

FRIENDS MEASURE UP TO THE OCCASION

THE contributions which we list below include the sum of \$2,504 paid or pledged for early payment by individuals and Labor organizations present at our Anniversary Dinner Celebration last Friday evening. The United Neckwear Makers' Union tops the list with a contribution of \$500.00, a most magnificent gift considering that this is not a very large organization. When the time came to announce contributions, one of their representatives at the dinner, Comrade Louis Fuchs, without any ostentation rose and pledged the sum of \$500.00 in behalf of his organization. The announcement was received with genuine applause on the part of the great gathering, which was not still until a similar contribution was announced from the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, to be followed by smaller contributions from other organizations and individuals. In addition a number of representatives from Labor Unions promised to take up the matter with their organizations and that contributions will be voted to "measure up to the occasion."

The celebration was a success in every respect. Numerically the attendance was more than twice as large as our previous ones, more than one-half of the attendance being from representatives of progressive organizations.

The general feeling voiced all around was that The New Leader has demonstrated its usefulness to the Socialist and that every possible effort must be made to help it out of its present emergency and to ensure for the year, thus laying the foundation for a very near future.

The New Leader has a deficit and to give it a campaign to increase its sum of \$10,000, has been our main support and has made it possible. If we add to this contributions received from our readers and those paid or pledged at our dinner, we are but \$5,000 short to complete our \$20,000 Fund.

The balance needed is the most important one, as it represents the amount allocated for our expansion work. Failure to raise it will again deprive us of the means to extend the usefulness of The New Leader and rob it of the opportunity to reach a wider field. Elaborate plans for such a campaign have been agreed upon. Their execution depends entirely on the sacrifices which our friends are willing to make. So far but a small number of our readers have answered our appeal. We know that the bulk of those not heard from, while eager to do their share, have not the means to do so.

There are others, however, who should be on our list and probably will be heard from later. To those who are able to help us wish to emphasize again that their contribution made NOW, when the emergency is still threatening and hampers with the execution of plans which will ultimately make the paper self-supporting, will serve its purpose tenfold better than if made later.

We are anxious to remove these frantic appeals from our columns. That space deserves to be filled with reading matter that will bring our message to new recruits.

Help us NOW by your contribution. Send what you can immediately so that the remaining \$5,000 may be raised and all our efforts may again be diverted to the better purpose of producing a bigger and better New Leader.

United Neckwear Makers' Union	\$500.00
N. Y. Joint Board Amalgamated Clothing Workers	500.00
Albert Halperin, Brooklyn	250.00
Mr. and Mrs. Morris Ber-	200.00
man, New York	
Solomon Filling, New York	100.00
Morris Hill, New York	50.00
Millicent Union No. 24	50.00
Adolph Warshaw, N. Y.	25.00
Alexander Kahn, N. Y.	25.00
Henry Greenberg, N. Y.	25.00
Workers' Circle Br. 315	25.00
Louis Waldman, N. Y.	25.00
Henry Feuer, N. Y.	50.00
Herman Volk, N. Y.	50.00
23rd A. D. Brooklyn	10.00
P. J. Murphy, Bronx	10.00
Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Brooklyn	5.00
David Mikol, New York	5.00
Wm. Kline, New York	25.00
L. D. Bright, Astoria	10.00
Jacob Pankin, New York	10.00
Ernest Welsh, Richmond Hill	5.00
Joseph Stein, Brooklyn	25.00
Bertha H. Mailly, N. Y.	5.00
K. C. Jurack, Greenwich, Conn.	10.00
Adolph Held, N. Y.	25.00
Jos. L. Sugar, N. Y.	5.00
J. Bernstein, Bronx	10.00
A. V. Brandon, Bronx	50.00
Sig. Haiman, N. Y.	10.00
Elis. Berman, Brooklyn	5.00
Paakunian, N. Y.	5.00
M. L. Barsky, N. Y.	25.00
Social Aid League, Cloak Pressers, N. Y.	25.00
J. C. Feldman, Bronx	10.00
A. Brody, Brooklyn	20.00
Butcher's Table Collection	20.00
J. Kaplan, Brooklyn	5.00
Morris Sigman, N. Y.	10.00
Julius Hochman, N. Y.	10.00
Wm. Canon, Bronx	25.00
Dr. S. Ingberman, N. Y.	10.00
David Rubinow, Bronx	10.00
M. Poses, Brooklyn	5.00
Herman Rivkin, Brklyn	10.00
M. Robinson, Brooklyn	5.00
I. Goldin, Jamaica	10.00
Reinhard Meyer, N. Y.	5.00
J. Schuller, N. Y.	5.00
Olga Long	5.00
J. T. Shipley Table Collections	12.00
Dr. J. M. James, Bronx	10.00
I. Greenberg, N. Y.	15.00
Furriers' Verband Branch	15.00
Max Sherover, N. Y.	25.00
6th A. D. Socialist Party	25.00
S. Gottlieb & Meyer Brust, New York	5.00
Embroidery Union Local 6	25.00
Dr. Louis Sadoff, Brklyn	10.00
International Pocketbook	10.00
Central Branch Local	100.00
Bronx	5.00
Bonanza Embroidery	25.00
Group	5.00
S. B. Shanker, Bronx	5.00
Unclassified collections	47.00
Total from dinner	\$2,504.00
The Forward Ass'n	\$10,000.00
A. L. Watson, Carsonville, Mich.	1.00
Mrs. Pauline Meininger, Erie, Pa.	5.00
Kurt H. Sell, Detroit, Mich.	6.00
F. J. Ottmar, New York	10.00
Nathan Fine, New York	10.00
Mary Janet Miller, Springfield, Md.	10.00
Frank Schulman, Brklyn	1.00
John Stark, New York	1.00
L. J. Roberts, Ukiah, Cal.	1.00
6th A. D. Socialist Party, Kings County	10.00
Total	\$12,554.00
Previously acknowledged	\$12.00
Total to date	\$13,366.00

VIENNA'S BIG CITY BATH A WONDERFUL SUCCESS

When the Vienna Socialist administration opened its magnificent public bath house in the Favoriten district last July, there were many prophecies in the bourgeois press that it would never be a success, as the location in this working class section was poor. On Jan. 28 the Arbeiter-Zeitung announced that 600,000 persons had used the Amalienbad since its opening and that the number of bathers was steadily increasing.

In fact, the baths are being used up to two-thirds of their utmost capacity and more municipal bath houses must soon be built, the first of which will be located in Stadlau. Among the regular bathers are 40,000 school children who are being taught to swim at the city's expense. Persons being taken care of by the city are allowed to bathe free of charge.

Some of the bourgeois Vienna papers occasionally talk about the "unfair competition" of the city bath house with the private baths. In this connection the Arbeiter-Zeitung points out that, although the prices are lower in the Amalienbad than in the private baths, the city pays its employees enough wages so that they can live without depending upon tipping, which is strictly forbidden in the municipal baths, whereas the workers in the private baths are practically dependent upon the generosity of the patrons, their wages being hardly anything. Some private bath house owners pay their help only 40 cents a week, while others pay nothing but the workers' contribution to the sick and death benefit fund.

Vienna Names a Square After Giacomo Matteotti

Giacomo Matteotti, the Italian Socialist martyr, was honored on Jan. 23 by the Socialist administration of Vienna by having the principal square in the new municipal housing development, Sandeiten in the Ottakring and Hernal districts, named after him. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the victims of the fury of the Kaiser's officers serving in the regular army of the German republic, were also honored by having their names given to prominent streets in the district. Among the philosophers and artists remembered in the naming of the new squares was Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche.

Anti-Injunction Bills in New York Legislature

Two anti-injunction bills have been introduced in the New York State legislature, one by Assemblyman Hackenham and the other by Assemblyman Hamill.

Mr. Hamill's bill provides that no injunction shall be issued except after a trial by jury, and that all contempt proceedings arising out of alleged violations of injunctions in industrial disputes shall be tried before a jury.

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Price Five Cents

Aroused Tenants Tell of Hovels Called Homes

BERGER TO VOTE FOR McNARY BILL

Socialist Congressman Explains Position on Farm Relief Legislation

By Marx Lewis (New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Prompted by a desire to help atone for the sin the U. S. committed when it helped prolong the World War, as a result of which the farmers lost their European markets and the workers of Europe are nearer the brink of starvation than they have been in hundreds of years, Rep. Berger of Wisconsin announced that he would vote for the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill. He opposed it when it was considered in a somewhat different form at the last session.

In a brief address, Rep. Berger attributed the sore plight of the farmers to the loss of their European markets, which condition, he said, was due to the exhausted state the nations of Europe are in. Although the total world production in farm products is less now than it was in 1913, the American farmers are unable to dispose of their surplus due to the lack of purchasing power on the part of European workers.

The McNary-Haugen bill, he said, would permit the sale of American farm products abroad cheaper than they will be sold for in the United States, but the workers abroad are entitled to that charity, and the farmers here will merely be getting long-delayed justice, he added.

Berger's speech follows: "Whenever I hear the critics of the McNary-Haugen bill point out the weakness of that measure and prove that it is economically unsound, that it is hard of execution, and that it will help very little, and even that help can be only temporary, I felt that I had to agree with the critics.

"And then when I listen to the arguments of the proponents of the bill, showing up the shortcomings and impossibilities of the other two bills before the House—the Aswell and the Crisp bills—I was in the same position. I could not help but agree.

"In short, I found myself in the position of that 'Pennsylvania-Dutch' justice of the peace who listened to the lawyers in a damage case. He agreed at first with one of them and then with the other. And finally he said that they were both right, and decided that the constable had to pay the costs. (Laughter.)

Thinking the matter over, however, I thought that of the various evils before us it might be wise to choose the smallest. And I believe that the McNary-Haugen bill in its present form is the least dangerous. (Applause.) And it also possesses a virtue which none of the speakers has so far pointed out.

"Mr. Chairman, I admit that when the McNary-Haugen bill was up last year I voted against it. I was not quite sure at the time that I did right. I am going to vote for it now, and I am not any more certain that I am right now. "The fundamental differences in the bills before us are as follows:

"The Crisp and the Aswell bills require a direct subsidy from the United States Treasury while the Haugen bill does not. (Applause.) The Crisp bill makes it directly and definitely a price-fixing measure. The Haugen bill does not. (Applause.) All the farmers' organizations are opposed to the Crisp (Continued on page 3)

ANNUAL FORWARD BALL THIS SATURDAY NIGHT

The annual Forward Ball, the outstanding social affair each year in the Jewish labor movement of New York City and vicinity, will be held tonight, Saturday, Feb. 19, in the New Madison Square Garden, 50th street and Eighth avenue. The affair, which will be a mask ball, has always attracted thousands of workers to its frolic and a bigger crowd than ever is expected.

Harry Hershfield, the famous cartoonist, originator of "Abe Kabbila," will act as the judge of the contests arranged and will award the prizes. The entire troupe of the Russian Habima Players will appear in masks.

Filth-Ridden Apartments Complained of at Public Hearing

FOR a few brief hours the tenants of New York had their say. It was at a hearing before the State Housing Board, which is inquiring into the advisability of extending the emergency rent laws.

The tenants told an almost uniform story: Houses dirty and filthy; no heat, no hot water, no running water; no gas, even windowless rooms by the thousands; rookeries for which high rents are exacted; raising upon raising in rent; doubling and tripling up of families in single, small apartments; the renting of rookeries condemned 50 years ago; children crowded into foul-smelling rooms; old couples unable to pay the rents and forced into almshouses; inability to get landlords to make necessary repairs.

The tragedies of the slum-dwellers were laid bare in all their details. Then the landlords came on for their say. There are vacancies aplenty, they said. The tenants retorted that the vacancies were unfit for human habitation, although the rents asked for them were high. One landlord said the trouble was the East Side is called a slum. He wanted that term lifted out of the dictionary. That would permit him to rent his East Side apartments and thus end housing congestion, he said.

Judge Jacob Panken, the Socialist, came to plead for the tenants. He summed up the testimony of all the tenants when he said that not only does the emergency still exist, but it is greater now than ever. There were audible groans and hisses from the landlords' benches.

"I think the courts should have the right to force the landlords to make necessary repairs," he said. "That's what I call radical," a stout ready operator whispered to The New Leader reporter.

When Panken sat down the real estate men came forward to attempt to undo some of the harm he had done. They wanted no Socialism, they said, amid hisses from the assembled tenants.

The New Leader will print the greater part of Judge Panken's testimony next week. We present at this time a few of the typical statements made to the committee by tenants or their representatives.

Hear Agnes M. Craig: "Since the last time the rent laws were extended not one single thing has been done to alleviate conditions in the lower priced tenement houses—I mean tenement houses running from \$12 a room down. There isn't an emergency at above \$12 a room. I place it at \$12 a room because my experience is that the vast army of tenants cannot afford to pay \$12 a room. They can afford to pay \$5.

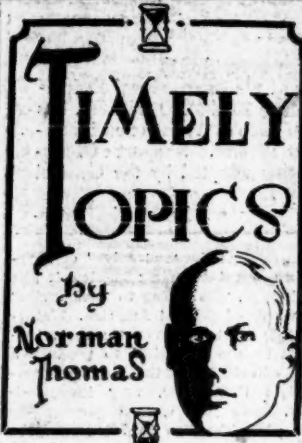
"A great many landlords come to me and say: 'Wait till the first of June. Tenants have had the upper hand for the last five or six years; but wait till June 1st; then we will clear out the tenants and get new ones.' That is a boast made very frequently last year. "It is all right to say there are vacancies. I will concede the vacancies—but I will also say that if a survey were made it would show that either the houses are in such dilapidated condition that the tenants cannot live in them, or they are in new (Continued on page 2)

COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT TOOL OF U. S. COMPANIES

HOW well the Government of the Republic of Colombia is serving the Tropical Oil Company, an American concern, in its troubles with labor is illustrated by an item in the current number of Commerce Reports. As reported in The New Leader at the time the strike began, the Colombian workers are good fighters and may yet beat the company, despite Government interference. The item sent by United States Trade Commissioner Albert E. Ellis from Bogota reads:

"The Magdalena is reported to be in good condition, and it is stated that the strike at Barranca Bermeja is terminated. However, the martial law, declared Jan. 26, is still effective from that point to Girardot. Barranca Bermeja is the seat of operations of the most important oil companies in Colombia. It lies some 350 miles from the mouth of the river, midway between Barranquilla and Girardot, so that a strike at that point paralyzes freight movement to Bogota, Medellin and other points in the interior.

"However, due to Government military intervention, some freight is beginning to move. The Gov-



ACCORDING to figures carefully compiled by Stuart Chase, 908 percent of the population of the United States own 12 percent of the total wealth of the nation. Of course, the control that this eight one-thousandths of one percent of the population exerts over the destinies of the country, as against the scattered and diffused holdings of the rest of us is many times 12 percent. So this is the country which we are told is too prosperous to need labor unions or a labor party!

President Coolidge never did a more sensible thing than to propose a new naval conference, to apply the 5-5-3 ratio to cruisers, etc., as well as to battleships. Such a ratio will not of itself guarantee peace, but it will avert a race in naval armament in which the stronger nations financially are bound to win. It will save everybody money, and it will lessen the international suspicion and irritation which prepare the soil to receive the seeds of war. France desires to block any such parity. For our purposes a British-American-Japanese conference would be enough, but England will hardly come in if France stays out. French officials speak avowedly in the interest of the League of Nations and its more comprehensive program—a program in no way menaced by the conditions of President Coolidge's proposed parity. Actually, of course, France wishes to protect her rights to build as many submarines as she wants. The French program calls for a more effective use of submarines in the event of another war than was made by Germany in the last war. So much for the sincerity of old moral protests against "The Huns." At the same time it must be admitted that President Coolidge's rampant imperialism in Latin America makes even the Socialist and Labor press in Europe cynical about his naval parity.

The United States still has time to take a decisive step in winning Chinese friendship. It is a step suggested by many of the best experts on Chinese affairs. It is this: Let the President formally announce his willingness to negotiate new treaties with a representative commission of Chinese on which both the principal factions will agree. One of the striking facts about the Chinese situation is that Canton and Peking, the Nationalist Party and their enemies, the old war lords, are and have to be a unit in demanding a revision of the treaties. Dr. Sze, Chinese Minister to Washington, is in touch with both Canton and Peking. Almost certainly a representative Chinese commission could be created. If not, it would clearly be the fault of the Chinese, whereas today the failure of any steps toward negotiation is primarily the failure of the United States and other Western Powers. At the same time it has been suggested that the President appoint a representative American commission to visit China and study all the relevant facts in a spirit of friendship so that we may be able to negotiate intelligently for new treaties.

In dealing with China it must be (Continued on page 3)

Unions Demand Rockefeller Heed Church Report

KELLOGG SEEKS LIGHT ON MEXICO

Secretary Wants to Know Who Published Socialist Leaflet on Mexico

IS THE ground being laid for a revival of the Espionage Act? Are new red hunts being planned?

Are Socialists and liberals to be made the object of another spasm of hysterical government repression?

If not, what is the reason for the sudden activity of the State Department?

For some days at least one representative of the State Department has been making investigations of the leaflet "Hands Off Mexico," issued by the Socialist Party of New York.

An agent of the State Department has been around trying to find out who issued the leaflet, who wrote it and other facts concerning it. The activities were wholly unnecessary since the leaflet plainly carries the name of the Socialist Party on it. However, the ways of detectives often surpass human understanding.

Coupled with the recent outburst at the National Republican Club about an imaginary "red menace," the activity of the State Department might be taken as advance warnings of a renewal of the hysteria of the post-war days.

The Espionage Act is still on the books and may be made operative again by order of the President. It may become useful to the Government if it attempts to carry out what is alleged to be its plans for stirring up trouble in Mexico and possibly intervening in that country in behalf of the threatened oil interests.

(Copies of the leaflet may be obtained for distribution at the offices of the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street.)

PANAMA WORKERS URGE DEFEAT OF PROPOSED TREATY WITH U. S. A.

By a New Leader Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Labor Federation of Panama has sent President Green a protest against the unjust stipulations contained in the treaty negotiated and written by the representatives of the United States of America and of the Republic of Panama. The treaty has already been submitted to the governments of both countries.

The statement of the Labor Federation of the Republic of Panama says, "It is astonishing that a rich and powerful nation such as the U. S. of A. with immense territory and so many millions of inhabitants, desires to maintain in economic servitude and subjugation the people of Panama, which is one of the most generous nations of America, and which has made possible the building of the Panama Canal by the United States for the benefit of the world.

The reward Panama will receive, according to the treaty, is subjugation and servitude of the people of Panama, whose greatest wishes were always for the progress and well-being of both nations. This treaty should be opposed as it already has been by the people of Panama. This problem of Panama has not only an intimate relation with our nation, but with the international relations of the Pan-American countries. The treaty should not be approved until the proper and necessary corrections are made to safeguard the liberties of the Panamanians.

DR. HOLMES GREETED THE NEW LEADER

The Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, unable to attend the New Leader dinner because of illness, sent his "best wishes for many years of potent influence."

The New Leader has also received a very kind greeting from William Walker, District Worthy Foreman of District Assembly 49, Knights of Labor, the historic section of the famed labor body of four decades ago.

Settlement of Strike on Western Maryland Road Asked

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CLEVELAND.—Calling upon the Rockefeller interests to act in accordance with the findings of the church report on the strike of engineers, firemen and hostlers on the Western Maryland Railroad, the national heads of the brotherhoods have issued a statement.

"President Byers is out of step with every other railroad president in the United States and Canada in the treatment of workers," say the rail chiefs. He is called upon to "get in step" and "come to the right side of the road." Quoting the language of the report, union officials declare the management of the Western Maryland Railroad has adopted the "law of the jungle" in dealing with its workers. They challenge this law with the "law of Christian civilization."

The statement was issued by A. Johnson, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and D. B. Robertson, President of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, as a result of the publication of a research study of the strike of engineers on the Western Maryland Railroad by the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches, the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The joint statement of the rail chiefs says:

"The report places the responsibility for the strike on the management of the Western Maryland Railroad, pointing out that it is really a 'lock-out' and that the management 'struck first.' The study raises the question of the responsibility of the stockholders, the chief of whom is John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

"Representatives of the three great religious groups of this country constitute the jury that tried this case. These men assert that the report raises the profound question of social justice. Has the worker any rights in his job? They deny the right of the Western Maryland management to lock out old employees and to give away their 'lifetime earnings' to new employees. They compared the company's action in stopping the pensions of retired employees to that of a 'strong man beating a cripple.' They say that the railroad is relying on 'the law of the jungle, force and fraud,' and that the churches have challenged that law with the law of Christian civilization."

"But underlying this question of personal morality is the profound question of social justice: Has the worker any rights in his job?

"If a worker, such as a locomotive engineer or fireman, has no rights in the job to which he gives his life and upon which the security of his wife and children depend, then he is the victim of a social wrong.

"Engineers and firemen who were working for the Western Maryland Railroad had acquired rights under their contracts to improved pay and working conditions according to their seniority. They had no basis for the ambition to improve themselves, which is essential to contentment and efficiency, except in the increased assurance with every year of service that their positions were more secure and a better wage was nearer.

"These men on Oct. 13, 1925, were given three days' notice to accept in writing reduced wages, harder working conditions and loss of the protection of their organization, or else be discharged. They were given the choice either to give up the fruits of a lifetime or to submit to arbitrary control of their lives and work by their employer, in absolute violation of agreements of long standing. There was no real choice. Submission to immoral lawless force always means further submission with less power of resistance.

"The engineers and firemen refused to submit. They were locked out. New men were employed and seniority rights, earned by the old employees through twenty and thirty years of service, were stopped. A strong man who beats a cripple on the street would be mobbed. Can a hard body of four decades ago (Continued on page 3)

World Workers Pledge Aid Against Mexico's Despoilers

HILLQUIT FEARS International Backs WAR OVER Calles Government Against Oil Companies

Socialist International Acts on Report from America — Kuomintang Represented

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The feature of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International held here last Saturday and Sunday was the demand for world peace voiced by every speaker and the assurance given by the representatives of the powerful Socialist parties of Europe that their organizations were ready to go the limit in helping keep the Powers from dismembering China and Mussolini from starting war in the Balkans or in Asia Minor.

The situation in Mexico and Nicaragua created by the high-handed interference of the American Government, there also was taken up, and Coolidge and Kellogg were denounced for their imperialistic attitude.

Arthur Henderson and his fellow representatives of the British Labor Party reported that their party was doing its best to block the imperialistic-Chinese policy of the Tory Government and would not rest until successful.

Something of a sensation was created at the meeting by the appearance of Yang-Kan-Tao, a representative of the revolutionary Chinese workers, who assured his hearers that there was no danger of any serious anti-foreign movement in China, and that the only real menace to the peace of Asia and of the world was the imperialistic policy of the so-called great powers, pursued at the behest of their capitalists.

Speaking for the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, R. Abramovich said that the aid being given by Soviet Russia to the Chinese revolutionaries would be welcomed by all radicals if it did not have so many strings tied to it.

Unable to attend the Paris meeting, Morris Hillquit, one of the American members of the Executive, sent a report on the Mexican and Nicaraguan situation which clarified the matter and made a deep impression upon the delegates.

Hillquit's cable report follows:

"The conflict is between Mexico under a progressive labor government striving to free its land and natural wealth from domination of foreign absentee ownership and to redeem the country for the people, and United States capitalism determined to keep Mexican land and oil fields and to exploit and pauperize the Mexican people. American capitalism is bent on fomenting a revolution in Mexico, which will place in power its servile tools or causing a war and shedding American blood for Mexican oil. Nicaragua is an incident and pretext in the nature of an American Serbia.

"The Western Hemisphere may be engulfed in a war as devastating and disastrous as the one from which Europe has not yet recovered unless prevented by the emphatic opposition of all progressive American forces, supported by the solemn warning and protest of the whole world of Socialist labor and peace."

In addition to adopting resolutions and damning the imperialistic powers for their trouble-making activities all over the world, the meeting protested against the Russian persecution of political opponents. Details of the meeting will be published in The New Leader within a short time.

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

5 P. M.—Contemporary Authors

PROF. H. W. L. DANA

"Teller" (German)

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—

EDMOND B. CHAFFEE

"The Ethics of Propaganda"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—

MARCIAL P. LICHANCO

"The United States and the Philippines"

ADMISSION FREE

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(By a New Leader Correspondent)

AMSTERDAM.—The full support of the International Federation of Trade Unions, representing 20,000,000 workers, has been pledged to the workers of Mexico to "resist acts of interference and foreign aggression" against Mexico. Support of Mexico's workers was pledged in a resolution adopted by the General Council of the International on January 12.

Commenting on the resolution, the press service of the International says:

Mexico's value as an oil-producing country is well known. Its output has risen from 1,645 cubic metres in 1901 to nearly 86,000,000 cubic metres in 1922, and very little less in the succeeding years; its wells are among the most productive in the world, one of them, the Potrero del Llano, having been known to yield 8,000,000 barrels in three months. American capitalists own about one-fourth of the whole wealth of Mexico: their total Mexican investments are estimated at about \$500,000,000. The capital invested in oil is enormous. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana controls the Mexican Petroleum Company, Doheny's British-Mexican Petroleum Company has concessions totaling 2,000,000 acres, and produces about 150,000 barrels a day. J. P. Morgan, through another company, has concessions covering 12,000,000 acres, and then there are the Mellons, the Sinclairs and many others, most of whom are loosely associated in the "Association of Petroleum Producers in Mexico."

These people, the Morgans, the Guggenheims, the Rockefellers, etc., are of course the same people who hold in their hands many strands of European finance, one of them, Doheny, is the hero of what was almost certainly a very shady transaction in connection with the oil supplies of his own country.

The Oil Legislation
In its attempt to stem the tide of permeation by foreign capital, the Mexican Government is not introducing a new policy; it is reverting to a very old one, which was only reversed by Porfirio Diaz in 1884. Since that date, the influx of foreign financial control has become so great a menace that when in 1917 the labor battalions wrested a new constitution from Carranza as the price of their aid to him, the labor leaders embodied in it clauses declaring the land and mineral wealth to be in principle the property of the nation.

It was not until early in 1926 that the Calles government passed a law applying this principle, the outstanding features of this and a later edict being that those who hold property acquired prior to May 1, 1917, must convert their titles into concessions which will expire in fifty years from the date when exploitation began, and they must accept Mexican citizenship, but only in respect of their property or concessions, which merely means that they must give an undertaking not to invoke the aid of foreign courts of justice in respect of any disputes arising therefrom.

The first point called forth a solemn protest from Kellogg, the American Secretary of State, who, acting as the mouthpiece of American capitalism, declared that it was an attempt to convert "unqualified ownership" into terms of years, and that it was "retroactive and confiscatory." The "unqualified ownership" to which Kellogg refers is, however, now finding it in many cases very difficult to establish its titles; the fact being that the sudden oil finds in Mexico at the beginning of the century attracted hordes of human vultures who were often absolutely unscrupulous in the methods by which they acquired oil-bearing lands or concessions; for instance, Americans (often lay figures) would marry Mexican women in possession of such land, and desert them when they had got from them their title deeds!

Force Is Opposed
As for the "terms of years," it is well known that the life of a particular well is often short, so that it is improbable that the concession holder would be deriving wealth from it after fifty years! Moreover, Calles has consistently promised that all claims for unjust spoliation shall receive careful attention, and compensation will be paid if they can be proved; and a Mexican-American Claims Commission exists in Washington for the purpose. It would certainly be a dangerous precedent for the whole world if the U. S. A. Government should decide to use armed force, when arbitration is so easily available, in support of vested rights acquired under an old regime.

The Mexican Government is, of course, only giving legal form to the principle of national ownership of mineral resources, which is to be found among many nations. Nor is the opposition to the new law by any means universal; by the end of December some 300 applications for the conversion of titles had been received; British and Dutch companies were proclaiming their willingness to abide by the Mexican legislation. Moreover, although the American companies were still holding out at the beginning of January, there was a general expectation that Mexican courts would prove conciliatory and provide a workable compromise.

The "Red" Stories
But the American oil owners were holding out because they had hopes of seeing their chestnuts pulled out of the fire for them by others. The Nicaraguan affair gave them a chance to intrigue against the Mexican Government, whose fall would relieve them of all their difficulties. They engineered, therefore, a great propaganda

campaign against the "red drive" of Mexico in Central America; Mexico, it was proclaimed, was trying to "bolshelize" the whole of Central America. Unfortunately for them, even the most truculent newspaper failed to produce a shred of evidence of this, and the Communists themselves, very inconveniently, have just been deploring the lack of bolshevism in Mexico. Even the British "Times" says that the bolshevik stories are the work of paid lawyers acting in business interests.

The oil kings have another useful ally in the Mexican Church, which has been in opposition to the government since last August, and is now in open rebellion, thus playing into the hands of the American financial interests.

It is significant, however, that little or not attempt is made in the U. S. A. to gloss over the facts. Senator Borah, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate, the foremost advocate of arbitration, speaks openly of a "shameless conspiracy" to drag the United States into war with Mexico, and of the "undisclosed interests" at work behind the scenes. Public opinion generally (including even the "Journal of Commerce") is showing itself more and more in favor of arbitration; even Kellogg is beginning to speak more moderately. The attitude of South America is probably a restraining factor.

It is one thing to bully a tiny state into accepting a president it does not want and quite another to advertise to the world that the United States Government is behind Wall Street in its unscrupulous plans to overthrow the Mexican Government for the sake of obtaining a free hand with Mexican oil.

Meanwhile, the American Federation of Labor and the Pan-American Federation of Labor are throwing all their influence on the side of arbitration. The I. F. T. U. is rejoiced to be able to add its influence to theirs, and to urge upon international trade unionism all over the whole world the claims of the Mexican nation.

Those who are acquainted with the wide social program of the Mexican Government and know what they are doing to educate the Mexican people and give them a worthy place among civilized nations will have not the least doubt as to the honesty of their intentions and the justice of their demands.

CRIMMINS, SOCIALIST, DIES UPSTATE; MOURNED BY MANY COMRADES

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

SYRACUSE.—Thomas Crimmins, for many years a prominent member of the Socialist Party, was buried Friday afternoon in Woodlawn Cemetery, following simple Socialist services.

Draped over the casket were a red wreath and a bouquet of carnations tied with a red ribbon. Gustave A. Strebel, organizer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, told of the ideals of Crimmins' life and led in the singing of the Socialist anthems.

The services were carried out as Mr. Crimmins had asked when he felt that he would not recover. He was a printer by trade and had been a neuro-path. He was best known in Syracuse as a candidate for Mayor and for Secretary of State. Mr. Crimmins had been connected with the New York Times and the New York Call for a time he was a Communist.

Fear of death never troubled him, Mr. Strebel told the gathering. What Mr. Crimmins was interested in was life and activity. He had stood for fair play, for universal knowledge and the development of a social system where such justice would dominate. Bearers were Fred C. Scott, William Williams, William McLeavy, John Geary, Conrad Kitz and B. Fuller.

"When you see them you almost feel as though you are going back fifty years—the conditions of the walls and the ceilings, not dirty, for some of them are just as clean as they can possibly be under the circumstances, but they need paint and need paper. They are not sanitary. Years ago when there was diphtheria or scarlet fever in a house the Board of Health would come in and compel the landlord to fumigate, but now they can have tuberculosis or anything, scarlet fever, or anything else, and when the people vacate the house is not fumigated, and a new tenant moves right in in the poorer

sections. That, of course, has come under my supervision."

By Mr. Stern: Do they report contagious diseases to the health department?

"They do not require any fumigation any more. I have had tenants come and complain and say, 'Can't I have my rooms done?' They say, 'One little fellow has had diphtheria or scarlet fever and I want to bring the other children home.' There is no way doing it unless the Tenement Commission finds there are really violations, but fumigation doesn't come under the violations."

"Are most of the dispossession proceedings brought before the court because tenants are seeking to obtain a reduction of their rentals?"

"A great number of them are brought in because the landlord refuses to do repairs, and it gets to such a state that the tenant can no longer stand it, and thinking they will do something if they get before the court they withhold their rent, and of course, the courts have no jurisdiction on repairs of any kind. They send them to the Tenement House Department. We find hundreds of dispossession cases every week on the calendar of tenants come in say, 'Your Honor, I asked him to fix the stove. It is ten or more years old, the gas escapes and I can't use the oven. I am trying to cook for a family on two holes.' The judge says, 'Why don't you give her a gas stove?'

The landlord says, 'Oh, the gas stove is all right. It can be fixed.' The judge says, 'I am sorry, Madam, but you will have to pay your rent. I have no jurisdiction to order a new gas stove.' The same thing happens as to the walls. There is one particular case I know of now. I will be glad to locate that for you and give you the address in this particular case. There was a flood in the room, and the place was so wet it was impossible for the tenant to live in that particular room. The Tenement House Department was there and ordered a violation on the place. This particular woman had to take her two children and pay rent for them upstairs. She went before the Municipal Court the other day and the judge ordered her to pay her rent. She can't have the use of one room because it is so damp and wet owing to a flood."

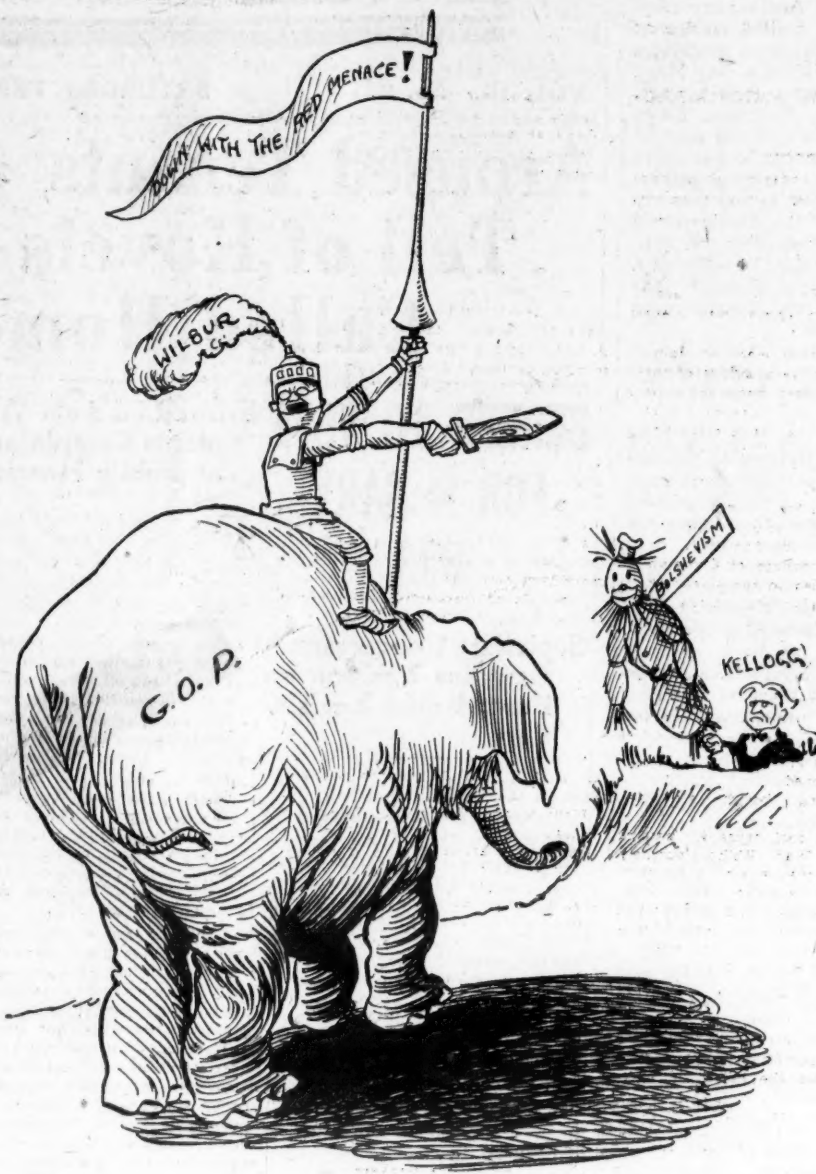
"Have you noticed any cases where

"The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Sacco and Vanzetti conference committee. More than forty mutual benefit societies and several labor organizations are part of the committee. A symphony orchestra will play before the meeting begins."

ADMISSION FREE QUESTIONS ANSWERED

(Under Auspices of West Side Chapter of Unitarian Laymen's League)

The G. O. P. Goes Forth to War



W.T. Brady

Tenants Tell of Hovels

(Continued from page 1)

houses where the rents are so high that it is impossible for the vast majority of tenants to pay the rents."

"Can you be a little more specific about the nature of the apartments that are vacant that are unfit for occupancy?"

"The only way I can be specific is to say that there are vacancies that are existing now in the cheaper type houses. The houses are in bad condition, the plumbing is bad, the rooms are filthy dirty, and when the landlord goes in and cleans them the rents jump so high it is impossible for tenants."

"In your experience, Miss Craig, have rents been coming down?"

"They have not come down one single cent in the old type houses, but they are steadily going up. Every single week in my office there comes requests for increases in rent, and I know of not one single case, and I have handled thousands upon thousands of houses where the rents have been reduced in the last six years in the old type house, but I have many cases where we started six years ago at a rental of \$15.00 and those same houses are now renting for \$35.00. Some of them are paying \$30.00 with toilets in the hall, no baths, no improvements at all."

"When you see them you almost feel as though you are going back fifty years—the conditions of the walls and the ceilings, not dirty, for some of them are just as clean as they can possibly be under the circumstances, but they need paint and need paper. They are not sanitary. Years ago when there was diphtheria or scarlet fever in a house the Board of Health would come in and compel the landlord to fumigate, but now they can have tuberculosis or anything, scarlet fever, or anything else, and when the people vacate the house is not fumigated, and a new tenant moves right in in the poorer

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ADMISSION FREE QUESTIONS ANSWERED

(Under Auspices of West Side Chapter of Unitarian Laymen's League)

an increase of \$23 per month, and I wish you could see those apartments, gentlemen. There are rat holes there big enough for a child to crawl through. On the top floors you can put your head through the holes in the ceiling and when the landlords are asked to make any repairs and the tenants say 'But I can see the sky,' the landlords say, 'I am glad you told me that. That is why I want an increase. I didn't include the scenery when I first made the contract.'"

Mrs. Fanny Shayer, past president of the Ladies' Auxiliary, American Legion Post 581, testified as follows:

"My apartment when I went in was \$22.00 for five rooms. That was 11 years ago. We had a landlord who gave us during the war a \$2.80 increase, although by rights he should not have given it to the families of ex-service men, and my husband was then in the army. I paid the increase. We then got a \$5.00 increase after that. It brought the rent up to \$30.00. He sold the house, and a group of men or several groups of men took the house and demanded a six-dollar increase. We asked him what we would get for the \$5.00. He said, 'Electricity.' We said we would give them \$3.00 providing they give us electricity and a little cleaning. They said, 'No, they wouldn't do that, and the one who stood most behind the tenants about not giving the increase of rent was our janitress. She told us not to give it to them, so we didn't and that was mainly because the janitor had her family in the house, and she didn't want their rent increased. Now, the apartment got so bad I went to the Tenement House Department and they came and found violations in every room. They took the landlord to the court and told him what he would have to do. We tried to show him that the toilet bowl was all cracked and leaking on the floor, and they said they couldn't mend it. They put a little white wash over the ceiling. They took the paper off the wall in the front only and they left it with white walls. I couldn't get any cold water, so they broke through the walls and put up some pipes and now I am left with the holes, and the mice jump in and out and are quite trained. In December, the janitress did not come for the rent, and my husband said to her, 'Why don't you collect?' She said, 'I am not collecting the rent. There will be a man around.' So the man came the next day, and he said, 'I suppose you know you are going to get a raise.' We went down on the first of the month and offered our rent. There is another tenant in the same boat with me. She sent her check down registered. My money was refused, her money was returned, and there we are sitting. In a letter to me he says that he has received the violations from the Tenement House Department, and for that reason he is raising us to \$45.00, or a 50 per cent increase to put a little whitewash over the dirt of the ceiling which is already cracking coming down, and that is what he wants money for."

James Middleton said:

"We have a great many people living in Harlem in coal bins and cellars. Mothers, with small children, are forced to live there on account of the rents being so dear. People are paying for coal bins in cellars \$25 and \$30."

"No, 13 East 134th Street, there are four rooms with toilet in the hall, filthy condition, not good enough for a cow to live in."

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BERGER TO VOTE FOR McNARY BILL

Beckerman Warns Against Labor Swing Toward Conservatism

(Continued from page 1)

and Aswell bills. They prefer no legislation at all to those. It is not more credit that they want; they want to dispose of their surplus. (Applause.)

"The Haugen bill makes for a continued policy of orderly marketing. The Crisp bill wants to function in certain emergencies only. The Aswell bill will turn it over to a Government corporation. The Aswell bill is the most 'socialistic' bill, but it is the devil's own socialism. (Laughter.)

"Complete political control is established by both the Crisp and the Aswell bills. In the Haugen bill the farmers' organizations will control. And if they make a failure of it they can not blame anyone else. (Laughter and applause.)

Neither the Aswell nor the Crisp bill provide for a restraint on overproduction through an equalization fee. The Haugen bill does.

The Country Bankers

"Of course, we must admit that a great deal of logging has been done by the adherents of the Haugen bill. Considerable swapping of votes has taken place. Cotton was taken in. Tobacco and even rice are now considered basic products. (Laughter.) But logging takes place in the passing of all big bills.

"And I can understand why even the country bankers should be so interested in this measure, especially in States like Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, where the farmers can not pay up their mortgages and can not even pay interest, and where bank failures have become epidemic.

"The Haugen bill will undoubtedly also get some Democratic support, for the simple reason that the Democrats will want to put the President in a hole. The President will either have to sign the bill and thereby repudiate the position he took in the past, or he will have to veto it and face that great Pullman farmer, Frank Lowden, of Illinois, who farms the Pullman porters, as the farmers' favorite son. (Laughter and applause.)

"The greatest danger of the Haugen bill is that if it should be successful it will still further encourage overproduction of the staple products. Of course, that is not a danger that is facing the farmer immediately.

"Another fault of the bill is, we are told, that the farm products will be sold cheaper in Europe than at home. In other words, farmers will get a premium on their export. All the big manufacturing corporations of America, however, are exporting and selling their products abroad cheaper than in America.

Aid to Europe Seen

"I have seen a list of 57 big corporations that are selling their products cheaper in Europe than they are here, so if the farmers do this, I will forgive them. Besides, in the case of the Haugen bill, this fault is in reality a virtue.

"Everybody agrees that the present overproduction of 30 per cent. in wheat, of about 20 per cent. in cotton, and of more than 20 per cent. in other farm products is caused mainly by the fact that since the war we have lost our European markets, especially the English and the German markets.

"As a matter of fact, there were less foodstuffs produced in 1925 in the world than there were produced in 1913.

"So these peoples need our grain and our farm products as much as ever, or more than ever, only they can not buy because the war has ruined their buying power. And both in England and in Germany the working class now must exist nearer the starvation line than in hundreds of years in the past. Our farm problem is simply a question of finding a market for the surplus of our farm products.

"By making it possible for these working people of Great Britain and Germany and other European countries to buy their flour and their meat cheaper we not only enable them to get on their feet again, and in course of time become good customers again, but we are also doing a very humane and socialistic thing. And that is the main reason why this time I am going

Fighting Communism No Reason for Drift to Right, Labor Leader Says

A WARNING against permitting the activities of the Communists to drive the labor movement to the "right" was voiced by Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, speaking at the third annual New Leader dinner.

"The necessary work of fighting the disruptive activities of the Communists," said Beckerman, "is under no circumstances an excuse for the Socialists abandoning their beliefs. Probably the greatest item of injury we can check up against the Communists is the fact that in so many cases they have driven the labor movement into a more conservative position than ever. Between the wreckage of Communism and the furriers' unions and the conservative field, some labor leaders find themselves in a dilemma. Rather than see their organizations go on the rocks as a result of Communist tactics, many have quite understandably made

to vote for this bill, especially since it has been improved.

The following thought also deserves attention:

"We had no real cause for getting into the World War. Without our help and interference—which practically took place the very first day the war started, because we sold munitions and war materials—the war would have ended about three years sooner, and it would have ended in a 'draw'."

"We got nothing out of our interference in that war, except 123,000 dead, about 200,000 maimed, and a war expense of about \$10,000,000,000. Our reward was prohibition and the 'flu.' And we earned the hatred of every European nation."

"All participants would have gone back to work in 1915 if our munition makers and profiteers had not kept them in, and Europe would have been on its feet a long time ago. And our farmers would not have lost their markets."

A Matter of Justice

"It is only a matter of plain international justice that we should pay for the sin of our interference. (Laughter.)

"Now, who is to pay?"

"We cannot make the profiteers pay. They are the real patriots—they own the 'patria.' And they did not make us go into the war to pay out even a part of their profits again. They are 'patriots' because they can make others pay."

"The American working class, at least as far as it is organized, will also resist, although the profiteers are very willing to have the workers pay in the form of lower wages and longer workdays."

"Under these conditions, as a natural consequence, the farmers, who are very poorly organized, had to pay through the loss of their markets for the sin of America going into the war. I think that it is very unjust to make the farmers alone pay for that sin. I am willing that we should help to atone for the war sin by paying the farmers the export premium. I am willing that the European working people shall have bread cheaper than we have it ourselves. I am for the Haugen bill."

"We are always told that this is the richest country in the world. According to the conservative estimate of the Commerce Department, we have accumulated more wealth in the last 12 years than all of England accumulated in the whole 1,000 years of her existence."

"The national wealth of England is one hundred billions; of Germany, forty billions; of France, fifty-two billions; of America, three hundred and twenty-one billions. The United

common cause with the conservatives.

"Yet, whatever we do to fight the Communists, let us not let it be taken as a pretext for a swing to the right. Let us not forget the Socialist school in which we received our training for the labor movement."

J. T. Walton Newbold, former Communist member of the British parliament, was another speaker at the dinner. He told how, sitting as a member of the Pristidium of the Third International, while he was still a Communist, he observed the formulation of plans to "capture" the American and British unions which later resulted in so much damage. When he learned of these methods, he said, he determined to leave the ranks of the Communists and go over to the British labor party.

On behalf of Fenner Brockway, secretary of the British labor party, Mr. Newbold extended greetings to the American Socialist movement. He said the British Socialists are awaiting with interest the growth and development of a powerful political labor movement here.

Judge Jacob Panken, Hyman Nemer, Abraham L. Shipiloff and Louis Waldman, who was toastmaster, also spoke. Through the speeches was reiterated the hope that New York City may again have a Socialist labor daily of its own.

States today boasts of as much wealth as England, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan combined.

Now, what is the use of being the richest country in the world if you cannot be charitable?

"I shall vote for the Haugen bill as a measure of charity and justice—to our European workers and justice to our American farmers."

"Nor is the giving of legislative aid to certain classes a novel procedure."

"It was always given to the manufacturers. In fact, the tariff walls that we have erected since the very beginning of our national existence were simply put up as a protection to the manufacturers."

"It was always given to the railroads in innumerable land grants, subsidies, and other forms of Government bounty."

Aiding the Bankers

"We have always given liberal aid to the bankers; hardly a session passes but what we enact some bill for their benefit."

"Even the workmen, stepchildren as they are and always were, have been given some benefits through legislation, such as eight-hour workdays, child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws, minimum wage laws, and so forth."

"We began the work of this Congress by giving millions in the form of reduced taxation to the richest of the rich. We gave billions to our European debtors, with which they can now compete more successfully in their race of building warships and arming battalions."

"Only the farmers, although they represent the most important industry of our country, and a population of 30,000,000 dependent on the farms, have received no remedial legislation whatever."

"They are in great danger of being pushed down to the level of the European peasant if they do not look out."

"Our ruling class demands that the American farmers shall provide food and raw material for American industry and for American labor at prices no higher than foreign manufacturers and foreign labor get them for in foreign countries, while these manufacturers are enjoying the benefits of a high tariff at the present time, and have enjoyed these benefits for many years in the past."

Mr. Aswell: "I just want to ask one question. How many farmers has the gentleman in his district?"

Mr. Berger: "I have some few thousand. Moreover, I represent every Socialist farmer in the country. Gentlemen, I am one of the Members who speaks rarely, and whenever I have something to say I wish you would give me a chance. (Applause.)

"They call the farmer a 'yokel,' a hayseed and a rube, and make a laughing-stock of him. In all seriousness, the farmer is the most necessary and the most useful factor in civilization, because without him we would not eat."

"In any event, I am for him because he is very much the underdog at the present time. We Socialists are always with the underdog. And, therefore, I shall vote for the Haugen bill, even though it may not be quite sound economically and may help only temporarily. (Applause.)

"Please remember the entire capitalist system is not sound economically. And it will not last forever, either."

Estonian Socialists For Land Referendum

Dissatisfied with the law passed last year by the Estonian Parliament, providing compensation for the big agrarians whose land had been taken over to some extent by the government and divided among landless peasants and city workers, the Estonian Socialists, according to a report from Reval printed in the Frankfurter Zeitung of Jan. 24, are taking steps to put the whole matter up to a referendum.

They have succeeded in obtaining 80,000 signatures (55,000 more than required by the constitution) demanding the passage of their bill, under which no compensation at all is to be paid to Estonian citizens whose land holdings were taken over. As there are only twenty-four Socialists and six Com-

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

remembered that we have everything to win, even financially, by friendship. Unlike the English, we have no "settlement" to protect. Our material interests in China are relatively small—some \$700,000,000 of commercial investments and \$80,000,000 of missionary property. Our trade interests are very much larger—\$224,475,000 in 1924. Even the English Imperialist, Winston Churchill, has remarked that "almost the last thing you usually do to a potential customer is to shoot him." Certainly, it is the last thing that missionaries should want done to potential converts. Nothing stands in the way of a constructive and peaceful Chinese policy except pompous notions of national prestige and the pig-headedness of certain American business men and officials in China. These are the factors responsible for our gunboat policy in which we are still persisting, despite the fact that in the critical condition of China that policy is far more likely to precipitate some tragic incident than really to protect American interests.

Mexico has given a fine demonstration of commercial honesty and trust in American decency by paying strictly on time \$12,000,000, due on certain loans. The Calles government might easily have found an excuse for keeping that money at home to prepare for defense against possible American aggression.

From our side the danger of that aggression is by no means over. Plain answers to a few questions might help Americans understand the problem. Just what oil companies have refused to register their titles? Who are the present owners of those companies? Who acquired the titles originally? Is it true, as has been charged, (1) that the comparatively small number of companies which have not registered their titles know that there is a cloud upon those titles, and (2) that many of these titles were acquired by that same Doheny whose acquisition of title to certain naval oil lands in the United States has been declared fraudulent and invalid by the civil courts?

The American people would like to know if they are to be expected to kill and be killed to guarantee enormous profits on properties acquired, in some cases by violence and fraud, by gentlemen whose transactions in their own country cannot stand the test of civil suit.

It is encouraging to see that for the first time Catholic, Protestant and Jewish national councils have united in studying an industrial situation and vindicating the claims of the workers. The joint report of these bodies in the case of the protracted strike on the Western Maryland Railroad says what intelligent labor men have long known about the ruthless and unfair policy of the management which provoked and continued the strike. It could be wished that this report had not been so long delayed and that these agencies of public opinion which are learning to act together should learn to act more promptly.

One exceedingly interesting feature of the situation is the role played by the Rockefeller interests. These interests, as the church councils found, owned about one-third of the principal stock of the road, held as lessor under contract the road's own coal lands, furnishing a large part of the traffic of the road, and shared in the control of a banking concern which has financial control of the road. Yet John D. Rockefeller, Jr., said that he could not change a labor policy of which he disapproved.

This extraordinary inability is the more striking in the light of recent events in Wall Street in the great battle for the control of the Western Maryland and Wheeling and Erie. The Rockefeller interests were bought out at a tremendous price. Their stand was partly responsible for the extraordinary speculation which sent common stock worth \$27 a share on January 3 up to \$130 on February 8. In other words, the Rockefellers had plenty of power to make an enormous clean-up on Wall Street. No modesty, no deference to other interests stood in their way. But when the question was merely one of justice to workers they found a thousand and one excuses for not forcing through a policy which by all the ordinary rules of the capitalist game they had abundant power to force, even if a stubborn management was hostile and other stockholders indifferent.

munists (labeled Labor Partyites) in the Chamber of Deputies, the Socialist bill is not expected to pass, even though some of the racial minority groups and the new land owners' party support it.

Then, under the Estonian Constitution, the rejected bill must go to a referendum and, if it is favored by more than one-half of the voters who participated in the preceding general election, it becomes law. This means that the Socialists will have to be backed by about 261,000 voters in the referendum, which is expected to take place in April. This may easily happen, as the Socialists polled 119,000 votes and the Communists 31,000 last May, and many thousands of the rank and file of the Agrarian Party and the other non-Socialist groups are likely to vote for complete expropriation of the big landowners. And in the local elections in January the Socialists and the more progressive bourgeois groups made heavy gains at the expense of the reactionary parties, according to a Havana dispatch of Jan. 18 from Reval. The center parties just managed to retain their strength.

Preparedness Group Is Booted By Hoan; Says It Invites War

Socialist Mayor Refuses to Give Aid to Professional Patriots

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan again attacked organizations which are apt to bring this country into war, when he replied to a letter of the National Army and Navy Preparedness committee of New York, which had asked that he appoint three Milwaukee citizens to act as members of the committee.

The mayor's letter follows: "I must respectfully decline to appoint three representative citizens to the committee on preparedness about which you wrote. My reason for doing so is that I know of nothing that will be more likely to lead this country into a future war than the organization of the group in which you are engaged. The last preparedness movement witnessed in this country assisted in plunging this country into the World War."

"More than this," that same movement misled many honest citizens into thinking it was a bona fide patriotic movement. If my memory serves me right, the congressional investigation brought out the fact that it was not only financed by munition makers, but by foreign groups that were decidedly working to bring this country into the war."

"Your organization may now start without any such influences back of it, but there will always be the danger that so long as it exists, such influences, by donations to it, or by other means, will strive to use it to serve their interests."

"My second reason for not complying is that the experience of the United States, Germany, France and many other nations speak more eloquently than anything I might say, that a preparedness program and movement is more likely to lead a country into war than to preserve peace. The President of the United States exercises altogether too much power to make it safe to entrust in his hands too great an army and navy. His present attitude in defying Congress as well as the wishes of this country that we arbitrate our differences with minor countries like Nicaragua and Mexico, is ample evidence of that fact and is in violation of treaty obligations."

"I am wholly out of sympathy with your movement and will not in any manner participate in it."

"Yours very truly,"

"DANIEL W. HOAN, Mayor."

Among the organizations participating in the Preparedness Committee are the American Defense Society, American War Mothers of New York, Army and Navy Club of America, Military Order of Foreign Wars and of the World War, National Republican Club of New York, New York Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution; National Security League, Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Women's National Democratic Club.

The strike is very bitter by reason of the desire of the manufacturers to break the union. Arrests of the strikers on trumped-up charges are taking place almost daily. As many as eighteen have been arrested in one day. It has cost quite a sum to defend them. One firm is trying to get an injunction.

The union has always enjoyed the reputation of being one of the strongest in this section of the country and it is generally thought if it is broken it will mean the destruction of the wage standard and union conditions for practically every other Textile group.

"By helping you you will be helping yourselves. Therefore, we appeal to you for a donation to carry on the struggle. Our union has never turned away an appeal for aid. When we had money we gave generously and will do so again when our own troubles are over. In the twenty-seven years of our organization this is the first time we have ever called on the outside for help. Do what you can for us. Help us keep our union," says an appeal for funds issued by Joseph Steiner, secretary. The union offices are at 2012 E. Stella avenue, Philadelphia.

The announcement which is made from the office of the Eastern States Co-operative League that a full time training school is to be conducted in New York from April 15 to May 28. This is the first event of the kind in the eastern part of the country, and workers who have followed the progress of similar schools in Superior, Wisconsin, and Minneapolis will be interested to watch the Easterners.

Training School for Co-Operative Employees

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Raps Militarists



MAYOR HOAN

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PORTERS EXPECT DECISION SOON

Morrow Appointed to Gather Additional Data on Case for Recognition.

With the appointment by the United States railroad mediation board of former Governor Edwin P. Morrow to investigate the claims of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters for recognition, the union is looking forward to a favorable report within a few weeks.

The brotherhood, which is the first union of colored workers organized on a national scale, today received from ex-Governor Morrow notification of the decision of the mediation board appointing him to gather the data on the case against the Pullman Company.

After having heard a preliminary report covering the contentions of both parties, the brotherhood was informed, the following resolution was adopted:

"In Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters vs. the Pullman Company, the board was of the opinion that further investigation is necessary in this case and Mr. Morrow was directed to secure all necessary evidence from both parties bearing upon the question of representation, authorization to represent, and such matters as may indicate the desire of the employees by a petition, ballot, membership or otherwise, as to form and character of representation they desire."

A. Phillip Randolph, general organizer of the brotherhood, at the office of the union, 2311 Seventh avenue, declared he has every confidence of victory for his union on the basis of the resolution adopted by the mediation board.

"The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has already enrolled in its books more than half of the porters employed by the Pullman Company," Mr. Randolph said. "Since the adjournment of the preliminary hearing before the mediation board in Chicago on December 17, we have enrolled more than 500 new members. By whatever test the mediation board and Mr. Morrow may institute, we are certain it will be found that the porters are lined up overwhelmingly for the Brotherhood and against the company 'union' kept alive by Pullman Company funds."

While there is hardly any distinction between rights and duties among barbarians, civilization makes the difference between those two plain even to the dumbest mind. For now one class has all the rights, the other class has all the duties.—F. Engels.

BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

You shorten your life many years when you carry in your system waste matter that nature intended to be evacuated.

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The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

evacuates your bowels, regulates your liver and keeps you hale and hearty. Good for young and old.

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As your guide, you will soon assume a commanding position in your organization

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EXHIBIT, BAZAAR and ENTERTAINMENT FRIDAY, SATURDAY and SUNDAY February 18th, 19th and 20th

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Teachers' Union, Director Monumit School

P. R. SLAVSON,

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A. L. GOLDMAN, Chairman

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Banquet for Members and Sympathizers of the

Modern School

SUNDAY EVENING AT 8:30

PLAY AND DANCE

To Take Place at the INTERNATIONAL CENTER, 149 East 23rd Street

Toward Reconstruction in Socialist Practice

The Contributions of European Experience and Theory Toward a Revision of the Socialist Method

Though not made with a direct eye to taking part in the discussion on "The Problems of American Socialism," which has been appearing in the columns of The New Leader, Dr. Laidler's address, "Toward Reconstruction in Socialist Practice," will be of particular interest to those who have followed that discussion. The New Leader presents the first installment of this address below. The second and concluding part, dealing with the United States, will appear next week.

Dr. Laidler's article is an amplification of the views he expressed at the first lecture in the winter series of lectures being conducted by the League for Industrial Democracy at the Civic Club in New York. The New Leader hopes to be able to present resumes of the other interesting addresses made by speakers at the L. I. D. lectures.

By Harry W. Laidler

AS A RESULT of practical and theoretical developments in the Socialist, Communist and labor movement during the last decade, there emerge certain principles that are practically universally accepted by the members of the movement.

What Has the Russian Experience Taught?

1. That, however the political revolution that puts Socialists and Communists in power, may be brought about, it is impossible, the day after the revolution, to socialize all industry and to run it efficiently.
2. That, for a long period of time after a Socialist or a Communist group comes into power, it is likely that farming will continue as an individual enterprise, supplemented here and there by voluntary co-operation for the purpose of buying or selling, a thing of slow growth. In Russia, while the title to farm land is technically in the hands of the nation, the average farm is now run as a private venture for private profit, and the governmental farm constitutes but 3 percent or 4 percent of the farm acreage of the country, despite the earnest efforts of Communists to nationalize agriculture.
3. That small handicraft industry and a good deal of trading for a long period will probably remain in the hands of private business or of voluntary co-operative groups. The Soviet government has thus far been unable for any length of time to assume the functions of the co-operative movement or to suppress the private traders.
4. That governmental industry for some years after the political control by the workers must necessarily be confined to the administration of the larger key industries, such as railroads, mines, steel works, etc.

Leasing Concessions

5. That even in a number of these industries, it will probably for some time, especially in poorly developed countries, be found desirable to give out concessions to private capitalists for the exploitation of natural resources under government regulation.
6. That it is desirable to make the industries that are owned and administered by the government as autonomous in their operations as possible, so as to relieve the central government of an intolerable burden and to stimulate the workers and technicians in the efficient conduct of industry under centralized control. In Russia, we have seen of late the emergence of the state trusts and syndicates as one means of avoiding the inefficiency of centralized control. The Soviet government, as is known, has absolved itself from the responsibility for the liabilities incurred by the trusts, at the same time guaranteeing them against loss due to state interference. At the same time it has provided that the net profit from the operation of the trust be turned over to the state after due provision has been made for a sinking fund and 20 per cent. has been put aside for reserves. The basic capital of the trusts, consisting of buildings, equipment, etc., cannot be alienated or mortgaged, except by the consent of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Working capital can, however, be utilized as a basis for credit and against this alone creditors can proceed. Most di-

rectors are appointed by the supreme council of National Economy and the State takes the place the stockholders of private corporations do at the annual meetings.

The Technical Worker

7. That it will be necessary for some time to come to pay expert technicians higher salaries than are given to the ordinary workers; that equality of compensation will not be attained—if at all—for many years following the inauguration of the socialist regime and that technicians are absolutely indispensable to any sort of efficient production and must be obtained at all hazards, if the industrial machine is to continue to function.

- (8) That all elements in the community—the workers on the job, the technical staff and the public at large—should have some say over the administration of industry. Control cannot safely be left to any one of these elements if the highest interests of all are to be conserved.

We may therefore expect, in the inauguration of a socialist regime, if we are to take any lessons from the Bolshevik experiment, or the best recent of the socialists throughout Europe, a gradual development of socialized industry, and the maintenance side by side for many years of privately owned industry, particularly in agriculture, handicraft industry and trade; of voluntary co-operative industry, and of nationalized industry; that many of the nationalized industries will be given very considerable autonomy so far as the management is concerned; that there will be a gradation of salaries for different groups of workers and that the three groups of consumers, workers and technicians will share in varying degrees in the management of socialized enterprises.

State Trusts

Prior to the Bolshevik revolution there was a division among socialists as to the possibility of socializing at once when socialists or communists got into power; as to the possibility of immediate equality of compensation, workers' control, etc. Neither the communists of the Third International nor the Socialists of the Labor and Socialist International feel now that the entire economic system can be socialized overnight.

Perhaps the most interesting new contribution to socialist practice under the Soviet regime has been the emergence of state trusts and syndicates which have to depend largely for their success on their own initiative and which take much responsibility for the smooth running of the economic machine from the shoulders of the central government.

So much for the ownership and control of industry following a revolutionary assumption of office.

Is the Soviet Form of Government a Permanent Contribution to Political Theory? Have the experiences of the last ten years taught anything regarding the political organization which should be evolved by the workers as a temporary or permanent governmental structure?

The Russian revolution brought with it the Soviet form of government. Has the Soviet idea contributed any-

thing of permanent value to the political theory of Socialists, especially in the Western countries?

In considering this question we might ask in what respects a Soviet governmental structure differs from the ordinary form of representative government.

Bureaucracy Still Here

First, negatively, it does not stand, as some assume, for occupational as opposed to territorial representation.

In the cities, it is true, representatives are sent to the Soviet from factories and certain occupational groups, but in the country districts representation is virtually territorial in its nature, and delegates from local to provincial Soviets and from provincial to the all Russian Soviets are sent as representatives from certain territories and not of any particular occupations.

The Soviets do not differ, as Lenin had hoped they would, on the ground that they have smashed bureaucracy, for the Soviet bureaucracy is now more potent than that in any republic on earth.

It doesn't differ in the fact that the Soviet officials are denied special privileges, for they have numerous privileges not given to the ordinary worker, although, be it said, their actual pay in dollars and cents has been less than that obtained by a governing bureaucracy in any other large country—that of the guardians visualized in Plato's Republic.

Nor does Sovietism differ from a bourgeois republic by virtue of the fact that it denies certain groups of citizens an opportunity to vote, for all countries under a republican form of government have, at one time or another, excluded from the franchise certain categories of citizens. Lenin declared, furthermore, that the features of the Soviet constitution disfranchising the non-producing groups were not a necessary feature of Sovietism or dictatorship. Parenthetically, be it stated, however, that the Soviet constitution was the first to exclude non-producers from the franchise.

Finally, its absence of secret ballot cannot be said to be distinctive, as no republic has abolished the non-secret ballot without a very vigorous fight against a powerful ruling class which felt that the public ballot system was a means of holding the voter in line.

Contrasted With the U. S.

The Soviet form differs primarily from the American systems, for instance, in that it does not provide for the separation of legislative and administrative functions and it is based on the idea of a one-chamber rather than a two-chamber legislature; that its elections are more flexible than in this country and may be held at any time and that its representation is of a pyramidal type, a type under which local bodies send representatives to provincial congresses, provincial to all-Russian and all-Russian to the Federated Soviet Republic.

The flexibility of elections has undoubtedly advantages during a period of revolutionary upheaval, although, during a period of calm, regular elections, supplemented by the direct recall, probably serve the purposes fair-

ly well. A case may be argued for a non-separation of the legislative and executive functions and, as will be seen later, for a one-chamber legislative assembly. The pyramidal form of organization has advantages from the standpoint of the maintenance of a dictatorship. On the other hand, there is a danger that local and provincial congress may, under this system, be looked upon primarily as bodies for the election of representatives to higher bodies, and that delegates may be elected to them not with a view of getting the best men and women for the carrying out of local functions, but men and women who can be depended on to vote "right" when it comes to electing deputies for the higher congresses. Furthermore, the national deputies are, under this system, as under the old system of the election of U. S. Senators by state legislation, likely to get too far aloof from the people.

It is questionable, therefore, whether the Soviet form of government has many features in it which will cause any great revision of Socialist political theory regarding the character of a political state, except during a period of proletarian dictatorship, outside of the one-chamber legislature idea incorporated in it.

The Coup d'Etat Method of Progress

The greatest difference found in Europe between various groups of radical labor centers around the tactics that should be pursued to attain the revolution. The Russian Bolshevik Revolution has shown that it is not necessary for a country to be highly developed industrially in order to permit of a proletarian revolution. A successful proletarian revolution might be precipitated in a poorly developed country under certain conditions:

- (1) When a small minority group of workers is unified, determined and conscious of what they want.
- (2) When the capitalist and monarchist groups are weak by virtue of a war, an economic collapse and low industrial development.

- (3) When the proletariat of the city becomes the champion of a demand, such as the demands for land and peace; intensely held by the vast, inert mass of peasants. For decades the Russian peasants had yearned for the breaking up of the large estates and the acquisition of small plots of land by themselves and they were willing to follow the Bolsheviks because of the latter's vigorous advocacy of "land to the peasants." They were likewise willing to fight counter-revolution, as they believed it was directed toward the restoration of the large estates.

- (4) When strong enemy nations are so engaged and are so far distant that it is difficult to overthrow the revolutionary government during its first months.

- (5) When the primitive industrial structure and self-sufficing agricultural units make it possible for economic life, such as it is, to go on during a period of blockade and civil war, following the coup d'etat.

Aiding the Conservatives

On the other hand, the coup d'etat of the Bolsheviks in Hungary and in Bavaria and the capture of the factories in Italy, resulting reaction and Horthy and fascist dictatorships indi-

cate that when these conditions are not present; when the Communists cannot gain the adherence of the peasants by dangling before them, as in Russia, the key to the small plot of ground and the end of bloodshed; when the opposing capitalist and monarchist groups are not so weak; when the economic system is more complicated, and when enemy countries can easily enter and crush the revolution, Communist tactics are likely to play into the hands of conservatives.

In other words, the successful Bolshevik revolution in Russia and followed by a dictatorship, by a bloody though unsuccessful counter-revolution, by the ruthless suppression of all opposition and by a varied program of state capitalism was effected under conditions now non-existent in any of the Western European countries and its success proves little regarding the possible success of a similar uprising in other lands. It is necessary to study the entire situation in each country before telling whether it will lead to a Communist dictatorship or to black reaction.

In view of this, in view of the reaction that exists in many European countries in Europe at present, and in view of the weakness of the labor movement, due to the division of forces between Communist and Socialists, the Socialists have refused to revise their practices according to the Bolshevik prescription in any of the Western countries and the Communist movement in most of these countries is now impotent. The Socialists in Western Europe are still emphasizing the need for parliamentary action, supplemented by strong trade union action and by the activity of the co-operative movement. They are utilizing the general political strike to stop reaction as in the Kapp rebellion, and, as in the general strike in England, are occasionally evoking the general industrial strike to improve industrial conditions. Kautsky, the German Marxist, also freely acknowledges the value of the Soviet as a central organization for a revolutionary political movement during a revolutionary crisis and maintains that it can function during such a crisis far more effectively than can the trade unions, dominated by the necessarily slow moving trade union officials. However, while an excellent medium as a center of revolutionary activity, it should not be considered, he maintains, as the highest form of government after the workers have come into power.

The Democratic Ideal
They still defend the democratic ideal as the ideal to which Socialists should pay tribute.

"People," declare the Webbs, in their Constitution of the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain, "have sometimes forgotten the spiritual values of democracy. The very necessity for obtaining the substitution of persuasion for force; implies, therefore, that those who are superior in will-power or intelligence consent to forego the use of this force to compel other men to obey them and seek to convince the average sensual man so that he too may exercise his intellect and his will. The very consciousness of being en-

gaged in cooperative enterprise, determined on and directed by common consent, is a stronger stimulus to self-activity, imperfect though it may be, than the docility of slavery. Hence there is, in all the armory of sociology, no such effective instrument of popular education, no such potent means of calling forth the latent powers of thought and feeling in the whole mass of citizens, as popular government. The problem to be solved is how to remodel the social institutions that have come into existence in such a way as to evoke, in all men and women, and not merely in a favored few, all their latent powers to stimulate the whole population and not merely the exceptionally gifted or the exceptionally energetic, to the utmost possible exercise of their faculties; and at the same time to promote, throughout the whole mass and not alone in exceptionally altruistic or exceptionally enlightened individuals, the greatest attainable development of public spirit.

Socialization

The Socialists in Europe during the last few years, besides combating the communist tactics, have been giving a good deal of attention to the whole problem of the extent of socialization necessary under a co-operative system; the kind of socialization and the character of the state.

The Webbs, in their "Constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain," in dealing with the extent of social ownership which would probably be wise under a Socialist regime, expresses the belief that, while most of the industries will be socialized, there will be a number of "unsocialized" businesses, "such as the whole range of individual production in horticulture, peasant agriculture and artistic handicrafts; the purely personal vocations of the poet and artist; the prosecution of many minor industries and services that may be most conveniently conducted on an individual basis; possibly the experimental promotion of some new inventions and devices, not to mention the co-operative organization of religious rites and observances. And it must always be remembered that Socialists accept, as one form of socialization, not only local government in all its manifestations, but also the free and voluntary association of groups of consumers for the production and distribution of those commodities and services for which they feel themselves to have an exceptional need, or for which they prefer this form."

Laski in his "Grammar of Politics," divides industries into three rough divisions.

- (1) Those producing necessities, which the citizen must have in order to live; (2) those manufacturing commodities, the absence of which does not destroy life, "but may well destroy that which gives to life the flavor of beauty and comfort." (3) Finally, industries producing articles "the need for which and want of which are in no sense universal, but which supply a genuine quality to a portion of mankind."

The only possible course, he maintains, is to nationalize the industries found in the first category. Those of the second type might be placed under the domain of voluntary co-operative

ventures or might be privately run, but publicly regulated, while many of the third group might be left to private enterprise, without much interference from the state. All inequalities would not be removed under such an organization of society. The enormous disparities of the present day, however, would have no place. "As men grow into the new conditions," Laski declares, "I believe that the result will be increasingly to transfer social significance from wealth to service; and men will prefer to be known for what they do rather than for what they possess."

It is doubtful, however, if Laski's division would be followed by most Socialists in England.

Laski on Control

In dealing with the control of industry under Socialism, Laski declares: "While the community, through the state, must own the instruments of production, the producers are entitled to participate in management. 'They must insist in settling their pay and their hours of work, the sanitation of their factories, the character of the particular job they do, the men with whom, and to no small degree, under whom, they are to work. They must be free, in a word, to make their vocation an effective function in the same way as the doctor and the lawyer. . . . Participation, further, must mean the right to be consulted in the making of policy for the industry. . . . But they (the producers) cannot make the policy; that is a matter which must rest with those who speak in the name of the community. Thus, for instance, it would not be for the miners to say how much coal should be produced in a given year. They might urge on the deciding body that the number of tons was too large for the number of hewers in the pits, or too small to produce a wage-fund consistent with an adequate standard of life. But' though they would share in the decision made, its making depends upon considerations of which their interests are only a part."

The Webbs, Kautsky, Macdonald, Otto Bauer and others have of late insisted that the state industries should stand on their own bottoms. Macdonald declares, for instance, that the administration of industry "while not brought outside the civil state, is to be a task conducted by a specialized organization built up not from officials appointed from outside, but from officials and functionaries drawn from the working organization itself and belonging to it." And he definitely acknowledges the contribution of the guildsmen to the newer socialist conception. The Webbs would have committees appointed by a social parliament to aid the social industry, but the actual administrations of the industry would be in the hands of a board representative of technicians, workers and consumers.

This board would be appointed by a social parliament, five of whom might be taken from among the heads of the principal branches of the administration, five representatives of the principal vocations and five to represent the interests of the consumers and the community as a whole, while the sixteenth would be the principal executive officer.

The State

Dealing with the state, Webb urges a two-chamber legislative body, one called the political parliament and one the social parliament, the social parliament to have charge of industry, education, etc. Macdonald feels that there should be but one parliament, but that this might be supplemented by an advisory body in industrial affairs, while Laski insists that one chamber is all that is necessary. If the second parliament agrees with the first, there is no need for it; if it disagrees, it blocks progress.

He also insists that the theory of sovereignty should be thoroughly revised.

The state, he insists, is not an independent sovereign to which the citizen owes allegiance in every matter on which the government wishes at any time to function. Its will, he admits, is a will "to which is attached

(Continued on page 9)

Idaho's "Progressive Party" The Organization As Possible Material For a National Labor Party

By C. H. Cammans

NATHAN FINE presents a few facts regarding the Socialist vote and also gives the Idaho Progressive Party 37,047 votes for 1926. He suggests a number of organizations as a possible basis for political action in 1928, including the Idaho Progressive Party. Evidently Comrade Fine is not acquainted with this party, why it was formed, its intentions and inner workings.

If Comrade Fine knew this party for what it is he would not include it in his proposal. What are the facts? I go back to the campaign of 1918. The Non-Partisan League is organized and captures the Democratic Party of Idaho, its members posing as Democrats in the primary. In the Democratic convention it nominated John F. Nugent, Democrat, for the U. S. Senate, and endorsed William E. Borah, Republican, for the long term.

chairman, was nominated for Governor. Results, Nugent and Borah elected and Samuels defeated. Campaign of 1920. The non-partisans appear as Independents and nominate Samuels for the four-year term and two real progressives for Congress and Governor, respectively; Dow Dunning and Mr. Fairchild. The Independents did not nominate presidential electors nor endorse the Socialist or other party electors. Before the convention adjourned Ray McKaigh, self-styled national committeeman of something, said that the Democratic Party would probably nominate Nugent and the Republicans Frank R. Gooding for the Senate. Therefore, it would be suicide for Nugent and Samuels to remain on their respective tickets. He urged Samuels to decline the nomination and give a clear field to Nugent.

Attended Convention
The writer was a delegate to this convention, not as an Independent or Socialist, but representing the Idaho Federation of Labor. I was astonished at the McKaigh proposal, especially as on the day before this convention met the convention machine came before the political board of the Idaho F. of L. and invited the federation to participate in the convention with the assurance that none of the nominees would be withdrawn; furthermore, that no old party candidates would receive an Independent endorsement.

I was the only person to oppose the McKaigh proposal. No speech was made in favor of it, but the convention must have been well packed for only my vote was recorded against it. Now observe. A state ticket without presidential electors (1920) and no candidate for U. S. Senator. Results. The state in the Republican column and Gooding elected to the Senate; Independent ticket receives 23,000 votes, carries several counties, elects a few representatives. Labor legislation—nothing.

These Non-Partisans, Democrats

and Independents become the Idaho Progressive Party in 1922. No senatorial campaign and the Progressives receive 45,000 votes, elect more representatives and carry more counties. Now note the following: The State Socialist Campaign Committee drafted a bill to make it easier for unofficial parties to get on the ballot. The bill passed the Senate, but in the House the Progressive floor leader declared that if the bill passed "all the I. W. W. and other riff-raff in Idaho will start political parties. We have three now. Why more?" The bill was defeated by the professed "friends" of the workers.

LABOR'S BILLS KILLED

This is not all the State Federation of Labor records shows that about twenty labor measures were defeated, sometimes by moving indefinite postponement. There was little difference between the attitude of the Progressive members on these measures and the other members.

The campaign of 1924. The Socialist Party obtained enough signatures to place its candidates on the ballot for presidential electors, one U. S. Senator, and for State offices. Readers of The New Leader know of the agreement of all groups in the Conference for Progressive Political Action. LaFollette's Idaho manager, the aforementioned H. F. Samuels, ignored the agreement and ignored the Socialist's request for a conference, even after Mr. Nelson, LaFollette's national manager, had implored Samuels to call an Idaho conference, although Samuels had notified Nelson that he would call a conference. Result, there appeared two sets of LaFollette electors on the Idaho ballot, Progressives and Socialists.

We received a telegraphic appeal from Nelson to adjust the matter. In the interest of unity we withdrew the Socialist electors and at a great sacrifice to the Socialist Party. We were compelled to support Progressive

electors on a Progressive ticket while our State ticket was jeopardized, thanks to Samuels. Moreover, the Progressives nominated Borah for the Senate and he declined to run on any but the Republican ticket. Before leaving Idaho Borah criticized LaFollette's Supreme Court proposal and declared Coolidge "the greatest statesman in the United States."

Got G. O. P. Money

After the election we read in the press report by Borah of his campaign receipts and expenditures. He received \$10,000 from the Republican National Committee. Of this sum \$2,500 was turned over to the Progressive Committee according to the report.

Thus we see that this 1918, 1920, 1922, 1924, Non-Partisan, Democratic, Independent, Progressive Party thrives on Republican campaign funds. It has been used twice to elect Borah and in 1926 the Progressive vote slumped to 21,000.

To return to 1924. In that year the Progressive Party pledged its support to the organized workers and to the repeal of the notorious Anti-Syndicalist Law as demanded by the Idaho Federation of Labor. The writer went to the office of the Secretary of State and discovered that the Progressive platform had been mutilated, especially in the omission of the declaration against the Anti-Syndicalist Law.

In that year several Socialist Party speakers supporting LaFollette and Socialist state candidates were interfered with by Progressive chairmen and committeemen. In several instances they promised large audiences if we would only speak on national issues, that is, ignore State labor issues for which our State candidates stood. In one case these Progressive officials inserted a three-column advertisement in a newspaper calling off one of our meetings because the speaker was Lena Morrow Lewis. Comrade Lewis was sent by the national office of the Socialist Party.

By mailing a notice to every voter we frustrated this attempt to prevent the meeting and Comrade Lewis spoke to a crowded house.

Similar Experiences

Many more facts could be offered to show that this party should not, under its present management, be invited to any conference. Montana, Utah and Washington Socialists have had similar experience with some Farmer-Labor parties. Our experience should convince honest workers, producers, and Socialists, those who are not traders, place-hunters and seekers of the lime light, that the Idaho Progressive Party's mission is to serve as a buffer for the G. O. P. to destroy the other wing of capitalist politics, the Democratic Party, and discourage organization of the Socialist Party.

The Idaho Progressive Party is organized for State purposes only. I may add that as it has no national standing, I believe its managers would finance the machine until 1930. This would enable it to live to the period when Borah may find it necessary to dole out some more Republican funds.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Triumph of the Bishop

WHETHER conscious or not, there was exquisite irony in the makeup of the front page of the New York Times for last Monday. In one column was the heading, "Manning Halls Gift of King as New Tie in Nation's Accord," and next to it the heading "Dr. Percy S. Grant, Church Liberal, Dies."

While the bleak, bustling, vindictive little bishop stood beneath the intermingled flags of America and Great Britain holding in his hand "the pastoral staff of gold which was presented to him by the bishop, clergy and laity of the Diocese of London, soon after he was consecrated bishop," the fine spirit of the man whom he had destroyed was passing away in a country hospital. While Sir Esme Howard, British ambassador, was addressing Manning as "My Lord Bishop," and was presenting his lordship with a silver alms-dish, the gift of King George, the Fifth, of England, to the Cathedral of St. John, the Divine, Percy Grant set forth on the great adventure. The reporter for the New York Times in telling of the ceremony at the Cathedral, says: "Following the national anthems the ushers took up the offering for which the basin was used for the first time. Judging from the way the plates were piled with greenbacks, it was a generous one." But why greenbacks? Under the circumstances would not silver have been more appropriate? No more than thirty pieces would have been needed as adequate compensation for the bishop's treachery to the spirit of his Saviour.

We are aware that many radicals smiled patronizingly at the mention of Grant's name. At one time through all the grapevine lines of Greenwich Village there went veiled suggestions and sly whisperings. At his best, they said, these superior inmates of tea-rooms and studios, Grant was a showman and a well meaning but uninformed pink tea liberal. Cheap and easy criticism this, for those who knew nothing of the powerful forces that, harassed the sweet-souled rector of the Church of the Ascension, that pursued him in indescribably petty fashion and that at last threw him out and made him an exile from all those gracious surroundings that he loved so well. To be sure, there was a naïveté about his economics. Perhaps he did not see clearly and wholly the deep significance of the industrial struggle but it can be said of him in all truth, that in the times that tried the souls of men (and all too often found them wanting), Percy Stikney Grant stood up in his pulpit and fought for freedom. He was in the tradition of Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, William Ellery Channing and Theodore Parker, when he opened his forum to free discussion of matters of great significance. During the fantastic war days, his Church was an oasis in a sadistic Sahara. Many a radical who sniffs at Grant's work today, received his first training in public speaking in the heated debates that raged up and down the crowded pews, of the Church of the Ascension. And when the war was over, and the open shop drive began, it was Grant almost alone of all the ministers of his church, who took the side of unionism at a time when it was dangerous to attack the American planners. When the great outcry arose over the riot in Herrin, Illinois, Grant dared to read to his congregation from the Illinois Miner, the workers' version of that bloody event.

There was a time when the delivery of every sermon meant loss of wealthy parishioners, deliberate misinterpretation in the capitalist press, the consequent facing of financial deficit in no way made up by the small contributors of those who believed in the man. And yet, surrounded by the under-cover men, sent to spy on him by the bishop, persecuted by all the ingenuity of which the "Fourth Avenue Clique" in the Episcopal Church is so outstandingly capable, Grant went manfully on striking out at deadening creeds and formalism whether in the religious or the economic fields.

And now he is gone, and the smug bishop stands triumphant holding aloft the "pastoral staff of gold." But whisperings and jealousies and bishops and inquisitions cannot hurt Grant now.

You might have thought from what you had read in the papers that the U. S. Marines went to Nicaragua with some sort of martial purpose in mind. Quite to the contrary. It now appears that the object in sending the leathernecks to Central America was to feed condensed milk to the starving children of Corinto. We have the word of none other than the Secretary of the Navy for this. Curtis D. Wilbur, who qualified for his present job as naval secretary by writing syndicated bed-time stories about bears for the delighted children of the West coast, informed an enthusiastic audience last week as to the real purpose of the visit of our marines and warships. While strong men wept and weak women swooned he described how enthusiastically the population of Nicaragua hailed their deliverers as the first American cruiser heaved into sight. For months, it seems, the haggard children of Corinto had been going without condensed milk. No sooner did the marines land than a delegation of Nicaraguans asked them if they had any condensed milk to spare and touching indeed was the sight as the marines pried off the lids of their cans with the edge of their bayonets. Condensed milk now takes its place alongside of undug canals, the protection of English and Italian rights and the menace of Bolshevism as the reasons why we are mixing into Nicaraguan affairs. How beautiful to contemplate the new American imperialism in the shape of a tender-hearted marine with a machine gun in one hand and a can of Eagle brand (American Eagle, of course) in the other.

Not that you must think for one moment that the Bolshevist menace has been discarded. Quite to the contrary, it put in a fifty-eight-hour week during the past seven days. Since we last addressed you, we have been hearing about a regular rash of Bolshevist plots that are apparently breaking out all over our body politic. We were informed, by a radio the other night, by a Christian Science broadcaster, that a new alliance has now been formed. It appears that the Roman Catholics, the Communists, the Socialists, the Jews and our old friends "the hyphenated Americans" have gotten together for the purpose of capturing and handing over to Moscow the various commonwealths of New England. The first attack on the home of the sacred flag is being conducted by a French archbishop of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, who is inducing the "habitants" of the province of Quebec to invade the textile factories of New England and there establish their communistic socialistic Catholic hegemony. Just what they are to do after this is established, is not plain, but it is to be presumed that in the not too distant future, we are to see the Knights of Columbus marching and counter-marching arm in arm with members of the Workers' Party across the Boston Common. No doubt the recent uprising of Harvard students against the police of Cambridge was but a forerunner to the throwing up of barricades on State street. These are perilous times we live in, boys and girls, and it's a dull day indeed when some of our statesmen or scientists cannot produce from their high hats a workable Bolshevist red rabbit.

McAlister Coleman.

Pittsburg Manifesto Epitomizes Failure Of Force To Attract American Workers

Chapter II (Continued)

ONE of the peculiar obsessions that influence the thought of those who have favored the policy of physical force as a means of revolutionary change is the belief that violence of itself constitutes revolution. It is also a popular belief. Moreover, the more violent a man may talk or write the more revolutionary he is believed to be, yet physical force is a method, not an aim. Force may be urged to effect a moderate aim, to serve a reactionary clique or class in maintaining its power, to alter the results of an election or to accomplish a complete change in all the institutions of society, but it would be absurd to say that physical force so employed is itself revolutionary. A general election may accomplish any one of these aims and yet no one would think of calling the use of the ballot a revolution. Only the aim of a party, an organization or a movement can be revolutionary, reactionary or conservative, and it will be such regardless of whether it employs the ballot, a strike, public demonstrations, a referendum or force. If the program remains conservative or reactionary no matter what means are employed to realize it, it cannot be revolutionary. This confusion of method and program has been characteristic of every force faction that has appeared in the labor movement in this and other countries. Such factions have always estimated the revolutionary views of others by the extent to which their opponents accept physical force as a method of social change.

Another important consideration is that the methods of effecting important changes in human society are not a matter of personal choice. They depend upon the peculiar history of each nation, its institutions, the character of the government, the education, psy-

chology and habits of its people. Superficial theorists, however, regard this matter like the bargain hunter in a department store. There are a variety of articles to select and you make your choice. These theorists select their methods in the same way. Possessed with a romantic lure for violent upheavals they decide on secrecy, or underground propaganda, or conspiracy and violent seizure of power. They decide on "revolutionary tactics" and become so obsessed with the idea of arbitrarily choosing a method of action that the method really becomes an aim. The method is followed for its own sake. Its use comes to be a test of the opinions and good intentions of all others who may share the same or similar ideals.

That the historical development of a nation and the character of its institutions determine what the method must be is evident upon a little reflection. All over the world people who were accustomed to settling public questions by participating in popular elections also expressed satisfaction when a Russian revolutionary headed an armed revolt against the Romanoff autocracy. Indeed, they even approved the man or woman who assumed the task of avenger of the people by killing a monster who had perpetrated merciless brutalities upon Russian laborers. This approval of armed revolt and the private avenger by the modern nations was due to reasons that are obvious. Russians had no other means of redressing wrongs. They could not vote and could not organize. They could not print newspapers critical of the established regime. Historical conditions justified the use of methods in the old Russia which if employed in other nations would be criminal.

Forms of action will even change with a change in the laws. The Social Democrats of Germany adopted the

usual forms of agitation and organization that are employed by labor and Socialist parties until Bismarck obtained the exception laws making their party illegal. The party organization then became a secret underground society. It was not a matter of choice but one imposed by arbitrary legislation. Socialists established their secret press in Germany and published papers and books in Switzerland, smuggling them into Germany. After a long struggle with the exception laws the latter were repealed. Another change faced the German Socialists and their methods changed. Secrecy and underground activity were abandoned. They were no more revolutionary when they organized secretly than they were when they organized publicly. Their differing methods in two periods of German history did not alter in the least their revolutionary aims.

The evolution of many Lassalleans into advocates of force was the logical result of illogical interpretation of historical conditions. The "Pittsburg Manifesto" affirmed that all attempts to reform the social order "by peaceful means" had failed. This failure was evident from experience in elections. Only a small fraction of the voters had responded to the appeal to support independent party action. The fact that the masses did not rally to this appeal would suggest that they were not as yet interested in any activity or any organization pledged to the reorganization of society. If the masses were not prepared for a trial of peaceful means it was not likely that they could be won to the "use of force. On the contrary, it was certain that when political action was abandoned for physical force the change from peaceful to violent methods would estrange some who would otherwise remain with the movement. A rational analysis of history and ex-

perience could not justify the course taken by the Pittsburg Congress. It does not at all follow that because peaceful education and voting have failed to win the masses that an appeal to force will. The premise may be sound but the conclusion is erroneous.

Moreover, the history of capitalistic industry had already revealed the course which the evolution of modern working class organization had taken in the industrial countries. The first response to organization by wage workers is to organize benefit societies to take care of the sick and to bury the dead. As small shop production breaks down, as the master evolves into a wage worker, as the economic interests of the two classes become more apparent, the benefit societies are either transformed or they are replaced by the trade unions organized to fight for shorter hours, more wages and better conditions in general. The charitable character of labor organization disappears or becomes subordinate to the offensive and defensive requirements of an economic class struggle. The trade union is the basic form of organization of wage workers preceding political action. It is in the economic organization that they get the training, education and discipline to fit them for any other form of organized activity. Without such schooling attempts at political organization must fail.

By inverting or ignoring experience the Lassalleans looked for political success prior to economic organization. This initial error led them step by step to the final and logical decision in favor of force. Not until the first decade of the twentieth century did Lassalleans again appear, this time in a modified form in the Socialist Party. (Next Week The Socialist Labor Party)

The Purpose of Education

D. R. HELLER, writing in The Scientific Monthly, defines the true purpose of education as "steering the gifted minority from the crowd." And although a platonist lover of democracy, I have a hunch that something should be done to protect men of learning and searchers of truth from the vicious rabble in and out of office, which of late, as self-appointed guardians of the nation's soul, have made life so miserable for the few remaining intellectual aristocrats in our midst.

Think of passing laws against the teaching of certain scientific subjects in schools and colleges, by the kind of hill-billies, jayhawkers and crackers who make up the bulk of many of our state legislatures. Think of the summary discharge of educators by endowment-hunting deans, and dollar-chasing regents, aided by mobs of Babbitts, morons and plain nuts, and there is no question that there ought to be a sanctuary somewhere where men with brain and honesty may follow truth without fear of having their meal ticket snatched from under their noses.

Yes, and there ought to be a place for cultivation of that wide, all-embracing wisdom by which man may be enabled to utilize the knowledge of many things for the furtherance of the all-important thing, a happy, useful, peaceful and beautiful life.

Gosh, I'm afraid I'm getting into deep water for poor me, trying to defend higher education who has no education at all except what I managed to pick up while being tossed about the world like a cork on the waves. Well, anyhow, what I am driving at is that there should be a class of super-thinkers, a kind of 100 percent brain men, who could gather up all the practical knowledge we have now and then tell us what it is good for. As it is, it's not good for anything except to make more money, work, war, and worry.

All over the world scientists are uncovering the secrets of nature. The stuff they've dug out already should be enough to make life one long sweet dream of joy and beauty and peace.

But what seems to happen is that flocks of business vultures descend upon the children of science and use them to fill their craws and bellies. So it comes about that we learn to fly in order to throw bombs upon sleeping cities; learn to swim under water to sink merchantmen; learn to talk around the globe, to broadcast rant, rot, jazz and chewing gum; learn to make horseless carriages, to drive from nowhere to nowhere at the rate of sixty miles per hour; learn to extract frozen sunshine from coal, then use it as TNT to blow human beings to tatters, or as poison gas to corrode each other's lungs and livers.

Well, folks, I hope you get what I'm driving at. I know exactly what I want to say. The only trouble is I can't get it out of my system.

But that's the trouble with thoughts. When they are great, like this one, they are too deep to fathom, and when they are of the kind that every one can sate they are usually not worth springing. So keep 'em thinking.

Salvation Via the Poison Route

Andy Mellon is trying to do the right thing by the poor sinners who can't afford chemists to analyze their moonshine. He declared publicly that he regards it as wrong to poison citizens of the United States and would like to do something about it. But Wayne Wheeler won't let him. Wayne says it serves 'em right. Suicide he calls it and lets it go at that. Of course, Andy Mellon is only the Secretary of the Treasury of this free and mighty nation, while Wayne is a private citizen in the employ of a group of good-doers and heaven-jerkers known as the Anti-Saloon League.

However, these folks have a lot of votes and barrels of money contributed by pious souls who make it their specialty to act as their brother's keepers. They love their neighbors as they love themselves and consequently would rather give them hell here than in the hereafter. They also seem to be possessed of a great fear that the blessed place they are steering for will be dreadfully dreary with no one in it but their own kind—for which I don't blame them in the least, because everybody likes to improve their company.

But, while I admit that these good people would have a much better time in the better world with some of us sinners hanging around, I do protest against being sent there in such a low-lived way as poisoning from denatured spirits. It's had enough to be denatured in the regular way, but to be made a spirit with doped spirits is going too far—that's all I have to say.

Besides, while it was all right in the olden days for kings and such like to chase people into their particular kind of paradise, whether they wanted to go or not, and use thumb-screws and Spanish boots to clinch their salvation, we're now living under a democracy. And some years ago we even had a bloody war in which ninety-nine and forty-four hundredths per cent of these good people joined with the gusto of drunken Apaches to establish self-determination for all the big and little people of the earth—which lets me in.

We won that war, too. At least they say we did. So there ought to be a lot of self-determination lying around, and what I want them to do is to let me have a little of that self-determination when it comes to choosing my future abode and society.

I realize that the self-appointed guardians of my soul mean well. The kind of folks who know they are dead right and are in dead earnest about it always mean well and that is the precise reason they raise so much hell in the world. You never heard of a hard-boiled sinner gathering a fanatic following around him for the purpose of filling Hades with good people. It is only the people who are convinced beyond doubt that their brand of goodness is the only genuine and unadulterated goodness on the market who can muster up enough gall to torture and kill people who do not agree with them.

It was good people, believing people, honest and deadly earnest people, who stoned the prophets, handed the cup of hemlock to Socrates, crucified Christ, burned Savonarola and Bruno, staged the Inquisition, murdered Servetus, hung Levellers, Quakers, Mennonites and Anabaptists, and hurled Europe into the bloody welter of the thirty years war. And it was bad people, very bad people, from the standpoint of the cockscrew, good people of their times, who took the fangs out of faith by separating holy man and hangman, church and state.

Now, being naturally tender-hearted and friendly like, I simply can't endure the prospect of spending eternity in the company of folks who spread salvation with butchers' cleavers. So, if their descendants don't mind, I would rather go to the place where Socrates, Bruno and the others are.

At the same time, I grant every man the right to go to heaven, hell or Davie's locker—any way to suit him. All I ask is that he refrain from using a harpoon to persuade me to go with him.

Adam Coalcligger.

Scanning the New Books

A Mythless Washington By James O Neal

WITH the annual return of American saints' days it is amusing to note the type of veneration offered by our mandarins. They are not satisfied with notable figures in American history or even noble human beings. They must have gods and supermen, and to disbelieve in them is to be guilty of something little short of sedition. Thus William E. Barton revives the fiction of Parson Weems regarding Washington and the cherry tree and scores those who reject it. John Spencer Bassett, certainly a competent historian, declared that Weems "was a curious combination of preacher and buffoon" whose "purpose was to make money and to teach morality" and who "drew more freely on his imagination" than any other American writer.

So the conflict between mythology and intelligence continues. To the school of intelligence W. E. Woodward brings a life of Washington (George Washington, the Image and the Man. New York: Boni & Liveright, \$4) that is appreciated by civilized human beings. Woodward is also the author of a number of novels of contemporary life that show keen insight into the vulgar aspects of the republic. The first sentence of the biography affirms that Washington "came of a family that must be called undistinguished, unless a persistent mediocrity, enduring many generations, is in itself a distinction."

Made by Events

Despite this mediocre ancestry Washington became distinguished, although it is practically certain that had the revolution not come in the period of his life, he would have died a respectable planter, unknown to posterity. Washington did not have the keen intellectual pursuits of Jefferson and Paine, as his diaries amply show. They are "as devoid of introspection as a furniture catalogue." The entries refer to Negroes, lands, hunting, card playing, visits, etc.—quite in contrast with the writings of men like Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton and their type.

Washington was president of the convention that framed the Constitution, yet there is no record of any contribution he made to the work of that body. As first President of the United States he is easily overshadowed by Hamilton, his finance minister, who was the author of all the great measures that made Washington's two terms notable. Virginia had a solid aristocracy of which Washington was one of the most conspicuous lights. He was probably the wealthiest man in the colonies, and it is certain that he did not sympathize with the undercurrent of radicalism which in the revolutionary period challenged the leadership and ideas of the upper group of planters, lawyers and merchants. Woodward presents a good account of this radicalism of the landless and voiceless workers who had a stake in the revolutionary movement but were too ill-informed to frame a program. He reminds us that "in the courts a workingman, without land or

a vote, had practically no standing when his opponent was his employer or anyone else of property or distinction. There was a feudal atmosphere about the later colonial civilization. It was beginning to take on some of the meaner aspects of feudalism without acquiring the patriarchal kindness of the feudal age."

It is the rich social, economic and political backgrounds of aristocracy on the one hand and proletarian dependence on the other which Woodward has reconstructed as a setting for the life of Washington and which gives his biography its excellence. If Washington is taken from the pedestal where Weems and others have placed him he still remains an interesting figure. He was a successful farmer and planter who married one woman while loving another. Where Henry Cabot Lodge declared that Washington did not buy and sell slaves, Woodward tells the truth and pays his compliments to Lodge with the observation that "there is a strain of shrewdness in history writing, as there is in law and business."

Not for Pollyannas

Washington's reputation as a general is handled with the same candor. Some historians have found this phase of his career a painful one to present without inviting the 100 percents to indulge in a massacre. Washington had the virtue of dogged persistence in the face of tremendous odds, but as a commander he could blunder and did blunder, but this is also offset by some movements and accomplishments in the field that are to his credit.

Washington's age was not an age of social revolution which contemplated the welfare of the voiceless and landless workers. It was an age of political revolution, when power was being transferred from one section of the upper classes to the other. It is by keeping in mind this distinction that we can understand Washington and the other revolutionary leaders. To expect them to be representatives of the first type of revolution would be to expect Ford and Rockefeller to be Socialists. In the American Revolution the chief issue was the transfer of power from the ruling class abroad to the ruling classes in the colonies. As Woodward points out, even while Washington's soldiers were dying of cold and hunger at Valley Forge Washington wrote to John Parke Custis that "lands are permanent—rising fast in value—and will be very dear when our independence is established." Moreover, Washington was an extensive landowner and a speculator in lands, while Woodward humorously observes that "a map of his political views in the pre-revolutionary period would be simply a map of the Western Territory, with a few disappointing financial statements from his London agents tacked on to one corner."

This work is essential for those afflicted with Pollyanna history and nursery tales, and those not so afflicted will be glad to add it to the increasing number of books that add to our knowledge of American history, the

25 Years of Labor

FROM the International Federation of Trade Unions comes an interesting history of that organization which bears the title, "Twenty-five Years of International Trade Unionism." The author is Jop Sassenbach, one of the secretaries of the International.

This book has been written in accordance with the instructions of the I. F. T. U., Amsterdam, for the occasion of the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. A very brief introduction is followed by a short account of the earliest attempts to establish international trade union co-operation; then follows the actual founding of the earlier form of the federation, and the whole story of its development from 1901 onwards to the present year. It is made clear in this book that, tentative as were the first efforts, yet by the outbreak of the war a considerable measure of concentration had been achieved, bringing with it much practical agreement in various forms. The war brought the movement to a temporary standstill, but it did not mean total collapse. Even before the armistice had been signed there had been rapprochement, and by the beginning of 1919 it had become possible to convene an international conference, to be followed in the same year by an international congress at Amsterdam, which was the starting point for fresh and closer international co-operation. The rest of the story will be better known to the ordinary reader; it presents a highly condensed summary of the activities of the I. F. T. U. since 1919, for which he would otherwise have had to scan some five or six volumes of official records.

The price of this interesting history in this country is 35 cents and the American agent is Bruno Wagner, 243 East Eighty-fourth street, Labor Temple, New York City.

Books for Everyman

A BATCH of some eight new books has just been issued in Everyman's Library, the collection that has placed the world's most important books in every field in handy yet attractive form within the reach of all. While children's books seem always more delightful when spread with colorful illustrations, Kingley's "Madam How and Lady Why" and Jules Verne's "Five Weeks in a Balloon" and "Around the World in Eighty Days" are welcome anywhere—the first being a delightful journey with Mother Nature, the second volume containing two stories no child tires of. And these are good editions for reading, so that the more expensive picture copies won't get galled. The other books are scattering presentations of travel, history and biography. "Peaks, Passes and Glaciers" contains a score of essays by or about the great mountain climbers, from the frozen summits of the north to the no less snow-covered peaks of the tropics. Biography takes three volumes. The "Memoirs of Sir Thomas Buxton" are a detailed and politically revelatory account of the man most responsible for the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire. Of more general

interest, and of equal historical value, are "The Letters of William Cowper" and "The Letters of Horace Walpole." Arranged according to their main topics, the writings of the leisurely Cowper and those of the more vigorous Walpole combine to give a colorful picture of the second half of the eighteenth century in England and in English thought.

The comments of the two men effectively indicate two opposite tendencies in the thought and spirit of the time, as their remarks on the French Revolution clearly indicate. Walpole, the more classical of the two, despite his Gothic novel, looks with increasing horror upon the French outbreak, until he cries, "Can one refrain without difficulties from exclaiming such wretches should be exterminated!" On word of the Revolution Cowper cries: "The present seems to be a wonderful period in the history of mankind. That nations so long contentedly slaves should on a sudden become enamoured of liberty, and understand, as suddenly, their own natural right to it, feeling themselves at the same time inspired with resolution to assert it, seems difficult to account for from natural causes." He is not without sympathy and pity for those who suffer, and grief at the excesses of the revolutionists, but he is never carried away, as so many always are, by immediate deeds to forget the ultimate goal: "The French are a vain and childish people and conduct themselves on this grand occasion (official declaration of the republic) with a levity and extravagance nearly akin to madness; but it would have been better for Austria and Prussia to let them alone. All nations have a right to choose their own mode of government, and the sovereignty of the people is a doctrine that evinces itself; for wherever the people choose to be masters they are always so, and none can hinder them." This is true, unfortunately, only of native tyrants; history still has present instances to show that oppression from abroad may continue in spite of the will of the people. From this thought, strong in itself, Cowper turns—as too few turn—to apply his principles at home: "God grant we may have no revolution here, but unless we have a reform, we certainly shall. Depend upon it, the hour is come when power founded in patronage and corrupt majorities must govern this land no longer." A sturdy man, who should be better known!

The last of this group, Voltaire's "The Age of Louis XIV," is a study, by the great forerunner of the French Revolution, of the "Grand Monarque" of France. As history, the book is rather a picture gallery, a sweep of the age—though it tells the essential story; as literature, it is a brilliant study of a great age expanding under the influence of a great man. Those who feel that with the formation of the great democracies the need of Voltaire, the satirist and political economist, dwindled will find in this volume that his place as a writer remains.

An excellent group, then, added to the \$0.50 series of valued and valuable books, Everyman's Library, published here by E. P. Dutton & Co.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Minn. and Mo. Threatened With "Cossacks"; Labor Opposition Grows

The Field of Labor

THE united opposition of organized labor, radical and conservative alike, to State constabularies on the ground that they are anti-labor agencies has given these instruments of repression an ill reputation. The State police of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and West Virginia have been particularly active in strike disturbances. From time to time efforts to foment these "cossacks" upon States not yet afflicted with them have failed because of the hostility of the trade unions. Therefore, when proposals are revived to establish such forces, care is taken to conceal the labor angle and lay all emphasis on simple police protection against criminal elements, automobile regulations and even execution of the game and fishing laws.

Two States are at the present moment arguing the pro and con of a State constabulary—Ohio having already had its share of discussion this winter. In Missouri and Minnesota bills providing for a State police are before the new legislatures. In the former State it is proposed to establish three companies under the personal supervision and direction of the governor, who will have the power to send them to any point within the State, either singly or en masse, for the so-called apprehension of criminals. The State Federation of Labor and the "Big Four" railroad brotherhoods have called attention to the measure as concentrating undue police and military powers in the hands of one man. They have issued a call to the trade unions of Missouri to protest to the legislators against the passage of the undesirable bill.

In Minnesota the attempt to foment a constabulary upon the State is more subtle in view of the opposition it has created in the past. At the 1919 session of the legislature it was argued that a State police force was necessary to put out forest fires and render aid in great public calamities. Then it was pointed out that the State highways needed a patrol to compel observance of traffic rules. Later it was contended that the farmers' hen houses had to be protected. Finally, the country bankers were brought into the fray, who set up the County Rangers as a basis upon which to build an argument for a State police. And now, the latest strategy has been to bring the country merchants before the legislature in a plea for military rule to guard them from marauders. Organized labor in Minnesota fears that all these reasons are but pretexts since the present civil authorities—governor, county and city peace officers and district attorneys—could cope with the situation if they would. At any rate, poor industrial conditions are responsible for a crime wave, it is such there. Minnesota labor will make a last-ditch fight to prevent the establishment of a constabulary.

L. S.

WYOMING LABOR HITS SNAG

The legislative program of the Wyoming labor force, that we described in detail on January 6, is having hard sailing. Four measures have already been killed: the ratification of the federal child labor amendment, the semi-monthly pay-day law, providing cumulation of wages on failure to pay; amendments to present state child labor law, and the licensing, examination and certification of master and journeymen plumbers with provision for self-financing. The federal amendment was opposed on the grounds of states' rights, too much centralization of power in Washington and too high an age limit being set. The wage law met with violent hostility from the

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Union Pacific and Burlington railways and owners of coal mines and refineries, who charged that they would be unable to operate under its provisions. The present child labor law was deemed satisfactory enough, and the plumber's licensing measure was condemned as "class legislation."

Of the other proposals of organized labor the eight-hour law for women workers has had women themselves—whether paid to do so or not, we do not know—lobbying against it as tending to decrease their earnings and deprive them of employment. The anti-prison labor bill has been withdrawn, partly because the termination of contractual relations with the Reliance Manufacturing Company on June 30, 1928, would precipitate a difficult situation and partly because it was felt that a state's-use system should embody the allocation of convict-made products among the various states party to the system. A new bill is being drafted to incorporate this principle. The band law, making it possible for incorporated towns, cities and villages to submit to their electorate the question of raising by taxation a sum to be expended in establishing concert bands, has passed the lower house, thanks to the persistent lobbying of the union musicians. It has a fair chance of passing the senate. The plumbers, it seems, were negligent of their interests.

Most important of all, the old-age pension bill, sponsored by the Order of Eagles and organized labor, is meeting with much favor except from the American Tobacco Company and tobacco dealers. That is because the finances proposed consist of a three-cent tax on each package of cigarettes sold in the State of Wyoming. From the money thus raised a pension will be given to aged persons over sixty-five years of age without property of over three thousand dollars sufficient to give them one dollar a day, including other incomes. It is not much, but the principle of old-age pensions will thus be established.

Finally, the bill to render constitutional the "Eight Hours Public Works Law" has been turned down by the Revenue Committee of the House. Eight hours on public works was provided for by the State Constitution in 1889 and a law designed to enforce this provision was passed in 1913. Now, it seems that the 1927 legislature will void the beneficial results of two-score years of effort. Conservatism is still in the saddle.

L. S.

Socialist Animal Lovers Organize in Vienna

Due to the fact that in many of the numerous Vienna societies devoted to the interests of animal lovers and breeders of pets, the Socialist members found themselves in conflict with the reactionary political ideas of the leaders of these organizations, a movement was begun some time ago, largely at the instance of Rudolf Mueller, a Socialist member of the Federal Council, aimed at uniting all the Socialist animal lovers in one big society, where labor folk would not have to be annoyed by reactionary propaganda.

On Jan. 22 the League of Social Democratic Animal Lovers and Animal Breeders was organized, with Rudolf Mueller as president, Dr. Friedrich Weidmann, and Georg Christoph treasurer. The dues are about 40 cents a year, and the League is to publish a paper. The League will look after the protection of all kinds of animals and the educating of its members in natural history and the care of pets. It will also try to aid the unemployed Austrian workers by promoting the construction of cages in Austria and will hold down the prices of animal feed by co-operative purchasing.

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Machinists Fight Piece Work; Take Lead in Rail Federation

THE International Association of Machinists recognized that its practical achievement of the nine-hour day in the manufacturing and contract establishments of the United States and Canada was weakened by the absence of a national agreement. Lack of a uniform settlement tempted employers to gain advantages over one another by forcing upon their help wherever possible longer hours of work. Thus friendly capitalists were driven into the arms of the union's foes. If the I. A. M. had stood upon its dignity it would have waited for the National Metal Trades Association to make the first overtures, for it was the latter that abrogated the national agreement of 1900. However, economic necessity dictated another procedure, and when "several gentlemen" suggested to President James O'Connell that he take the first step, he communicated with the Administrative Council of the N. M. T. A. asking it at its meeting on October 19, 1903, to appoint a committee to confer with one from the I. A. M. "to ascertain if it is not possible for the two associations to bring about an agreement."

He appealed to the body to "close the curtain on the past." The reply from the Council was an emphatic refusal to negotiate. It deemed it "inadvisable . . . in view of the position promulgated by your Association at its last general convention, against the open shop and the right of the individual to work where he pleases; against the freedom of every American boy to learn a trade by arbitrarily limiting the number of apprentices; against just methods of increasing production and freedom of shop management." As a matter of fact, the Milwaukee convention had not considered the open-shop policy, while the ratio of apprentices to journeymen of the I. A. M. was also that of the N. M. T. A. As for production and managerial methods, that was a reference to the union's opposition to piecework. In this matter the I. A. M. stood prepared to fight to the finish. It had asserted, and was to assert again and again, as we shall see shortly, its hostility to the schemes of the efficiency experts to exploit the workingman through bonus, premium, contract and piece bases of compensation. Thus, contractual relations between the organized employers and employees in the machinery manufacturing and repairing industry terminated abruptly. From that time on the N. M. T. A. has been in the forefront of the movement to destroy unionism. It has specialized in breaking up strikes by financing employers and supplying them with detectives and "strong-arm" men. Together with the National Foundries Association it publishes the "Open Shop Review." Yet, in 1903 the editor of the "Machinists' Monthly Journal" lightly dismissed the N. M. T. A. from his mind by quoting this jingle summarizing the attitude of the employers toward the union:

"I do not love thee, Dr. Fell—
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I know, and know full well:
I do not love thee, Dr. Fell."

In point of fact, the employers proclaimed the conciliatory move of the union as an "overture of peace rejected" and a "flag of truce ignored." It harbored ill for the future.

Piece Work Fight Begins
Piece work, as we have seen, was one of the chief points of contention. Here not only was the employer to be convinced of the justice of the union's claims but also to some extent, as frequently happens in such cases, the workers themselves. In 1897 it was reported that the piece work system was gaining ground, chiefly because of "the greed on the part of some machinists." Nevertheless, thirty-seven lodges had prevented the introduction of the evil in shops employing 4,500 men. The attitude of the union towards piece work is well summed up in the comment on these statistics:

"This system, when in practical operation, reduces the force on a fair estimate one-fourth. Thus the positions of 1,125 men have been saved, which amounts to \$2,475 per day or \$774,675 per year." The Kansas City convention of that year moved to abolish piece work in all shops, even where it was already in vogue, by May 1, 1898. Upon second thought the members realized that the organization was neither financially nor numerically strong enough to dictate terms in this way. A referendum was carried out in the spring of 1898 on the question of making the "sanction of the General Executive Board" necessary before a fight against piece work was risked. The vote in favor of the pro-

position was overwhelming (2,304 to 458).

The following year, the situation if anything had grown worse. The constitution of the I. A. M. forbade members upon penalty of expulsion to accept or advocate piece work in any shop where it had not been the practice heretofore. As a consequence many lodges were lost to the union either as a result of unsuccessful efforts to resist the introduction of the plan or more frequently because of the favor it had found with the members themselves.

Premium System Introduced
Matters were now complicated by the growing vogue of a new method of payment, the premium system, which the Blackford Drill and Tool Company of Cincinnati was prominent in inaugurating. By this arrangement each employer was guaranteed his regular day's work wages and in addition a premium equivalent to one-half or some other fraction of his hourly rate or fraction thereof for every hour he might reduce his time below the limit he usually reached before the introduction of the system. In this way each machinist became his own pace-maker without endangering the fortunes of his less competent fellow. The premium plan appealed to the Buffalo convention in 1899 as a way out of what seemed a hopeless situation, so that the delegates gave the international officers discretionary power to make agreements to introduce the system and "thereby control and eventually abolish piece-work in any form."

The expected relief did not materialize. The new law turned out to be practically useless. Three-fifths of the trouble with manufacturers was over the piece work question. Then within a two year period the introduction of the system had been prevented in 114 shops and had been introduced in forty-nine, the number of machinists affected in the first instance was only 2,800 while in the second it was 3,653. The evil was evidently gaining in the larger establishments and it was apparent that sooner or later the International Association of Machinists would have to come out flat-footedly in its acceptance of the system and seek to control it or in rejection of it and endeavor to fight it. In spite of the need for some definite action the Toronto convention of 1901 postponed action. The union was still busily engaged in establishing the nine-hour day to think of new problems.

Two years later the I. A. M. had emerged from its period of uncertainty. There were strikes enough on hand, to be sure, but there was a feeling of confidence also. A walkout on the Union Pacific had taken place on June 30, 1902, in protest against the introduction of piece work and had been in progress almost a year when the Milwaukee convention assembled in May, 1903. President O'Connell pointed out the ridiculousness of a state of affairs whereby a member under the union's rules would be forced to go on strike in shops where piece work was introduced and then be permitted to find employment in another establishment where the system was already in existence. The delegates responded by boldly proclaiming July 1, 1904, as the deadline for the discontinuance of the piece work as well as the premium, task, merit and contract systems.

The Piece Work Clause Today
Once more, final action had to be delayed. The unsatisfactory trade conditions, the lack of funds and the numerous strikes in which the union was involved in 1904, led to a referendum vote in which the membership by a large majority voted not to enforce the law at that time. After that the question was allowed to lapse, the union contenting itself with keeping the system from spreading. The chief problem was one of educating the machinists themselves to recognize the essential harmfulness of piece work to themselves and the organization. Many have found a fair piece work system desirable. Unorganized machinists have used the union's attitude as a pretext for not joining the I. A. M. For example, President O'Connell reported in 1909 that several important industries had escaped unionization just because of this fact, namely, the building of new locomotives and automobiles and work in electric plants. The prohibition clause in the union constitution still stands forbidding members to accept piece work "where it is not now a practice," but permitting them when it is already in operation.

Railroad Machinists' Problems

Thus far in this study our attention has been devoted mainly to the workers in the manufacturing and contract shops. It will be remembered, however, that the I. A. M. had its origin among railroad machinists. They made slower progress than their fellow-workmen, contending, as they had to, with two difficult conditions: (1) The well-bulwarked capital of the railway magnates and (2) the necessity of establishing uniform conditions along a whole railroad system in order to be fair to all the workers on a line and to remove the management's opportunity to point to inferior conditions as a model. In the nine-hour movement in 1901 the plan had at first been to include the railroad machinists also, but this was abandoned when the organization found its hands full with the manufacturing and contract shops. Still, two or three lines were tied up,

though the men after long struggles returned to work with little immediate gains.

The railroad men did not remain idle, however. They continued their work of organization, obtaining agreements on many lines and in some cases even the nine-hour day. The shorter work day, however, was not insisted upon in deference to the action of the 1901 convention in advising delay until a general demand could be instituted. In 1903 the time seemed ripe for such action. A resolution was passed at the Milwaukee convention stating that in conjunction with the establishment of the eight-hour day in "all branches of machinists' trade" on May 1, 1904, that "nine hours shall constitute one day's work on any system or all systems where the machinists are ready for action, the sanction of the International President and the General Executive Board being secured." Later, in view of the business depression of 1904, this motion was repealed by referendum vote. With the exception of an assessment levy proposed in 1907, which had to be dropped on account of the business depression, no other movement for the general establishment of the shorter work day was inaugurated until 1915.

Closer Federation Demanded
It became increasingly apparent that if the railroad machinists were going to make any real advances that they would have to organize more closely with due consideration to territorial groupings or, at least, railroad system to be attacked. Otherwise, the fear of unequal condition among competitors would produce a fierce resistance on the part of management. Furthermore, co-operation with the other shop crafts was imperative for making any successful concerted move. The whole matter came to a head in the 1905 convention at Boston, where a veritable storm broke out. There was a strong sentiment in favor of establishing districts on a special industry basis, but after a vigorous debate the proposal was voted down, 58 to 57. Then the Railroad Committee made its report. It advocated the creation of a railroad district lodge with jurisdiction over all railroad work. A heated discussion ensued and finally a substitute was adopted by an overwhelming majority (1) instructing the International President and the General Executive Board to call a conference of the various railroad districts for the purpose of drafting a uniform agreement and devising ways and means for putting it into effect, (2) favoring the nine-hour day on railroad systems and (3) recommending that the executive officials arrange to meet the executives of the boiler-makers, blacksmiths, patternmakers and molders with a view of securing their co-operation in obtaining a uniform working agreement upon railroad systems.

The conference took place as planned at St. Louis, Missouri, June 18, 1906. Fifty delegates were present representing practically every railroad in North America. The discussion went beyond parliamentary latitude. The less conservative tried to have measures adopted providing for the nine-hour day five years hence; the expiration of all existing agreements and the presentation of all future agreements on the same day, no settlement to be made without the approval of the Grand Lodge; and a referendum vote on a proposal that fifteen cents per capita tax be deducted from the present income of the Grand Lodge to be set aside as a reserve railroad fund. The first suggestion was modified to imitate the shorter work day only "when any district or railroad system was desirous of making the demand and had received the support of the G. E. B.," the second proposition was made subject to the thirty days' notice rule; and the last was tabled. The conference with the approval of the Administration then adopted plans for the organization of the railroad machinists into five districts, Northeast, Southeast, Southwest and Northwest, and one for those employed in locomotive or railroad equipment work. Temporary officers were elected and plans laid for permanent organization. It is interesting to note in passing that A. O. Wharton, now president of the I. A. M., became secretary of the newly organized Southwestern Consolidated Railway District.

approved in a referendum vote by an easy majority, was none too soon. It was of assistance in resisting a wage reduction of ten per cent which the railroads proposed during the panic of 1907 and in co-operating with other railroad workers in protesting to railroad officials and the Interstate Commerce Commission. By 1908 three of the four consolidated districts had obtained the nine-hour day.

The Federated Shop Crafts

The International Association of Machinists affiliated with the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor when it was formed in 1903. This proved unsatisfactory, since there was no regular per capita tax on the membership and no salaries for officers, so that the department could do little practical work. The I. A. M., for example, only contributed five dollars a month. More important were the various federations of crafts on the railroads that had sprung up on every side and that had given birth to the idea of a Railway Employees Department. The refusal of the Harbinger and Illinois Central lines to make agreements with these federations led the Davenport, Iowa,

100,000 Danish Workers Block Wage Reduction; Pay Raises Won in Poland

Labor Doings Abroad

ATTEMPTS by the employers in the Danish oil plants, sugar refineries, cement mills, brick-yards and stone crushing plants to cut wages have been blocked by the solidarity of the some 100,000 workers involved, says a Copenhagen dispatch of Jan. 21 to German newspapers.

The union men came back at the bosses with a demand for a material increase in pay. The negotiations were long and heated, but finally a compromise was reached and the agreement was renewed without any change in wages. Although general conditions in Denmark are improving only slowly, there has been a drop in unemployed workers from 100,000 to 92,000 since the beginning of the year and the outlook is better than was expected some time ago.

ITALIAN UNION LEADERS DENY DISSOLUTION RUMOR

Following the recent publication in Italy and abroad of rumors to the effect that the General Confederation of Labor was about to be dissolved by its officials, the executive committee of the Confederation and the members of its general commission living abroad came out with a denial of any such intention.

In this denial it is explained that the fact that some of the members of the administrative council of the Confederation living in Italy passed a resolution noting that under the present circumstances no trade union activities could be carried on in Italy has no binding force upon the other officials of the Confederation and that, supported by the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the latter will continue to maintain the skeleton organization until happier days arrive.

POLISH WORKERS WIN SOME WAGE INCREASES

In an effort to keep up with the high cost of living in the so-called Polish Republic, the workers in many industries have been compelled to demand higher pay during the last few months. In some cases the bosses have been hard-boiled and the negotiators have had their hands full trying to win something for the workers without strikes. But, according to a report recently received by the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, several slight gains have been made. The Katowitz arbitration committee has granted a raise ranging from 5 to 8 per cent to the workers in the foundries and mines of Upper Silesia. The workers in the Dombrowa mines got an 8 per cent. raise through negotiation. In the petroleum industry wages have been advanced 8 per cent. In addition to the automatic increase of 5 1/2 per cent. resulting from the rise in the cost of living in November, in the textile mills of Bielek the workers have won a 10 per cent. rise. In the lumber industry of the Lovov district wages are scheduled to go up from 10 to 12 per cent.

convention of 1911 to authorize a strike against the companies involved. The struggle lasted almost four years, cost the international a million dollars, and was finally called off on June 28, 1915. Meanwhile, upon the instruction of the same convention, a meeting of the international officers of the railroad shop crafts was held in Kansas City on April 15 to 23, 1912. There the Federation of System Federations was formed with A. O. Wharton as chairman. The organizations represented were, besides the machinists, the blacksmiths, boiler-makers, sheet metal workers, railway carmen, railway clerks, painters and decorators, pattern makers and steam-fitters. Later the Railway Employees Department at its 1912 convention in Rochester, N. Y., took over bodily the principals and program of the Federation of Federations. At the present time nine of the thirteen railroad unions in the A. F. of L. are affiliated with the department, namely, the machinists, blacksmiths, boiler-makers, carmen, electrical workers, stationary firemen, maintenance of way employees, sheet metal workers and switchmen. By the time that the World War broke out most of the railroads of the country had been organized, many with federation agreements, the outstanding exception being the Pennsylvania.

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GERMAN RAIL ENGINEERS CELEBRATE BIRTHDAY

The sixtieth birthday of the Union of German Locomotive Engineers was celebrated in the old Prussian House of Lords in Berlin by a meeting attended by delegates from all parts of the Fatherland. Dr. Paul Loebe, Socialist president of the Reichstag, was present, as were representatives of the Ministry of Transportation, of the National Railway Company and of the National Economic Council. Many members of the Reichstag and labor leaders were also present.

In his anniversary speech, President Warstein of the Union pointed out that when the original Society of German Locomotive Engineers was founded on Jan. 1, 1867, it had 240 members. Now the union has more than 70,000 members, in 27 districts and 470 local groups, one of which is located in Innsbruck, Austria. When the World War broke out the union's property was worth about 13,000,000 marks. War troubles, inflation and deflation of the currency reduced its wealth to just five pfennigs when stabilization was effected.

But the union's recovery has been so rapid that within a year and a half after stabilization it was able to pay 1,250,000 marks (worth 24 cents each) for its new building in Magdeburg street. The union has a home for convalescents in Hannover-Muenden. It has a library of 100,000 volumes at its members' disposal.

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS WINNING THE PEASANTS

Striking evidence of the rapid headway being made by the systematic propaganda of the Austrian Social Democratic Party among the peasants of that republic is found in the results of the election for members of the Agricultural Chamber in the Burgenland on Jan. 16.

In this former Hungarian province of some 300,000 inhabitants, the great bulk of the land is held by a few big owners, and the small farmers have a hard time making a living. Consequently, thousands of the young men leave home and seek work in Vienna and other cities. There they learn about Socialism and write back to the old folks about the great work being done for the working people by the Socialist administration of the capital city and of the necessity of the country workers and the city toilers standing together against the capitalists and agrarians. Furthermore, the Austrian Socialists are carrying on educational work among the peasants, and in the Burgenland are politically represented by the Small Farmers' League.

When the votes for the Agricultural Chamber were counted, the whole republic was surprised to learn that about one-quarter of the Burgenland farmers, large and small, had become Socialists. The Socialist vote was 10,640; the Clerical vote, 18,193, and the Land Leaguers', 13,752. The Socialists have eight seats in the new Chamber, against fourteen for Clericals and ten for the Land Leaguers.

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Helping the Good Work Along

OUR special offer to accept three subscriptions—one renewal and two new subs each for one year—for \$4 instead of \$6, the regular rate, will be extended to the end of March. We are doing this in order to give the same advantage to those whose subscriptions will expire during the next three weeks that was accorded to subscribers with subscriptions expiring in January. Many of our subscribers have taken advantage of this special offer, as it enables those who cannot afford to renew their own subscription as it falls due, to obtain a free renewal by securing two yearly subscriptions at \$2 each, or four six-month subscriptions at \$1 each. It also affords an opportunity to those who can spare the money to place some friends on the mailing list at half the regular rate.

The following have availed themselves of the offer this week: Frank Bales, Astoria, N. Y., with four subscriptions; Dettmer 7 Hardware, Slatersburg, Pa., three subscriptions; Dr. A. F. Green, Cleveland, Ohio, three; Jos. W. Sharts, Dayton, Ohio, two and one-half; Mrs. W. H. Stahl, Sykesville, Pa., five; Gabriel Czinke, Flushing, N. Y., three; K. K. Hall, Pittsburgh, Pa., three.

Samuel A. DeWitt, in spite of a very busy life, writing his column in the New Leader every week, lecturing, officiating at banquets, attending numerous meetings, etc., still finds the time to pick up subscriptions for the New Leader. He has brought in so many during the last six months that we have lost the count. Every week he manages somehow to pick up one or two, or more, and every new reader he brings up eventually becomes an enthusiastic hustler. This week he only has to his credit one new and two renewals.

The credit for the largest number of subscriptions received from one source this week goes to a professor of one of the Midwestern universities, who induced thirty-five of the students of his class on Socialism to subscribe for three months each for the New Leader, the paper being used in connection with the class work.

For the last three years the New Leader was used for such study, each year a larger number of subs being raised, to be topped this year, indicating the growth of the class and a corresponding increase in the interest of the subject to be studied. The successive use of the New Leader for such study work is a concrete demonstration that the New Leader is indispensable to all those who wish to be well informed on the progress and activities of the Socialist and Labor movement, which is the sole reason why the professor above-mentioned has advised the members of his class to subscribe for it.

We are indeed indebted to the professor for the thirty-five subs secured by him and can assure him that we will see to it that the New Leader will contain during life of these subscriptions plenty of feature articles and news of real interest to his class.

The 22nd Assembly District of Kings is a new addition to our list of organizations determined to secure their quota of new readers for the New Leader. Comrade Kantor feels that our offer to give party branches the option of securing subscriptions in clubs of ten at \$1 per year is one that should work to the benefit of the party as well as the New Leader and expects to complete the first batch of ten within a few days. We understand that some of the Y. P. S. L. and other party branches have decided to join this growing group of New Leader hustlers. In view of this interest we have decided to extend this offer to the end of March and we hope that the many organizations now engaged in this work will give us at least 1,000 new readers from this source alone by the end of March.

Comrade Ethelred Brown attended last week's meeting of the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters, distributed some 200 copies of the New Leader and made a stirring appeal for subscribers. As a result he secured two subscriptions, while a large number of his audience took the subscription blanks which he distributed and promised to mail in their subscriptions. What Comrade Brown has done should be repeated by other friends of the New Leader, especially those who belong to labor organizations. Get a bundle for distribution at your organization meetings and arrange for a

representative of The New Leader to address the meeting with a view of appealing for readers.

Dr. Joseph N. Cohen, of Brooklyn, N. Y., writes to us: "Enclosed find check for my renewal. I would as soon go without food as to go without The New Leader. The paper seems to be setting higher standards all the time. Keep up the good work, and more power to you."

RELIGIOUS SOCIALISTS GAINING IN GERMANY

In reporting on Jan. 25 the speeches delivered before 150 preachers from all over Germany attending a convention of the Evangelical Social School in Spandau by Dr. Fuchs of Eisenach, and Pastor Eckert, prominent leaders of the League of Religious Socialists, the Berlin Vossische Zeitung noted the recent rapid advance of social consciousness in church circles as evidenced by the church elections in Baden and Thuringia.

Dr. Eckert, who is Executive Secretary of the League of Religious Socialists, which was organized early last year, plainly told the assembled preachers that the religious Socialists aimed to be the leaders of the revolutionary proletariat in religious and church life, and that they were fighting inside the church for a new church that would try to shape the life of the individual and the life of society along genuine Christian lines. Dr. Fuchs said that the church ought to recognize in the Socialist movement something that it should thankfully welcome. He tried to make his hearers see that it was the duty of the church to line up with the section of the populace now bearing the heaviest burdens of a heart-breaking life.

The speeches of the two Socialists are reported to have made a deep impression upon the delegates to the convention.

French Socialists Want Troops Out of Rhineland

In the first issue of the daily Populaire, which came out on Jan. 22 in Paris, Leon Blum, the prominent French statesman who is the paper's editor in chief, devoted an article to the matter of French troops in the Rhineland and demanded their immediate withdrawal.

The editor of the revived Socialist daily pointed out that the withdrawal of the troops from the occupied German territory would be, first of all, to the advantage of France, as the occupation had brought in nothing and had cost huge sums. Furthermore, France must look for safety in the spirit of the Locarno Pact, and in international control.

A feature of the first number of the daily Populaire was a prominently displayed message of greeting from the Social Democratic Party of Germany and an article by Frederick Stampfer, editor in chief of the Berlin Vorwaerts. With a good subscription list to start with and a dues-paying Socialist membership of more than 120,000 behind it, the Populaire is likely to become the fighting organ of the French proletariat in a comparatively short time.

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Amusements



New Drama in New York And of New York

Faragoh Puts the 'Graphic' on the Stage

THE general question of expressionism, of the new technique in the theatre, need not be raised before declaring that in "Pinwheel," playing at the Neighborhood Theatre, Francis Edwards Faragoh has caught in suggestive symbol and sympathetic insight, the mind and the movement of the product of the New York slums, the typical reader of our proud picture papers. Dorothy Sands carries through the part of "The Jane," which is almost as outstanding as that of the clerk in "From Morning to Midnight," with a genuine vulgarity that reaches to the depths such a creature does not even suspect she can offer. The performance is swung to a speedy tempo characteristic of New York; with its opening suggestion of subway stir and workday morning rush, it carries the audience swiftly into its mood.

The hurried pace of the first scenes does not flag in the condensation with which the love making at Coney Island is manipulated; an evening's warm seduction is pressed into a single dance. Other moments of the play suggest familiar episodes; the whole story might be one taken from those pictures, presenting successive important episodes of a favorite scandal, that flout their tale upon the inner pages of the tabloids. There is little comfort

for thoughtful citizens in the recognition that Faragoh has captured the mood truly.

The vulgarity of these products and victims of a society that crowds its workers into ugly tenements, while giving them through publicity and juxtaposition every opportunity to see how the other half lives (it is not the lower half that has to be told!) leads inevitably to the desire for pleasure, for prominence, for publicity. But beyond these hungers, beyond the lusts that breed in the jungle of modern life, one can discern the hesitant, blundering groping of a desire for beauty and for love. The Jane's faithfulness to the Bookkeeper is the strength of her illusion; in him—before she goes to him to stay—she sees the true lover; through him, she expects the realization of all her dreams. Nor is she to blame that her dreams, her ideals, center about a Rolls Royce and a home in Hollywood with a swimming pool of its own. The life around her has made her a gift of those ideals. Yet this sordid life, this crass and vulgar materialism, has so strong a hold that the lure of green grass and the unknown peace of the country can draw for only a moment this Jane and for only a moment this Guy who for its own. They are children of the city; its foulness and its ignorance are in them.

The effectiveness of Faragoh's play would be greatly heightened by imag-

inative production. The directors of the Neighborhood Playhouse have followed the scheme suggested by half a dozen other expressionistic plays, and the small stage on which the drama is produced prevents this manner from spreading to its full power. The surge that we desire is lacking; the many figures that in queer carnival costume (have you ever watched dancers in a Coney Island restaurant, under the changing colors of the spotlights?) move about the stage are too sharply separated from the chief characters; we are thus flung abruptly from the one group to the other, and the merging of the few with the city life of the many is not effected. Even with this traditional presentation, however, "Pinwheel" is rapid and stirring enough to convey a vivid picture of a phase of life that marks—and mars—our civilization. There is little difficulty in seeing what the pinwheel is, and who the pinheads; even, who does the turning; why the whirling should be permitted to continue is another and more pertinent question—why the play may be permitted subtly to pose.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

**Civic Repertory to Give
Glaspell's "Inheritors"**

Susan Glaspell's "Inheritors" will be given by the Civic Repertory Theatre, in West 14th street. It will open on Monday, March 7. A special matinee of "Cradle Song" will be presented March 3.

Josephine Hutchinson, who has made such a success in the role of "Teresa" in "The Cradle Song," will play the leading role in "Inheritors."

Notes of the Theatre

The musical version of "The Willow Tree," which the Shuberts are preparing under the title of "Yo-San," will open in Newark on Feb. 28. Howard Marsh will be featured in the cast, with Helen Nord in the prima donna role. Others in the company are Bernard Gorcey, Ann Milburn, James Marshall, Frank Davenport and Fred Harper. Lew Morton is staging "Yo-San" and Michio Ito is arranging the dances.

A play called "Private Jones" goes into rehearsal for production by Asher & Small in association with Al Lewis. It has been expanded from a one-act playlet by Richard Shaver which was originally produced in Los Angeles.

The cast for "Puppets of Passion," opening at the Theatre Maque on Feb. 24, includes Frank Morgan, Manart Kippen, Rose Hobart, Gilda Leary, Craig Ward, Erskine Sanford and Eduardo Ciannelli.

"A Woman in the House," in which Louis Mann and Clara Lipman will be starred, will have its premiere at Teller's Shubert Theatre, Brooklyn, Monday.

Arthur Hurley will direct "Menace," a play by Arthur M. Brilliant, which goes into rehearsal today with Jack Roosevelt in the leading role.

revival of "Romance" Doris Keane will tour the English provinces in the play. She will be seen here in a new vehicle in the fall.

"The Showman," the musical show in which Joe Laurie, Jr., will be starred, goes into rehearsal under the direction of Willard Mack.

"Powder Puff Frolic" will be next week's burlesque attraction at the Columbia Theatre.

Eugene L. Burton has written the incidental music for "Loud Speaker," the first production of the New Playwrights Theatre.

Irving Edwards, Harry Welsh and Cooper and Redello have been engaged for the new edition of the Earl Carroll "Vanities," which opens next Monday night.

Barrie's "Alice Sit-by-the-Fire" will be presented by the Washington Square Players on Saturday of this week at the University Playhouse, 100 Washington Square, as an aid to the Emergency Fund of the School of Education of New York University.

"In Abraham's Bosom"
Moves to the Garrick

Paul Green's intense drama of the Negro race, "In Abraham's Bosom," has moved to the Garrick Theatre, where it will be able to seat the many who have been turned away from the diminutive Provincetown Playhouse.

Frank Wilson, who understudied the leading man at the Provincetown, will play the role of Abraham. Wilson drew favorable comment for his acting in "All God's Chillun."

stipulations. Enrolled Socialist voters will be written to, many of them visited and invited to organization meetings.

Bronx

Lectures

The Central Branch will meet Wednesday evening, Feb. 23, at headquarters, 1187 Boston road. It is urgent that every member attend, as several organization plans will be discussed and acted upon. The Monday evening forum is concluding a fairly successful series of lectures, with Jesse Stephen. Esther Friedman will deliver a series on Mondays during March. Thomas Rogers is conducting a class in Socialism every Sunday afternoon at the headquarters.

The forum of Branch 7 is continuing its successful series with prominent lecturers. Another organization meeting with Socialist enrolled voters will be held soon.

Ball a Success

A preliminary report of the ball committee indicates that the affair of Jan. 30 will net the Bronx County Committee a handsome profit. One hundred dollars has been donated to the city office and the Bronx treasury has been strengthened for organization work and the headquarters fund. Joseph Jacobson of the Central Branch won the Essex car.

All Bronx party members have been sent letters containing requests for names and addresses of young people for the Young People's Socialist League. The Yipsels in the Bronx have been a valuable adjunct to the party. Comrades are urged to give these letters their immediate attention.

Brooklyn

2nd A. D.

Another group of new members have just been added to this rapidly growing branch. Their headquarters at 420 Hindsdale street is a beehive of activity. With the lively co-operation of Circle No. 17 of the Young People's Socialist League, the most active and resourceful Yipsel Circle in the United States, numerous projects are being carried into effect. A building fund drive is on—a ball, later on a concert, and an intensive membership campaign is on their program.

4th and 14th A. D.

A series of lectures on the "Fundamentals of Socialism" will be given every Monday evening at the headquarters, 345 S. 3rd street. The lecturer is Dr. Hyman Katz. Admission is free.

6th A. D.

The lecture series given by Jessie Stephen, of Great Britain, is bringing out an excellent attendance. An interested crowd of young people were present each Friday evening and a spirited discussion followed. This branch is also contemplating other activities at the conclusion of this series of lectures.

17th and 18th A. D.

The branch has held its second meeting in its work of reorganization and is laying plans for an enrolled Socialist voters' meeting in the very near future.

22nd A. D.

The East New York Forum, conducted by this branch, continues to be a success. The speaker this Friday evening is Judge Jacob Panken. During the following Fridays August Claessens and Louis Waldman will lecture. The branch will meet Tuesday evening, March 1. An interesting program includes a brief speech by prominent comrade. An entertainment and social gathering will follow the business meeting.

23rd A. D.

The forum conducted by this branch in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum will continue its sessions on Feb. 25. The speaker will be August Claessens and the subject "Socialism and Religion." The list of other speakers and topics

Manhattan

Lecture Forums

The educational work of the lower East Side branches continues with increasing success. The two forums in the 1st and 2nd Assembly Districts are drawing capacity houses. The forum in the 6th A. D. at Hennington Hall, under the direction of Comrade Panken, is proving one of the most effective and successful undertakings. Two more forums will be started at the end of the month, one in Yorkville, at the headquarters of the 14th, 15th and 16th A. D. branch and another at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center under the auspices of the 17th, 18th and 20th A. D. branch.

The West Side branches in the territories of the 3d, 5th and 10th A. D. and the 7th, 9th and 11th A. D. are holding regular meetings and are preparing for active work in their con-

New York State

Local Troy Revived

Local Troy was reorganized last Sunday. This local had been dormant for five years, but Edward P. Clarke, formerly of Hartford, Conn., and a real "live-wire," hustled around, and with the assistance of the State office secured sufficient applications for a new start in the Collar City. Herman Katz was made organizer and secretary of the reorganized local, and Edward P. Clarke was selected as financial secretary-treasurer. An active campaign will be carried on for additional members. The State secretary, Herman Kolbe, of the State executive committee, and Allen Depew, of Cohoes, candidate of the party for Congress last year, were present at the Troy reorganization meeting.

Second Party Conference

State Secretary Merrill will call a second session of the Feb. 6 party conference on a Sunday in the near future most agreeable to those who participated. While the number of invitations was necessarily limited, party members with paid-up cards will be welcome to attend. The size of the conference had to be adapted to the seating capacity of the Yorkville branch headquarters.

Arrangements are being made for the broadcasting of a 15 minute address by Miss Jessie Stephen, from Station WGR, Buffalo, from 6:15 to 6:30 p. m., March 1.

Locals Buffalo, Syracuse and Keatwood-Sherill have expressed interest in having a lecture by Jose Kelly, of the Mexican Federation of Labor.

New York City

Commune Celebration

Immediately after the Forward ball this Saturday evening at the Madison Square Garden, all efforts will be directed to the next big event on Friday evening, March 18, under the joint auspices of the Socialist party of New York City, Rand School of Social Science, and the New Leader. This affair will be a ball and reunion in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871. The hall is the Central Opera House, 67th street, near Third avenue. It is expected that every Socialist and sympathizer for miles around will be present at this affair. Tickets are \$1.00 and will be on sale at every Socialist party headquarters in the city. Dance music will be played by Schiller's Society Orchestra.

Berger's Speech

The party branches of Greater New York and vicinity are informed that the city executive committee has ordered a large quantity of Victor Berger's recent speech in Congress on the Mexican and Nicaraguan situation. It is a leaflet of eight pages. It is enclosed in a franked envelope. All that is necessary is to write the names and addresses upon them and they are ready for mailing. Branches or individuals who desire to make use of this piece of propaganda and mailing them in general can obtain them for \$5.00 per thousand. Of course, smaller quantities can be ordered. Those interested should get in touch with the City Office, 7 E. 15th street, at once.

The City Convention

The executive committee is sending a call to branches of Local New York City to elect delegates to the coming city convention, which will be held Saturday afternoon, April 2. This yearly convention is prescribed in the by-laws of Local New York City and

Study Class

The Study Class in the Cardinal Principles of Socialism will hold its session Monday, Feb. 28, 8:15 p. m., in room 5, third floor, Labor Institute, 808 Locust street. The subject to be considered is "Social Ownership and Democratic Control."

New England

Esther Friedman's Dates

Esther Friedman's tour the second week is as follows: Springfield, Feb. 20, at 159 Bridge Street; Newburyport, Feb. 21, at Malta Hall, 61 State Street; Worcester Central Labor Union at 62 Madison Avenue on Feb. 23; Feb. 24, Boston, at 21 Essex Street; Feb. 25, Worcester, at Union Hall, 15 Harrison Street; Feb. 26, Greenfield; Feb. 27, Haverhill Workmen's Circle.

Jose Kelly can speak for us Feb. 23, 24 or 25 if requests are sent at once to the State Office.

The Speakers' Training Class will have talks on "The Press and Public Opinion," and on "Crises and Panics" on Sunday, Feb. 20 and 27, respectively, at 21 Essex Street, at 5 p. m.

The Socialist Party will vigorously oppose the manufacturers' attempt to increase the hours of labor for women in cotton manufacturing before the legislative committee. We also took a leading part in the opposition to the bill against the teachers' union and in favor of the bill to limit injunctions in labor disputes.

Connecticut

Bridgeport Forum

The speaker of the evening was Kark C. Jursek, recent candidate for Governor on the Socialist ticket. Fred Cederholm, at one time Socialist alderman in Bridgeport, was chairman of the meeting. Mr. Jursek's subject was "The World's End." He told of the formation of the earth, of many things that might cause the end of life on the earth, such as collisions with other planets, earthquakes and the possibility of another glacier period. After the lecture the meeting was thrown open for questions. The next meeting will be held Sunday, Feb. 27.

Unemployment Insurance Bill

The Socialist Party of Connecticut has had introduced in the State Legislature an Unemployment Insurance Bill. The bill is based on a bill drawn by Professor John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin. The bill, if enacted into a law, will help to solve the unemployed problem which is a menace to the well being of thousands of wage earners in the State.

Commonwealth Banquet

The Socialist Party will hold a banquet for the benefit of The Commonwealth, Saturday evening, Feb. 26, at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak street, New Haven. This is the second annual banquet and an unusually good time is promised to those who attend. We are holding the banquet for the purpose of creating interest in the paper, and we hope that all who want to see the paper expand in size and increase in circulation will be present.

You can do a great deal right now if you will purchase a ticket, which entitles you to a seat at the banquet, to either Walter E. Davis, 48 Belmont street, Whiteville, Conn., or to Martin F. Plunkett, Wallingford, Conn. In addition to the banquet there will be an entertainment, and George E. Goebel, of Newark, N. J., will make a short address.

Dean Brown to Speak

Charles R. Brown, Dean of the Yale Divinity School, will speak at the Bijou Theatre, New Haven, Sunday, March 6, at 2:30 p. m. His subject will be "Religion and Industry." Dean Brown

National

The National Office has printed the declaration of the National Executive Committee, on Mexico and Nicaragua, in leaflet form for general circulation. It is printed in boldface type, is short and to the point, and is a good statement of the danger that exists of American complications and possible war with Mexico. The leaflet can be obtained at the rate of \$2 per thousand or \$1.75 per thousand in lots of 5,000 or more. Send orders to the Executive Secretary, William H. Henry, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Colorado

Colorado Socialists, attention! We have had a good vacation from party activities. Now let us buckle on our armor and wade into the fray as if we meant it. We have around \$70 in the State treasury, and I am issuing a call for volunteer contributions to supplement this and then get an organizer and put the State in the front ranks in the fight for the emancipation of mankind.

Yours for Socialism in our time,
C. A. BUSHNELL, State Secretary.

Wisconsin

A letter from Ed D. Deuss, Sheboygan, states that their branch organization held a convention in Labor Hall Feb. 13 and placed nominees in the field for the spring election. The report adds that the meeting was well attended and most enthusiastic.

Ohio

State Secretary Willert sends a letter to the members throughout the State, urging them to take part in party activity. His report on dues paid during the month of January shows an excellent increase. Reports from Cleveland are to the effect that the party is in much better shape, with better activity all along the line than there has been in some years. Write your State Secretary, John G. Willert, 501 Superior Building, Cleveland, and tell him you are ready to help. It is necessary that the party in Ohio be built up. The party is growing and subscriptions to the American Appeal are on the increase. Let's go right ahead. Every Socialist should carry a red card.

Pennsylvania

James H. Maurer in Philadelphia writes that his branch organization held a convention in Labor Hall Feb. 13 and placed nominees in the field for the spring election. The report adds that the meeting was well attended and most enthusiastic.

West Philadelphia

The West Philadelphia branch will meet Thursday, Feb. 24, 8:15 p. m., at 5222 Haverford avenue (second floor over the 'American Store'). C. W. Thompson will speak on "Pioneers of Socialism in America." Admission will be free and the general public is invited.

North Philadelphia

The North Philadelphia branch will hold its monthly business meeting Friday, Feb. 25, 8:15 p. m., at Lieberthal Hall, 3647 North Sixth street. Important business is to be transacted.

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

BERNARD SHAW'S PYGMALION

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway. Even at 8:30
Matinee THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 21st

SIDNEY HOWARD'S NED McCOBB'S DAUGHTER

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 58th St., East of Broadway CIRCLE
Matinee THURSDAY and SATURDAY 5678

WEEK OF FEBRUARY 21st

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WEEK OF FEBRUARY 21
Mon. Eve., Feb. 21...MASTER BUILDER
Tues. Mat., 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...THREE SISTERS
JOHN GABRIEL BORKMAN

Evenings and Saturday Matinees, 50c. to \$1.50 Wednesday Matinees, 35c. to \$1

Opening Monday, March 7th—"THE INHERITORS" SEATS NOW

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

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

BEGINNING MONDAY NIGHT

B. F. WITBECK Presents

"THE LITTLE SPITFIRE"

By MYRON C. FAGAN

A NEW COMEDY

CHOCK FULL OF LAUGHS

THE SAME BRILLIANT CAST

THAT PRESENTED IT FOR

7 MONTHS AT THE CORT THEA.

Week of February 21

LOOSE ANKLES

New York's Laugh Sensation

JED HARRIS
Presents

by Philip Dunning
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BROADHURST

THEA., 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

to follow during the months of March and April will be shortly announced.

Queens

The third Sunday evening lecture of the Jamaica Lecture Forum will be given Feb. 20, with August Claessens as the speaker. He will talk on "Can Wealth Be Distributed Fairly?" New Leader readers are urged to come and bring their friends. There will be a general discussion after the lecture.

Yipseldom

WITH THE CIRCLES

Milwaukee, Wis.

Circle 1 has completed arrangements for a mask ball soon. The receipts will be credited to the Organization Fund Drive. Circle 2, organized late last year, is reporting great progress. The membership has grown about 30 per cent. Two new members were received at the last meeting.

Port Chester, N. Y.

The new circle reports rapid growth. Only two weeks old, these new members were taken in. A special affair a week ago was a success and supplied the treasury with a comfortable fund.

Fitchburg, Mass.

The American Appeal Committee of the local circle has been working hard. The first stage of the work was to renew all subscriptions. The committee will follow up with a thorough canvassing of several thousand who have received sample copies the first year.

The circle will distribute the Voluntary Assessment Stamp issued by the party for the Y. P. S. L. Every party member will be approached.

Maynard, Mass.

The annual meeting was held Jan. 16.

(Continued on page 9)

Reconstruction in Socialist Practice

(Continued from page 4)

force of a peculiarly majestic kind. But the exercise of that force is always a moral issue, and the judgment passed upon it is a judgment made by each one of us. Citizenship, that is to say, means the contribution of our instructed judgment to the public good. It may lead us to support the state; but it may lead us also to oppose it. . . . The state is thus a fellowship of men aiming at the enrichment of the common life. It is an association like others: churches, trade unions, and the rest. It differs from them in that membership is compulsory upon all that live within its territorial ambit, and that it can, in the last resort, enforce its obligations upon its subjects. But its moral character is no different from that of any other association. It exacts loyalty upon the same grim condition that a man exacts loyalty from his friends. It is judged by what it offers to its members in terms of the things they deem to be good. . . . It must offer them assurances that it seeks to protect that well-being. It has no moral claim upon their loyalty save insofar as they are offered proof of its realization."

Compensating Owners

It must always be borne in mind, Laski continues, that the judgments of the agents of the state do not differ from those of other associations. These agents are not infallible. They are liable to the same temptation as others. Their outlook is limited by their experience. They will, as a rule, tend to believe that that which is good for them is also good for society at large. "Power has the habit of corrupting even the noblest of those who exercise it; and that it follows that to leave to the state the final control of all other wills in the community is, in fact, to leave to a small number of men an authority it is difficult not to abuse."

There has also been considerable discussion in Socialist literature regarding the best methods of compensating the owners for industry, providing industry is transferred in a gradual fashion and not in a wholesale fashion through a coup d'état Webb and Kautsky urging full compensation, supplemented by drastic taxation, Laski urging partial compensation in the form of an annuity during the life of the capitalist, or during a ten-year period should the capitalist die within ten years.

One of the most illuminating contributions of late to Socialist thought in Europe has been Henri DeMan's "Psychology of Socialism," in which he attempts to throw light on the psychological basis of the Socialist philosophy. Incidentally Comrade DeMan, the Belgian writer, declares that whereas the European worker has suffered from the inferiority complex, that has not been true of the American worker—or it has been true to a far more limited extent—and that, therefore, he must be approached in a somewhat different fashion than his European brother, if he is to be effectively reached by the Socialist message. R.

GERMAN KINDERFREUNDE MAKING RAPID PROGRESS

At the recent national conference of representatives of the movement for training German children of tender years along Socialist lines it was reported that rapid progress was being made in all parts of the republic.

During 1925 the number of local groups rose from 183 to 208, with a corresponding increase in membership. In Berlin alone there are fifty groups, with more than 100,000 children enjoying the benefits of Socialist influence and general all-around education. In Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Kiel and Brunswick wonderful gains were reported.

The official organ of the Kinderfreunde, Die Sozialistische Erziehung, has a circulation of 55,000, and the children's special paper, Der Kinderfreund, already has one of 251,000.

DEPLORES SLUMS, BUT DEFENDS THE SYSTEM

Mr. Darwin James, chairman of the New York Housing Board, is another gentleman who worships at the shrine of private profit. He deplores the slums of New York. He admits that as yet there is no sign that private capital will come forth in adequate amount to finance limited dividend companies. He does not attempt to argue that \$12.50 a room per month houses in Manhattan will meet the needs of the people who today can't even pay \$9. Yet he dogmatically assured me the other day at a meeting that a city housing authority could not work. Governments, he said, always failed in business. I asked him for his proof, but he did not give it. It takes no psycho-analysis to tell that what really worries Mr. James and his kind is lest a public housing scheme should succeed and thereby strike another blow at private profiteering. Indeed, at the present moment the only chance Governor Smith's inadequate housing law has of working at all is that fear of a really good housing law scare some capitalists into investing in these limited dividend companies which humanitarian appeals by Mr. James and others will not make them touch.

N. T.

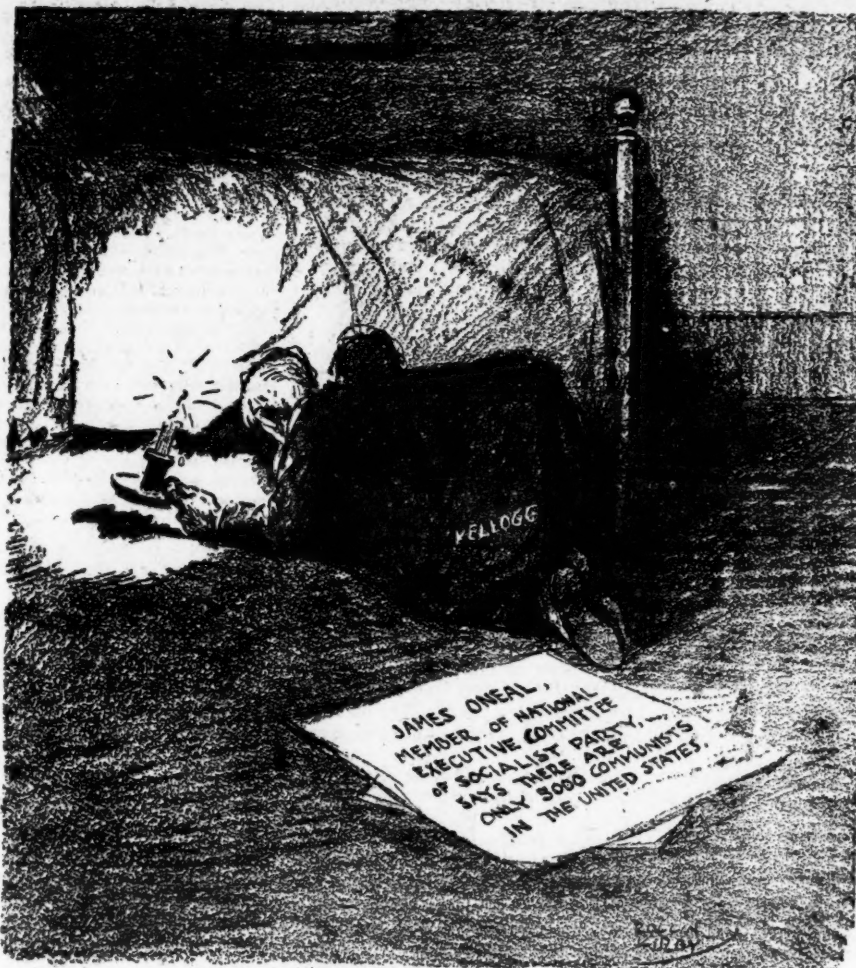
Florence Stern, hailed by some music critics as "the female Heifetz," will give her only New York violin recital of the season at the Town Hall on Thursday evening, Feb. 24, at 8:30. Her program will include compositions ranging from Vivaldi and Vieuxtemps to Kuzko, Brahms and Ernst. Willy Schaeffer will accompany her on the piano.

H. Tawney's analysis of the functional society and of the functions performed by the various classes in society has also been of considerable interest and propaganda value in the British movement.

(To be concluded next week)

Oneal's Book on Communism Appears; Greeted With Interest All Over Nation

(From the New York "World")



"THERE MUST BE MORE THAN THAT"

ANNOUNCEMENT of the early appearance of the history of American Communism written by James Oneal, editor of The New Leader, was received with great interest all over the country this week. Hundreds of newspapers throughout the country devoted columns to discussing the book, particularly its revelation of the amazingly weak numerical position of the Communist party here.

The book, published by the Rand School of Social Science, will be on sale at the Rand Book Store next week. It will be the standard work on American Communism. In writing it, Mr. Oneal has drawn on what is undoubtedly the most complete record of original Communist documents and newspapers in the country.

The appearance of the book is particularly timely in view of the stir about Communism created by Secretary Kellogg in connection with the Latin-American situation. Secretary of the Navy Wilbur has kept the pot boiling with his remarks on Communism at the National Republican Club. In view of Mr. Kellogg's and Mr. Wilbur's fear of a "Communist menace," that part of Mr. Oneal's book dealing with the actual strength of the American Communists is likely to cause the greatest interest.

The book effectively punctures the attempts to picture a "red menace" in the United States. It shows that whereas in 1919 the Communists had 25,000 party adherents, today they have between 5,000 and 8,000.

The dramatic game of hide and seek played by spies and Communists, the underground adventures of the American Communists, their fierce factional squabbles, followed by the development of almost a score of mushroom organizations, the rise of Department of Justice agents to high positions, the long hair-splitting debates—all these are revealed in the book.

Here are a few of the editorial comments on the book:

"American Communism"

"Secretary Wilbur in his Lincoln Day speech in New York stressed the necessity of vigilance against the infiltration of Third International propaganda. Against any serious menace we are safeguarded by domestic peace and prosperity, but the susceptible minds of the young are exposed to Communist ideas. From another source comes the report that the Red wave is receding. According to James Oneal, a Socialist editor and author of 'American Communism,' the movement is at low ebb. In 1919 there were 25,000 members in the Workers' Party. Today they range from 5,000 to 7,000. The Communist influence, however, is not altogether to be measured by such insignificant numbers. The movement has its sympathizers of various shades from radical Left-Wing to pinkish Liberalism. But, above all, Communism reckons its strength not by rank and file, but by the general staff. A small nucleus of resolute leaders continuously on the alert for popular discontent to exploit, from a Chinese nationalist movement to a New York garment strike, is quite in the scheme of NIKOLAI LENIN long before Bolshevism became Communism.

"Relatively there has been without question a drop since 1919. There is the general subsidence of unrest with the passing of the World War into the background. There are the factional struggles within the American movement exhibited in a constant migration of group leaders to Moscow for certificates of legitimacy against heretic oppositions. The Third International at Moscow solemnly issues its decrees and its 'theses,' foisted to some extent as to the real dimensions of the Communist movement in this country, but not altogether. For domestic consumption Moscow finds it useful to create the impression of

armies of American 'wage-slaves' eagerly scanning the horizon for organizers and commanders—and sometimes financial backers—to lead them against the Enemy. The troubled waters in which the Third International attempts to fish are, as a rule, not of its own stirring, and the size of the bag is always exaggerated. It does not hurt Soviet prestige at home to have Secretary Kellogg believe that Calles, Sacasa and Kai-Cheng are puppets dancing to the Moscow string.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

(Continued from page 3)

place the special stamp in the red card. Every Tipseel member should see to it that every party local secretary does this. Everybody get busy!

The Fund Drive

Someone has ventured to ask what the object of the Tipseel Organization Fund Drive is. We can be quite frank about it. We need the money.

First is the necessary function of a national convention of the League. But we must have finances to make a success of the convention. The haunting fear of an empty pocketbook has often taken the initiative and enthusiasm out of an otherwise valuable and capable delegate.

Another object is the work of organizing new circles. We have always been forced to limit our efforts to taking care of the easiest jobs. We have really done no organization work, but have simply received into the League only such circles that have had the initiative to organize themselves. Those that have offered wonderful opportunities, but required help of an organizer to get started, were left in the dark. Why? Because we didn't have the money to install a national secretary in the national office at full time to devote his undivided attention to the work, and because the same lack of funds prevented sending out the necessary organizers.

The national executive committee of the Y. P. S. L. has decided to launch a special organization campaign this year, touring speakers an furnishing the necessary attention to newly organized groups. The party national executive committee has promised to install in the national office of the party a full-time paid national director of the Y. P. S. L. Do you think the object of our drive is sufficiently important to receive your support?

City Office

Each member should look at his membership book and see if he is paid up. Under the provisions of the League constitution members in arrears for three months are automatically suspended and not entitled to privileges of membership until they become in good standing.

With the city elections drawing near—in fact, only a few weeks off—it is important that only those in good standing should vote. You as a member of the League should not fall in this important duty. Pay your dues the next meeting.

Circles desiring Tipseel pins, manuals, song books and other supplies that come from the National Office must order through the City Office at least one week before they expect to receive these supplies. All orders must be accompanied with cash.

A report from Circle 8, Manhattan, tells us that the lecture held last Saturday night was a real success. The comrades turned out en masse, and Comrade Steinberg's lecture was very interesting.

All financial secretaries are again notified that before the next two weeks are over they will be called to the City Office for a complete financial accounting of the circle. This holds true for

senior and junior sections. Please be ready when called upon.

Bronx Boro Committee

The three circles in the Bronx, two senior and one junior, have formed a Bronx Boro Committee. The purpose is to further joint undertakings and to aid in the establishment of new circles. The committee lends its co-operation to any form of Yipseel activity.

The committee is composed of three members from each circle. These delegates elect a chairman, secretary and treasurer. The members of the committee are: Circle 1, Johanna Rjasky, Murray Gross and Ralph Newman; Circle 4, Jacob Wasserman, Milton Lechner and Sidney Hertberg; Circle 3 Juniors, Mollie Wasserman, Selma Pittman and Harry Davis. Comrade Rjasky is secretary, M. Wasserman treasurer and Comrade Hertberg chairman.

The committee is systematizing the affairs of the Bronx Yipseels. It will shortly put out a small Yipseel paper. A new circle is being built up in the lower Bronx. It has already circularized all Bronx Socialist Party members with requests for names of prospective members. In April it will run a dance in co-operation with the Socialist Party. It is aiding in the matter of the National Drive.

The committee has met three times the last month and has proven itself of tremendous value. Bronx Central Committee delegates will recommend the establishment of such committees wherever possible. They will form a valuable adjunct to the Executive Secretary and the Executive Committee.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, Feb. 20, 11 a. m.—Judge Jacob Fanken. Subject, "The Events of the Week." Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th-8th-12th A. D. Branch.

Sunday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m.—Samuel J. Schneider. Subject, "Evolution." 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1st-2nd A. D. Branch.

BRONX

Friday, Feb. 18, 8:30 p. m.—Joseph Shaplen. "The Prospects of Socialism in America." Tremont Forum, 4215 Third avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Branch 7.

Sunday, Feb. 20, 3 p. m.—Thomas Rogers. Subject, "Elements of Socialism." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices, Central Branch and Y. P. S. L., Circle No. 1.

MORRIS WOLFMAN

Attorney and Counsellor-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. 1 TRIANGLE 2168

Res. Phone: LAFAYETTE 4180

Central Branch and Y. P. S. L., Circle No. 1.

Monday, Feb. 21, 8:30 p. m.—Jessie Stephen. Subject, "Labor's Bid for Power in Britain." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices, Socialist Party, Central Branch.

Friday, Feb. 18, 8:30 p. m.—Jessie Stephen. Subject, "Family Endowment." 167 Tompkins avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Branch.

Friday, Feb. 18.—Judge Jacob Fanken. Subject, "Russia and Its Possibilities." 218 Van Sicken avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 22nd A. D. Branch.

Monday, Feb. 21, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. Hyman Katz. Subject, "The Elements of Socialism." 345 South Third street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 4th-14th A. D. Branch.

Friday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens. Subject, "Ethics and Economics." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

Sunday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens. Subject, "Can Wealth Be Distributed Fairly?" Odd Fellows Hall, 160th street and 90th avenue. Jamaica. Auspices, Jamaica Lecture Forum.

QUEENS

Sunday, Feb. 20, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens. Subject, "Can Wealth Be Distributed Fairly?" Odd Fellows Hall, 160th street and 90th avenue. Jamaica. Auspices, Jamaica Lecture Forum.

The Prospects of Socialism in the United States

"The Prospects of Socialism in the United States" is the subject of a lecture for this Friday evening at 8:30, by a sharp but friendly critic of the party, Mr. Joseph Shaplen, labor editor of the Tribune-Herald, at the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue, near Tremont avenue, Bronx. All interested in the American Socialist movement should be on hand and contribute his or her views.

The forum announces for Friday, Feb. 25, at the same time and place, Dr. Sergius Ingberman, a noted Marxist, on "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Light of Marxism." Questions and discussions follow the lectures.



Brady the Cartoonist

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"In this country it is true in part that prosperity has been responsible for the Communist decline. But prosperity is not the only explanation. In the countries of Western Europe where there is much less peace and vastly less prosperity there has been a similar recession. The reason is in Russia. In its essentials the truth about that country has been for years common knowledge. Enlightened workers everywhere know a number of things about the Soviet proletarian paradise; that the material condition of the Russian workers is worse than it was before the war and that democratic liberties have ceased to exist. We have every reason for believing that the Communist retreat in this country is due to the fact that the American workers have compared Lincoln's democracy with Lenin's proletarianism and have made their decision. More than prosperity, our defenses against Communism are democratic freedom and opportunity."

BROOKLYN EAGLE:

"The Fadeout of the Reds
"People with political memories may recall that during the last Presidential campaign the most vital issue revolved around the Red menace represented by the La Follette-Wheeler candidacy. One of the most intensely vocal viewers with alarm was the man who later became Vice-President. The La Follette-Wheeler movement was largely a revolt of farmers of the Middle West, and the most radical item on their program was a relief measure known as the McNary-Haughen bill.

"Today, thanks to Vice-President Dawes and other so-called conservatives, the McNary-Haughen bill is on its way toward final passage in Congress. But the Red menace is still with us, if we are to believe Secretary Wilbur, who is sure that we need a strong Navy to protect weak nations from the danger of Bolshevism, Russia, and China, we imagine, are to be left to their fate, but we must be on guard in Latin America. It has not occurred to Mr. Wilbur, apparently, that the popular movements in Mexico and Nicaragua, and elsewhere, are about as Red as the farm bloc in Congress.

"Mr. Wilbur, of course, has taken his cue from Mr. Kellogg, who recently attempted to prove that Mexico was threatened by a Red campaign directed from the United States. Our own danger from Reds is illuminated by a survey of the American Communist movement just published by the Rand School in New York, once regarded as the hotbed of revolution in this country. According to James Oneal, labor historian and editor, membership in the Communist party in America has dwindled from 25,000 in 1919 to an estimated strength of from 5,000 to 7,000. In other words, we have two New York policemen for every Red in the United States. We should be able to get along at this rate without increasing the Navy to fight Bolshevism."

E. L.

International capital, by its acquisition of banks, telegraphs, press, and raw materials, dominates all governments.—London "Justice."

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\$100 WILL SECURE

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Total carrying charges including all interest and unpaid balances together with the payment on the home of \$22 per month, are \$12.50 per WEEK, of which you save \$6.25. GARDEN HOMES, 147-18 Archer Place, 3 doors at rear of Corn Exchange Bank, opposite Jamaica Main Station, L. I. R. R. Telephone JAMAICA 4165.

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Total carrying charges including all interest and unpaid balances together with the payment on the home of \$22 per month, are \$12.50 per WEEK, of which you save \$6.25. GARDEN HOMES, 147-18 Archer Place, 3 doors at rear of Corn Exchange Bank, opposite Jamaica Main Station, L. I. R. R. Telephone JAMAICA 4165.

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people. It is not a newspaper of the party, but a newspaper of the people.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1927

DIRTY LINEN

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY WILBUR has declared the need of a greater navy to maintain "free government" all over the world against Communism and at the same time he approves the dispatch of marines to Nicaragua. One statement followed the other. In Nicaragua we are to "maintain peace and order." The Bolsheviks invaded Georgia and imposed their will on Georgians, and that is a menace to "free government," but when we impose our will on Nicaraguans that is maintaining "peace and order."

Our whole policy in the Caribbean and in Latin-America has been one of imposing our will on weaker peoples, forcing hard bargains in the interest of American bankers, often installing our own agents in positions of power, and backing up our insolence and domination by naval forces. The record is plain for all who desire to read it. "Free government" cannot survive under such a policy and it does not exist in any of the little nations where we have intervened.

Mr. Wilbur ignores all this and raises a Bolshevik screen to distract attention from our own sins abroad. Considering our record, it is reasonable to assume that he wants a larger navy to further subjugate other peoples to the south of us. When we wear clean linen it will be time for Wilbur to complain of the dirty laundry of others.

THE NEEDLE TRADES

NOW that the long nightmare in the trade unions is passing it is well for Socialist and progressive members to take stock. The passing of Communism is the second time in the history of the American labor movement that a faction has attempted to thrust a program down the throat of organized workers by force. The ill-fated S. L. P. experiment years ago suffered the same fate. Programs offered in terms of the Cossack's whip meet disaster and they deserve what they get.

Both experiments have fully vindicated the Socialist position in relation to the trade unions, and especially in the needle trades. When the Socialist immigrants swarmed into these trades a generation ago they found the industry, chaotic, the sweatshop an abomination, unionism weak, wages and hours uncertain and poverty widespread. Their idealism and willingness to sacrifice, to struggle and to fight their way through the maze of forces that kept unionism at a low ebb, eventually brought hope, power and a strong union. Some semblance of order came into the industry. Leaders were trained in the struggle for service to the union. Victory after victory came to the members.

This is the glorious record of the Socialist immigrants. They have everything to be proud of. They have no apologies to make. They brandished no Cossack's whip over those who at first misunderstood them—and they were misunderstood. Now comes the period of reconstruction and the old idealism is just as essential as it was before. It built out of the chaos and it can build again. It contributed some of the most powerful unions to the American labor movement. They have been pioneers in progressive action, in workers' education, in strike management, in shop hygiene and other matters.

The nightmare is passing. It will soon be forgotten. Let us build stronger than ever and again mobilize the idealism that accomplished so much.

FACING REALITIES

AN ARTICLE in the American Appeal, the party organ of Chicago, is worthy of some attention, as we believe that it is a survival of an erroneous point of view that was typical of Socialists of a past generation. In capital type it declares that the only reason we have not had a labor party "is because the labor officialdom of the American Federation of Labor has sternly opposed it and stamped out every promising drift toward an independent labor party."

Now it is true that as a general rule officials of American trade unions have opposed an independent labor party, but it is also true that the membership of the unions have also opposed it. The assumption is that the leaders have "stamped out" the will of the members. It is time that we come to recognize the fallacy of this reasoning and to "stamp it out." The fact is that the big majority of the members of the American trade unions as a whole agree with the union officials and have agreed with them for years. If the members do not so agree it is up to those who assert otherwise to prove it and they have no evidence to prove it.

No progress will be made in this country by indulging in self-deception. Moreover, once a majority of the trade unions of this country decide that they want an independent labor party they will get what they want and the union officials are likely to go along with

them. This happened in England. It is all a matter of education and more experience for the members. What is charged against the union leaders has been charged Socialist leaders in the past. How often have we not heard that the "party officialdom" has been responsible for this or for that and have "stamped out" the will of the membership? Leaders have influence, to be sure, but millions of men and women are not putty in their hands to be shaped for any and all purposes.

If progress is to be realized, educate the rank and file. Without that education even an independent labor party would be a rope of sand, even though the chief leaders of the unions favored it.

SURVEYING THE VOTERS

A NEW YORK committee on Active Citizenship has joined in the task of ascertaining why so many voters take no interest in elections. Thousands of questionnaires are being mailed to voters in the hope of learning why so many remain away from the polls.

We suggest that the committee consult a detailed survey made in Chicago and published by Chicago University. We are certain that the results of that investigation will apply to New York and all other large cities and the smaller centers as well. That report shows a number of factors, but the chief one that stands out is the belief that the two leading parties represent no differing issues and that it makes no difference whether the office-holder bears a Republican or a Democratic label.

It appears to us that there is but one remedy for this situation. If more voters are drawn into political activity it is necessary to revise the election laws of the states and completely alter our archaic representative system. Minorities bring new issues into politics and minorities are practically disfranchised by our electoral laws and our old form of representation.

The two leading parties have legislated themselves into the position of privileged corporations. They have made it almost impossible for new political groups to make nominations and present new issues. Then the complete absence of representation in proportion to the number of votes cast makes for plurality and minority control of law-making bodies. The voter with any new ideas or of independent opinions is discouraged and he becomes indifferent. Make our electoral laws and representative system modern and we will cease to be on a level with the Latin-American countries in the matter of voting.

A BRITISH LESSON

JUST what are the provisions of the Government's proposal to "reform" the British trade unions is not disclosed by the debate in the House of Commons, as the details are kept secret, but the Labor Party members have challenged it. It is apparently aimed at strikes of the dimensions of the general strike last year, but, like all such proposals, it may be used against any strike once such a club is placed into the hands of government officials.

On several occasions in British history attempts have been made in Parliament to prohibit the trade unions from contributing funds to the Labor Party, and now it is proposed to limit the use of the strike as a weapon of the organized workers. A Labor motion to censure the Government for this proposal was defeated by a majority of 178. We may be sure that the bill will increase the vote against the reactionaries in the next general elections.

This experience of the British workers is an answer to those who talk in vague terms against "parliamentarism." It is assumed that there is something dangerous to the morale of the workers by the full use of their power in a parliamentary body. There are pitfalls and temptations, to be sure, but they are also to be found in trade unions, co-operatives and every other field of labor activity. Those who single out parliamentary action for special warning in reality have some prejudice against it, for warnings are not out of place for other forms of activity.

As a matter of fact, political power is a tremendous aid in protecting workers in all other forms of activity. In the hands of our enemies that power is capable of working incalculable harm, and it is only because of the intelligent use of political power in England that the workers are comparatively free in their economic organizations and activities.

LEFT "STRATEGY"

INTERESTING revelations of the inner history of the American Communist movement are being made by two ex-Communists in the Daily Forward. The following is a sample from the bulk. In a Brownsville union of the Ladies' Garment Workers they nominated a member of Foster's league for a union position, but quietly supported another candidate. The latter had been expelled some years before for some crooked action, but had later been forgiven and readmitted. This "strategy" was based on the following idea. If the man with the crooked streak was elected the Communists would try to use him for their purposes. If he refused to do their work he would be pointed to as a horrible example of Sigman's supporters!

Comment fails us. It is not surprising that those members with a spark of honor and decency have deserted the sinking ship of Communism.

The Reformer

Before the monstrous wrong he sets him down—
One against a stone-walled citadel of sin.
For centuries those walls have been a building:
Smooth porphyry, they slope and coldly glass
The flying storm and wheeling sun. No chink,
No crevice, lets the thinnest arrow in.

He fights alone, and from the cloudy ramparts
A thousand evil faces gibe and jeer him.
Let him lie down and die: what is the right?
And where is justice in a world like this?

But by and by earth shakes herself, impatient;
And down, in one great roar of ruin, crash
Watchtower and citadel and battlements....

When the red dust has cleared, the lonely soldier
Stands with strange thoughts beneath the friendly
stars.
—Edward Rowland Sill.

The News of the Week

Politics and The Farm Bill

After several years of agitation the McNary-Haugen farm relief bill has passed the Senate. The House has substituted the Senate bill for its own by a vote of 261 to 62, which forecasts its near passage. That Coolidge will veto it is practically certain as he is on record against the idea of price-fixing. The bill itself has certain political possibilities. A veto will strengthen the farmer opposition to the renomination of Coolidge and inflate the presidential stock of Lowden. Tammany members of the House are said to be under pressure to support the bill to inflate the stock of Governor Smith. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, whose investments are surrounded by a formidable tariff wall, fires a new broadside against the bill which is also regarded as forecasting the Coolidge veto. Meantime we are inclined to think that the politicians who work the farmers are the only parties who will gain anything by it. It is doubtful whether the legislation will be of much help to the farmers, although they are anxious to have it passed, while most of the brokers at Washington are more interested in its political possibilities than they are in relief for the farmers.

Troubles of Latin-America

Scattered bands of rebels still wage war in four states against the Labor government of Mexico, but their raids are not dangerous. Ricardo Treviño, general secretary of the Labor Confederation, calls upon the nation to end the "nightmare of domination by the United States" and to boycott American products. In Nicaragua Diaz, our dummy president, had thought of resigning, but has changed his mind. News that seeps through from that country confirms the belief that Diaz could not remain in office without the aid of American marines. Admiral Latimer, after obstructing the Liberal forces for weeks, now appears in the role of "peacemaker." He has talked with both Diaz and Sacasa. The latter is willing to retire in favor of some acceptable third man, but the decision of Diaz to hold on apparently blocks this solution of a muddle of American making. Nervous Nell remains silent on the situation, but certainly knows what Latimer is doing.

Arms Parley In Balance

The Coolidge proposal for another arms conference again calls attention to the dangerous race in building war craft not included in the 5-6-3 ratio of the Washington Conference. From London comes the report of Italy's war factories working at full blast and we know that Mussolini has the imperialist bug of greatness. That worthy also intimates that Italy cannot accept changes "inimical" to her "vital interests." The Fascist press also chimes in with Mussolini. The British Admiralty opposes naval reduction and the Navy League declares its opposition in the British press. Japan appears to favor a conference, but in the meantime will take no business and will continue her shipbuilding plan. Briand for the French government is definite in refusing to accept an invitation to a conference and prefers the machinery of the League of Nations. Nervous Nell is still hopeful according to Washington dispatches. With our marines in Nicaragua and the powers sending troops to China, the proposal does not have the favorable background it should have.

China Faces a Decisive War

All indications point to a decisive battle soon between the northern and southern forces of the South or the reactionary forces of the North shall undertake the reconstruction of the nation. The imperialist powers may mess things up and again throw China back into the hands of the northern cliques, but it is to be hoped that the powers have come to recognize that the new China cannot much longer be deprived of her right to self-control. A recent report of the Foreign Policy Association shows that foreign investments in China total \$2,500,000,000, with Japan leading and Great Britain a close second. American investments are estimated at \$150,000,000. These

figures show the enormous stakes foreign bankers and capitalists have in that country. It need not be surprising that foreign troops are approaching China. The movement indicates whose material interests direct the foreign policies of modern governments.

Italy Reverses Bootlegging

Mussolini's agents continue talk of peace and harmony in Italy and of the "new magna carta of labor" of the black-shirt unions and the Government, a Naples dispatch avers that American-trained bootleggers are doing a lively business in smuggling anti-Fascist out of the country. Mussolini has tightened the frontier control on sea and land in an effort to cope with the new system of "jail delivery." Anti-Fascist in Saragat are reported to have stormed the prison in Cagliari and freed Signor Lussu, an Opposition deputy imprisoned there since last November, when he killed a Fascist in defending his home against a black-shirt mob. It is declared that Lussu and his supporters are in the mountains holding off a detachment of police and Fascist militia. Reports of other clashes between Fascist and opposition elements are common. According to The London Daily Herald, Italian arms and munition factories are being operated at full blast. The Labor paper wants to know if Mussolini plans to start something in the Balkans or in Asia Minor. Dictator Pilsudski makes a dramatic appearance in the Seym, wearing his war-stained uniform, and bluffs the deputies into accepting the budget that they had just said they wouldn't pass. Poland and Germany are still far apart on a commercial treaty. Emigration from Poland last year broke all records since 1921, according to a Polish telegraph agency report. Unemployment continues to rise in France, the last report showing 64,434 on the lists, against practically none before M. Poincaré began his so-called stabilization of the franc. And the cost of living fails to come down, despite a drop in the wholesale price index figure. Having put down the latest Portuguese revolution, General Carmona takes a leaf out of other European dictators' book and declares he is going to save the country from Bolshevism by forbidding strikes and hostile political agitation.

A Little More Light

THE eleventh volume of a series of British documents on the origins of the war has just been published in London under the title of "The Outbreak of the War." This volume deals with events between June 28 and August 4, 1914. We are indebted to the New York Times for a digest of this volume which contains many documents, chiefly notes of conversations of high British officials with officials of other governments and reprints of telegrams received and sent by British officials. It does not appear that this volume adds much to our knowledge of the war.

Other volumes are to appear in the series, but no documents of the period after the outbreak of the war will be printed. Interesting as the documentary history of the pre-war period may be, the period following the outbreak of the war is still more interesting and it is not likely that the British government will open its archives for the publication of these documents.

All the powers at war had their secret agreements and many of these agreements are known, thanks to the revolutions that have occurred in Europe. For example, in March, 1915, Britain consented to the annexation by Russia of the Straits and Constantinople in return for a benevolent attitude on the part of Czarist Russia toward the aspirations of Britain in other parts of the world. This agreement conceded British control of the neutral zone in Persia. We would like to read the correspondence that accompanied this deal.

In the following April there was a back-stairs agreement between Italy, France, England and Czarist Russia, which pledged certain annexations to Italy in return for which Italy was to enter the war on the side of the allies. One clause signed by representatives of the four powers reads: "Italy declares that she will actively intervene at an earliest possible date, and, at any rate, not later than one month after the signature of the present document by the contracting parties." The correspondence exchanged and notes of the conversations that accompanied this transaction would also make interesting reading.

In the spring of 1916, three powers turned their attention to Turkey which offered a juicy meal. Britain, France and Russia agreed to their "zones of influence and territorial acquisitions" in Asiatic Turkey. Britain was given Southern Mesopotamia, with Baghdad, and two ports in Syria. France was assigned Syria, the Adana vilayet, and Western Kurdistan. Russia was given Trebizond, Ezerum, Bitlis, Van, and territory in Southern Kurdistan. Palestine was to be subject to a special regime. We would enjoy reading some of the details of the negotiations of the powers fighting "to make the world safe for democracy."

Sweet Marie of Roumania has just left us, after receiving the homage of our politicians and Babbitts. Her subjects were brought into the war for the Christian aims of the allies by a secret agreement in August, 1916. Roumania dealt with Czarist Russia, which was the go-between with France and Great Britain. Russia agreed to get the support of France and Britain for Roumania's annexation of Transylvania up to the River Theiss, the Bukovina up to the River Pruth, and the Banat. Many of the details of the negotiations are known, but the complete story would be interesting.

In July, 1916, Czarist Russia and Japan secretly agreed to take common action to prevent political domination of China by any third power hostile to Russia or Japan. Czarist Russia went down in ruins and the allied powers conceded Japanese supremacy in Shantung. The same powers generously and courageously ordered Germany to return some astronomical instruments to China which were taken in the Boxer Rebellion!

In March, 1917, just four weeks before we joined the crusade for "democracy," Czarist Russia and France secretly agreed to redraw the frontiers of Germany, France to get Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley; the left bank of the Rhine to constitute a neutral buffer state. Russia was given "complete liberty in establishing her western frontiers." That is, Czarist Russia was to grab all she could, chiefly at the expense of Germany.

Yes, we would like to know the details of these and other secret bargains made by the allied saints. Whether the surviving relatives of the dead who sealed these looting bargains with their blood would like to have the dirty details we do not know. They are the fruits of a war to "make the world safe for democracy."

INSTITUTE ON MEXICO AND CHINA ARRANGED

For those interested in foreign affairs, and particularly the Mexican and Chinese situations, the Non-Intervention Citizens Committee has arranged an Institute school for speakers. The sessions will be held at the Y.W.C.A., 600 Lexington avenue, February 23 and 24.

The program on Wednesday will be: 10:30 a.m., Prof. Parker T. Moon, on the Monroe doctrine. 11:30 a.m., William C. Dodds, on Nicaragua. 3 p.m., Philip C. Jessup, Arbitration Between the United States and Latin-America. 3 p.m., Joseph P. Chamberlain on Legal Aspects of Arbitration Between the U. S. and Mexico. On Thursday, Feb. 24, at 10:30 a. m., Grover Clark will talk on the New China. At 11:30 a.m., Sidney L. Gulick on Some Problems of the Pacific; at 2 p.m., Dr. Samuel G. Inman on Mexico, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, and at 3 p.m., Dr. James G. MacDonald will preside over a general discussion.

The fee for both days will be \$2, for one day \$1 and for a single lecture, 50c.

S. A. deWitt.

THE CHATTER BOX

Re-dedication

Because my dreams will always live in me,
I never will grow old enough to die.
Within the vision of a world set free...
I never will grow tired enough to sigh.
That while we are rich fools, it were not worth
The stint of sacrifice, the pinch of trial,
The anguish laboring before the birth...
I will not rest and slothfully beguile
An empty moment with a cynic phrase.
That all is useless: that the glut of sense
And self is all sufficient to these days
Of dead ideals and low experience.
But even if I speak of ears of stone,
My song will thunder, though I sing alone...

A symphony of Beethoven, even when heard over the radio, rededicates us to the Better Day to Come. We know not how it may affect others, but as for us, give us his music and we are free. Something pours out of his cornucopia of sound that unfetters the mind from routine and fear and flings it up among mountains of beauty, whose glowing peaks penetrate beyond the stars. The strings and the brasses weld themselves into a march tune for thought. Inspired musing opens all the Bastilles of stupidity on earth, and liberated millions flit out in hazy, Blake-like grace to follow our own spirit among the constellations of joy. Even the Internationale and the Marseillaise sound like thin shrills against the revolutionary thunder from the finials of each movement. Empires shiver up, bureaucracies, and oligarchies fade to dead memories; politicians, autocrats, legislators, and all pompous dignity fall to a dusty echo within the faintest diminuendo of his themes. Smokestacks, mine pits, factory hells, smut and smirch, and stench of a decaying industrial monster are camouflaged to a gorgeous color scheme, and deodorized with the rich attar of melody. Sunken-cheated, pinch-cheeked, shriveled robots stride the ether like Olympian gods and goddesses, and their children are aglow like roses in the gardens of the sun. If only enough of us would respond to the song of liberation in Beethoven's symphonic glories. But there is danger in beauty to the security of our masters.

Early, quite early in our years, we are deafened to sound as we are stultified to understanding. Poverty and hunger have a way of luring us to the smut-strains of the jazz Lorelei for an oral opiate. Later on music falls as flat upon our senses as Keats and Shelley on our brain. Having lost our value in beauty, we have no overpowering desire to recapture what alone can give us freedom as men.

As long as we will titter with tin pan alley tunes from the houses of the Irving Berlins, or coddle the Gershwins and Black Bottom saxophonists for their phylandering concoctions of sound, and grow bleary-eyed over the sentimental ballads of lost mothers and "roaming in the gloaming" loves, so long is there no hope for mental or social revolution in the land. Swine never bolt from the pen, once they have become inured to the mire.

But given a race hungry for the eternal beauty of music and thought, given men who would rather die fighting for the possession of their right to enjoy life's intrinsic ecstasies, than remain alive in spiritual pauperism, and the revolution we all dream about cannot be so far behind.

Abandoned

Let the wind turn spirals in the snow,
And whistle through your tousled strands of hair.
I will only see the whitecaps gliding
Across the river there.

I will see the foaming cakes of ice,
The drift snow on a black-smoked funnel bare;
Though you'll spell the snow swept frozen fields
With love, I will not care.

Let the birds cry softly in the wind,
And hover lightly round your covered head:
I will only hear the walling ships,
The call of lonely dread.

—Solomon Fortnow.

Lost Singers

Today and other days and every year
I listen over silly spaces, wide,
For magic music I can never hear,
Because the singers died.

I wish that John McCrae could come from death,
And sing in new and exquisite rondeau,
With love and dawn and sunset in each breath:
"Take up our friendship with the foe!"

I wish that Alan Seeger could arise,
And sing amid the quiet after strife—
White light and valiance in his soldier eyes:
"I have a rendezvous with life!"

Time new trees to battle-woods will bring,
But Kilmer God Himself cannot restore:
I vainly wish that Rupert Brooke could sing
Great love of life, once more.

I wonder what becomes of golden notes,
That should be calling like cathedral bells—
Choked back in many rare impassioned throats,
By gas and shells!

—Earl Bigelow Brown.

Pretty but Flitty

Ella is quite neat and pretty;
On this the neighbors all agree—
Still she is a trifle flitty.

In her eyes there lurk banditti!
That form a secret coterie...
Ella is quite neat and pretty.

Working on the church committee
I just have made her nominee—
Still she is a trifle flitty.

Now she thinks that I am gritty,
So she invited me to tea...
Ella is quite neat and pretty.

She is also bright and witty
When we engage in repartee—
Still she is a trifle flitty.

She intends to leave the city,
But not because folks guarantee
Ella is quite neat and pretty—
Still she is a trifle flitty.

—Anton Romatka.

We have been asked by numerous applicants for the Poetry class we are organizing as to whether those who have hitherto shown no talent in verse could join in the hope of "learning." Alas, dear hopeful ones, we are no Pelman Institute or a Royston Fakir of divine attainments. We know of no secret potion or alchemy that can transmute a lover of the muse into a deft player on her lute. Nor have we time to delve into that peculiar combination in the poetic atom, where with some queer chemical rearrangement, we can turn an otherwise excellent salesman of building materials into a swashbuckling connoisseur.

We do, however, wish to create a sympathetic circle of frank debate and criticism among the still inglorious Miltons of our day; a group of poets of all sexes who have so much to say and so few to hear it said; a battalion of troubadours who will learn from a weekly contact with their betters or inferiors a true confidence in their own excellence, for all of their errors and halting rhythms.

Nothing but the usual doggerel may result from our efforts; or then again a new Poe or a Whitman may be found. We find it worth the loss of a few loaned books, much tea and cake, and perhaps a rug or so. To discover one "Annabel Lee" in all the production of a term, were even worth to us our landlord's ire.

We hope that we have stated quite completely the aims, purposes and conditions of our School for Rhyme. There is still room for a half dozen applicants. We will announce the first meeting date by personal card.

S. A. deWitt.