

CHEER FROM OUTSIDE; A NEIGHBOR OF DEBS

THE NEW LEADER is now well in its third year. In the field of labor and Socialist journalism in these years we have been able to give to our readers the best of the movement. The task of a Socialist newspaper, ever difficult, has been more intense than ever in these three years.

In all lands and climes the Socialist seed is sprouting into fruition. The same day that brings over the cables the story of Ramsay MacDonald's ringing warning in reply to the speech from the throne on China tells of 40,000 black workers of Africa, a scant few decades ago roaming tribes, becoming an integral part of the Socialist International Federation of Trade Unions. In China the democratic government, animated by the Socialist ideals of Sun Yat Sen, is reclaiming that mighty expanse from the clutches of predatory imperialism. India has caught the spirit of the age and is casting its eyes toward freedom—political and industrial.

In Germany, in France, in Austria—the Socialist parties are the strongest single political units. They are political units buttressed by the granite-like industrial strength of class-conscious trade unions. There is no reason for the least despair on the part of Socialists.

Coming closer home, in our own United States, we find that the Socialist movement has still its greatest task before it. And that is reason for more courage and enthusiasm, not less. The Socialist movement never was a movement for weaklings, for lime-lighters, for the lovers of immediate success. The Socialist movement is for men and women with faith in the ideal, patient with energy to hasten the day of justice.

As an organ of American Socialism, The New Leader is a source of exchange for the movement. We are better off than other agencies, perhaps, to feel the pulse of the movement. We know that Socialism in the United States is a movement that promises certain success. Those who are private in their views and publish The New Leader for the Socialist are cheered daily by messages from Comrades.

Particularly in the last two months we have been convinced of the power of our ideal to move men. Each mail brings us new cheer. Some day we will give our readers a large-scale sample of a few of these cheering letters from Comrades in all walks of life—intellectual, professional, as well as manual workers.

Here is one that we are specially glad to print because it comes from the city of Terre Haute, endeared to the Socialists of the nation because it was the city of our 'Gene Debs':

"Terre Haute, Indiana,
February 6, 1927.

"The New Leader:

"A live, growing Socialist organization is impossible without a supporting press. We know that. The misrepresentation and lies of the capitalist sheets must be met and overcome, and this can never be done without The New Leader or similar publications.

"Here is \$10.00 to help The New Leader in its struggle (our struggle). I wish I could make it \$10,000.00.

"To aid the cause of Socialism is one of the very few ways left in our modern, complex civilization for the individual to work for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. I know that we may go to church and pray, 'Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done,' but just the minute we really attempt to back up that prayer by working at the job, just that instant we find ourselves excommunicated and banished from 'respectable' society.

"In my opinion the only movements today organized and working to advance the free pursuit of life, liberty and happiness among men are the Socialist and labor movements. "May The New Leader and its kind, and more of its kind, be enabled to stick to their posts as long as one single human being is denied a free opportunity to live a full and complete life!

"Sincerely yours,

"A. V. CURTIS,
"Terre Haute, Ind."

We do not intend to add anything to Comrade Curtis' letter. We could add little. He places our message directly before our readers. We again appeal to our Comrades and readers for their support for The New Leader Maintenance and Expansion Fund. Let us hear from you in the first mail.

Here are the Comrades who contributed last week:

A. V. Curtis, Terre Haute, Ind.	\$10.00	S. Bernstein, New York	3.00
Harry Latzer, New York	1.00	W. L. Kriehoff, Detroit	2.00
George Palm, New York	1.00	Dr. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10.00
A. G. Breckenridge, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	Thos. McGee, Essexington, Pa.	2.00
Gus Peterson, Fort Stanton, N. M.	3.00		
Stanley Kowalewsky, New York	1.00	Total for the week	\$42.00
R. T. Sawyer, Ethel, Miss.	1.00	Previously acknowledged	\$770.00
		Total to date	\$812.00

PEONAGE IS PRAISED IN "FORCED" LETTERS

WASHINGTON—President Green is informed by the Industrial Commission of Arizona that Porto Ricans who were lured to the cotton fields of that state write in glowing terms to Porto Rico of working conditions in Arizona. The letters, which are declared "forced" and "misleading," are published in Porto Rico.

"Many of these Porto Ricans have said that one person can not pick more than 70 pounds of cotton per day," the commission's industrial agent writes. "After transportation charges are deducted there is not enough left to support a family, especially since many children continue to be sick and need medical attention."

"Another source of distress is that cotton growers do not employ Porto Ricans whose wives and children are not able to pick cotton. An impartial investigation has been requested by many of the Porto Ricans through me, and I feel that steps should be taken to secure this investigation immediately and the Cotton Growers' Association be compelled to send back those who wish to go."

Unity House Reunion Dance Lincoln's Birthday Night

The Unity Dance of the I. L. G. W. U. takes place Saturday, Feb. 12, Lincoln's Birthday, in the ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House, 34th street and Eighth avenue. This will be the first opportunity the summer guests of Unity House will have to meet and renew old friendships.

Paul Whiteman's Piccadilly Players will play. Delicious eats will be obtainable at the buffet. Tickets can be obtained at the box office the night of the affair.

LABOR HAS \$700,000 FOR CO-OP. INSURANCE

WASHINGTON—President Wolf of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, owned by union labor, announces that the books of the company have been closed with more than \$700,000 paid in.

"The money has been raised in the brief period of one year, and at a cost of not exceeding 3 per cent," President Wolf said. "This is a phenomenal record and exceeds by \$100,000 the figure set when the campaign for stock sales started one year ago."

No subscription exceeds \$40,000, the maximum of stock ownership. International unions may subscribe to that amount. Individuals are limited to 10 shares, or a subscription of \$500. More than one-half of the A. F. of L. international affiliates are stockholders. It is expected that the company will begin writing insurance and issuing policies some time this month. J. D. Mad-drill of the firm of Woodward, Fend-diller & Ryan, New York City, has been appointed insurance manager, and Dr. R. E. Robbins of the New York State Insurance department as actuary.

NEWBOLD TO BE GUEST AT NEW LEADER DINNER

J. T. Walton Newbold, British labor and Socialist leader, will be the guest of honor at the New Leader banquet to be given this Friday evening, February 11, at the Carlton, 6 West 11th street. Mr. Newbold was the first Communist to sit in the British parliament. He later left the Communist Party for the Independent Labor Party. His address at the New Leader dinner will be his only one in this country as he sails for home on the following day.

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Price Five Cents

U. S. and British Warships Sent to China to Protect Power to Enslave Workers

Cantonese Aim to Free
Nation from Oppres-
sive Exploitation by
Foreign Capital

The Power Imperialists Understand



W.T. Brady

BRITISH LABOR ON CHINA

Withdrawal of War-
ships Is Demand
Signed by MacDon-
ald and Henderson

(By a New Leader Correspondent).
LONDON—The attitude of the British Labor Party toward the Chinese nationalist movement has been misrepresented by reactionaries to the right and left, who have dishonestly taken the recent address of J. H. Thomas, conservative leader of the railwaymen's union, as typical of labor opinion.

How far this view is from the truth was proven by the words of Ramsay MacDonald at the Albert Hall meeting Sunday when he urged that the British troops now enroute to Shanghai be diverted. Here is the statement issued on January 4th by F. O. Roberts as chairman, Arthur Henderson as secretary and Mr. MacDonald as treasurer, of the Labor Party.

"In our opinion, the sole object of the British Government in these Chinese negotiations should be to obtain the minimum guarantees necessary for the personal safety of British subjects in China, and for honest dealing between British and Chinese traders. That can only be done in modern China by negotiations on a basis of mutual respect and reciprocal recognition of independence and sovereignty, and the best evidence of a new spirit in the negotiations would be an offer to withdraw British warships from Chinese territorial waters upon an agreement as to the security of the lives of British residents."

"Whatever the sympathies and hopes of the members of our Party may be, the British Government must observe the strictest neutrality between the contending forces in the Chinese Civil War, and do nothing—by offers of

There is Still Time to Get to The New Leader DINNER

Friday Eve., Feb. 11, 7 P. M.
at THE CARLTON 6 W. 11th St.

SPEAKERS
J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD
(Former Member of Parliament)
MORRIS HILLQUIT
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
JUDGE JACOB PANKEN
ABRAHAM CAHAN
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN
A. I. SHIPLOCOFF
LOUIS WALDMAN, Toastmaster

Tickets, \$2.50 Per Plate
Call The New Leader, 7 East 15th St.
Phone Nuyveant 6583

ST. PAUL, ST. PETERSBURG CENTRAL LABOR COUNCILS DENOUE WAR GESTURES

The spirit of the American trade union movement with regard to the Coolidge administration's recent dangerous war gestures toward Latin-America is evidenced in resolutions adopted by two central labor bodies as far apart as St. Petersburg, Florida, and St. Paul, Minnesota.

The St. Petersburg council fears the State Department's policy will "result in war" and goes on to say "we are opposed to war or to this government exercising undue authority in the internal affairs of any country." The council demands that the marines be withdrawn from Nicaragua and that the differences with Mexico be submitted to arbitration.

The resolution of the St. Paul council urges organized labor all through the country to demand peaceful settlement of differences with Mexico and withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has also adopted a resolution calling for peace and the abandonment of the policy of force and dictation toward Latin-American countries.

BROOKWOOD OUT FOR \$2,000,000

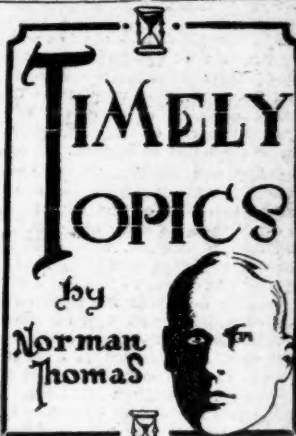
N. Y. Labor Gives Back-
ing to Drive of Work-
ers College for Fund

KATONAH, N. Y.—Endorsement of the \$2,000,000 building and endowment fund drive which Brookwood Labor College is launching has been given by the New York State Federation of Labor and the New York Central Trades and Labor Council. Credentials have been issued by the city body to representatives of the fund.

Among the labor members of the national committee for the drive are John Sullivan, president, and John M. O'Hanlon, secretary-treasurer of the New York State Federation of Labor; H. H. Broach, vice-president, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; D. W. Helt, president, Brotherhood of Railway Signalmen, Thomas F. McMahon, president, United Textile Workers; Joseph R. Ryan, president, and John P. Coughlin, secretary, of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City; Robert Fehner, vice-president, International Association of Machinists; William Kohn, president of the Upholsters' Union, and Thomas J. Curtis, vice-president, New York State Federation of Labor.

"Our first need is for a men's dormitory, which can be built for \$50,000," said A. J. Muste, chairman of the faculty. "We also need class rooms badly. These buildings will be erected as soon as possible, so we can accommodate more students. Last year we had twice as many applicants as we could find room for."

Officers of the fund drive include Mr. Muste, as president; Mrs. Anna N. Davis, secretary; Miss Evelyn Preston, treasurer, and Clinton S. Golden, field representative. An office has been opened at Room 263, Bible House, Astor place, New York.



THE four months' strike of the paper box makers has been called off without recognition of the union. I believe that the union will continue in existence as a militant force and that its time will soon come again. I hope that the recently appointed Mayor's committee will make a useful report on conditions in a sweatshop industry. Enthusiastically not all is lost. Nevertheless, this defeat is a serious setback. Whatever lessons it may contain for the union itself, it contains some lessons which are worth general comment.

1. It points out once more how grave are the limitations on the power of that public opinion which is often asserted to be the final authority in industrial conflicts. Public opinion, or the opinion of very influential sections of the public, was clearly on the side of the strikers, at least to the extent of demanding that the employers should negotiate. This the employers contemptuously refused to do. They played for time and they got away with it. I still hope that good may come out of the labors of the Mayor's fact finding committee. But like the famous church report on the steel strike, it will come too late to save the strike which called it into being.

2. The principal factor in the defeat of the strikers was the close alliance which the employers established—by what means I may suspect but shall not say—with the police force. Of course everybody knows that Tammany Hall and the city administration love the workers and believe in collective bargaining. So thoroughly is that true that a lot of Al Smith Socialists apparently would like our party to go out of business in State and municipal elections. But when it comes to a strike the Tammany police force can be trusted to line up squarely with the employers. If, as has recently been alleged, certain of the stronger unions have tried buying up the police, obviously the chief effect of it has been to run up the price which the employers have had to pay, for in the show down the police have been on the side of the employers as is proved by the number of arrests of peaceful pickets.

3. Police or no police, public opinion or no public opinion, I think the paper box strike would have saved recognition of the union had there been adequate relief funds. There were not. Relief was run on a shoestring. Unfortunately no way has been found for strikers to live on speeches. The reason there was not adequate relief for this relatively small strike was that the unions which might have helped were spending most of their available funds on the right and left controversy. At the rate things are now going the last survivors of that great conflict may celebrate the victory of their cause in an open shop town.

I was indebted to some of my left wing friends for an invitation to their dinner on Democracy in the Unions. I am a simple soul and it puzzles me greatly and amuses me a little to find the same people who have been telling me just how bad is democracy are now raising such a lamentation because of its alleged violation in the labor unions. Our left wing friends have a right to state what is on their minds, but just why should they drench us in "bourgeois" moral indignation if by chance and to my regret their enemies have practiced that disregard for democracy which they have both practiced and preached?

It seems to me that the terms of some recent discussion in the Socialist Party with regard to tactics need closer analysis and definition. The great bulk of our membership is persuaded that what we want is a labor party. It is generally agreed that our function is educational; to help prepare the way for a genuine labor party and to act as a lever in that party somewhat as the I. L. P. has done in England. We may agree on these general principles and still find room to differ on immediate tactics, as, for instance, how far we should and could go in co-operating with various so-called labor or progressive parties in certain states. We may also differ on the importance of political campaign work on its educational side.

Logically, quite a case may be made for a fairly complete withdrawal from immediate political action. We can refrain from making nominations and concentrate on educational work until the day when a larger labor political movement appears on the horizon. Such an argument, I say, may be made logically attractive. It would, in my opinion, be disastrous to the Socialist (Continued on page 2)

BAKER UNIONISTS JAIL TERMS UPHELD

Union Will Take Appeal to Higher State Court

An attempt will be made to carry the case of the nine members of the Brownsville Bakers' Union, Local 87, who were recently found in contempt of court for the alleged violation of an injunction order, to the Court of Appeals.

The Appellate Division, Second Department, has just handed down a decision in this case on the appeal to that court from the order of Supreme Court Justice Crosey, who, after a hearing of two days, found the workers guilty of contempt of court. Justice Crosey sentenced the bakers to terms of imprisonment ranging from ten days each, in the cases of seven of the men, and thirty days each in the cases of the two business agents of the union. In addition, he imposed an aggregate fine of \$250 and directed the union men to pay a counsel fee of \$500 to the attorney for the employers who brought the contempt proceeding. These employers are Probolsky Brothers, Brownsville bakers, whose place of business is in Snediker avenue, and who have carried on a long-drawn-out battle against the union.

The Appellate Division modified Justice Crosey's order by striking out the provision for the payment of the counsel fee and affirmed in all other respects. In modifying the order, the Appellate Court said there was no foundation in the record for awarding the counsel fee.

It was just this feature of the case which was urged by the union men as one of the evidences of the bias of Justice Crosey against the bakers. In fact, it was pointed out in the brief submitted in behalf of the men by Charles Solomon, their lawyer, and on the argument before the Appellate Division, that Justice Crosey not only directed this large counsel fee without legal evidence warranting it, but in direct contradiction of an opinion written by him in another case in which he disallowed a counsel fee under similar circumstances.

The workers, through their lawyer, contended on appeal, among other things, that the justice in the lower court had disqualified himself in the contempt proceeding by his attitude. Joseph Rose, secretary of Local 87, said:

"If we can get permission to do so, we will carry this case to the highest court in this state. We regard the finding guilty of contempt of our members as totally unwarranted and gross miscarriage of justice. Of course, this temporary success of the Probolskys will have no effect whatever upon our legitimate struggle for recognition of our union, except to intensify it. We have said before and we repeat, we never violated the injunction in this case. Moreover, we call upon all union men and sympathizers to take note of this case and give us whatever help they can in this struggle. We do not hesitate to say the Probolskys are just tools of others, more powerful and sinister, in this struggle. They must be beaten."

Postal International Hands Mussolini a Slap

Upon learning that Benito Mussolini was to open the Fourth Telegraphic Competition in Como, Italy, this year, the Vienna headquarters of the Postal Workers' International sent a request to its affiliated unions all over Europe asking them to bar their some 500,000 members from taking part in the competition.

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
THIS SUNDAY
5 P. M.—Contemporary Authors
PROF. H. W. L. DANA
"Nexo"
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—
EDMOND B. CHAFFEE
"Where Would Lincoln Stand Today?"
ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—
HUBERT C. HERRING
"The United States and Mexico"
ADMISSION FREE



Brady
the Cartoonist
is the man to see about that individual cartoon—drawn the way YOU want it.
Send a postal to
264 NEPTUNE AVE
Brighton Beach, N. Y.

FEDERAL EMPLOYEES WORK 7-DAY WEEK

Washington.—The Federal Government has thousands of employees on the seven-day basis, said Luther C. Steward, president of the National Federation of Federal Employees, at a hearing on the Oldfield bill (H. R. 12317). The act would set eight hours and six days as the minimum work week for Government custodial employees. Mr. Steward urged that the legislation be extended to all Federal employees.

"This legislation would establish a work week of not more than six days, except in an emergency," said Congressman Oldfield. "This is essential, and considering the unfavorable working conditions of certain employees, it demands affirmative action by this Congress."

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

party. The danger would be that we should soon become as vague and futile as the single taxers who followed the sort of policy I have described. We have gone out for political action. For us to stop vigorous campaigning would appear to the public like a confession of defeat. It would, among other things, leave one field for the time being to the Communists.

When we become so weak that we can wage no political campaign we shall have become so weak that we can exercise very little direct or indirect influence. It may be that under present circumstances we should not nominate for every office. It is certainly true that we should explore every possible road that looks to co-operation with other forces seeking a labor party. But if we quit political campaigning pending the rise of a labor party, at least in New York State, we shall pretty nearly quit living. There is no labor party on our horizon. Tammany Hall has the allegiance of the orthodox unions. Does anyone think that we can bore from within Tammany Hall? Or will anyone honestly say that if the Socialist Party becomes primarily educational and does little or no campaign work he himself will give more time and energy to the Socialist Party? No. This sort of talk of educational activity is a rationalization of what the French in the war was called defeatism. And defeatism is our chief enemy. The present American situation is not favorable to great Socialist progress. It is, as I hope to argue somewhat at greater length in a later article, sufficiently favorable for sound and encouraging work. In the local elections of 1927 in New York, an energetic Socialist party might easily hope for substantial gains, perhaps even the election of a few candidates. At any rate, it could keep kindled the torch which some day must light great beacon fires to guide the onward march of the workers.

In the Browning case of malodorous memory, the court lent itself to giving a pornographic holiday to the multi-judges. This thing we call the dignity of the law reached a new low water mark. The chief villain, however, in this plot against our social health were not judges or lawyers or the rich and vulgar old sensualist and his gold-digging girl wife who were the principals in the case, but the newspapers, especially the tabloids, which systematically fed our young children with carnal and tried hypocritically to dis-infect it with a moral.

Censorship of pornography, whether on the stage or in print, is an entirely different matter from censorship of ideas, and I should favor censorship of pornography as a matter of protection for the next generation if I thought it would work. There is no natural or inherent right to spread out before the eyes of our children such stuff as is the main substance of the tabloids. Unfortunately, censors of obscenity have made a rather ridiculous record for themselves. Perhaps laws and the enforcement of laws against pornography are a better defense. A great paper has argued that such laws will only result in bootlegging fifth. Probably there will be some such bootlegging, but I should prefer that my children would take their chance with the occasional bootlegger rather than that they should be assaulted at every newstand by papers which publish what by law should be forbidden.

This is a matter of especial importance to radicals. There is a great psychological difference between pornography with which the masses are systematically fed and what has been called the "healthy animalism" of certain great classics. A crowd gone mad about the Browning trial is a crowd hopeless for building any strong union or sound labor political party. Perhaps, as some cynical commentators have observed, the people who revel in their daily dose of tabloid pornography are beyond hope, anyway. The rising generation is not beyond hope.

Indeed, I am inclined to think that one of the gravest symptoms in our times is its undue obsession with sex. Imperialism in Mexico and elsewhere, problems of housing—outside "love nests"—super-power programs, etc., have no sex appeal, and so some of our erstwhile radicals who ought to be fighting the good fight for justice and freedom, spend what energy and time and money they have on half-baked Freudianism and a defence of the world-old bondage to licentiousness which they call the modern freedom.

GAG MENACE IN NEW RADIO BILL

Civil Liberties Union Warns Against Proposed Senate Measure

DECLARING that the new radio control bill would not protect the public against monopolies, discrimination and free-speech gags, Morris L. Ernst, New York attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, urged Senator Dill of Washington by telegram on February 3 to combat the measure on the Senate floor. The bill, a compromise product of a conference committee, has been passed by the House and is now being pressed for quick action in the Senate.

Mr. Ernst contends that, while "Senator Dill did a good job of protecting the public against radio corporation abuses," the committee has cut all the protective clauses out. He charges that there is no adequate protection against trading in radio licenses for premiums or to prevent corporations with a license from selling stock. "One broadcasting corporation can buy up all the radio stock in the country," he states, labeling the monopoly clause "a joke."

The clauses concerning discriminations against political candidates are held by Mr. Ernst to be a joker which cannot be applied. By outlawing only discrimination against political candidates, says Mr. Ernst, the bill implies that anybody else may be discriminated against. Even the candidate clause, he charges, is so worded as to leave the way open for barring opposition parties. Parties in power may monopolize the air by broadcasting party boosters who are not running for office, he charges. Boosters for the opposition may be denied.

No right is given the public for protest or appeal against the decisions of the proposed radio commission, according to Mr. Ernst. The bill provides that in a conflict "any party in interest" may appeal. The term "any party in interest," says Mr. Ernst, will exclude the public.

"The most dangerous clause grants the President the right to suspend all these rules and close any radio station in time of war, threat of war, or 'a state of public peril,'" Mr. Ernst concludes. "This gives the President limitless censorship powers. President Coolidge took the first step toward seizing these powers when he urged the press and the public to support his foreign policies in his controversies with Nicaragua and Mexico. The next step would be to shut down the radio stations and sew up public opinion. Time of public peril and threat of war is when we need discussion most. Yet no station in America would dare broadcast opposition to the government if it knew that the President could close it up, remove its equipment, or turn it over to government control."

European Labor World Hear of Communists' Needle Trade Wreckage

That European Socialists and trade unionists have followed the troubles that have occurred in the needle trades unions of New York is evident from a paragraph in a recent letter to the editor of The New Leader from Luise Kautsky, wife of Karl Kautsky, noted exponent of Marxism.

Writing from Vienna, where her husband is recovering from a severe illness, Mrs. Kautsky says: "The shameful catastrophe Communist leaders have brought in the New York trade unions by their disgraceful behavior during the last strike, which appears to us a parallel case to the English coal strike, has excited great indignation all over the Socialistic world."

American financing of those elements in Roumania which suffer most from governmental opposition has commenced with the announcement by the International Committee for Political Prisoners of the formation of the Roumanian Political Prisoners Fund. The undertaking has the co-operation of the Quakers, who will supervise getting the money into Roumania and will administer it there.

Charging that persecution and suppression of racial and religious minorities and of peasant organizations exists in Roumania to an extreme degree, the committee accuses Queen Marie of constantly avoiding this issue. Attention is also called to the committees of prominent men and women which have formed in Paris, Brussels, Geneva, and Berlin at the instance of the Henri Barbusse investigation into Roumanian conditions. Representatives of the American Quakers are now in Europe arranging co-operation with these groups.

A public appeal to contribute to the fund is made by the committee, which is composed of Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Norman Thomas, Paul Jones, Roger Baldwin, Morris L. Ernst and Anna N. Davis. Mrs. Davis is treasurer. The fund has offices at Room 410, 2 West 13th street, New York City.

Aristocracies fight for wealth and power—wealth which they waste upon luxury, and power which they abuse for their own interests.—J. A. Froude.

Powers Concentrate Troops In China to Protect Power To Exploit Native Workers

(Continued from page 1)

played at a dangerous trade or at a dangerous, unguarded machine. The commission did not feel able to recommend the prohibition of employment at night of children who can be employed by day, because, under the two-shift system, it would be "commercially impracticable." While, therefore, the Chinese factory regulations would prohibit the night employment of boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen, would limit their hours to eight per day and to night work, and the hours of adults to ten per day, the Shanghai Municipal Council did not propose to protect by law any person over fourteen, and would have still allowed children between ten and fourteen to be worked on twelve-hour day and night shifts, with only one hour's break.

British Responsibility
Even these feeble proposals were easily defeated by the foreign ratepayers of the Shanghai International Settlement, all of whom have voting power. The Chinese, who form 97 per cent of the population and pay the bulk of the rates, have no votes at all. It was necessary, if these proposals were to be put into operation, that they should be passed in the form of a by-law by a special ratepayers' meeting. This was called for April 15, 1925, and in spite of a special appeal made by those who desired a move, only 399 ratepayers, representing 622 votes, were present, this being 302 votes short of the quorum required (one-third of the qualified voters—about 2,700).

It is quite clear that many of the ratepayers deliberately stayed away to prevent a quorum being present as the easiest way of obstructing factory legislation. The British have tried to represent the Japanese as the principal absentee; but as only some 500 of them have votes, and as, moreover, they employ a smaller proportion of child labor than any nationality in the settlement, it is obviously simply an attempt to shift the blame. The fact that out of the nine members of the Shanghai Municipal Council six are British, two American and one Japanese, probably indicates the relative voting strength and the relative responsibility of the various nationalities for the obstruction of factory legislation.

The Right to Sweat
It will thus be seen that the Shanghai International Settlement is prepared to put up a tremendous fight for its "right" to do as it likes, to sweat its workers and employ children of all ages on twelve-hour day and night shifts—or more if they wish. No doubt if the Cantonese gained control of the settlement, they would leave these unions, as they have done in their own area; whereas now they are illegal, both inside the settlement and in the surrounding area, and it is the custom of the British authorities, who almost entirely form the personnel of the Shanghai Municipal Council, to ask the Chinese authorities outside to watch trade unionists and they have from time to time expelled trade union leaders and handed them over to the neighboring militarists to be shot—besides frequently expelling workers who attempt to organize strikes, after getting the Sikh police to beat and otherwise ill-use them.

It can thus be seen that the "vital interest" which leads Secretary Kellogg to follow the lead of the British in concentrating naval and military forces in and around Shanghai is the maintenance by foreign business men, particularly British, of unfettered control over the Chinese workers. We are out to crush the demand of the Chinese workers for a better life, which they believe the Canton government holds out to them.

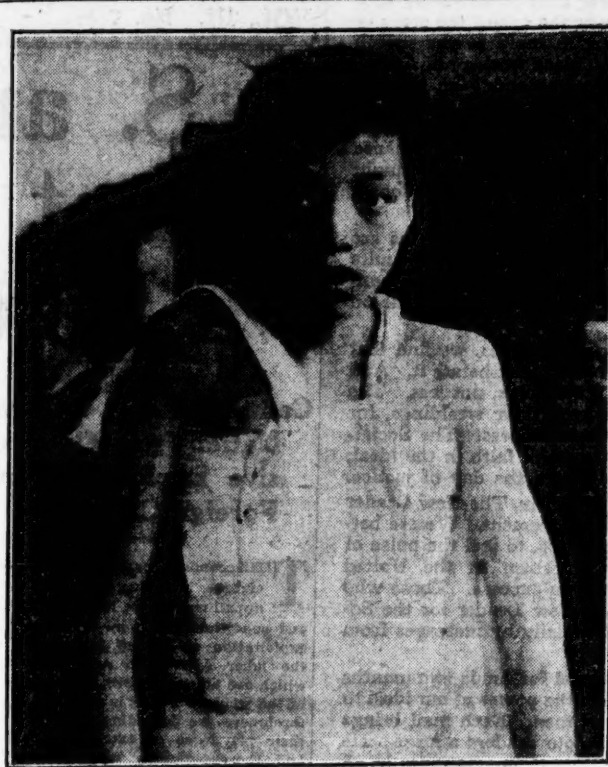
The danger is not to American life and property in Shanghai and elsewhere in China. The danger is to profits—the danger that capitalists may no longer be able to sweat children and women in the mills.

LABOR RADIO CANCELS BROADCAST CONTRACT OF ANTI-LABOR CHURCH

Chicago.—Preachers who buy time on labor's radio and then knock labor's aspirations when they broadcast will get the hook quick, as the Rev. Simon Peter Long of Wicker Park Lutheran Church, Chicago, has discovered. Long had a contract with WCFL, the Chicago Federation of Labor's radio station, for an hour each week at \$75 the hour. Long ventured to use his time on the labor radio to attack labor aspirations for the 40-hour week. Delegates to the Chicago Federation of Labor protested vigorously in regular meeting against this use of a labor enterprise. Finally the Wicker Park Lutheran church was officially signed off WCFL for good. Its contract was canceled in accordance with the provisions in it for such revocation.

The time when Socialist principles will need to be applied to be applied to industry is far nearer than many may think. Nearly all intelligent people who take any serious concern about the present situation are realizing that capitalist organization of production and distribution for profit is breaking down. . . . What we have predicted is coming not merely certainly, but hurriedly. How are we Socialists fitting ourselves for the noble but gigantic work to which we have put our hands?—London "Justice."

Grist for Imperialism's Mill



A typical Chinese child mill worker in the foreign-owned cotton factories of Shanghai

Venezuelan Consul Mixes Business With Diplomacy Openly

The representative in New York of the Gomez Venezuelan dictatorship that rules (or ruins) that country is unacquainted with the niceties of diplomatic conduct which prescribe that when a diplomat engages in business with his right hand he must be careful to keep his left hand from appearing to know what his fellow digits are up to.

The Organic Law of the Consular Service, Section One, Article Eleven, reads as follows: "Consuls must not engage in commerce or any other professional or industrial occupation in the countries where they serve."

The Venezuelan consul in New York is P. R. Rincones, Jr. The first thing to be seen on the doors of the Venezuelan consulate is: P. R. Rincones, Jr. & Co., Inc. It is an export and import house. This inscription occupies the most prominent place; the name of the consulate is relegated to an inferior position. The doors afford a perfect clew to the interior: the chief part is occupied by the offices of this company, in which the new consul is so patently a guiding spirit. The consulate, limited to a small part of the floor, is furnished with several chairs and an enormous case. To be sure, so far as the offices of P. R. Rincones, Jr. & Co., Inc. are concerned, the furniture is not to be sniffed at.

One would suppose that the new consul would go through at least the formality of resigning from the position he occupies in the company which bears his name, but, no, the bonds are too tight. The offices are continued on 80 South street, on the same floor; they are entered by the same doors. For a telephone the consulate has to depend on that of P. R. Rincones, Jr. (John #124). Indeed, the Venezuelan consulate is the only one in New York without a telephone of its own. There is no way at all of securing information from the consulate except by communicating with the mercantile house which haunts its precincts.

The form of association which, if mankind continued to improve, must be extended in the end to predominate is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief and workpeople without a voice in the management, but the association of the laborers themselves on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected and removable by themselves.—John Stuart Mill.

If my soldiers were to reflect, not one of them would remain in the ranks.—Frederick the Great of Prussia.

MORRIS WOLFMAN Attorney and Counselor-at-Law

(formerly of 60 Graham Avenue)
announces that he has removed his law office to the new building at Court and Remsen Streets.
No. 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., where he will continue the General Practice of the Law.
Telephone No.: TRIANGLE 2166
Res. Phone: LAFAYETTE 0280

BRITISH LABOR POSITION ON CHINA

Withdrawal of Troops Demanded by Labor Party Executives

(Continued from page 1)
advise, money or arms—which might appear to any of the parties to be a breach of that neutrality; they must not simply abandon the older, in favour of the newer, forms of obtaining power in China. But as the British people have made up their minds that they are not going to encourage the Government to subdue China by force of arms, so the British Government must give the Chinese people the best possible opportunity to place their Government upon an independent national footing.

"Whilst abstaining from any diplomatic act which might be interpreted as support of a policy of the partition of China, it should put and maintain our relations with the Canton Government on a friendly footing at the earliest possible moment. As there can be no stable Government without funds, it should be announced that it is anxious to come to any fair agreement on this subject with the Canton Government. It should enforce strictly the China Order in Council of 1925, and urge other Powers to adopt similar measures. It should attempt to secure, in co-operation with other nations concerned, an absolute and effective prohibition of the importation of arms into China, and the embargo should be extended to include materials which are known to be in constant use for warlike purposes. The existing prohibition of export of arms from this country to China should be made absolutely effective directly and through other countries.

"Finally, the British Government, when it has once decided to pursue a policy of reconciliation and justice towards the Chinese people, should not be deterred from going forward with that policy to its logical end because some other Government may refuse to march with it, or because the jingo elements in these islands, not unwilling to make enemies of both China and Russia, and forgetting everything else, may believe that Russia is the greatest interventionist and anti-British influence in China."

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BRITISH LABOR'S TRIUMPH SEEN BY GREEN

President of A. F. of L. Traces Workers' Growth in Other Lands

NEW HAVEN.—Triumph for British labor on the political field, in the near future, is foreseen by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

In a speech delivered before the Trades Council Forum in New Haven, President Green traced the rise of working class political action in Europe to governmental oppressions and hindrances to trade union development. He says, however, that for American labor to do what European labor has done in politics would be foolish, since American labor must appeal for the political co-operation of liberal elements outside the ranks of the workers. Besides, he holds to the belief that American labor, by centering its attention on wages, has achieved more for itself than it could in any other way.

Green's prediction of the coming into power of a Labor Party government in Britain was made a sequence to his declaration that the British working people in past years "were forced to engage in a most bitter struggle in order to break down the legal barriers which impeded their progress."

"Due to the aggressive activities of the common people," he continued, "these laws were changed. They were liberalized to such an extent that the legal complex of Great Britain was changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy in which the people formulate policies and direct the administration of the government. This democratic development, which had its origin in trade unionism, culminated in the election of a labor government which controlled the affairs of State during many critical months. At the present moment all signs point to a return of the Labor Government to power within the near future."

A similar development has taken place among the workers in Germany, France, Belgium and other countries, Green said, and in Germany it had contributed "very largely" to the establishment of the republic. The first president of Germany was a trade unionist, Green added that it is a historic fact that it was the trade unionists who defeated the royalists' attempt to restore the monarchy in 1920.

As to Russia, the head of the A. F. of L. declared that "the growth and expansion of liberalized thought and trade union philosophy resulted in the overthrow of the imperialistic and autocratic government of the Czar. In its stead was established a progressive and democratic labor government in which trade unions and their representatives played a very important part. Unfortunately this government was not permitted to function along the rational, constructive, democratic lines which it had planned and upon its termination another form of government was inaugurated."

Working people in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, he testified, exercise a very great influence in economic and political life. In Japan the labor movement is growing, while "even in China there has come an awakening among the millions who form that great Empire."

American labor, Green concluded, should not only make its purchasing power keep pace with its increasing productive power, but in fact the wage level should always be above the productivity of industry. Hours must be reduced, as a step toward the better life whose attainment is the purpose of labor unionism.

GERMAN WORKERS WIN RAISES WITHOUT STRIKES

During the last few weeks many thousands of German workers have won wage raises without having to go out on strike. These raises have been very small, and the workers are far from satisfied. Nevertheless, the masses seem to feel that, with nearly 2,000,000 on the unemployed lists and in the midst of a hard winter, it is wiser to accept even a small increase and prepare to demand more than to enter into a great industrial conflict.

Through a decision of the National Board of Arbitration about 300,000 textile workers in Middle Germany got raises of about 7 per cent., while several thousand shoe makers had their base pay advanced from 70 to 75 pfennig an hour (100 pfennig equal nearly 24 cents). The new agreements run only until March 31, when the whole wage question will doubtless come up again.

In Berlin the taxi drivers have just made their first collective agreement with their employers. It runs until April 1 and provides for a daily wage of two marks (48 cents), plus 20 per cent. of the gross receipts, which means a wage increase of about 25 per cent. The agreement, which was negotiated by the German Traffic Union, covers about 7,000 drivers employed by the smaller companies, but does not include the 2,000 men working for the big taxi companies, where the organization is still weak.

Reject Convict Labor Plan
NASHVILLE, Tenn.—The house of representatives indefinitely postponed a petition to congress to vote against the Cooper bill. This legislation would permit convict labor commodities made in one state to be subject to the laws of the state in which they are sold.

Coolidge Policy Seen Driving Latin-America Into Hands of Enemies

By General Rafael De Nogales

[General Nogales, of Venezuela, might be called a modern soldier of fortune, if to that term could be added some indication of his ability as an observer and interpreter of Latin-American affairs. A brilliant lecturer and writer (he is the author of "Four Years Beneath the Crescent"), he has also a long record of daring and dangerous experiences. He was an officer in the Turkish Army and directed the siege of Van, capital of Armenia, served as chief of staff of the Turkish cavalry in Egypt, helped found the town of Fairbanks, Alaska, fought in the Russo-Japanese war in Cuba, and twice led revolutions against the dictator Gomez of Venezuela.]

THE Central American situation has reached the stage where it requires to be taken seriously and to be examined coolly from every point of view.

One of the reasons why the American people are so largely ignorant of what is really going on in the great world is because the American papers usually publish only that which they consider interesting—which is, as a rule, 90 per cent local news. The European and Latin American papers on the contrary keep their public well posted as to world affairs by publishing what they think is important for the public to know. Fortunately the American press has improved somewhat in this respect during the last few years. Several independent papers throughout the country seem to have realized that the only way to curb the dollar politicians from rushing the United States into war is in letting the American people know both sides of the story while there is yet time to prevent a crash.

This is happening today, for instance, in the case of the Mexican and Nicaraguan imbroglio which has ceased to be a mere Pan-American affair and now threatens to involve this country, in the near future, in problems of an international character so grave that some political and military critics abroad already consider the Central American, especially the Nicaraguan, question as the forerunner on this continent of tremendous racial upheaval in Asia, which may bring about a war to the knife between Asia and Russia against the Anglo-Saxon people.

The Sleeping Giant

Napoleon used to say, when referring to China, "leave the sleeping dogs alone." Without pretending to be a Napoleon or even a Mussolini, I said in an open letter to President Wilson, published in the New York Evening Sun, in 1913, in referring to the same Mexican and Nicaraguan imbroglio—"there have been cases when the hunted have become the hunters. It is hard to tell what Latin America would not do if she were really pressed."

At that time aviation was in its infancy. The United States were like a giant island cut off from the rest of the world by two colossal moats—the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. In those days no European nor Asiatic nation dreamed that by utilizing the Bermuda and Hawaiian Islands as an aerial basis they could bomb and reduce to ashes in a few hours most of the capital cities of the United States along the Pacific and Atlantic coasts; nor that the future war between the combined forces of Russia, Japan and China against the United States would probably not be fought on Asiatic soil but in Central America and Mexico with the Rio Grande as "no man's land." In support of this theory I will mention the following facts.

Shortly after Japan had been forced by the guns of the American fleet in the early sixties to open her ports and become a modern nation, factories sprang up and the Japanese proletariat made its appearance. The increasing potentialities of Japanese industry and the problem of overpopulation forced the Japanese government to look about for new markets and for colonies. Japan first directed her eyes toward China but as she was frowned upon by certain European powers which considered forces of Russia, Japan and China against the United States would probably not be fought on Asiatic soil but in Central America and Mexico with the Rio Grande as "no man's land." In support of this theory I will mention the following facts.

Britain, Mentor of U. S.

England became thoroughly alarmed by the danger that threatened Australia and looked about for a means of distracting Japan's attention toward some other place, towards China, for instance, with the result that a few years later the China-Japanese war was successfully staged. But Russia, and several other nations, which seemed to have scented England's real intentions, objected to any territorial concessions along the coasts of China in favor of Japan. The island of Formosa was the only thing which they allowed Japan to pocket as the price of her victory. Thus Japan was forced to look once more towards the south, towards Australia, the possession of which would have turned her overnight into a great island empire and a great sea power.

Probably what saved Australia at that time was the Spanish-American war, when shrewd English diplomacy—so many Oriental claims—ever on the look-out for a means of putting obstacles in Japan's way, cleverly drove a wedge between Japan and Australia

by inducing the United States to take the Philippine Islands from Spain. The American government, which apparently had acquired these islands for the purpose of turning them over to the Filipinos, soon changed its mind, thinking that through possession of them it eventually might be able to control trade with China and Japan. In other words, the United States government began unknowingly to play the game which English diplomacy had intended it to play.

Thus, by thrusting the United States as a wedge between Japan and Australia, English statesmanship not only succeeded in saving Australia, but it also turned the attention of American imperialists from Canada towards the Pacific coast; since, once checked on its way to Australia and China, Japanese immigration began to drift toward the Hawaiian Islands and the Pacific coast, from California to Panama, and even as far south as Peru. The flood of Japanese and Chinese immigrants, especially towards the west coast of Central America, has increased lately in such large proportions that all they would need would be guns and ammunition in order to take the field any time their governments should order them to do so.

It seems to me that the only way for the United States to stop that danger while there is yet time to do so would be to grant the Filipinos their liberty, and thus give Japanese and Chinese immigration an outlet towards the south, that is, towards Australia, for which point they were originally headed. Only in that way can the United States check Mongolian immigration towards our continent, leaving England and Australia to work out their own salvation.

The Wiser Course

If Japanese immigration has been such a cause for worry to the United States so far, what is going to happen when the countless millions of Chinese coolies, who are also longing for America, shall have finally succeeded in throwing off the yoke of the European nations and, backed by Japan and Russia, shall also demand free entry into the United States?

Is it not obvious, then, that "Dollar Diplomacy" is acting very unwisely and shortsightedly in antagonizing Mexico and Central America for the sake of a few concessions; especially when we know that those concessions never could have been obtained except by foul means and cannot stand the test of law or of public opinion unless backed up by the bayonets of U. S. marines? These facts are of common knowledge except in the United States. By its indifference to world affairs the American press is ignorantly doing its part towards driving eighty millions of Latin Americans into the arms of Russia and the Mongolian nations.

Would it not be wiser, even from the lower commercial standpoint, for the United States and Latin America to be friends, and perhaps even allies, in order to safeguard the hegemony of western civilization in this hemisphere while there is yet time to do so?

For us, the Latin Americans, all possibility of confidence in the right intentions of the United States vanishes forever if, through the means of this Mexican and Nicaraguan imbroglio, we are obliged to see that armed intervention is resorted to at the behest of "Dollar Diplomacy" to "protect" North American nationals in their exploitation of concessions which they have gained illegally and unconstitutionally.

Convict Flogging Upheld

RALEIGH, N. C.—The state supreme court has held that flogging convicts in prisons of this state is legal. A lower court ruled that a state law permitting this punishment was void because the state constitution forbids corporal punishment. The supreme court now declares that the act is invalid as the state constitution does not forbid flogging.

Neckwear Makers Loan \$5,000 To Aid Rebuilding of I. L. G. W. U.

A recent meeting of the Neckwear Makers' Union the membership voted by an overwhelming majority to advance a loan of \$5,000 to aid the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to rebuild its New York cloak and dressmakers' unions. This meeting, which jammed Beethoven Hall to capacity, was one of the largest as well as one of the most interesting ever held in the history of the union.

For many days prior to the meeting, the handful of Communists in the union, tried to stir up resentment and opposition to the recommendation of the executive board, which was to assist the I. L. G. W. U. The Communist press printed stories attacking the officers of the union, making the wildest charges against them. They predicted that the membership would overwhelmingly defeat the proposal. At the meeting the few Lefts were given every opportunity to speak and point out why the union should not aid the International. They all harped on the point that the Neckwear Makers' Union should be neutral in this struggle. Of course when some members pointed out that the Furriers' union, which is controlled by Communists, was not "neutral," the Lefts found no answer. After appeals to accept the board's recommendations were made by the officers of the union, Louis D. Berger, manager; Louis Fuchs, business agent; and Edmund Gottesman, secretary, a vote was taken. The entire membership voted to aid the cloak-

Mine Accidents Caused 2,510 Deaths in 1926

Accidents at coal mines in the United States during the year 1926 resulted in the loss of 2,510 lives, according to statistics compiled by the U. S. Department of Commerce. The output of coal during the year is estimated at 662,290,000 tons; hence the fatality rate per million tons produced was 3.78 as compared with 3.84 for 1925. Final returns from producing companies showing the number of employees and amount of coal produced in 1926 will not become available for several months.

Accidents in December were responsible for the loss of 248 lives. Of this number 46 were lost in anthracite mines in Pennsylvania and 202 were in bituminous mines in various States. As the output of bituminous coal during the month was 57,671,000 tons, the fatality rate per million tons for bituminous mines was 3.50, while the anthracite rate was 6.11, based on a production of 7,628,000 tons. The combined rate for both classes of mines was 3.80.

COMMUNISTS' EXPLOIT COLONIAL OPPRESSION FOR PARTY ADVANTAGE

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

LONDON.—"The International Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism," scheduled for February 10 in Brussels, has been revealed by the Socialist-Labor International as another Communist "innocent club."

After presenting the facts showing that the body and spirit of the Congress is the Communist International, working through its "Workers' International Relief," the service of the Socialist-Labor International, says: "The fate of the Colonial peoples is in truth a much too serious problem to be exploited for the benefit of a United Front manoeuvre. In this attempt much more is at stake. But they will not succeed in delivering the basic questions of Colonial policy over to the decision of a few irresponsible visionaries and Communist puppets. The workers will settle themselves the basis of Colonial policy. It is open to the Communists to determine their policy at their own congress; for the great mass of the workers it will be determined by the Socialist-Labor International."

Willy Munzenberg, German Communist organizer, has proceeded according to the old scheme, which he always employs with the Workers' International Relief. He has switched his staff of colleagues, who hitherto were working in philanthropy, on to Colonial politics. In the German section Munzenberg is modestly named last of all. By his side we find our old friend, Comrade Ledebour, to whom the W. I. R. alone now remains open as a political platform, since he unfortunately has failed to fit himself into any party of the working class.

In a similar position are Henriette Roland Holst, who represents the Dutch group of the league; the writer, M. Andersen Nexø, who is a convinced Communist, and represents Denmark in the league. The English group is represented by Saklatvala, the only Communist member of the English Parliament; Switzerland by the well-known Communist, Dr. Brupbacher. For Austria stands first and foremost the woman Communist, Dr. Ralsaa Adler, who is at the same time secretary to the Austrian section of the W. I. R. The Belgian representatives, who, since the congress is being arranged in Belgium, are particularly important, are likewise officials of the W. I. R. F. Liebaers is the president, and the secretary of the congress, Gerard, harrier in Brussels, is at the same time vice-president of the Belgian section of the W. I. R.

In spite of this quite distinct character of the enterprise there will be of course honest folk in all countries who will allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the Communists for the latter's aims.

Canadian Railway Under New Attack By Private Interests

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MONTREAL.—A new war on public ownership in Canada has been started under the banner of an organization calling itself the Railway Users' Association of Canada. The trouble is the Canadian National Railways are in a fair way of proving that public ownership is as good if not better than private ownership of a public utility.

The first year the Canadian Government undertook to unscramble the railway mess left by bankrupt private enterprise there was an operating deficit of \$30,000,000. Last year the National Railways showed an operating net revenue of \$33,000,000. In the last three years under the executive direction of (Sir) Henry Thornton, who got his training on the Pennsylvania Railway, the net operating income of the National Railways has increased from \$3,000,000 to \$33,000,000, and this despite a substantial reduction in freight rates on grain and flour and other bulky commodities.

Under public ownership, the number of employees inherited from private ownership has been greatly reduced. But now the Railway Users' Association comes forward with the declaration that the Canadian National is carrying 20,000 superfluous employees, all apparently kept on their useless jobs by political influence. The Wall Street Journal recently hazarded the statement that the Canadian National, if returned to private control, could dispense with 50,000 employees. As the average number of employees is less than 90,000, it may be doubted that the Canadian National Railways are over-manned to the extent claimed by the Railway Users' Association or the Wall Street Journal.

The truth is that the Canadian National, in the number of its employees, in efficiency and economy, will bear comparison with the Canadian Pacific, a paragon of private enterprise, even if it was a beneficiary of the Canadian public's or politicians' passion for making big money subventions and vast grants of farming, timber and mineral lands to railway promoters.

A recent return presented to Parliament on March 15 gave the average number of employees of the two big railway systems of Canada in 1924 as follows:

Canadian National..... 87,600
Canadian Pacific..... 66,000
Whether these figures are strictly

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS WIN NEW AGREEMENT

A new agreement has been secured by the Bonnaz Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 66, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The old agreement expired on February 1, and the new agreement is to run for the next two and a half years.

The union has secured a five-day week, consisting of 42 hours a week for the first 15 months and a 40-hour week for the balance of the agreement. The major points of the old agreement remain with the exception that the employers are to pay for eight legal holidays instead of the previous arrangement for 10.

A stoppage of the industry has been called for several days. It affects all of the union shops, for the purpose of organizing the open shops in the industry. At the time of going to press The New Leader learned that several hundred workers employed in non-union shops responded to the call of the organization.

36 Labor Banks Have \$127,000,000 Resources

Thirty-six labor banks in the U. S. had resources of over \$127,000,000 at the end of 1926, according to the Research Department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Total deposits exceeded \$109,500,000 and total capital and surplus and undivided profits \$12,750,000.

Compared to the resources at the end of the second quarter of 1926, the figure for the end of the year shows only a slight gain. This was due to the sale of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative Trust Company of New York City to private interests and the temporary closing of the Brotherhood Savings and Trust Company of Pittsburgh, whose resources together amounted to \$7,842,467 on June 30, 1926. The statements of both these banks have been omitted from the report.

Deposits also show a slight increase of from \$108,500,000 to \$109,500,000. Surplus and profits amounting to \$2,806,143 showed a slight increase, while the capitalization amounting to \$9,055,000 due to the omission of the two banks decreased \$311,000. During this half year period the Brotherhood National Bank of San Francisco opened its doors December 18. By December 31 its resources amounted to \$2,452,879, its deposits \$1,837,289, while its surplus and undivided profits were \$118,288.

Poor Children More Honest

Psychological tests made by Columbia University authorities on eastern school children show children of wealthy parents more likely to steal money than children of poor parents. Out of 250 children in a Jewish orphanage who were given a puzzle with 89 cents in cash involved, only six failed to return the boxes with the money. In a private school, where wealthy children only attend, 17 out of 100 students did not return the money intact. Complete reports of the tests are to be made in a month or two.

CZECH SOCIALISTS OPEN RADIO STATION

Largest Unit in Nation Is Run by Educational Wing of Labor Movement

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia.—The plans of the American Socialist Party to establish a powerful radio broadcasting station as a memorial for Eugene V. Debs has aroused much interest in this country, where the Socialists and unions are operating the most powerful station in the country.

When in December of 1925 the Czechoslovak Broadcasting Corporation built a broadcasting station in Prague, the Labor Academy, educational center of the Social-Democratic party and of the Socialist Party, determined to build a station of its own. The result is a powerful station in Prague which covers the entire nation. One-tube sets in any part of the country can tune in.

E. S. Hokes is the director of the Labor Broadcast. "Our Labor Broadcast," he told The New Leader correspondent, "is aware of its main task—to be of service to the proletariat of factory and country. On the other hand, it must also bring to the public not directly connected with Socialist Party or trade union a better understanding of the labor movement and the necessity for class co-operation with it."

"Our programs are formed with our leading principles in mind—democracy, progress and justice. We want to stimulate thought, to present critical and at the same time creative thinking to the listeners in. We are aware of the immense possibilities of labor radio stations and hope that the American Socialists may fulfill their desire for a station of their own."

A special studio committee has been set up to operate the station. On it sit members of educational, co-operative and trade union representatives affiliated with both parties of Socialism. The station began its operations on September 26 of last year.

To Label Prison Goods

AUSTIN, Texas.—The state senate has passed the Westbrook bill requiring the prison label to be placed on all products of the state penitentiary at Huntsville.

Union Drive Planned in Northwest
MINNEAPOLIS.—Organized labor is planning for a city-wide organizing campaign that will be directed by the Central Labor Union.

Let's See Your Tongue!

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

EX-LAX

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

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Future of Socialism Seen in Trade Union Field

By Louis Francis Budenz
Editor, Labor Age

CRITICISM is the easiest and least of arts. To pick flaws in a masterpiece, an organization or a public character is as much of a cinch as the task of a worker in a jurisdictional-disputed compromise, which allows him to be on the job without winning an eyelid or turning a hand. That is why so many incompetents are attracted to criticism, and have sought to make of it a priestly occupation.

When one sets himself up, therefore, as a high critic of the American Socialist party, he should do so with some diffidence. The only excuse for the business at all is not to display to the world one's own ability at arriving at futilities; but to see if something cannot be done, further, out of the mistakes as well as the achievements of the past, for the American workers and the toilers of the world.

After all, it is almost time that American radicals should realize that it is not what a man or movement says that counts, but what he or it does about it. How pleasing it may be to spin visions of the good life around a warm, bourgeois fireside, we all know pretty well. But the test of the whole business is how far such pictures carry, out in the muddy, bloody trenches of here and now—where the workers actually are. Ernest Renan has given us a worthy cue when he writes, "In morals as in art, saying is nothing, doing is all."

THE FIELD OF ACTION

If one comes to a survey of the position and activities of the Socialist party in America, from the viewpoint of furthering the industrial struggle in America and not of drawing a futile indictment, plenty of facts can be mustered to show that the party has not done all that it should have done to meet the challenge of the present day and hour. Lost in the mazes of parliamentarianism, it has all too long neglected the obvious fact that the primary struggle of the American workers for control of industry is still on the industrial field, rather than in the halls of Congress, and probably always will be. No one can be so blind to reality as to imagine that the election of an obscure constable here or more or less efficient Mayor there—or even the capture of the majority of the legislative machinery of the country—will ipso facto, usher in the millennium. It is great moral agitators, backed by economic power, that affect fundamental changes, and not the fiat of the State. In the U. S. A. this is peculiarly the case, as we shall note later in this discussion. The State merely sanctions what, in the minds of the alert leaders of the mass, is already a fait accompli.

BUILD THE UNIONS

Whether the gentle reader will follow me in that thought or not, he or she will readily admit that in this year of our Lord 1927, the unions are the chief mediums of expression and action for the workers of this country. They may be rather lamely functioning. They may be, in this local center and that, hampered by defeatism and the inability to meet the high-pressure tactics of their enemies. They may be, in many instances, wallowing around without a set objective. Nevertheless, tattered and torn as they are, they do exist. They are real. They are the basis of the answer to the reactionary forces in control of this prize baby, imperialism, grown fat since the great war. And that they should be increasingly so, right up to the dawn of the day which sees the smashing of the profit system into bits, seems to me to be good Marxist philosophy—Marxian scholar that I am not, and have no ambition to be! As the conservers of the immediate, direct economic interests of the workers, they will ever remain the chief reliance of an alert working class.

The call to the Socialist party is to build up the trade unions, to carry ahead the fight of the trade unions, to peer into the fields where unionism does not exist and to do something about it—ever inspired by the principles of the war on the profit system, which should drive us all forward and which will finally fully animate the labor movement itself. In taking up this call, the party should cease to regard itself as the sole solution of all the ills of the world—metaphysical, psychological and pathological, as well as economic. It should confine itself to the economic fight against the capitalist system—expressed through the trade unions and through the consequent widespread educational activities, which go hand and hand with this idea.

FOR A LABOR PARTY

Starting from this pragmatic basis,

it can well point out the need for vigorous expression of the labor movement in the political field—an expression which must be a labor party, and in which the Socialist groups can serve as effectively educational as does the Independent Labor party in Great Britain.

Let its agitation be widespread, active, unceasing. Let it hold aloft and drive home this fundamental program:

1. Extension of unionism, as the chief hope of the workers.
2. Socialization of industry, with workers' control, as the full fruition of the workers' hopes.
3. No compromise with War or Economic Imperialism, and the necessity for extending international co-operation between the labor movements of the world.
4. The need for a Labor Party, as ancillary to these efforts—largely to solidify the objective of the workers.

We who have seen how moral agitation has moved this nation to the abolition of slavery, to the grant of suffrage to women, to the prohibition of intoxicating beverages, can appreciate what value this great force would have for principles such as these. Coming down from radical sky-

Penetration of Unions By Radical Philosophy Is Program of Well Known Labor Editor

plotting we would meet our fellow-workers on their own ground and help create that expression of their ideals which they lack today.

Throwing in a parenthesis, it may be urged in rebuttal that the American Socialist Party has always been interested in the industrial struggle of the workers. In a way, yes. On the side, yes. But it is an undoubted statement of "what's what" that many Socialists have found in the Socialist Party a welcome escape from reality—from the bitter struggle that must go on in the industrial field. It has frequently been remarked: "How many active ex-Socialists there are in the continued fight of Labor. How inactive are many Socialists in the same fight!" What these workers should have found, had the Party not stressed Parliamentarianism so much, but industrial action more, is that inspiration for pushing forward the union fight—which Jim Maurer, for example, undoubtedly did find. Likewise, we see here another evidence that, even as things went, it was an educational force that the Socialist Party chiefly functioned.

"Middle Class Conscious" Continuing to look the American worker in the face, we can readily discover that this program must be carried out along the following lines:

1. Through the pragmatic approach. Not by quoting some minor or major prophet of a new social order at him—for he is essentially interested in DOING something and not in arguing about it. Forget all the "authorities" and take him as he is, in his environment, and demonstrate from his own experiences that steps forward must be taken toward industrial unionism, toward international union action, toward a Labor Party.

Nothing will convince the worker of the inefficiency of the Capitalist System, so far as he is concerned, more than the voice of some one standing shoulder to shoulder with him in his immediate fight. The Independent Labor Party in Great Britain has found this out, and has revised its policy by the demand for a large program of living wage demands. "Through a Living Wage to Socialism!" is its new battle cry in a country which has had for years a flood of strictly Socialist education.

The mistake of most of our radicals has been that they have been class conscious—middle-class conscious. They did not really wish to soil their hands by too much contact

with the honest-to-God workers. They did not wish to understand the American worker and go along with him, through his tortuous, immediate problems. It was much preferable to sit in Ivory Towers, hurling Jovian edicts at the beleaguered and confused hosts of Labor. That leads me to the second suggestion of method, namely:

2. Talk your program in "Straight American." That requires a little explanation. It does not mean compromising with social-patriotism. It is ridiculous to think of that in connection with any battle against Capitalism and Imperialism. The noblest thing the American Socialist Party did was its St. Louis declaration against the "War for Democracy." Today it stands vindicated in its attitude. The weakest thing, perhaps, that it did was to vacillate about the methods to be used in carrying out that declaration. Every man was left to himself, and the devil took the hindmost! But, perhaps, that was inevitable, considering the time and place.

At any rate, when we speak of talking in "American," it is merely a plea for the use of terms, references and phraseology that the American can understand. What harm can be done

by appealing to the past radicals in American history—with the clear understanding always that they stood on the plane of another class struggle—is beyond me. What harm can be done in using American terms for the worker who has never been used to tipping his hat to his boss instead of the terms which appeal to the man who has come almost immediately out of a servile condition, and who, even as a radical, bares his dome to educated men and others of the "higher class," is a bit difficult for me to grasp. Can you not show that an "Industrial fight" exists as well by citing the battle that goes on daily in every business agent's office and in every shop, as by pulling down a big tome, which even the man using it does not understand, and telling the worker that "such and such having said it, it must be true?"

An Incident in Buffalo I will challenge anyone to go out with me to the American workers—I to talk in "American" and he in the background of the German or Russian worker—and discover who gets the farther in really awakening the masses to necessity of warring on the Capitalist System.

An amusing instance of this was brought to my attention in Buffalo last fall, when I was up there milling around among the steel workers and getting their story on the conditions in the Bethlehem plant at Lackawanna. One evening, having an hour to spare, I walked down the street and took my stand in a crowd listening to a speaker on "Marxism." He was a fine young chap, on his little platform—with an American flag on it, as required! He would put up the American flag, but would not speak in "American" language. He went through all the mazes of economic determinism, surplus value and what-not, in a most mystifying way. One worker, standing next to me, had tried hard to strain his ears, rub his nose and understand by other means what it was all about. Finally he turned to me. "What's the big idea," he said; "starting a new religion or selling medicine?" "No, brother," I answered; "he is trying to talk about your interests. Let us have a cup of coffee over it."

We went into a little restaurant nearby, and over the coffee I told him of conditions in the Bethlehem, of the lie about "high wages," of the bunk about "industrial democracy" handed out by the employers, of the fact that the international schemers were preparing their old plots and planning new wars, and how the whole business was done. "By God," he answered, "you're right! But if that fellow was trying to get that out, he had a funny way of doing it." That is a fact, after decades of soap-boxing in America!

For Penetration

Now, it is perfectly clear that this is a plea, not for the CAPTURE of the unions by certain Socialist or radical groups or leaders—a policy doomed to complete defeat—but for a PENETRATION of the unions by a radical philosophy, based on a sympathetic desire to attain victory for the workers, now and in the future. It is a plea for activity among the real workers as the first objective of the radical movement, rather than highfalutin lectures before little groups of middle-class folks, seeking to suppress their enmity and save their social consciences. As much as the latter may be necessary, it is but a pinprick in the hide of the Capitalist Leviathan.

In the radical movement of this country at the present time—if you can call that a "movement" which is largely standing still—two viewpoints are uppermost. One of them is based on inevitable capitalist collapse, whereby all things "bourgeois" will suddenly cease and all things "proletarian" commence. The other is based on a gradual approach to Socialist control, through what might be called a nibbling process—of a little victory here and a little setback there. The one is so fatalistic that it is in danger of itself collapsing before the great Capitalist Colossus takes place. The other is so gradual that it rather progresses by moving backward. There is still a third line of thought and action, which will come more to the fore as the days go by—because it is based on THINGS AS THEY ARE, not as we would like them to be. It is the idea that we will bring about our own weakening of Capitalism, through Action, Action, Action, in the workers' ranks, and little where else; that we will never compromise in our goal, but will compromise in the phraseology we use, so that it will be understandable; that we proceed with no illusions of a Kingdom of Heaven around the corner in the form of a Socialist or Radical State; in order that we may never be disillusioned when our theories have triumphed; that we are part of the continued fight for peace and freedom which has gone on from the first dawn of man's existence, and will go on for quite a time ahead; that the next stage in that fight is the victory of the workers over their exploiters and their environment; that we will go forward in that fight, side by side with the workers ever, prepared for all eventualities, awed by none—facing the greatest Reaction with the greatest Ardor, because there is the most glorious battling there. Try that out, friends and comrades, and behold what headway the Workers' Cause will make.

Do We Need A Socialist Party?

By Emil Herman

AS one who has been a more or less active member of the Socialist Party since it was organized twenty-seven years ago I feel that I am qualified to participate in the discussion now running in The New Leader.

It is amusing to read the articles of ex-Socialists like Mr. Ghent and Mr. Russell. Summed up in one sentence the only thing that is wrong with the Socialist Party, according to them, is that we did not sacrifice Socialist principles during the war and that we fail to apologize for that correct position now. In this connection it would be interesting to know what John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Wm. English Walling, J. Stitt Wilson, Winfield Gaylord, H. H. Stallard and other such would have to say. I venture to say that they also would undertake to appease an accusing conscience by condemning "the mistaken policy of the Socialist Party during the war."

However, they have been sufficiently answered by the able reply of Upton Sinclair to W. J. Ghent.

What is more interesting and of greater significance is to have a Comrade like Nathan Fine advise us to abandon the political field and become a propaganda club. He asks that we do this by joining with others to "send out an invitation to groups and organizations in the United States interested in establishing a clean-cut, independent political party of the producers, with power in the hands of the organized farmers, trade unions and independent political organizations."

Regrets LaFollette Campaign In offering this advice he overlooks three important facts.

1. That we did that very thing when we entered the Conference For Progressive Political Action which culminated in the fiasco of our party endorsing a Republican for President and a Democrat for Vice-President in the campaign of 1924, and which was a big factor in depleting our ranks to the point where we are compelled to sit up, take notice and sincerely inquire as to "what is the matter with the Socialist Party."
2. That it is precisely the position of the "Communists" who, he says, "would be barred as representatives of any group whatever."
3. That the Non-Partisan League, the Farmer-Labor Party, The Progressive Party of Idaho, etc., were all attempts (sponsored by ex-Socialists) to do the thing he NOW proposes. All of these have either completely disappeared or are entirely impotent, thus leaving the field clear to the Socialist Party as the only labor party in the United States with none to challenge our claim except the im-

The "Progressive" Movements Of the Northwest

possible and decaying Workers' (Communist) Party.

In our emergency convention in 1917 there appeared a delegate by the name of Sheldon from North Dakota who was also an organizer for the Non-Partisan League. He called a caucus of sympathetic delegates in an effort to get an endorsement of the league by the convention, on the plea that it would be "a short cut to Socialism." He failed. It is noteworthy in this connection that John Spargo, at that time a member of our national executive committee, who had been sent into the northwest to investigate the Non-Partisan League of the league by the Socialist Party. In reporting to the convention he falsely stated that all the prominent Socialists in the northwest were in favor of the Non-Partisan League. When pressed by me to mention the name of any prominent Socialist in the State of Washington with whom he had conferred he gave the name of D. C. Coates of Spokane. Coates had two years previously been expelled from the Socialist Party and was at the time that Spargo conferred with him an organizer for the Non-Partisan League. He finally admitted that he had conferred, not with Socialist Party Leaders, but with promoters of the Non-Partisan League, most of whom were ex-members of the Socialist Party who, like many other good comrades, had become impatient for results and forgetting that "haste makes waste" organized the league to "get Socialism in our time."

Class Struggle Ignored With what result? They ignored the class struggle, soft pedaled on the Socialist proposition that to free society from class rule we must collectively own and democratically control all the socially necessary means of production and distribution, and made their main issue State-owned banks and State-owned elevators. They "captured" the nominations of the Republican party, took political control of the State of North Dakota and put over their program of State-owned banks and elevators. With what improvement of the conditions of the wage-workers? Absolutely none. The grain-producing capitalist farmers have achieved their purpose. The two Non-Partisan League-Republican Senators have made their peace with the old guard of the "Grand Old Party." The wage-workers have been left in the lurch, and the Non-Partisan League is past history.

The Farmer-Labor Party was a similar attempt to "get results in our time." It gained its greatest strength in Minnesota, where it succeeded in electing two United States Senators, one of whom still holds his seat. In spite of a rather big vote in the election of 1926 the Farmer-Labor Party in that State has since then officially disbanded, thus recognizing its impotence to put over its program of capitalist reform. Proving that a political party which advocates "a step at a time," without its leaders knowing to what goal they are stepping, is just a waste of time and effort, and (consciously or unconsciously) a betrayal of the workers' cause.

In Idaho the Progressive Party was so completely buried by an avalanche of votes for the Republican Party in the last election that the Democratic Party scorned to consider their offer of fusion.

In Washington the Farmer-Labor Party, which was almost swept into power in 1926, lost its standing as a party in the election of 1926. In 1926 it had the endorsement of the Workers' (Communist) Party, and polled only 3,437 votes for its single candidate. And, by the way, the Farmer-Labor Party in Washington was organized precisely on the plan NOW proposed by Comrade Fine. The Triple Alliance, consisting of the Railway Brotherhoods, the State Federation of Labor and the Farmers' Grange under the leadership of such ex-Socialists as J. C. Kennedy, Robert Oman, Homer T.

Bone, Phil Pearl and Martin Flysk, organized the Farmer-Labor Party, and the Locals of these Union and Farmer organizations paid dues to finance the Farmer-Labor Party. In spite of this the Farmer-Labor Party in Washington is absolutely dead and its "Socialist" (?) founders have gone.

Robert Oman (who was endorsed by the Conference for Progressive Political Action for Governor in 1924), Phil Pearl and Martin Flysk to the Republican Party, while J. C. Kennedy trains with the Communists, although he disclaims membership in their organization.

Obviously what is left of the Socialist Party will not build a party to represent the working class politically by repeating the mistakes of other so-called Socialists. We must look forward, not backward, for inspiration.

The Liquor Problem What, then, is needed to make the Socialist Party the political force that it ought to be and can be in the United States?

First—We must stop the Communist twaddle about the need of organizing a Labor Party, and recognize the fact that to be a Labor Party it must be a Socialist Party, and that therefore the Socialist Party IS the Labor Party in the United States.

Second—That we must revise our position on the liquor question to conform to the American concept of what is best for the whole people.

The great mass of the American working class have come to realize that

intoxicating liquor is for them an expensive and dangerous luxury with which they can easily dispense for their own and the common good; and especially is this true west of the Mississippi River, where 70 per cent of our population is American born.

Instead of favoring light wines and beer and proposing that the government go into the business of manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, we should work out and propose a plan by which the will of the American people, as expressed in the prohibition amendment to our Federal Constitution, can be enforced.

As a first step in this direction, I suggest the adoption of the resolution proposed by Local Palo Alto.

Third. Our party leadership must adopt a more wide-awake, optimistic and aggressive viewpoint and abandon the "penny-wise and dollar-foolish" policy which has discouraged the membership and brought us to near suicide.

The Decline in Minnesota Fourth. Organization work once started in an unorganized district must be pushed to completion instead of abandoned to the resources of a few comrades, as has been done in the Mountain States Organization District, Montana, Idaho, the Central States Organization District and the Northwest States Organization District.

I have had extensive experience in and am well acquainted with conditions in all of these States and districts—especially so in the latter two. It is entirely due to the negligence

BROOKLYN FURRIERS WIN SPLENDID VICTORY; COMPARISON IS MADE

A clean-cut victory has been won by the Brooklyn locals of the International Fur Workers' Union as a result of negotiations with the employers. Locals 2, 3 and 4 were involved in the dispute, which resulted in the workers winning equalization on work, a 40-hour week and substantial wage increases.

A flat increase of \$5 per week for each of the three classes of floor workers is fixed in the new contract. The three groups are to receive, respectively, \$55 for the first class, \$50 for the second class and \$45.50 for the third class. Increases for fashions and pluckers were settled in an itemized list.

The agreement on the question of hours stipulated that the working week is to consist of 40 hours and that there is to be no work on Saturday, excepting that some preparatory work for the succeeding week may be done to the extent of four hours, for which the workers are to be paid time and a half. The number of workers to be employed in this manner is to be fixed by arrangement between individual firms and shop delegates.

In trade union circles a comparison is being made between the results obtained by the Brooklyn furriers and the result of the 17-week strike last year of the N. Y. Furriers, who were led by Communists. The N. Y. Furriers failed to obtain the 40-hour week, agreeing to permit the workers to labor four hours on Saturdays for the usual rate of pay. Likewise, the Communists failed to win equalization of work, the most important demand. The Brooklyn furriers went to work systematically while negotiations were going on, building up a large reserve fund. The successful negotiations rendered a strike unnecessary.

An effort by the Communist N. Y. Joint board to "assist" the Brooklyn furriers was curtly refused.

BROOKLYN WORKERS CONSIDER STARTING CO-OPERATIVE STORE

A group of Scandinavian workers in Brooklyn have decided to organize a co-operative store in the Bay Ridge section of Brooklyn. A meeting of those interested was addressed by Mr. Molin, executive secretary of the Co-operative League in Sweden, and by Cedric Long, of the Co-operative League of America.

A committee which was elected met a few days later in the office of the Finnish Trading Association, 4301 8th Avenue, Brooklyn. It was suggested that a store dealing in food products, such as bakery goods, meats, groceries, etc., would be the best present venture. The best location was found to be between 68th and 39th Streets and between 3rd and 8th Avenues.

After the meeting 500 copies of a questionnaire were prepared. These were circulated to people in this section and are expected to be returned as soon as possible. When these are returned a mass meeting will be called to discuss further problems.

SHAPLEN TO TALK AT BRONX FORUM

"The Prospects of Socialism in America" will be discussed in a lecture Friday, Feb. 13, at 8:30 p. m., by Joseph Shaplen before the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx. Mr. Shaplen is a trained journalist, and travelled a great deal in various European countries during the past ten years, and kept close to the various Socialist parties there. The problems confronting American Socialists today are numerous and serious, and all seriously interested in the movement in the United States should put all other engagements aside so as to be present and contribute his or her views on this all important subject.



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Restore 8-Hour Day
AUSTIN, Texas.—The state senate has repealed that section of the eight-hour law for public works that permits employers to make an agreement to work beyond this limit.

Capitalism is committing suicide, and the present generation must save itself from the results thereof.—J. Whalley, British Labor M. P.

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The Worm Turns

I PROTEST, I protest with all the ardor of flaming male youth. I protest with every fiber of my soul. This persecution of helpless men has got to stop. You hear me? Stop!

Look at poor Charley Chaplin. Look at poor Daddy Browning. What does Lita want? What is this Peaches female after? Kale, kale, kale and nothing but kale.

A designing young she-devil, aided and abetted by a hard boiled mother, spots a love-hungry male with a bankroll the size of a sewer pipe, and goes after him like bloodhounds chasing a runaway Negro. They finally run him to ground and drag him to the altar. The nuptial knot is tied around his neck. The holy bonds of matrimony hold him hog-tied. He is theirs to have and to hold and to skin.

If these females were halfway decent, they would lure their victim up a dark alley, hit him over the head with a lead pipe and then rifle his pockets. Or take him to a cosy flat and then let the unexpectedly returning husband collect damages. But, no. There is more male in going through the regular performance, for marriage legalizes many things, including blackmail and obtaining money under false pretenses.

In due time the captive is hustled into court for the grand shakedown. With the aid of law buzzards, humorously called officers of the court, a plea is concocted that the wooing of the aforesaid sweet plaintiff had not been carried on in the manner prescribed by Harold B. Wright's love stories. Things had been said and done during the preliminaries to the main bout that don't look well in print. Perhaps when the dazed male had regained consciousness he thrashed about him and knocked the powder off a few noses. He's painted as a longeared donkey adorned with horns and spiked tail.

Diana, the huntress, appears in the role of baby lamb. She was seduced. She was betrayed. Her little heart was broken and nothing will make this parcel of damaged goods whole again but a million smackers or whatever the cruel philanthropist may possess in the nature of goods and chattels, real or prospective. For are these shrinking violets ever seduced by a freckled plow boy with a widowed mother and a mortgaged farm to support, or a horny handed dinner pail lugging proletarian? Banish the thought. Their victim is invariably an over matured gent in search of the fountain of youth, who, when he finds the fountain, is just as invariably soaked by it. So why should the courts go in to catch with blackmalles, legal badger game artists and saffron yellow journals to shake down poor devils who love longer than is wise.

The modern flapper is not the simpering simple-minded sweet innocent her grandmother was or professed to be. What she doesn't know about life in general and the male species in special could easily be hidden in the back of her shingled bob without creating the suspicion of a pimple in that locality. And when she clings, it is not with the tender tendrils of the clinging vine, but with the muscular equipment of the boa constrictor.

So I say something has got to be done to stop this looting of lovelies males. Somebody ought to organize a society for the prevention of cruelty to dumb brutes in pants. I did not raise my boy to be a drain pipe. I didn't tear my shirt for woman's suffrage to increase the suffering of men. I don't believe in the new double standard by which the female gets the golden game and the male the tarnished name.

Rally round the flag of revolt, boys. Now or never is the time, and assert our right guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence, where it says we are entitled to a square deal in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. We're not getting a square deal now. The Amazons are doing us with loaded dice and marked cards. Cupid is shooting with poisoned darts and harpoons. Male men of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your whiskers, and the only reason you may sport them still is because they stole your safety razors and place in the barber shop.

Another Anti-War Plea

Dear Uncle Sam:

Please don't let silent Cal and his man Ash Wednesday Kellogg bamboozle us into a war with Mexico or Nicaragua. I know we could lick them as easy as Dempsy could lick a creeping baby or even a whole nursery full of creeping babies, but I don't think Dempsy would want to hit creeping babies in the solar plexus. He wouldn't think it was quite sporty. Besides folks wouldn't like it if he went around hitting creeping babies in the solar plexus. They'd say he was a brute and a coward for hitting babies.

Well, Uncle, those little countries down south are just poor creeping babies. They throw fits and swallow buttons and suck their fingers and bawl at night. But just because babies are very much of a nuisance at times, no good Christian would drop hand grenades into babies' cradles or bombard a foundling home with batteries of 16-inch guns.

Besides, it isn't like these babies occupied the lower berth beneath our upper in the same Pullman. They are thousands and thousands of miles from us and it isn't quite gentlemanly or sensible to travel thousands of miles just to spank babies for keeping their next door neighbors awake.

So please, Uncle Dear, poke a few shovels of gravel in Kellogg's mouth to cure him of that war whooping cough of his. He's giving me a pain in the stomach and he's giving you the reputation of a cowardly bully and a pious pirate. I love you very much, Uncle Sam, and it would hurt me awfully to see you hated and despised by people who don't believe it would be nice in Dempsy to hit babies in the solar plexus.

Now, dear Uncle, please do your best to shut up Kellogg at your end and I will do my best at my end. In the meantime, goodbye, good luck and love to everybody.

Respectfully, your loving nephew,
Adam Coalcligger.

The Dead Democrat

The roar and rush of life sweeps on;
Still shines the sun as once it shone;
Men reap and sow and live and toil
And plan for power and scheme for spoil.
What reck's the world in field or street?
One heart has ceased to beat.

But she to whom in all the lands
The toilers stretch beseeching hands—
Democracy, the Soul of all,
Marks where her faithful servants fall.
They seek not things that others seek
Who battle for the weak.

Her yoke is heavy to be borne,
Her bitter paths are choked with thorn.
But glorious shines, through mist and haze,
The splendor of her coming days.
Our loftiest tribute shall be then,
"He served his fellow men."

—George Essex Evans.

The "Black International" Causes Decline Of Struggling Labor Movement of 80's

Chapter II
(Continued from Last Week.)

THE issue in the American Labor movement was now clearly drawn. In 1884 the struggle with the force advocates divided the Chicago trade unions into two warring bodies; one, the Central Labor Union having thirteen unions, and the other, the Amalgamated Trades and Labor Assembly, having nineteen. The first body maintained cordial relations with the "Black International" and by the end of 1888 it had the largest number of trade unions affiliated with it. In October of that year it adopted a resolution calling upon the working class to "arm itself" and concluded with the words, "Death to the foes of the human race." In November it entered into the eight-hour agitation. The strike at the McCormick Reaper Works occurred the following May, and as a result of a brutal assault on the strikers by the police a protest meeting was called for May 4 in Haymarket Square. A bomb was thrown by some person unknown, seven policemen were killed, some sixty people injured and a terrible reaction set in.

Meantime the effect of the "Pittsburgh Manifesto" on the Socialist Labor Party is interesting. The organization was reluctant to part with so many members and it tried a conciliatory policy in the hope of working out some methods of co-operation with them. Two months after the adoption of the manifesto some prominent members of the Socialist Labor Party wrote to the Chicago groups, stating that they could find hardly anything in that document "with which the Socialist Labor Party has not always agreed, except perhaps some obscure clauses of a reactionary coloring."

August Spies answered in behalf of the Chicago groups that the Socialist

'Whence This Communism?' By James Oneal

Labor Party should disband and its members should join the I. W. P. A. In the same month that this correspondence was exchanged the Socialist Labor Party met in national convention in Baltimore. The convention revealed that the organization had been almost completely shattered by the controversy.

Of the sixteen delegates that attended four came from Baltimore and ten from New York and vicinity. The Haymarket affair occurred three years later, yet the party was already prostrate. It was recovering two years later, for in 1885 thirty-three delegates, representing forty-two sections, were represented in the Cincinnati convention. The Baltimore convention made some concessions to its opponents by issuing a manifesto which declared, among other things, that the ruling classes would not surrender their privileges without force. But it also went on to differentiate the Socialist movement from the Anarchist movement. It drew a clear distinction between the two in the following statement:

"We do not share the folly of men who consider dynamite bombs as the best means of agitation; we know full well that a revolution must take place in the heads and in the industrial life of men before the working class can achieve lasting success." This declaration merely repeated what Marx contended for in the struggle with Bakounin in the First International, that social transformation must await the education of the masses and economic evolution. After the Haymarket tragedy, while the Socialists sympathized with its judicial victims, the

demarcation became still more marked between the advocates of force and those who favored education and political and economic organization.

If the First International lost prestige and declined because of the entrance of the force philosophy into its councils, the American Socialist organization also suffered. The Socialist Labor Party was not only weakened; it found it difficult and in many communities impossible to engage in educational work because of the reaction following the Haymarket tragedy. The eight-hour movement, then at its height, also subsided. The trade unions suffered big losses. The Knights of Labor had by this period become the leading organization of American Labor. The heavy losses it sustained from July, 1886, to July, 1887, is evident from the following figures of the decline in membership in some of the largest cities:

Philadelphia	40,262
Chicago	2,385
Boston	49,547
Baltimore	10,748
New York City	27,983
Newark	6,192
Lynn, Mass.	8,388
Portland, Me.	14,593
Hartford	8,326
Providence	9,777
Total loss in one year	178,372

The American Federation of Labor did not gain the members lost by the Knights of Labor. In 1886 it had less than 150,000 members and in 1887 a little over 160,000. The trade unions suffered in other ways. Employers' associations were organized in many

of the larger cities as well as nationally, the "open shop" being declared by them in many industrial centers. The Knights of Labor, the most powerful organization of that period, was the main object of attack. In 1886 it sent out an appeal for aid in which it mentioned employers' organizations that had refused to confer with unions in Georgia, Massachusetts, Delaware, Montana, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Mississippi. John Swinton wrote in "John Swinton's Paper," September 5, 1886, that "since May last many corporations and employers' associations have been resorting to all sorts of expedients to break up the labor organizations, whose strength has become so great within the past two or three years. Sometimes they attack them in the front, but more often on the flanks or in the rear. Sometimes they make an assault in force, and sometimes lay siege to the works; but more often they seek to carry their point by petty subterfuges that can be carried on for a long time without arousing resistance."

The blacklist and the employment of Pinkertons also became more common.

Members of labor organizations became intimidated because of a propaganda campaign against trade unions, Socialism and Anarchism. The lost frightened withdrew from the unions, some believing that either their organization or some influential members were identified with the advocacy of force, while others withdrew because they could not withstand the atmosphere of suspicion that accompanied membership in any political or economic organization of the workers. Years passed before passions cooled and the work of education and organization could be resumed. Anarchism itself disappeared. It was the first to fall a victim to the reaction which it had invited.

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

Scanning The New Books

Some Civilized Americans

By McAlister Coleman

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was born in Boston in 1706. Bright young advertising men for savings banks celebrate that fact by quoting liberally from the writings on thrift by "Poor Richard." The picture presented to American youth is that of a benign and elderly gentleman with a kite string with which he is extracting lightning from the skies and a note book in which he is inscribing moralistic utterances for the edification.

However, it is a quite different picture which Phillips Russell presents in his highly readable and unconventional "Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American" (Published by Brentanos, New York, price \$5.00).

Mr. Russell, who was a brilliant young newspaper man, puts Franklin among the first of our civilized countrymen. "Why does he call him so?" "Because at an American period element for narrowness, superstition, and bleak beliefs he was thoughtful, generous, open-minded, learned, tolerant, and humor-loving. Because he was the first American man of the world in the sense that he was the first American world-man."

As a matter of fact there were civilized men in all the colonies long before Franklin arrived on the American scene. These were of wide learning and interests, but they had none of the cosmopolitanism of Franklin and Rus-

sell does well to show us the Franklin in a fur cap among the powdered heads of the French court, embracing the dying Voltaire, Franklin corresponding with Madame Brillon, Franklin towards the end receiving the acclaim of poets and scientists, statesmen and philosophers from all the seven seas. Russell tells us that when he began to study the life of Franklin under the influence of the new biographers he believed that there was an inner Franklin, the springs of whose actions could be uncovered. He says that "the search was only partly successful and he is now convinced that either there was no inner Franklin, or that the outer Franklin so successfully covered and shielded the inner man by a host of external activities that any attempt to penetrate more than an ell below the surface of his life is and must be baffled." Just the same we have here a more complete picture of the real Franklin than has yet been presented.

Let the reader follow up this book with "Jefferson and Hamilton," by Claude G. Bowers (published by Houghton Mifflin Company, price \$5) and he will have a new insight into the personalities and events that conspired to launch the republic. If he uses A. M. Symon's "Social Forces in America" for background studies the history of the country takes on some semblance of reality.

Adult Education Today

THERE is workers' education, and it has promise. In the movement is something tremendously vital and dynamic by reason of its freshness, its spontaneity, its lack of commitment and its genuineness. There is also something tremendously significant in its as a social protest. Socially no less than culturally workers' education is one of the pregnant facts of our time. There is adult education. For whatever it may come to in the end, we have it. Something new has emerged in American life, something that cannot be understood without recognizing that it is entirely new. Adult education is not just the extension to the adult of the existing educational system. It is another form of education, to be judged as such.

In these words, Nathaniel Peffer sums up both his new book and his endorsement of the movement known as Adult Education. (N. Y., Macmillan.)

This book is an exhaustive encyclopedia of the subject. It is an authoritative bringing down to date of the character and history and scope of every agency working for adult education. It is a favorite contention of some leading spirits in the modernized educational field that sincere education for children along so-called "Modern School" lines cannot hope to become fact, or to follow very far along its own implications, until and unless the community from which such a school draws its pupils is, in fact, "sold to" the need and desirability of a new social order in the world. "Modern education," hitched to modern psychology, is dedicated squarely to "the

truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth"—and this principle is pretty hot stuff for the average American community to handle.

Here, in the future developments of adult education may be something of the means by which certain communities can be won over to "the truth at all costs"—and thus make possible a similar liberal education for their children. "A school," say these educators, "can rise no higher than its source—the community." Well, here, as spread before you in Mr. Peffer's book, is education at the source. And it is an astonishingly flourishing thing, one that can have no future direction but—forward!

Raymond Fuller.

The Aristocratic South

THE easy, peaceful life of the Southern aristocracy is most delightfully presented in Stark Young's "Heaven Trees" (Scribner's, \$2). While the book makes a certain pretense at telling a story, this is quite agreeably no more than a peg on which to hang what local color more pleasingly surrounds us with that sense of freedom, of gaiety, of lack of responsibility, of gentlemanly refinement (despite potations, which indeed, prove merely that the men could hold their drink like gentlemen; indeed, these are mainly spoken of as achievements of ancestral members of the kindly and more temperate family of the tale).

While we lose our own sense of responsibility, while we forget the social complications of slavery upon which this society was based, it is a most appealing society and life. Indeed, are

not the very slaves at Heaven Trees, so far as we can surmise their feelings, happier than most negroes—most white folk, too, for that matter—today? The impression of the perfection of the Southern atmosphere is heightened by the simple device of bringing a northern relative down from the cold and strict Vermont to the soft and kinder home in Heaven Trees, forty miles from Memphis. Of this Ellen, and of several others, the volume affords character sketches that are also pleasant; the whole volume catches the informal, friendly mood that must have made the worthless existence of the old Southern families about as pleasant as life anywhere can be. "Heaven Trees" is an idyll of this remote, irresponsible period when our standards did not hold.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Books About Books

IT is always a good idea to continue a book of theory with a volume of practice—if not several of the latter. Volumes of practice are too likely to remain mere theory. Here are an excellent pair. "Science and Poetry" is the contribution of I. A. Richards to the one dollar "New Science Series" that Norton & Co. is publishing. Mr. Richards brings to his subject one of the keenest minds that has lately been giving attention to literature from a more aesthetic standpoint; in "The Meaning of Meaning" and "The Foundations of Esthetics," he has collaborated, and in "Principles of Literary Criticism" has worked alone, on the correlation of science and art. Mr. Richards is thus well equipped to handle the present theme; and, although the brevity of the paper prevents great profundity or wide elaboration, several fundamental points are made, and more, suggestively indicated. The two perhaps least needed in general attitudes are that of the new outlook toward the world that science, in opposition to magic, is beginning to develop; and that of the relationship between the "truths" of poetry and the facts of science. In the term "poetry" as Croce (and, in most of this essay, Mr. Richards uses it), imaginative prose is included.

A sound handbook for the construction of imaginative prose is found in "Narrative Structure and Style," by Theodore Goodman, which Appleton issues (\$1.75). Developed from class room practice, this volume moves from the simplest elements, the image and the story, the gathering of materials, logically and by easy grades to the more complicated or more difficult features of story-writing, climax, the use of description, exposition and argument in narrative, the perplexing problem of introduction, and the most difficult matter of revision. Along the way is consideration of the single scene, before the fused development; and character and emotion are given their due—more than is usual—in contrast to and in harmony with plot. Two fundamental urgings animate the book, and give it much of its value: the insistence upon the full feeling of a situation before the writing; and the equal insistence on doing. Every thing to be learned, Mr. Goodman insists, must be written or clipped; new stories that have the germ of a plot; ideas that come from a passing inci-

dent, even the lists of synonyms, when one is beginning to employ them and to consult Roget. This emphasis on the doing, on the constant application of the writer, when combined with the sound advice as to how to proceed, makes Mr. Goodman's book one every apprentice writer will be glad to have studied.

William Lea.

Divided Loyalties

DUBOSE HEYWARD has gone down by the rails for the fashioning of American literature in his latest work, "Angel," but he nevertheless has produced an absorbing novel. We felt quite foolish for liking the thing, because we have taught that such matters as plot and sentences which will parse are distinctly not good form, but like it we did. We liked the big, clean hero from the mountains, the girl who was pure even in her fall, her tight-lipped minister father and her sniveling husband. After all, there does seem to be a charm about a story which has a beginning and an end and about a sentence which is comprehensible. Perhaps this liking for "Angel" is due in part to our having read too much lately of inarticulate persons with an itch for art.

There can be no doubt, however, that "Angel" is a distinctly inferior product to "Forsy." His first novel in which he portrayed the negro in a way no one has done before or since. If "Forsy" had not been written, Mr. Heyward could be called promising, but with that novel as a background we must report that he has slipped from the high pedestal he fashioned for himself. "Angel" has been done before and probably will be done again. It is the story of a North Carolina mountain girl, her love for a moonshiner with a heart of gold, their illegitimate child, her forced wedding to another and a final reunion with her first love played to an accompaniment of thunder and sudden death. All this is very ordinary stuff—stuff such as the "Trail of the Lonesome Pine" and a thousand movies has been fashioned.

But in between the mechanical gestures of his puppets, Mr. Heyward manages to insert some brilliant writing and moving situation. His description of a camp meeting and a village dance and the pictures of civilization in the shape of the railroad and the real estate agent coming to the mountains are particularly good. It probably is a bad novel, but we liked it.

Bert MacDonald.

Forget nationality; think only of humanity; princes and kings only have diverse interests; the people of all countries are friends.—Hugo.

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Say It With Statistics

A SPEAKER was telling an audience at a Socialist forum the other night about the development of the electrical industry in this country, about the amazing growth of a monopoly that bids fair to make the Standard Oil and the Steel Trust look like peanut vendors. He had a lot to say about super-power and Giant Power, about the shady methods of financing employed by the few big companies that are getting a grip on all this country's power sources, about the possibilities of a better sort of civilization for all of us if this monopoly is socialized.

When the time came for questions from the audience, a veteran Socialist arose to ask why the speaker had selected such a subject. Why, asked the questioner, should Socialists bother their heads about such complicated matters as high power transmission lines, dynamos and the power of falling waters? Of what concern to us are the intricacies of holding companies, non-voting stock, investment costs and valuations of public utilities? When Socialism comes, the speaker insisted, all this elaborate and highly artificial structure will be leveled. The thing to do is to go out and preach the gospel of Socialism, emphasize its philosophical bases, recall to the people its glorious history. Never mind about the new problems of industry. Let's go back to the fundamentals.

There were nods of approval from the old-timers when the veteran was finished. But in the back of the room a young engineer was on his feet in defense of the original speaker. This, said the engineer, was the stuff we needed, the cold facts about the hot spots in current American life. We must have the straight dope, learn all we can about the hidden ways of modern business enterprise, the involved methods of latter-day industry. We can go to the people with these facts, show them how they apply to every-day living, and, in turn, apply our Socialist formula to them. We should welcome technical discussions, feet-on-the-ground approaches to all such matters as electrical development, vertical trusts, mass-production and the like. He for his part had had enough of the philosophical "knibblers" who always had their heads turned to the past. Socialism, in his opinion, was too high an adventure, too profound a philosophy if you liked, to be forever checked by the dead hand of tradition.

And there in a way are the two approaches which most of the writers who have contributed to The New Leader's "Problems of American Socialism," have taken. On the one hand we find those who insist that we must get back to the "fundamentals," on the other those who would study the new techniques. The latter take for their slogan the old saying to the effect that it is more valuable to know about your enemy's behaviors and ways of thinking than to know about the number of his troops and cannons. They insist that this is no time for vague denunciations of capitalism. Attacks to be effective, nowadays, must have a supply of factual ammunition combined with expert knowledge of capitalism's new psychology and tactics, an understanding of the forces that are everywhere at work behind the American scene.

To this younger and more curious-minded group it is of more importance to know what Gerard Swope of the General Electric has in mind for the next step in the consolidation of power companies or the further development of company unions than it is to argue over the fine points of the row between Bakounin and Marx.

Now I hope that I will not be denounced as a bumptious young upstart by all the old-timers for the above. I am not taking sides one way or the other. I am simply calling attention to an interesting, and, to my mind, significant, difference of opinion about tactics and strategy that is being threshed out everywhere these days. I think that such a discussion is all to the good. It may very well result in some sort of synthesis that will give us a formula of immediate application to the needs of 1927, while still holding the philosophical fires of, shall we say, 1917?

It is, of course, hopelessly old-fashioned to blame any particular individuals for the rotten mess we are all in today. But it is also human to have pet hates. I am human enough to feel a swift pain every time I see the name or picture of John D. Rockefeller in the papers. Apparently, as I pointed out a year ago, we are in the midst of a Rockefeller Renaissance. The bald-headed old scoundrel is being daily presented as a sort of benevolent buddy who goes about making wise cracks and handing out shiny, bright dimes to radiant golf caddies. Whenever news slackens a bit some reporter comes through with a story of John's score for eight holes of golf, which, by the way, is nothing to dance in the streets about, or tells how lovely it is to see the hoary hold-up man at his morning prayers. The idea seems to be that he is too old now to do much more dirt and that it's best to let bygones be bygones and give the old man a hand for the charities which his plunder supports. There's many a lifer up at Sing Sing who would gladly applaud this philosophy and suggest that those who hold it apply it to old age behind the bars as well as to old age that is outside but should be in.

Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, John D.'s pet pulpitier, comes out with the proposition to establish the Roman Catholic Confessional in the Protestant churches of America. I wonder if, this so-called "Modernist" realizes just what he is letting himself in for. Think of the time he will have to spend listening to the confessions of his Boss, if John D. ever decides to "bare all." It took us two weeks to read Ida Tarbell's two volume history of the Standard Oil, which debunks just a few of the sins committed by the venerable pirate. Of course Ida didn't tell the half of it. If Rockefeller should ever decide to come through with the whole story Harry will have to put in two shifts for seven days a week just getting an earful. This will cut seriously into the preparation of sermons on "Adventurous Religion," sermons that are about as adventurous as a trip to Staten Island on a coal barge.

See you at The New Leader's dinner tomorrow (Friday) night. You know the place—the Carlton, 6 West 111th Street, and the time is 7 p. m.
McAlister Coleman.

Socialism

I tell you this for a wonder, that no man shall then be glad
Of his fellow's fall and mishap to snatch at the work he had.

Then all mine and all thine shall be ours, and no more shall any man crave
For riches that serve for nothing but to fetter a friend for a slave.

For all these shall be ours and all men's, nor shall any lack a share
Of the toil and the gain of living, in the days when the world grows fair.

—William Morris.

Charleston, W. Va., Laborites Plan Union Boosting Drive; Get-Together Humanizes

The Field of Labor

THINGS are stirring in the labor movement centering around Charleston, West Virginia, as the unions are closing ranks and planning an offensive campaign. Starting with a suggestion of the Women's Union Label League, a big sociable was recently held at the local Labor Temple in which the Kanawha Valley Central Council participated. Following this affair a joint conference took place among the officers and delegates of the central body, the Building Trades Council and the local unions.

The sociable—which was free to all—was marked not only by entertainment and refreshments but also by speeches from union representatives. The leading address was made by State Labor Commissioner Howard S. Jarrett, in which he discussed proposed legislation for the protection of women workers and the safeguarding of life, limb and health of the workers. C. L. Jarrett, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, also spoke. Mrs. Jarrett, president of the Woman's Union Label League, acted as toastmistress. The success of the evening spoke well for those who planned the occasion on the theory that the labor movement can stand a little humanization.

The conference of labor leaders could not complete their work at one session and reconvened the following evening. A special committee was appointed to carry on further activities. The program presented by the Central Labor Union will be the basis of the Labor Forward Movement. Its provisions explain the status of the labor movement in Charleston, West Virginia, and vicinity.

Publicity.—Outlining plans to secure the greatest publicity possible of the aims and objects of organized labor, and placing the facts before the people of the controversies in which labor is now involved with the local "open" shop adherents and the general exposure of the so-called "open" shop in industry.

Education.—Devising methods of reaching the members of organized labor with educational matter and impressing the necessity of their support in this campaign and the unity of action of the membership and the unions to bring success and more power to the local labor movement during industrial struggles and to safeguard the unions in time of peace. Also to create a better understanding of labor's mission among the general public.

Building Industry.—Draft effective measures to wage a more aggressive fight against non-union contractors and the "open" shop and exert a greater influence over the workers engaged in this class of work and of reaching those who let contracts to the so-called "open" shop contractors.

Mail and Gazette.—Perfect a definite program to wage a persistent warfare on these two unfair newspapers in conjunction with the typographical union. Commercial Enterprises.—Prepare general propositions to present the commercial enterprises of the city as to the benefits and advantages to be secured for the general welfare of the community by giving more consideration to the organizations of union labor.

Patronage as a Weapon.—Arousing the workers as to the use of their purchasing power to the best advantage and centralizing the same among the fair concerns of the city.

Labels and Cards.—To create a general demand of all members and their friends for union labels upon their purchases and of union cards of men and women who perform work for them and the insistence of union house cards in restaurants and shop cards in barber shops that they patronize.

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STATE FUND BILL IN N. Y. LEGISLATURE

The drive for state insurance funds is being made by organized labor throughout the country. The disgust with the prevailing compensation laws, which result in delayed and unsatisfactory settlements, has become deep-rooted. Wherever the state fund system has been introduced it has brought in improvements. An Exclusive Workmen's Compensation State Insurance Fund bill is now being sponsored by the New York State Federation of Labor through Senator Bernard Downing and Assemblyman F. L. Hackenburg. The bill eliminates the private company altogether. Say the introducers of the measure:

"Our proposed bill represents one of the most fundamental and perhaps the most important of the demands of organized labor.

"If compensation is to be effective as a social agency, it must necessarily become bad business; private insurance companies thwart its development for business reasons, to save expense and to keep down the cost; the result is that we miss the real purpose of workmen's compensation. A state monopoly will make it a social agency. At the present it is a competitive business run from a desire for profits.

"The cost of compensation insurance to the public under the Exclusive State Fund would be regulated by the cost of service, not by the necessity for paying commissions and dividends."

A few years ago such talk would have been condemned as socialistic, and maybe it is.

REORGANIZATION FOR SMELTERS' UNION

Sometime ago we had occasion to mention the difficulties that democracy in the trade unions may sometimes encounter because of financial obstacles. We referred to an anonymous organization that had not held a convention in six years because the president claimed that there was a shortage of funds to pay the delegates' expenses. That union was the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, formerly the Western Federation of Miners. The president was Charles H. Moyer, made famous by the Haywood-Pettibone-Moyer episode that grew out of the murder of Governor Steunenberg of Idaho during the Coeur d'Alene strike. The opponents of Moyer's administration claimed there was a lack of funds because the pay-roll had been swollen. Four locals, totaling four thousand members, were about to withdraw in protest. The American Federation of Labor decided to investigate and designated Paul J. Smith to go into the situation. The latter discovered among other things that the organization was twenty-two thousand dollars in debt, chiefly on salary accounts. He recommended that Moyer, vice-president Edward Crough, and board members William Davidson and John Turney resign. This they did and the recently elected secretary, Edward E. Sweeney, has issued a call for a convention. Thus another labor veteran passes from the scene.—L. S.

Idle Workers in Arizona
MIAMI, Ariz.—Organized labor is protesting against flooding this state with workers seeking employment on the Coolidge dam. Contractors advertise "Lots of work and big pay." Actual construction work has not started and job seekers are coming here every day.

The true social objective is the full development of all human capacity, and only the conscious pursuit of this end can recreate industrial life on a broader and fuller basis, providing space for beauty and time for leisure.—Stephen Foy.

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Machinists Endorse Socialism in 1903; Broader Industrial Jurisdiction

WE have already noted the dawn of recognition by the machinists of the decline of his skill as a sufficient factor in maintaining his bargaining power. The influx of inventions after the Civil War brought into existence the specialist or handyman. Upon whom the expert old timer at first looked with disdain, but whom he gradually came to admit was his potential competitor under ordinary circumstances and an actual one in time of strikes. The active members of the Machinists' Union were intelligent enough to know that economic conditions no longer warranted a bloated craft pride. Little by little, the organization lowered the barriers that repulsed the handyman. In 1903 the constitution was changed to admit into membership "any person working in a machine shop and engaged in any manner with the making and repairing of machinery . . . provided he receives the minimum rate of wages of his class in his locality." Previously no reference to different grades of skill had existed. In 1905 the word "person" was changed to "machinist" again and a little later the doors were specifically opened to women.

Socialism Endorsed
The transformation of their industry lead the machinists to analyze the economic structure of society. They noted certain tendencies at work. They saw the conflict between labor and capital. The barrage of injunctions against them during 1901 and 1902 convinced them of the alliance of government with the employing class. In short, socialism began to take hold of the machinists. At the Milwaukee convention of 1903 no contradictory voice was raised in sessions remarkable for their fullness of discussion when the committee on law recommended the insertion of a clause in the preamble of the constitution, which endorsed Socialism in these words:

"And believing that organization based on sound principles as to the widest use of our citizenship based upon the class struggle upon both economic and political lines, with a view to restore the commonwealth of our governments to the people and using the natural resources, means of production and distribution for the benefit of all the people."

The "Go Slow" Theory
An effort was made to commit the union more specifically by urging the adoption of a resolution recommending "the Socialist party . . . to our membership as the only means of rightly expressing our political activity" and providing for a referendum vote on the question "Shall the International Association of Machinists endorse and pledge support to the Socialist Party of America?" The Socialist delegates and those favoring a Union Labor Party both disapproved of this action as defeating their own ends. They were afraid of advancing too fast, of "going too far." The resolution was tabled. Similar action was taken on a motion to instruct the delegates of the I. A. M. to the A. F. of L. convention "to do all in their power to advance the great cause of Socialism in said convention." As one delegate expressed it, "he preferred to see Socialism administered in sugar-coated pills, homeopathic doses, only a little at a time." Commenting on these developments the official journal remarked sagaciously:

"The old-time machinist who prided himself upon his all-round skill and ability, will undoubtedly feel a pang of sadness to realize that the completeness of ability which gave him so much satisfaction, has slipped away unheeded and unsung, while the young specialist, upon whom he looked with contempt a short year ago, is now his equal in the economic struggle. Another epoch is marked. We now recognize that there is such a thing as a CLASS STRUGGLE. In doing this the International Association of Machinists takes a step greatly in advance of other labor organizations. The members will in the future—if they follow the advance and believe in the tenets of the organization of which they form a part—VOTE for men from their own class, pledged, tried and proven to and in the class conscious struggle." (Capitals in original.)

The clause identifying the International Association of Machinists with socialism met with the consent of the membership, expressed in a referendum vote.

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dum vote. The section still finds a place in the I. A. M. laws. It helps to explain in no small way the prominent position taken by the union in recent years in forwarding independent political action and subsequently supporting the LaFollette campaign.

Bicycle Workers Absorbed

The liberalization of the admission clause in the platform of the I. A. M. was only part of a general program to tighten the control of the union on the industry in which it functioned by extending jurisdiction over all those doing machinists' work. In this purpose the organization was thwarted by the existence of other unions with claims of their own. The International Association of Bicycle Workers was taken care of by absorbing it in 1899. It was not so easy to dispose of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Allied Metal Mechanics. The A. S. E., consisting of about two thousand members, including patternmakers and blacksmiths, was the American branch of the trade union of that name in England. It was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There were many occasions when the relations between the I. A. M. and the A. S. E. were strained, although when the latter made their big fight for the eight-hour day in 1897-98 their American fellow-craftsmen contributed liberally. When the I. A. M. made an agreement with a manufacturer, it would do so for its own union men, but the Amalgamated members considered themselves good unionists, too. Thus a contract was signed with a bicycle firm in Toronto, Canada, calling for the use of the union label. The machinists employed were found to be A. S. E. members, and the I. A. M. refused to furnish the label, an attitude which the Englishmen resented.

At times an open break between the two bodies was imminent. At the 1900 convention of the American Federation of Labor the delegates of the A. S. E. charged that the members of the I. A. M. refused to work on the same jobs with those of the English union. The American organization took up the offensive by joining with the Patternmakers and the Blacksmiths in demanding the revocation of the charter of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. Early in 1901 the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. deferred action on this request until it communicated with the A. S. E., which was about to hold its convention, asking that body to modify its constitution "so as to permit its members in the United States and Canada to hold membership in the respective unions of their crafts throughout North America, and being subject to the laws of the American unions, thereby continuing its members' benefits in the Amalgamated Society, as well as eliminating the contention now existing here on the subjects of discipline, strike pay, hours of labor, wages and general management." The A. S. E. did not warm up to this suggestion. The friction continued. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. revoked the charter of the English union in 1902, as it had threatened to do, and the convention that year endorsed this move.

Retribution by A. S. E.

The embittered members of the A. S. E. now indulged in what the I. A. M. practically characterized as official scabbing. In Chicago the Amalgamated offered to supply sufficient men to the labor-hating Allis-Chalmers Company in the midst of the bitter struggle which the I. A. M. was waging against that firm. At Kingston, Ontario, the importation of A. S. E. men helped to delay a settlement during the prolonged strike at the Kingston Locomotive Works. Suspended and expelled members of the American union were offered special inducements to join the Society.

Finally, conditions came to such a point that an agreement was drawn up in 1904 between the two organizations which granted each other recognition, provided for joint action in case of strikes and forbade the admission of delinquent members of one union into the other. Negotiations continued thereafter, the I. A. M. being particularly incensed at the employment of A. S. E. members at the Kingston locomotive Works and the E. Leonard & Sons Works at London, Ontario. In 1905 the General Executive Board of the I. A. M. delegated Bell Hardy of Calgary, Canada, to carry out on a mission to England with the hope of inducing the A. S. E. to grant the I. A. M. jurisdiction over the machinists in the former. The question of adjusting beneficiary features brought these efforts to naught. After that the two organizations went on their respective ways until within recent years the I. A. M. absorbed the American branch of what had become the Amalgamated Engineers' Union.

Allied Metal Mechanics Join
The dispute with the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics had a speedier solution. Through the efforts of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. a conference was held between the representatives of the two unions. Here it was agreed that the Allied Metal Mechanics would issue a call for a constitutional convention at which a delegation of the I. A. M. would be present for the purpose of effecting a working agreement between the two organizations. After some difficulties an arrangement was made providing for amalgamation. This took effect on November 1, 1904. Sixty-five lodges were added to the roll of the

I. A. M. with a total membership of 3,071.

Federation of Metal Trades

During this entire period strenuous efforts were being made by the International Association of Machinists through its president, James O'Connell, who took a particular interest in this activity, to bring about some sort of federation of the metal trades unions. It had borne in upon the machinists that an alliance with allied crafts was necessary, for many difficulties had been created in the past by the separatism of the various unions. Persistent efforts to whip into proper shape a Metal Trades Federation, founded in 1900 had not been very successful. Some local metal trades councils had been founded in various cities. Finally, the efforts of O'Connell were crowned with success. At a meeting held in Cincinnati, June 15, 1905 an organization was formed to be known as the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor to which eleven international unions subscribed immediately. O'Connell appropriately enough was elected president of the new body, a position which he has retained to the present day.

ANTI-STRIKE THEORY IS AGAIN REJECTED

AUSTIN, Texas.—The court of Criminal appeals has refused the state's request for a rehearing of the court's decision that the "open port" law is unconstitutional.

The law is an anti-strike act, and was passed by the legislature in 1920, following Governor Hobby's urgent appeal, at a time when Governor Allen was "solving" industrial disputes by jailing strikers in Kansas.

In rejecting the Texas law, the court of criminal appeals said: "The preservation of the peace is a function of government to be maintained by the agencies of the government; that is, the peace officers and the militia, under control of the government and under the legal restrictions which the law prescribes, and this function of government ought not, at least in the absence of very definite safeguards not found in the act in question, be delegated to the controllers of private industries."

METAL MINERS UNITE; ADJUST OLD DISPUTES

ST. PAUL, Minn.—A reorganization convention of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers resulted in the election of a new corps of officers and the adoption of a constitution that will be submitted to the referendum. Charles H. Moyer, veteran trade unionist, who has been in ill health for several years, resigned as president. He is succeeded by James R. Rankin of Butte. Edward E. Sweeney, also of Butte, was chosen secretary-treasurer. Paul J. Smith, A. F. of L. representative, aided the metal miners in harmonizing various elements.

The union was formerly known as the Western Federation of Miners. These workers have suffered from the ruthlessness of employers and the "wild man" methods of the I. W. W. and political revolutionists.

So long as society is founded on injustice, the function of the laws will be to defend and sustain injustice. And the more unjust they are the more respectable they will seem. Observe, also, that being ancient for the most part, they do not represent altogether present iniquity, but a past iniquity—rougher and more brutal. They are monuments of barbarous times which have survived to a gentler period.—Anatole France.

Socialism does not propose to pass a law providing that "it is hereby enacted that all men shall be good. But it does propose to change the environment of men so that it will be no longer necessary for them to do wrong, so that it will be easy for them to do right and hard for them to do wrong. It is perfectly evident that under such circumstances men will become morally better.—John M. Work.

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40,000 Black Africans Join the International Federation in Honduras

Labor Doings Abroad

Forty thousand black African workers were added to the some 14,000,000 men and women belonging to organizations affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions when the General Council of the I. F. T. U., at a meeting held in Amsterdam, Jan. 12-14, voted to approve the admission of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa. At the same meeting the admission of the Argentine Federation of Labor, 82,000 strong, and of the Lithuanian Federation of Labor, numbering 17,000, was approved.

The admission of the South African organization was conditional upon its willingness to join any national labor body in that country that would look after both black and white workers. That this condition is right in line with the aspirations of the leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union is evident from the sentiments against racial division of the workers expressed at the last convention of that organization, held in Johannesburg, last April. In admitting the black South Africans, the General Council pointed out that the South African industrial Federation, the small trade union of white workers that used to belong to the I. F. T. U., had been dropped from the rolls, as it had given no signs of life for some years.

In this connection it may be noted that, although the unions of white workers in South Africa were hard hit by the unsuccessful general strike in the gold fields in 1922, the delegates to the last convention of the South African Trade Unions Congress, held in Johannesburg, April, 1926, claimed to represent more than 20,000 organized workers. At this convention resolutions were adopted condemning the Government for its interference with the activities of the black African workers' union. Traces of the old Communist influence in the South African unions were found in the convention's declaration that it did not care to affiliate with either the Amsterdam or Moscow Internationals, but would join the unity movement being promoted by some of the British labor leaders.

On the other hand, despite the attempts by the frightened South African authorities to brand Clements Kadane and his fellow leaders of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union as wild-eyed Bolsheviks in the pay of Moscow, their organization showed its sense of reality by applying for admission to the I. F. T. U. The program of the black workers which so scares the white exploiters merely calls for racial and economic equality and for the political and industrial defense of the interests of both black and white workers. The I. C. W. U. S. A. was founded in 1919.

Other business transacted by the General Council of the I. F. T. U. at its Amsterdam meeting included the laying down of the agenda for the next congress of the International, which is to open in Paris on Aug. 6, 1927; the ordering of the sending of a protest to the reactionary Lithuanian Government against its persecution of organized labor, together with a request that the International Labor Office of the League of Nations look into conditions in that country; the making of plans for helping the suppressed Italian labor unions and the adoption of a resolution pointing out that although the visit of European labor leaders to Mexico last fall under the guidance of Secretary John W. Brown, of the I. F. T. U., had been unofficial, it had never been disapproved of by the International.

Also, as reported at the time by cable, the General Council rejected a British motion for the calling of an unconditional conference with representatives of the Russian trade unions and adopted a resolution assuring the Mexican people of the support of the International in its resistance of foreign aggression.

The council meeting was attended by A. A. Purcell and George Hicks, Great Britain; Leon Jouhaux, France; C. Mertens, Belgium; Th. Lelapart and F. Grassmann, Germany; R. Stenhuus, Holland; E. L. Caballero, Spain; Karl Duerz, Switzerland; E. Tsyler, Czechoslovakia; C. F. Madson, Denmark; Z. Zulawski, Poland; Biuzzi, Italy; Johann Sassenbach, Jan Cuzeest and John W. Brown, the secretaries of the I. F. T. U., and Edo Fimmen and G. J. A. Smit, Jr., representing the International Secretaries of the Transport Workers and the Clerical Workers, respectively.

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RAISING the slogan of "no further exploitation of our brothers, either by employers from abroad or at home," the many scattered labor unions in Honduras have met in convention at La Ceiba and have established the Honduran Federation of Labor. Solidarity of the workers in one federation within the republic, and affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor on the outside, were the decisions announced when the 150 delegates adjourned.

Honduras is a northerly neighbor of Nicaragua, whose labor movement was inspired by the success of the Mexican Regional Federation of Labor. As in Nicaragua the labor federation became the backbone of resistance to Wall Street imperialism, so in Honduras it is anticipated that the same general conditions as to foreign financial domination will bring about the same activity by the unions.

In the formal report of this Honduran labor congress, received at Washington headquarters of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, the president of the congress stated that for three days the delegates discussed every problem of their industrial and political and social condition. He added that their determination to form a single central authority and to affiliate with the P. A. F. of L. was due to their desire to preserve international peace and their refusal to accept unlimited exploitation.

When it is recalled that Honduras challenged the treaty by which Chamorro as president of Nicaragua granted to the United States a canal route and a naval base on Fonseca Bay—on which bay Honduras faces the Nicaraguan coast—the birth of this labor federation at La Ceiba cannot be considered as good news for Secretary of State Kellogg. It means one more step toward the creation of a Latin American league of labor, hostile to American imperialism and friendly to the ideals and program of the Mexican revolution. It strengthens the voice of the Pan-American labor movement in its frequent protests to the State Department, the White House, and to Congress, against the use of armed forces of the United States to force new debts and new taxation and worse industrial conditions upon the peoples of Latin America.

SEES NO LABOR ADVANCE IN INDIAN NATIONALISM

That the Nationalist movement in India is dominated by business men and priests and is not particularly interested in the condition of the laboring masses of the country, is the conclusion reached by F. J. Furtwangler, a German labor writer.

Describing in the Berlin Vorwärts a convention of the Indian Nationalist movement he attended in Bombay, Furtwangler notes that the big festival hall was crowded with Brahmins in full regalia, showing on their foreheads the red or yellow mark of the different categories of the priesthood. Apparently there were no actual representatives of the workers.

In calling for the liberation of India, many of the delegates hurled charges of oppression at the British rulers, but the German observer felt that this assembly of Indian business men and priests was merely expressing its nationalist aspirations in the terms of profits for Indians rather than for Englishmen. One richly dressed Indian capitalist told the visiting German and British labor men that they must not object too much to the filthy living conditions of the Indian workers, as the natives were used to it.

The German writer concludes by asserting that about the only thing promising hope for the masses of the workers in India at present is the fact that many university students are working hard with the union labor movement.

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Helping the Good Work Along

JOS. L. SUGAR, the organizer of the Hungarian branch, joined our growing army of subscription hustlers by taking advantage of our special offer to branches for yearly subscriptions to new readers at half price. He starts with a list of ten and, judging from his past record of successful work in organizing a thriving Hungarian branch, we feel confident that before long he will have a new list for us. In this he does not stand alone this week. Dr. Van Essen of Pittsburgh has promised us a list of subscribers. Pittsburgh has a reputation of doing things on a big scale and we look forward that Comrade Dr. Van Essen will enlist in this work the active comrades in Pittsburgh, so that it may, before long, again hold the record, outside of New York City, of having the largest number of New Leader readers.

STELTON MODERN SCHOOL TO HOLD 3-DAY BAZAAR

Our special offer to accept a renewal and two new subscriptions for \$4.00 instead of \$6.00 is meeting with enthusiastic response and the number of friends to take advantage of it is steadily growing. We can mention among others the following who this week added each two new subscribers with their own renewals: Mrs. Frank Rice, Zionsville, Pa.; Michael Savignano, North Bergen, N. J.; W. A. Hall, Williamsport, Pa.; A. V. Brandon, Bronx; E. J. Beutell, Woodbridge, N. J.; Dr. J. Van Essen, Pittsburgh, Pa.; and A. W. Newman, Newark, N. J.

Louis Frier of Brooklyn brought in three renewals this week, so did A. C. Gault of Sharnburg, Pa., and M. B. Heister of Buffalo. Important as it is to get new readers, it is equally as important to obtain renewals from subscriptions which are about to expire. Comrade A. W. Newman of Newark, N. J., realizing the importance of this work, undertook the task to look after all expired subscriptions in Essex County, N. J. W. E. Ammon of Philadelphia, W. V., is getting a bundle of The New Leader every week, and he expects to continue introducing it to prospective readers, with a view of making subscribers. W. D. Altman of Butler, Pa., renews his bundle order for another three months. Comrade Altman has been getting a bundle every week since The New Leader was established and is always using every opportunity to gain new readers.

With his renewal, Comrade Gen. Varney of Montague City, Mass., sends us the following letter, which ought to make some of our comrades sit up and take notice:

"Enclosed find money order, \$2.00, for my sub. to The New Leader. I had hoped to send along a new subscriber to The New Leader with my renewal, and hope to later. I have met a young man with more than usual intelligence, to whom I gave a copy of the Leader. I shall see him again soon and suggest that he could get his sub. for one dollar by getting another to subscribe with him. I hope your special offer will allow me to make this proposal to him."

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Amusements

Genius Genuinely Caught

"Lally" an Entertaining Study at the Greenwich Village

SUPERLATIVES are so easy to sling about that carefully chosen terms seem often weak; and I would not wish to seem lukewarm in commending so sincere and so successful an effort as "Lally," a comedy of the moods and moments of genius, by Henry Stillman, now at the Greenwich Village Theatre.

Lally, of course, is an eccentric man, for genius refuses to be tied to a parlor set and an office; he is a composer, a creator. Along life's journey he has created a household of children; these grow as the unmothered offspring of genius might be expected to grow. Remember that genius is, among the twenty-two hundred and four definitions offered, a capacity for seeing things straight; the children are flippant, flagrant or flagging; but they see, and they move—especially Patricia Barclay, as young Isolda. Somehow there is a pathos through it all.

Lally himself is as selfish as most geniuses are generally supposed to be; and those closest to him love him despite his cruelty and unconcern, knowing that "underneath his hurting them is a deep love." Yet Mr. Stillman makes this man both real and vigorously endowed with humor and tenderness and power—even physical power, as the brief but decisive moment of fencing shows; and he brings into the life of the composer the woman who, without withholding her body nor yet bending to grant, forces Lally to face the fact that he has, in all his work, done nothing truly out of himself. Forever he has wrung the souls of others, of his children and his mistresses, of his "inspiration," into his work; he will not be truly great.

Judith tells him, until out of his lonely anguish he arises to heights of creation. In her own torment, she leaves him, and in his despair at losing the woman he has most deeply loved, Lally rises to the new peaks of his self-welling gift.

The implications of the play are perhaps false, in their assumption that a writer's joy is any less his own than his sorrow, that love is more derivative than despair. But the play has a power beyond its intellectual depth, in the vitality of the main character, and in the vivid gallery of interesting figures with whom Lally is surrounded. The comments of the various characters are frequently trenchant in their criticism of various phases of life; the parts are quite well acted, and the play is one every intelligent theatregoer will be glad to see.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

Rand School Theatre

Party, Wed., Feb. 15

If you have read the reviews on Maxwell Anderson's new play "Saturday's Children," you will surely want to see it. Come to the theatre party arranged by the Women's Committee of the Rand School of Social Science for the benefit of scholarships, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 15, at the Booth Theatre, 222 West 45th street.

Those who are theatre-goers and would enjoy a play of the better sort should be part of the one large family which will occupy the Booth Theatre, Wednesday, Feb. 15.

Eleanor Rogers will give an operatic song recital at Aeolian Hall on the evening of February 12th.

Notes of the Theatre

"Bringing Up Sonny," by William J. Pearlman, is announced for spring production at the Mayfair Theatre.

"Broadway," published by George H. Doran & Co., will be on sale in book form today.

Harry Hershfield will be the guest of honor at an open meeting of the Jewish Theatrical Guild, which will be held next Tuesday night at the Bijou Theatre. Rabbi Jacob Sunderling, Sam Bernard and Joe Laurie, Jr., will speak.

Matheson Lang ends his engagement in "The Wandering Jew" at the Cosmopolitan Theatre on Saturday night.

"The High Hatters," a farce-comedy by Louis Sobel, is announced for production, by Lee Kugel. The cast includes Marjorie Wood, Grant Mills, Frank Marshall and Gilbert Douglas.

The next production of Actors' Theatre will probably be "Mariners," by Clemence Dane.

Donald MacDonald has been engaged for "Get Me in the Movies," which Laura D. Wilk is producing. Charlton Andrews is the author.

"Charm," produced here early last season, will reopen in Boston on Feb. 21. Minnie Dupree will have the leading role.

Lester Lonergan will leave New York today for a two months' stay in California.

The cast of "A Woman in the House," which will have Louis Mann and Clara Lipman in its principal parts, will also include Franklyn Farnum, Marion Stokes, Mary Loane, Robert Williams, Marie Relchert and Jean La Monte. The play will open out of town in two weeks.

There will be an extra matinee of "The Devil in the Cheese" at the Charles Hopkins Theatre on Wednesday of next week. Matinees are customarily on Fridays and Saturdays.

Chaliapin's Own Opera

Basso Returns a Director and Star in Rossini's "Barber of Seville"

THE BARBER OF SEVILLE—Opera in three acts. Book in Italian by Cesare Sternini from the French comedy of Beaumarchais. Music by Gioacchino Rossini. At the Mecca Temple Auditorium.

Dr. Bartolo.....Giuseppe la Puma
Rosina.....Margaret Kobbe
Figaro.....Giorgio Durando
Don Basilio.....Fedor Chaliapin
Florestano.....Giacomo Lucchini
Berta.....Anna Lisetzaya
Notary.....Michael Voljanin
Ambrogio.....Piotr Kozloff
Conductor, Eugene Plotnikov.

The great Chaliapin revealed one more facet of the brilliant gem that is his art when he brought to the Mecca Temple for three performances his own company in his own version of "The Barber of Seville." Those who recall the austere grandeur of Chaliapin's Boris can only marvel at the man who could give such a performance as he does as Don Basilio in Rossini's eighteenth-day wonder.

(Some consider it not so wonderful.) We are not primarily interested in the score or even in the idea, if such it may be called, around which the Italian composer of another century strung his melodies and incidental orchestral patter.

It is true that Chaliapin captured the entire performance and put the emphasis on a minor role. But who can imagine Chaliapin playing a minor role in a matter that would win the approval of the die-hard defenders of correct conduct, even in a ludicrous burlesque like "The Barber of Seville"?

There is no audience in the world that would let Chaliapin play a minor role. The moment he poked his face through

a rickety door that seemed on the verge of collapse every eye and ear in the house belonged to Fedor.

In "The Barber" particularly it is impossible to take one's eyes off Chaliapin. Such a dirty, hypocritical old scoundrel is Chaliapin transformed into! Even to the method of wiping his nose is Chaliapin's performance perfect. His makeup is the last word in deftness. It is plain to be seen that here is no studied attempt at play-acting, but rather the complete entrance of an artist into a role, being that person in the entire spirit of it. There is music almost in Chaliapin's graceful big hands. As he sings the famous "Calumny" song, depicting the efficacy of slander and backstairs gossip as a means of breaking down an enemy's reputation, his fingers fairly exude gossip, coloring the air about him. This was probably the best bit in a very gleeful performance. Older, hardened opera-goers, roared as loudly as did the two youngsters, aged seven and nine, in front of us.

Chaliapin takes liberty with the score. More power to him. A little more liberty with the empty phrases of grand opera scores would help bolster up many a dull moment. But, of course, there are few, probably nobody outside of Chaliapin, who would trust the revision to. The glorious basso voice was still present, notwithstanding the strain of the transcontinental tour he has just completed.

EDWARD LEVINSON.

John Corigliano, violinist, who is now on tour with Marion Talley, will give his recital at Aeolian Hall Sunday afternoon, February 13.

SOME RANDOM THOUGHTS

By Judge Jacob Panken

ALL revolutionary movements have had hard roads to travel.

Our movement is revolutionary, though the term is falling into disrepute with many of us. To the popular mind it is becoming anathema. It has been made hateful because of its use in abuse. Moreover, it has been used as a mantle by rascals and charlatans to cloak their rascality.

In the struggle against the charlatan we have cheapened revolutionism in the eyes of the masses, and made it obnoxious to the thinking. To be revolutionary is an opprobrium, rather than a mark of distinction. Many think so now, unfortunately. There was a time when to be referred to as a Socialist was to have a badge of honor. To be called a Socialist meant to be singled out as an unusual being, an idealist, a pioneer in the work for progress. The Socialist and the pathfinder in social growth were interchangeable terms.

The enemies of Socialism always looked with envy upon our well-earned reputation for rectitude. They had power, riches and might, but they envied us our capacity for self-sacrifice, our sincerity, our soul. We are still in possession of our sincerity and of our soul. They cannot be taken away from us. To lose them, we must surrender them ourselves.

Socialism is still revolutionary. It is as life makes it. Life is a dynamic force. It undergoes constant change. All big changes are revolutions. We who propose the radically biggest change are revolutionists. To define revolution to mean violent overthrow is not to understand social change and social progress.

What gave us our enviable position? We have given of ourselves unstintingly, without hope or expectation of pay. We built a trades union movement among the immigrant workers, the peer of the native movement. We gave succor to labor in season and out of season without asking its political convictions. We created the Workmen's Circle as an expression of party idealism. We carried to the untutored the enlightening word of knowledge. We have brought to the masses the ennobling message of culture. We were the leaders among the people because we gave. In service to man we have earned our laurels.

Throughout thirty years not a suspicion of insincerity, not a doubt as to the singleness of purpose that actuated us in the service we have rendered. We have kept our faith with the ideals whose votaries we became. We still have and still keep the faith. In return, there was faith in us, trust in our movement, and hope in our cause among the masses. We established a morale. A morale begotten of the lofty concepts of morals. We have laid the corner stone of solidarity. A comradeship was created that made us one family, a comradeship resting on mutual regard and respect.

Movements cannot prosper with distrust and lack of faith. Faith in the aims of your cause is as necessary to a movement as air is to life. Destroy the faith in a movement and its cause is hurt. Not lost, for the cause in which we have enlisted is inevitable, since it has within it the germ of evolutionary necessity.

It is a historical fact that all great causes have fired the imagination of youth and enlisted its support. The logic underlying the purpose of a cause is the food of the thinker in his seclusion. Its emotional appeal in the broad upon which youth feeds. No great cause has been brought to a consummation without the aid of the young. Usually the new will not be

seen by those who have become settled in their modes of thought and life. The conservative attitude is that of age. Convention is most often a habit rather than a conviction. What we have always done is what should be done. "Whatever is, is right," as papa said. Because we have become accustomed to an idea, a viewpoint, it becomes to us unanswerable.

Age respects forms. Youth destroys them. "We have gotten along fairly well for so long just as we are" is the answer that age gives to the call for change that youth demands.

Youth has no respect for what it has been given. Yet its achievement rests on the faith that it has in its cause, though unimpaired of the fact that the cause in which its service has been enlisted is the outcrop of what has been achieved in the past. No respect for the old; all faith in the new. It is constantly exploring, experimenting. It must have faith in its mission to achieve its best. There must be an "esprit de corps." The morale of the movement must be maintained.

To teach that double-dealing is right is to undermine the very basis of faith and loyalty. To justify falsity, misrepresentation, make false accusations, is to make liars, scamps and charlatans of your movement. To conceal the chicanery of your supporters is to participate in their misdoings. To deny everything as evil, in the face of proof to the contrary, just because you do not agree with your opponents, is to be a fanatic, unworthy of respect and confidence. It destroys the fibre from which a movement is created.

To teach that "the end justifies the means" is to develop a psychology destructive of the very morale necessary to build up a functioning movement. To demand freedom of speech for yourself, and to justify a denial of the same right to others because you do not agree with them, is to make a mockery of the idea of freedom of speech. To protest against imprisonment of your own, and to maintain prisons to imprison others because they do not agree with you, is to stand before the world convicted as a charlatan. No one will have faith in what you say, nor confidence in your profession of idealism.

Socialists do not stand apart from life. Yet to exert influence upon life the Socialist must stand out and apart as the true man. Honest in his views. Honest in his dealings. Truthful in his statements. Tolerant of his opponent.

Enemies of Socialism are creatures of the system which is evolving the new social order. They are what they are, not by choice; they are products of a condition which they did not create. They will disappear with the condition which created them.

We do not excuse brutality on the battlefield. We condemn the bestiality of the blood-maddened soldier. We are horrified at the thought that the savage will scalp his fallen enemy, or cut his nose or ears off. We are civilized. Our very souls revolt against such acts. To teach that brutality is pardonable when it is practiced in the service of an ideal is to belie your professions. We abhor the man who will by perjury deprive another of his liberty. We despise one who will traduce the good name of another. We shun the liar.

In the upward climb of man he is learning the value of truthfulness, decency and uprightness. Teach him the reverse and you cast him back into savagery. It took thousands of years to evolve, if imperfectly, the idea that man should deem himself part of the

collectivity; that freedom of conduct and action is to be as unfettered as the most conducive to the welfare of the whole.

Man has for centuries fought for a place in the sun. The sun never shines on the subject of the victim of dictation. We have accepted, at least in principle, the idea that dictatorial is unethical because it is anti-social. We have dethroned the absolute ruler. Constantly the prerogatives of rulership are being limited. As yet, not effectively, it is true; but man has been inoculated with democracy which will ultimately efface that end.

The common man has come to believe that his voice should be heard in determining his mode of living. The mode of living for man embraces all social phenomena. Yes, man believes that his life should not be ordered for him by dictation, even if the dictator believes himself to be a benefactor.

Our people resent the welfare work of the capitalist. They fight the company union. They look with distrust upon profit-sharing schemes. They want no dictatorship, even if they are the supposed beneficiaries thereof. To make dictatorship a principle is to belie the very purpose for which the Socialist movement has been organized, and for which so many great spirits have given their lives.

The greatest menace to our movement is the sowing of the seed of distrust. Our organized movement has been the victim of calumny. It has weathered the attack of the enemy. It has defended its positions on all fronts. It withstood the attack of the capitalist world. It fights back the "humpen proletariat." Its integrity, its integrity, are untouched. It must go forward to capture new positions. The mission which has called it forth, and to which it is dedicated, is to carry on the work to consummation.

The problem now is again to instill in the masses faith in our movement and hope in our cause.

The dictators stand unmasked. The destruction of faith they have left in their wake will destroy them. They have obliterated, wiped out, confidence, idealism and decency in their own midst. Their morale is founded on lies, mud-slinging and chicanery. It is a morale which destroys the attributes so necessary to sustain loyalty.

The Socialist duty is to go forward to the objective which we have set for ourselves. An old Chinese proverb has it: "When you are on the way to the city do not stop to kick every dog that may bark at you lest you never reach your destination."

The New Leader Mail Bag

STERLING A SOCIALIST

Editor, The New Leader:
I believe your readers will be interested in the enclosed.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

Pasadena, Calif.
Literary Editor,
Pasadena Star-News,
Pasadena, California.

In your extremely interesting article about George Sterling you say, "Upton Sinclair has been devoted to Socialism because he accepted Sinclair's political philosophy, but because he found, as he once told me, that Sinclair had more love and compassion in his heart than any man he had ever known." It is very pleasing to get this message from my dear friend, but the first part of your sentence may give rise to a misconception, and I hope you won't mind if I explain matters.

The sentence is open to two interpretations, and I am not sure whether or not you mean to say that George Sterling did not "accept Sinclair's political philosophy." The fact is that he did accept it. George Sterling was a professed Socialist before I knew him. Our acquaintance began when Jack London sent me "The Testimony of the Suns," about 1903, and George at this time corresponded with me as a Socialist. He was one of the founders of the "Intercollegiate Socialist Society" in 1906. When I came to California in 1909, and met him personally, he read a Socialist poem at a dinner at the Ruskin Club, where I spoke, and the program quoted his saying that "Socialism is the one cause in the world worth fighting for."

And from this conviction he never wavered. In 1914 he joined my wife and myself in our "picketing demonstration" in front of the offices of the Rockefeller, at the time of the Colorado coal strike. For a shy and aloof person like George Sterling this was a tremendous ordeal, and his literary and artistic friends in New York City were speechless with dismay. It was then he wrote his poem, "To the Statue of Liberty," which is one of the most powerful of his political poems. It is quoted in "The Cry for Justice."

Since my coming to California, in 1915 George Sterling read practically all my manuscripts, and while we frequently disagreed about questions of art, we never disagreed about questions of politics. His last letter was dated November 10th, and was a proposal of the refusal of my wife and myself to meet Queen Marie of Roumania. It begins: "Good old Upton! I, too, was secretly preparing, cynic though I am, to horrify my city and my friends. And she's not coming!"

In my chapter on Anatole France in "Mammonart" I have pointed out how the literary world endeavored to minimize the political activities of great radical authors. The process will begin in the case of George Sterling, and so I wish to put my testimony on record.

Sincerely,
UPTON SINCLAIR.

Editor, The New Leader:
I cannot refrain from expressing my disapproval of your editorial "Jackals," Saturday, October 30.

It seems such phrasing and ugliness of expression would hurt Debs quite as much as anything the Communists did. We, as Socialists, have a right to disagree with the philosophy and tactics of the Communist group; yet, as admirers of the spirit of Debs, we owe it to ourselves to be calm and refrain from such cheap abuse as is implied by the title of your article.

Thousands of Communists loved Debs.—Lord Thomson.

Debs quite as sincerely as ourselves. I have yet to read the words of Debs that carry with them the bitterness and hatred of some articles in the Socialist press.

Let the Communists go their way and let us forge ahead to our goal. We have ample to do!

EDW. H. WANNEMACHER, Jr.
Philadelphia.

We are unable to agree with our correspondent. There are occasions when an opponent becomes so degraded in his conduct that to treat him on the same level with decent and intelligent men is to do an injustice to the latter. We referred to the Communists as "Jackals." No other word was fitting. From our knowledge of Eugene V. Debs we are certain that had this vandalism been committed against any other comrade who had passed away he would have blistered the offending parties with his withering invectives of which he was a master.—Editor.

Fighting the Communists
Editor The New Leader:
For eight years the Socialist party has harped upon the fact that the Communists were trying to control the labor unions. For eight years we stood aloof and watched the Communists degenerate and disintegrate by their very tactics. The Socialist party, on the contrary, was regaining its previous prestige, and its membership slowly but surely increased in quantity and quality. That "hands off" policy in the unions must have been a good policy.

To the amazement and disappointment of the Socialist rank and file the policy of hands off in the unions has recently been abandoned and the Communist tactics of capturing the unions have been appropriated by the Socialists. The manifesto to drive out the Communists which appears in The New Leader of December 11, 1926, is signed by Socialists.

What does this mean?
It means that the rank and file of labor who were beginning to abhor Communists because of their tactics will not love Socialists better for using the same tactics of capture. It may be a gain to power for a few leaders, but our party will again be discredited.

I protest very much against this sudden change of front. I protest against a Socialist weekly to meddle into the inner problems of a union. If there are Socialists who are active in unions the Socialist party need not help avenge their personal grievances. Let the Socialist press adhere to its previous stand and print labor news in an unbiased manner.

DR. M. A. N.T.

Our correspondent completely misunderstands the situation. Socialists have for a number of years joined with others in the unions to fight the insane and malicious campaign carried on by the Communists. Their action in the past few years and their action now is not one of "meddling" in the union but a matter of their duty as members of the unions to preserve the organizations. If Socialists happen to be prominent in the present drive against a poisonous influence that is to their credit. They would be lacking in this struggle. Far from incurring the antagonism of the members of the union, the hearty support given by Socialists in the fight against Communism will win their grateful thanks.—Editor.

CIVIC REPERTORY COR. 6th AVENUE & 14th STREET TELEPHONE WATKINS 7767

EVA LE GALLIENNE

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 14

Mon. Eve., Feb. 14.....MASTER BUILDER
Tues. Eve., Feb. 15.....CRADLE SONG
Wed. Mat., Feb. 16.....MASTER BUILDER
Wed. Eve., Feb. 16.....THREE SISTERS
Thurs. Eve., Feb. 17.....CRADLE SONG
Fri. Eve., Feb. 18.....JOHN GABRIEL
Sat. Mat., Feb. 19.....TWELFTH NIGHT
Sat. Eve., Feb. 19.....CRADLE SONG

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Mon. Eve., Feb. 21.....MASTER BUILDER
Tues. Mat., Feb. 22.....MASTER BUILDER
Tues. Eve., Feb. 22.....CRADLE SONG
Wed. Mat., Feb. 23.....CRADLE SONG
Wed. Eve., Feb. 23.....LA LOCANDIERA
Thurs. Eve., Feb. 24.....THREE SISTERS
Fri. Eve., Feb. 25.....CRADLE SONG
Sat. Mat., Feb. 26.....CRADLE SONG
Sat. Eve., Feb. 26.....John Gabriel Borkman

SPECIAL MATINEE "THE CRADLE SONG" FRIDAY, FEB. 18—SEATS NOW

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th ST., E. of THIRD AVE.
POP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

B. F. WITBECK Presents

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By MYRON C. FAGAN

A NEW COMEDY

CHOCK FULL OF LAUGHS

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THE SAME BRILLIANT CAST THAT PRESENTED IT FOR 7 MONTHS AT THE CORT THEATRE.

Week of February 21

LOOSE ANKLES

New York's Laugh Sensation

JED HARRIS Presents

by Philip Dunne and George Abbott

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THEATRE, W. 44th ST.

Mat. Wed., Sat., 2:30

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE CONCERT

TO CELEBRATE

THE 17TH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE SANATORIUM

SATURDAY EVENING, FEB. 26

At CARNEGIE HALL

57th Street and Seventh Avenue

PROGRAM

MARGARET MATZENAUER

Leading Contralto, Metropolitan Opera Company

MISCHA MISCHAKOFF

Violinist, Concert Master, New York Symphony Society

WORKMEN'S CIRCLE MANDOLIN ORCHESTRA

L. PAPARELLO, Conductor

Prominent Artists of the Jewish Stage

Will Also Participate

TICKETS, 75 Cents to \$2

Obtainable at the WORKMEN'S CIRCLE General Offices
175 East Broadway, New York

Wm. Nudelman

We desire to announce that Mr. Wm. Nudelman, who was for a while connected with the Advertising Department of the New Leader, has been relieved of all relations with it and has no authorization to speak for or represent The New Leader in any capacity.

Screen Notes

Three new photoplays will reach the Broadway film houses next week. They are "The Red Mill," with Marion Davies, at the Capitol; "Taxi Taxi," with Edward Everett Horton and Marion Nixon, at the Hippodrome; and "The Third Degree," with Dolores Costello and Louise Dresser.

The Film Arts Guild, having retired from the Cameo Theatre, has leased the Times Square Theatre for Sunday showing of films in repertoire, and also premiere presentations of imported pictures, beginning Sunday, February 20. Its first program will be announced shortly.

The title of Pola Negri's new starring picture will be "The Woman on Trial." The story is based on an Ernest Vajda play and will be directed by Mauritz Stiller, who made "Hotel Imperial." Eddie Cantor's third screen comedy will be "The Girl Friend," based on the recent musical play of the same name.

Instead of appearing next week in "Fireman, Save My Child," Wallace Beery will portray a comic aviator in "Now We're in the Air." "Soundings," the novel by A. Hamilton Gibbs, will reach the screen as "The Whirlwind of Youth." Lois Moran has the leading role. "The Poor Nut," the Nugents' play of college life, will include Jack Mulhall, Charles Murray, Jane Winton, Paul Kelly and Cornelius Keefe. Richard Wallace will direct.

Barbara Stanwyck, leading lady of the stage play, "The Noose"; Louis John Bartels, who created the role of "The Show-Off"; and Philip Strange, last seen in the film in St. Clair's "Popular Sin," have been added to the cast of "Broadway Nights."

Donna Shinn Russell will give her song recital at Aeolian Hall Wednesday afternoon, February 16th.

"CARMEN" TO BE GIVEN IN TALKING PICTURES

Grand opera with a Metropolitan

Grand Opera Company cast will be presented in talking picture from this season, according to Harry M. Warner, president of Warner Brothers. The first presentation of the kind, he said, will be "Carmen," cut to thirty minutes, with Martinelli starring. This will be part of the prologue accompanying a film featuring Syd Chaplin.

Mr. Warner said that he had heard nothing of the proposed combination of talking picture interests reported yesterday in a dispatch to the Times from Palm Beach. This quoted E. G. Albee as saying that Owen D. Young, chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, had been endeavoring to form an agreement between the General Electric, Warner Brothers, Fox Film Company and the Keith-Albee group for a joint program in the exploitation of talking picture devices. Mr. Young declined yesterday to comment on this report. Mr. Warner confirmed the report that the Shuberts had been negotiating with his firm for a license to produce "The Student Prince" on the Vitaphone.

"The idea," he said, "is to cut it to about fifty minutes. If it proved successful, other light operas would be treated in the same way and shown in motion picture houses. We ourselves are considering the idea of revivals of 'Iolanthe' and 'The Pirates of Penzance' in the same manner, but we have not definitely decided on it."

Dramatic Group

At Bronx Fellowship

Forty-three young people met at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Wednesday evening, Feb. 2, and initiated a dramatic movement that may lead to the development of a Community Theatre in the Bronx. The group will meet every Wednesday evening under the direction of Bertha Sullivan Papazian, who has had wide experience as an instructor and dramatic coach. Any young person seriously interested in any phase of dramatic art, and desiring

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Jesse Stephen's Dates

Dates for Miss Jesse Stephen, of England, are being arranged. So far her dates are as follows: March 1, Buffalo, N. Y.; March 2, Cleveland, Ohio; March 3, Toledo; March 4, Detroit, Mich.; March 5, Chicago, Ill.; March 6-7-8, Milwaukee, Wis.; March 9, Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

Other dates will be made up as fast as we hear from the various points listed as probable meeting places.

Finnish Federation

W. N. Reivo, secretary of the Finnish Socialist Federation, reports larger dues stamp sales for January than was reported for January of last year. All news from this federation points to a healthy growth and a general development of enthusiasm throughout the federation. Besides the party work they are doing they are also giving undivided support of the building of the American Appeal.

Jugoslav Federation

The Yugoslav Federation reports that their membership has passed the thousand mark and they are enthusiastic over their progress. They inform the National Office that they expect to continue the increase of membership during the coming year. They report further that they are going to do all possible to increase the circulation of the American Appeal.

Pennsylvania

To All Locals, Branches and Members-at-Large: Congratulations, Comrade! You have started the New Year right. We sold almost 600 dues stamps to our American branches in January, which is more than for many months. Reports from the American Appeal indicate that its subscription list is increasing rapidly.

Keep up the good work! Collect back dues and get subscriptions for the American Appeal and New Leader. Jimmy Higgins's work built our party in the past, and it is the only hope for the future. Speakers and organizers can do very little unless the ground is prepared by local personal work.

The loss of our official standing should arouse the fighting blood of every true Socialist. As soon as that law factory at Harrisburg adjourns, so that we know what the laws are, we will send out instructions as to how to pre-empt the Socialist Party name and how to get our candidates on the ballot this year.

Did you try that press agent suggestion from the National Office? Branch Norristown passed a resolution demanding withdrawal of all forces from Nicaragua and had it published on the front page of both Norristown daily papers. That kind of work counts. Try it in your town.

Illinois

Chicago

Kirkpatrick Dinner, February 17
Members of the Socialist Party and sympathizers are urged to send in their reservations at once for the Kirkpatrick dinner to county headquarters, 803 W. Madison street. Reservations are \$1 per plate. To avoid disappointment make reservations early, since Koppel Brothers' restaurant, 2752 West Division street, cannot accommodate a very large number.

Kissling Shows the Way
Charles Kissling, secretary of the German City Central committee, has turned in his first batch of City Nominating Petitions. They contained 175 names. Who will beat this comrade's record? Circulate the petitions of the only working class candidates in the field.

The Young People's Socialist League have plans to stage a play and dance for the benefit of their organization fund. The Young Socialists meet every Friday evening at the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues. Miss Lillian Levitt, active in the old Y. P. S. L. of Chicago, is the energetic leader.

Jessie Stephen Meeting
Miss Jessie Stephen, of England, will speak in Chicago on Saturday evening, March 5. The executive committee will select the hall at its next meeting. Comrade Stephen is one of the best speakers in the British Labor Party. Her message is worth hearing.

Pennsylvania

Maurer in Philadelphia

The Joint Committee of the West and North Philadelphia Branches will hold a seafood supper on Sunday, Feb. 20, 7 p. m., at Kelly's Restaurant, 12 North Ninth street, Philadelphia. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, will be the guest of honor and will deliver an address. Plates will be 75 cents and reservations should be made not later than Thursday, Feb. 17, through the office of Local Philadelphia, Room 3, Labor Institute, 368 Locust street.

Study Class

The study class in the "Cardinal Principles of Socialism" will meet Monday, Feb. 14, 8:15 p. m., in Room 3, Labor Institute, 368 Locust street. The subject will be "Social Ownership and Democratic Control of Industry." Following the presentation of the subject by the class leader the session will be open for questions and discussion. Admission is free, and sessions are informal.

The Executive Committee of Local Philadelphia will meet Sunday, Feb. 13, 7 p. m., at the Party office, Room 3, Labor Institute.

Theatre Benefit

The West and North Philadelphia Branches will hold a theatre benefit on March 7, 8 and 9 at the Walnut Theatre. The play will be a stage

New England

Boston

The Speakers' Training Class has met regularly since it started two months ago every Sunday at 5:00 p. m., 21 Essex street. The meetings are open to everyone. Feb. 13 and Feb. 20 the subjects will be "Essentials of Socialism" and "Crises, Panics, and Business Depressions."

Ether Friedman speaks at our hall, 21 Essex street, on Thursday, Feb. 17, at 8:00 p. m. on "The Need for a Labor Party," and on Thursday, Feb. 24, on "The Struggle Between Democracy and Plutocracy in America."

Comrade Lewis speaks on "Is America a Democracy?" at the Welfare Center, 31 Bradshaw street, Dorchester, on Tuesday, Feb. 15.

Springfield

Ether Friedman speaks for the Workmen's Circle on "Labor and the Next War" on Sunday, Feb. 13. On Feb. 20 she speaks at the Socialist Party headquarters, 159 Bridge street, on "The Need for a Labor Party."

Worcester

The Y. P. S. L. and Socialist Party will have Esther Friedman at Socialist Hall on Tuesday, Feb. 15 and 22, on the subject of "Labor and the Next War" and "The Struggle Between Plutocracy and Democracy in America."

Ether Friedman will speak for the Educational Committee of the Central Labor Union on "Labor and the Next War" Wednesday, Feb. 23. On Friday, Feb. 18 and 25, she holds two meetings for the Socialist Party.

Greenfield

Ether Friedman speaks at the Socialist Party Hall on Saturday, Feb. 19, and Saturday, Feb. 26, on the subjects of "Labor and the Next War" and "American Plutocracy," respectively.

Lowell

Ether Friedman will speak on American Imperialism at the Workmen's Circle Hall on Wednesday, Feb. 16.

Salem

Ether Friedman will speak on "The Next War" for the Salem Workmen's Circle on Monday, Feb. 14.

Newburyport

The Socialist Party will have Esther Friedman as their speaker on the subject of America and Mexico on Monday, Feb. 21. Comrades from Amesbury will attend this meeting.

Haverhill

Norman Thomas speaks at the Haverhill Forum on Sunday, Feb. 20. Esther Friedman will speak for the Workmen's Circle on Sunday, Feb. 27.

State Office News

Jose Kelly is available for speaking dates on the Mexican situation on Feb. 23, 24 and 25.

We are increasing the circulation of The New Leader and American Appeal by giving trade unionists trial subscriptions for these papers. One dollar gives four trial subs. to the American Appeal for three months time and three trial subs. to The New Leader. Comrades who want to help out in this good work are asked to do so.

The reactionaries tried to slip over a criminal syndicalism bill. But the State Secretary had gotten several organizations to oppose the bill, among them the Social Justice Committee of the Community Church, and it is hoped that the bill will be killed in committee.

The Socialist Party also sent a representative to argue in favor of the bill to prohibit injunctions against peaceful picketing, the bill to declare "yellow dog" contracts void, the bill to raise the school age to 16, the bill to raise the amount of compensation for total disability from \$16 to \$18 and the old age pension bills. We opposed, besides the criminal syndicalism bill, a vicious anti-strike bill which would have enacted compulsory arbitration, the bill to increase the legal limit for hours of labor for women, and a bill aimed against the teachers' union.

Our own bill for unemployment insurance will not be introduced until the next session of the Legislature.

New Jersey

Hudson County

On Thursday evening, Feb. 17, Local Hudson County will hold its second monthly social. Although the last one exceeded expectations, the coming one will be bigger and better. The committee members have entered a contest to outdo each other in securing numbers for the entertainment. The Y. P. S. L. will be there strong with their 16-piece band, and the Socialist Liedertafel will be on the job to entertain with vocal numbers. The social will be held at party headquarters, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City. No admission fee.

On Sunday evening, Feb. 20, Miss Jessie Stephen, of the British Labor Party, will lecture. The subject has not been selected as yet. The lecture is to be delivered at party headquarters, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City. This is one of a series that will be held throughout the spring. They are arranged by delegates from the Socialist Party, Workmen's Circle and the Socialist Educational Club. These three organizations have decided to make a good success of lectures held at Fraternity Hall that the unity of all may be attained.

Elizabeth

The Progress Club has been reorganized and the comrades are going to give their first big affair on Saturday, Feb. 19, at 8 p. m. at headquarters, 635 Elizabeth Avenue. They have secured very good talent and excellent music for the dancing. All friends and comrades are given a cordial invitation to attend. Refreshments will be served by the ladies of the club. The chairman of the committee is Harry L. Nelson.

New York State

Merrill Visits Locals

State Secretary Merrill reports that the four locals he recently visited had fairly well attended meetings. About half of the total membership of Port Chester turned out, and two-thirds or more of the membership of Yonkers. The problem most interesting the comrades was that of getting the younger element of the population to affiliate. This, however, is not the difficulty of the Finnish members of Port Chester, where a branch of the Y. P. S. L. has lately been organized. Port Chester is holding weekly meetings and lectures, something that American branches of the party should more frequently emulate. Yonkers has taken action to send literature periodically to a selected list of prospects for membership. New Rochelle feels that the only way to effectively carry on propaganda is by sending literature through the mails. Poughkeepsie, which is still a good town for summer open-air meetings, will co-operate with other radical and liberal organizations in getting Socialist lecturers during the winter and spring months.

State Executive Meets

The State Executive Committee at its meeting of last Sunday went on record to send resolutions of condolence to the daughter of the late Lucian Sanial. It was the sense of the committee that the party should be represented at any hearing of the State Legislature on waterpower, and that Waldman, Thomas, or both, should be invited to present the position of the Socialist Party on this most important subject. The committee ruled that the subjects of waterpower and Imperialism should be preferred for pamphlets gotten out by its literature committee. The report of the State Secretary on finance, membership and other matters was considered serially. All members were present except Sander, of Syracuse, who was absent with excuse.

The conference of the State Executive Committee with invited party members was opened by Herman Kohbe, of Nassau. Among those who addressed the gathering were Claessens, Oneal, Hillquit, Ingerman, Disant, Waldman, Cassidy, Fine and Feigenbaum. It was agreed that the conference had created sufficient interest in the problems of the organization to warrant its continuance, and it was the sense that the State Executive Committee should call another session at an early date, conference members being permitted to suggest additional names for invitation.

Buffalo

Jesse Stephen of England will lecture Tuesday, March 1, at 8 p. m., in Elmwood Music Hall. The subject, "Nine Days that Shook Britain," referring to the general strike of 1926. Miss Stephen is an active and leading member of the British Labor Party. Tickets are for sale in advance at 25 cents. At the ticket office 35 cents will be charged. Tickets will be mailed to all party members. You can also obtain them at the secretary's office, 616 Genesee Street, or phone Jefferson 2327.

Come to the next General Party meeting at the East Side Labor Lyceum Hall, 1444 Genesee Street, near Montana, Thursday, Feb. 17, at 8 p. m. and help to outline the policy for 1927. Norman Thomas, of New York, has written a splendid leaflet entitled, "Hands Off Mexico." There will be a good supply on hand.

New York City

Branches and Membership Drives

The organization of the New York City Socialists is in a better condition than it has been for some years. There is a steady influx of new members at the rate of about 40 to 60 a month and a considerable number are taking an active part in branch activities. There are now 45 branches in the Greater City, divided as follows: 21 in Manhattan, 4 in the Bronx, 16 in Brooklyn, 2 in Queens County, 2 in Richmond County. One-half of the 45 branches are either very active or meet regularly and are engaged in activities of one kind or another. The other 22 maintain an existence varying from mere dues paying with occasional meetings to a condition of complete static. Every effort is being made to bring them into activity. Beginning about Feb. 15 an intensive drive for membership will be on in various parts of the city. Meetings with enrolled Socialist voters will be held under the direction of Judge Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, William Karlin, Pierre De Nio and August Claessens. It is expected that some 20 or 30 meetings will be held within the next few months and that several hundred new Socialist party members will be initiated into our movement. Together with this drive for membership, every opportunity will be exploited to obtain larger numbers of subscribers and readers for our party press.

Central Committee

The city central committee met Wednesday, Feb. 2. Thirty-one delegates were present, 22 absent. Some sent excuses. Ten thousand copies of Victor Berger's Congressional speech were ordered and as soon as these arrive the branches will be called upon to mail them to sympathizers and enrolled voters. Permanent officers were elected for 1927. G. August Gerber was elected chairman; Joseph Tuvin, recording

secretary, and Herman Volk, auditor. The following were elected members of the executive committee: Julius Gerber, U. Solomon, William Karlin, Jesse Wallace Hughan, Joseph Becker, Joseph Sugar, Anna Ingerman, Jacob Bernstein, Louis P. Goldberg, I. M. Chateauf, Jacob Axelrad, Herman Rifkin, Emil Bromberg, Walter Dearing, Ernst Welsch. Places were left open for two more delegates representing the Bronx. On roll call interesting reports were rendered relative to activities and plans. A lengthy discussion took place in regard to general city activities and the difficulties involved in more efficient organization work.

Paris Commune Celebration
An attractive poster is being printed and tickets have been ordered for the big affair on Friday evening, March 18, at the Central Opera House. This will be a ball and reunion and at the same time a commemoration of the Paris Commune, the anniversary of which falls on the same date. Every effort will be made to get out a record crowd from all parts of the city and surrounding territory. One unique feature of this affair is that it is the first of its kind in which the Socialist party, the Rand School and The New Leader are the joint managers. Remember the date, Friday, March 18. Make no other engagement.

Manhattan

Hall Forums

In spite of disagreeable weather which persisted several Sundays, the Hennington Hall Forum, conducted by the 6th, 8th and 12th A. D. Branch, with Judge Jacob Panken as speaker and director, continues to grow in attendance and interest. The forums on the Lower East Side also report progress, and the forum to be established at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center will begin its work Wednesday, March 2, and continue for six or eight Wednesday evenings. Speakers and topics will be announced shortly. The newly reorganized Upper West Side Branch will meet in the office of Dr. S. Berlin, 245 West 74th Street, Tuesday evening, Feb. 15. Strenuous efforts will be made to get this branch back into effective form and to commence the work of organization and propaganda in their territory.

Bronx

The Party forums conducted by the Central Branch and Branch 7 are continuing successful work. Special attention is directed to the informative and brilliant lectures delivered by Jessie Stephen every Monday evening at 1167 Boston Road. Bronx Socialists and sympathizers should make a special effort to take advantage of this opportunity, as it is the last chance they will have of hearing Comrade Stephen and her fine presentation of the history, work and status of the British Socialist and Labor Movement before she leaves this part of the country.

BROOKLYN

2nd A. D.

The enrolled Socialist voters' meeting, last Friday, at branch headquarters, 420 Hindsdale Street, was a fair success. Several sympathizers made application for membership after listening to a brilliant address by William M. Feigenbaum and a few remarks by August Claessens. A fine turnout of members and Yipsels assisted the meeting, and the social gathering that followed put every one in excellent humor. More enrolled voters' meetings will be held soon.

6th A. D.

The first lecture by Jessie Stephen, last Friday evening at branch headquarters, 147 Tompkins Avenue, brought an encouraging attendance, with a prospect of an increasingly larger audience each week. Comrade Stephen is lecturing on the Sex Question from the point of view of the Socialist philosophy, and stressing particularly the economic and social relations of men and women in modern times. Admission is 25 cents. The lectures are well worth the money and the time spent.

22nd A. D.

The forum conducted in the East New York section under the auspices of our 22nd A. D. Branch holds its session every Friday evening. The attendance has been quite satisfactory, but every effort must be made to increase attendance. The speaker this Friday night is Esther Friedman. During the following weeks, Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens, and Louis Waldman will lecture.

23rd A. D.

The forum of this branch, held in the Labor Lyceum, will suspend its activities temporarily, due to a number of events on Friday nights that will engage the activities of Brownsville comrades.

Queens

Tickets for the lecture by August Claessens before the Jamaica Lecture Forum, in Odd Fellows Hall, 160th Street and 90th Avenue, Jamaica, Sunday evening, Feb. 20, are going fast, and the chances for a capacity audience are good. The subject of the lecture will be "Can Wealth Be Distributed Fairly?" and there will be discussion and questions.

Yipseldom

Moses Kraskow, educational director of Circle 8, Manhattan, has begun

work in earnest. He has prepared a program for about two months and says, "I expect to carry it out." He asks the City Office to invite all comrades to attend the next meeting at 137 Avenue B, this Saturday at 8:30 p. m. Emerich Steinberger will speak on "The Present Situation in the Needle Trades."

On behalf of the entire membership of the league, the City Office extends its sincerest sympathy to both the officers of Comrade Sylvia Schoenwald, and to the members of Circle 6, Manhattan, for the loss of that fine and lovable comrade.

Circle 2

August Claessens will be the guest and lecturer of Circle 2, Brooklyn, this Sunday evening at 7:30 p. m. at 219 Sackman Street. His subject is "Patriotism." A fine treat awaits those who attend. Admission is free.

Circle 13

Thomas Rodgers, former teacher at the labor college of Glasgow, will continue his second lecture on "Political Economy" Sunday, Feb. 13, at 3 p. m., at 1167 Boston Road, Bronx. All Yipsels and Party comrades are invited to this lecture.

Circle 6

Circle 6, Manhattan, is again getting on its feet. At a meeting held last Friday the circle started a program of real activity. Two new members were taken into the circle.

Juniors

On Sunday, Feb. 13, at 3 p. m., Circle 11, Juniors, will meet at 1465 St. Mark's Avenue, near Howard Avenue, Brooklyn. The circle is conducting a series of Socialist studies, and the topic for this week will be "The Rise and Development of Capitalism."

Circle 9

Circle 9 election results were as follows: Organizer, Fred Gurwits; Educational Director, Jeannette Schwartz; Social and Athletic Director, Arty Janofsky; Secretary, Irving Cohen; Central Committee Delegates, I. Cohen and P. Gurwits. At the same meeting the circle's monthly affair took place, and everyone had a "ripping good time."

Circle 13

Circle 13 has elected new officers: Organizer, Weiss; Educational Director, Rachefsky; Financial Secretary, Sapkovitz; Recording Secretary, Diamond. A debate has been arranged for the next meeting between Comrades Kozak and Altman. The circle meets at 420 Hindsdale Street on Sundays at 2 p. m.

Circle 2

At the last meeting Resalin Rodin was elected Social and Athletic Director, and Gertrude Goldman, Secretary. On Feb. 19 the circle will see "Twelfth Night" at the Civic Repertory Theatre. The next meeting will be jointly with Circle 11, at 1465 St. Mark's Avenue, on Sunday, Feb. 20, at 3 p. m.

Midgets

The Midget Circle has elected the following officers: Organizer, Emanuel Brown; Educational Director, Frank Ducker; Financial Secretary, Melvin Greenberg; Recording Secretary, Heurix Meister; Social Director,

Harry Bernstein; Athletic Director, Hyman Greenburg.

Lincoln Celebration

On Lincoln's Birthday the Brooklyn Junior Circles will hold an entertainment and dance at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum at 219 Sackman Street. A fine program has been prepared. The dance music will be furnished by the Memphis Boys' Orchestra. The affair will start at 2:30 p. m. Admission is 15 cents. All comrades and friends are urged to attend.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, Feb. 13, 11 a. m., Judge Jacob Panken. Subject: "The Events of the Week." Hennington Hall, 214 East Second Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6, 8, and 12 A. D. Branch.

Sunday, Feb. 13, 8:30 p. m., Samuel J. Schneider. Subject: "God's Country." East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1st and 2nd A. D. Branches.

BRONX

Monday, Feb. 14, 8:30 p. m., Jessie Stephen. Subject: "The Epic Struggle of the British Miners." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices Socialist Party, Central Branch.

BROOKLYN

Friday, Feb. 11, 8:30 p. m., Jessie Stephen. Subject: "Who Makes Prostitutes." 167 Tompkins Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Branch.

Friday, Feb. 11, 8:30 p. m., Esther Friedman. Subject: "The Changing Social Orders." 218 Van Bliken Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 22nd A. D. On Friday, Feb. 18, Judge Jacob Panken will lecture on "Russia and Its Possibilities."

Sunday, Feb. 13, 7:30 p. m., August Claessens. Subject: "Patriotism—Harmful and Beneficial." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. Auspices, Y. P. S. L., Circle 2.

WORKERS' EDUCATION

Rand School Notes

"Industry Makes Politics in America" is the subject of a six-lecture course by Professor Broadus Mitchell of Johns Hopkins University. The course will be given at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, which begins Friday, February 11, at 8:30, and continues through March 15. The subject lectures are as follows: 1. Feb. 11, What is Economic History? 2. Feb. 18, Restriction and Revolution; 3. Feb. 25, Central Power or Local Government? 4. March 4, Union or Secession? 5. March 11, The Quandary of the Courts; 6. March 18, Next Problems of American Public Life.

"The Truth About Mexico" will be told by Jose Kelly, official representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor, Monday evening, Feb. 14, at 8:30 p. m. in the Dabs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street. Comrade Kelly is an able speaker and labor leader and is thoroughly qualified to tell Mexico's story.

"Main Tendencies in Modern Literature," by Leo E. Saidla, continues on Friday evenings at 8:30 until March 25.

A course in "Personal Psychology" by Professor Joseph M. Osman is given on Tuesday evenings at 8:30 p. m. through May 10. In this course Mr. Osman takes up the nature of human personality in the light of the new psychology; hereditary and acquired types of behavior; motivated habits; complexes of worry, inferiority, of sex and of race; training of personality in children and psychological adjustments. On the same evening at 7 p. m. Professor Osman gives another course in "Social Psychology."

ESSEX COUNTY, N. J., ORGANIZATION WORK

The work in Essex County, New York, is progressing mightily fine. To date 49 new members have joined Local Essex. The attendance runs from 50 to 60. A fund of \$240 per month has been subscribed. Over 150 calls have been made. The old-time enthusiasm has been renewed. A detailed plan of work is being worked out for the entire year. A new headquarters are being sought. Class is in formation to train organizers. A long and careful program of street meetings is under way, starting this spring and continuing until winter. Several prominent comrades and speakers will be used during the year. A banquet in the early spring. A picnic is scheduled for the last Sunday in June on Comrade Phaulle's nursery farm. Utica and Passaic Counties are to be worked in conjunction with Essex. Assist Hudson County to raise fund and place an organizer. Last week we organized a new Y. P. S. L. Twenty new members were present and signed application for charter. We now have 38 members in the Y. P. S. L. Each Sunday morning at 10 o'clock I take the Yipsels out for a long hike, stopping every two or three miles to have a talk on psychology, culture, socialism, education, nature, etc.

What we have done in Essex County in the past five or six weeks can be done in other counties where we have comrades. All it requires is just a little sane leadership, some one in the field at work constantly devoting entire time to work. If you know you can do a thing, you can do it. Faith, knowledge and courage, with these, you cannot fail, for there is no failure.

Night Work Dangerous

SAN FRANCISCO.—Because of the hazardous nature of their employment, organized electrical workers ask city officials to prohibit night work by these municipal employees. Even though double pay is offered, dangers through open manholes and high voltage wires do not compensate for the risk.

One thing ought to be aimed at by all men—that the interest of each individually and of all collectively should be the same; for, if each should grasp at his individual interest, all human society will be dissolved.—Cicero.

Write on my gravestone, "Infidel, Traitor"—infidel to every church that compromises with wrong; traitor to every government that oppresses the people.—Wendell Phillips.

MASK BALL FORWARD



NEW MADISON SQ GARDEN

50TH STREET AND 8TH AVENUE

SAT. EVE. FEB. 19

HARRY HERSHFIELD OF "ABE KABLE" Fame
Will Act as Judge for the Prizes
RUSSIAN 'HABIMA' PLAYERS
THE ENTIRE TROUPE WILL APPEAR IN MASKS
(Courtesy of S. HUKOK)

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1927

CHANGING "PROSPERITY"

CARL SNYDER, economist of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, forecasts a rising cost of living in the cities, with its relative decrease in wages and an interruption of the "friendly relations" between workers and employers. One reason for this is "that the rest of the world is going to compete with us" in the production of machinery and a large proportion of our foreign trade in manufactured goods consists of the export of machinery.

While prophesy is always hazardous, there is evidence to support this forecast. The United States fattened on Europe during the World War and it has continued to fatten on Europe since the end of the war. Our "prosperity" has been largely rooted in the misery of workers in England and on the Continent. Europe has been slowly recovering, but during the period of recovery she has drawn upon the economic and financial resources of the United States.

Sick Europe is recovering her health. That machinery which we have been exporting has been an important item in the recovery. As her worn out plants increase in efficiency she will not only have a surplus of manufactured goods for sale abroad, but also begin to export machinery. As this continues our "prosperity" will be tempered with adversity and a rupture of the "friendly relations" between employers and workers. It should not be forgotten that Germany is undergoing a remarkable reconstruction of her industrial plants.

Of course, a war may avert the drift towards industrial stagnation and in that event we will again fatten on the misery of others. On the other hand the ruling classes are not anxious for a general war because of their fears of revolutions, but Mars is not a force which they can always localize once the monster is released.

We repeat what we have said before. We are living in a fool's paradise. The economic organizations of the workers should be prepared for anything and Socialists should turn to their own problems of education and organization if they are to cope with a possible drift of radical sentiment away from the parties of capitalism.

AS OTHERS SEE US

ALL Latin-America is alarmed at the disorder which prevails in the United States, and especially in southern Illinois. It is the general opinion that life and property is so insecure that the Latin-American nations may have to send marines into the disturbed areas to insure protection to their nationals.

The recent outbreak in southern Illinois, where a State highway policeman was shot thirteen times through the body and his wife kidnapped, is considered in Latin-America another evidence of the breakdown of law in the United States. As this region includes Herrin, the scene of many outbreaks and murders, Latin-American diplomats believe that the situation has become grave.

They also link these events with the gang wars in Chicago, where bandits use machine guns in the open streets, the employment of armored cars in the large cities equipped with machine guns to protect the transportation of mails and funds and the lynchings which disturb the American republic as so many symptoms of growing disorder. The Latin-American nations are thinking of the announcement of a Monroe Doctrine for the maintenance of order in the United States and supporting it, if necessary, by armed forces. They regard the United States as a menace to peace in the Western Hemisphere. Mexico may be asked to take the initiative in aiding the Americans to establish order and insure the protection of Latin-Americans in the United States.

A JOB FOR SOCIALISTS

ONE thing we wish to emphasize for our readers and members of the Socialist Party in general, which cannot be repeated too often. For a number of years there has been an expectant attitude in the matter of an independent political federation of economic and political organizations. That is, a Labor Party.

It cannot be denied that this has hampered our own party work. The Socialist Party took the initiative in the matter in 1921 and gave a number of years to it. In 1924 it looked more promising than in any period since 1894, when a similar drift appeared. But in February, 1925, the national conference

in Chicago dashed these hopes by disbanding. The Socialist Party cannot continue its expectant attitude without injuring itself. We shall place no obstacles in the way of others who wish to carry on educational work for a Labor Party. In fact, we wish them success, but Socialists owe it to their own organization to give their time to their own work. There does not appear to be any sentiment at this time anywhere indicating a drift from the two parties of capitalism and it cannot be artificially developed.

Socialists should turn their attention to their own problems. The discussion in The New Leader will be closed in a few weeks. Suggestions will be made for educational and organization work. By the end of the cold months there will be plenty to do for those who desire to do it. In the meantime get that subscription, get that application for a new member, strengthen your branch, prepare for summer meetings. One thing is sure. The Socialist Party is the one organization left in this country holding aloft the independent banner where a number were competing for this honor a few years ago.

LOOKING AHEAD

IF WE could penetrate some departments and bureaus of the Federal Government and the offices of some kings of finance we are inclined to think that we would get a glimpse of a new United States. We know that for several years the natural resources and industrial plants are being surveyed in preparation for war. Chemicals and poison gas are being experimented with, man power is surveyed, and mobilization of industrial plants has been planned.

But this is only a beginning. There are the plans for deepening the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. This is of more than ordinary interest, considering that canals and other inland waterways, except the Great Lakes, declined with the rise of railroad transportation. The Atlantic Deepwater Waterways Association was represented at an international navigation congress at Cairo, Egypt, last December, and it is interesting to note that of the ten delegates all but three were either army officers or retired officers.

Observe that the deepening of these two rivers provides continuous connection of the coal and iron and steel of Pennsylvania for nearly 2,000 miles to New Orleans and the great ore beds of Minnesota with the Gulf of Mexico. The Gulf itself is now an American lake which commands the approaches to the Panama Canal. The Ohio project alone provides for 50 locks and dams which will be completed by 1929. Why all this internal improvement in this age of railways?

We hazard the guess that it is in anticipation of a future war which will witness the use of super-bombing planes. If the next world war is brought to our doors, what better strategic foresight would there be than to be prepared to fall back upon the interior and in a region of vast resources and almost perfect transportation facilities by rail and waterways? If the Panama Canal is menaced, think of the concentration which becomes possible at New Orleans!

Is England, or possibly England and a European coalition, to challenge the imperial might of the United States, the master of the world's purse and the real winner of the World War? We do not know. But watch the plans of the generals, the engineers and the experts of the Geological Survey. Our masters look more than one year ahead.

GREEN'S SPEECH

THE speech of President Green of the A. F. of L. at New Haven last Sunday has caused considerable comment in labor circles. His praise of the British Labor Party and the former Labor Government as well as his approval of similar labor parties in other countries is much more advanced than that of his predecessor. Mr. Gompers always maintained an unsympathetic attitude towards labor parties abroad, apparently believing that this was essential to be consistent with his views of political action at home.

It is true that Green also reaffirms his belief in the non-partisan policy here. This was to be expected. He believes the policy of workers of other nations in this matter "not suited to the political and economic conditions in the United States." In this we believe him to be mistaken and we are certain that eventually this view will be abandoned by the organized workers through sheer necessity. But this is a matter of experience and education. Practically every independent party of the workers abroad grew out of some such policy as is still followed in the United States. We believe that eventually the workers of this country will repeat this history.

A GENERAL SPEAKS

WE OWE thanks to Major General James G. Harbord for telling us just what is expected of us if we are to be accepted as model Americans. Using the National Republican Club as a microphone for broadcasting his message, he declared that opposition to war is a "disease." Then that darling of New York finance, James W. Wadsworth, was defeated for re-election to the Senate and that constitutes a public offense. Add to this the fact that some impious persons "embarrass the President" by proposing to arbitrate with a robber the disposition of the property he intends to confiscate.

Thus we have the items that go into the making of a good American and an American making good. Vote the Republican ticket, keep your mouth shut, let Harbord do the talking; do not embarrass Doc Coolidge, and be ready to march to Mexico to rescue Do-heny's oil. Having done all this, the noble General will probably issue an embossed identification card bearing the imprint of a bottle of chloroform and a pair of handcuffs to signify that you have made good.

The News of the Week

Butler Bursts Into Headlines

Our most distinguished Junker, President Butler of Columbia

University, has surveyed the economic and political problems of the republic, and in guarded language he challenges the third-term ambition of Coolidge.

He declared that there are three important questions before the country—prohibition, agricultural development and relief, and foreign policy. But one paragraph in the speech that has been overlooked is the following: "Neither the Republican nor the Democratic party has anything like its old-time vigor, unity of purpose or effectiveness of organization. This is due in part to the fact that many questions which formerly divided the two great parties have disappeared from view."

In other words, the two leading parties are twin poodles, fed by the same masters. The passing of time has brought both animals into the same kennel. This is a bit of indiscretion on the part of Butler, but he is noted for this.

In the old days before the World War Butler returned from Europe almost maddened in his praise of Kaiser Wilhelm, and this conduct later plagued him. By some his speech is hinted as a bid for the Republican Presidential nomination. Perhaps he would do better than he did for Vice-President in 1912, when the voters tossed him eight electoral votes. It is reported that his speech "stirred Washington."

If true, the statesmen are easily stirred. Butler has revived the old question as to whether another term for Coolidge would be a third term. Meantime, Cal keeps quiet. It is rumored that he has consulted his Spokesman, who is more vocal than Cal himself, and that the Spokesman advised Cal to say nothing. Which reminds us that no one has ever raised the important question as to whether the Spokesman has ever been invited to attend one of Cal's breakfasts.

While Portugal is occupying considerable space in the news because of the staging in that country of another of the "revolutions" that seem to be endemic there, the other European lands manage to keep the witch's cauldron boiling more or less merrily. In Latvia some would-be Fascists, desirous of emulating their brethren in Lithuania and overthrowing the Socialist-Liberal Government, have been promptly arrested and their "putsch" nipped in the bud. In Lithuania the reactionary authorities continue to arrest and execute workers accused of "communism" and to talk about friend-

ly relations with Russia and Poland. Marshal Pilsudski also continues to find all sorts of "plots" against the so-called republic, but it is significant that most of the alleged Communists arrested are members of the White Russian or other racial minorities not over-enthusiastic about the blessings of Polish rule. Unemployment keeps on rising in France, and Premier Poincare tells the first meeting of the new National Economic Council that he expects its wisdom to help him solve the country's material problems. The new bourgeois German Government is trying to explain the anti-republican activities of Herr Keudell, its Minister of the Interior, during the Kapp "putsch" of 1920, and is not having very good luck at it. A serious thing for German industry may develop from the clash between the German steel makers and the other members of the new Steel Trust over the German demand for a big increase in the German export quota in 1927. The mine workers in the Rhineland district have served notice that they will terminate the existing agreements with the bosses on March 1. That the miners will demand material wage increases is certain. The Fascists are trying to exploit the fact that a few former Italian labor leaders, including Rinaldo Rigola and Ludovico D'Avogona, have issued a statement accepting the Fascist regime as "a reality" and offering to collaborate with it to a certain extent. In the meantime, Francesco Cianca, former editor of Il Mondo, the Republican paper, escapes five years' banishment on an island by fleeing to France.

Oil, Strikes And Rebellion

If the Latin-American situation is an example of what the "best minds" of the Republican firm of capitalism can produce we wonder what its worst could do. Nicaragua continues to be the scene of a civil war. Despite Admiral Latimer's support of Diaz, the Liberals continue active and have seized the city of Chinandega and have held it for several days against the assaults of the Conservatives. Lawrence Dennis, First Secretary of the American Legation at Managua, has been recalled. The Liberals have denounced him for his conduct of affairs last summer. The Mexican Government announces the discovery of another rebellion plot for risings in two states, while the labor paper, Sol, of Mexico City, publishes documents which it declares definitely link church forces with the rebel forces. Sol quotes one document which gives details of rebel

movements and which carries praise of the "glorious military actions of the Army of Christ, the King." A number of injunctions have been granted to oil companies by Mexican courts which restrain application of the oil and land laws. We refer this to the consideration of Calculating Cal and Nervous Nell, who have subscribed to the Little Red Ridinghood tale of a Bolshevik wolf devouring our oil saints. Meantime a general railroad strike is threatened if certain demands of the railroad mechanics are not complied with by February 18. About fifteen unions will be involved if the strike is called. The railway directors have referred the matter to the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor. A general strike of electricians is also threatened in Vera Cruz on March 1, while the organized workers of that city offer to run the street railways on a co-operative plan.

Suspect News From China

With the war between the North and the South in China approaching a stage that may decide the future of that unhappy country and a general mixup of the big powers possible, it is well to warn against too much reliance on the news that comes from that part of the world. In the event of active military intervention by the powers our information will trickle through their press agencies. From Shanghai already comes the report of a "Bolshevik" terror in Hunan province. Now the latter is in the hands of the Nationalists and the "news" comes from their enemies. There may be more or less chaos in Hunan and there may be Bolshevik meddling there, but we are inclined to suspect any rumors that come from Shanghai. One thing that appears certain is that the Nationalists are determined to abolish the foreign concessions and that mere "treaty revision" will not be accepted unless it is forced by foreign bayonets. Shanghai claims a military victory over the Nationalists while Premier Baldwin has declared in Parliament that Great Britain will land troops in China only if needed, but will not deal with the Nationalists on their plan to protect nationals. Former Labor Premier, J. Ramsay MacDonald, criticized Baldwin's Chinese policy. Baldwin had declared that British forces would act as policemen, but this distinction, observed MacDonald, would not appeal to the Chinese. One morning the British people might rise with British soldiers acting as policemen and at night go to bed with them acting as soldiers. That distinction certainly may mean much.

THE CHATTER BOX

Early Spring Songs

December came, and what she said,
Will never be
Revealed by me.
Enough that love for life had fled
My being utterly.

But Spring gives back the winter's dead,
Leaves to a tree,
And love to me. . . .
And so I sing and wait instead
Of weeping bitterly. . . .

A tree, a meadow,
Or a hill in June,
Are far too full of beauty
For a tune.

A wood in autumn
Splashed in multi-tone,
Is far too deep in music
All its own.

A hill in winter,
Or a frosted tree
Shrills out an old discordant
Rhapsody.

If I could write the songs
For winds to sing;
I'd fashion every one of them
For Spring. . . .

For she alone comes blind
With birth, and mute,
Too frail to touch a timbre
Or a lute.

After which splurge into the limpid depths of beauty, we turn to the tabloid smutty of recent days, with Woody Dad Browning and his fruity Babe-of-the-Night-Clubs. The entire case intrigued us. It opened up before us a vista of new opportunities for women in America. In the entire catalog of gainful occupations for the female of the breed, we had overlooked the one of the legally married gold digger. And let us announce right here, that all womankind from Hollywood across to Canasie are grossly agog with ambition and extension-course training for the job. On Park avenue alone there are some sixteen thousand potential daddies, with their own Rolls-Royces, and city homes and country homes, and yachts and everything. What a market for bobbed hair getters? And let us also broadcast to the universal microphone of aching and lonely Cinderelladom, that springtime is the most auspicious to land the fall-guys. And let us also suggest that these be the three requisites for an ideal alimony-separation episode—a wise and unscrupulous mama, a baby stare, even at the age of thirty, and a loose leaf diary. By all means do not record the daily run of your emotional indiscretions in a bound notebook. With these three in hand, keep visiting the night clubs, pick out your fairy godfather, and ride home in a chariot drawn by eight lovely cylinders. Girls, this is the season of your greatest hope. Do not neglect the occasion, or you may afterward have to repent in a Bronx flat with four kids, a grumpy husband, and fifteen dollars overdue at the grocer. Or else, you'll land in the Village, single in fact, Freudian in performance, and eternally in search of yourself. Strike while gold glitters in the Daddyland. Make hay while the balances last in the banks. You can't tell before another bear rush in Wall Street, or a Florida Swamp boom makes your gray-headed angel alimony proof. And if there are not enough tabloid papers to go around, we know of sundry methods to substitute material for proper publicity. As for courtrooms and judges, we are always willing to advocate a bill to build bigger and better divorce and scandal chambers, and heavier and dumber judges. As for audiences, you have one hundred

million churchgoing Americans to select from. The time is ripe for action. Up and at them, sweet Cinderellas of the land.

Builders

1.
Erect a smokestack,
A round, towering smokestack,
Pile brick on brick,
Throw one on another,
Grind them together,
Mix them with mortar.

2.
Fill in the chinks with molds of clay,
Surround the steel with hods of brick;
Chisel the sharp-edged corners round,
The jagged cutting corners of stone and steel;
Tear it with wind, with blast-pipe, with blow-torch,
Shape it and form it—the work of man.

3.
And snort up the smokestack
The breath of a stoker engine,
Steel breath of a furnace . . .
Blow through it, snort through it,
Tear it with wind, blast-pipe and blow-torch.

4.
And dampen the heat of the fire-eating engine,
With the moisture of backs, with the labor of man,
And dampen the heat in that towering smokestack,
In the mad heated, breath burning smokestack.
—Solomon Portnow.

Realization

Realization is a tipsy debutante hectically dashing about a night-club floor. She punctures, amid the vacuous laughter, the glittering balloons of anticipation with her glowing cigarette.
—William Closson Emory.

Dreamer

I recline in the bleakness of the valley;
My eyes are on the image of the hill.
The tattered moon goes shambling down the alley
Of the stars, and the hungry wind is still.
—Aaron Rosen.

We only pause here to inform you, that we have already received twelve subscriptions to the De Luxe edition of One Hundred Only Copies of our new book of verse, "Idylls of the Ghetto and Other Poems," at \$5.00 per copy. As was also announced the money received for this subscription will be used to print an edition for The New Leader to be used as a premium for getting new subscribers, so that all those who get in on the One Hundred are performing a deed of circulation assistance for their paper. Do not send any money until you are advised that your book is ready. Send only your names and addresses now.

We are organizing a class in verse and verse forms among the younger bards in the city, to meet weekly at the writer's home, and all such sons and daughters of the Muse are asked to matriculate by sending in a letter of their willingness to join. No fee, no dues, nothing but your time and your literary effort is exacted. This is also an announcement.
S. A. de Witt.

Five Towns on the B. & O.

By day . . . tireless smokestacks . . . hungry, smoky shanties hanging to the slopes . . . crooning: We get by, that's all.
By night . . . all lit up . . . firegold bars, firegold flues . . . and the shanties shaking in clumsy shadows . . . almost the hills shaking . . . all crooning.
By God, we're going to find out or know why.
—Carl Sandburg.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

The Man of Destiny

NAPOLEON represents the apex of individualism. He is individualism incarnate in its aspects of grandeur and command and its aspects of confusion and distress. One can read in the career of Napoleon the sacrifice of social purpose to the advance of individual achievement. Napoleon is exemplary of the great man theory, the embodiment of the superman in actual life. It was Napoleon who inspired Carlyle and, in more devious and subtle fashion, beguiled the romantic Nietzsche. It was Napoleon who inflamed a western world with enthusiasms and hatreds, carried it from chaos to union and union to chaos, shook it at its very roots, alienated princes, solidified peoples, arrested progress and stimulated reform, destroyed empires and created nations—all in the rush of a career that spun itself across the horizon of Europe like a flying-flash of a meteor whose energy was not spent when its course was run. The "man of destiny" was also the man of paradox, the man of opposites, the man of great contradictions.

Emil Ludwig's "Napoleon" (Boniville, \$3) is an excellent portrait of this figure so inspiring to soldier and poet, but so horrifying to nation and king. Few biographical accounts have been as successful as psychological studies or as intensive as poetic interpretations of character as this picture of Napoleon. It is a striking, penetrating, powerful analysis of a mind that influenced and changed an entire generation. No biography of recent years has been so excellently constructed, so symmetrical in organization, so dramatic in description, inadequate as a social dissection of character, insufficient as a picture of the social forces that determine individual greatness, the book, nevertheless, has a psychological value that well-nigh compensates for its sociological shallowness. To have stressed the sociological, too, might have marred its psychological intensity, although it would certainly have widened its scope and deepened its meaning.

While Brandes' study of Napoleon was more sociologically profound, and Taine's interpretation more brilliantly metaphorical, Ludwig's is the best psychological study that has been effected. Ludwig's study is not memorable because it is salted with eccentricity and clever cheapness, but because of its essential intimacies of depiction and analyses of personal motivation. As the author himself says, his purpose was to grasp his protagonist's "innermost moods"; "to examine this man's inner life; to explain his resolves and his refrains, his deeds and his sufferings, his fancies and calculations, as issuing from the moods of his heart—the disclosure of this great chain of effects was at once the means and the end of the portrayal."

In that which he purposed, Ludwig has been eminently successful! "Men of great ambition have sought happiness but found fame," wrote Napoleon in his characteristic vein—this Napoleon who made all men stoop to him in order to accentuate his power; this man who, in the words of Madame de Stael, "neither hates nor loves, (because) for him no one exists but himself; all other people are merely 'numbers' so-and-so." This same Napoleon, who inspired dread by his very presence, in the embrace of the irresistible Marie, the Polish countess, let "the palace, the army, Paris, Europe wait," and on his nuptial night suffered the lap-dog of his wife, Josephine, to remain in bed with him: "I had to choose between sleeping beside the beast or not sleeping with my wife. A terrible dilemma, but I had to take it or leave it. I resigned myself. The dog was less accommodating. I have the marks on my leg to show what he thought about the matter!"

Napoleon's vision of The United States of Europe, his famous Code, his foresight and tactical ingenuities are all described in a detached, illuminating and vivid. Napoleon as a man becomes a clear, understandable, convincing creation.

From his early struggles with his Corsican comrades to his final departure for St. Helena, there is the beat of steady drama and moving impulse. The voyage to St. Helena, the passing of a hero broken in power but not in energy, is picturesque and typical of the style of the book:

"It was on an August morning that, for the last time, Napoleon set eyes on the coast of France, looming through the mist. But what did he care about the coast? The center of his interest lay many miles to the eastward—Paris, which he had wooed more hotly than all the rest of the world; Paris, which has rejected his suit. By evening, he loses sight of Europe, which he has ruled. Darkling is the sea, which he has never been able to rule. He stands in the bows, not looking backwards, nor forwards either. As on the voyage to Egypt, he looks upwards towards the stars. He is seeking 'his own star.'"

THE FIRST CASUALTY

"Truth is the first casualty when war is declared," Arthur Fossombery, member of the English Parliament and active leader of the Labor Party, declared in an address in New York City.

"We must use our influence to stir public opinion," said Mr. Fossombery. "We want a new interpretation of patriotism that will take it from the hands of the militarists. We want a patriotism whose highest form is not dying for one's country, but living for it. Take the bandage from your eyes and show some courage. The time is short and you are up against all sorts of opposition, from the pulpit to the press, but I have great confidence in truth. If we can unite the people against war, our Governments will be forced to chain the dogs of war until they starve to death, and posterity will thank us for the efforts we have made."