK

(Continued from page 1)

quit junketing at victory celebrations had to turn wearily again to their tasks—once thrilling, now becoming arduous—driving heavy buses, running trains into each other.

It became clear that if the scattered workers offensive were pressed and the workers realized beyond doubt that the objective was wholesale, all-around wage cuts, then the struggle would be resumed on a wider front and in a more bitter form.

## The Position Changes

The government began to take alarm. All day long broadcasting stations repeated urgently an appeal by Baldwin to employers to be reasonable and conciliatory. It was repeated again in the House of Commons. Gradually, during the day, the high tone of the government and employers dwindled. The talk of driving the men back on the employers' terms ceased. Negotiations began at night.

Saturday morning the position was already altering. The iron and steel men almost everywhere were back at old conditions. Building trades workers the same. The London bus and tram lines, where Friday the talk was of wholesale dismissals and wage cuts, start work Sunday with the entire old staff at old conditions—all but a handful of the blacklegs may contemplate how they "saved the country," but quite certainly they did thousands of pounds of damage to the trams and buses. The same situation prevails nearly everywhere with the provincial tram and bus lines.

## Miners Still Locked Out

The miners are still locked out and left to carry on the struggle alone. They meet Thursday to give answer to Baldwin's proposals.

"I regret the fact we are left to fight our battles alone," A. J. Cook, miner's leader, declares.

## A DELIGHTFUL VACATION

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## Sacco-Vanzetti Meeting to Be Held Wednesday, May 26

Norman Thomas, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Harry Kelly, Luigi Aminolfello, Mito Rizzo, Joseph Cohen and Bonderenko will be the speakers at a meeting to be held Wednesday evening, May 26, in the Central Opera House, 67th street near Third Avenue. Aminolfello will speak in Italian, Rizzo in Spanish, Cohen in Yiddish and Bonderenko in Russian.

The meeting has been organized by the Sacco-Vanzetti International Committee, 241 East 11th street.

## TAMIMENT PLANS BIG WEEK END

THE Camp Tamiment spirit calls you to return to your camps for the Decoration weekend.

The Social Director, Richard Blechschmidt, announces the program as follows:

Friday Night—General hello and novel dances.

Saturday—Full program, -starring Dorsha.

Sunday Night—The Big Greenwich Village Costume Ball.

Sports include tennis tournament, canoe races, hikes, etc.

The Saturday program is headed by Dorsha, our merited dancer, and her worthy partner, Paul Hayes; Harry Hayman, "our minister of excruciating elocution; Joe Fries, our athletic and swimming director, with his wife; Al Farber, the robust songster on the social staff; a surprise number, a singer of Russian songs; Ann and Richard in folk songs, and other numbers, including our good orchestra.

On Sunday the mighty spectacle of costume is featured by the Charleston contest, and again our Dorsha. There will be prizes for the best and funniest costumes.

The day program necessarily gives you the tennis courts, fifteen canoes, rowboats, horse riding, ping-pong tables, basketball, baseball (bring your gloves), swimming, etc., at your disposal. The features being a tennis tournament in charge of Al Goldman, the favorite tennis wizard, and canoe and rowboat events in charge of Joe Fries, your excellent swimming and life-saving instructor.

For the regular season we are fortunate in having Rhem Finkel who, as dramatic director, has entertained you so wonderfully last season. He is prepared to do still more (if that is possible) this season.

With the staff of last year and additions this year the Social Director insures you not only the regular camp events, but plenty of specials, such as interpretive dancing classes, elementary and advanced social or ballroom dancing, also national and character dancing, advanced gymnastic and tumbling classes, expert canoeing lessons, first rate swimming and life-saving lessons, etc., without number.

Camp spirit is assured for you—each individual in the name of Camp Tamiment. For rates, etc., address Mrs. Mally, Camp Tamiment N. Y. office, 7 E. 15th street.

## GERMAN LABOR'S VENTURE IN FIELD OF BANKING PROVES GREAT SUCCESS

German labor's venture into the field of banking is an unqualified success. The report of the second year of the Bank of Workers, Clerical Employees and Public Employees, in Berlin, ended December 31, 1925, shows a business turnover of 448,400,000 marks (at 23.8 cents apiece), against one of 175,200,000 the first year, and deposits of 21,200,000 marks, compared with 9,400,000 on December 31, 1924. The net profits totaled 200,953 marks, which were divided as follows: A 10 per cent dividend on the original capital of 750,000 marks took 75,000; another 75,000 went to the legal reserve fund; 25,000 more to the special reserves, bringing these funds up to 150,000 and 50,000, respectively, and the balance of 25,953 was carried over to the account of 1926.

During 1925 the bank established a branch in Hamburg and made arrangements with the local units of the General German Federation of Trade Unions in Frankfurt, Munich and Liegnitz to accept deposits. The capitalization was increased to 4,000,000 marks, the unions holding the original shares quickly taking up all the additional offerings. As the financial institution of the three big German na-

## WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE First Anniversary Celebration

## GALA CONCERT AND BALL

Sunday Evening, May 30th

at  
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7 East 15th Street, New York

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MEROLD TOLLESEN, Baritone  
CONSTANCE VEICH, Cellist  
JEAN STOCKWELL, Violinist  
PAUL JELENEK, Pianist

Address by Harry Watson

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## A.C.W. CONCLUDES AN INSPIRING CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1)

we any knowledge of any member being punished for political reasons." Delegate Samuel Levine revealed that only one member has been expelled from the organization and but three suspended. None have been thrown out for political reasons, he said, but for deliberate obstruction of the union's work. None has availed himself of the regular privilege required for the reinstatement of members. They have refused to submit their cases to the general executive board, Levine revealed.

Hyman Blumberg told the convention that the administration has permitted two of the expelled members to continue at work in the shops so that they will not be deprived of their livelihood. A third, he said, is engaged in work on a newspaper unfriendly to the Amalgamated.

Nemser declared:

"The best reason for my opinion as to why the recommendation of the committee should be adopted is the fact that we have a solid united delegation here from New York instead of the splits that we have had at previous conventions (Applause). I want to say as a member of the Gutters' Union, I for one am surprised at the tolerance displayed by the General Organization in suspending only four. If it had been left to the New York Gutters' Union a good deal more than four would have been disciplined (Applause). When we go over the history of the New York situation for the past two years and remember the dissension and the mud slinging and how we finally got order out of chaos by maintaining discipline we realize that there is no place in the organization for those people. I ask one question: What do these people show as far as their intentions are concerned as to what their future policy is going to be? What are they doing today? Take up their press and what do you find? You find the same mud that has been thrown during the past two years, and these people are directly responsible. Are we going to take them into our home which we have cleaned up, and bring about the same mess that they had brought us into in the past? I say no! (Applause). The answer of this convention shall go out to the members of the Amalgamated and to the members of the Trade Union Educational League that we will not tolerate in the future any more of their kind. And until the time will come when this kind of people can respect the leadership, their place is out of the organization." (Applause).

Beckerman, speaking next, said: "The first duty of the delegates here and of every officer of the organization is not morbid sentimentalism. Your first duty is to preserve the organization that takes care of you. (Applause). Instead of selecting lawyers from Newark or lawyers on further strikes from Montreal and others who have taken the floor to find out what is a political crime, what is an ordinary crime, and everything else, I say that those members who have been suspended should go through the regular routine of the organization. One of the gentlemen is present in the hall today. Those who read Yiddish are invited to read his articles and to translate them, and after they have translated them I will dare them to stand up before the convention and say, 'Put that mah back and put this kind of men back. Don't humiliate them by having them go through the routine of the union. The union was wrong; they are too big and too good union men to have to go through the union channels.'

"Brothers, I feel that this organization is having its test whether it wants sentimental chaos or whether it wants a disciplined upright organization, and I say to you that you have got to show that you want a union by supporting the report of the Resolutions Committee."

The report of the committee, recommending non-concurrence in the "amnesty" resolution, was overwhelmingly passed by a vive voce vote.

It is not enough to take steps which may some day lead to a goal; each step must be itself a goal and a step likewise.—Goethe.

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# Militancy's Record of Wreckage

By James Oneal

**L**AST week, in these columns, a young near-Communist, Roland A. Gibson, differed with us on the matter of left wing unionism. We will now take up some questions which he raised in connection with a review of a book on this theme by David J. Saposs.

The first two questions may be disposed of briefly. When I wrote that Saposs "has had no personal experience" in the trade unions I did not imply that he had not engaged in "extensive field work." What I meant was membership and years of experience in a working-class organization. Nor is it any answer to my statement to quote the more favorable review of the book by Evans Clark in the Times. Gibson has simply proven that Clark's view and mine vary regarding the merits of the book, but this has no bearing on the questions of Communist activities in the trade unions.

Now to the real issue, that of "militancy" in the unions. What does Gibson and other Communists mean by militancy? The answer is found in the writings of the Communists themselves. Every issue of the Daily Worker is an example of it. Communist militancy means to circulate falsehoods about those who oppose Communist views. It means to conceal the truth and to intrigue. To indulge in character assassination. To charge all union members, and especially officials who reject Communism, with being "corrupt," with "selling out" the working-class. Non-Communist unions are "union bureaucracies." Their leaders are "labor fakers."

## Lenin Outlined Policy

This is "militancy." Every issue of the Daily Worker reeks with this view. It is outlined in a pamphlet by Lenin published by the Communists. The policy is not to reason with an opponent, but to morally assassinate him. It does not admit such a thing as an honest difference of opinion in an opponent. One who honestly opposes a Communist program, suggestion or motion in a union is immediately branded as "corrupt" or an "agent of the bourgeoisie." This attitude is written large in every Communist publication and in the history of every union where a few Communists may be members.

It is what Communists write of every man and woman who cannot accept their views. It is not discussion. It is what civilized human beings will not tolerate in their social contacts with each other.

**An Example of Militancy**  
Communist "militancy" reeks with this code, and columns could be filled with examples. Here is a sample from the bulk. In July, 1923, the Socialist Party sent delegates to the Albany Conference for Progressive Political Action. Our delegates refused to support a policy of nonpartisan political action and we were forced out of the conference. I have the Workers' party mimeograph press service, August 3, 1923, reporting this incident. The Communists had a number of men on the ground. That bulletin reads: "At the recent Albany conference the expressed desire of trade union representatives to form a Labor Party was howled down by a combined Socialist Party and railroad brotherhood bureaucracy."

That is "militancy." To tell the truth is a "petty bourgeois prejudice." We Socialists certainly have no use for it. It is presented as a "progressive" policy by Communists. To call a union official a "faker" or to say that he is "corrupt" is to be "militant" and "progressive."

Now, what has happened as a result of this "progressive" policy? Not only have the Communists been forced underground in many unions, as they admit, but their blackguardism has made it difficult in many unions to formulate any genuine progressive policies. The real progressive is immediately suspected by honest and conservative members. Where these members have had their experience with lying, intrigue and deceit they are inclined to suspect any progressive proposal as another installment of

## How A Progressive Labor Movement Has Been Thwarted

"militancy." Who can blame them for this attitude after their experience?

### A First Essential

Now, as for the Socialist attitude. We realize that human beings cannot be induced to consider a new philosophy by calling them "fakers" or calling the officials they have trusted with power "crooks." Human decency is the first essential to any promising approach. Communists do not realize this fact, but human beings can grasp it. We have our differences with conservative union members and officials. We would have the unions fully committed to working-class politics, wipe out archaic forms of organization, and base their policies upon consciousness of the workers as a class reorganizing capitalist society.

A few weeks ago The New Leader criticized the wage theory of William Green. Recently we heartily commended what we believed to be his splendid statement on the Passaic strike. If The New Leader was a Communist organ, instead of being content with subjecting Green's wage theory to a critical analysis, it would have used the word "fakes" a number of times. That would make us "militant" in the view of our dreadful "revolutionaries." It would also mean that we had substituted scurrilous argument. We have time after time differed with Green and other officials of the unions, but we have never resorted to the billingsgate of the illiterate or the malicious man who has nothing else to offer.

Now as for union "bureaucracies." They exist, of course, but why an organization which is the most thorough bureaucracy now extant should object to them passes comprehension. Bureaucracy is the antithesis of democracy and it is striking fact that Communists sneer at democracy. They subscribe to a bureaucratic form of organization that reaches to a handful of men in Moscow. They cannot change a single policy or even hold a convention in this country without first getting the consent of Moscow. If this bureaucracy is a virtue for Communist organizations they should admire and support union bureaucracy wherever they find it.

### Expulsion Is Opposed

Gibson admits that the Communists, after first rejecting the policy of organizing a Labor Party which the

Socialist Party adopted in 1921, later followed our lead, but complains that we opposed their entrance into the Conference for Progressive Political Action. He says we opposed their admission on the ground that Communists "would pursue a militant baring from within policy." Exactly. We wanted no "militant" policy of the Communist type. The Farmer-Labor Party trusted this "militancy" by admitting Communists at Chicago in 1923. What happened to the F. L. P. is now history. What happened to the bogus Federated Farm-Labor Party organized by the Communists is also history.

Gibson is mistaken in thinking that I justify the policy of expelling Communists because they practice their peculiar "militancy." I merely mention it as a fact. If I still held membership in my union I would oppose the policy of expulsion. On the other hand, I would favor a policy of forcing members who practice the low code of ethics of the Communists to become members at large so that they could be isolated and yet not lose their jobs. I would also apply this remedy to any man, whether he be a Communist, a Socialist, an Anarchist, a Republican or a Democrat. The persistently indecent member should be deprived of the power to practice his demoralizing code upon human beings.

Gibson wants to know what unions have been wrecked by Communist "militancy." My answer is that last year most of the New York unions in the needle trades had become so weakened from "militancy" that at one time if the capitalist class had mobilized all its forces it could have practically destroyed these unions. Every observer of the situation at that time knew what was possible and feared it would occur. It goes without saying that any organization cannot have a compact group of fanatics tearing at its vitals without weakening it. "Militancy" did this in New York and made many unions prostrate before the exploiting classes. Gibson thinks that the Fur Workers have been "rejuvenated" by the "militants." That remains to be seen.

### How Change the Movement

It is true that an opposition in a union may be "healthy." But there is

all the difference in the world between a genuine and honest opposition and "militancy." One is intelligent, progressive, experienced and considerate of the welfare of the whole working class. The other is reckless, vituperative, destructive, and cares only to get control for a clique.

How are we to "transform" the American labor movement into an inspiring movement? I am asked. Certainly not by venomous and lying attacks upon those who honestly disagree with us. To get the confidence of the organized masses it is first necessary to treat them as equals rather than as cattle to be driven or as illiterates who are to be tied and then have revolutionary ideas whipped into them with a knout. It is necessary to serve these masses loyally in every struggle and not divert the struggle into a factional maneuver to obtain power. It is necessary to recognize the limitations of the honest conservative in the ranks, not to make him hate every progressive idea by hurling dirty epithets at every member who does not understand the full significance of working class organization. It is necessary to understand that no man ranged against the whole capitalist order was ever induced to accept this position by some fanatic availing a knout over him as a means of conversion. It is necessary to have patience, to use tact and judgment in the shop, in the street, in the union, and everywhere that we meet union members; to carry on education, not "militancy," extend help, not malice. The whole code of Communist "militancy" is in conflict with a rational approach to the organized working class and not in a thousand years will the proletariat be won by it.

### Tolerance Incomprehensible

Communists think otherwise and Gibson presents their view. I had written an article for the Baltimore Sun showing that with the ascension of Green to office there was a more tolerant attitude towards dissenting and progressive views. Gibson answers that this means we Socialists are "biding for favors" and have abandoned all progressive policies. In other words, a more tolerant attitude by Green is less welcome than the fanatical intolerance of former President Gompers!

## Those Debt Settlements

By Louis Silverstein

**I**N rapid-fire succession Congress has given its approval to Mellon's settlements of the debts owed to the United States by her war allies. Following close upon the heels of these agreements has come the announcement of the successful conclusion of negotiations with the French. The billions of dollars that have thus been juggled before the sheepish American citizen has left him bewildered. He has a faint recollection of there having been a war for democracy. He even recalls that he once owned some so-called Liberty bonds, which he long ago disposed of to some dealer. Why he is troubled with the war now, as long as the big bankers make no complaint—and they ought to recognize a bad settlement, when they see one?

Let us disturb our citizen's peace of mind. As a result of the activities of the United States in the World War, this country lent to foreign governments more than ten billion dollars. Almost all of this money was supplied under the terms of the Liberty loan acts. The remainder is accounted for by the sale of surplus war supplies and relief furnished to the impoverished nations of Europe after the close of the war. Table I supplies the pertinent information. This detailed analysis of the war debts is of tremendous significance. It shows that the bulk of the sums lent by this Government to others abroad is represented by the popular war loans. Not a cent of the money thus lent ever went to Europe. It was used to pay off debts contracted with American manufacturers of war materials. The United States Treasury footed the bill. In other words, most of the money which this government is demanding from Europe has already found its way into the hands of the war profiteers, who, in addition, have been receiving the interest on their Liberty bonds.

### An Indian Giver

The small sums representing relief and surplus war supplies can be disposed of in a few words. The first, amounting to only fifty-six million dollars, was really a form of philanthropy. The United States has been credited with charitable intentions, since the American Relief Administration and the United States Grain Corporation, both governmental bodies, have helped to resuscitate the famished populations of the Old World. In the case of Armenia, its debt of twelve million dollars might just as well be erased from the books for the very good reason that Armenia no longer exists. Austria has been excused from making any payments until 1943. The Russian Government is not recognized. The United States might with very good grace cease to play its role of Indian giver, and cancel all these debts arising out of relief work.

The other class of debts, originating in the sale of surplus war supplies, amounts to about one-half a billion dollars. The American profiteers received this sum. Therefore, whatever general observations have been made

TABLE I Principal of Debt (Nov. 15, 1925)					
Country.	Under Liberty Loan Acts.	For Surplus War Supplies.	For Relief.	Less Payments Made.	Total.
Armenia .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	\$12,000,000
Austria .....	.....	.....	24,000,000	.....	24,000,000
Belgium .....	\$348,000,000	\$30,000,000	.....	\$2,000,000	377,000,000
Cuba .....	42,000,000	.....	.....	10,000,000	32,000,000
Czechoslovakia .....	.....	21,000,000	2,000,000	.....	23,000,000
Estonia .....	.....	12,000,000	2,000,000	.....	14,000,000
Finland .....	.....	.....	8,000,000	.....	8,000,000
France .....	2,397,000,000	407,000,000	.....	64,000,000	3,340,000,000
Great Britain .....	4,277,000,000	.....	.....	202,000,000	4,075,000,000
Greece .....	15,000,000	.....	.....	.....	15,000,000
Hungary .....	.....	.....	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000
Italy .....	1,648,000,000	.....	.....	.....	1,648,000,000
Latvia .....	.....	3,000,000	3,000,000	.....	6,000,000
Lithuania .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lithuania .....	.....	4,000,000	1,000,000	.....	5,000,000
Nicaragua .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Poland .....	.....	34,000,000	75,000,000	.....	109,000,000
Rumania .....	25,000,000	13,000,000	.....	2,000,000	36,000,000
Russia .....	188,000,000	.....	4,000,000	.....	192,000,000
Yugoslavia .....	27,000,000	25,000,000	.....	1,000,000	51,000,000
Totals .....	\$9,598,000,000	\$599,000,000	\$141,000,000	\$281,000,000	\$10,057,000,000

a \$26,000, b \$168,604, c \$406,082, d \$164,852, e \$82,514, f \$84,020.

TABLE II Debt Agreements					
Country.	Agreement.	Principal.	Interest.	Total.	
Finland .....	May 1, 1923	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$2,000,000	
Great Britain .....	June 13, 1923	4,075,000,000	525,000,000	4,600,000,000	
Hungary .....	April 25, 1924	2,000,000	.....	2,000,000	
Lithuania .....	Sept. 22, 1924	5,000,000	.....	5,000,000	
Latvia .....	Nov. 14, 1924	160,000,000	15,000,000	175,000,000	
Belgium .....	Aug. 18, 1925	377,000,000	41,000,000	418,000,000	
Poland .....	Sept. 24, 1925	6,000,000	.....	6,000,000	
Czechoslovakia .....	Oct. 13, 1925	92,000,000	23,000,000	115,000,000	
Estonia .....	Oct. 28, 1925	12,000,000	2,000,000	14,000,000	
Italy .....	Nov. 14, 1925	1,648,000,000	334,000,000	2,042,000,000	
France .....	April 29, 1926	3,340,000,000	585,000,000	3,925,000,000	
Totals .....		\$9,725,000,000	\$1,691,000,000	\$11,416,000,000	

a \$2,000,000 allowed for loss of cargo on ship sunk by mine. b \$253,164, c \$642,712.

concerning the Liberty loans may as readily be applied here, too.

The question arises as to why the whole debt question could not be settled by considering the debts wiped out of existence and letting the world begin life anew. The trouble is that as long as capitalism continues to exist the American tax-payers will have to keep on paying off the interest and principal on the public debt contracted during the war. The Liberty loans represented a sum of twenty-seven billion dollars, of which somewhat more than half is yet to be paid off. When we consider that the total borrowings of the United States from the formation of the present Government in 1789 to the outbreak of the World War amounted to only nine billion dollars, we can appreciate the heavy burden that the United States has undertaken. Now, interest has to be paid on these Liberty loans and taxes have to be levied to pay this interest. Therefore, big business is anxious to collect the debts that America's former allies owe her in order to reduce taxation, in spite of the fact that our revenue laws are avowedly lenient to the wealthy.

But here an itch is discovered. In order that a foreign country can pay its debts to the United States, it must have something with which to pay. This depends upon two considerations. First the government in question must have a surplus of receipts over expenditures equivalent to the debt involved. But that alone is not enough. The

frances or pounds or liras that are collected must be transferred into American gold dollars. Here the second factor, the rate of exchange, comes into play. A country must have a surplus of exports of services and goods over imports in order that its money may command a high price in the international market. American capitalists are, therefore, faced with this dilemma. If they want to collect the Government's debts abroad they must permit the countries concerned to recuperate, so that they will have a favorable surplus in their budgets and in their foreign trade. But these countries cannot recuperate if the United States demands full debt payments. Moreover, if we exact our pound of flesh, American business men will simply destroy potentially good customers. The problem, then, becomes just as much a question of how much the United States can receive from these countries without jeopardizing the American capitalists' business dealings abroad as how much these foreign nations can afford to pay us.

In recognition of this paradox of capitalism Congress in 1922 created the World War Foreign Debt Commission, headed by the Secretary of the Treasury and four others, at present altogether. It was to make debt settlements with the President's approval, provided that the rate of interest be not less than 4½ per cent and the term not less than twenty

(Continued on page 4)

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In the Home Office of the Society, No. 227 East 84th Street  
From April 26th until May 29th

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**  
In Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, No. 949 Willowby Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
From May 6th to May 23rd inclusive

**LONG ISLAND CITY AND VICINITY**  
In Klenks Hall, 413 Astoria Avenue  
From June 1st to 4th

**CORONA**  
In E. Floca's Echo Cafe at Northern Boulevard and 106d Street  
June 5th to 7th inclusive

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At 4215 Third Avenue, Northwest corner of 3rd Avenue and Tremont Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.  
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**THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT**



# Freedom of the Air

## How to Win the Radio From Reaction

By Norman Thomas

(An Address Which Was to Have Been Delivered Over WMCA, New York City)

THERE isn't one of you who has been listening to this delightful entertainment and may now be getting ready to tune off while I talk who has ever heard a really uncensored program. That is, uncensored as far as serious speeches are concerned. You don't believe it? Well, let's see. I don't mean that you haven't heard good programs and honest addresses. I don't mean that a lot of fox faced men sit around the table blue penciling everybody's speech. I do mean that in the nature of the case you hear a carefully controlled and censored presentation of public problems. Air may be free for breathing purposes and at filling stations. It is not free at broadcasting stations. You have the laugh on most of the speakers. They have to pay for the privilege of talking to you.

Now everybody cannot have his own broadcasting station. At present there are only 59 wave lengths permitting some 650 stations for effective broadcasting. Who is going to decide who will get those stations and how they will be used?

Up to the present time licenses have been granted by the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover. He has not asked for the job which has been thrust upon him. On the contrary, for three years he has very wisely sought relief. What I am saying, therefore, against letting any one Cabinet officer grant licenses is not a criticism directed against Herbert Hoover personally. An angel from heaven might have his job. The angel might leap over backward to keep from using his position to get support for his own personal policies or his own ambition. So be, let us say, president of the United States. But the holders of radio licenses would not believe it. They would be mighty careful to keep off the air any criticism of the policy of the political official who, among other things, controls their destiny. This is the first way in which a silent and half unconscious censorship works.

A second way is due to the manner in which licenses are granted, and after they are granted bought and sold on the market. It costs a lot of money to buy even a poorly equipped station, and most of the money goes for Herbert Hoover's signature. Somehow or other labor organizations have a terrible time getting a license of their own. Maybe no public official ever intended it to happen, but actually in this country stations owned by the radio trust have a big advantage. This radio trust, according to a complaint filed by the Federal Trade Commission, is composed of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the General Electric Company, the Westinghouse Company, the Radio Corporation of America, and one or two others. Two things give these companies a tremendous control over their competitors: Their power to lease patents and in the case of the A. T. and T., to lease wires. You would be mighty careful how you would treat companies with these rights so necessary to successful broadcasting, wouldn't you? Well, so are their competitors. Three New York stations not long ago were refused wires to hook up for a triple broadcasting paid concert. And if I should tell you their names they would be badly frightened and they wouldn't thank me. And that's putting it mildly. By the way, while we are on this subject, did you ever notice that WEAF has a wave length all its own? It doesn't have to split with any other station in the United States like the common or garden variety of stations.

If some of you could talk back to me, about this time you would be saying, that's all very well, but give us a concrete example of censorship. I might answer in the words of the manager of a station a good many miles from here. "I feel this control most acutely but cannot lay my hand on it. That good orthodox Republican, Senator Watson, felt the control cruelly when he tried to broadcast to his constituents during the Indiana primaries. He is well able to take care of himself and I shall give other examples. Some time ago when Burns, the detective, was in government service he broadcast over WEAF a sweeping and unjustified attack on the American Civil Liberties Union. The Union asked permission for Norman Hapgood, the famous writer, to answer the attack. WEAF refused. WJZ refused. The attack went unanswered. The reason given by W. H. Harkness of WEAF is interesting. Let me read it. "It has not been our custom to question statements of responsible members of the government." A little later he added: "It has been our endeavor to avoid program matter that might lead to controversy." Do you get that? A government official may say anything and it is not controversial. To reply is controversial. I can't imagine anything more opposed to the theory of democracy. Since when are public officials little gods, immune to criticism or exempt from answer?

WEAF has a rule against controversial matter, except in formal debates. Think over what programs you have heard on WEAF. Did you ever hear a good speech by a government official or anybody else over WEAF on a public question that was not controversial? A speech with only one side to it isn't worth making. When Elihu Root and Nicholas Murray Butler were broadcasting the other day over WEAF, when Andrew Mellon's address before the National Electric Light Association is broadcast next Wednesday, you will hear nothing against controversial matter. This controversial argument is merely used to shut off certain speakers. I myself was a victim of it. WEAF refused permission for me to go ahead with broadcasting a speech under the auspices of the United Parents Association because (so its manager alleges) one paragraph in it referred to universal military training in high schools. Later on I tried to get WNYC to let me discuss this question of freedom of the air from its studio either in the form of a debate or otherwise. I explained what I wanted. Now while I reach in my pocket for the answer,

think over the speeches you have heard on WNYC. Did any of them ever glorify one official or express one point of view as against others? You know the answer. Now let me read: "In reply to your letter of May 10, I must rule that the matter referred to is of a controversial nature and therefore inadmissible for broadcasting from WNYC."

Democracy is not a matter merely of counting noses. Let me supply all the information on which opinions are formed and you can count noses as often as you want. Democracy requires public discussion. The radio is a magnificent means of public discussion as well as public entertainment. There is no substitute for it. The men or group of men, the interests or set of interests which control radio will come pretty close to controlling our political destiny. If the old Greek who said: "Let me write the songs of the people and I care not who make their laws" were alive today he might say: Let me control the broadcasting of a nation and I care not who make the laws.

The present situation is intolerable in a democracy. Fortunately it is in a fair way to be greatly improved. Senator Dill has introduced a bill in the Senate which, among other wholesome features, declares that radio is a public utility, forbids discrimination, political or otherwise, punishes slander, aims to prevent monopoly control of radio and terminates the possibility of trading in a public official's name by the sale of licenses. It sets up a commission of five, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party, to give their entire time to the proper regulation of radio, thus removing the possibility of its use to promote the political fortunes of any one Cabinet official who may be dictator over it. The bill has what are in my judgment certain weaknesses. I hope it will be strengthened in debate. But you cannot go far wrong if you will let your Senator know that you are back of the Dill bill. It is, at any rate, a thousand miles ahead of the White bill, which has passed the House. The White bill does not reach any of the evils which we have discussed.

I am sorry to have interrupted a pleasant program on a Sunday afternoon with this sort of speech. My interest in the matter is not personal. You yourselves may not care for speeches over the radio. But they have an enormous effect in a democracy. Those who control radio in the United States will soon have a power undreamed of by ancient emperors and potentates. It is our job to keep the radio from monopoly and thought from control.

Mr. Flamm tells me that I have been talking long enough, but that he wants to ask me some questions which may make my position plainer. Before giving him his chance I want to thank him and this station for their generosity in permitting me to make this frank and uncensored speech.

The king says, "I rule for all"; the judge says, "I judge for all"; the soldier says, "I fight for all"; the merchant says, "I trade for all"; the priest says, "I pray for all"; the working man says, "I pay for all."—John Ruskin.

Work is only done well when it is done with a will, and no man has a thoroughly sound will unless he knows he is doing what he should and in his place.—Ruskin.

## Those Debt Settlements

(Continued from page 3)

five years. At the very first attempt at negotiations, those, with Great Britain, the commission was stumped. The restrictions were too severe even for the least poor of the allies. The law was changed, giving the commission a free hand but subjecting its agreements to the approval of Congress.

Since then the Debt Commission has made eleven agreements. The method followed has been (1) to extend payments over two generations, sixty-two years, thus permitting the grandchildren to pay for the blessings bequeathed to them; (2) to reduce the rate of interest, thus diminishing considerably the amount to be collected and yet preserving the sanctity of contract; (3) to begin payments with small sums in order to gamble with the future and postpone the day when more permanent arrangements can be made; and (4) to permit payments in Liberty Bonds and thus bolster the prices of United States government securities through an ever present demand. A summary of the debt agreements appears in Table II. All have been approved by Congress, except that with France, which, no doubt, will prove no exception. The British will pay 3 per cent for the first ten years and 3½ for the next fifty-two. Similar terms were made with Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Estonia and Latvia. In the case of Belgium no interest at all is to be paid on the pre-armistice debt. The Italians will pay varying rates of interest at different periods, but the average will be only nine-tenths of one per cent. France will pay no interest until 1930, then 1 per cent for 10 years, then 3 per cent to 1950, 2½ to 1955, then 3 per cent thereafter. In all cases, the rate of interest or the portion of the debt that is still unpaid at the time of agreement is also reduced. What all this manipulation amounts to is a cutting down on the sum of money which the United States is entitled to receive under capitalist rules, in the most brazen case, Italy, to as much as one-quarter of the original indebtedness.

We must not forget also that our former allies are receiving under the Dawes plan substantial sums of money from Germany. Upon these they are depending to a large extent to pay back their debts to the United States. France, indeed, tried to write in a proviso in her settlement making her payments contingent upon her receipt of reparations. America, will, therefore, indirectly receive all the benefits under the Dawes Plan. German workmen must be exploited to enable their country to make payments without injuring their employers' profits. Meanwhile, no private loan made by American bankers to the allies has been repaid. Financiers would not brook that and they are more powerful than governments. In fact, Wall Street is not afraid to grant further loans or credits to enable the debtors of the United States to make their first annual payments under the debt settlement agreements. Big business is having a splendid time.

It is neither the bankers, nor the diplomats, nor the emperors, nor a new combination of military powers that will give us peace—but ourselves, the correction of our ideas, the increasing sanity of our minds, some suggesting, some reacting to suggestion, but all in some degree affecting and being affected.—Norman Angell.

# The Levy on Food

By Leland Olds

HUGE profits that would be divided among consumers if business were organized on a cooperative basis are revealed in the 1925 reports of the mail order houses and chain store corporations. Ten of these big distributing concerns in 1925 handled over a billion dollars of business. Their profits totaled nearly \$100,000,000.

Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. is not included in this group because its report is not yet out. Its inclusion would bring the total sales to over \$1,500,000,000. A & P. with its 14,000 stores selling about \$450,000,000 of goods in the year is unapproached by any other chain system.

Sears Roebuck leads the present list with sales of \$258,342,236 in 1925. But its \$20,975,304 profit is second to Woolworth's 10 cent stores. The Sears Roebuck profit represents a return of \$20.87 a share on the common stock outstanding. Since 1910 stockholders have received in stock dividends 2½ additional shares for every one originally held. So the 1925 profit

## Chain Store Profits in 1925 Totalled \$100,000,000

means 73 percent on the original investment.

**Woolworth's Toll**  
Woolworth comes second in total sales with a 1925 record of \$236,032,946. Its \$24,601,764 profit leads the parade. Woolworth owners profit more than 100 out of each 100. purchase. These profits mean a return of \$9.46 on a \$25 share of common stock. Taking into account the expansion of holdings through stock dividends the 1925 profits are more than 50 percent on their investment. Woolworth is operating 1,423 stores in the United States, 203 in England and 1 in Cuba. Montgomery Ward & Co. ranks third in value of goods distributed but falls below the Kresge 5c. to \$1 stores in profits. Ward's total sales for the year amounted to \$170,552,842 while profits totaled \$11,355,498. This gives common stockholders a return of \$8.05 on each \$10 share or approximately 80 percent on their investment.

The 330 Kresge stores distributed

\$105,965,610 of goods in 1925 and made a profit of \$11,869,260. Owners of common got a return of \$31.75 per \$100 share. But through stock dividends distributed since 1920 the owners now have more than 3 shares for each original share. The 1925 profit is, therefore, a real return of about 98 percent on their investment. Kresge like Woolworth is rapidly expanding out of surplus profits.

**Department Stores Lost**  
May Department stores for the year ended January 31, 1926, reports total sales of \$97,117,891 and a net profit of \$6,900,311. This is reckoned as a return of \$12.39 on each \$50 share of common stock. Taking into account stock dividends since 1920 it means 43 percent on the original investment.

Other chain store systems report 1925 profits as follows: United Cigar Stores Co. \$8,512,228 or 28½ percent on the investment of the common stockholders; Schulte Retail Stores Corp. \$6,416,931 or about 97 percent calculated on the stockholders' investment prior to recent stock dividends; McCrory Stores Corp. \$2,750,000 or 43 percent; and the National Tea Co. \$1,569,936 or more than 97 percent on the stockholders' investment.

The profits of 6 of the 10 big distributing corporations in this list gave the owners at least 50 percent on their original investment. Since full information on stock dividends is not available this is probably an understatement. By plowing back the huge surplus profits which remain after cash dividends the owners are extending their control of the country's distribution system. In England and Russia chain store distribution on a national basis through consumer co-operatives is as fully established with savings to the consumer and decent wages to the workers employed. In the United States, according to department of labor figures, the employees of the big distributing corporations are universally underpaid.

## New England Co-operators' Conference

ON April 18th and 19th the co-operators of New England and New York got together at Worcester, Massachusetts, for their Second Annual Conference. Delegates present represented nine grocery stores, nine bakeries, five restaurant co-operatives, two dry goods co-operatives, three dairy co-operatives, one laundry, one shoe store, one coal yard, one furniture store, one co-operative housing society, and one co-operative billiard parlor.

The special committee to promote joint buying reported that four purchases for several of the co-operative bakeries had resulted in substantial savings at the New York market. A dozen or more of the larger store and restaurant societies have indicated an interest in establishing a co-operative coffee roastery, and orders were taken at this meeting from several of the store managers for weekly delivery of coffee co-operatively prepared. Temporarily the roasting is to be done in the roasters belonging to the two large co-operative stores at Fitchburg and at Maynard, Mass., but as soon as the volume of business becomes too large for them to handle, a large coffee roaster will have to be purchased and installed somewhere in New York, the chief market of the United States for the purchase of green coffee.

The members of the Eastern States Co-operative League also voted to establish a monthly publication to be sent in bundle lots to all affiliated societies, to be known as the Eastern States Co-operative.

A survey of all co-operative societies in the east was authorized with a view to the publication of a statistical directory of eastern states consumers' co-operatives.

Officers elected for the ensuing year are: Otto Endres, Utica Co-operative Society, president; Leslie Woodcock, Consumers' Co-operative Services (New York), secretary; W. Niemela, United Co-operative Society (Maynard, Mass.) treasurer.

Delegates present reported annual sales for their societies which aggregated \$2,431,000 and membership which aggregated 8,800.

## LOUIS P. GOLDBERG AND MISS ELINORE LEVINSON MARRIED IN BROOKLYN

Socialists of the city were pleasantly surprised this week to learn of the marriage of Louis P. Goldberg and Miss Elinore Levinson, both active Socialists, members of the 23d A. D. branch in Brooklyn.

Comrades Levinson and Goldberg were married by Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist, in the home of Comrade Louis Waldman in Brooklyn Heights. Among those present were Charles Solomon, Mrs. Waldman, Albert Halpern and Elias Liberman.

## Socialists Celebrate Women's Day

WHILE nearly every Socialist Party of Europe made a good showing in the celebration of International Women's Day this year, the Social Democratic Party of Austria led the procession.

On two Sundays in March nearly 400 meetings were held in all parts of the republic. In Vienna alone about 100 meetings took place. The largest halls were requisitioned, and yet could not hold the masses of women who flocked to them. Previous to the meetings processions were held with flags, music and lanterns, at the head of which illuminated signs were carried with such inscriptions as "Hurrah for the International Socialist Women's Day!" "We demand protection for mothers, women workers and children."

In the Austrian provinces the meetings were to a large extent called by districts. Women came to them by every conceivable means of transport, including lorries decked with flowers, from the most remote villages and industrial centers. Women speakers were sent from Vienna to 177 meetings. The manifesto was issued in 40,000 copies, all of which were sold before Women's Day had reached its climax. The Austrian women also contributed to the success of Women's Day in Czechoslovakia by dispatching on behalf of the Women's Committee of the Social Democratic Party, four women speakers to Czechoslovakia.

In Germany International Women's Day was held from the 7th to the 14th of March. In order to lend an international character to Women's Day, the executive of the German Party invited women from abroad as speakers. In addition to Comrades Poles (Belgium), Tilanus (Holland), and Kirpal (Czechoslovakia), Comrades Popp, Flossmann and Bock from Austria were also busy as speakers in Germany.

The Czechoslovak Socialists also observed Women's Day in March by holding hundreds of meetings, participated in by Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Magyars, Ruthenians, Poles and members of all the other races making up the war-born republic.

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# The Socialist Stand on Vital American Issues

By Victor L. Berger

## 2--How to End Profiteering in Food; 3--A False Peace Treaty

I GO now from this resolution dealing with an important problem of our international relations to one of domestic concern.

The organization of a \$2,000,000,000 Food Trust, which would control the products the American people will use from the time it is held by the farmer until it is placed upon the table of the consumer, startled the nation. When the Bread Trust held the center of the stage I proposed in a resolution that I introduced that the Food Trust be acquired and operated as a public utility and for the appointment of a commission which would determine the value of the property and make compensation therefor to the present owners.

Two plans of meeting the situation created by the organization of this huge monopoly were proposed: One provided for an investigation, and the other, which I presented, provided for government ownership and operation of the trust.

Investigations are for the most part useless. They have been the rule for a quarter of a century. We have spent \$50,000,000 for investigations during the last year. Not only have these investigations proved little, but the Sherman anti-trust law and all the regulations, commissions and boards have been powerless to either hinder the creation or the growth of the huge monopolies to which 115,000,000 people must pay tribute every day of their lives.

**Monopoly is Inevitable**

The truth of the matter is that monopoly is the natural result of economic evolution and, therefore, inevitable. Competition leads to concentration of wealth, and finally competition kills competition. The strongest survive and combine, and we have a monopoly.

In many industries competition is only a matter of history. In its place we have a monopoly system, which has many advantages, but also a great defect or evil: it gives a few men control of the necessities of life, and they naturally use their power for their own advantage.

If monopoly is inevitable, as it seems to be, then the nation as a whole should be the monopolist. In the case of the Food Trust, it is surely more desirable that it should be owned by the Government in the interest of all the people than that it should be managed in the interest of Mr. Ward and his associates.

We are informed that the Bread Trust has dissolved—the probabilities are that it has dissolved in about the same manner as the Standard Oil Trust was dissolved in 1911—simply keeping separate sets of books for the various companies. Thirty-one sets instead of one.

If government ownership and operation of the Food Trust is desirable, as I think it is, and essential if the people are not to remain at the mercy of a few monopolists, as I think it is, it is also desirable and essential for the coal mines and other natural resources.

On Monday, January 18, I introduced a resolution providing for the seizure and operation of the anthracite coal mines.

Now, as on the day of its introduction, I believe that there can be no solution of the coal problem and no certainty of peace in the coal industry until the mines are nationalized.

**The Lost of the Strike**

During the strike, which lasted over five months, the price of anthracite had risen in some places, notably New York, from \$14 to \$25 and \$30 a ton. Coke had gone from \$3 to \$18, and soft coal from \$6 to \$16. The people paid for the strike, just as they have paid over and over again for the mines.

The coal industry is ripe for nationalization. The miners in 1923 proposed a plan for the retirement of the capital by the industry itself. By the substitution of 6 per cent bonds for outstanding capital stock all existing capital in the

coal industry could be retired in fifty years at a cost of 28 cents per ton, while the last official figures indicate a present cost for interest, profit, depletion and depreciation of approximately \$1 a ton.

The anthracite mine owners have within the last ten years levied against the public the sum of \$200,000,000 in inflated valuations, which is charged up against the cost of every ton of coal mined. One dollar in every three carried on the books of the mine owners is water, according to the coal commission.

It is either nationalization with definite safeguards against bureaucratic management—or chaos. At present a group of twenty-five men holds undisputed sway over the anthracite industry, upon which most other industries and the welfare of all the people depend.

This is inconsistent with the people's welfare or with democratic principles.

**The Cathcart Case**

The attempted exclusion of Countess Cathcart, which followed close upon the heels of the Government's refusal to admit Countess Karolyi and Mr. Saklatvala, a member of the British Parliament, disclosed the danger of conferring discretionary power upon officials who may exercise it in the way our officials have. I therefore introduced a bill to restore America to the rank of an asylum for political heretics or political protestants.

Even if exclusion of aliens on the ground of indiscretions were to become the settled practice of all governments, many wealthy and prominent Americans would find themselves barred from other countries, including Paris and London. Since every country has its own set of morals, exclusion on that ground would make international business and travel impossible.

And exclusion on the ground that the aliens hold political opinions at variance with those which our officials profess is an unjustifiable procedure. It means the very opposite of the principle of political asylum our country established and adhered to since this people became a nation. I need only point to the French immigration after the French Revolution and the German and Hungarian immigration in 1849 and 1850—our Government going so far as to send a war vessel to England to bring the Hungarian rebel Kossuth to our shores.

In our time, when the promotion of international good-will is more necessary than ever for the well-being of the peoples of the world, our officials are reversing time-honored policies and are erecting barriers.

**The Exclusion of Ideas**  
The influx of new ideas and new principles could not be stopped in years gone by, when the means of spreading them were poor; it is, therefore, clear that they cannot be kept out by ridiculous exclusion orders and deportation ukases now.

My resolution requesting the President to call an international conference for the purpose of revising the Versailles treaty in accordance with the 14 points upon which the Germans laid down their arms in 1918, and also to make public all secret documents now in the archives of the allied governments and their associates pertaining to the causes of the war, which was introduced on February 20, hardly needs an explanation.

The World War was based on a million lies. That is admitted today not only by neutral statesmen and historians but also by most of the leading statesmen of the World War itself—by Englishmen, Russians, Italians and Canadians.

The country where a dense cloud of ignorance befalls the minds of the people is the United States. Here

we are still suffering from the war propaganda, a propaganda which was worse and more thorough here than in any country on God's earth. Great Britain especially had conducted the propaganda for her own case in this country for more than 25 years before the war. It was intensified as the war grew near. Since the so-called peace of Versailles the machinery for spreading lies has been taken over by the French Government.

So thorough was that propaganda that there are still some people in the United States who believe that it was a war "to make the world safe for democracy," or a war "for liberty," or a war "to abolish militarism," or "to protect Belgium."

**The War Guilt Lie**  
But the greatest lie in all that propaganda, the lie which lies at the bottom of all present troubles in the world, is the lie that Germany was the sole cause of the World War. The hellish pact of Versailles rests on that lie. Without that lie, that pact cannot exist. Poincaré in France, Lloyd-George in England and Hughes here have repeatedly admitted that the pact rests upon Germany's guilt.

But what is the truth? Soviet disclosures from the secret archives of the Russian foreign office, supplemented by spme from the English foreign office and also by what had been found by the Germans in Belgium, prove that Germany, instead of having been more guilty than the other powers in starting the war, was in, fact, far less guilty.

All the world was systematically deceived and continues to be deceived by French propaganda. The fact is that Germany did not wish the war and did not provoke it. The vainglorious Kaiser and the egotistic and stupid ruling class permitted Germany to fall into the trap.

Once that is recognized, as it has already been established, the treaty of Versailles can be revised so as to permit the recovery of Europe, which also means the recovery of the central European market for our farmers. And this is very important to the United States.

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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## Me and General Bullard, Rtd.

O H, LOOKIT, boys and girls, we got a letter from a General! Ain't that grand, getting a letter from a real General, even if he is an "Rtd.," which among us army folk means retired?

When we were a buck private in the U. S. Engineers, generals hardly ever wrote to us.

To be sure, we got a letter once from a President. It was a President named Woodrow Wilson, and he started his letter with the ominous word, "Greetings," and then went on to tell us in some pretty language that we were drafted. Naturally, he didn't put it as bluntly as all that. There was, you remember, to be no draft of "the unwilling." So with a couple of million other willing workers we went into the army little dreaming that ten years after the war we would get such a cute letter from a General.

This General that has been writing us is none other than our old army pal, Major General Robert Lee Bullard. His letter, which is written on the letterhead of the National Security League, of which the General is President and S. Stanwood Menken, Chairman (you know him girls, he wrote a long piece about a satirical work of Thorstein Veblen, thinking it was a writ in earnest), is as follows:

"Mr. McAlister Coleman,  
"18 East 9th Street,  
"New York City,

Dear Sir—I want you to become a member of the National Security League. Every man who served in the military or naval forces of the United States during the World War should be a member. This is particularly true just now when revolutionary radicalism, having so much money (the great Garland fund) is so boastful of its aims on our side, as well as on the other side of the world; is so open in its announcement of plans to change the forms and methods of government which have proven so good for the citizens and made the nation great. The League purposes:

"1—Resistance (sic) of revolutionary radicalism.

"2—Teaching the Constitution and benefits of our Government.

"3—Adequate National Defense.

"It is working through 200 speakers and writers and some 17,000 members scattered over the country.

"Largely through its efforts the teaching of the Constitution of the United States has been put, in the last five years, into the public school laws of some thirty-seven States.

It has been in the past six months especially effective in resisting the efforts of pacifists and religious extremists to throw military training out of the schools and colleges.

"Membership card is enclosed.

"Very truly yours,

"R. L. BULLARD, L. L. D., D. M. S.  
"Maj. Gen. U. S. A., Rtd.  
"President."

Wasn't that a grand letter to get at breakfast? We read it all to Isabel, our black cat. She wanted to know what the General meant by "Resistance of revolutionary radicalism." We told her it was pretty darn near treasonable to question a Retired Major General's spelling, grammar or economic views.

It took us quite a while to get up an answer to the General's letter, but we finally doped one out as follows:

"Dear General—I am much affected by your letter of May 15 asking me to join the National Security League and help in its glorious work of suppressing free speech and introducing Prussianism into this country. While I was in the Army as a buck private I never had the pleasure of meeting any Generals, much less Major Generals, so you may imagine how thrilled I am to have one write me asking for aid.

"But I do not understand how I got onto your mailing list of likely prospects. You have, I believe, another list of what you are pleased to call, 'revolutionary radicals,' and you must have mixed the two up. For I am, my dear General, a regular dues-paying member of the Socialist Party, and I am devoting such time and energy as I have to protecting the average American worker from the exploitation and oppression of such organizations as the one you head. I will promise you this, however. The day you come out for liberty of press, assemblage and speech as provided in our Constitution, I will make my modest donation to the National Security League.

"Very truly yours,

"McALISTER COLEMAN,  
"Private, U. S. Engineers, Rtd."

Now we are hanging around waiting for the postman to bring us the General's answer, for surely no officer and gentleman, even if he is Rtd., would refuse to continue so interesting a correspondence. As soon as we get the answer we will let you know. Watch this space for further developments.

Yours for more and bloodier wars.

McAlister Coleman.

## The Leaden-Eyed

Let not young souls be smothered out before they do quaint deeds and fully flaunt their pride. It is the world's one crime its babes grow dull, its poor are ox-like, limp and leaden-eyed. Not that they starve, but starve so dreamlessly; Not that they sow, but that they seldom reap; Not that they serve, but have no gods to serve; Not that they die, but that they die like sheep.

—Vachel Lindsay.

## The Erfurt Program

### THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

THE Erfurt program of 1891 was Marxian in its conception. It maintained that the means of production were concentrating in the hands of the few; that an ever-increasing number of the population was being hurled into the ranks of the working class; that the lot of these workers was becoming increasingly worse; that the chasm between exploiter and exploited was being widened by the periodic crises that plague capitalist society; that only the transformation of the means of production could solve the social problem, and that this transformation could be effected as a result of the international solidarity and organization of the working class. The statement of principles, which recalls the "Communist Manifesto," is as follows:

"The economic development of the bourgeois society leads by a necessity of nature to the downfall of small production, the basis of which is the private property of the workman in his means of production. It separates the workman from his means of production and transforms him into a proletarian without property, while the means of production become the monopoly of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landowners.

"This monopolizing of the means of production is accompanied by the supplanting of the scattered small production through the colossal great production, by the development of the tool into the machine and by gigantic increase of the productivity of human labor. But all advantages of this transformation are monopolized by the capitalists and great landowners. For the proletariat and the sinking intermediate grades—small tradesmen and peasant proprietors—it means increasing insecurity of their existence, increase of misery, of oppression, of servitude, degradation and exploitation.

"Ever greater grows the number of proletarians, ever larger the army of superfluous workmen, ever wider the chasm between exploiters and exploited, ever bitterer the class struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial lands.

"The gulf between rich and poor is further widened through the crises which naturally arise out of the capitalist method of production, which always become more sweeping and destructive, which render the general insecurity the normal condition of society, and prove that the production forces have outgrown the existing society, that private property in the means of production is incompatible with their rational application and full development.

"Private property in the instruments of production, which in former times was the means of assuring to the producer the property in his own product, has now become the means of expropriating peasant proprietors, hand-workers and small dealers, and of placing the non-workers, capitalists and great landowners in the possession of the product of the workmen. Only the conversion of the capitalist private property in the means of production—land, mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into social property, and the

transformation of the production of wares into socialistic production, carried on for and through society, can bring it about that the great production and the continually increasing productivity of social labor may become for the hitherto exploited classes, instead of a source of misery and oppression, a source of the highest welfare and of all-sided harmonious development.

"This social transformation means the emancipation, not merely of the proletariat, but of the entire human race which suffers under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the laboring class, because all other classes, in spite of their mutually conflicting interests, stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have as their common aim the maintenance of the bases of the existing society.

"The struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot conduct its economic struggle and cannot develop its economic organization without political rights. It cannot effect the change of the means of production into the possession of the collective society

without coming into possession of political power.

"To shape this struggle of the working class into a conscious and united one, and to point out to it its inevitable goal, this is the task of the Social Democratic Party.

"In all lands where the capitalist method of production prevails, the interests of the working classes are alike. With the extension of the world commerce and of the production for the world market the condition of the workmen of every single land always grows more dependent on the condition of the workmen in other lands. The emancipation of the working class is therefore a task in which the workers of all civilized countries are equally interested. Recognizing this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself at one with the class-conscious workers of all other countries.

"The Social Democratic Party of Germany, therefore, contends, not for new class privileges and exclusive rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, and for equal rights and equal duties of all, without distinction of sex and descent. Proceeding from these views it strug-

gles in the present society, not only against exploitation and oppression of the wage-workers, but against every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against class, party, sex or race."

(To be continued next week)

## DO YOU KNOW—???

THE RIGHT or wrong of the coal strike—the fight against child labor—the abuse of injunctions—the constitutionality of labor laws—the progress of workers' education and of labor banking—the status of workmen's compensation and minimum wage laws—the growth of company unions—the worth of independent political action—the successes and failures of trade unions, co-operation, and labor politics here and abroad—the differences between Socialism and Communism—

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## Maurer to Speak In Pittsburgh on Sedition May 23

Pittsburgh, Pa.—A mass meeting arranged by the conference for the repeal of the Flynn Anti-Sedition Act will be held in this city at the Harris Theatre, Diamond and Smithfield streets, Sunday, May 23, at 7 p. m. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and Robert H. Dunn, of the American Civil Liberties Union, will be the principal speakers. The purpose of the meeting is to protest against the Flynn Anti-Sedition Act.

Maurer, who is well known in the Labor movement, has carried on a fight against the Sedition Bill since it was first proposed in the State Legislature. At one time he succeeded to bring over to Harrisburg a delegation consisting of hundreds of miners to protest against the passage of this vicious strike-breaking sedition act. A renewed vigorous campaign was started against this bill in Pennsylvania and a conference of a large number of labor unions and other workers' organizations was organized for the specific purpose of carrying on a campaign against the Sedition Act.

## Dogs and Babies and Parades

By Robert T. Kerlin

A STRANGE clash in the news-columns of our Mammion-owned dailies now and then occurs, either inadvertently or by inscrutable design. Perhaps it can't be helped; perhaps it is contrived. An instance, not quite perfect, will be recalled as occurring in the stolid old orthodox "Times" about three years ago. We could cite instances nearer in time but this was so notorious as to have become classic. It was this way:

On December 27, 1922, the transfer tax report on the estate of the then late Mrs. Sarah Vesta, Hermine Berwind was published in the "Times," in which, among many such items, was listed a diamond-decked dog-collared, valued at \$22,000. (Her own hair ornaments were valued at only \$15,000).

On January 2, following, the "Times" published the report of Mayor Hylan's Committee on Labor Conditions, in which the living and working conditions of the miners employed in the Berwind-White Coal Company's mines were declared to be worse than the conditions of the black slaves in the South prior to the Civil War, wretched shacks and hovels for homes, undernourished and naked children, families by the hundreds in destitution—this was the description. Yet a wife of one of the chief owners decks her hair with ornaments valued at \$15,000, and her dog with a collar valued at \$22,000!

The "Times" arrangement of these two little items was not quite perfect, inasmuch as it published them five days apart. But the "New Leader" remedied this defect by placing them in adjacent columns. So ends that story.

But now comes the "World" with a presentation, March 25, 1926, which lacks nothing of effective art. Thus it stands: "Passaic Strikers in Legal Attack. Pickets Interrupt Demonstration to Write 500 Affidavits of Police Brutality"—this in the headlines. Then, even with this in the next column, these headlines: "Dog Has Maid, Paris Wardrobe. Costs Mistress \$4,000 a Year." Then followed the story of Mrs. Sidney M. Williams' dog's outfit from Paris, whence she—France, the dog—had just returned on the Olympic.

But this only emphasizes an oversight on the "World's" part to make another and a greater dramatic hit. On Monday morning, after Easter Sunday, big headlines on the front page read: "Fifth Avenue's Easter Parade Is Fete for Masses. Social Register Is Outnumbered by the Telephone Book in March of 200,000 Between Public Library and Central Park."

In furs, silks, plug hats and spats, thus was commemorated the resurrection of Him who on earth had not where to lay His head and whose single garment was gambled for by His murderers.

But the telling literary effect missed by the "World" was the placing in the adjacent column a story of those paraders over in Passaic. Even our most expert newspaper headlines have something to learn, when they are blind to an opportunity like this. I gladly pay the highest tribute to the "World" for what it has done in behalf of these textile strikers; but, as a critic of literary effects, I cannot forgive this oversight.

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued from last week)

The next morning Alice Miller burst into Dan's office at the capitol, locked the door behind her, and excitedly shook a newspaper in his face.

"Did you see this?" she demanded.

"No. What? Why, Alice, how are you?"

"This!"

She pointed to an item in the society columns, one of those "It is rumored" kind.

"It is rumored that Miss Agatha Lucretia Morison, niece of Senator Matthew Gaylord," etc., is soon "to announce her engagement to Representative Daniel Minturn."

He laughed outright. It filled him with such joy.

Alice misunderstood his laughter.

"You've got to deny it."

"Why deny it?"

"It will hurt your chances for reelection."

He was graver now. She recalled him to his obligation to her.

"To think," she said, "that they'd resort to that kind of propaganda."

"But, Alice, it's not propaganda."

"Not propaganda?"

He surveyed her little figure, her shop-worn clothes, her serious, excited eyes. Slowly understanding dawned in her troubled face.

"Aw, Dan, you love her!" There was grave feeling in her voice.

"Yes, I do." He was deliberate, indifferent to her pain.

Alice drew back, white and embarrassed, pain and bitterness distorting her face.

"Oh, you fool!" she cried. "Don't you see their game?"

Her voice was husky, hard and disagreeable. She was never more distasteful to him, and yet he pitied her from the bottom of his heart. He saw the pathos of her position. Here she was thinking his contemplated marriage with another woman a mere political lie.

"Listen, Dan," she went on excitedly. "Yesterday, I was selling some goods to two dames. They were talking, not minding me. I didn't pay any atten-

tion to their line until I heard them mention your name, and that Morison woman."

"Aw, what do you think they said? You're the talk of Lowry Hill, my fine bird. Agatha Lucretia Morison is framing on you. They know it. All Pillsbury Avenue knows it. Everybody knows it but you."

"You're crazy, Alice," he said; yet she saw her words had shaken him.

"Yes, I'm crazy, Daniel Minturn. I'm the one who's lying, not her. I'm crazy, not you. I'm making this yarn up for propaganda. Sure. Miss Morison didn't meet with a party of her pals one afternoon and bet \$500 she could rope you in in two weeks, did she? That's a lie, I'm fabricating. It's not all a joke with her; no, it's dead serious. She's marrying you for your money, I suppose. You're not her laughing stock."

She leaned back to survey the havoc of her words. There was havoc, inasmuch as what she said seemed more plausible to him, more of this world, than Agatha's love.

"God, you can be nasty, Al."

Her words had taken hold. She saw them swirling in his mind, whipping his body into tremors, and breaking his will, until she thought he, too, would break.

"Dan, I'm sorry you're such a fool."

"I don't believe it," he answered defiantly.

"Ask her."

"We'll see."

In half an hour Dan was facing Agatha across a tea table at the Pioneer Hotel.

"Now he knows," Agatha thought, as soon as she saw him striding into her presence so distraught. She drew back within herself and waited.

"Agatha," he asked, without preliminaries, "is it true that you bet certain girls \$500 that you could make a fool of me?"

"Yes."

"Then I ought to kill you," he interrupted.

"Why don't you? That's the way they do it in the movies, sir. But, then, what would you do for a wife?"

He looked up perplexed. She was sitting against the soft light of the great window, her pale green gown accentuating her loveliness. She was smiling.

"You have no heart, Agatha. But you are surely the most beautiful thing I ever saw."

"No, I have no heart," she breathed. "I gave it away—yesterday."

He did not hear her. He was humped in a chair disconsolate, his youth gone.

"Agatha, how could you do a thing as cruel as that?"

"Dan, it was as you think in the beginning," she declared considerably.

"I did bet Maggie Tollerfe some money that I could make you make love to me. That was after your great speech on the anti-injunction bill. We were all there to hear you. I did plant myself in your office. In other words, I threw myself at your head, sir; and now you come to upbraid me."

"To make me your laughing stock . . . for some low political purpose."

He was pacing the floor now.

"No, not that. Uncle knew nothing about it. Honest, Dan."

"I might have known," he went on.

"You are a frivolous set. Oh, if I could only make you suffer too!"

"You will, I dare say." Her eyes were filled with sudden tender light.

"So, it's all over."

"It's just begun, Dan. I'm going on with it. I have been trying to tell you."

"You mean you really love me?"

He turned toward her perplexed, not knowing whether to believe or disbelieve.

"Seriously, I don't know whether I love you or not. From the beginning I felt you pull me, or why should I have undertaken this fool game. But I want to go on, Dan, on and on. I get so tired of the endless round of things. I don't know whether I love you. I don't know whether I can love any one. I'm selfish, Dan. I'm per-

plexed. But I want to go on. Will you take me with you on those terms?"

Dan felt new concern. In one way, what she was saying was worse than the absolute knowledge that she had tricked him. With him it was all or nothing. He wanted her to love as he loved—desperately, magnanimously.

He recalled what Abner Rakov had said to him weeks before. "We love to escape boredom." If Dan was not to be her laughing stock, his heart argued, then he was to be her excitement and adventure.

He spoke.

"Agatha, I cannot go back."

When she felt his kiss, and the restless beat of his heart against her side, she pitied him.

6

Ironically for Minturn, when he returned to the Capitol that day he learned that the anti-injunction bill had been defeated in his absence.

Hurat, watchful for Dan's withdrawal, had suddenly brought it out of the committee on special orders, scattered the opposition, and completely shelved the measure.

7

Agatha filled his days.

Sometimes as he watched her with grave eyes it seemed as if he saw her clothes dissolve and melt from her, and that she stood before him, fur-clad, a beautiful, sleek animal. And he was glad.

Sometimes he saw her retreat from him into a background of living green, her eyes sheathed in mystery, her voice incantation, a druidical majesty to be worshipped, not possessed. She was adventure. Always she brought him romance, a sense of sharp difference from the mean life he had always known. She made him think of travel to far ports, and filled him with realization of strength and power.

But most of all, Agatha fed him with beauty. All his life he had been searching for that, it seemed, the peace of will her beauty gave him at every glance.

## The Why Of Fascism

NOW that the shot which hit Mussolini's nose has sounded around the world and everybody has either cursed or discussed Fascism, I may just as well say a few badly needed words about the wave of which Mussolini is the foam.

Fascism is the best government the Italian people deserve at the present time, just as Communist Bolshevism in Russia and Cal Coolidgeism in America are the best governments suited to the needs and intelligence of those countries.

When the war, to make the world safe for democracy, was ended, Italy found itself in the woes of a deep-brown Katzenjammer. Its Allies, senior partners and majority stockholders in the enterprise, had gobbled up almost everything worth having, leaving to Italy the Tyrolean mountains and a mountain of debts, which overtopped even the Tyrolean mountains. Of course, there was the glory of having been in the vicinity when the war was won, but if glory ever paid a grocery bill, history assiduously overlooked the occasion.

So it came about that the folks who had orated, lied and flim-flammed the Italian people in the great crusade, found themselves so hopelessly discredited that even D'Annunzio, the poet warrior, had to dismount from his aeroplane Pegasus, crawl into a hole and pull the hole in after him. And while the pap and pay-triots crawled into their burrows, the Socialists and Syndicalists who had opposed Italy's entry into the war, crawled out of their holes and proceeded to ramrod things according to their notions.

Now one of those notions was that capitalism was about dead enough to be buried and that the proletariat was its legitimate heir, as is recorded in the gospel of Karl Marx, so the workers chased the bosses out of their factories and planted red flags on the steeples and gables of aforesaid factories to show that the emancipation of the proletariat was accomplished.

Unfortunately, the wheels of industry are not set in motion by fluttering bunting, be it red, white, blue or pea-green, and so the revolutionists found themselves soon in the position of the little doggy who, after having run down a street car, did not know what to do with the bloomin' thing.

There was, however, another and perhaps even weightier reason than the workers' inability to step from machine hand to manager, which prevented the embattled toilers from making as clean a sweep as the Russian workers had done, and that was the fear of an allied blockade. Italy is short of such important material as coal, iron and oil. A blockade, such as the Allies had clamped upon Germany and Russia, would have strangled the socialized industries of Italy in a jiffy, and the Italian workers were well aware of this danger.

In this situation the revolutionary proletariat tried to reach a compromise with their locked-out employers, which, if it had succeeded, would have given the bosses the worry and to the employees the profit. But for some unaccountable reason, the bosses couldn't see it that way and the result was—industrial stagnation, which in turn would have led to the decay of the Italian nation, unless somebody saved the economic bacon.

Now, in a modern democracy, it is the parliament which is supposed to save the country when in trouble, but the Italian law-mill had degenerated into a windmill in common with almost all parliaments. All the politicians could think of was their own jobs, and as there was no telling which one of the two principal contestants, capital or labor, would come out on top, they spent their time in watchful waiting until the Italian parliament perished, like the donkey who starved to death between two bundles of hay because he couldn't make up his mind which one to tackle first.

With Italian labor unable to boss capital and capital equally unable to boss labor and a government that was neither fish nor fowl, Italy became a political and economic vacuum and as nature hates a vacuum it filled it with Mussolini.

In its inception, Fascism was made up of about the same elements which composed the Council of Defense crowds which ruled the land of the free and the home of the brave during the World War with the slogan "Work or Fight."

The Fascists drove labor back into the factories, destroyed the radical and labor press and wiped out trades unions and co-operative organizations. All this was pudding to the capitalist brethren, of course, and they supported Mussolini with their last lire.

As the unreserved champion of big "bizz," Fascism might live for a goodly number of years, but its weakness lies in the fact that it contains elements which cannot be depended upon to remain the allies of big "biz."

The Fascists Labor Union, for instance, must either secure improvement for its members or lose them to the real Unions, and little do the employers care whether their profits are shortened by the black shirts or the red flaggers. In other words, Mussolini finds himself between deep sea Capital and devil Labor. If Capital wins the fray, it will disperse with Dictator Mussolini, just as it dispensed with the crowned dictators of yore. And if Labor regains its strength, his doom is also sealed.

This also explains why Mussolini has so much to say about the heroic past of Italy, its glorious future world-embracing mission and so little about macaroni and spaghetti. But the deeds of Romulus and Remus are poor substitutes for macaroni and spaghetti, so I think it is safe to predict that Fascism will fall just as soon as the struggle between capital and labor is renewed in dead earnest, as it surely will be. Adam Coolidge.



# The New Books:

## A Walt Whitman Novel—The New Education—The Sea—Two New German Novels—Social Welfare Work

### "Our Enemy the Child"

**T**HE continuance of civilization has become a race between education and catastrophe," said H. G. Wells two or three years ago. With the next crop of wars sown and already sprouting here and there, that premonition of Wells can be taken literally. It is a terrifying thought—hard to entertain at the corner of Fifth avenue and Forty-second street on a sunny morning; that "even this shall pass away." Yet, even Cicero, gazing upon the busy Forum of his Rome, might have found it tiresome to speculate upon a vanquished Roman culture; or, consider Cheops, musing upon modern Egypt and the Mediterranean cruise tourists who come to behold his Pyramid. But today the race, as Wells names it, is on. Shall "education" triumph, or shall catastrophe wipe out our very language?

Most of us who read The New Leader have concluded that civilization's future rests with industrial democracy and the rise of the many to govern for themselves; the abolition of war and nationalism and predatory business. But this can only be possible through an enlightened populace. By radio, school, press, church, our populace is NOT being enlightened. In the main only distorted news and tainted propaganda gets through the censorship of privileged respectability.

Now education . . . what progress in this hare-and-tortoise race is education making? Agnes de Lima, in this book ("Our Enemy the Child," N. Y. New Republic, \$1.00) of 1925 tells us what progress "Modern Education" is making in America. Also, she discusses what modern education is, its significance, its future. "Modern Education (to those in the pedagogical profession) be it known, is a technical phrase definitely meaning that sort of schooling dictated by the new psychology which dates only to Freud. Modern educationalists are attempting to apply consistently the latest scientific knowledge in their field. Seeing that at last a few scientific experiments have been conducted in this hitherto traditionalized and subjective matter of school teaching, ways are appearing along which scientifically-minded teachers may hopefully work. Schools dedicated to these experi-

ments—and also to humility of judgment—are known as Modern or Experimental Schools. These, a pitiful though precious handful of them, are the fabled "playing fields of Eton and Harrow" whereon civilization's Waterloo will be won—or lost.

Workers need to know more about schools and schooling for their children than for anything else. Hence, informing books of this sort, such as Mrs. de Lima's, should be read in every family possessing that most potent of all social forces—a child.

Although it bears a vaudeville title, it is not vaudeville, but a little book of importance. It is about your child and mine and the schooling America offers them.

Raymond Fuller.

### A Creaking Tent

**T**HE TENTS OF JACOB" (by Hyman Cohen, N. Y. McBride, \$2.00). Flap and back. The intention of the book is sincere, but its English is cumbersome, like one of those literal translations from the Yiddish: "Shame yourself in your far neck."

And if it hadn't come so soon after Louis Golding's poetic "Day of Atonement," which also deals with Jewish life in a Russian pale, it would have held more interest. But the beautifully classic English of the former book, its poetic sweep of word and image make the stumblings and involved metaphors of Hyman Cohen even more futile.

Anyway, by this time everybody who wants to, and a lot of people who don't, know that candles are lit in a Jewish home Friday evening, and that orthodox Jewish women bathe in a "Mikva" every Thursday in preparation for the prescribed Sabbath Eve conjugal orgy.

There are three women in the book who are alive—Red Sofke, a vigorous red-headed neighbor woman who befriends the rebellious Raphael, the hero of the book; Rivka, his nagging stepmother, and his paternal grandmother, Soreh Malka, who waits to see reincarnated in Raphael the passion for Talmudic learning that possessed her father.

It's realistic and if you don't know anything about Jewish life in a Russian pale, you might be interested. I'm going in for Irish Renaissance literature for a change now and read about shamrocks instead of "sheitels."

Ann Elias.

### Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, May 23, the Tourist Club, "The Nature Friends," hikes from Staatsburg to Suffern in the heart of the Ramapo Mountains. Meeting place Erie R.R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River; Time 3.40 a. m., Sunday; fare \$1.50; walking time about 5 hours; Leader W. Schmidt. Last Sunday the rain proved disappointing to a great many who were prepared for a day of genuine enjoyment. However, this Sunday will give those who were disappointed an opportunity to participate for the weather man promises fair weather. All nature loving proletarians are welcome.

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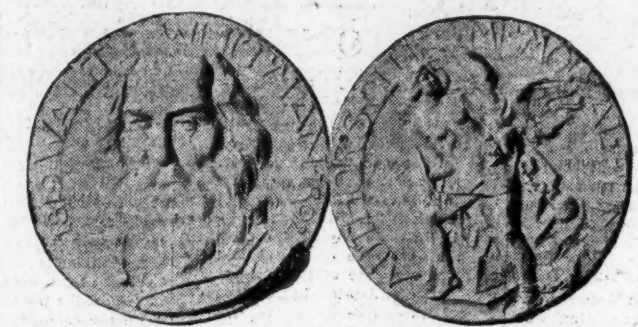
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### "Walter, Walter Wild Flower"

**"W**ALTER. Walter, Wild Flower." The old nursery rhyme affords a truer description of Walt Whitman than the title of Cameron Rogers' biographical novel ("The Magnificent Idler," by Cameron Rogers; Doubleday Page, \$2.50), for the poet was indeed a wild-flower growing on the edge (the seamy edge) of the well trimmed garden of American conventional civilization. Nor was he, save in outward seeming, an idler; the man who can break forth into the serious declamation of Whitman's poetry and prose is swept by the sense of a strong mission; the man who can serve as tenderly and deftly as he did in the hospitals of the Civil War is urged by a moving love; his whole life, as a rambling youth or apparently drifting man, was directed by an essential quest of the spirit of America, the meaning of the new world and the expansion and freedom Walt Whitman felt swelling here, as an example for the entire world.

Edward A. Wilson's decorations catch the spirit of Whitman, but Rogers goes through the whole life of the poet without managing to find that essential spirit, the all-enveloping quest and the all-embracing love. Love, indeed, is neglected in the volume; the New Orleans affair with the nonchalant Creole is given credence, and credit for the important change in Walt Whitman's nature; but the mothers of the six children he admitted are left out of the account, as



A Medallion Recently Struck Off to Commemorate "The Good Gray Poet"

well as that rich but usually veiled side of the man that led to a protest recently, when the public library devoted an exhibition to the poet; his attraction to other men.

With a style that seems to indicate a repetition of Whitman's own struggle against the usual, the cliché, Mr. Rogers combines simplicity with an often curiously embroidered or far-fetched diction; yet he makes the poet move, if not with the full breath of human vitality, yet with a richness won through familiarity with the scenes of Whitman's life, faithfully reproduced. Especially Brooklyn, and the family life of the Whitmans, seems well drawn and true. But the biography of Walt Whitman, the spiritual record of his activity, is that which the reader may draw for himself from "Leaves of Grass" and the prose papers.

Joseph T. Shipley.

### A Brazilian Picture

**T**HOUGH different in form, Alonzo Azevedo's novel, "A Brazilian Tempest" (N. Y. McBride, \$2.50), recalls "City Block" from its bright corner in our memory. Like Waldo Frank, Azevedo strikes bottom in the sea of human emotions and through an articulate skill allows his floundering crew of readers to behold his discovery. Unlike his American contemporary, however, he deals in explosive climaxes of accumulated events and almost ruins a valuable work.

The progress of a self-made man, a sort of Portuguese "David Levinsky," and the lives of his tenement tenants are closely woven. Starting out as a thrifty vender, vulgar and decidedly primitive, Joad Romao becomes a thoroughly Brazilianized capitalist, recognized and envied by society. He achieves success by a ruthless persistence and by the labors of his black concubine, though later, to attain a social marriage for himself, he returns her as slave to her former owner.

Fulfilling a life-long dream, Romao builds a group of dwellings under the name San Romao. The rooms of the tenement he rents to his laborers and to their wives he rents the tubs over which they gossip and live in each other's joys and sorrows.

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Polly Markowitz.

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### CAN SOCIAL WORK ACHIEVE INDUSTRIAL REFORM?

**I**T is no doubt difficult for this generation to realize the glimmer that attached to social work two decades ago. To the religious it offered a new creed; to the idealist, a new hope, and to the social reformer a complete program of social justice. The alliance of the muckraking journalists, social settlements, and political reformers like Theodore Roosevelt promised if not a new heaven, at least a new earth. The years have lapsed and homes are still overcrowded, workers still underpaid, child labor is still with us and there is more crime than ever before. Meanwhile social work has become "scientific" and reminiscent.

Under the title story of an Epoch-Making Movement (Doubleday, Page, \$3.00) Mrs. Maud Nathan, vice-president, and a founder of the National Consumers' League, gives a eulogistic summary of the earliest and best known social agency devoted to industrial reform. Started thirty-five years ago by a group of educated women of independent means who became interested in the plight of working girls in the New York department stores, the National Consumers' League has spread to nearly all large cities and states and to a number of foreign countries as well.

"The consumer is king" is the theory upon which the league bases its activities and Mrs. Nathan makes much of the fact that it is the economic power and responsibility of the great mass of consumers "that differentiates the Consumers' League from all the other philanthropic, social and educational organizations."

At its best this is a useful fiction by means of which a few intelligent, aggressive women have been able to agitate with a semblance of public approval. Actually, the league has never succeeded in organizing any considerable body of consumers, or in exerting any real pressure by means of them, with the possible exception of raising the standards of work for salesgirls in department stores. The really effective work of the league has been of a technical nature, carried on by experts in relation to research, reports of investigations, and legal briefs relative to the enactment and defense of labor legislation. As an economic power the consumer is a negligible member of the "Phantom Public" recently analyzed by Walter Lippman.

To the reader who is familiar with the social history of the past decade, it may well seem that a much more significant, if less optimistic, book might be written about the failures of the league than about its successes. During its early years the league attempted to make use of a "white list" (the "black list" being forbidden by law) which contained the names of the stores conforming to its standards of sanitation, hours, and minimum wages. Advertisers compelled the newspapers to cease publishing the white list which in any case was ineffectual in creating wage standards.

The Consumers' Label (a forerunner of the Sanitary Label used in the needle trades) placed on manufactured goods was similarly impotent in the matter of wages.

In the field of labor legislation, the league's long years of effort on behalf of minimum wage laws for women

were wiped out by the United States Supreme Court at a single stroke. Likewise the years of agitation for the abolition of child labor by the league were swept away by the flood of propaganda which defeated the Child Labor Amendment.

The position of the league as well as that of social work generally in the industrial field is admirably illustrated by some of its work in Rhode Island where it sponsored a movement through which the underpaid mill operatives raised their own vegetables and flowers because "the matter was a vital economic one." With due respect to devoted and sincere workers like Mrs. Nathan and Mrs. Florence Kelley, who has been general secretary of the league for more than twenty years, the experience of the Consumers' League furnishes convincing proof that if workers in industry want more than "flowers," they will have to get it themselves.

Henry Miller.

### On the Ocean Wave

**I**F you would read of "bucko" mates and crimps, of sailors' boarding houses and of ships and their men, get hold of Captain Felix Reisenberg's latest, "Vignettes of the Sea." (N. Y. Harcourt, Brace, \$3.00.) For this veteran sea dog has given us an intimate view of the sailor and his work, and the sailor as a worker, that is rare in literature. The forty-eight little sketches in the book are true stories from the notebook of a man who has spent a lifetime at the salt air calling. In almost every capacity from able seaman to captain, and in all parts of the world.

The "Red Record" is a chapter that tells why seamen had to organize to protect themselves. It is a historical account of the "bucko" mates and knock-em-dead captains of the sailing ships of the latter years of the nineteenth century. And here Reisenberg gives an understanding of the situation from the labor viewpoint that even Jack London, a radical, has not done in his sea stories.

Reisenberg gives an economic interpretation of the brutality of the marine bosses. The "bucko" mate, he shows, came in the fading era of the sailing ships, when sail was being superseded by steam. To compete with the steamship the sailing ship crews were reduced, way, way down, and the "bucko" mates were hired as slave-drivers, to make a few men do the jobs that needed many. Reisenberg gives a close-up of one famous "bucko":

"Mr. R. Crocker . . . standing six feet three inches. He was as hard as seasoned oak and as tough. . . . Alive today, he would knock Jack Dempsey clear over the ropes into the sixth row of hundred-dollar seats, and his value would run close to a million a year, if managed by a clever promoter. In those days he earned in the neighborhood of a dollar a day and his keep." Reisenberg tells of the Tam o' Shanter, one of the ships on which Mr. Crocker ran amuck, coming into port with several beaten up men, one of them with nine wounds, five still unhealed. This sailor, Harry Hill, had had a piece bitten out of his palm, a mouthful of flesh out of an arm, his left nostril torn away to the bridge of his nose. "R. Crocker," says Reisenberg, "must have been a bit of a cannibal." Gouging eyes out and kicking men from aloft were other outdoor sports of the "buckos," and it was rarely that the law interfered. We read, for example, of a San Francisco commissioner dismissing charges of cruelty against a captain on the practical ground "that the wounds inflicted were not too serious to permit the men going on with their work."

Most of the stories are in softer vein—stories of bosuns, captains and picturesquely seamen; boarding houses he has known; sailor town on South street; the beauty of the sea and its moods of storm and sunset, and the ever recurring affection for the ships he has known.

Art Shields.

### Monarchy Bores

**I**F one cannot console himself with the belief that Thomas Mann, one of Germany's foremost young writers, has in "Royal Highness" (Knopf, New York, \$2.50), tried to put over a satire that the translator somehow overlooked, one must be content to feel that he has offered a view of the oppression of royalty by creating an oppressive volume. Yet we do not expect an account of a bore to be itself boring; therefore it is with surprise and dismay that we gather that this story may be intended seriously.

The Grand Duchy of Grimburch was dying of anemia of the pocketbook, and of a certain delicacy of constitution that habits of high life seemed to spread through the blood of the monarchs of old. To save it—God knows the kingdom must be saved!—comes an obliging millionaire who wants to buy a prince for his daughter, or the toy of a little dukedom for himself. American millionaires have such peculiar notions of playthings, don't you know? So the second son of the duke (there must be some symbolism in the fact that he is born with an atrophied left hand) sets everything right by marrying the American maiden, and all ends well for the dual

family. American blood is good for another few generations' fight against the diseased delicacy of Europe's rulers!

Sweet especially are the benevolent words with which the bridegroom looks forth upon the assembled people, rejoicing in their ruler's happiness. "How thankful they are that we have not forgotten their need and affliction. What crowds there are, standing there and shouting up to us! Of course many of them are scoundrels, and take each other in, and sadly need to be elevated above the work-day and its reality. But they are really grateful when one shows oneself conscious of their need and affliction." No, I refuse to believe that Thomas Mann intended less than a satire of such persons and such a state of social push and piffle. Unable to see a copy of the original at the moment, I have written to a friend in Germany to gather the opinion of the people, and to read the original there, and to let me know whether the translator has not somehow hideously blundered, making of what might be an uproarious satire a dull and deadly serious tale.

William Lea.

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## The New Leader Mail Bag

Editor, The New Leader:

I am glad to note your editorial in The New Leader of issue of April 17, entitled "Fooling British Workers." You have not put the London Mail "labor" junket in a too unenviable light. I myself took occasion to comment on this Tory (?) expedition in a recent issue of our Schenectady "Citizen." I remarked that it was indeed curious that these British men of organized labor when they came to Schenectady never bothered to look up any trade unionists or trade union officials, and that the information that they received on conditions came strictly through NON-UNION sources—General Electric bosses and bosses' pets. While the General Electric plant at Schenectady is in the habit of showing distinguished visitors of all shades of opinion through the "works," including Eugene V. Debs, and President Green of the A. F. of L., this great establishment has been virtually non-union and anti-union since 1921. Only two unions—the Patternmakers and Steamfitters—are accorded the slightest degree of recognition, and any other employees who presume to approach the management on "union" committees invite immediate discharge.

The "Company-union" variation, known as the "Works Council" plan, prevails.

HERBERT M. MERRILL,  
State Secretary Socialist Party.  
April 19, 1926.

Editor, The New Leader:

I cannot resist writing you how pleased I am over the article in April 17 issue entitled, "Labor Church Empties Boss Temple," by Art Shields. I feel those people are progressing and I hope they will continue supplying their own minister and discussing labor questions and all the questions of the day. That's what the church is for, I believe, but few do it. That's the kind of a church I would like to support. No other kind can get my interest or money. If I lived at Sagamore, Pa., that's the church I'd join. I am so worried about Debs. I fear he will not get his citizenship restored, and I fear for the health of Mrs. Debs under those circumstances. Where is the Christianity of which this nation boasts? I tried to do my part getting signers to the petition, but the most ardent churchgoers here were the most ignorant of the facts and least willing to sign. EDNA L. ROBINSON.  
Weston, Mass.

## The Undaunted Courage of Warren K. Billings

By Lena Morrow Lewis

ONLY a few months and Warren K. Billings will have completed his tenth year in the northern California prison. To the younger generation in their teens or early twenties, the name of Warren K. Billings means nothing. The coupling of his name with Mooney throws some light on the subject, but at best the story of their imprisonment because of conviction growing out of perjured testimony has all but been forgotten by the elder members of the radical movement and never even learned by the younger element.

Mooney has been fortunate in being a resident of San Quentin, easy of access from San Francisco and therefore able to receive visits every Saturday and Sunday from some member of his family, as well as from friends, many of whom come from all parts of the world.

Billings could count the visitors he has had on the fingers of one hand, excepting the attorneys and members of the defense committee. The northern California prison is off the main line of travel and comparatively few visitors are received there. Once I was denied the right to see Billings when I called at the prison in 1921, but in 1924, when I tried again, I was admitted. Since then I have visited there several times. During February of this year I made a trip through northern California to visit the newly organized locals put on the map as the result of Emil Herman's work the latter part of 1925. At this time I called to see Billings. In the hour or more we had to talk he told me of his experiences in learning the shoe trade, of his work in making extra well fitting, good looking, shoes for the I.

W. W. boys when the time came for some of them to leave the prison. Another labor of love that stands to his credit is the carving of monuments and tombstones to the memory of fellow prisoners who escaped the bars by the hand of death.

It goes without saying that no one in all the State of California is more anxious to see Upton Sinclair elected Governor than is Warren K. Billings. The long hours he has spent pouring over law books, the letters written, the careful study given the case, all indicate his intense desire to be released. Some other Governor might be elected who would open the prison doors for Mooney and Billings, but the only man who can absolutely be depended on to sign the document that will give these boys their freedom is Upton Sinclair.

Meanwhile one can get a glimpse of the spirit of Billings in the following paragraph of a letter written me a few weeks ago:

"Oh yes! It's a great world all right, but some of the people in it spoil it a little. Still, it is as easy to acquire good habits as bad. The habit of industry is as easily acquired as the habit of indolence and making the best of conditions and circumstances is much easier and more beneficial than fighting against them. Cursing your luck and bemoaning your fate is not liable to be a pleasant occupation so I have chosen to try at least to follow the words of William Ernest Henley in his poem 'Invictus.' In which he says: 'In the fell clutch of circumstances—I have not winced nor cried aloud. Under the bludgeonings of chance, my head is bloody but unbowed. Beyond this place of wrath and tears, looms but the horror of the shade, and yet the moment of the years, finds and shall find me, unafraid.'"

"I hope I shall always be able to live up to it."

"Sincerely,  
"WARREN K. BILLINGS."

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# Amusements

## DRAMA

LUCILE WATSON



In the Actors' Theatre production of "The Importance of Being Earnest," the Oscar Wilde comedy now at the Ritz Theatre.

### Sophisticated Children at Play

"The Garrick Gaeties" Pleasantly Bristle and Knowing

The sophistication of the Broadway revue is of a bias type; it takes the secret delights of sex for granted, and strives to remove as much of the secrecy as the law permits. The sophistication of the merry youngsters of the Theatre Guild Studio is at once fresher, more intelligent, and more naive; rather than lift, they seek to futter the veil. The spirit of youth—some may call it the amateur spirit, but it is amateur in the old and best sense of the word: lover—and in love, who would be a professional?—makes the "Gaeties" a constant delight, whatever details of insufficiency one may find; for there is none of the sense of the show as a grim business, as a sex-centered production to gather cash from inhibited men and women; instead, the theatre is play, is a game in which actors and audience join.

A chief sign of this is the fact that the players make game of themselves and their intentions. With disarming simplicity they assure us, at the beginning and end of the revue that they "can't be as good as last year," after which, what can a forestalled critic say? Later, to make sure that the music publisher is satisfied, a quartet of fair females comes out and sings again the song hit of the evening. But this self-concerned jesting is but a small portion of the humor of the performance; almost everything else, in brief allusion or longer emphasis, comes in for a taste of their satire. A delightfully intricate mix-up shows the true George Washington, revealing him as Oliver Cromwell in disguise, and ending with the saving of a woman spy by her disclosing the Red Cross insignia on her bosom. King Arthur is also revealed in a new light, and Sir Galahad, who is "six of one and half a dozen of the other," though he wonders who put the Gal in Galahad. The virgin Queen Elizabeth demurely protests that even queens must have their moments, that "no royal redhead was ever a deadhead," that "a venial sin is no mortal sin, but congenial sin," if you're not seen. "The awful effect of modern magazine advertising on the modern mind" is exhibited in the madman's act of Romney Brent, who this year again is a moving spirit in the fun; and a parodied musical comedy, "Rose of Arizona," is a treat not to miss.

The lyrics of Lorenz Hart are unquestionably the cleverest now being written; his Sullivan has not yet been found. But the verses have yet to move in a continuous and worthwhile theme for the author's talents; meanwhile he must beware of growing into certain habits that make for monotony, as his too frequent use of the triple recurrent rhyme, as in your trouble "goes away"; when you "doze away" it sends your "woes away"; though this is frequently very well done. The rhymes are often most ingenious: "Life is more delectable when disrespectable," "mama let" is followed by "omelet," "life its tone" by "Helfetz tone," and "Beans get no keener reception in a beanery than in our mountain greenery home."

Betty Starbuck, Sterling Holloway and Philip Loeb again do their full duty in adding to the gaiety of notions; and the chorus, if not as regular of line and rhythmic autonomy as some, is undeniably not merely the most charming, but the most intelligent of the city's choruses. One could say much more of the delightful time to be had at the "Garrick Gaeties."

J. T. S.

### The Vienna Stage

MATTERS theatrical in Central Europe the past month or two are worth while jotting down here. Just to keep one abreast of what is going on in the Vienna theatre.

At the Raimund, the play last seen was "Demimonde," by Alexander Dumas the younger. Dumas fils' ironic variant of his own "Dame aux Camélias" must be getting on for seventy years old by now, but she is wearing remarkably well. Though the social outlook and conventions represented in the play are getting tragically lined and wrinkled, yet a skillful producer can always lift a face half an inch or so, and the important point is that the main body of the work—its slick theatrical effectiveness and grasp of the innate and eternal drama of human relationships—retains its trim and youthful figure. Frau Leopoldine Konstantin, not always an easy actress to cast, was ideally suited.

The Deutsches Volkstheater is presenting "Comedies of Words" ("Komödie der Worte"), by Arthur Schnitzler. The master of Austrian comedy at his most masterly in three little one-act plays, jesting, bitter-sweet, tender and true, with a marriage that has failed, with a "marriage of true minds," and in the best of all with the creature "half-devil and half-child," known as the actor—or, as he prefers it, the artist.

"The Life That I Gave Thee" ("Das Leben Das Ich Dir Gab"), by Luigi Pirandello, was shown at the Burgtheater. The Twilight of Pirandello, Vienna has now definitely tired of Pirandello's gospel that truth is illusion and illusion truth, the more especially since his frequent expositions have been growing successively feebler, like the twitches of an epileptic when the fit is passing. In "The Life That I Gave Thee" two women decline, lachrymously and at great length, to accept the fact that a certain man is dead because she is his mother, the other because she is about to bear him a child.

The Raimund Theater is showing a comedy, "Any Old Way Will Do" ("Wie man Macht Ist richtig"), by Herbert Eulenberg. Produced in celebration of the author's fiftieth birthday. For all his fifty years Herr Eulenberg has never yet quite come off as a dramatist. "More promise than performance" threatens to be his epitaph; but one must not mar by criticism the harmony of these pleasantly intimate festivities at which the Austrians excel. The piece selected for the occasion is a jolly comedy about two brothers who try setting up house together in the family mansion which has been bequeathed to them jointly.

At the Akademie Theatre, "The Old

Wives' Summer" ("Altweibersommer") followed by "The Late Lamented" ("Der Seliger"), both plays by Hermann Bahr. Hermann Bahr deals in a comedy that brings its laughable absurdity into high relief by an occasional semi-malicious shading from real life. "The Old Wives' Summer" is a slightly long drawn out farcical comedy, dealing with the adventures of an aging Lothario who has the misfortune to meet in a sanatorium one of his flames of long ago, and then cannot remember exactly how far the affair had progressed. "The Late Lamented," a Shavian "Enoch Arden," in which the two husbands sit down to a discussion of their predicament, none the less witty for being logical and reasonable, is the better play of the two.

"Lady Windermere's Fan," by Oscar Wilde, had its showing at the Burgtheater. When, on the first night of "Lady Windermere's Fan," five and thirty years ago, Oscar Wilde took his curtain call with a lighted cigarette between his fingers, the resentment of the audience represented the first rumpling of the storm that was soon to overwhelm him. The essential genius of the English race has never long endured a pose instead of sincerity, paste instead of a jewel, and so Oscar Wilde's works have been scattered to the winds by the winnowing fall of Time, though here and there an inspired epigram survives. Abroad the attitude, the gesture, count for much more, and Vienna still sits open mouthed, mesmerized by Wilde's lighted cigarette. Unfortunately, though they venerate him, they have a very elementary comprehension of how his works should be played.

The Modernes Theater is presenting "The Show" ("Sensation"), by John Galsworthy. Mr. Galsworthy's tirade against that morbid curiosity of the public mind, to which the popular press panders in its detailed and unsparring accounts of the private lives of those who are unfortunate enough to find their private affairs have obtained a "news value," seems likely to attain a greater success in Vienna than in London. Naturally, the carefully built up dramatic action grips the audience more firmly when the said audience has no exact standard of comparison and experience by which to judge the verisimilitude of the detectives and reporters laid before them. Furthermore, Vienna has decided that the delimitation of the frontiers between public and private life is an engrossing problem of our modern civilization, and is flocking to a very workmanlike performance on a high level of ability.

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MARY ELLIS and ALBERT CARROLL



In a scene from Ansky's "The Dybbuk," which is crowding the Neighborhood Playhouse at each performance.

### Sothorn Presents His Scenery And Costumes to Stratford

ALL the scenery, costumes and properties used by E. H. Sothorn and Julia Marlowe in the production of Shakespearean plays have been donated by them to the Shakespeare Theatre which is to be built at Stratford-on-Avon to replace the one recently destroyed by fire.

The gift was looked upon as one of the richest ever made in connection with the stage. The properties, Mr. Sothorn said, will fill four freight cars, and comprise all the Shakespearean effects of "Hamlet," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Merchant of Venice," "As You Like It," "Twelfth Night" and others in which the Sothorns have appeared for more than twenty years.

While announcing the gift at the Shakespearean birthday celebration of the English Speaking Union, held at Town Hall, Mr. Sothorn voiced a plea for popular education in Shakespeare. He said that at present the responsibility for producing the English bard's plays rested almost entirely upon ambitious actors. In countries other than England and the United States, he said, Shakespearean plays were subsidized, and while he did not wish to see municipally supported theatres in this country, he felt, he said, that wealthy persons should help. It was his conviction, he said, that the public would like Shakespeare if they were given enough of him, and that children would delight in him if only they could overcome the false tradition that Shakespeare was "high brow."

## 'The Great Temptations' Is Temptation and Tasteful

Winter Garden's Latest and Newest Revue a Riot of Good and Colorful Entertainment

IN their newest and latest revue, the summer edition of the Winter Garden entertainment, named "The Great Temptations," the Shuberts have gathered a group of talented artists in the chief roles; a hundred or more—mostly more—of sprightly girls; a bevy of beautiful and well-formed ladies, who do naught else but pose—and how they pose! But these were chosen for good looks and figures—mostly figures! And along with all of the above there are no less than thirty-four scenes crowded with continuous action and entertainment which takes some three hours from start to finish.

From the opening number, a gorgeous scene on Mount Olympus, which serves to introduce the ladies of the good figures, in costumes more or less—mostly less—the style of the period, continuing through until the final—the March of the Lanterns with over eighty of the girls in colorful maneuvers, the visitor to the Winter Garden will find plenty of good fun, some splendid dancing; good comedy, music that is catchy and ensembles that will attract the eye.

Some good satire run throughout the show. One of these skits is a take-off on "The Shanghai Gesture," another is "Three of a Kind," while another, rather naughty, is "The Veranda." "The First Mirror" is rather amusing, while another, "Officer O'Flaherty"—a policeman on his beat, who can discuss art, music, literature, and who speaks French—this piece was well handled by Wilfred Seagram.

A half dozen gorgeous scenes designed with lavish expense by Watson Barratt lend color and serve to enhance the production. Special mention must be made of three, "A Garden of Memories," "Valencia," a colorful Spanish number, and "Beauty is Vanity," a semi-Grecian scene.

Of the chief players mention must be made of Billy B. Van, who furnishes most of the fun. Miller and Lyles in two amusing scenes, Jay C. Flippen, who plays his usual blackface, and some scenes in straight. The Kelo Brothers are here in a new version of their acrobatics. Hazel Dawn does some good work in the skits and satires. Charlotte Woodruff has a good voice and uses it well. Jack Waldron,

JOHN H. DUNN



One of the principals in the new Shubert summer revue, "The Great Temptations," which opened at the Winter Garden Tuesday.

the Deuel Sisters, Jack Benny and John H. Dunn, do exceptionally good work to carry the show. A new pair seen here for the first time (they came from the Casino de Paris, Paris), is the team of Rosemary and Cappella, who do remarkable work in the art of hand balancing. They work with such ease and polish. The sincere applause following their act was more than deserved.

We must not leave out the Sixteen Foster Girls, who do some high stepping throughout the show.

Most of the music was furnished by Maurice Rubens. It is catchy, full of spirit, but outside of the Spanish number does not show much polish or originality. The composer features his brasses in much of the orchestration—which carries the tunes quite well.

The above review is but an outline of the splendor and gorgeousness of the revue. The Shuberts have put on a show which should crowd the Winter Garden for many, many months, not only those who wish to see the ladies in the all-together, but to the theatregoer who wants a good entertainment—and he or she will get it aplenty.

## THEATRES

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### Two Art Theatre Groups Merge

DETAILS of the merger of the Actors' and Greenwich Village Theatres, which was announced

in the New Leader last week, were made public at the second annual dinner of the Greenwich Village Theatre, which was held at the Hotel Biltmore last Wednesday. Otto H. Kahn and Kenneth Macgowan, director of the Greenwich Village producing group, told of the agreement by which the two so-called "art theatre" organizations would be welded into one company.

"The name of the Actors' Theatre, which has so much meaning to the professional players of America and to the body of founders and guarantors who backed it for four years, will be retained," Mr. Kahn said. "The theatre will be under the direction of Kenneth Macgowan. The present Board of Directors of the Actors' Theatre, listing over thirty men and women prominent in the profession, will continue in corporate control of the theatre, and representatives from the Greenwich Village Theatre will be added. An advisory council of nine will be created. It will include Eugene O'Neill and Robert Edmond Jones, associates of Mr. Macgowan at the Greenwich Village Theatre, as well as a number of prominent players, another playwright and a stage director.

"With the advice of this council Mr. Macgowan will have full control of the Actors' Theatre.

"The permanent home of the Actors' Theatre will probably be the Ritz Theatre, where 'The Importance of Being Earnest' is now playing.

An annual deficit is a necessity to such producing organizations as these two, according to Mr. Macgowan, who read figures concerning production costs ten or fifteen years ago and today.

The following plays were announced by Mr. Macgowan as contracted for and available for production next season by the new Actors' group: "Room at the Top," an American novelty, by J. P. McEvoy; "Viva Mexico," by Michael Gold, a comedy of Mexican peons; "Sump'n Like Wings," by Lynn Riggs, a drama of an Oklahoma small-town hotel; "Love of the Three Oranges," a revival of a comedy by Gozzi, adapted by Gilbert Seldes; "When in Rome," a comedy, by Laurence Stallings; a new play or a revival by Eugene O'Neill and a Shakespearean or an Elizabethan comedy.

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"The most iridescent bit of nonsense that is fluttering these evenings in the Broadway breeze."—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

### OSCAR WILDE'S COMEDY MASTERPIECE "THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST"

Brilliantly presented by the Actors' Theatre for an indefinite engagement  
"A polished, urbane and shrewdly acted revival of Wilde's brilliant perennial. . . . Out of it all comes a gay and amusing evening in the theatre."—Anderson, Post.

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### IOLANTHE

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### "We Americans" Coming to The Bronx Opera House

One of the bits of realism, authentic and taken from life, has been incorporated as an integral part into "We Americans," a new play by Milton Herbert Gropper and Max Siegel, which Sam H. Harris will present at the Bronx Opera House for one week, starting Monday. The scene is in a New York night school on the East Side.

The players include Clara Langsner, Edward Robinson, Lillian Wilek, Luther Adler, Zeev Scooler, Marvin Seltzer, Ann Lowenworth, Sam Mann, Ethel Henin, Morris Strassberg, Helena Rapoport, Herbert Polesic, Milton C. Herman, Rosalind Bernard, Josephine Wahn, J. M. Hollicky, Lackaye Grant, Sylvia Hoffmann, Lawrence Leslie, Ludmilla Toretzka, Herbert Saunders. Sam Forrest directed the play.

Frank Craven will have charge of and be interested in the dramatic productions made by E. L. Erlanger.

WALTER HUSTON



Walks away with the acting honors in "Kongo," the thrilling melodrama at the Biltmore Theatre.

### Broadway Briefs

"Treat 'Em Rough," the new play by Frederic and Fanny Hutton, sponsored by Richard Herndon, opened Monday at Hartford, Conn., with Allan Dinehart and Genevieve Tobin the featured members of the cast. The Hutton play will spend the entire week in Hartford, and next week will be seen Monday night at Waterbury, Conn.; Tuesday at the Playhouse in Mamaroneck; Wednesday at Rockville Centre, L. I.; Thursday at Great Neck, and Friday and Saturday at Stamford, Conn.

Louis Calhern will have one of the leading roles in "A Woman Disputed Among Men," which A. H. Woods will produce in the fall.

Claude Allister succeeded Reginald Owen in "The Importance of Being Earnest" at the Ritz Theatre Monday night.

"The Merry World," the revue presented by the Shuberts and Albert de Courville, will open Monday in New Haven. It will also be seen in Newark before coming to Broadway.

Additions to the cast of "Henry IV," which the Players' Club will produce at the Knickerbocker the week of May 31, are Basil Sydney, Guy Nichols, Herbert Ranson, Albert C. Andrews, Henry Stillman, Clark Painter and Robert Paton Gibbs.

Four companies, including one for Canada and one for Australia, will play "Is Zat So?" on tour next season.

Clara Clemens, daughter of Mark Twain, who last week made her stage debut in the title role of her father's play, "Joan of Arc," at the Hampden Theatre, has received a formal invitation from the French government through the "Société des Femmes de France" to present the drama in Paris on Bastille Day, July 14.

A. L. Erlanger has engaged Iden Payne to stage "Service for Two," the comedy by Martin Flavin which he plans to produce here next season. Hugh Wakefield, the English comedian, will have the leading role in this play.

## THE NEW PLAYS

TUESDAY

"A MAN'S WOMAN," a new play by Michael Kalleser, will be presented at the 45th Street Theatre Tuesday night by Mr. Kalleser. The company includes Curtis Cooksey, Margaret Barnstead, Jane Meredith, Roy Buckley, Kay McKay and Fred Lang.



## THEATRES

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Milton Herbert Gropper and Max Siegel

With a Cast of Comedy Favorites

Humanizing the Most Vital Issue of Today!

## Music Notes

Marie Sundelius will be soloist with the North Shore (Evanston) Festival on May 24. Other May engagements include the Ann Arbor Festival on the 20th and a concert given by the American Union of Swedish Singers at the Metropolitan Opera House on the 31st.

Auditions for soloists at the Stadium concerts begin Monday afternoon at Aeolian Hall under the auspices of the National Music League. The final hearings will begin on Tuesday, June 1, and will continue throughout that week.

Blanche Smith-Eckles, soprano, and John H. P. Eckles, tenor, will appear in joint recital of classic and Negro spirituals at Town Hall this Friday evening.

## MUSIC

ROSALIND BERNARD



Is one of the principal players in "We Americans," a new play opening at the Bronx Opera House Monday night.

## Van Hoogstraten to Open Stadium Concert Season

THE Stadium Concerts, announced yesterday the conductors for this summer. The chief conductor is to be Willem Van Hoogstraten, who has led Stadium concerts for the last four years. The guest conductors will be Nikolai Sokoloff, of the Cleveland Orchestra; Henry Hadley, associate conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra, and Frederick Stock, conductor of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Sokoloff and Hadley are already well known to Stadium audiences, but Stock's appearances will be his first in the New York summer season.

Van Hoogstraten will open the season on July 7 and will conduct until July 28, when Sokoloff will appear until August 3. Henry Hadley will lead the concerts from August 4 until August 10, Van Hoogstraten reappearing for the week of August 11. Stock is to conduct during the week of August 18, and Van Hoogstraten will conduct the concerts of the final week, beginning August 25.

As in the last few years, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra will play at all of the Stadium concerts. The personnel of the Stadium management remains unchanged, Adolph Lewisohn being Honorary Chairman, and Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer, chairman.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

sole crime of defending that illustrious scholar and patriot, Professor Unamono.

The general aspect of European affairs is not more cheerful when we turn from contemplating French and Spanish imperialism to conditions in Germany and Poland. Germany, to be sure, seems to have frustrated another Monarchist bloc. But no one, so far as I have seen, has been arrested. Imagine what would have happened if the arms which were discovered had been hidden to aid a Communist rather than a Monarchist uprising!

Some observers are inclined to hope that Pilsudski will not try to be a Polish Mussolini, and that if he is a dictator, he will use his power in behalf of the workers and peasants. I have my doubts. Pilsudski is far more swashbuckler than Socialist and cares more for the army than for the workers. At best, it will be a distorted nationalism which will be aided by the foolishly jingo who tried to conquer the Ukraine for Poland. To be sure, the Witos Cabinet which he overthrew by violence was reactionary. It remains to be seen whether Poland will get anything much better. And, in the meantime, the ugly tradition of changing government by military coup d'etat has been strengthened. Poor Poland has given a melancholy exhibition of the insufficiency of romantic nationalism to solve the problems of the modern world.

One thing, at least, must be said for the British. They know how to carry on social struggles without violence. The New York Times correspondent reports that there was less crime during the eight or nine days of the general strike than usual. That is an enormously encouraging fact which must not be forgotten in the post-mortems on the strike. I think the workers won, although I shall feel surer in my judgment when I see what terms the miners finally get. The plain fact is that the government is offering them terms which it refused before the strike, and that there is no more talk in responsible quarters of an organized drive to force down British wages. That is a victory which decisively offsets the confession extorted from the railway workers that they had done wrong in going out on strike.

Much credit is being given to Prime Minister Baldwin on this subject. And he deserves praise for withstanding Churchill and the other die-hards in his own cabinet and among the employers. Had he been equally firm in withstanding these gentlemen in the beginning, the general strike would never have occurred. Obviously, the general strike is not a

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National

**Nebraska**  
 Emil Herman recently visited in Lincoln, Neb., and organized a local with C. R. Oyster as secretary. The local's first move is its preparation for new members, chiefly through the use of the American Appeal.

**Mississippi**  
 Comrade Evans of Mississippi writes: "I wish there were some way in which we might co-operate with the National office in again organizing the party in this and other States. I am enclosing a list of old party members who might possibly be interested after once reading a copy of the American Appeal, and thus rekindle in them the spirit of resistance to capitalist oppression. Please mail a copy of this paper to these parties and we will watch the results."  
 "I note with pleasure the attitude of the National Convention toward the labor movement and strike situation of England. If the American workers only had the backbone that their English brothers manifest we might build up an organization worthy of the name."

**Washington**  
 Max Dorn, as secretary of local Seattle, regularly addresses his local membership and friends with an unusually attractive, mimeographed script bulletin. Recently he sent them a "warm one" on letting-George-do-it. Our movement is improving in Seattle, because Max doesn't "let-George-do-it."

**Tennessee**  
 The old-time ring is in this letter from Comrades Hall and Smied of Knoxville: "Enclosed find \$2.00 and application for my subscription, also for Alex Smied. We will reorganize the local party here. Please put us in touch with National Headquarters Socialist Party so we can have information as to procedure, dues, etc. We will have a meeting very soon."

**Arizona**  
 Lawrence McGovern of Kingman is on the trail of the vote-roping, side-stepping politicians of Arizona; he is determined to "give the goods" on the politically ambitious swindlers of labor in that State. He wants the Socialists of Arizona to co-operate for the upbuilding of our movement in his State.

**New Mexico**  
 Lena Morrow Lewis, on her way to Pittsburgh as a delegate to the National Convention, made several speeches in Pecos Valley, New Mexico. The best result was a splendid local organized at Roswell. W. F. Richardson has written the National Office a letter glowing with appreciation of Comrade Lewis' work. He says it seemed for awhile as if the entire audience would join the local at Roswell.

**Members-at-Large**  
 From all parts of the country come letters from comrades saying, "We are lining up as members-at-large for the present, and our plans are to extend the circulation of the American Appeal in preparation for the sentiment for new local organizations."

## Pennsylvania

From Pittsburgh comes the following news: "At the regular meeting of the Debs Branch on Sunday afternoon we added seven new members. Each of

weapon often to be employed. The threat of it is a weapon which labor under our capitalist system cannot afford to give up.

Beer, boodle and bunk seem to have been the issues in the Pennsylvania primary campaign for the Senatorial nomination. Money flowed like water, or as beer will flow, according to the promises of the winner. That winner, Congressman Vane, is a typical Philadelphia boss who has made his money out of city contracts. He had nothing to say except that he wanted the Volstead Act repealed. At that, he was more fundamentally honest than his pious opponent, Senator Pepper. Labor endorsed Governor Pinchot, but it is not yet evident that it voted for him. Pinchot has some good deeds to his credit, but his type of progressivism is almost as outworn and useless in the present struggle as Peppers' respectability. To save us from the Vane we need a labor party with real issues. It's all right to fight the Volstead Act, but it's a pity to make a Philadelphia boss a United States Senator just in the hope of getting beer. "Hope" is about all the workers will ever get out of any of these Pennsylvania politicians, unless as individuals they collect for their votes out of the campaign funds!

Owen D. Young proposes that government-created corporations, with stock owned by the government, build the dams to supply hydro-electric power. Apparently he would have the plants or the power leased to private corporations. On the face of it his plan seems to promise more than it actually gives. It is not the public ownership we seek. Meanwhile, it appears that the Republican Water and Power Commission of New York, which is to pass out of existence with the end of the year, is determined to give Mr. Owen's company, the Duponts and others who own the Frontier Power Company, a big slice of what is left of New York's water power. That gift is something real to fight,

ten members guaranteed to have one new member at our next meeting—Tuesday—and already three have signed up for membership."

Breckenridge is a town out from Pittsburgh, controlled by the Steel Trust. Comrade Close there never gives up. He recently sold 40 American Appeal subscriptions. Recently Close wrote Local Allegheny that Breckenridge was ripe for the organization of a Socialist local. W. A. Adams, organizer for Local Allegheny, organized a live local of twelve members. This local at its first meeting donated \$20 for a bundle of the Appeal and \$5 to the Socialist Party. One comrade gave \$8. The same thing can be accomplished in almost every locality in the United States.

## Oklahoma

Comrade Goodman, a farmer of Blocker, wanted a local. Serious and sincere effort in his locality resulted in the formation of a husky local of fourteen members. A charter has been sent to the new organization. The comrades have their sleeves rolled up for more members and for other locals. The American Appeal stirred up the old love of the movement and created the determination for organization and increase of power.

Comrade Campo, of Slay, Oklahoma, is busy with the organization of a new local. "All I ask for is co-operation. I have sent in a bundle order for 75 copies of the American Appeal."

## Kansas

The state secretary writes: "... I am going to have a state ticket in the field all right." Comrade Bridwell, a desperately busy man, never complains and seizes every opportunity to promote our movement in Kansas where, he believes, there is a great field for our propaganda among the farmers, who have been so shamelessly betrayed.

Comrade Snyder of Columbus writes: "We celebrated May Day by holding our party convention, and nominated an almost complete county ticket. We had a splendid attendance, much better than for years. Also elected the officials for the party organization, which is required under the state primary law, and then we spent some time in discussing conditions, and finally took up the subject of subs to the American Appeal, and secured the enclosed list. Our farmers are simply too hard up to have much ready money and so many that wanted the paper had to forego subscribing at this time, but all agree that they will do so as soon as possible."

## Illinois

Illinois Socialists will hold their state convention in Chicago, Sunday afternoon, May 23, at the Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues. The delegates will nominate a state ticket, officers for the following year, draft a state platform, and lay plans for a state-wide campaign. The local Socialists have arranged a play and dance which will be held at the Workers' Lyceum, 2733 Hirsch Blvd., Saturday, May 22, at 8:30 p. m. Some 750 Socialists are expected to be present. William H. Henry, national executive secretary, and Murray E. King, managing editor of the American Appeal, will be the principal speakers at the convention.

## New York State

The State Executive Committee met at Peoples' House last Sunday. Arland Feigenbaum, Gerber, Kobbe, Newkirk, Sander and Wiley were present. The State Secretary was given authority to use his best judgment as to the continued employment of Emil Herman for further organizing work. Rules for the State Convention were adopted, and proposals for the amendment of the State Constitution of the Party approved. The committee on State Platform was given further time. The committee discussed plans for the State Convention with Executive Secretary Claessens of the City Committee. A charter for a branch of Local Buffalo was granted by Polish Socialists organized by Emil Herman.

Buffalo Socialists have advised State Secretary Merrill that the work of Organizer Herman has been highly satisfactory. Herman is not a good press agent for his achievements but he gets results. His efficiency in canvassing for members, collecting arrears of dues, and securing subscriptions for party papers and Debs' Bonds, is remarkable. Moreover Herman is thoroughly grounded in the philosophy of Socialism.

## Buffalo

Emil Herman will lecture on "Industrial Conditions in the West" Thursday, May 27, 8 p. m. at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee Street. Socialists and sympathizers are urged to attend. Herman is a national organizer and lecturer and is spending a short time in Buffalo doing effective organizing work.  
 The lecture on Russia by Marc Slonim was a great success. It was the first under the auspices of the Party in three years. Buffalo's slogan is "Put the Party Back to Pre-War Time." Comrades, it can be done. Put you shoulder to the wheel and bring in one new member by May 27.  
 Emil Herman organized a Polish Branch with the assistance of Local Organizer Battistoni and the work of organizing a Jewish Branch is on the way. Lackawanna, N. Y., one of these

days will wake up and find a good pre-war Socialist Branch. Niagara Falls likewise.

The Polish Workmen's Club had its May Day celebration May 2. It was well attended. Speakers in Polish and English addressed the meeting. There were musical selections and dancing.  
 The Italian Branch had a lecture by Marc Slonim in Italian. It was one of the best attended in a long time. All friends who have Slonim lecture tickets are urged to make returns.  
 Local Buffalo has elected the following Delegates and Alternates to the State Convention: James Battistoni and Martin B. Heiser with Herman Hahn and Robert Hoffman as Alternates.

The Party members had a discussion on prohibition and the governing opinion was that Socialists have no power to decide the question. Local Buffalo is satisfied to leave this problem to Republicans and Democrats.  
 The Party meets every fourth Thursday of each month at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee Street.

## New York City

**City Committee**  
 The branches of the Socialist Party of New York City are now electing delegates to the new City Central Committee, which will meet on Wednesday evening, June 9th.  
 The new form of city organization will then come into function and activities of city-wide character will be planned and carried into effect.  
 The numerous street meetings in the various boroughs are being well manned and attended, and the response is most encouraging.

A concerted membership drive is on in many sections of the city, and the sale of membership dues has increased splendidly. By the time the State Convention assemblies, on July 3rd and 4th, our organization in this big town will be in better shape than it has been for some time.

## Local New York

The monthly meeting of Local New York will be held on Tuesday, June 1st, at 8:30 P. M., at the People's House, Room 508.

Among the business is the report of the delegate to the National Convention.

All members in good standing are requested to attend.

## Queens

There will be a special meeting of Branch Jamaica next Tuesday evening, May 25, at 57 Beaufort Avenue, Jamaica (south of the L. I. R. R. near 138th Street). James O'neal will talk on the Pittsburgh National Convention and the Branch will elect its member of the new City Central Committee. Members and sympathizers are urged to come and bring their friends.

Branch Ridgewood will meet at 713 Starr Street, Ridgewood, on Thursday evening, May 27, for the purpose of electing a delegate to the new City Central Committee and transacting other important business. Enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers are invited to attend.

The County Central Committee will meet at 713 Starr Street, Thursday evening, May 27, to wind up the affairs of Local Queens, as such, and to re-adjust its activities in accordance with the situation created by the consolidation of the Locals of the Greater City.

## Bronx

The Bronx membership is steadily pushing its drive to have all those arrears placed in good standing by the time the State Convention meets July 4, 1926.

The dance held May 15 by Branch Seven was a social success.

The branch will hold a business meeting Tuesday, June 1, at its club rooms, 415 Third Avenue. This meeting is of the utmost importance and must be attended by all members. Three delegates will be elected to represent the branch in the new City Central Committee, which is called to meet June 9 at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street.

All members holding tickets for the dance held by Branch Seven on May 15 are requested to settle for same, as a report must be submitted at the next meeting.  
 The Central Branch, comprising districts 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, held a large and well attended meeting Tuesday, May 18, at its club rooms, 1167 Boston Road. Several applications for membership were received. The financial secretary, Comrade Sophie Abrams, reported a steady increase in the sale of dues stamps.

The branch elected two delegates to the City Central Committee. Comrades Fred Paulitsch and Samuel Orr will represent the membership in the districts under the jurisdiction of the Central Branch.  
 The branch continues its regular bundle order of Appeals. They will be distributed at the open air educational meetings held Mondays and Saturdays in the Bronx.

The membership is especially requested to help and assist the young people in the forwarding and management of those meetings.  
 Local Bronx has called a General Party meeting for Friday, June 11, to discuss and act on the agenda for the State Convention. The membership of the Bronx is requested to note the

date and make every effort to attend this meeting.

Members wishing to pay dues can do so by calling at the local office and the executive secretary will sell stamps and State assessment stamps to those members unable to meet their branch secretaries.

Application for membership will also be taken care of and assigned to their proper districts.

## Yipseldom

**Bronx Juniors**  
 On Friday evening, May 14, Circle 2 elected officers for the next four months. They are: Isidore Bassoff, organizer; Harris Davis, vice-organizer; Anna Kallin, recording secretary; Meyer Parmet, financial secretary; Joseph Percoff, educational director, and Louis Goldstein, social and athletic director. None of the new officers has held an official position in the circle before except Bassoff. Nevertheless, they have all been active in the circle's undertakings and there is no doubt that they will prove their worth.

**Yipsel Dinner**  
 The newly organized Yipsel Branch 401 of the Workmen's Circle, meeting in the 4th A. D. headquarters, will hold a banquet on Saturday evening, May 22, at 8:30 p. m. at Sate's restaurant in the East Side Socialist Centre, 204 East Broadway. Yipsels and party members are welcome as candidates for membership of Workmen's Circle Branch 401. The price per plate is \$1 to members and \$2 for non-members.

**Brooklyn Senior Yipsels**  
 Circles 2 and 13 are holding the following open-air mass meetings on the Sacco Vanzetti case:  
 Tuesday, May 25, Bristol street and Pitkin avenue.  
 Wednesday, May 26, Schenectady avenue and St. John's place.  
 Thursday, May 27, Hindsdale street and Livonia avenue.

The following speakers will address the meetings: Conrad Labelson, William Erkus, Henry Sapkowitz, Lester Shulman, William Turgell, and Sidney Rothenberg, chairman.

**Circle 2, Brooklyn**  
 At the eighth meeting of Circle No. 2, Brooklyn, six applicants were accepted. An excursion was put up to those assembled. Further details later. Two tickets were bought from Circle No. 3, Manhattan, to aid them in making their dance of May 22 a success. The educational program was about the best given since the Circle's organization. Conrad Labelson gave a reading of Sam De Witt's poem on the expulsion of the Socialist Assemblymen from the New York Assembly. This was followed by a remarkable little play of John Reid's, called "Freedom." William Turgell gave a fine reading of it. The Circle plans giving this piece a fuller and more comprehensive rendition.

**Yipsel Baseball Game**  
 The first inter-circle baseball game will be played Sunday, May 23, 9 a. m., between Circles 6, Manhattan, and Bialy Circle 13, Brooklyn, at Central Park and 98th street. Both teams are to meet in front of the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 166th street, between Madison and Park avenues, at 8 a. m. Yipsels of all circles, both Seniors and Juniors, are expected to turn out in great numbers. Let's go!

## Street Meetings

**MANHATTAN**  
 Friday, May 21st  
 Corner Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Jacob Bernstein.

**Monday, May 24th**  
 Corner 159th street and Broadway. Speakers, Esther Friedman and Alfred Baker Lewis.

**Tuesday, May 25th**  
 Corner 7th street and Avenue B. Speaker, Esther Friedman. Mathilda Tillman, chairman.  
 Corner 112th street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Alfred Baker Lewis. Eli Cohen, chairman.

**Wednesday, May 26th**  
 Corner 123rd street and Lenox avenue. Speakers, Tim Murphy, Ethelred Brown and V. C. Gaspar.

**Thursday, May 27th**  
 Corner 10th street and 2nd avenue. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Ben Goodman, chairman.

**Friday, May 28th**  
 Corner Clinton street and East Broadway. Speaker, William Karlin, N. A. Weinstein.

**BRONX**  
**Saturday, May 22nd**  
 Corner 180th street and Daly avenue. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Leon R. Land. Chairman, Ben Kaufman.  
**Monday, May 24th**  
 Corner 163rd and Tiffany streets. Speakers, Tim Murphy and August Claessens. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

**BROOKLYN**  
**Friday, May 21st**  
 Corner Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speaker, August Claessens.

**Saturday, May 22nd**  
 Corner south 4th and Havemeyer streets. Speakers, August Claessens and Alfred Baker Lewis. Chairman, Mathilda Tillman.

**Wednesday, May 26th**  
 Corner Stockholm street and Knickerbocker avenue. Speakers, Esther Friedman, Chairman, August Claessens.

**Thursday, May 27th**  
 Corner B'way and Monroe street. Speakers, Tim Murphy and Alfred Baker Lewis.

**Friday, May 28th**  
 Corner Pitkin avenue and Bristol street. Speakers, Tim Murphy and August Claessens.

## DRAMA

## Arthur Sullivan's Hectic Year

THE fates have a curious way sometimes of bestowing upon mortals very weird assortments of joy, grief, prosperity, honors, reverses and what not within seemingly incredible short spaces of time. The months immediately preceding and following the initial production of "Iolanthe," which Winthrop Ames is presenting anew at the Plymouth Theatre, were to Arthur Sullivan, its composer, such a period.

On June 1, 1882, Sullivan's mother died. Always intensely devoted to her, his affection, especially since the death of his father several years before, had taken the form of redoubled attentions as to her welfare and happiness. But there was short time for mourning, for the Savoy Theatre was calling for the first new Gilbert and Sullivan comic opera of which later it was to house so many. Thus Sullivan, grief-stricken, toiled incessantly through the summer.

The premiere of "Iolanthe" occurred on November 25, 1882. As Sullivan was on his way to the playhouse he purchased a late edition of an afternoon paper. In it was prominently displayed the disastrous failure of the brokerage firm of Cooper, Hall & Co. This was none other than the firm with which were deposited all his securities and funds. With one fell swoop he had been left almost penniless. The accumulated earnings of twenty-five years were swept away; Sullivan financially was little better off than during his student days at Leipzig.

With sinking heart, yet never a word of his misfortune to any of his colleagues, Sullivan took his place on the conductor's stand, tapped his baton, and "Iolanthe" was on. Under his seemingly inspired leadership the opera progressed along ever mounting waves of enthusiasm. Every number was repeated over and over till at the end the members of the company were in a state bordering upon complete exhaustion. It was a night of triumph for both Gilbert and Sullivan.

A few days later, Sullivan invited Gladstone, prime minister and leader of the Liberal Party, to witness "Iolanthe." In a way it was a bold thing to do, for there was grave danger that the great statesman might take offense at the frank Gilbertian satirizing of British politics and politicians, at the ruthless, witty darts aimed alike at Conservative and Liberal. Gladstone's reaction to "Iolanthe" may be gathered from the letter he wrote to Sullivan, as follows:

Dec. 6, 1882.

My Dear Sir:  
 Though I am very sorry that your kind wish to bring me to the Savoy Theatre on Monday night should have entailed on you so much trouble, I must thankfully acknowledge the great pleasure which the entertainment gave me.

Nothing, I thought, could be happier than the manner in which the comic strain of "Iolanthe" was blended with the harmoniousness of sight and sound, so good in taste and so admirable in execution from beginning to end.

I remain, my dear sir,  
 Faithfully yours,  
 W. E. GLADSTONE.

Only a few months later, and Sullivan was again destined to receive a letter from Gladstone, and this one, too, is self explanatory:

May 3, 1883.

Dear Mr. Sullivan:  
 I have the pleasure to inform you

## WILLIAM DANFORTH



Plays the role of Dick Deadeye in the revival of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pinafore" at the Century.

## Theatre Guild Productions For Next Season

The Theatre Guild is completing its permanent repertory company for next season. The players signed include Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontanne, Margalo Gilmore, Clare Eames, Dudley Digges, Helen Westley, Earle Larimore, Henry Travers and Edward G. Robinson. Lunt and Miss Fontanne are under contract for four years.

Several additions have been made to the list of productions in prospect for next season. The Guild purchased last week the Copeau version of "The Brothers Karamazoff" and a new play by Samuel N. Behrman. The latter play, "The Second Man," has only four characters, and the cast will be Miss Fontanne, Miss Gilmore, Lunt and Digges.

Three other plays by American authors, besides "The Second Man," are on the Guild list. They are "B. A. B. A. Black Sheep," a satire on American life and education by Professor Burdette Kline of Columbia University; "Life Is Real," Elmer L. Rice's latest comedy, and "Crack o' Doom," by Victor Victor. New scripts by John Howard Lawson and Sidney Howard will also be considered when finished.

"Juarez and Maximilian," by Franz Werfel, author of "Goat Song," is on the program for next season. It was produced in Vienna and Berlin by Max Reinhardt and was recently awarded the Grillparzer annual prize.

Other intended productions include a modern "Much Ado About Nothing," Goethe's "Faust," Tchekov's "The Sea Gull," Wilde's "Importance of Being Earnest," Shaw's "Pygmalion" and "The Doctor's Dilemma," Pirandello's "Right You Are if You Think You Are" and Schnitzler's "The Lonely Way."

that I am permitted by Her Majesty to propose that you should receive the honor of knighthood, in recognition of your distinguished talents as a composer, and of the services which you have rendered to the promotion of the art of music generally in this country. I hope it may be agreeable to you to accept the proposal.  
 I remain,  
 Faithfully yours,  
 W. E. GLADSTONE.

Thus within the brief span of a twelvemonth did the moonshiny faces cast upon Sir Arthur Sullivan deep grief, great misfortune, conspicuous triumph and high honor!



## THE NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1926

## ENGLAND AND AMERICA

ONE of the outstanding phases of the general strike in England was the good humor displayed on all sides. In many instances police officials engaged in athletic games with the strikers and jests were exchanged between strikers and volunteers. Day after day while the strike lasted incidents of this character presented a marked contrast with what often occurs in strikes on a much smaller scale in this country.

One only has to recall what has happened in the Passaic strike to note the difference. Petty public officials have prostituted their offices to serve the textile masters. Statute and constitutional law was wiped out and the will malicious oligarchs became law. Spies have infested the strike zone and newspapers have served as provocative agents of the textile capitalists.

What happened in England is a mystery to our ruling classes and their retainers. The Washington Post is the most conspicuous yegg organ of American capitalism and imperialism. There isn't a dirty job to be pulled off in Latin-America that the Post has not first scented, while it regards organized workers as cattle to be driven and fed for the greater glory of those who own the country.

Naturally, the Post wanted the United States to interfere in the British strike in the name of the throne, which it believed was at stake in the strike. The following excerpt from a Post editorial deserves to be preserved:

At all costs the general strike must be broken. It is an assault upon the throne, the government and people of Great Britain. If the British strike should develop into a war of violence, the United States will have a duty to perform. There will be no neutrality in such a war. The United States should range itself instantly alongside the British Government and should lend it every possible assistance.

Think of our "noble freemen" conscripted for a war to save the throne of England! Yet the Post, a mouthpiece of the Coolidge administration, expressed an opinion that is shared by a large section of our ruling classes. With such organs scattered throughout the country it is not surprising that they create an atmosphere in industrial struggles that is so in contrast with what has happened in England.

## HELL IN CHINA

A CALIFORNIA reader sends us a clipping from the Merced Sun-Star reporting the observations of a Merced citizen in Peking. This writer in China appears to be blissfully unconscious of presenting a terrible indictment of the shameful spoilation of China in two items he presents. He writes that "beggars scantily clad, their feet frozen and covered with sores, are continuously molesting foreigners with their begging. To give one of them a copper would mean that in no time you will have a large flock following you."

This is one side of the picture. Now gaze on the other. "The marines, about 500 of them," he writes, "are the only American troops here in Peking. We are treated and live like the king himself. The meals are excellent and served by Chinese. To every four men a Chinese servant is attached, who cleans and presses our uniforms, shines all our equipment and shoes, makes your bed in the morning, and, in fact, does everything to make life as comfortable as possible."

What a suggestive contrast! Nothing could better portray what "civilization" has brought to the unhappy people of China. The spectacle of foreigners lodged in the heart of the country, their every want being served by the natives, while the mass of the population live in degrading squalor one degree removed from chronic famine, tells its own story. Multiply the Peking beggars with frozen feet covered with sores by many millions and we have the background of human suffering on which rests the alien capitalism that bleeds the Chinese people.

The hell of the believer means nothing to these unfortunates. Modern capitalism had made it a grim reality for them.

## TRADE UNION ISSUES

NO MORE important question faces the Socialist movement of this country than its relation to the trade union movement, and for this reason The New Leader is presenting a discussion of this issue which will probably run for several weeks. A powerful and growing movement of the working class depends fundamentally upon

the economic organizations of the workers. If these organizations are hampered in their development then every other phase of the movement, political, cultural and cooperative, is bound to suffer.

There are special reasons related to American economic history which in part account for the comparatively late arrival of an enduring trade union movement in this country. One can easily grasp the fact, for example, that if the Mississippi River had been the western limit for the expansion of population, by the seventies of the last century a wage working class and a capitalist system of production would have been walled in by this barrier. The trade union movement would have developed more rapidly and political organization of the workers would be more advanced than it is today.

But this conclusion is based on the assumption that no other factors should appear to arrest this normal development. If within the working class movement groups should appear with programs and policies that arrest normal development, that divide the organizations of labor, that direct their energies into internal strife that often assumes the aspect of civil war, the movement will be arrested in its development.

Now the United States has been a paradise for cults of the "queer." In religion, politics and even the labor movement the freak has been more conspicuous than in any other country. Our history is strewn with him and he always got a following. No matter in what field he appears, his obsession has always been that he has found the final road to virtue or salvation and it is impious not to follow him. The faithful generally landed in the ditch, but in the case of the labor movement long before the ditch had been reached the movement suffered from the perfectionists.

The type is still with us, and it is important for us to identify it. For this reason this discussion should prove educational and help us to know what to avoid as well as to learn what is best to do.

## RADIO, A KEPT WOMAN

FOR the third time Norman Thomas has been excluded from the radio, and there is little doubt that the great reactionary interests now control the air as an educational agency. Whether we can recover partial control of the radio for broadcasting all opinions is doubtful, but the struggle must go on until this is either realized or we succeed in indicting radio communication as a servile prostitute of reaction.

It will be recalled that Thomas was excluded from WEAF. This station broadcasts the propaganda of the Women's Government Club every first Monday of each month. Through this mediaeval organization every progressive, radical and revolutionary idea of a social, political or economic character is openly flayed. Mr. Fred Marvin, whose store of ignorance in these fields is not exceeded by any other human being, is often heard over WEAF. This station has established the fact that reactionary opinion is welcome and all other opinion is barred.

It appears that Station WMCA, which barred Thomas last Sunday, is itself not entirely to blame. An official of that station is quoted as saying that Thomas "wanted to slam hell out of WEAF, and we've got to depend on WEAF." This would indicate that the lesser stations are vassals of the powerful stations, thus establishing a feudal relation between the two. The tendency of oligarchic control of industry is repeated in the drift of radio broadcasting into the hands of a few great master stations.

In the face of these facts it is ridiculous to talk of avoiding questions of a "controversial nature" as a reason for excluding men like Norman Thomas. Militarism is a controversial question and the militarists have easy access to the radio stations. The National Security League, which bears the same relation to the United States that the old Junkers did to Germany, is often heard over the radio and it is ridiculous to assume that its propaganda is not controversial.

Our ruling classes are masters of the air, and we repeat, radio broadcasting is a kept woman of these interests. This fact must be impressed upon the masses of this country. Every owner of a radio-set with a modicum of decency and fairness should also resent this treatment of them as half-wits by writing the offending stations of what he thinks of them and write on every occasion when the insult is offered.

## SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES

OUR readers will be gratified to turn to the party page of this issue and note the increased activity of organized Socialists reported from many States. The recent national convention has stimulated renewed interest, while outside of a few of the largest cities the old dissensions no longer appear. Even where these dissensions are rife they appear in the trade unions which are fighting for exclusive control of their affairs without dictation from outside.

Within the Socialist Party the only questions at issue are of a theoretical character, and these we have always had and always will have. It would be a sorry day for any organization if it reached a dull level of uniform opinion. Such uniformity is evidence of lack of vision, no inspiring idealism, and creeping paralysis. Discussion and variation of opinions are essential to growth and expansion so long as they do not involve fundamental disagreement, and this stage has been reached by the Socialist Party.

The activities reported on the party page should draw more and more members into active party service. It will be noted that in the West, where the organization suffered most from war terrorism and internal dissensions, renewed life is the most evident. This is as it should be. To build up the organization in this region is essential before the touring of speakers and organizers on a national scale can begin. With the recovery of the movement in this region the whole party will be strengthened.

## The News of the Week

### Vare to Enter Imperial Diet

It can hardly be said that the social revolution is just around the corner when Congressman Vare was the Republican nomination for U. S. Senator in Pennsylvania in a total vote of over 1,500,000. When that many voters can be herded to the polls in a primary for three candidates of the Republican party, the revolution is still a long distance down the road. The choice of Vare is a rejection of the Coolidge candidate, but as it has become the habit of the G. O. P. to slap Calvin occasionally, the primary can true to form. We expect that our naive "progressives" will hail the result as a "repudiation" of Coolidge, but as a matter of fact Vare represents the tradition of the sainted Penrose, who swined his way out of the muck to become the chief merchant of Pennsylvania politics. Vare is a ward politician of the mediocre type. His success retires Pepper, who played the role of the "scholar in politics" in Pennsylvania that the late Henry Cabot Lodge played in Massachusetts. Pepper goes out and Vare will likely go in, but the serfs of Pennsylvania will remain unrepresented in the Senate. The sovereignty of the United States Steel Corporation, the Pennsylvania Railroad and the anthracite interests will continue to be faithfully represented in the upper chamber of the Imperial Diet at Washington. This is the net result of the primary and it has no other significance for us.

### A Slight Shift in Germany

Germany has just gone through a slight Cabinet change to the accompaniment of enough noise to indicate a real crisis. The net result of the resignation of Dr. Luther from the Chancellorship because the Socialists and Democrats raised a row about his plan to allow German embassies to fly the merchant flag, as well as the regular national banner, is the switching of Dr. Wilhelm Marx from the Ministry of Justice to the post of Chancellor and the naming of Dr. Johannes Bell, another Centrist, as Minister of Justice. But the storm caused by the scheme gradually to relegate the black-red-gold colors of the German republic to the background in favor of the old black-white-red of the Kaiser's days (because the merchant flag is just the same as before the political revolution of 1918, with the exception of a small black-red-gold jack in one corner), has helped hurry up the popular referendum on the confiscation of the estates of the ex-rulers, including the Hohenzollerns, and the date had been fixed for June 20. Another feature of German politics was the discovery by the Prussian police of a number of letters said to incriminate many noted politicians and business leaders in a plot to overthrow the republic by force of arms, or by frightening President Hindenburg into believing that the Communists and Socialists were about to pull off an uprising, thus forcing him to declare martial law with the reactionary Minister of War Gessler and Chief of Staff Von Seeckt as dictators. Although no one doubts that there are plenty of hot headed reactionaries who would welcome such a

trial of strength with the Republican elements, there is small chance of their machinations ever amounting to anything serious.

### Conquest of The North Pole

The North Pole reached twice in a few weeks! Certainly this is an event in the history of the world. Already there is talk of a regular air service across the top of the world in the near future. Polar transit may yet become a diversion when some of the difficulties encountered by the Norge are eliminated and danger is reduced to a minimum. Should this traffic develop we may anticipate the economics of polar transit and capitalism may become a factor at the top of the world. The novelty of the diversion will excite curiosity to "take it in" and the building of dirigibles will be stimulated. Probably the history of railroadings will be repeated. There will be competing companies organized for polar excursions, an excess of dirigibles will be built, disastrous competition will reduce rates to a ruinous level, consolidation will begin, and great capitalist corporations will appear on the scene. A war of extermination will begin between the big giants and one or two oligarchs will survive. They will swallow up all others, monopolize polar transit, and capitalist enterprise will become the master in this field. This forecast is not a fantastic one. It is the logical end of successful development of air travel in this region, and there are those now living who may see this conquest of the icy wastes at the North Pole.

### A Note on the Higher Burglary

Burglars who find business rather dull should watch how real gentlemen pull off a big job with the police looking on. Upstate water power development on the St. Lawrence River is the big prize, and before the end of the year it will probably be in the bag of the Frontier Corporation. This in turn represents the General Electric Company, the Aluminum Company of America and the du Ponts. The State Water Power Commission is expected to deliver the goods and the delivery may occur early in June. Some three years ago the voters in a state referendum voted against the policy of corporate burglary, but a little thing like that does not count. Attorney General Ottinger, by way of preparing us for the inevitable, says that precautions will be taken to "recapture" the prize if the burglars do not take care of the goods. That's very kind of him, to be sure, and very kind to the burglars as well. He adds that "the time has come when twenty years of talk must be converted into water power." And into cash, Mr. Ottinger, and lots of it, for General Electric, Aluminum and the du Ponts. "When the job is completed," says Mr. Ottinger, "I will feel that I have made a substantial contribution to all the people." Sure, but why so modest about the still more "substantial contribution" made to General Electric, Aluminum and the du Ponts?

Pont? We submit that the ordinary and vulgar type of burglar is out of date. He should take a post-graduate course and learn the tricks of the big fellows of the profession. It is safe and it pays more. You may even talk of the "substantial contribution" you make to the happiness of those whose pockets are picked.

### Your Schools Are Not Yours

To whom do the public schools belong? According to certain school officials, they belong to the clerical and capitalist politicians in office. Evidence has developed which shows that they keep a blacklist of organizations and individuals who are denied the use of the schools for public meetings, and they have acted on this view by refusing a permit to Arthur Garfield Hays and James Weldon Johnson. As The New Leader goes to press, the Board of Education is meeting to consider the application of the American Civil Liberties Union for the use of a school. This organization will fight the issue through the courts if necessary. Superintendent O'Shea had denied the Civil Liberties Union request and is quoted in the Times as saying that if citizens desired "this sort of thing to go on in the public schools" he was willing. This is his way of saying that he wants to maintain a blacklist and will maintain it if he can get away with it. He does not want any unorthodox political or economic views expressed in school buildings. Free discussion isn't worth two whoops in hell unless these opinions are expressed there. O'Shea and his cronies would deprive citizens of the mailing privileges of the post office if they had their way. There has never in all history been an instance of the right of free discussion being raised on conservative opinion. Under the Romanoffs one could speak on any street corner of Moscow in favor of Czarism. Our mediocre "educators" in charge of our (or is it their?) schools should themselves be forced to attend a night class where the simple elements of civil rights are taught the ignorant.

## ECUADOR REQUESTS GREEN'S AID AGAINST U. S. SOLDIERS' RULE

The Confederation of Labor of Ecuador has sent a communication to President Green of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, requesting help for the workers and the people of Haiti to be relieved from the American military occupation of that country and to help in releasing Mr. Jolibois, Jr., a labor newspaper man, who the letter says, is unjustly imprisoned. A communication of the same character has been received from the Labor Confederation of the Dominican Republic. Green has already asked for a statement of specific facts from the Republic of Haiti, in order to help the workers of that country as much as he can through some proper action that may be taken with the international authorities in charge of the affairs of Haiti.

## THE CHATTER BOX

### O, Sentimento . . . !

Sing a threnody  
To a rose lying crushed and dead . . .  
And the tender heart of the world weeps.

Then sing in the shrill strain  
Of a child that a mill has bled  
Till its dream and song and hope lie dead . . .  
What if a few shake a troubled head?

The smug heart of the world sleeps.

The Contest of the Troubadours is ended. Now, the judges must assemble and select the Prize Song. Oh, poets, if you only knew what anguish awaits the men in Judgment Seat when they must reject nearly three hundred and ninety-nine out of four hundred brilliant odes, sonnets and epics. So bear with them in their final decree, however you may disagree with their choice.

The lawyers are not at all as touchy as the medicos. To date we have received three snickers and a handshake over our latest eruptions. Apparently, most lawyers have good consciences; the kind that never bother you.

What with Peace Week and Pioneer Youth meetings and birthday parties for the New Masses, we have been hard put to our own lyrical efforts with most disheartening results. And if Station WMCA still insists on refusing Camrose Thomas the air, and those brilliant Irishmen, O'Shea and Gibney, continue to play hide and seek with Hays and Johnson about school meetings, then we see the definite "Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsim" for us as poet laureates of Bronx's Farm. We simply cannot write verse while the world is in turmoil. And to sort of climax the impending catastrophe, the National Security League invites MacColeman to become one of its members and speakers—with such controversial results as you will note in his neck of the tube.

And now that there is this fell conspiracy afoot to silence us, might we not profit by the tale that is told in Pottstown about Oscar Wilde and the young poet. Said young poet came unto the great aesthete complaining that a great conspiracy of silence had arisen against his fame and work. "What shall I do, oh Master," exclaimed the youth. "To defeat this great conspiracy of silence?" Answered the famous Wilde—"Join it, old dear, join it."

### Hyacinths

The air is heavy  
With the perfume of hyacinths:  
Honey-scented hyacinths,  
Pink and purple emblems  
Of Spring.

My heart is heavy  
With the perfume of hyacinths:  
Dim hyacinths,  
Drowsy with memories  
Of you.

—Kate Herman.

### Warning

Lure me not, Beryl, with intent  
To fill a sparkling hour, then go;  
Let me but glimpse the sheer ascent  
To love, and my desires flow  
Melting the pillars of snow.

Others may loiter beside the fount,  
Breathe fragrance from the wooded bower.  
Lure me not, Beryl; I will mount  
The sacred hill, that listening hour,  
And kiss the shrine, and pluck the flower.

—Joseph T. Shipley.

### Buddha

Oh, strange and calm green figure, seeming wise,  
Seeing our life flow past, a stormy stream,  
Behind the curtains of your changeless eyes  
What thoughts grow ripe? Or do you only dream?

We set you on an antique stone from Greece  
And swell like peacocks when the envious say  
"How lovely! Oh, how charming! What a place!  
Where did you get it? And what did you pay?"

What do you dream of? Life is bitterness,  
We do not know contentment carved in jade.  
Are you unhappy in our wilderness,  
In this grim desert that our pride has made?

Oh grave and smiling Buddha, pity me!  
You are beyond the reach of savagery!

—David P. Berenberg.

So soon, we will walk up Park Avenue, Fifth Avenue, Riverside Drive, in the hard, heavy heat of summer. On all sides we will see houses, empty, boarded up, becalmed, row upon row. An occasional wind will bear down upon the lifeless lanes, and blow unavailingly upon the closed casements of empty palaces in summer.

Gaspings, choked, with windows open flung, like the lolling jaws of winded brutes, heap upon heap in straggly rows of garbage littered gutters, will stand the hovels of the poor . . . in summer. Three sleeping in a room, four in a hole, and often more, breathing and re-breathing one another's sweaty breath . . . with no cleansing from the air that crawls through the open windows; for the gutter has passed it through its stenchy lungs, before reaching the sleepers . . . in summer.

And we will ask the dull eyes of the millions that gaze each summer so unquestioningly upon the cool inviting aspect of empty boarded-up mansions on long quiet, clean avenues—when will reason light up and give answer that there be no more houses hung with heavy curtains, empty and cool along quiet and clean avenues, and the winds from the Hudson will no longer blow against closed doors and windows, but upon the brows of toil weary men; and the breasts of child burdened women, and upon the bodies of street worn children—of the millions—in summer?

S. A. de Witt.

## Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

### Anderson Reflects

Sherwood Anderson's mind suffers from the malady of sentimental pessimism. In this, if in no other way, he is at-one with the attitude of the bourgeois-intellectual whose decadence is marked by a despair too deep to handkerchief, and a cynicism too exaggerated to convince. Anderson, however, is less artificial in his manner, less stilted in his confessions, and so his Notebook (Sherwood Anderson's Notebook: Boni & Liveright, \$2.50) is a more interesting revelation of reaction than the poetic polemics of a Messianic missionary or the empty rattle of a beer-guzzling critic. And, too, since Sherwood Anderson is an important figure in American literary life, it is necessary that we observe with zeal and caution the changes in his literary attitude and social outlook.

In places Anderson is sensitive to social realities—as well as personal impressions.

"My own feeling is that coal and the industrial power that has come from coal and the coal mines is now king. The black giant, disturbed in his sleep, has set forth and has conquered. We all breathe his black breath."

In simple, Anderson appreciates the importance of economics in our life, in all life; he protests and despairs, but does not see the destiny of it all. In other words, like the artist, he feels the situation but cannot sociologize it; he senses the change but cannot analyze it. Anderson is in the full swing of the new American literature. The bourgeois semi-realism of the Howellsian school has given way to a new realism of more naked and cogent character. Neither so intelligently aware of the meaning of the class-struggle or the intricacy of economic conflict as Upton Sinclair or Barbusse, Sherwood Anderson nevertheless marks a distinct break from the bourgeois tradition that had asphyxiated American literary talent and genius during the nineteenth century. In his attitude toward the commoner, proletarian and extinguishing petty-bourgeoisie, Anderson's work reflects the rise of a new class in society. The effect of the new economic conditions of an invading industrialism that has transformed the West from peaceful agricultural communities, lynchpenned with the wide open spaces of prairies and uncultivated lands, into struggling, pugnaclous, industrial worlds, competing for survival, has been portrayed by Anderson in a way that is singularly forceful and effective. Anderson may not represent the philosophy of the proletariat as does Upton Sinclair—or Mayakovskiy or Yessenin—but he reveals in his literature an attitude toward the workman that is indicative of the great social change which we are now experiencing and which we may call a proletarian trend in contradistinction to the bourgeois trend that dominated English and American literature since the early years of the eighteenth century. He is a transitional writer who has caught the chaos of the transition and impaled it in fiction that is extraordinarily simple, fresh and vivid. In passages like these, culled from his Notebook, interest in the workman, in proletarian labor, is immediately manifest:

"What a day it will be—the day I mean when all workmen come to a certain decision—that they no longer put their hands to cheap material or do cheap, hurried work—for their manhood's sake."  
"The dominant note in American life today is the factory hand."  
That there is a sentimentality present in these reflections is not to be denied, but that they evidence a concern for the proletariat, a realization of its significance as a class, and the importance of the worker as an individual, which are a decisive contrast to the attitudes and interests of those of the James and Howells groups, is more significant to record.

Equally striking are these confessions:  
"I got on a train and went to another town, where I slept in a workman's hotel. The furniture was ugly and I did not like that, but I had got back among people to whom I belonged."  
"I belong to men who work with their hands, to Negroes, to poor women—the wives of workers, heavy with child, with work-weary faces. Often I think them more lovely than any aristocrat, any man or woman of leisure I have ever seen. That they do not understand what I feel and do not know their own beauty when it flashes forth does not matter. I belong to them whether they will have me or not."

**Exalting the Proletariat**  
This may be sentimentalizing the proletariat, it may not reflect the attitude of the class-conscious revolutionary artist, but it unquestionably is not the attitude toward the worker that prevailed in aristocratic and bourgeois art. The worker is not buried beneath scorn and comedy. On the other hand, he is exalted. He is idealized. His life becomes a center of interest and attention. Other classes fall into disrepute. In this way Anderson's work falls within the scope of a proletarian trend that eventually will disencumber itself of its sentimentality and crystallize into a proletarian art.

The Notebook is made up of scores of other jottings and reflections, charmingly childish descriptions of lecturing experiences, erotic escapades and escapades, the sweetness of Negroes, the fascination of gaudy attire, the crudity in American life and literature, all recorded in a style intimate and persuasive.

It is its apparent unpremeditatedness that gives the volume its charm; its social attitude gives it its significance.