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Coolidge Move Against Mexico Seen 's End of Congress Removes Critics



THE farmers persist in making the McNary-Haugen bill a political issue for the next two years they will raise a real problem for Socialists and all others who ad-vocate a labor party. Obviously such a party cannot get very far in the United States without winning some support from the farmers. What price can we afford to pay for that support? What assurance have we that if we pay the price we will get the support? In other words, what shall be our at-titude toward the McNary-Haugen

Certainly we recognize the grievances of the farmers. We can afford to rejoice that they are abandoning an excessive individualism and that they perceive that a governmental agency may be of service in their social and economic progress. It is good to have surd worship of a supposedly inviolable Congress than did the farmers, and tional Ladies Garment Workers' Unior law of supply and demand.
On the other hand, the notion that

you can cure economic ills by sub-sidies all around is dangerous. It is neither good Socialism nor good sense. If the subsidy principle is recognized in an emergency we ought to have far to prevent the products of prison labor in an emergency we ought to have far to prevent the products of prison labor better assurance than the McNary- from competing with the products of Haugen bill affords that it will cure the emergency without creating greater ills. We have to remember that if the McNary-Haugen bill failed its failure men's compensation bill for the Dis-McNary-Haugen bill failed its failure would not be laid by newspapers and other propagandists to failure by the insurance companies of the enand other propagation to the in-tire nation because it provided for a 10 per cent. The employers, in turn, adequacy of this particular piece of state-owned fund, were among the less have refused to grant these demands machinery, but rather to the whole idea of government in business, which would be denounced as Socialistic. And that would be no help to us.
For this reason I should hesitate a

long time before recommending that veloped toward the end of the session. Socialists endorse the McNary-Haugen bill. I hope that some better form of legislation may be evolved which we may be able to support with bet-ter grace. If we frankly support a come along with us rather better than did some of those on whom we counted in the La Follette campaign.

There is this much comfort: if the farmers can really make an issue of McNary-Haugen bill they will dis turb the old parties even more than they will disturb us. In spite of predictions to the contrary, Tamman congressmen did not vote for the bill in order to win support for Al Smith. Some sort of bargaining may have to come later. But when it comes to bargaining my own guess is that if the farmers make enough trouble it will he the Republicans who will be most ready to pay some price to hold their votes. If the manufacturers and investors of the Republican party can keep their own subsidies and special privileges they may be willing, if worse mes to worst, to threw a few juicier the farmers to keep them quiet. Did not the bankers bloc join hands with the farmers bloc to give the McNary-Haugen bilt a chance in a chance in Congress?

For President Coolidge to lecture the farmers about discriminating subsidies and the sacred law of supply and demand while raising the tariff for the pig iron manufacturers was to rub salt in their wounds. It is unreasonable to expect agricultural interests to grant subsidies to manufacturers through the tariff without getting any themselves. The time has come in America for revision of the tariff downward. Of course, the tariff cannot safely be scrapped overnight, and its revision will be no easy matter. Nevertheless in the name of sound internationalism as well as sound eco-nomics, Socialists cannot be content with the present rates.

considering our program on the tariff, as on taxation, money and credit, super power, etc., we who want a labor (Continued on page 2)

WAS USEFUL TO BANKERS

Farmers and Workers Received No Aid from the 69th Session

By Marx Lewis (Special Correspondent of The New

ASHINGTON .- As this is being

written the 69th Congress is getting ready to adjourn sine die-which, translated, means "without a day." It would be as true to say that it adjourns not only "without a day," but without a regret as well. Until the very end the farmers of the nation, conceded by all to be in distress, continued to hope that the presidential veto of the McNary-Haugen bill would not be permitted to stand. They hoped in vain. Taking advantage of the constitutional vision by which the President is given as much power as two-thirds

pressed by the deliberate judgment of The farmers lived in hope—as mos orkers do-and died, or will die, in lespair, also as most workers do.

the membership of both houses of Con-

gress, Coolidge again succeeded in

defeating the popular will, as ex

Workers Get Less The working Jensonded Jensoof this

ceived about as little. Very few labor measures were even y sub-thought to have a fighting chance, but the few insignificant proposals failed of consideration, much less of passage. vision of safety in the Bureau of Latrict of Columbia, which was opposed important labor measures that perished with the Congress.

A far more important labor bill which went by the board, partly because of the legislative jam which debut mainly because the ship owners, by their attempts to emasculate it, strike call.

CONGRESS ENDS; Murder, Prison and Exile Smash Cuban Labor Unions

Britain's Refusal to Vise Passport Of Roger Baldwin Draws Protest

Liberties Union to protest the action of British passport authorities in Paris in refusing a visa for Great Britain to Roger N. Baldwin, a director of the Union. Forrest Bailey, also a director, asserts in his telegram that Mr. Baldwin had been barred for "no" other ground than his political

Mr. Baldwin has been in Paris since December, making studies of civil liberties in Europe for the International Committee for Political Prisoners, of which he is secretary, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Quakers. At the International Congress of the League Against Oppression of the Colonies, held in Brussels last month, Mr. Baldwin acted as observer for the National Urban League and delegate for the Civil Liber ties Union. He will also go to Russia to make a study of civil liberties for the Vanguard Press. He is now under \$2,000 best for "unlawful for the Vanguard Press. assembly" as a result of a free-speech meeting during the slik workers strike in Paterson, N. J., in 1924.
Mr. Bailey's telegram follows:

"The report reaches us that Roger N. Baldwin, an American citizen the rights of individual opinion by protesting the action of the British

WHITE GOODS WORKERS

Local \$2, affiliated with the Internaare preparing for a general strike in the entire industry producing ladies' underwear. The strike if called would involve about \$,000 workers, mostly women and girls.

The union is still negotiating with efforts to avoid a strike. The union has made demands upon the employers to reduce the working hours from 44 and in addition made other demands on the workers.

If the negotiations do not bring about an agreement, a general strike will be called. The union is prepar-

Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg is urged by the American Civil

of distinguished character and achievement, has been refused a visa to enter England from France. As no other ground is alleged than his political opinion, would not this be an appropriate occasion for the State Department to assert its support of the traditional American position on

CITY ENGINEERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE

ASK PAY RAISE Wage Schedules Suggested Are Opposed Meeting

the employers' association, making all HE Union of Technical Men, printo 40, and an increase in wages of approved a wage schedule comprising Labor Temple.

The schedule is to be presented to that prepared by Thomas E. Murray, ence under the provisions of according to union officials, would dethe employes represented by the union. No immediate action by the board is contemplated.

n the classes embraced by the union according to the figures of union officials, but only 1,100 are in the union together with about 400 employes of private corporations. This membership has been accumulated in about four months of organization, and it is said to be 80 percent composed of college graduates.

The proposed schedule fixes a minimum salary of \$2,160 a year for technical graduates beginning employment, as against a present minimum of \$1,560, and scales up to a minimum of \$8,000 a year for the highest grade of executive position included in the rating. The present Grade "C" classification would have a minimum rate of \$3,001, as against an existing minimum of \$2,160; Grade "D," or \$4,200, as against \$2,760. The vote approving the schedule was carried unanimously by the 250 who attended the meeting.

The meeting also approved a resolution prepared by the executive committee setting forth the position of the union on the licensing of engineers inder the State law, which position has been requested by the Municipal Civil Service Commission, and is to be resented to the commission today.

The law requires that all engineer 'in a responsible position" be licensed The sense of the resolution, which was passed with only three dissenting votes, was that licenses should be re quired for all but the beginning classification of employes included in the nion, or for none. The members did ot wish to have the license requirement applied where it would make a division in their ranks, thereby divorcing the interests of the upper rat

Machado Government Crushes Workers for Benefit of American **Property Owners**

By Chester M. Wright ASHINGTON, D. C. - I have just returned from Cuba, where went to dig into conditions affecting the masses of the wage

What I found surpassed reports that nad drifted in and surpassed surmises based upon meager reports in Spanish language newspapers,

For what I shall reveal as to cor itions in the Island Republic I shall probably be called a liar by the suprters of the Machado regime Cuba, but I stand ready to match proofs. This is no fairy story.

In a warfare to crush labor opposition to exploiting employers, most of them foreigners and most of the foreigners Americans, and in a further warfare to crush opposition of a political nature, the ruling power in Cuba has left behind it in the last year and a half a trail of assassination, imprison-ment, exile, deportation and corruption that passes belief, until it is investigated.

Death, Prison, Exile, Penalties for Opposition The number of deaths is staggering.

The number of deportees and exiles is unknown. Mystery hovers over the nation. And the mystery of it has beby New Union at gotten a terror that cannot be understood until it is lived with. In this and other articles I shall set

my investigation. I went to Cuba as cipally made up of city employed a newspaper man. I was armed with engineers, draftsmen and sur- no official authority. I had no levers reyors in New York, formulated and with which to pry open secret places. But the facts that I found constitute increases of about 50 percent over of President Gerardo Machado, an indictment which I lay at the feet present salaries at a meeting at the as I write, is reported on the eve of his departure for this city The United States stands in a pe

the Board of Estimate in opposition to called the Platt amendment. Interfer culiar relation to Cuba, due to what is Chief Civil Service Examiner, which, amendment, by which the United States is obligated to protect life, libaccording to union officials, would de-crease the salaries of the majority of as well as for others, is not necessary.

Morgan May Put Aid In Place of Kellogg, **Washington Reports**

Washington,-If Frank B. Kellogg resigns as Secretary of State, Dwight W. Morrow will succeed him, it is rumored with credence in official circles. Mr. Kellogg has not been in good health for

Mr. Morrow has been a men of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co since 1914. He is also a director of the Bankers' Trust Company and of the General Electric Com pany. He has been one of Presi dent Coolidge's best known un-

BROOKLYN BAKERS' CASE TAKEN TO HIGHER COURT

the nine Brownsville bakers, members of Local 87, who were found in contempt of court by Supreme Court Justice Cropsey, to the Court of Appeals will be made on Monday, March 7, to the justices of the Appellate Division, Brooklyn. In the meantime, Charles Solomon, attorney for the bakers, has succeeded in further staying the enforcement of Justice Cropsey's order under which each of the bakers is committed to prison. This stay will operate until the determination by the Apellate Division of the motion for leave to go to the Court of Appeals.

Justice Cropsey, in addition to committing the bakers to jail for periods ranging from ten to thirty days, imposed heavy fines. The proceedings forth the more important findings of against the union men were initiated by Probolsky Brothers, boss bakers, with their principal place of business at 332 Snediker avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. this plan. A modified plan which The Probolsky's are not only nonunion bakers, but have been bitterly opposing the bakers' union in the Brownsville and East New York areas where Local 87 operates.

Joseph Rose, secretary of Local 87, issued a special appeal to all friends and sympathizers of the union to aid in the struggle and declared that the organization would do all in its power to protect its nine members

KELLOGG KEEPS **NEW NOTES** SECRET

Calles Ready to Make Them Public-Borah Investigation Seems Sidetracked

(By a New Leader Correspondent) ASHINGTON. — As the adjournment of Congress draws near, it has become increasingly necessary that ever closer watch be maintained on the Administration's handling of the Mexican and Nicarag-

"When Congress adjourns and "When Congress adjourns and Coolidge and Kellogg get a free hand, that will be the time to watch for trouble," is the view of many who are familiar with the Mexican affair.

President Coolidge and his Secretary of State have been successfully checkmated heretofore by Senators who have hurled embarrassing quesclumsy way to involve the nation deeper and deeper in trouble with Latin America.

However, Congress will have adjourned by the time this is read and then Coolidge will have a free hand. He has caused to be defeated Senator Borah's proposal which would have kept the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on tab for a meeting any time an emergency arose.

Senator Borah's proposal originall called for a searching investigation of our relations with the Latin-American countries which would have taken the committee to Mexico and Nicaragua to investigate the situation first hand.

The standpat Republicans on the mmittee turned thumbs down would keep the committee busy at an investigation in Washington was prosed. This has won the favor of the majority of the committee. However, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, having instituted a filibuster to keep the Senate from investigating further election frauds, may make it impossible for the Senate to approve even the modi-fied investigation. At this writing, the fate of the investigation is in doubt.

In a word, it means that President Coolidge will have a free hand with Congress out of the way. With this in note sent Monday to Mexico by Secretary Kellogg becomes increasingly significant. The Mexican Government This, Kellogg has refused to do.

measure of doubtful value in order to get participation of the farmers in a new party movement we ought to have And Record Dividends Give **Testimonials of Prosperity**

CLOSING OF MILL IMPOVERISHES TOWN

Maynard, Mass. - Pallid little girls without warm underwear and stockings. Boys in sneakers walk-

ing through the snow to school. Scores of families existing on a meager pay envelope containing \$5 a week. Fathers and mothers, hungry in thread-bare clothing hoping against hope, pale and de

This is the picture in this once thriving mill town, the result of the closing down of the Assabet mills of the American Woolen Company, the town's industrial Superintendent of Schools Je-

rome O. Fogwell issued an appeal for food and clothing for the boys and girls who come to his school. "Conditions here are terrible," said Dr. Fogwell. "The Assabet

mills, which make women's coatings and blankets, have been closed down for days at a time. The 600 or more mill workers get only a day's work now and then children are in dire need of food and clothing. Many families, consisting of the father, mother and

seven or eight children, are exist-Take the family of Michael Crotty. The father is unable to get work. Mrs. Crotty is able to make \$5 a week. This must take care of 13 persons.

"Leon Crotty, one of the little

boys, wears rubbers to school. He

has ne shoes.

"Mrs. Crotty said that the family used to get four quarts of milk a day, but now get by on one. The Crotty baby is 16 months old. The family of John Greene, which includes six children, is without proper food and clothing,

"It is the same everywhere. Whatever money there is is used for food, leaving nothing for

LOCOMOTIVE CO.'S PROFIT \$8,015,939

Substantial improvement was shown in the consolidated income account of the American Locomotive Company and its subsidiaries for 1926, including the Railway Steel Spring Company's operations from May 14, 1926, to the end of the year, as compared with

The net profits, after deducting 1,511,954 for depreciation of plants and equipment and for United States and Canadian income taxes, amounted to \$8,015,939, which compares with a net loss of \$843,321 in 1925, excluding the Railway Steel Spring Company, acquired on May

14, 1926. _ The income account for 1926, on a different basis than that for 1925, shows net earnings from all sources, after deducting manufacturing, maintenance and administrative expenses, amounting to (Continued on page 2)

There are about 3,000 city employes The New Leader Needs Aid To Take Full Advantage Of Its New Opportunities Paris Commune

UR contributions this week do not measure up well.

The total for the week is only \$32. It may be that the end of the month, with rent approaching and obligations to meet, is respon-sible for it. It cannot be that our friends have lost interest in the campaign that we are waging to raise the balance needed for our

Sustaining and Expansion Fund.
Publishing The New Leader for more than three years, at a substantial loss and without any pub-lic appeal for funds, has proven too much of a task and threatened the very existence of The New Leader. We felt that those of our readers who are in a position to do so, if made acquainted with the tremendous difficulties facing us. would be glad to share the responsibilities with us.

The response has shown that our faith in the devotion and selfsacrifice of the growing army of The New Leader friends has not been misplaced. Slow as the response may seem, it unmistakably hows that as they become aware that a publication like The New Leader can never become self-supporting unless its present circulation is doubled, they will not only use every possible opportu nity to give us new readers, but will contribute to our Expansion

This fund has been created to give us the means for an intensive circulation campaign that will acquaint thousands of sympathetic workers all over the country with The New Leader, supply them with sample copies, canvass radical and progressive organizations, etc. We know that if this will be done is will result in increased circulation. It cannot be done without some help from our readers. Hence these appeals.

Every contribution received not only safeguards the future of The New Leader; it also helps to bring the message The New Leader pre sents to those who are unaware of its existence.

The Expansion Fund alone can provide us the means to continue the important task of reaching out for new readers. Its purpose should appeal to every reader of The New Leader who is devoted to the cause which it voices. The opportunities for progress

are brighter than ever before. Give us a chance to take advan-tage of them by contributing to extent of your ability to our Expansion Fund.

Add your name to the Honor Roll as it is published here from week to week, and help complete all our efforts may be diverted exclusively to the task of giving you a better and bigger New Leader. Honor Roll this week:

B. S. Cox, Shubuta, Miss... P. Schatter, L. Angeles, Cal. 3,00 Axel Wiberg, Montclair, N. J. 3,00 Mrs. A. Herstein, Brooklyn.. S. Molter, Brooklyn D. Mikol, New York ... M. Mardfin, Newllano, La.... 1.00 Sidney Stark, Swissvale, Pa., 3.00

Total for the week \$32,00

Commemoration

About ten thousand tickets have been mailed to individuals and organizations for the comorganizations for the com-mune commemoration to be held under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, Rand School of Social Science and the The New Leader, at the Central Opera House, 67th street and 3rd avenue, on Friday evening, March 18. Every effort is being made to make this affair a huge success. The celebration will be in the nature of a ball and reunion and an appropriate proram has been arranged for the

Dorsha and her Theatre Dances Company will give a number of artistic representations in her well known style. Tickets for this affair are \$1 and are on sale at every Socialist Party headquarters in the city. The dance music will be played by Schiller's Society Orchestra, and the Socialists and their friends for miles around will gather to make merry. Old-timers as well as youngsters of the movement will gather at this great re-

Gift to the Rand School

The late Hyman Lurie, for many ears an active Socialist in the Br ville section of Brooklyn, who died recently in Los Angeles, has left \$2,300 to further the work of the school, Morris Hillquit, through whom the gift was made, has informed the school.

450,000 Railmen in U.S. Paid Less Than \$25 a Week

CONGRESS ENDS: WAS USEFUL TO BANKERS

(Continued from page 1)

nged its consideration, was the bill conferring the benefits of workmen's compensation to the longshore men and harbor workers, who have been held by the courts not to be entitled to those provisions under the state workmen's compensation laws.

quarter of a million longshore men and harbor workers, aided by the American Association for the Advancement of Labor Legislation, made an appeal during the closing days of the session for a bill that would not leave them to the ordinary common law remedies when injured in the course of their employment-remedies that fail

Boulder Dam Defeated

Among the more important measures of general benefit that failed of passage, largely because of the opposition of the private power comthe session that they will not permit it to pass, was the Boulder Dam

More than 100,000 people residing in the Imperial Valley in constant peril because of the floods from the Colorado River, are left, once more, to deescape the dangers that threaten them daily. Millions of acres of land which would have been irrigated by the prolect, are likewise left to waste, while the entire Southwest are left to the tender mercies of the private power companies, which have developed the Nevada Mountains and Coast Range. and are laying their wires for the future and permanent control of that region by fixing exorbitant prices for

Failure to pass the Boulder Damproject thus leaves the people of the Southwest to the mercy of the ungovernable river and the mercies of the private power companies—and which of the two evils are the worst remains a debatable question.

Tax Cut Passed

But if these groups of the population, and the farmers and the workers, have benefited not at all from the work of the Sixty-ninth Congress, the special lionaires can look back with joy at the savings they effected and the benefits they derived as a result of the deliberations and decisions of this Congress. Their rewards began to come early, and they were substan-

At the very outset of the session, the Mellon tax plan, reducing the taxation of the richest of the rich, was passed by an almost unanimous vote of the two old parties. Slight reductions in ncomes of the small business men and professional men were madepartly to give some members a pre-text for voting for it—but the total of these is insignificant compared to gains made under that tax law

by the wealthiest men of the nation. Under that law the maximum surtax is cut down from 40 per cent. to 20 per cent. Due to the graduation of the tax the large incomes will pay an average rate of 9.41 per cent. on

richest of the rich, about 3,000 in number, \$100,000,000 a year. Forty-two topnotchers among them will saveor have saved-\$20,000,000 this year, as

They were not disappointed. Latin American Questions

These same interests, having extensive holdings in Mexico and Latin America, have employed the State Department, the War Department, and the Navy Department, for the support of which they will pay less this year There I talked with workingmen, who than they paid the year before, to keep told me of fellow workers missing and countries, even though it may require the blood of the American youth to fertilize the lands they own.

Whether they will take advantage of the adjournment of Con-gree to continue their war plans in Latin America and Mexico, just they took advantage of Christmas recess of Congress to drive the entering wedge into Nic-aragua, remains to be seen-but if they desire it, they will have no trouble in having their wishes gratified.

Thus these interests have getten reduction in their tax rate, so that they can employ the surplus funds to their investments abroad, the use of the government, to which they contribute less, to work to save those investments.

Bankers Are Thankful They have no reason to regret that

this Congress lived.

The bankers who succeeded in getting the McFadden branch banking bill enacted into law have no reason to complain—it will help the few large banks, centered in Wall Street, drive the little bankers and those dependent upon them in various communities, ob tain a firmer grip on the rest of the nation. These bankers belong to the same group that benefited by the income tax law, and they are among those whose investments are now being protected by our army and navy

Here and there some slight benefits were obtained by groups not included in the ruling class of America. The postal employes, whose wage increase was defeated by Coolidge when he ve-teed the bill in the last Congress. eded in having the increase approved in this Congress.

Together, But Not Mixed



From "Corteles." Cuba.

CUBAN PEOPLE (to the people of the United States): "Do not be worried.

We know how to distinguish."

MURDER AND REPRESSION REDUCE CUBA LABOR UNIONS TO WRECKAGE

(Continued from page 1)

But the people of the United States ought to know the facts. If the United States Government does not know the facts, that is the fault of General Enoch H. Crowder, American ambassador, who appears to be the close the more potent and powerful Ameria cans in Cubs, who profit immensely in that country.

Unions Crushed or Existing in Forced Inaction

Teday in Cuba not one trade union functions freely, fully and without fear of vielence at the hands of the government. Not a union dares make a move in the direction of improving wages or conditions. Not a union

Some unions have been directly put out of business by presidential decree. Others exist in a sub rosa manner, doing no more than maintain a shadowy organization against freer times. Much of the labor movement is dead in toto. The remainder is, for the time being, dead on its feet,

There is, among the masses, a ter or over the island. Assassination and deportation and imprisonment have spread this terror. About a year ago a ailroad strike was called. That was the real beginning of the slaughter in Seventeen leaders were imprisoned and four were slain. then the murder of officials and lead ers of unions has been frequent.

I have the names of nearly 100 dead workers, half of them union leaders. am assured by an authority that by all the rules seems entitled to belief that aside from this list there are 214 missing union railroad men on one railroad system alone, and that there these missing men money ranging from \$5 to \$30 each. It is assumed that if these missing men lived, or dared come forward, they would collect their pay.

I went to Camaguey, the heart of that strike and the heart of Cuba. their investments in those dead. There, in the splendid railroadowned hotel, lives the army colonel who commands the district and whose word is more potent than the words of the Constitution. He has a private car at his disposal for he travels. Somehow when colonels and private cars are found together it seems a prima facie case of tee much colonel and too little liberty

Sixty Innocent Farm Workers Wantonly Slain

In Camaguey I was told of perhaps the most terrible slaughter of all—the most frightful single case. This will be described in detail later, but here I give this much: A wealthy Cuban was kidnaped and held for ransom. He was freed. The army rounded up. thereafter, sixty innocent men and shot or hanged them all. after which the guilty man was caught and confessed. I have the names of perhaps dozen of the sixty, of whom

seven have been publicly identified. Next week I shall recount the more are trade unionists, but two were pleasure or regret.

newspaper men, one a hero of the necessarily dependent upon hard times Cuban revolution and the editor of a great daily.

Not only death strikes its terror to almost as much feared. In the harbor the peace, the freedom, the trial, thrown into imprisonment aboard own generation. the Maximo Gomez, in the blazing sun of the harbor. There is a Cuban law which makes it unlawful to detain a prisoner more than 72 hours without a kind.

nakes the thing the terror that it is. exiled, and sometimes there is no apparent effort to distinguish between foreigners and Cubans.

Cubans Dare Not Openly See Investigator

So far has the great fear gripped every one in Cuba that during my stay there I found only three Cubans who dared sit openly with me in a public place and talk. As for the rest, we met by stealth, mostly in outlying places. It was felt that, should it later become known in Cuba that I had been there to investigate, any Cuban seen in my company might suffer death and would surely be in danger of some kind of punishment. It is for that reason that, while I am free to name dead men, I cannot give outstanding case. One goes by stealth in Cuba today, unless he goes praising the powers that be.

So much of beauty and loveliness abounds on the surface everywhere that those who go and who do true!" they say. And it is all but an peace. gradible story.

Yet the facts are there; the dead will not come to life. And the dead include a man who was secretary of the newly formed Cuban Federation of Labor, which, were there no terror, would today be amliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

In this war against human free-dom men have been shot from ambush, man have been shot down in cold blood by army officers, men have been hung from trees, men have been thrown into prisons and transported overseas. How many en the roll of this great human sacrifice to greed no one knows and no one ever will know. But I knew that Cubens know that somehow there must be an end to yranny. There is a seething inderneath that is pertentious.

Whether the American ambassador as told his government about these aportant and the more striking cases things I do not know, but there is, in assassination. Most of the dead any event no public record of his dis-

IS MONOGAMY DESIRABLE? FLOYD DELL says Yes, V. F. CALVERTON says No.

SATURDAY, MARCH 12th, at 8:15 p. m. COMMUNITY CHURCH AUDITORIUM

TICKETS, \$1.10 and 75c

For Sale at Rand School, 7 East 15th Street
Auspices PROLETARIAN WRITERS' AND AUTHORS' LEAGUE
30 West 15th Street — Telephone Watkins 3254

TIMELY **TOPICS**

(Continued from page 1)

or we shall make very little progress on political lines. We may not even make much progress industrially, for I cannot believe that we can indefinitely tories side by side with an extraordinarily low money return for the farm-

The latest figures presented by the National Bureau of Economic Research give us a picture of real and increasing seem to correct Mr. Corey's argumen recently published by the New Republic to the effect that a steadily larger proportion of the national income is going to the possessors of incomes of \$5,000 and up. In other words, at the misery is not operating in the United States in any plain and straightforward fashion and Socialist proparanda based too largely on a naive anywhere.

Nevertheless there is plenty to say bout prosperity which Wall Street forgets. Its unequal distribution cries out to heaven. We have the physical equipment to wipe out bitter poverty. We are not doing it and there is little the inevitable wastes of the profit sys tem. It is by no means certain how long our relative prosperity can last. One may admit all these things without acting as if Socialism could only make progress with the coming of hard bring Socialism and Socialism is not

Even in a country where the average real income is said to be increasing at the rate of 7 percent per annum we Cuban hearts today. Deportation is have neither the bread, the security les the hated prison ship, the Maxime which man might gain for himself and Gomes, taken from the Germans dur-ing the war. Men are arrested, taken tion. On this statement of plain facfrom their homes, from the streets, we ought to be able to build a Socialfrom wherever they are, and, without ist program which will appeal to our

There is a lot that I should like to say about Mexico and China and court presentment. But I know of one Boulder Dam and the Debs Memorial case where a union man was held Station, and ever so many other things. aboard the Maximo Gomez for 58 days Instead I am going to make that honwithout any court proceeding of any est confession which is said to be good for the soul and which Heywood Broun finds so useful for filling his column been taken aboard the Maximo Gomez. The disgraceful truth is that I owe The Many who go there are never again New Leader and certain publishers heard of. The uncertainty of it sil, more book reviews than I can count. as to numbers and consequences, I like to read books and I hate to write Foreigners are deported, Cubans are about other things. But if I cannot er will not fill the learned literary page of The New Leader with critical essays I shall at least in this column pay something on account of my debt for

Here, for instance, is "Man Is War." by John Carter, which Bobbs, Merrill publishes. It is a brilliant provocative, cocksure book, not altogether convinc ing, which asserts but does not preve the pessimistic notion that man, being out war. Mr. Carter by ne means persuades me that the job is not worth trying. Judge Bausman in "Facing Europe" also leaves one with an un comfortable feeling about the possibility of lasting peace. His book, a Century publication, is a useful antidete to lingering delusions about the natu of the last war or the past and present policies of our former associates, notably the British. But the author does internationalism against imperialism or such ingenuity in discussing social look underneath are astounded at the machinery as to make his book a very charges that are made. "It cannot be valuable contribution to the problem of

> is Professor Parker T. Moon's magnifi-cent "Imperialism and World Politics" (MacMillan). A stupendous amount of research and real literary gifts com-bine here to produce an accurate and readable history of imperialism with which all radicals ought to be familiar. Mr. Moon adds some conclusions which raise certain questions which I may discuss in a later review. New I want to acknowledge a very deep debt te him, and cordially recommend his book If I ever do get around to writing the reviews I ought I must say something about "Religion in the Making." by A. N. Whitehead, also a MacMillan publication. Those who have formed some taste for philosophy, thanks to Will Durant, might try their appetite Whitehead's conception of religion differs somewhat from, shall I say, Aimee Semple McPherson's.

The firm of W. W. Norton is doing good job in publishing genuinely educational material. I can't too highly recommend to individuals and to labor unions their book "Modern ence and People's Health," which gives in interesting and understandable form an account by various competent authorities of the way in which tion" is worth while. Somehow I think one of the ablest and sarest men in his educated man might have a more the Communist Party and one from vivid sense of obligation to ecclety and whom constructive leadership might a more intelligent concern with the best be expected. His death is a loss problems of society than is implied in | to the radical movement as well as to ise and tolerant his own party

Roads' Own Figures **Revealing Poverty Forced on Workers**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ASHINGTON, D. C .- In the various occupations on Class 1 railroads, 215,000 men make an average of under \$75 a month; 320,000 make an average of under \$80 a month; 385,000 make under \$85 a month; 435,000 make under \$100 a month. These figures are exclusive of phone girls, who make between \$75 and \$80 on the average.

Of the 435,000 who make under \$100 a month, only a very few thousand are women. A few are boys in their late teens. By far the most of them are men. They comprise over a fourth of all railroad workers on Class 1 roads. Over a fifth of these employes make under \$85 a month.

Over 40 percent of the railroad employes make under \$125 a month. These figures are taken from the wage reports collected from the railroads during the past fiscal year and given out by the Interstate Com-

MAKING \$100 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING \$57.50 A MONTH BEFORE THE WAR. MAKING \$75 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING ABOUT \$42.50 BEFORE THE MAKING S80 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING SAME AS MAKING ABOUT \$49 BEFORE THE WAR.

These figures, compared with the cost of living, show that it is time for a wage increase for these men. The Railroad Labor Board refused them an increase after it cut wages in the great depression of 1920-21. The unions in these occupations are so weak that it is practically impossible for them to wage a successful strike alone. Many are unorga The union treasury is low. The railroads can train men quickly to take places, and there are enough people to fill their places somehow until a strike is defeated.

These men need the help of the other railroad unions, the help of the general public and the help of the government officials. Most of them are unjustly treated and are not receiving a living wage.

SHOELESS BOYS, STARVING MEN TESTIMONIALS OF PROSPERITY

(Continued from page 1)

\$10,352,193, which, after depreci ation and accrual for Federal above. Dividends of \$2,280,209 on preferred and \$5,620,000 en com mon shares left a surplus of \$115,-

RAILROAD CLERKS TELL OF POVERTY

Seme of the 20,000 clerks, freight-handlers and station attendants of the New York Central lines, who have petitioned the United States Arbitration Board for a 12 percent increase in wages, told the board at a hearing in New York City how hard it was to live on their present pay. A. Martin, a delivery clerk at the Polk Street Station, Chicage, said that he could not afford a suit of clothes in two years and that his wife was able to buy only one dress a year. Another delivery clerk, John Carter, who lives in Astoria and is stationed at the Thirty-third street freight station, said that he had worked for the line for thirty years and his pay new was \$125 a month. The responsibility placed upon small-pay employes was stressed by R. P. Shanks, assistant cashier at the Thirty-third street freight station. He said he got \$164 a month and handled about \$12,000,-

146 COMPANIES PAY 194 DIVIDENDS IN DAY

There was a total of 180 requi

lar dividends payable Tuesday, and in addition there were fourteen extra dividends, the total rencompanies. Seven of the 194 dividends were wholly or partly in stock. Those that censisted of stock alone were the 33 1/3 cents of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, the 5 percent, in common shares of the Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Company, and the 1/40th share of Class A stock of the Hartman Corporation given to holders of Class B stock.

sentleman, half amused and a little But none of these books is so abse lutely necessary to the radical's library as the latest volume of the American

on this provocative book by a dis-tinguished scientist and philosopher. School Fress. It has been reduced somewhat in size and much in price If anything, it has been improved in quality. It is a credit to its authors and publishers.

> After the Supreme Court decision in the Doheney case I'm sure we'll all want to die for his leases in Mexico.

I was informed of Ruthenberg's audpetent authorities of the way in which den death. Sharply as I differed from science is ministering to health. In a him in my view of tactics, I always different field Everett Dean Martin's found him sincere and engaging is entertaining and atimulating lectures his personal relations and absolutely on the "Meaning of a Liberal Educa- deveted to his cause. He was certainly

FRENCH COMMUNISTS ON TRAIL OF HERETICS

> in the depleted ranks of the Communist Party of France, according to recent reports found in Paris papers. Not only has Deputy Baranton been forced to lay down his mandate, but two other deputies are under investigation. Maurice Gautier, a Communist deputy from the Seine district; is accused of having signed, with some other Communists, a letter in which complaints were made about the suppression of all mental initiative in the

There is a revival of heresy hunting

Communist Party. Deputy Baroux, another Seine deputy, is in bad with the Communist hierarchy because he delivered a speech in the Chamber defending the regular non-religious public school. It appears that the 100 per cent. Com-munist oppose the public school because it is a "bourgeois" institution where patriotism and respect for property are taught. Both deputies must answer for their sins to the party's Control Commission.

DEBATE

"Shall the Present Military Policy of the United States
Be Maintained?"

YES: Jamin Seth Morse of the Na-tional Security League. NO: Jessie Wallace Hughan, Bronx

Admission 25 Cents

********* ABOR TEMPLE

THIS SUNDAY M .- Contemporary Authors PROF. H. W. L. DANA ADMISSION 25 CENTS

15 P. M .-EDMOND B. CHAFFEE Why Man? The Divine Prob-lem as Seen by the Christian Theist"
ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.-HENRY SLOANE COFFIN The Church and Human Progress' ADMISSION FREE

BOOKKEEPERS' UNION EXPELS 21 MEMBERS FOR DUAL UNIONISM

On charges of being members of the Trade Union Educational League, considered by the American Federation of Labor a "dual union," 21 members of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers and Accountants' Union of N. Y. C. have been expelled by a vote of mem-On instructions from sident William Green of A. F. of L., 24 members were brought on trial.

Members who opposed the committee's report alleged that the action was against the Workers' Party. Leonard Bright, president of the union, explained that the Workers' Party was not on trial, but the question was whether members could properly belong to a dual union whose purpose was to destroy the American Federation of Labor. He said that the Trade Union Educational League held meetings in advance of the meetings of the union and ordered members to carry out the league's policies at the

The New Leader has received a Freiheit." Communist daily, alleging that the union would not organize its office. Mr. Bright, commenting on this charge, said that the publication has repeatedly violated basic union principles, discharging at least one employe without the usual two weeks' notice.

RUTHENBERG, LEADER OF COMMUNISTS, DIES

Charles Emil Ruthenberg, executive party since 1932, died Wednesday in Chicago following an operation for appendicitis. Mr. Ruthenberg was born July 9, 1882, in Cleveland, Ohio. He had a primary school education and worked as factory hand, clerk, manager of sales and collections, newspaper maintainence and supplies. He was active in the Socialist party, its Cleveland organizer and secretary from 1909 to 1919. He also engaged in journalistic activity, writing three pamphlets and newspaper articles. Communists in 1919. The year 1925 found Ruethenberg head of a minority wing in the Werkers party, William Z. Foster leading the majority. By decision of the third International Ruethenberg was made the leader of the

Socialist Party

Upper West Side Branch

Meets every first Tuesday in the month at 8:30 P. M., at

245 West 74th Street All Socialists and friends in the 7th. 9th, 11th and 13th Assembly Dis-

tricts are invited to attend. A. REGALDI, Organizer.

FREE WORKERS' CENTER 219 Second Avenue

LECTURE FORUM This Sunday Evening

(February 27) DR. MICHAEL COHEN

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At COOPER UNION SUNDAY, MARCH 6th AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL SOC'Y CHALMERS CLIFTON, Conductor

TUESDAY, MARCH &

FRIBAY, MARCH 11th EVERETT DEAN MARTIN in the Modern World?"

ADMISSION FREE

At MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL AT & O'CLOCK MONDAY, MARCH 7th DR. MORRIS R. COHEN American Philosophy "American Acathetic Theory"

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9th DR. CARL P. SHERWIN Chemistry of the Human Be THURSDAY, MARCH 10th DR. E. G. SPAULDING ons People Expect a Philosopher to Answer: t Is Sensation: or. Does Watson Answer Berkeley?"

SATURDAY, MARCH 18th MORTIMER J. ADLER "The Seel of Reception" ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

CITIZENS JOIN TO AID PULLMAN **PORTERS**

Leaders in All Walks of Life Promise Support to Colored Workers

HE Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters announces the formation of a N. Y. Committee of 100 prominent white and colored citizens to give support to the cause of the Pullman porters and maids, and to give them counsel and support of give them counsel and support of public opinion before the U. S. Board of Meditation.

The list contains some of the most prominent men and women of the nation. Henry T. Hunt, ex-Mayor of Cincinnati and member of the old U S. Railroad Board, is chairman; Arthur C. Holden, noted architect, is treasurer; and the Rev. William Lloyd Imes, secretary. The Executive Committee includes such citizens as Dr Harry Emerson Fosdick, Amos R. E. Pinchot, James Weldon Johnson, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Abraham Beckerman, John E. Nail, Thomas J. Curtis, Morris Hilquitt, William H. Baldwin, Rev. F. Clayton Powell, Dr. Norman Thomas, Arthur B. Spingarn, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Rev. George Frazier Miller, Professor Franz Boas and Frank P. Walsh.

Philip Randolph, general organizer

Because of the deep significance of the Pullman porters' fight to the entire Negro race and the effect its outcome will have upon the relations of both races and because of the evident disadvantage of a group of Negro workers fighting for their rights against a corporation as rich and powerful as the Pullman Company, a citizens' committee will be organized in every Pullman community in the country in order to impress upon the Pullman Company and the nation the fact that the porters will be satisfied with nothing short of justice. These committees epared to handle any emergency that may arise and will stand by the porters to the bitter end morally, spiritually and financially. The com-mittees in the out-of-town districts will also be representative of the finest

The "Citizens' Committee of One

Hundred" is made up as follows: Henry T. Hunt, chairman; Arthur C. Dr. Harry W. Laidler, James Weldon Johnson, Dr. Henry Neuman, Prof. Robert Les Hale, Abraham Beckernan, Rev. Clarence V. Howell, Thomas J. Curtis, Prof. Harry F. Ward, S. John Block, Dr. Harry F. Coffin, Leon-ard Bright, Ernestine Rose, Lewis Rev. John W. Robinson, Prof. John H. Randall, Jr.; Prof. Leroy E. Bowman, Fannie Hurst, Prof. Paul Brissand. Herbert Croley, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Bruce Bliven, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Julius Bledsoe, Dr. J. P. Warbasse, Dr.

Henry R. Linville, Ruth Morgan.

Dr. Norman Thomas, Lester A. Walton, Helen Phelps Stokes, Edward P. Cassidy, Eugene O'Neill, Benjamin Stolberg, Thomas W. Churchill, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, William H. Baldwin, Alexander M. Bing, Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Amos R. E. Pinchot, Dr. U. Conrad Vincent, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rev. George Frazier Miller, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, William L. Patterson, Arthur B. Spingarn, Prof. John Dewey. Nicholas Kelley, Arthur Garfield Hays, Gertrude E. McDougald, Ordway Tead, B. Charney Vladeck, Wesley C. enman, Cedric Long, William Floyd, mittee. Harriot Stanton Blatch, Thomas B. Dyett, Mary E. Drier, Dr. Harry Emer-son Fosdick, John E. Nail, Kirby Page, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, Prof. Franz Boas, Mrs. Henry G. Leach, Dr. Louis Kelley and Fred R. Moore.

Will Rogers Reports On "Reds" in Mexico

El Paso, Texas.—Just returned from Juarez, old Mexico. Liquor amuggling is going on the other way now. They are crazy about our new drinks and claim they receive twice the insensibility for

one-third the amount of drinking.
I have to disappoint Mr. Kellogg, but I didn't see a single Russian Bolshevik plotting against us. Mexico had received their morning note from our State De-partment telling them how to run

their country.

Headed for Beverly Hills to protect my honor.

IN PHILA. WIN

Concessions Are Secured Without Recourse to Strike by Over 5,000 Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent) Philadelphia. - A general strike of been averted through efforts of Director of Public Safety George Elliott in that the Governor of New York State getting dress manufacturers to sign an has found it necessary to bring it to agreement with Waist & Dress Makers' Union, Local No. 50, of the Interna-Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

The agreement affects 50 of the argest dress manufactuers in the city, who recently formed an association when prospects of a general strike loomed. The most significant clause in the agreement provides for impartial machinery in the settling of disputes between workers and employers.

The union had presented the manuimproving labor standards and conditions in the industry. Only one of these, a request for a 5-day, 40-hour week, was not granted. The workers obtained, however, the 44-hour week for the year 1927, instead of the present 48 and 50 hours. The workers will enjoy five legal holidays during the year, time and a half for four hours' Holden, treasurer; Rev. William Lloyd overtime per week, minimum wage Weyl, Mrs. Jean Mackenzie
Walser, Anna N. Davis, Rev. Edwin
Fairley, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. John
L. Elliott, Prof. Harry A. Ouestern ment of all complaints, disputes and grievances between employers and

The agreement does not affect about 50 manufacturers in the trade who N. Y. Reports, after declaring that have had already union agreements, "many publicists and some jurists have night, will prosecute its organization campaign in the shops of those nonunion manufacturers who are not parties to yesterday's agreement, While a general strike has been averted, Mr. Conference of Pioneer Youth of by children and parents far exceed our Reisberg stated, the union will not rest America, held Wednesday in the audicontent until conditions similar to torium of the International Ladies' two hundred children from our summer those obtained from the employers Garment Workers' Union, N. Y. The camp in New York for lack of room, content until conditions similar to yesterday will obtain in non-union

A very tense mass meeting, originally announced as a strike meeting, held work was made by Joshua Lieberman, Monday night in the Labor Institute, cheered the announcement that concessions had been obtained from the Columbia University, S. R. Slavson of employers without recourse to strike. the Walden School. Only a handful of Communists were disgruntled with the settlement Katherine D. Blake, Joseph Schlossberg, Morris L. Ernst, William L. Kelunion workers, endorsed the work of been received from all sections of the Mitchell, H. Adolph Howell, E. C. Lind-

In the Bronx Forum groups in Chicago, Schenectady and mont Educational Parish

The Tremont Educational Forum Boston. Coal miner groups in Penn-Wright, George E. Hall, Lillian announces two lectures on social psy- sylvania have been particularly urgent. Wald, Stuart Chase, Eugene K. Jones, Morris Hillquit, Walter Frank, Mc-All ster Coleman, Samuel Untermyer, clubrooms, 4215 Third avenue, corner Prof. E. A. R. Seligman, Rev. A. C. Tremont avenue, Bronx. The first lec-Garner, James Oneal, John A. Fitch, ture, on "Changing Human Behavior," first Pioneer Youth Conference in that Youth; the dramatic group presented Alfred Bernheim, Heywood Broun, will be delivered this Friday, March 4, Freda Kirchwey, Dr. Robert W. Bag-nall, Paul Robeson, Philip Umstadter Walter White, Mrs. Clara A. Gold-water, Prof. William P. Montague, following Friday, March 11, at the water, Prof. William P. Montague, following Friday, March 11, at the Frank P. Walsh, Guy Emery Shipler, same time and place. The lecture Workers' Education Bureau Calls Mrs. Charles E. Knoblauch, Florence are followed by questions and discus

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Ingrained Bias of Judges Stacks Cards Against Labor In Most Injunction Cases

Labor Lawyer Quotes Legal Authorities' Admissions of Unfriendliness to the Unions

By Charles Solomon

O GRAVER question confronts the organized workers than that of injunctions in labor disputes. Beginning about thirty years ago, when injunctions in labor disputes were practically unknown in this country, this instrumentality of ur law has been used with ever in creasing frequency by employers in disputes with employes. The relief af-forded employers by these writs today is uniformly sweeping and drastic and probably beyond anything in the contemplation of the judges who first introduced this agency into industrial

Probably nothing has greater potency to arouse the ire and stir the resent-ment of labor than what has come to 000 Philadelphia dressmakers has writ of injunction in labor disputes. So marked has this "abuse" become the attention of the Legislature in several recent messages. Speaking in Queens County, October 29 last, the Governor adverted to this question

"I am convinced that the present system of granting injunctions in labor universal criticism and resentment, and disputes is calculated to defeat substantial justice in these difficult cases."

Senator Pepper's Views This declaration is by no means an isolated expression. About two years ago, U. S. Senator George Wharton Pepper said, speaking of injunctions in

"Naturally enough, during the past two decades there have been bitter may try to see things as objectively protests from the ranks of labor. To as we please. None the less, we can the striker it seems like tyranny to never see them with any eyes except the striker it seems like tyranny to find such vast power exercised, not by a jury of one's neighbors, but by a "The Nature of the Judicial Process" by Benjamin N. Cardozo, Judge of our appointed, and that for life, and whose commission comes from a distant and profound scholar, admirably in conlittle understood source.

judges. However, his remarks apply and that they, like other mortals, have substantially to the practice in the their "empires of subconscious loyal-State courts as well, the procedure being practically the same in both juris-

A Psychological Problem

own Supreme Court in the case of Wood Mowing and Reaping Machine Company v. Toohey, 114 Miscellaneous "many publicists and some jurists have In the light of such views as these taken the position that injunctions it will perhaps be better appreciated

executive secretary. Other speakers

included Prof. LeRoy E. Bowman of

Mr. Lieberman said in part:
"The growth of interest in Pioneer

"Even now a group of labor people and educators in Baltimore, headed by

22nd, 23rd and 24th of April, 1927.

200,000 to 400,000 or more.

with one vote each.

Group 4-Workers' study classes, vention call.

summer camp.

S

75 Union Heads at Conference

The "Impartiality" of the Judiciary As Two Authorities Have Seen It

"In the present state of knowledge, the estimate of the comparative value of one social interest and another when they come into collision will be shaped for the judge, as it is for the legislator, in accordance with an act of judgment in which many elements co-operate. It will be shaped by his experience of life; his understanding of THE PREVAILING CANONS OF JUSTICE and morality; his study of the social sciences; AT TIMES, IN THE END, BY HIS INTUITIONS, HIS GUESSES EVEN HIS IGNORANCE OR PREJUDICE."-Judge Cardozo.

"Every time they (the judges) interpret property, vested rights....they eccessarily ENACT INTO LAWS PART OF A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.... THE DECISIONS OF THE COURTS ON ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS DEPEND UPON THEIR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY...."—(Pres.) Theodore Robsevelt.

warned "courts should not carelessly cast the weight of their mandates into the strife between employers and employees." Justice Howard pointed out that the intervention of courts of equity under certain circumstances "gives the impression the strikers have vio-lated the law. The court seems to have taken a hand in the struggle. This is the laymen's view. The injunction, thus shaping public opinion, is often decisive Therefore, if equity is to be done, the greatest caution should be observed in issuing injunctions in strikes."

From the foregoing, it should be apparent that the controversy which revolves around the question of injunc tions in labor disputes is not an arti demand for relief that arises from the ranks of the workers and elsewhere, is rooted in the realities of our social

In a sense, and perhaps ultimately, modification of legal procedure by statutory enactment or otherwise. "We tact with the actual currents of life The Senator was referring to the is-suance of injunctions by Federal judges are no exception to this rule,

> Again quoting Judge Cardozo: "Deep below consciousness are other forces, the likes and the dislikes, the predelictions and the prejudices, the complex of instincts and emotions and habits and conwhether he be litigant or judge."

He ended with a plea for greater

upport from the 75 unions represented.

and camp organization for workers'

An interesting feature of the confer-

Pioneer Youth is a children's club

Hear of Pioneer Youth's Progress

proper development.

labor leaders.

Convention for Boston, April 22

The Workers' Education Bureau in-vites affiliated national and interna-cational enterprises shall be entitled

trade union colleges, study classes, de-partments of workers' education and Delegates to the general convention

represented at the Annual Labor zation in New York and Philadelphia by children and parents far exceed our

EVENTY-FIVE labor unions were | "The demands made on our

organization. A report of the year's but had finances enough to assure their

ought never to issue in labor disputes," why I classify the problem as, in certain sense, one in psychology. Of course, one's psychology is almost incourse, one's psychology is almost in-variably the product of his training association and material interests.

What Roosevelt Said

Striking as are these quotations from Judge Cardozo they are comparatively mild when set alongside the following from Theodore Roosevelt, when President of the United States, in his mes-sage to Congress of December 8, 1908

"Every time they (the judges) interpret contract, property, vested rights . . . they necessarily enact into law parts of a system of social philosophy The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend upon their economic and social philosophy

However much some may be incline to discount or minimize utterances of this character, it must be conceded they represent the mature deliberations of men of the highest capacity, tioned respectability; and while they have a more comprehensive applica-tion, they bear directly on the question under consideration. More than that, they reveal the background of the entire situation.

Undoubtedly relief is to be found in the election or appointment of judges who, in the language of Theodore Roosevelt, "hold a twentleth century conomic and social philosophy and not a long outgrown philosophy, which was itself the product of primitive economic conditions," as against those, again quoting Judge Cardozo whose 'sympathies and beliefs and passionate levotions are with a time that is past."

It is even probable that if the judges met these standards, the prevailing ocedure would be adequate. Be that as it may, there is still an other and perhaps more immediately practicable approach to the problem the modification of the procedure of

(To Be Concluded Next Week)

TWO MINERS GIVE LIVES TO AID COMPANIONS

Pottsville. Pa .- Two mine workers sacrificed their lives in the South Penn Colliery at Port Carbon in an. effort to save the lives of two fellow-Meeting of the National Council of the present thirty children's clubs if we killed.

were William Plunkett of Minesrville and John Sincavage of Port Carbon. The other man killed was Felix Buber, also of Minersville. All three were

children, which within the last three years has developed many clubs in The four The fourth in the accident is Frank New York City and Philadelphia and Shugarinski of Minersville, who sufhas conducted two summer camps. It fered two broken toes.

been received from all the country—the Seattle Labor College, San Diego, Cal., Central Labor Union; San Diego, Cal., Central Labor Union; be made for enlarging the work. It was not support the Lipowicz-House of Hosiary be made for enlarging the work. It was not support the Lipowicz-House of the legislature, them to support the Lipowicz-House of the legislature. aware of a squeeze which threatened them to support the Lipowicz-Hackena heavy full of coal. Buber attempted burg Injunction Regulation bill. to stay a rush of coal with a stout pole. Plunkett and Sincavage, working in the adjoining breast, discovered the plight of the men, and instantly went to the rescue.

Before they could do anything Bu ber's strength gave way to the pres-sure of the coal, and all but Shugarinski were caught under the rush of coa city on March 10. They plan estab-lishing a branch and to begin with a musical selections, and there was an and rock. They were dead from suffocation before they could be rescue Shugarinski was caught on the edge of the fall and had a narrow escape. Plunkett and Sincavage were mar-

ried, the former father of two children and the latter having four children. Buber was unmarried.

tional unions, State Federations of Labor, city central bodies, local unions, each twenty-five enrolled students or **Educational Notes**

International Ladies' Garment Workother workers' educational enterprises must be representatives of the classes ers' Union, Educational Department to the fifth national convention of the or organizations they represent and bureau to be held in Boston on the must have been in affiliation at least

2nd, 23rd and 24th of April, 1927.

The basis of representation in the ry voice and vote.

Sixty days before such meeting to carway week: McKinley Square Garden, 1258 Bosonvention will be as follows:

Group 1—National and international nions: One delegate for national and ton Public Library at Copley Square The sessions of the convention will ton road. Bronx, Friday, March 4, 8

Dr. C. Lieberman, "Style and Subinternational unions with membership and in the College of Liberal Arts of up to 20,000; two delegates with Boston University on Commonwealth stance in Literature," Workers' Unimembership from 20,000 to 50,000; avenue at Exeter street. The first sesting three delegates with membership from sion will begin on Friday morning. School, 16th street and Irving place, 50.000 to 100,000; four delegates with April 22, at 10 o'clock. The public is Room 530, Saturday, March 5, 1:30 membership from 100,000 to 200,000; invited to attend all the sessions. The five delegates with membership from Hotel Lenox at Commonwealth avenue

00,000 to 400,000 or more.

Group 2—State federations of labor, lepartments of workers' education, James H. Maurer, president; Thomas

and Exeter street will be the official in Literature—Is There a Yiddish Theatre?" Sunday, March 6, 11 a. m. city central bodies and locals are enE. Burke, treasurer; Matthew Woll.

titled to one representative with one chairman executive committee; John American History."

departments of workers' education, city central bodies and locals are en-Group 3.—American Federation of Labor entitled to five representatives with one vote each.

These courses will be continued throughout the season at the same perkins, John Van Vaerenewyck, Spentrum over with one vote each.

Course A. Weekers' cludy classes with a season at the same time and place. New students may give the course of the season at the same time and place. New students may give the course with one vote each. the I. L. G. W. U.

Coal Mine Fatalities In January Total 194

Accidents at coal mines in January caused the loss of 194 lives, according to the Department of Commerce. Thirty-seven of this number were killed in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania, the remaining 157 deaths occur-ring in the bituminous mines in

various states. .

Based on the total perduction of coal during the month, the fatality rate per million tons was 3.06. The output of bituminous coal alone was 56,881,000 tons, showing a fatality rate of 2.76, while that for anthracite was 6,561,000 tons, with a fatality rate of 5.64.

An examination of the principal causes of accidents in January, 1927, shows a marked decrease in falls of roof and coal, haulage, and gas or dust explosions, and a slight increase in explosives and electricity.

INJUNCTIONS HEARING SET

Labor in N. Y. Will Present Case for the Hackenburg Bill on March 8

(By a New Leader Correspondent) LBANY .-- All arrangements have A been made for the joint public hearing to be given before the Senate General Laws Committee and The workers lost their strike not bethe Assembly Judiciary Committee on cause it was established that they were Tuesday, March 8, at 2 p.m., on the Lipowicz-Hackenburg bill to regulate the issuing of injunctions in industrial disputes. Woll, of the American Federation of Labor and chairman of its Law Com- in the industry. Wages and working mittee, will be the principal speaker

oming here for the hearing are requested to assemble at the Albany Labor Temple, 87 Beaver street, at 12:30 noon on Tuesday, March 8, for without recording their solemn proa conference before proceeding to the tests. The hope of peaceful social hearing at 2 p.m., which will be held in the Senate chamber.

William Collins, representing the American Federation of Labor, and ditions are worst. Both these desir-Vice-President William Brown of this able ends have been temporarily federation, addressed a mass meeting thwarted by the course of events in of wage earners of Oneida county at the paper boxmakers strike. A public which is powerless to take other action may at least be informed of the Utica in co-operation with the New moral judgment against York State Federation of Labor to of this sort of thing in the industrial discuss the evils of court injunctions life of the con issued in industrial disputes and to advocate enactment of the Lipowicz Hackenburg bill to regulate and curb the issuing of such court orders. Reso lutions calling upon the Senator and Assemblymen from Oneida county to support this bill were adopted by the huge gathering by unanimous vote.

A similar meeting of the wageearners of Dutchess county was field in Labor Hall, Poughkeepsie, under the call of Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council. Mr. Collins was the principal speaker, the other speakers the legislature from Dutchess county ous organization and propaganda plans, to support the Lipowicz-Hackenburg as well as the arrangement for the Na-bill were adopted and ordered forwarded to them at once.

Mr. Collins, while in Albany on Tuesday on his way to Utica, addressed the meeting of the State Building from no better original than the superference Trades Council, which was held in the Labor Temple in this city this week, an old woman may, by length of tir He urged the Building Trades unlons Buber and Shugarinski were work- of the state to communicate with the dignity

CITIZENS' GROUP RAPS PAPER BOX **EMPLOYERS**

Billikepf Says Bosses Flouted Public Opinion by Arbitrary Stand **Toward Strikers**

ACOB BILLIKOPF, who was the chairman of the Citizens' Committee which attempted to settle the N. Y. paper boxmakers' strike, has issued the following statement:

"Since I acted by request of the Citizens' Committee as chairman in two public attempts by that committee to bring about negotiations between employers and their striking employees in the paper boxmakers' industry, I feel a duty laid upon me to make a public statement on the termination of the struggle by the temporary defeat of the strikers.

"In no spirit of partisanship and simply on the basis of the facts, it must be recorded that the employers throughout the strike showed a contemptuous disregard for public opinion Throughout the larger part of the eighteen weeks' struggle the workers were willing to negotiate. It was the employers who were determined to fight the thing through the end. Their utmost concession was a reluctant consent to the appointment by the Mayor of a fact-finding committee whose existence, they stipulated, did not involve recognition of the union and whose conclusions they were not bound to accept. And even these concessions came too late to be of service striking for unworthy purposes, but because the employers had the advantage of position and financial power.

"Such a victory by the employers Vice-President Matthew settles nothing. It increases bitterness. the American Federation of It remedies no basic cause of trouble conditions are still subnormal, according to official documents of the State in support of our bill at this hearing. Labor Department. It is not a matter The many union representatives of indifference to the public that this should be so. Nor should those men and women in the community who sought to substitute negotiation for force see the failure of their efforts progress depends upon an increase of industrial self government steady improvement of conditions in those subnormal industries where conthe Trades and Labor Assembly of facts in order that it may render its

"JACOB BILLIKOPF."

Young Socialist League Executive to Meet in N. Y.

The National Executive Committee of the Young Peoples' Socialist will hold its regular meeting at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, this Saturday and Sunday, March 5 and 6.

The meeting will also be attended by representatives of some of the neworganized circles of New Jersey, being officers of the local unions. Reso-lutions calling upon the members of committee will have to consider vari-

> Doctrines that have been derived and consent of neighbors, grow up to asking morality.-Locke.

No man can be wise on an empty stomach.-George Eliot.

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Cataclysmic Socialism or Encroaching Control?

pressed in a lecture before the League for Industrial Democracy w York City. Like the address of Dr. Harry W. Laidler the L. I. D. series, it bears di-rectly on the questions raised in the columns of The New Leader in the discussion by various writers of "The Problems of American Socialism." Below is the first part of Mr. Raushen-bush's paper. The second and concluding part, next week, will deal with a program of "gradual

Mr. Raushenbush is secretary Giant Power. He is the author of "The Anthracite Question" and has been consultant economist for the United Mine Workers.

By H. S. Raushenbush

I. Basis of Agreement

EFORE elaborating the proposed program for gradual socialization we must have an agreement upon certain vital points

Classes Within Classes A complete realization that there is a class struggle, there are also several class con-

country. We do not have quite the inferiority complex of the European workers upon which to found our phil-The workers of this country are climbing through marriage, the education of their children and the like out of the proletariat as rapidly as they can go about the business The skilled workers as a class are as much in conflict with the unskilled workers as they are with the middle class, a conflict which broke the steel There is a conflict between the laborers and the farmers and between the workers and the manufacturing industries against the workers in the finishing industries.

drive upon profits always takes the form of a drive upon advantages of all kinds and here only the unskilled workers have no corns to be stepped en, although they are not even aware of that, and can easily be made to believe the contrary. Homes, even jobs, represent a stake in the capitalist sysem. The bankruptcy of the farmers is partly due to their land speculation. A ove to tax 100 per cent all the excess profits in New York State would mean removal of the industries to another state and workers, all land holders, all tax payers, all citizens, would have of their advantages removed. Breaking up the phrase "class struggle" into its component parts will show that not only are immediate interests often in conflict with long time interests, but that the conflicts between the various groups in present American society are sharp.

Capitalism's Weak Spots 2. We face a shrewd capitalism which is not going to leave many weak spots open for attack. There

By weak spots I do not mean simply apparent weaknesses such as the hard-ship illustrated in the transference of the textile industry from the North to the South, for in that situation the workers of the North have no effective redress against the unorganized lower chances are against the amalgamation in the near future of these various class struggles into one against the whole profit system. Education, recreation, the cult of psychology, these are releases which may divert much of the available energy into non-economic channels. Liquor, religion, the urban flicts that have not yet been played to the limit. So far, however, they have versus the rural ideal, these are consucceeded in arousing resentment against the infringement by the government upon personal liberties, and they have enough momentum to carry against governmental interference finds very many separate groups which will make common cause against social legislation. They have repealed the publicity on income tax returns, and defeated the child labor amend-

The Socialist Manifesto of 1920 said: "The capitalist class is now making its last stand in history. . . . The events of recent years have demonstrated that capitalism is bankrupt."

Ramsay MacDonald says: "It is

terms of such high social idealism that it is unintelligible or it is a naive wish fulfillment. There may be some point into that-but when we

The Question of "Compromise" 4. The old time carrying drive of Socialist doctrine was in poverty and prophetic promise.

There was something of the band pairs of silk stockings and to be the only true interpretation of history.

The social inferiority feeling which smash: Socialist commonwealth. The organization may be as unlike idealized middle class that we are right; i. e. does exist results also in this crusade unions themselves did most toward schemes as the present is unlike the that abolition of the profit system is in trying to kid the public-I don't to throw out the Reds, to change the killing the increasing misery part of preamble of the miners' constitution it. The promise lost its certainty from a demand for "the full social Barring a defeat in war we know that value of the product" to "an equitable that certainty is gone. Yet we still

> If there is to be any discussion about the cowardliness or rather the unmuch as the A. F. of L. unions.

classed with the hunkles?" in one way. The promise was: Increasing misery: future. Future industrial and political practice, to convince both workers and schemes as the present is unlike the that abolition of the profit system is picture in the minds of those neurished to their interest and will result in

> 5. The carrying drive of any movement or organization in this country now is simply pragmatic. This means especially the country That "hard and fast paper plans Germany) we can only take what op-founded on traditional conceptions are nearly useless in influencing the fered for illustrations in Socialist

to their interest and will result in on dogmatic revolutionary literature." higher real wages, greater security, seedom from wars and other forms of prophetic promise there has been autocracy. Unless we can show workers results from day to day they will turn to someone who can or who can promise to. For they are less intertrations of wealth for example than in the immediate amount they can buy

speaking with any great accuracy information about such essentially So-cialist possibilities as housing and subways in New York City. We are the old parties gain all the credit from whatever gradual socializations is being undertaken. We do not show the world that we know our business. Where are the liberals and Socialists who can identify then selves with changes in the national policy in regard to taxation, farm relief, the tarfff from the workers' point of view, trust control?

The workers are more apt to go along with the pragmatic test than with the whole-hog policy, more apt to support a power authority than complete nationalization at once of an eight-billion-dollar industry. The plans for nationalization for mines and rail-Between catecysmis Socialism and roads have gotten only moderate supencroaching control the latter will be port from the workers of that industries only one acceptable to this nation try, while the sentiment in the anthracite region to have the government run a few mines is almost overwhelm-"Give me a place to stand and I will move the world."

This pragmatic test is the one which also appeals to the middle-class which also appeals to the middle-class citizens who, regardless of party, in-

> Labor and Politics 6. The American Labor Party will come out of the needs of labor for more non-wage income

and freedom.
This is our own jurisdictional dispute. I dissent from the view, often expressed, that the Socialists must organize for the trade unions. The mions may not always know their job. They may occasionally call strikes at the wrong time and end them at the wrong time. Their leadership may occasionally be corrupt. It may even from the long-time point of stupid. Nevertheless, we must assume that they know their immediate job better than we know their job unless we accept their own pragmatic test of knowing it by working at it a long time. Here, also, the difference between the political, organizing type and the introverted thinker must be remembered.

What a political party can affect is, the non-wage income, the many ways by which a worker's wages can be increased: higher purchasing power (lower taxes, lower street car fares and light weights, public health work, free education, etc.), and freedom of and security (anti-injunctions, newars, old-age pensions, etc.). A labor party must come out of the need to increase the workers' non-wage income and freedom and security.

This is an inversion of Solon De-Leon's Communist theory of "unreasonable demands" which, by some legerdemain, are to be made to appear reasonable to the workers and remain unreasonable to the rest of the world, thereby creating the split complete and irrevocable and bringing the (inevitable) revolution. Here the idea is rather to present a reasonable program of encroaching control. Marx has convinced his thousands, but the Ontario Hydro-Electrio Commission has convinced its tens of thousands. We need more leverage places like

the latter.
Of course a political machine is necessary. The courts and sheriffs interest more workers than the presistates. These bodies are supposed to have charge of the political campaigns of the parties and the candidates nomdency. Only in strike time is freeluxury to them. They have the norstagnancy of the party organization. mal circle of relationships, they want lords and dry agents which the old

parties succeed in giving them. McAlister Coleman tells me that in

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How Shall the Socialists Attack the Problem of Winning The Ultimate Abolition of the Profit System?

start kidding ourselves, the matter becomes serious. There are some evident weak spots in this capitalism. The farmers found one and suggested the vernmental control involved in the McNary-Haugen bill. There will be more of the same, but the chances are against the amalgamation of the various class struggles into one in the near

Driving Force Absent 3. There is no driving power for social change like hunger.

When once that is taken care of, as t is in the main in this country, the successive drives are not only for middle class standards but are in terms of middle class respectability. Outside of fairly homogeneous union communities the American working woman has answered the question what profiteth the girl to own four

share of it" and the like. It is a bid preach it. for middle class support, and it is in terms of the middle class standards longer live on \$25 a week would hardly to the union members that until the revolution they give up all their wages

These no longer hold us.

wagon about it. There was something of the fervor of revealed religion and the sense of being on the inside of

that the American worker judges him- heroic quality of compromise, let me self. The man who sneers at the get there first. To refuse to face the liberal intellectuals because they no fact that we live in a dynamic world rather than in the Hegelian world of

of the success of the pretty steady defeat.

The Test of Workability

west of Manhattan Island, removed Marx is cowardly. And if we are from the dislecticians of the East Side. aware of it and still, for want of a There is no longer any great adbetter, preach it, and get other men to spend their efforts toward the fulfill- governmental function. It is simply for a long while. Let us go back bement of a prophecy that will not come that some things work and others do off ... that is a cowardly compromise. not. Unfortunately Europe serves as Every union compromises when it a basis for comparison. We are consigns an agreement with the employer. stantly told things here work better And the Communist unions do it as than in Europe, better than in the past and are asked to be content with that. has been on revision of theory in re- houses, water works and the like. What George Soule has said is true: This side of revolution (Russia, Italy, cent years, and most of the stum

A Fraternal Basis

The Socialist Party has never had

any single central interest or institu-

Last year we made a move to cor-

of adopting a system of fraternal or

there are a number of societies, among

them many unions, that have found

such insurance schemes beneficial not

only to the members, but to the or-

ganization itself, cannot be doubted.

Benefit funds are the backbone of most

of the fraternal orders. The real ques-

tion is, can fraternal insurance be

There are two phases of political

committees and conventions

party organization. There are first, the

elected or chosen in accordance with

states. These bodies are supposed to

conceived by the law to be the enrolled

voters who meet whatever test or re-

individual political action.

mutual beneficiary insurance.

with their wages.

yond Mark to Archimedes who said: In general, the emphasis of the dis-

cussion in Socialist and liberal circles stituted municipal transit,

An American Socialist Brotherhood

Mr. King's article is one of a series A Fraternal Society Urged As a Basis which has been appearing in The New For the Political Party

Leader on "The Problems of American Socialism." The writer has been for many years a leader of the Socialist Party in California. By Cameron H. King E of the mistakes in the criticism of the Socialist Party by disadvantage in their contest with the time our main task is the education real, united front, despite theoretical

Mr. Ghent and others is the assumption that the decline in membership and influence began in 1917-1918. A reference to the record will show that the party reached its peak of supported the war and drove good barpower and influence in 1910-1912. In gains with the Wilson administration those years we had more elected off- for that support. This gave them a cials and a larger membership than at any time since. It is true that in New York the party reached its highest point in 1917-1918, but that was due to We incurred, not merely the odium of the local influence attained by the an unpopular position, but very shortly party in the needle trades, plus the Russian Jewish reaction to the war. It is also true that during 1918-1919

language federations. Except for this local and racial recovery the party decline began in 1912-1913. The causes of this decline have been partly external and unavoidable, partly internal and remediable.

the party generally experienced a great

increase in membership, but this was

almost entirely confined to the Slavic

Among the external causes I believe the most potent has been the greatly increased efficacy of the A. F. of L. non-partizan policy under the official direct primary system that spread throughout the sountry from 1910 on. By throwing their vote in the primary to that candidate who seemed most favorable to the labor legislative program, and winning his mination at the hands of the dominant party in the State or District, the conservative labor leaders achieved tive weapon in their hands against the Socialist trade unionists who sought to pledge the labor movement to inde pendent politics.

Europe Disappoints

The Progressive movement, which also reached its climax in 1912, began to show results in various reform reform and state reform legislation and

In the unions and before the public we could no longer "point with pride" to the Socialists of Europe. At the same time the conservative union leadnot that capitalism breaks down now ers could point to the achivement of and then, but that it never works." considerable progressive legislation
This sort of statement is absurd to the man in the street. It is either said in Wilson and assure the workers of

'peace, progress and prosperity." With dent labor politics. Whether they come members stuck together because the American entry into the war, the So- to us or we go to them our had something to stick to. They had clallets were placed at a much greater place will be together. In the mean-something that required a continued, nonpartizan policies of the conservative labor leaders. We were, on prin- as we can reach. In both fields we ciple, bound to oppose the war, and can improve our methods consider we did. The conservative unionists ably. tremendous advantage. They could enlist on their side patriotism and imtremendous advantage. mediate material rewards and results.

were gagged, mobbed and failed. the war, except for a brief period of deflation, there has been widespread, though not universal, prosperity. Shattered by the Communist schism, facing the rivalry of radical parties to the right, it is small wonder that we find it most difficult to regain lost ground. We did succeed in paving the way for future work in our entrance into and work with the Conference for Progressive Political Ac-Those who demand the "laborization" of the party forget how carnestly then, as before, we have striven for unity with the organized labor movement in political action. If labor has not been driven into independent politics by economic and political necessity, the fault lies not in us but in conditions outside of our control.

When we turn to the internal situation we may find causes of decline which are remediable. One of the faults of our policy in the past has been too great & tolerance of the idea of physical force associated with the idea of revolution. The idea of the general strike and sabotage advocated by the I. W. W. found too much support within our ranks. It was considered revolutionary, class-conscious and scientific Marxism. But municipal

bulk of the population in every

Garden Suburbs

By Herman Kobbe

and organization of as many people differences.

always been very weak because we relied entirely on the intensity of belief and enthusiasm of our members There has never been any other bond than a common acceptance of belief in Socialism. This condition has its strength, but it also has the very great weakness of all mental conditions is unstable. Individuals change their beliefs. They differ from one another on details of their beliefs. Specifically,

we may all agree that Socialism is very desirable, but just exactly wha is Socialism and just how to get it are topics on which the widest divergences of belief arise. These divergencies give rise to schisms and splits because there is no material interest to hold the members together. Since the organization is based on beliefs, difference in belief is enough reason to create different organization. There is no outside pressure to make them stick nor any internal attraction.

Trade unions harbor within tolds men of every divergent beliefs about trades unions. Those who favor industrialism and those who are concerned only with craft interests, those who believe in revolutionary syndicalism and those who are satisfied with Party policies, are held in the same organization because through practical unity only are they able to maintain any conditions of wages and hours. A common material interest holds them together, despite their divergent is largely responsible for preserving

measures, which included in some national reform legislation were herstates a goodly portion of the modest esies. Any time they got a chance the stance of unity being preserved by a concal demands of the bulk of the radicals were ready to read Congress-trades union movement. Then, in 1914, man Berger and the Milwayskes of high explosives let the presence of high explosives let the presen social demands of the bulk of the manuscript trades union movement. Then, in 1914, came the war with "prosperity" for the workers in the shape of employment. Also came to the Socialists dishlusionment. European Socialists dishlusionment. European Socialists did not stop the war. On the contrary, they supported it. This was the opposite of the attitude we had expected of them, due to the flood of "anti-patriotism" literature which our radicals borrowed from European radicals and mistakenly assumed to be the and one of the main forces that bound it together was the common interest in the beneficiary funds and work of that organization. There existed in its charitable and beneficiary finitiutions of the main forces that bound it together was the common interest in the beneficiary funds and work of that organization. There existed in its charitable and beneficiary institutions a material interest that enabled the organization to weather the storm. The promise Party and one of the main forces that bound it together was the common interest parties, against the 31 Socialist and ecutive secretary shows that we have not so very much to lose by trying this scheme which, though new to our organization until the organization to weather the storm. The promise Party and one of the mational expectations and the socialist and of the control of the mational expectations. The last report of the mational expectations and the socialist and of the control of the mational expectations and the social control of the mational expectations and the social stand of the control of the mational expectations and the social stand of the control of the mational expectations and the social stand of the movement decides to go into indepen- ganization to weather the storm. The

SAXON DESERTERS JOIN WITH BOURGEOIS GROUPS

nomic Party and one Democrat. It was izations. I ask the members to con-reported that the German Nationalists sider the matter not in a spirit of were also to get a seat in the cabinet. hostility, but a spirit of open-minded In the first session of the new ness and with a view to the best method of building up a powerful couple of "Old Social Democrats" Socialist propaganda organization which is an essential prerequisite to with 26 Socialists, 10 Communists and 36 bourgeois members, co operated with bourgeois groups against the Socialists and Communists. large city is condemned to live in towering apartment houses. Whatearly last year after having refused to obey the National Executive Committee's orders to quit the Saxor coalition cabinet last winter, definitely broken with the labor politiin a restricted lot, with a small yard The courts have upheld the right of call movement in Germany and will act often lying in the shadow of surrounding buildings, and in such a
yard games and sports seem strangely
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but of necessary and sports seem strangely
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Berlin Vorwaerts remarks. "the next
elections put an end to this disgracethat the second of the reaction until tags the
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Seligman at New School

E. R. A. Seligman, professor of Po litical Economy and Finance at Colum

quirement the law fixes as to their affiliation. This is quite different from the dues-paying organization we ordinarily think of when we talk of the Socialist Party. Secondly, in political organisation there is the heterogeneous aggregation

of clubs, organizations, committees and cliques which are entirely unofficial, often transitory and ephemeral, and usually devoted only to some special, local or group interest. Our duespaying organization belongs in this second group, but it is distinguished by being identified with the whole tion that could grip its members to it. party and being continuous in its ac-It has always been at the mercy of tivity. These two features of the duesevery vagrant theory that might cause paying organization put in suitable a change of belief in any portion of shape for the adoption of a mutual its membership. And it has aggra-vated the situation by being pretty rigid in its control and discipline of paying organization is not legally the Socialist Party in the several states rect the situation. A committee was and to call it by some name that rect the situation. A committee was authorized to investigate the question of adopting a system of fraternal or federated group or league of Socialist

clubs.

If we boldly accept our true status as such a league we could proceed without embarrassment to adopting fraternal insurance and other valuable features of fraternal organization. We would create the necessary official political committees and control them. safely adopted by a political party or- Party as a political organization nor would neither abandon the Socialist surrender our power to direct it. But we would be free to build an educational, propaganda and social organization far more effective than we have

the direct primary laws of the various at present. There are tens of thousands of of the parties and the candidates nom-inated by them. The political party is They are convinced that something is the civic honors and jobs for their the matter with the party organization. daughters and protection from land-They do not know what it is, but they feel that something new must be tried. Suppose we rename our dues-paying organization The American Socialist the advertising profession there is first Brotherhood, give it the attractive of all the "Lookit" man, who brings feature of mutual benefit funds, per- the advertising copy to the prospect's haps even add a bit of ritual, certainly desk and with a fine flourish slams it provide for a real social program, send down and says, "Lookit!" Then there out from national headquarters a is the "Ooh" man, who takes the copy monthly educational program, I be- and says "Ooh." The men who now

a powerful Socialist political party.

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NDER a system of unregulated companies and neighborhood associaprivate ownership of land the tions are but a slight protection. The only sure protection is by the city deever may be the convenience of an apartment for unmarried persons and for instance, one-family detached for childless couples, it certainly is not houses thirty feet apart; or, maybe, the best place for raising children. two-family houses forty feet apart and Every high apartment house stands fifteen feet from the sidewalk line.

out of place. Even a roof playground success. For the zone, once establs only a makeshift substitute for an lished, gives each resident a guarantee of permanent protection, and this en-The ideal conditions for growing courages greater investment in imn most American cities the homes and Without such guarantee the individual playgrounds, even in expensive sec-tions, are always in danger of being improvements, for at any time he may rowded out by the invasion of apart- be forced to move away by the erec-

uildings" in residential districts the tial sections of the kind described by o-called "restrictions" of real estate the term, "garden suburbs."

bia University, is to give a course "The Economic Interpretation of History and Doctrine," in the coming ment houses, garages, shops, and even tion of a "nuisance building" across spring term at the New School for So-factories, steam laundries or other the street. Johnson, director of the school, annoisy and smoky industrial plants.

By proper zoning laws every city Johnson, director of the school, anAgainst this invasion of "nuisance" can in time develop outlying residenin the course, to be held on Thursday afternoons at 5:20.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Ghosts and Governors

UT in Oklahoma the Governor has been going to seances with a lady friend and the under lying population is alarmed about the influence she is assuming over the State House. They have gone so far as to suggest that she go away and stop pestering the Governor with her speaks. The Governor, however, is a chivalrous soul and lets on that he enjoys table-tipping, ouija hoards and the rest of the spiritualistic paraphernalia.

If it's nothing more serious than a lady with a leaning towards spooks that is influencing the Governor of Oklahoma, the people of that State are to be con-gratulated. When we had personal contact with the politics of Oklahoma the Governor, who had been lected on a farmer-labor ticket, was soing to seance all right, only they happened to be seances with the Standard Oil gang and the cash that materialized from them was recognized on sight by every bank teller in the State. We are just low down enough to suspect that any investigating committee with a good sense of smell will detect the odor of oil around the flowing robes of the departed spirits with whom the present Governor is having ghostly intercourse. Unless Oklahoma governors have changed a lot, the ouija boards in the Southwest are still spelling out the same old three letters, o-i-l.

Take off your shoes, boys, you are on hely ground. Hark to that herald angel, Ernest E. Calkins, New York advertising agent extraordinary, who sings in "The Atlantic Monthly" as follows:

"Business is today the profession. It offers some thing of the glery that in the past was given to the crusader, the soldier, the courtier, the explorer, and sometimes the martyr—the test of wits, of brain, of quick thinking, the spirit of adventure, and especially the glory of personal achievement. Making money is not the chief spur to such men as du Pont, Chrysler, Durant, Filene, Hoover, Heinz, Eastman, Curtis, Gary, Ford, Grace. Money to them is no more than the guerdon. They engage in business, and in the business they engage, because there are no longer any long, slimy, green dragons holding captive maidens in durance vile, no holy sepulchres to be reft from the infidel, no Pacifics to be viewed for the first time. Business is today the Field of the Cloth

So that explains Gary and Heinz and the others What a relief to have it all cleared up. We had always suspected that they were not in business for their health, but we hadn't thought of them as crusaders riding forth to high adventure. That makes it much easier to understand. Now all that remains is to unearth some latter-day Tennyson who will write us modern version of the "Idylls of the King." Perhaps Ernest Calkins will oblige, or Eddie Guest. shouldn't be hard. How about something like this

"And so they sit around directors' boards, Heinz, Chrysler, Eastman, Gary, Filene, Grace; Great-hearted knights above the common hordes, Who strive for gold within the market place. Nay; not for them the herrid thought of gain. Adventure calls and they go riding out In Chrysler sixes to the jousting plain They slay the sloth Consumer with a shout; Right gayly do they kedak as they go, And they are very close indeed to heaven As they lay out their victims in a row Here's Heinz, whose gonfalon was "57" Writ on its fluttering folds. Here's Cyrus K., And Hoever. Give a cheer for all of them, These parfit, gentle knights in beld array, Upon the selling peaks of Bethlehem.

Last week we fell for the current questionnaire crase and asked all you little boys and gela-twentyfive questions having to de with the labor and radical movement in this country. We know you have answered them all one hundred per cent., but just tions and their answers:

tions and their answers:

1—Define these terms: (a) strike, (b) general strike, (c) sympathetic strike, (d) lockout.

Answer: Eugene V. Debs defined a strike as "a stoppage of work at a given time by men acting in concert in order to redress some real or imaginary grievance." A general strike is the stoppage of all forms of productive activity on the part of the workers. A sympathetic atrike is not necessarily as inclusive as a general strike. It consists of the stoppage of work by those in sympathy with the cause of workers who have already gone out on strike. A lock-out is an act of the employer whereby he locks the deors against his workers who will not agree to his terms of employment.

2—What was the name of the first President of the United Mine Workers of America?

Answer: John B. Rue.

Answer: Albert Weisbord, leader of the Passaic strike.

strike.

5-What was the average weekly wage of factory workers in the United States in 1926?

Answer: \$28.
6-In what year was the Adamson eight-hour law for railway workers passed?

Answer: 1916.
7-Who wrote an epoch-making essay on "The Casual Laborer," dealing with the riots in the Wheatland hop fields in 1918?

Answer: Carleton H. Parker, one time head of the economics department of the University of Washington.

economics department of the University
ton.

8—Who was Richard Trevellick?
Answer: Richard Trevellick was a prominent labor
leader who went as friendly delegate from the National Labor Union to the first convention of negro
workers held in Washington in 1889.

9—Who wrote "The Report on Manufactures" that
started industrial activity in this country?
Answer: Alexander Hamilton in 1792.

10—What was the first international union to admit
women on equal terms with men?
Answer: The International Typographical Union
in 1869.

11-In what year and in what city was the Knights of Labor founded?

Labor founded? Answer: In 1869, in Philadelphia. 12-Who pardoned the so-called "Haymarket riot-Answer: John Peter Altgeld, Governor of Illinois

from 1893-7.

13--Who wrote "God was feeling mighty good when he made "Gene Debs"?

Answer: James Whitcomb Riley.

14--What is meant by (a) Vertical Trust? (b) "straight-line production"? (c) company union? (d) management engineer?

management engineer?
Answer: A vertical trust is one in which ownership

of materials from the raw to the finished product is vested in the hands of a small group. "Straight line production" is that factory process whereby the materials move straight through the plant with n whip-backs, until they emerge as finished products, and an angement engineer is a technician whose function it is to introduce efficiency methods in the management of productive processes.

ment of produce efficiency methods in the management of productive processes.

15—How old is the President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America?

Answer: Sidney Hillman was born in Zagare, Lithaunia, in 1837.

16—Who is the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers?

15—Who is the Grand Callet Committee Engineers?
Answer: David Brown Robertson.
17—What is meant by the expression "The New Answer: "The New Unionism," the title of a book by J. M. Budish and George Soule, is an expression

(Continued on page 6)

Daniel De Leon Attempts to Reconcile Syndicalism With Political Labor Action

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

(Continued from Last Week)

HE preamble to the Constitution of the I. W. W., adopted in 1905, begins with these two para-

graphs:

The working class and the employing class have nething in common, there can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the em-ploying class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take held of that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affil-

iation with any political party.

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention which adopted this declaration, Mr. Daniel DeLeon, the nost brilliant exponent of the Socialist Labor Party, and one of its delegates to the Chicago convention, proceeded to Minneapolis and made an address interpreting the I. W. W. Preamble. This address came to be the recognized expesition of the methods accepted by the Socialist Labor party in realizing its aims. Mr. DeLeon took the two paragraphs quoted above as his text. In this address he proclaimed the mistion acquire the powers of the State- among which the following may me struggle against capitalists on "the robber burg of capitalism"—they mentioned:

the possessing classes resist the seiz-ure of industry by the unions, so much the worse for them, for the I. W. W. "will be in position to mop the earth with the rebellious usurper."

Syndicalist Ideas Three Syndicalist ideas are here expressed, namely, seizure of the machinery of production and distribution by the unions; immediately abelition of the State, and, though not rejecting political organization and action, merely employing political action in order to obtain power and then abandoning this power after it is acquired DeLeon recognized the possibility of resistance to union seizure of industry. This possibility would suggest the wis dom of retaining control of the State and using its powers to suppress the "usurper," but he would have none of this. The political representatives of the masses must "adjourn." If the defeated possessing classes resist, then the I. W. W. will in some way-we are not told how-"map the earth with them.

The ideas embodied in DeLeon's address and later elaborated upon in the official organ of the Socialist Labor Congress of Syndicates (trade

will adjourn! To hold this power any longer than it takes to accomplish this adjournment is to be guilty of usurpations. (1) Recognition by the Anarchists that the "propaganda of the deed" had failed to stir the masses to revolt tion. Control of the State is only obtained in order to "abolish" it. The headquarters of the L. W. W. then becomes the capital of the nation. If the possessing classes resist the seizure of industry by the unions, so much the worse for them for the L. W. W. number of prominent Secialists who had been elected to Parliament caused distrust of French workers for political methods and this result of the capitalist class." cal methods and this reaction against politics gave the Anarchists an oppor-tunity for renewed activity. (3) The States it was accepted by those, who trade unions, formerly regarded by organized the Syndicalist League of Anarchists as largely a compromise North America, which will be considured to the capitalism and conservative by ered later. The Socialist Labor Party, nature, were now entered and accepted as the beginning of "economic revelution." The distrust of political methods led to a complete repudiation of in its insistence on the necessity of politics. The general strike and sa- political action but also insisting that botage were accepted as sufficient for if it is given a majority mandate in the complete transformation of the a general election its representative social order. The unions were to fall must immediately "adjourn" and perheir to the respective industries in mit the industrial unions to exercise their trades, which were to be managed sovereignty. It accepted the idea

countries and many of its advocates political organization and organiza later accepted modern Communism, its tion under the banner of One Great evolution in the French trade unions Industrial Union to take and hold all may be briefly considered. The French sion of industrial unions to "take and party, "The People," constitute a pehold" the powers of wealth production
and assigned a minor role to political calism with political action. Syndichist, which stated among other hold" the powers of wealth production culiar attempt to recencile Syndiand assigned a minor role to pelitical action. Syndicalism with political action. Syndicalism had its origin in France and
unions. Seigure of industry by the
unions, he held, constitutes "the code of
action." The end of a pelitical moveaction. The end of a pelitical moveaction in the French trade unions.

Anarchism in the French trade unions.

The end of a pelitical moveaction in the secondary of
the assentance of the assentance of
the beyong an rough, an Anaring a transition period from the old
order to the new one is characteristic
of French Syndicalism, the Socialist
the beyong and express the wish that
the beyong and express should
Labor Party and the I. W. W. The ment is destructive; the moment the It developed out of conditions peculiar enter into the arsenal of weapons organized masses through political actor to the Labor movement of France which the workingmen use in their same plane as the strike, and that,

Syndicalism in France

direct action of individuals and toward a greater consciousness of their personal powers." Two years later, in Paris, another congress affirmed that a daring revolutionary minority could accomplish a social revolution; that "everyone would take what he needs wherever he found it; the result would be the completest possible amancipa-One year later, at Lyons, other congress declared that the gen-

When this amalgam of trade union union ownership also. When it parted Syndicalism in France

As this new social philosophy has ad considerable influence in many organization declared the necessity of the means of production and distribu tion and run them for the benefit of coercive character of the State is the cause of this aversion.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Another Union Atrocity

WE ARISE in righteous indignation. Labor is suitled to all the constitution. sens whose limited mentality forces them to work for a living. But there are limits. The line must be drawn some where, and we choose to draw it at the demand of the five coal miners who last November spent some eight days in a mine, delayed by floods.

Floods are usually regarded as acts of God, and justly so. The five entombed miners, however, did not present Providence with a bill for time lost as they might properly have done. On the contrary they sent it to the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, demanding pay for three full eight-hour shifts per day, fifteen shifts in all.

To fully appreciate the unmitigated sall of these people it will suffice to state that they made no claim of having done any useful labor for the Lehigh Valis it claimed that they did anything to improve their character, physique or mentality and thus make them more useful to their employer.

There they sat for eight solid days, twiddling their thumbs and watching the water rise (assuming that their carbide lamps held out for the whole peried, which is to be questioned, as goal miners are netoriously improvident in the conservation of carbide). For the most part, we presume they did nothing but sit around the rising water waiting for somebody te dig them out at the expense of the Lehigh Valley Coal Company, which it did in spite of the "heart-lessness and greed." usually attributed to "soulless corporations" by irresponsible agitators in the payof Moscow.

Now, instead of showing their appreciation for the generosity of their employer, they demand pay for three shifts per day for each and every day spent in that water-bound mine. Could callous ingratitude go further than that? We say it can't. And, pray, by what reasoning do these men lay claim for any pay at all, to say nothing about payment for three full shifts? Is it not a fact that by remaining in the mine dur-ing the duration of the fleed they saved themselves eight days of board, which at the current cost of living may be conservatively estimated at two dellars per man per day, or a clear saving of \$16.00 per man to say nothing about the rubber boots they might have been compelled to purchase had they been in the midst of the flood instead of sitting comfartably a thousand feet below it? Neither can it be elaimed that the families of these men incurred additional expense on account of the confinement of their provider. Indeed, from years of experience with this kind of people, we are inclined to think that the cessation of the customary household activities such as washing, cooking, house cleaning, etc., resulted in substantial savings.

In justice to the five men involved in this particularly atroclous piece of hold-up, we may say, hewever, that left to themselves they never would have made such outrageous demands as full payment for idle time. As in all such cases, so in this, the blame can be clearly laid at the door of the union. Indeed, we are credibly informed that it is one Andrew Mattey, president of the miners' union of the particular district in which the incident took place, who is press ing the demand of the five men. And this in spite of the fact that the Lehigh Valley Ceal Company, in a spontaneous outburst of generosity, had already paid the men for two shifts, thus laying additional burdens on the poor widows and erphans whose dividends will be materially decreased.

We do not know the aforesaid Andrew Mattey per-What is more, we have no desire to make his acquaintance-a man who will deliberately set about to rob widows and orphans who invested their hard-earned inheritance in the coal industry in order to give employment to people whose restricted intelectuality prevents them from living off others.

Neither do we know where this Mattey came from.
But wherever it is, there he should be compelled to return. We have all too many of his kind in this country. It is union agitators of the Mattey type who forced the custom of paying for dead work upon help less coal corporations. It is they who browheat State legislators into passing compensation laws under which dead miners are compensated for such unpreductive activities as dying on the jeb. cap the climax, they are demanding full time for time wasted in waiting eight days for death in a nice moist mine, a thousand feet beneath a raging flood. Can you beat it?

scanning the New Book young people are of themselves than One for

Senator Baumes

By Chuck Ward

ACK BLACK has sadly neglected a remarkable opportunity for moralizing in the writing of his frequently hair-raising and sometimes breath-taking autobiography, "You Can't Win" (N. Y., MacMillan), a stery of his part in an amazing series of hold-ups, burglaries, safe-blowings and prison terms from early adolescent years to late middle age. And the worst of it is that by certain flagrant omissions he robs a variety of specialists and devotees in several different fields of the juiciest opportunities to choose this or that in his story and point an outstanding cure-us-all moral.

For example, in this splendidly told parration which has suspense down to a fine art. Black overlooks a Grade A chance, probably through unaccountable ignorance of psycho-analysis, to expatiate on his childhood repressions,

Indeed, of just three ladies he menof love: and one of these two, he reoff by some of his acquaintances in Canada for having brought on him the final twenty-five year sentence that happened to mark the end of his oriminal career. So what can the poor psycho-analyst do with "You Can't

Likewise, the eugenist is left com he doesn't give much of a picture of died when Jack was ten, entirely in the shadows with little more than a to eulogy of mothers in general. Perhaps this, however, will give some aid and comes to us unrevised across the comfort to the psycho and near psycho- tremendous gulf of time represented analyst after all. Perhaps Black's by the last dozen years, for it was

book except for a prison reform moral ments of human beings, that philosoplucked out in a small dose by a prison reformist the other day. Therefore, this reviewer takes pride in the very large one he has fished out of the

He recommends "You Can't Win" whole-heartedly to everybody in gen- have been numerous overthrowings eral and to State Senator Caleb and readjustments. Mr. Santayana's N. Y.) is broadcasting: Baumes in particular. Senator Baumes new preface is thus forced to tell us of the New York State Crime Commission, you know, is the author of the now famous Baumes laws, and the poor chap never heard of anybody like Nor is the picture of the intellectual the affairs of men."

Tack increasing attention, the appears that the papers on Russell no longer in longer will be seen that the papers on Russell no longer in longer in longer will be seen that the papers on Russell no longer in longer Jack Black, who actually reformed and became, not merely a decent citisen, mistic as even the dimly lighted vision but a valuable one.

Russian Market Place



From a drawing by Lucina Smith Wakefield for the Jacket of Joyce M. Nan parental equipment and his love life. Kivell's "The Fourteen Thumbs of St. Peter." (Dutten & Co., N. Y.)

book, only two inspire in him any sex tinction is most important, you know, and "The Genteel Tradition in American Forling or tinction is most important, you know, and "The Genteel Tradition in American Forling or tinction Forling or tinc whom he becomes interested only tem-porarily and more out of pity than distinction, were federal laws—Heaven applied to human development and to Atlanta with a branch parliament at Leavenworth!

Literary Philosophy

S ANTAYANA is one of the few profound thinkers of our generation whose writings are a pleasure to read for their style, whose easy pletely up a stump. For while Black flow carries us on so gladly that we shows his father to have been a fairly are in danger of succumbing to his ductory intelligent, tolerant and decent man, doctrines and ideas without that severe inspection that all philosophy, him, and he leaves his mother, who grounded as it is in personal prejudice and impulsion, should be made to withstand before acceptance. "Winds of Doctrine" (Scribner, \$2.50) criminal life was the Oedipus Complex first published in 1913, before the war festering out of his system.

had wakened us to new values, and
No, thus far no first class morals had shown mankind that the calm of been publicly drawn from the science has little to do with the movephy and national or international dealing are likely to be strangers.

of mathematical philosophy where Bertrand Russell loves to ponder, there At any rate, Senator Baumes based his laws on a theory that no one ever reforms after having committed four crimes—or rather, after having been are those on, "Shelley, or the Poetic Convicted of four crimes. The dis- Value of Revolutionary Principles," not tragic to see how much surer our City.

tinction is most important, you know, and "The Genteel Tradition in Ameri- dom, and allow it unhampered to do its help us!-Washington would be moved blasts that concern for the good of all manitarian" mind, which is not kindliness, merely, but ignorance as well, The second paper is a careful study of nerton has taken over the whole techthe New England attitude toward the nique, classical style of novel writing world that James group (including and it has mastered him. His latest world that James group (including Jesse) and Walt Whitman helped to dissipate, which has now almost wholly ings like "Over the Telephone disappeared from our literature, if still deed, might well be used as an introessay, a wide and wise background, by anyone who wishes to approach the literature of this generation with intelligent consideration. William Lea.

Any Hope from Schools? IVILIZATION, its morals, its cul-

with dizzying acceleration. Here are the schools can and must do about it In these dazen years, too, in purely if they are to play any part in help-"scientific" fields, such as those realms ing mankind master its own Frankensteins. Dr. Kilpatrick ("Education for a Changing Civilization." MacMillan,

"One factor (in modern life) seem-

asks why and demands an answer be- are articles by Romain Rolland, Taof the 'teens of the century; today, the fore it accepts, back of it all is a new gore, Bertrand Russell, H. M. Hyndmental outlook. The old fundamental man and others. The issue is beauti-tendency to accept external authority fully printed and contains an interest-

"It would be laughable if it were office is 154 Nassau street, New York

"Darwinian change (I. E. the theory of change in nature) shakes the founds tion of every vested interest of what-

"Probably the most useful way o conceiving education is to take it as the process by which we acquire our ways of behaving; our attitudes, beliefs, as well as the more outward ways of responding."

"Education has been the process by which those in charge of affairs deter-mined what the rising generation should think and do."

"For the school to continue to lag behind our advancing civilization is most hazardous. The new school must be essentially different from the old. It will cost more, not primarily for buildings or equipment, but for the men and women who are to use them. Costly buildings belong to the temper of the present age and are on the whole easily got; but the needed type of officers and teachers is harder to get. It is, however, brains and education and character that we most need and must have. For getting these a change of philosophy appears to be our only sure hope, a philosophy that will free education from its internal thral-

SUMMER STORM (Frank Swinnerton. Doran) is a slow tale that manages somehow to creep to an ending far happier for the characters has a triangle plot, with chapter headother thrillers, but the sense of life and character which Swinnerton proved he possessed when he wrote "Nocturne" does not emerge. Perhaps that sense, like the other five, can be lost to a man as he grows older.

Two girls buy a business and fall in love with the same man. They are nice, naive girls, although one is just a bit too hard for the other; their intentions are quite honorable and the ture standards, its sex relations, the girls has more will power, but the the freedom for individuals, its book ends with a marriage. One of pretences, is changing, and changing way around, if you re-interpret their behavior according to your own ards of will power and charm. some interesting observations on what is much detail that the author did not seem to be able to sweep aside by the time the book was brought to a close

Emanuel Blum.

The Oriental Magazine

Since affairs in Asia continue to attract increasing attention, the appear science in short, and its application to particularly welcomed. Hari G. Govil "Voting, bobbed hair, a freedom which first issue does him much credit. There ing print, "Krishna." The publication

Danger Not Over

and Kellogg to lay off on Calles, surely kn the persimmons. As a result there won't be any war with Mexico just yet. At the same time I want to warn my readers that the danger is not ever. are more ways of killing a cat than cheking it with butter, and by the same token there are me

of killing Calles than by an invasion of Mexico. If our prize bunglers in Washington should get it into their heads, for instance, to withdraw recogni tion of Mexico and close their eyes to the shipment of murder tools across the Rio Grande, they might eed in raising so much hell in Mexico as to give justification to intervention.

The mistake made by the administration in trying to pull a quarrel with our step-sister republic that it failed miserably in preparing public opinion for the intended raid.

We are a peaceful people. The only way to induce us to do something so ornery as carrying war to other folks is by arousing our sense of righteourness. Once they show us that we are morally right, there is nothing on earth to prevent us from doing wrong. Now that's where Kellogg fell down. He should have hired some of Hearst's bright young men work up a series of lurid atrocity tales.

The formulas can be found in the files of any patriotic newspaper published between 1915 and 1918. The process is really quite simple. Variations on the themes of cut-off baby hands and women's breasts, desecration of cathedrals, nailing folks to barn doors, and boiling glycerine out of corpses, would have gone a long way to make us amenable

Today there is not a single responsible newspaper riodical in this country which still believes in the Hun atrocities it peddled during the great war Even the Reverend Hillis, the crown liar of that period, has crawled into his hole by now and pulled the hole in behind him.

But these hellish prevarications did their work, not only in the last war, but in all wars of the past, and they will do it in all wars yet to co

So I say, don't sleep on your guns. The danger of war with Mexico is not over. They aimply failed to advance guard of every invasion. Now that Kellogg has learned his lesson, he may do the right thing to get us in wrong the next time.

. Adam Coaldigger.

Kanawha Valley Labor Meets Test in Campaign; Drive Against Scab Papers

The Field of Labor

earners to organize and to strike wa

them from the existing anti-conspir-

Labor Statistics was established by law

The State Bureau of Factory Inspec

reau of Mediation and Arbitration was

created in 1886. In 1895 contract prison labor was abolished by amendment

of State Constitution and by statute

law. Two years later the Legislature

was reduced to 54 hours in 1912, and

tory laws as to employers' liability. In the same year the weekly day of

rest law was passed. State free em-

working men, women and minors built

up in this State through the enlighten-

surveyed in the facts that in 1886 the

entire labor laws of the Empire State

would barely fill this page, while today

our State Labor Laws occupy three volumes totaling 411 such pages and

the annual appropriation for their ad-

ministration and enforcement approxi-

mates \$2,250,000, as against \$5,000 in

By a referendum in 1925 the State

Department of Labor (previously ex-

isting by statute) was made a per-

manent constitutional department of

our State government. Under the law

carrying out the popular mandate, enacted last year, wage-earners are

given representation in its administra-

tion by the provision that two of the

five members of the State Industrial

ment on foot to abolish this economic distinction. An advisory State Indus-

ment to assist in solving its problem

is composed of five employes and five

employers. All of these officials are

appointed by the Governor. Of course,

much of this legislation has come about

eration of Labor at Albany has been

responsible for a good deal. Had there

been a labor party even further-going laws would have been passed.

REAL ESTATE OPPORTUNITIES
IN QUEENS

Brady

the Cartoonist

is the man to see about that "Individual" cartoon - drawn the

cartoon - drawn the

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ock Street, New Haven, Comm

LITTLE practical economics will | such laws "interefered with freedom be very serviceable to the of contract." The New York State Kanawha Valley Central Labor Federation of Labor was organized in Union of Charleston, West Virginia, ity, if plans now on foot will be carried out successfully. We made on in this column previously of the appointment of a committee of thirty by the local labor movement an aggressive campaign against the open shop and for unioni-An extensive and intensive campaign has been mapped out. Part of the program is to subdue the two "Gazette" and the "Mail," which for the last few months have refused to deal with the Typographical Union. These two dailies, through the importation of scabs, furnished with the help of the national employers' organization, have managed to keep up their publication, though with reduced circulation. The owners are now customers in order to show the circulation audit association that they have the same circulation as last April. Otherwise, they will suffer a reduction on advertising rates which will do much to hamper the open shop operations of these papers. The plan of the committee of thirty is to give publicity to the unfair conditions under which the "Gazette" and "Mail" are printed and make a drive among nists and their friends to keep away from these sheets. This is good industrial strategy. In a sense the cess of this campaign will prove mettle of the new General Headquarters staff of the Kanawha Valley Meanwhile, labor movement. Meanwhile, the Typographical Union does not intend to sit by idly and see what results its friends can achieve. It is planning a new line of attack.

FINANCING I. W. W. PROPERTY

ough the L. W. W. has fallen upor evil days it is still ekeing out a pe rious existence. Last year it lost its property at Chicago to the Garland Fund upon forfeiture of its mortgage It has been permitted to retain posssion, however. The foreclosure merely à necessary legal step. its members are organizing a Workto consist of I. W. W. shareholders who will volunteer to finance the maintenance of the building in which the General Headquarters and printing plant are located. The W. I. E. S. and its board of directors have no official connection with the I. W. W. stockholders only happen to be I. W. W. members. Responses are coming in fairly satisfactorily so that it may be that the Industrial Workers of the World will be relieved some of its financial worries. little concession to the forms of business enterprise may not hurt after all.

A CENTURY OF LOBBYING FOR LABOR

Typical of the legislative history of labor in an advanced and progressive Board shall be representative wage industrial state of the union is that of eurners. At present there is a move-New York during the last century. The New York State Federation of Labor distinction. An advisory State Industrial Council attached to the departin 1827. human chattel slavery was ished. The year previous the property qualifications for white voters had

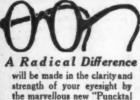
any attempt to enact protective labor through the efforts of humanitarians laws was defeated by the assertion that and liberals, but there is no doubt that the eternal vigilance of the State Fed-

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Machinists Fight for Plumb Plan; Shop Crafts Strike Against Abuses

THE gratifying experience of the trade unions during the war un-der the control of a Federal 1864. In 1870 the legal right of wage Government, necessarily friendly in of the military emergency, stimuacy law, and a State eight-hour law for public employes was enacted. The lated the movement for public owner ship. During 1919 the American Federation of Labor and the railroad compulsory attendance of children bebrotherhoods waged their campaign for the retention by the Govern for fourteen weeks a year was passed of the railrods under democratic man in 1874. In 1883 the State Bureau of anagement, a scheme which came to be known as the Plumb Plan. In the in 1886; children under 13 years were prohibited from employment in factories, and the State Factory Inspect reported a year later that he had sent commitment to "public ownership of 10,000 children illegally employed back all public utilities," was a leader in to school; in 1889 the employment age this fight. When the plan came be was raised to 14 years. The State Bu- fore the A. F. of L. convention at Montreal in June, 1919, the L. A. M. delegation was a factor in having s resolution of approval adopted. Yet, despite these efforts, the railroads were returned to private hands on consolidated the three bureaus men-tioned into one State Department of the obnoxious Esch-Cummins Trans-Labor and codified under the title of portation Act. At the same time the "General Labor Law" all statutes effecting wage-earners. In 1889 the abolished last year, was created, with working week for women, as well as authority to make decisions and no minors, was fixed by law at a maxi- power to enforce them. It will be recalled that this body consisted of nine members appointed by the President, night work for women prohibited be-tween 10 p. m. and 6 a. m.; the work-

The railroad corporations had waited ing week of minors up to 16 years was reduced from 48 to 44 hours in 1925. In 1906 (following amendment to impatiently for their liberation from State Constitution) the amplified eight- for the annihilation of the trade hour day and prevailing rate of wages unions. The officials of the two hun-law for public employes and employes dred and sixty-one Class 1 railroads of public work contractors was adopted. The Workmen's Compensation Association of Railroad Executives and Law was enacted (after adoption of placed the conduct of their relations constitutional amendment) in 1913 and with their employees into the hands replaced the old common law and stauadopted by these specialists was the and the establishment of the open ployment offices were established in shop; in brief, the eradication of all 1914, and in the same year the original the gains made during the war. To aw went into effect creating part-time attain this end two methods were pursued: (1) wage reductions to dem ployed minors in lieu of night schools. | ize the union ranks, and (2) the trans-The foregoing enumerates only the fer of work from the railroad's own foundation stones and pillars in the shops to outside contract establishedifice of protective labor laws for ments in order to force unemploy-The employer were helped in their objectives by the ed persistency of organized labor since let-down of business activities after 1865. The whole structure is quickly the war and the accompanying open-

shop drive of 1920-21. Labor Board Helps Roads Here it is that the Railroad Labor Board served the railways well. The managers put in a plea for wage reductions in view of the depressing business conditions. The Board responded by cutting wages eight cents an hour for railroad shop craftsmen. There was a show of fairness in this, thirteen cents had been granted. As a matter of fact, the men had been bitterly disappointed with the first decision. The increase had come after the maintenance of the status quo for two years, was too slight to be satisory and was retroactive only to May 1, 1920. In November, 1921, the railroads applied for additional reductions. The men in the shop crafts re-sponded with a demand for a wage inrease of five cents an hour above the rates in existence before the first reduction. Elaborate and voluminous briefs were presented. The Railroad Labor Board on June 5, 1922, ordered another wage reduction of seven to eight cents per hour, more than wip-

ing out the increase of 1920, to be efective on July 1, 1922. In the meantime, the second phase of the railroad's open shop campaign got well under way. In March, 1920, the New York Central and the Pennrailroads opened up the contracting-out drive by letting the American Locomotive and Baldwin companies repair more than three hundred locomotives on a cost-plus basis. The additional cost to each of these roads was in excess of three million dollars, but evidently the managements thought the investment vorthwhile. Other railways adopted the same practice, going so far as to organize dummy corporations con-trolled by themselves to receive the contract work. The Railroad Labor Board adjudged these activities of the managers subterfuges and violations of the Transportation Act, but the roads either disregarded these rulings or invented more complicated forms

of evasion. Sabotaging R. R. Act While these two major operation were going on, forcing wage cuts and farming out shop work, the railroads also busied themselves in strengthening their position by impeding the execution of the Transportation Act as it applied to labor. In 1920 the Association of Railroad Executives, whipped up by the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads, even overruled its own Labor Committee and re-fused to recommend the establishment of National Adjustment Boards in comliance with the law. As a conse uence all sorts of petty cases had to be decided by the Railroad Labor Board, whose docket became unnecessarily crowded. Simultaneously came all kinds of radical changes in working rules. Various decisions of the board, particularly those on contract vork, were disregarded. But the most grievous crime of all was committed the Pennsylvania Railroad. It broke off relations with the standard shopcraft unions and held an election under

formation of a company union repre-

declared this election invalid and ordered balloting anew in the old way. The Pennsylvania ignored this decision and was supported by the United States Supreme Court in February, 1923, in an opinion declaring the oard's rules merely advisory and un

nforceable at law. In April, 1922, the sixth biennial con ention of the Railway Employees De partment of the A. F. of L. met at Chiago and passed resolutions demandin the abolition of contracting out of work and the restoration of the Sun day overtime rules and providing for a strike vote should the Railroad Labor Board fail to give satisfaction. Not only did the latter body deny the men's requests, but, as we have seen, on wage reduction for July 1. This award as well as the rulings on the two propositions provided for by the convention was submitted to a referendum vote and overwhelmingly rejected. The six shop crafts-machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers electrical workers and railway carmen—struck on July 1. The firemen and oilers followed soon after. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way bluffed into postponing their walkout by promises of a hearing. weakened the effect of the general

Four hundred thousand men reto the strike call. Eighty

thousand alone were machinists. Their enthusiasm was unlimited. Seldom had such zeal been displayed. It was evident that the rank and file had been straining at the leash long enough Thus the country's first national rail-

The strikers would have won out or from the first the railroads found it difficult to have their equipment repaired. Accidents occurred as a result of deterioration. But all the governmental forces were now concentrated against the men. Chairman Ben W. Hooper of the Railroad Labor Board abandoned his impartiality and bitterly assailed the strikers for snub bing the board-this in the face of repeated, brazen and contemptue violations by the railroads. On J 3 the board took official action. It

"... That the men who remain in the service and those who enter it are within their rights in accepting such employment-that they are not strikebreakers-seeking to impose the arbitrary will of an employer on employees, that they have the moral as well as the legal right to engage in such service of the American public to avoid interruption of indispe railroad transportation of every department and branch of the govern-

Thus the strikers were virtually delared outlaws

On July 11 President Harding issue proclamation calling for operation of all public authorities" in naintaining interstate commerce and the free movement of the United States mails. Troops and State police called into service in several States. On the 31st the President proposed the suspension of the strike by both sides based on a return to the conditions prevailing heretofore and the recognition of all decisions of the Railroad Labor Board. The workers accepted his intervention when in reply to a question of President Johnston of the Machinists, Harding assured the striker's representatives that the government had means to enforce the railroads' hands. Nevertheless, the roads, backed by a conference of bank-roads, backed by a conference of bank-r striker's representatives that the govjected the President's offer. Later, on the 7th Harding proposed that the strikers return to work and leave the of seniority to the Labor Board. This the men refused to do. On the 18th Harding appeared before Congress and appealed for amendments to the Esch-Cummins Act to enable him to keep trains moving. Then, the "Big Four" Railroad Brotherhoods intervened only to be turned down by the executives. To cap the climax Attorney General Daugherty appeared in person at Chicago and the rank and file. obtained an injunction effective
September 1, 1922, restraining the officers of the unions on strike in the B. & O. plan and the establishment of the first labor bank through the efforts with what was ostensibly interstate of the Machinists' Union.

conduct the strike by persuading men directly or indirectly and in any manper whatsoever from abandoning their funds. On July 12, 1923, the injunc tion was made permanent but the unions did not contest it any longer Following the Daugherty injunction about three hundred other actions were instituted by the railroads in the ers' hands.

The Jewell-Willard Agreement

The result of the 1922 shop crafts strike would have been even had not a minority of the Association of the Railways Executives been in a more tractable mood. This conciliatory group was discovered by the ference at the time of their mediation Daniel Willard of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and S. Davies Warfield of the Seaboard Air Line Railway and Chairman of the National Association of Owners of Railway Securities were aders of the conciliatory group. Conferences with B. M. Jewell, President the Railway Employees' Department of the A. F. of L. were begur at Baltimore, Md., on August 27, 1922. and continued to September 5, 1922. An agreement was then drawn up which was ratified by the Policy Committee of the R. E. D. The objectionable point was the abandonment of a national agreement but in view of the damage done by the Daugherty injunction, the strategic advantage of coal-bearing roads on account of the coal strike and the lowered morale of the strikes at various points a separate

settlement had to be made. The Jewell-Willard-Warfield rovided for

1. Return to work "at present rates of pay" to positions held on June 30,

2. Seniority questions and controarising out of the strike to be settled before May 31, 1923, by a joint ommission having six representatives ch of the railroads and the unions

3. No citation of this agreement as cedent in future disputes.

No discrimination

Withdrawal of all legal suits. About fifty railroads signed this agreement affecting the following railway systems: Baltimore & Ohio, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul; Chica Northwestern; Seaboard Air Line; Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis Omaha; Buffalo, Rochester & Pitts-burgh; Chicago, Indianapolis & Louis-New York Central (grown meek); Southern Railway; Mobile & Ohio, and Carolina, Clinchfield & Ohio

About one-half of the strikers reurned to work on these terms. Others followed from time to time. Here and there the strike continued officially for a long time.

Results of Strike

In spite of the fact that none of the mions paid strike benefits during the walkout huge expenses were entailed. The International Association of Machinists alone would have had to pay \$900,000 in benefits every week. As it was, the I. A. M. spent \$1,543,903.28, a heavy blow to the treasury. Company unions obtained a foothold. At the same time the membership dropped very low. It is one of the chief reas for the loss of members that we shall speak of in the next installment when we complete the survey of other fac-

What did the I. A. M. gain from the

2. Broke up the Railway Executives'

Associations' activities in the matter of labor policies. 3. Stopped contracting.

4. Put the U. S. Railroad Labor Board on record as anti-union. 5. Convinced Congress of the failure of the Esch-Cummins act.

6. Revealed the power of the federated shop crafts as a fighting machine. 7. Provided valuable education and date of the next congress of the Metal

experience. 8. Prevented an "outlaw" strike

Demand Aid for Young; Russ Union Rejects Terms

Labor Doings Abroad

Labor Internationals

legal protection of the youth-ful workers of the world was tives of the Socialist and Labor International, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist Youth International, held in Berlin on According to resolutions adopted by

the joint meeting, which was attended by the members of the Bureau of the Youth International, by Arthur Crispien for the Socialist and Labor Inter national and by John W. Brown for the I. F. T. U., the trade unions, the amentary representatives of labor and the labor youth organizations in all countries affiliated with the labor sastrous than it turned out to be internationals are to be lined up in active propaganda for the passing of recommendations effective. That the program worked out in Berlin will be Brotherhoods when they were in con- approved by the executive committee of the three internationals concerned is almost certain, so action is expected to begin soon.

The minimum demands of the pro-

1. A ban on gainful labor by chilren under 14 years old.

2. Obligatory school attendance to the beginning of legalized gainful 3. Obligatory vocational schooling

4. Extension of the protective regulations for apprentices, young manual workers and clerical employes up to

5. Limitation of the working week to not more than 48 hours, including technical instruction and time spent in preparation. 6. Sunday rest period to begin at

noon on Saturday, or else an afternoon off during the week. No night work for young people.

8. At least three paid holiday annually for gainfully employed youths, including apprentices, under 16 years of age, and at least two weeks for those between 16 and 18.

Welfare work and educational facilities for youths not gainfully em-

10. Regulation of vocational training on a basis of legally equal cooperation by the workers.

The labor members of the Interns

tional Labor Organization of the League of Nations are to be asked to try to have the question of special protection of young workers placed in Java and sumatra.

It is stated that although the Socialupon the agenda of one of the next ists do not approve of the revolt and nces of that body.

RUSSIAN UNION REJECTS METAL WORKERS' TERMS

Another attempt by the Russian Metal Workers' Union to break into the International Federation of Trade Unions by an indirect route failed when, at a meeting of the Centra Committee of the Metal Workers' In ternational held in Berlin Feb. 7 and 8 the representatives of the Russ ganization refused to accept the term laid down by the Central Committee.

At a conference between the Rus

sians and a sub-committee of the Central Committee the former were asked if, in case they were admitted to the Metal Workers' International, they would be willing to dissolve the various metal workers' unions organized by the Communists in different countries, mostly out of seceding or expelled members of the regular unions, and advise them to rejoin the regular orwhat did the I. A. M. gain from the strike? Vice-President J. P. Conlon of the I. A. M. in December, 1923, solve the well-known Communist summed up the accomplish results that "cells" in the regular unions. The

> try to justify their position by assert-ing that their organization cannot interfere in the activities of Communist groups outside their jurisdiction, it is evident that the officials of the Co munist Trade Union International would pay considerable heed to a suggestion by one of its most powerful unions.

Other business transacted by the Central Committee included fixing the Workers' International as Aug. 8, 1927, in Paris, and the adoption of a reso tion pointing out that the so-called rationalization of production and the

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DEFINITE program for the formation of the European Steel Trust were calculated to increase the exploitation of the metal workers as well as to raise production. Therefore efforts must be made to have the Washington eight-hour day convention rati-fied by all the principal industrial countries and drives made for more vages and public control of the trusts, with participation in such control by

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS AID TROUBLED WOMEN

widespread welfare activities of the Austrian Socialists is the establishing of a special bureau in Vienna by Die Unzufriedene, the central paper of the Socialist women, for the purpose of listening to the troubles of women Socialist party members and giving them advice. The bureau is open from 3 to 5 p. m. on Saturday, and is free. It is in charge of Paula Nowotny, who also

answers questions sent in by mail.

The immediate cause of the establishment of this bureau was the suihad been driven to desperation by persecution by their neighbors and even their own parents. In reporting the rush of girls and women to the new "mental consultation bureau," Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung compliments Die Unzufriedene upon its enterprise, and opines that much good will result from its new activity. It is explained that there are many girls whose parents have no modern understanding of their spiritual troubles and that timely advice by qualified, disinterested persons will prevent most of them from

DUTCH SOCIALISTS OPPOSE EXECUTIONS

In a dispatch sent to A. C. D. de the Dutch East Indies by Henri Polak, president, and C. Werkhoven, tary, of the Social Democratic Labor Party of the Netherlands, on orders by the party's Executive Committee, pro-test is made against the drastic reprisals demanded by the frightened Dutch colonials upon the leaders of the recent so-called Communist revolt

consider it against the real interest of East Indians who are struggling for their rights, they believe the death sen should not be executed. Jan. 28 Het Volk reported that thus far Governor De Graeff had not approved any of the death sentences and had already commuted three of them to life imprisonment.

RUMANIA TIGHTENS BAN UPON ARBEITER-ZEITUNG

Under the heading "Averescu Honors the Arbeiter-Zeitung," the Vienna Abbeiter-Zeitung prints a Bucharest dispatch of Feb. 1 reporting that the official organ of the Rumania Government had just published an order barring the Vienna Socialist paper from the mails. Up to that time the Arbeiter-Zeitung had been banned from the newsstands in Rumania, but was allowed to go through the mails. Its recent exposures of the rotten political conditions and the ferocious anti-Semitism prevailing in the land the hide of the thick-skinned rulers. Three other foreign papers were honored in the same way.

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Ghosts and Governors

(Continued from page 5)

used generally to describe the newer philosophies, methods and aims of trade unions beyond wages and hours. 18-What report of what church organization condemned the meth-ods of employers in a great strike in 1919?

in 1919?

Answer: The report of the Inter-Church World Movement on the Steel Strike.

19—What Socialist leader of to-day was born in the home town of the late Warren Gamaliel Hard-

born in Marion, Ohio, on November 20, 1884
20—What prominent Jewish journalist came to this country in 1883 as the result of persecutions for his activity in the revolutionary movement in Russia?
Answer: Abraham Cahan.
21—What is the B. and O. plan?
Answer: It is a plan whereby organized employees in the shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad co-operate with the management for the elimination of waste

and for greater efficiency in pro-

and for greater efficiency in production.

22—Who was John Siney?

Answer: John Siney was a prominent labor leader in the years following the Civil War who founded the Working Men's Benevolent Association, a consolidation of the local unions in the anthracite coal fields.

23—What was the year of the first big strike in the clothing industry that resulted in substantial gains for the workers?

Answer: 1910, when the New York Cloak and Suit Makers struck and as a result the noted Protocol was signed.

24—Who was Robert Dale Owen?

Answer: The son of the famous Robert Owen, who began a propaganda in America for a State Socialist scheme of education and established several co-operative enterprises.

enterprises.
25—Who was the author of
"History of Coal Miners of the
United States"?
Answer: Andrew Roy.

McAlister Coleman.

MANGE SE ANNOYAGE TO CONSTITUTE CONTRACTOR AND

The New Leader Mail Bag

Gompers and a Labor Party

Editor, The New Leader:

You are to be congratulated upon your editorial, "Facing Realities," appearing in the issue of February 19.

Your criticism of an article appear ing in the American Appeal which placed entire responsibility for the failure to have a labor party in the United States upon the leaders of the American Federation of Labor is sound and timely. It is to be hoped that The New Leader, guilty in the past of similar misstatements, will in the future consistently follow the pre cept laid down in its own editorial. [The editor is not conscious of such

To say, as does the Appeal, that the labor leaders alone are responsible for such a condition is to assume that the rank and file of the American trade union movement is politically ripe for a labor party, has displayed considerable sentiment for it, demands it, and that the leaders suppress and prevent its development. Such assumption is not based on realities and is absolutely false. As a matter of fact, it can be said that the reverse is nearer the truth. The leaders in the A. F. of L. are far more radical along these lines than its membership. Let there be no mistake about this. If there really would be any substantial sentiment among the members of the Federation for a labor party, the men at the head of it would be the first ones to fall in line. Many of them because they really favor it, and most of them as a matter of expediency, if for no other

leaders of the American Federation of Labor, they certainly will not be accused of being fools. They are men of intelligence and practical knowledge. They know, what every writer in the Appeal and any other Socialist publication should know, and that is that one cannot retain leadership too long if his tactics and policies are opposed to the wishes, hopes and aspirations of the men and women that placed him in power. This is a Socialtruism and is also good, sound sènse.

The Cleveland Conference The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, as also the numerous smaller attempts that were made in various parts of the country upon the part of the masses. Almost was hearty permanent movements for some time existed, and in some cases assumed very important proportions. Does anyone doubt that if in the La Fallette campaign the workers of America had voted as they should there would not immediately thereafter have been formed an independent party? It is because labor responded so poorly to the call of its leaders and has displayed so little sentiment for Party in a measure tried it, and the

In connection with this, the following may be of interest: Over two years
sgo the writer, with a number of
others, on the way to Mexico to the
inauguration of President Calles, spent a week at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Texas, and had a splendid opportunity sist that nothing is the matter with either the policies or tactics of the mould the destinies of the American of the movement than a so many and the movement, particular than the movement than a so many and the movement. workings of the organization, their problems and their hopes. He was present at the meeting when the resolution for the formation of a labor party came up for discussion, heard the various arguments advanced, and understood perfectly well the reasons for its defeat. Many others of our group of, Socialists that were there also understood it. Had the writer of the Appeal article been there he, too, possibly would have understood it and most likely would have written dif-

ferently.

Samuel Gompers' Views

On the evening following the defeat
of the resolution the late Mr. Gompers,
sitting in the lobby of the hotel, was surrounded by a number of us and asked why he so strongly opposed the formation of a labor party. His answer in substance (I am not attempt. ing to give the exact words) was as

follows:

"Boys, you are wrong in supposing that I am opposed to a labor party: I am opposed to the Federation taking such a step be-cause I do not believe that either the sentiment of our members or present conditions in America justify it now. I am fully informed of the accomplishments of the British Labor Party, as also of some other similar European movements, and I believe that they are doing good work and wish thom success. Our situation, how-ever, is different. Anyone that imagines that all we have to do is to adopt a resolution at our convention for a labor party and it becomes a fact is either a fool or ignorant of conditions in the American trade union movement. It would only lead to one thing, and that is dissension and disruption everywhere, and our men and women, now working unitedly to gain higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, would dissipate their energies in political fights. It is very simple for all sorts of doctrinaires to tell us what we are to do, but we who face the problems of the workers daily, who must battle for the rights of labor, do not propose to enter upon political experiments, even to please you gentlemen. Let conditions change, let there by a real sentiment for a labor party, and you will have all of us workthe economic field." It is high time that those who write

in our publications and assume to speak for the party should not indulge in statements without first studying the situation. It is also about time that the methods pursued by the S. L. P. in former days and in a milder form by the Socialist Party in recent times be abandoned and left to the Communists. Certainly, unwarranted for independent political action was attacks upon the leaders of the trade not the result of any material demand union movement, irresponsible state ments in the press and upon the platall of them were instigated, led and inspired by the leaders. Had the rank inspired by the leaders. Had the rank and file responded to those attempts in a manner that would show to the leaders that the sentiment is there, a labor party would now be a fact. Unsupported the fortunes of the sentiment for the formation of a labor continuous for the formation of a labor. fortunately, they have shown in most instances actual lack of interest, In party. Other methods more in line several instances where the response with American traditions, more adaptable to the psychology of the American traditions and the control of the c

has displayed so little sentiment for independent political action that the leaders abandoned the idea. Of the suit is the S. L. P. is dead, the Sociality million votes cast for La Foliette, perhaps no more than one or two millons were cast by labor. ered the lepers of the labor movement, lions were cast by labor.

In connection with this, the followisolated and despised by every decent

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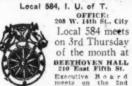
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Amusements

"And You Are Right And I Am Right"

Philosophy Made Dramatic at the Guild Matinees -"In Abraham's Bosom" a Tragedy of Negro Aspiration

more that ideas as well tragic surge. as emotions may be valid theatrical

on the stage characters in action through an emotional crisis in their tries to reveal the interplay of individual and event when strong impulses are manifest in feelingful moments. Pirandello emotions, such as Brieux in his "Damaged Goods," nor the individualization of such a thesis, as in "Ghosts," but a problem of esthetic or intellectual concern, In "Six Characters in Search of An Auther" we are asked to follow the wan-dering of a group of fictional persons created by a writer, and then aban-Never worked into the completed tale that might have given them these characters wander hopelessly about; they are a most peculiar group, and hold our attention, if not their original creator's. In "Naked" Pirandello shows an author trying to with his story. As Dreiser for "An American Tragedy," so the author in "Naked" reads a newspaper item that seems to afford a good plot But the girl has not died; her attempt suicide has proved abortive; the author gets the excellent idea of taking the friendless girl into his home and writing the story while living beside her. She proves, however, not to imagined; the man for whom she says she attempted suicide reappears; life begins to run away with the writer, until we wonder how he is going to adjust himself to the manipulation of his figures. Turning from these pureliterary speculations, in "Henry life in his portrait of a man who, protect himself from the law after ommitting murder, pretends to be inis really insane.

what you believe. The philosopher the truth about the family relation- took him in the hour of his wretchedships of the new under-secretary of ness. the Prefect. We may be permitted to in wider application, the great mass of the thirty intervening of human beings who are athirst for certainty, for an absolute—call it God, or the Life Week.

Cradle Song" at the Civic Theatre, effort to a fairly prominent position among the pygmy mountains of the profession, as it is too facile a career to continue playing the type of sole. or the Life Force, or scientific law, or one of the vital moments—where Abe whatyouwill—those who cannot be faces the whites at the school meetsatisfied with a curious threading of their path through unstraightened mazes of this interesting life, but who must have supports, props for their weak spirit: "Truth." Such persons, when they find nothing to affirm, will has yet been proceed to be a second seek solace by denying; always, they will be assured, will be sure. This approach to life is impelled by fear and Passaic Strike Film ids to superstition, whatever the surface layer of culture. The attitude that accepts the impossibility of a final truth, that recognizes the validity of any man's ideas—to that man. may lead to such fun as Gilbert and Sullivan found it in, but will also lead. f not to wisdom, at least, to its neighbor, tolerance.

All of this the Theatre Guild conof the drama, smooth-running, fluid.
To select individuals for praise would New York Central Trades and Labor require too detailed mention: Reginald Council. Mason as the philosopher, Beryl Mer-cer as the mother-in-law who helps to put the problem, Edward Robinson as of the more advanced children of the the other half of the difficulty, Helen Passaic strikers, who will sing, for Westley in her brief but excellent bit; share in the development of the lection of the strike songs which beplay that manages to be philosophy while never ceasing to be drama.

"De Blind Man Stood on de Road" THE success that deservedly has come to Paul Green's tragedy, "In Abraham's Bosom," has caused its removal from the Provincetown Play-

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23 Minetta Lane Greenwich Village ppen 8 p. m. to 1 UNIQUE, EXOTIC HAUNT (CAVE INTERIOR) FOR INTELLECTUALS. ACCOMPLISHED HOSTESS

UIGI PIRANDELLO is a play- house up to the Garrick Theatre, and wright avoided by those who do not like their theatre intellectual, say of it. As a matter of fact, we had and his "Right You Are If You Think been expecting to discuss the volume, Fou Are," now playing for matinees at the Guild Theatre, is no exception to his rule of making his audiences think. (The exception, indeed, a dramatized laying only in the hope of finding smoking-room story, was, recently room to print an episode of what we given at midnight performances.) Yet consider as sympathetic and true in another of the smooth renderings dramatic study of the Negro problem Arthur Livingston has given of the as we have seen. Now you may watch it enacted with a power of emotional insight that brings out its deepest

"In Abraham's Bosom," like most great plays, is a study of an individual. Abraham, in his efforts to educate The usual dramatist attempts to put himself, and through his training and gifts to lift his brethren from their patory edicts) their slavery, is chiefly handicapped by personal shortcomings It is not the problem of his race, but of himself. This, however, while taking naught of the wide implication from the drama, merely renders it the more immediately true: the idea of a a sum of individual cases, every one of which works out or falls because of some personal limitation. ham, being conscious that his father is the white man who bosses the district roundabout, is a mixture-common enough in all races—of pride and sub-mission, of a great need of self-respect combined with a feeling that he the chief figure in O'Neill's "All God's Chillun Got Wings," slow to acquire knowledge, though infinitely patient in its pursuit.

In the volume, "Lonesome Road,"

are two episodes, the first and the last, from the tragedy of Abraham's aspirations. These are the starkest and most shows clearly, not only the attitude of the "superior" whites to the ambition of the Negro-the Colonel's feels ing that his Abraham is "better than these other niggers," so why not let him play if he wants to, harmlessly enough, with the idea of educating his people? and the jealousy and hatred that the white son of the Colonel feels IV" the dramatist strikes obliquely at better than his place; not only the contempt of the white man, but the feeling of other Negroes that Abrasane; we see the man a number of business, that the Negro belongs below the white man, and will be happiest when visited by his former friends, un-when he recognizes his place and keeps til—he no longer knows himself within its bounds and obeys its regu-within its bounds and obeys its reguwhether he is shamming insanity or lations and unwritten laws. The last episode, called in the book "Your Fiery In "Right Your Are-If You Think Furnace," shows Abraham some thirty You Are," Pirandello moves into the years later, when years of failure have brought sorrow, but not despair; when managing still to weave his fancies his family has grown, by constant obinto effective theatre. His concern he jection to his hopes, a thorn ever the old problem of reality vs. appear-pricking his side; when his son, to ance; his suggestion, that truth is—
for every person—what that person believes. If you believe a thing, it is
so: insofar as your acts and subselieves, the source of quent personality depend upon the is- mocked by those to whom he turns for sue, its "truth" is immaterial beside help, is driven beyond his power of control to murder the Colonel's white whom Pirandello provides for the play son—this is the culminating scene of derives a deal of amusement from a grim tragedy, that through the years those who in the play must be told stalked this patient Negro, and over-

> The other episodes of the play seem one of the vital moments-where Abe

To Be Shown in N. Y.

The seven reel motion picture of the The seven reel motion picture of the Myrtil last fall. It will be presented in Paris during the spring season. will be shown in New York City on Sunday, March 6, at the Waldorf Theatre, 50th street, near Sixth avenue, and will be continuous from 2 o'clock to ers in its sympathetic presentation Local 1603, United Textile Workers of

> the benefit of New York workers, a se came famous during the long Passaic struggle, and will also present a short workers' play.

> will go to strike relief in Passaic, where the situation is still critical on ccount of the slowness with which the workers from the settled mills are

Access to the means of production ing at this matinee will be the same and distribution is positively necessary to any life, liberty, or pursuit of hapmaner of "The King's Henchman," in-



NOTES OF THE THEATRE

The Civic Repertory Theatre announces the eighth play of its repertory season, "Inheritors," by Susan Glaspell, to be presented Monday evecellent record for sincere and sensitive art, and their production of Susan Glaspell's moving play should main tain their high standard.

Watson Barratt has been selected by the Messrs. Shubert to design both settings and costumes for "The Adventurer," the satirical comedy by Captain Raffaele Calzini, in which Lionel Atwill is to be starred. The play deals in a satirical spirit with the episodes of Homer which show Ulysses, the great Greek war hero, returning to his home after the siege to be in the spirit of old Greece.

The Press Agents' Show for the enefit of the relief fund of the Theatrical Press Representatives of America will take place at the Liberty Theatre on Sunday evening, March 13, the playhouse having been donated by Manager A. L. Erlanger. The Actors Fund and the National Vaudeville Association will also share in the pro-ceeds. Clark and McCullough, the stars of "The Ramblers," are among services for the benefit. John Philip Sousa and Edwin Franko Goldman will, as usual, be the guest conductors of the orchestra.

Walter Woolf, star of "Countess Maritza," will deliver two lectures be-fore the advanced drama class of New York University during the month of The first lecture, to be delivered on Friday, March 8, will be on gence. the subject of "The Stage as a Vocation." The second lecture, to be given technical side of the stage, such as voice culture, make-up, etc. The Dramatic Association of the university will sponsor the lectures.

pany of the Civic Repertory Theatre, has been lent by Eva Le Gallienne to

A. H. Woods has purchased a new melodrama now playing at the Eltinge either in presenting a sound interpre-

The Comedie Francaise has accepted one-act operetta composed by Odette Myrtil, violiniste in "Countess Ma-ritza." The operetta, called "Dans Monte Carlo," was composed by Miss

Margaret Lawrence, who was the nine role in "The Heaven Tappers," by George Scarborough and Annette Westbay, has been engaged for the part. The play is rehearsing here prewhich takes place next week at a theatre to be announced.

MUSIC NOTES

Hospital Building Fund, a performance of Deems Taylor's new American operatic triumph, "The King's Henchman," will be given at the Metropolipublic to witness it. The cast appear- | Irish Rose" and the movies. duction and distribution debars the masses of the people from access to the orchestra will be conducted by them.—John M. Work.

And Florence Easton as Aelfrida, and assign greater merit to either attitude, it might be well to observe whether poor acting prevail.

They are both valid, each in its different

LETTER CARRIER RISES TO STARDOM

RANK WILSON, who is now playham's Bosom," is no newcomer in the theatre despite the spectacular event which thrust him, an understudy, into the limelight of Broadway. Wilson was born in New York in the San Juan district, and early found his way into vaudeville. He spent twelve years traveling about as singer and performer, and sometime writer of vaudeville skits.

Tiring of this, and feeling that there was little future in the legitimate the-atre field for a negro, he took civil service examinations, and became the way he puts it.

But the proverbial lure of the footlights was too strong for him, and he organized a group of Negro actors for one-act plays-all his own-and presented them twice a week at the Lincoln and Lafayette theatres in Harlem. There were in all, sixteen oneact plays, one of which, "Sugar Cain," von a prize last year offered by the judges were David Belasco, Paul Robeson and Stark Young.

Holding on to the letter carrier job in regular plays. He carried the lead ago he was called upon to step into in a play of Butler Davenport's "Justin spart at ten minutes' notice, and in a play of Butler Davenport's "Juspart in Mary Hoyt Wiborg's "Taboo," he earned the praise of his audic which was starring Paul Robeson. He and the press.



MARGARET WYCHERLY Starring in a mystery play, "Set a Thief," at the Empire.

was brought by Robeson to the Prov God's Chillun Got Wings," he appeared in minor parts in "Skyscrapers," and "The Emperor Jones," and played the title role in O'Neill's "Dreamy Kid." Negro magazine, "Opportunity," for when it was used as a curtain raiser the best one-act play. Incidentally, the

When "In Abraham's Bosom" was cast, he held the role of Bud Gaskins. on to the letter carrier job a colorful bit in the first act, and Wilson began to try parts understudy for the lead. Ten days at the Bramhall, played a small gave such a moving performance, that

How Actors Act

that believe that the performer should always watching the part, is "feel the part," should emotionally beopponents cold and mechanical. Those that, on the other hand, consider that his part, but should be always watch ing himself, always intelligently diunintelligent. It is clear that the suc- festly unable to live the part. cess of either type depends upon degree of emotional depth or intellectual power of the player concerned, and as psychologists declare that coordination of intellect and control of emotional expression develop in harperformer will give an equally sound presentation, whichever his method. In this imperfect theatre that is our clamant advocates of emotion or intelligence do not so generally make

in America the actors who guide themselves by emotion far outnumber those that direct themselves by the intelli-Our public, from which of course our players are drawn, is not preeminently endowed with intellect, tion. The second lecture, to be given two weeks later, will deal with the technical side of the stage, such as avenue by which our actors and paved with understanding. The new schools of acting, sounder and more thorough than the dramatic academies they are superseding, may help to produce a more thoughtful type of actor, whom the new city stock companies the Intimate Opera Company, which may grant opportunities for rounded will present Gluck's "Orpheus" under experience. At present it is too easy the direction of Macklin Marrow. Miss for one who has the proper introduc-Wilton, who is playing a part in "The tion to rise without serious, sustained to continue playing the type of role he may come full-powered to his act

Intelligence, moreover, is less easily assumed than emotion. The man that play entitled "Connelly and Merrit," assumed than emotion. The man that by John B. Hymer, author, with seeks to play a part by pondering each movement and each tone will succeed the movement and each tone will succeed tation or in making himself ludicrous if indeed his actual performance does not lapse into a sudden emotional ef-The only actor that can employ the intellectual approach is a good actor. Yet while a good actor may also move through emotional acceptance of a role, a poor performer finds in the feelingful approach his salvation, if not his lift to stardom. For emotion is readily simulated; the dolence of passion" consists largely of external gymnastics each may carry on as he wills, and a wooden performance may among blockheads pass for rare restraint. When the audience finds its chief intellectual stimulus outside the theatre in the tabloid acounts of the latest bared murder or veiled perversion, even when it turns from these to ape the pseudo-classic anger quickened by temporary defeat leer with which a modern professor smirks over an ancient lady's private life (the classics turned tabloid!) there is little stage appeal in genuine emotional expression beside the exaggerations of ignorance and shallow feeling. The tradition of overemphasis, moreover, comes down the theatre, from the distant symbolism of the early moralnoon, March 23, under distinguished lities, legitimately through comedy and and the profitable predominate; the

HERE have been many and heated | type of dramatic situation. And it is discussions between defenders of at once evident that in broad comedy, the two schools of acting. Those farce and burlesque, the good actor is merged with the character that indeed come the person he represents, call their no one accepts as real, but is always ready with apt word or deft move-ment to slip in a new gag, taking adof Troy. Settings and costumes are the actor should not be merged with vantage of the news of the day, of the presence of a notable in the audience, of the occasional stir of the theatre recting his own performance, retort
Wherever the stage person is largely
that the emotional school is erratic and
a device or symbol, the actor is mani-

The behavior of a performer in emergencies may be an indication of his method of approach to the theatre. The man who can play a love scene while carrying on a quarrel, sotto voce, with the heroine, who offstage is his mony, the truly cultured and capable wife; the actor who, while stirring through the climax of a drama deep with implications, criticizes the audience to his neighbor onstage: "What do those asses understand of this?" spection several implications that the these players are watching their parts. The heroine who tears herself into a climax that droops her exhausted egy and Crime." nightly; the actor whose clutch leaves five-minute memory on his rival's neck, these players are living theirs. To realize a part by either method demands a rich personality; at times you S. L., Circle 1. may have seen a performer, called on

> between the two types of acting is less Branch, in the result than in the approach. Yet it should be noted that when the actor lives the part, successive performances will change with the actor's physical condition and his mood without his being able to analyze the Branch. variations; he will know that he has had a "good" or a "poor" evening, but for details he will have to turn to the director. And—once the actor has learned his part—the only way the learned his part—the only way t director can improve the performance ing. When, on the other hand, the actor watches his part, he will more nearly approach the same interpretation nightly-at the Theatre Francais the audience awaits the expected intonations, and critical paragraphs spring from a syllable's shifting, and when physiological conditions produce a variation, the performer will prob-

ably be able to tell just how his playing has changed. Let us fancy two actors preparing the same part; they have reached the line: "You'll pay for this!" . The first player has gone through the situation; he has roused himself to a high pitch of anger; he hates and despises the other man, who has temporarily conquered; in a burst of foiled fury he cries "You'll pay for this!" The sec-ond player has gone through the situation; he has analyzed the actions of he various characters to discern the motives beneath; he sees that in the present situation such a character as he is to represent would probably feel ine present!)—and he reads the line: "You'll pay for this!" Both may give precisely the same rendering, may elicit exactly the same response. But performance; the second has his main work done.

auspices. This will be the only non-subscription performance of this opera-mate," on through the ten-twent-differently on. Emotional overacting this season, and therefore will present thirt' melodrama and farce of two appeals to an emotionally underfed generations ago, directly into "Abie's public, seeking through tabloid and theatre the expression they dare not Before considering which of the two attitudes—which we may more simply suggestion, body-baring and roaring refer to as the actor living the part melodrama hold the stage from searing piness worthy of the name. The private ownership of the means of prorole, Lawrence Tibbett as the King, part as he plays,—before attempting to
turing or stamping emotion, in place

5th MONTH

CIVIC REPERTORY

WEEK OF MARCH 7:
Mon. Eve., March 7 "INHEBITORS"
Tues. Eve., March 8,
"CRADLE SONG" Wed. Mat., March 9 "INHERITORS" Wed. Eve., March 9, "CRADLE SONG"

Thurs. Eve., March 13. "MASTER BUILDER" Spec. Mat. Fri., March 11
"CRADLE SONG"
Fri. Eve., March 11,
"CRADLE SONG" Sat. Mt., Mar. 12 "THREE SISTERS" Sat. Eve., March 12 "INHERITORS"

WEEK OF MARCH 14: "CRADLE SONG"
Tue. Eve., March 15 "INHEBITORS"
Wed. Mat., March 16 Wed. Mat., March 16

"CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Ev., Mar 16 "THREE SISTERS"
Spec. Thu. Mat., March 17

"CRADLE SONG"
Thu. Er. March 17 "INHEBITORS"
Frl. Eve., March 18

"CRADLE SONG" Sat. Mat., March 19 "INHERITORS" Sat. Eve., March 19 "Master Builder"

Opening Monday, March 7th—"INHERITORS" SEATS

- The Theatre Guild Acting Company in_

PYGMALION

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

Week of March 14-BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

NED McCOBB'S DAUGHTER

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

Week of March 14-THE SILVER CORD

LECTURE CALENDAR

Sunday, March 6, 11 a. m., Judge Jacob Panken; subject, "Events of Hennington Hall, 214 the Week." East 2nd street. Auspices of Socialist Party, 6th, 8th and 12th A. D.

Sunday, March 6, 8:30 p. m., Samuel J. Schneider; subject, "Origin and Evolution of the Human Mind." 204 East Broadway. Auspices of the Socialist Party, 1st and 2nd A. D. Branch.

Sunday, March 6, 8:30 p. m., August Claessens; subject, "The Measure of Social Progress." 241 East 84th street. Auspices of Yorkville Branch, Socialist Party.

Wednesday, March 9, 8:30 p. m., Mc-Alister Coleman; subject, "What Price Electricity?" Harlem Forum, 62 East Party, 17th and 18th A. D.

BRONX Friday, March 4, 8:30 p. m., Dr. Jo-seph Osman; subject, "Changing Human Behavior." Tremont Forum, 4215 Third avenue. Auspices of Socialist Party, Branch 7. On Friday, March 11, Dr. Osman will lecture on "Psychol-

Sunday, March 6, 3 p. m., Thomas Rogers; subject, "Elements of Socialism." 1167 Boston road. Auspices of Central Branch, Socialist Party, Y. P.

Monday, March 7, 8:30 p. m., Esther to speak out of his role, embarrassed, hesitant: let such men be suspect. As has been remarked, the difference Auspices of Socialist Party, Central

BROOKLYN

Friday, March 4, 8:30 p. m., Louis Waldman; subject, "Crime and the Nature and Life. March 21, Descartes Law." 218 Van Sicklen avenue. Auspices of Socialist, Party, 22nd A. D. March 28, Bergson and the Conception

Monday, March 7, 8:30 p. m., Dr

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

The second lecture on "The Challenge of Waste" will be given by Stuart Chase, Thursday, March 10. "Wasting the Consumers' Dollar" will be the subject that evening and some of the points Mr. Chase will develop are: A review of the grand total of seless, tawdry and actively harmful products and services turned out annually in America. The high cost of "higher salesmanship." Advertising, trade association drives, the burof adulteration, misrepresentation. The failure of price to measure quality. Selling the package rather than what it contains. The great army of quacks. The duplication of selling facilities. The "new competition" and what it is costing us.

A four-lecture course on the "Four Great Systems of Philosophy" given by Prof. William P. Montague, of Columbia University on Mondays at 8:30 p. m., March 7 till March 28. The subject lectures are: March 7, DemoProvincetown Playhouse Production

GARRICK THEATRE 65 West 35th Street

'A sweeping theme ... noble in con-

tion of Nature and Life. March 14. Plato and the Idealistic Conception of and the Dualism of Mind and Body. of Vitalistic Evolution.

Fellowship Notes

The Fellowship of the Rand School dance last Saturday night. They are mion and ball to be given by Rand School, Friday evening, March 18, at the Central Opera House. A camera will be given to the member of he Fellowship selling the largest num ber of tickets and an umbrella to the one selling the next largest number.

A dramatic club has been organized by the Fellowship and will be directed by Miss Beatrice Becker. The club will meet this Sunday, March 5, at 5 plays, one of which will be chosen and produced by the club.

Now that everybody is using radios navbe some comrade would like to donate his victrola for the Fellowship for their club room.

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Managing Editor MURRAY E. KING Published at 2653 Washington Blvd. Chicago, Ill. The Largest Radical Working-Men's Froternal Order in Existence

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

The district secretary, Comrade O. A. Kennedy, writes that he is getting some good letters from Wyoming. In this letter he states that the secretary Roy Nicodemus of Cheyenne, is out on tour of the southeastern part of the state trying to arouse interest expect the organization to develop in

Illinois

Chicago

Andrew Lafin, chairman of the Cam paign Committee, has sent out a call to all party branches and members having city ...omination petit'.ns to them to County Headquarters. West Madison street, not later than Monday, March 7.

Garfield Park Socialists

Members of the 28th Ward branch are planning to hold a social gather-ing in the near future for the purpose of strengthening the branch organiza Our readers in the Garfield Park district should get in touch with H W. Harris, secretary, 3618, Franklin Boulevard. This district at one time elected a Socialist to the Illinois State

Chicago L. I. D.

The Chicago chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, of which Dr. Harry W. Laidler is the executive secretary, has been holding some fine meetings. On Friday evening, March 4, at the Women's City Club, 360 N Michigan ave., Kurt Dreifuss spoke on the German Social Democracy.

Michigan

The lecture by Miss Jessie Stephen will be given in Detroit March 4 at 8 p. m. in the auditorium of the North-ern High School, corner Woodward and Owen, a very large modern auditorium, capacity of 1,000. Our readers in De-troit should boost this meeting.

Wisconsin

Milwaukee

Edmund T. Melms, secretary of the Socialist Party of Milwaukee, announces arrangements for Miss Jessie Stephen's Milwaukee dates. A dinner in Miss Stephen's honor will be given at 6:30, Sunday, March 6, at the Globe Hotel, Wisconsin and Cass streets. A ure to do proper work in advertising Committee of the United States Sennumber of prominent Socialists will Esther Friedman's meetings and have ate, will be the speaker, his subject to be present who are interested in the arranged four meetings for Thursdays be announced later.

British labor movement, both industrially and politically.

Miss Jessie Stephen will speak in Racine on March 9 at 8 o'clock in Union Hall, on Wisconsin street, be-tween 4th and 5th streets,

Missouri

Kansas City A meeting for Miss Jessie Stepher

will be held in the Open Forum Hall, 1218 East 12th street, at 8 o'clock, Friday, March 11. St. Louis

The Labor Publishing Company, of St. Louis, will hold a Good Luck Ba zaar, Concert and Ball at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets, Saturday, March 12. Doors open at 7 o'clock, concert at 8. Miss Jessie

New England

Lesture Tours

Esther Friedman's meetings have proved unusually successful everywhere except in Boston, where the also appear before the committee comrades failed to do as much they should. The gratifying feature of the tour was the co-operation given by the Workmen's Circle in many

laces outside of Boston. Alfred Baker Lewis is arranging a tour of the state between March 20 and April 16. Any branches that want a meeting are urged to write at once to the State Office. 21 Essex street. His subjects are as follows:

1. "Industrial Democracy;" 2. "Is America a Democracy?" -3. American Imperialism;" 4. "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance;" 5. Is Cap-Lower Prices Both;" 7. Are Socialists Disloyal?"

Boston Yipsels

The Young People's Socialist League has arranged an essay contest to in-crease the educational activities of the Yipsels. Any young comrade between the ages of 16 and 26 can become eligible by joining the Y. P. S. L., either through the branch is his district or through the district office at 21 Essex street, Boston.

Essays must be from 1,000 to 5,000 words in length on some subject con- during March. On March 6, Dean R. nected with the Socialist or Labor movement. The contest will close on May 14; \$50 worth of prizes have been On March 17, St. Patrick's Day, Prof.

THE EVENT OF THE YEAR

COMMUNE CELEBRATION

REUNION AND BALL

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 18

AT THE

CENTRAL OPERA HOUSE

68th Street and Third Avenue

ENTERTAINMENT

CONCERT

DANCE

Under the Joint Auspices of the City Com-

mittee, Socialist Party, the Rand School and

The New Leader

ADMISSION \$1.00

Tickets on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street;

The Forward, 175 East Broadway, and at all Socialist

Party Headquarters in Greater New York

Come and Bring Your Friends

On March 3 Paul Jones, speaks on 'American Imperialism;" March 10, Leo M. Harkins on "Some Trade Usion Problems and Remedies;" March 17, Alfred Baker Lewis on "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance;" March 24, McAllister Coleman on "Nationalization of the Coal Mines."

Our Speakers' Training Bureau is Essex street. The subjects for the following Sundays include: "Press and Public Opinion;" "Ethics of Radicalism and Conservatism." and "Getting Rich by Harming Others."

Meetings are open to outsiders, as well as members of the class.

Connecticut

State Executive Meets

The State Executive Committee met at Machinists' Hall, 99 Temple Street New Haven, Sunday, Feb. 26, with most of the members present.

The Party Legislative Committee was instructed to appear at the hearing on the proposed changes of the State Compensation act, before the Judiciary Committee of the State Legislature: to the hearing on the Unemployment Inwork in advertising the meetings as surance bill, which was sponsered by the Socialist Party.

New Haven

The Commonwealth banquet was held Saturday evening, February 26, at the Workmen's Circle Educational and over \$125 was donated to the sustaining fund of "The Commonwealth." A number of Yale students attended and took considerable interest in the speeches delivered by George H. Goepef, Jasper McLevy, Fred Cederhelnn, Nathan Gandehuan, Morris Rice, State Secretary Plunkett and I. Polsky. C. Juisek, State Committeeman from Greenwich, was the toastmaster. musical program preceded the banquet

Norman Thomas spoke at a largely attended memorial meeting Sunday, February 27, at Carpenters' Hall, on memory of deceased members of the

New Haven Ferum

The New Haven Trades Council will hold three large Brown, of the Yale Divinity School, will speak on "Religion and Industry offered, and the first five among the Jerome Davis, also of the Divinity contestants will be in on the money. School, will speak on "Adventuring in School, will speak on "Adventuring in Boston Central Branch
The members of the Boston Central
Branch have been aroused by the fail-

New Jersey

A promising circle of the Young People's Socialist League has been organized in Passaic with the assistance of Ben Goodman, Director of the Yipsels of New York City. Goodman has done commendable work in organizing the Passaic Circle and the party members extend to him their highest and thanks. About twenty boys and girls signed up and an application for a charter has been made Refreshments were served and a musical program was enjoyed at the eting on March 1 which Good-

New York State

The party member and State Execu tive Committee conference, originally convened on February 6, will hold its second session this Saturday evening at the Peoples' House, beginning at 8 o'clock. In the event the conference cannot complete its work an adjourned meeting will be held Sunday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the Yorkville Branch headquarters. Comrades are requested to note these places of meeting and govern themselves accordingly. t was anneunced last week that the conference would reconvene next Sunday, the state secretary deemed it advisable to have a Saturday evening session in order that the conference might have more than one session and

be able to conclude its work. The State Executive Committee will meet at the Yorkville Branch head quarters Sunday morning at 10 o'clock.

New York City

The City Executive Committee will nold its next session on Wednesday evening, March 9, in room 505, People's House, 7 East 15th street at 8:30 p. m.

Berger's Speech

The City Office calls attention of those branches that have not yet taken advantage of the opportunity to use an excellent piece of propaganda matter among the enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers that a considerable quantity of Congressman Berger's recent speech on the Mexican and Nicaraguan situations is still These speeches are enclosed in a franked envelope and all that is required is to write names and addresses thereon. No stamps are branch and every active comrade take street, room 505, at once to obtain whatever quantity may be desired.

Membership Drive

The intensive membership drive will ontinue with energy and vigor up to the beginning of the summer. Secretary Claessens began the drive at Comrade Viadeck's Forum last Sunday morning. Quite a number of new applications were obtained. On March 20 another drive will be made at the same forum with the co-operation of Vladeck.

An enrolled voters' meeting was held last Monday night in the Harlem territory and a splendid group of re-cruits were added to our membership. Comrade Panken addressed the meeting in his usual effective vein and made a fine impression.

The next meeting of enrolled veters will be held in the rather difficult territory of the upper West Side in the 7th, 9th and 11th Assembly Districts. Enrolled Socialist voters of hese districts will be called to the meeting on Tuesday evening, March in the Leslie Hall, 260 West \$3d street. Judge Panken and August Claessens will address this meeting. 14th and 16th Assembly Districts at William Karlin and August Claessens. In the near future enrolled voters' meetings will be held in the 23rd As-

Plans are now being effected for a nuge membership drive on the whole East Side, taking in the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th and 8th Assembly Districts. It East Side, taking ...

6th and 8th Assembly Districts. It will commence at the Judge Panken Forum Sunday morning. March 6, when Panken and Claessens will officially open the campaign. The goal is not less than 200 new members before May 1, and the prospects are form May 1, and the prospects are

sembly District, Kings county, and in

two districts in the Bronx.

The Russian Branch had a reorganization meeting last week and is planning an intensive drive for membership among Russian-speaking Socialists. They have also arranged for a celebration of the Russian revolution at the Rand School Sunday afternoon. March 13, at 2 p. m. Details as to this meeting, speakers, etc., will be made public later.

Manhattan

Some Big Events

The 6th, 8th, and 12th Assembly District Branch met last Sunday efter-

ing forum with Judge Panken and are now planning the following big events:
(1) An intensive membership drive: (2) a testimonial dinner to Comrade judge of the Municipal Court; (3) the chase of a clubhouse in the district. The details will be made public they hope to re-elect their Municipal Court judge and land Norman Thomas in the Aldermanic chamber. Coincident with their work will be the membership drives in the lower East Side.

A Socialist enrolled voters' meeting will be held at the Rand School, ? East 15th street, on Monday, March 14. The speakers will be Jessie Wallace Hughan and August Claessens. Yorkville Branch

A number of interesting ventures are sing carried into effect by this branch which has been somewhat dormant for some time. Beginning Sunday evening, a series of lectures will be given. Speakers and topics are as follows: Sunday, March 6, August Claessens "The Measure of Social Progress" Sunday, March 13, William Karlin Problems of Organized Labor"; Sun day, March 20, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Will Socialists Support the War?" Sunday, March 27, Jessie Stephen, "You Americans"; Sunday April 3, Eather Friedman, "The Wast ing of Wealth"; Sunday, April 10, Samuel E. Beardsley, "The Turn of Events in the Labor Movement."

On Thursday evening, March 10, the 16th Assembly Districts will be called for a meeting in the headquarters and will be addressed by William Karlin and August Claessens

Upper West Side

This branch, embracing the large erritory of the 7th-9th-11th-13th Assembly Districts, is also engaged in membership drive. The enrolled Secialist voters of this territory will be called to a meeting in Leslie Hall, 260 West 83d street, for a meeting at which Comrades Panken and Claessens will speak. Immediately after this branch gets into working order efforts will be made to reorganize and strengthen branch in Washington Heights. Watch

Bronx

Central Branch

The series of Menday night lectures. with Esther Friedman as the speaker, is showing fair progress. The membership will now be engaged in an organization drive in various parts of that territory. Details of the meetings will be announced in the next issue of The New Leader.

Branch 7

The Forum of this branch is the nost gratifying undertaking in the Bronx. With the exception of Dr. Bronx. essary. It is important that every Land's Forum, the Bronk Free Fellowadvantage of this offer and get in touch with the City Office, 7 East 15th amount of Socialist propaganda, the Debating Team ship, which is not held under Socialist Forum of Branch 7 is the best. The program for the conting weeks at the Tremont Forum contains the following interesting list of speakers and lec-

Friday, March 4, Prof. J. Osman "Changing Human Rehavior March 11, Prof. Jos. Osman, "Psychology and Crime"; Friday, March 18, city office. Juniors and seniors are in-Louis Waldman, "Censorship in Lit-vited. No fee. erature and the Drama"; Friday March 25. Joseph Shaplen, "Prospects of Socialism in the United States"; Friday, April 1, Alain Locke, "The Negro of Today." Morris Hillquit has consented to deliver a lecture some time in April.

Plans are also being perfected for more enrolled Socialist voters' meetings in the territory of the 2d-7th-8th Assembly Districts.

Brooklyn

2d A. D.

New members are being added weekly to the membership of this rapidly growing branch, and the drive On Thursday evening, March 10, an- for funds for the new building is musical program is being arranged

Queens

for this concert. Details will be an-

ced shortly.

Yipseldom

Edmond Siedel, former Socialist State Senator, will speak Saturday complete financial accounting. Juniors evening. March 5, to the membership entitled to vote in the city elections and visitors of Circle 7. Manhattan. will not be permitted to vete until The subject is "Open Mindedness." such accounting is made. Every This short, but constructive, talk will begin premptly at 8:15 at 204 East Breadway. Those desiring to spend has reported. an enjoyable evening are invited.

Alice Cohen, organizer of Circle 2. Brooklyn, writes that Circle 2 has just commencing March 12. However, the completed a very successful month's Junior Central Committee meeting ecwork. Two lectures were delivered, curs on a Saturday night; the Midget one by August Claessens on "Patriot- Juniors will meet on Sunday afternoon in the home of Norman Thomas. one by August Classeens en "Fatriot- Juniors will meet on Sunday after-It was a very spirited gathering, full ism" and the other by Meyer Glass noon. The circle has organized a of enthusiasm and eagerness to acon "New Tendencies in Socialism." punchball team and issues a challenge
complish a number of big things. The
members are more than happy for the
measured by the considerable increase
spendid according to the league to a game. The circle meets at

Helping the Good Work Along

geles. Through his efforts more than thirty yearly cards were sold and a bundle of ten copies will go weekly for one year to the Central Branch of the party in Los Angeles. As soon as he learned of our special subscription offer of ten yearlies for \$10 he was quick to avail himself and placed an order for ten. California is a State where Socialist publications and literature are widely circulated and as Socialist organization show up well.

Our special offer of ten yearly subscription cards for new readers for \$10 is still open and, while it was intended primarily for Socialist organizations viduals. This special offer has been hoped that our many friends, who feel reached here. Sorry to have delayed that The New Leader deserves a bigger circulation, will take advantage of away prospecting and hunting for this special opportunity by purchasing ten cards. While the offer may be not care to make any profit on the purchase of the cards, to sell yearly subscriptions at \$1 each. The New Leader does not make anything on this offer, but it is willing to continue it the continue it the continue it is subscriptions. so that our boosters and party or the work of gaining new readers.

There are more Socialist lecture scriptions. This branch, by the forums, meetings and other party ac-tivities going on now than has been members to give them a three months" seen for a long time. It is the best subscription to The New Leader. The we have all been looking for is surely retain the interest of new members coming. Along with such activities and to properly equip them for future must come a wider circulation for The work in the party is to see to it that New Leader. At every lecture forum, every new member reads a party or-meeting, etc., efforts should be made san. If other party organizations. to introduce the paper by calling at-tention to it or through the sale of single copies or the distribution of free nently in the organization and the copies. It is only to the extent that difficult problem how to retain the new this is done that the real results of members would be selved. the activities can be measured. See to that at every lecture or meeting conducted by your organization

membership. At last week's meeting. with no lecture scheduled, 65 members and visitors were present and a few were turned away because there ne room for them. She adds that "a larger room will be used for the next circle meeting, room 401," and promises those who attend that they will at least have standing room. The city office suggests that in case 401 is too small arrangements can be made

Efforts will be made by the city of- and two new yearly subscriptions for fice for the organization of a crack \$4 has brought very good results. debating team. In order that we may Many of our readers are taking advan-have the opportunity to show our tage of it, prompted net by the desire to become fire-eating or-a-tors. Those culation. Here is a list of some of desiring to join communicate with the our friends who have done so this

Baseball

Swring fever has affacked the city office. How many of you are willing to begin training for spring's athletic work? This year we must have a league baseball team with uniforms. We must show other organizations junior and senior league get in touch with the office if desiring to take part.

The girls may also write on this matter. If we have enough we will park, N. J. organize a girls' baseball team. However, we do not promise uniforms for the girls.

Circle Audits

those circles not submitting a financial and membership auditing will not On Thursday evening, March 10, anmaking considerable progress. A cenbet permitted to take part in the
making considerable progress. A cencert has been arranged in the Brownscert has been arranged in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum for Friday evenot receive any supplies until such ning. April 1, for the benefit of the additing is made to the headquarters of that branch. 241

East 84th street. The speakers will be Lyceum at 426 Hinsdale street. A fine ter seriously, because it will mean ning. April 1, for the benefit of the auditing is made. Financial secreter seriously, because it will mean their circle's less

Circle 6 of Harlem will meet this Friday night at 8 o'clock sharp. After 25 minutes of business the rest of the time will be deveted to educational work. A debate has been arranged between Julius Umansky and Joseph Paltchik. The subject will be "So-cialism versus Communism." Umansky presenting Secialism, while Paltchik will uphold Communism. Eli Cohen will be chairman. All comrades are

Juniors are notified that dues, cards, stamps, charters, charter applications, report cards and application cards are now ready at the city office. The supplies will be given to the Junior Circles at a nominal sum, but not until the Financial Secretary of the circle comes to the city office with books to junior should immediately find out whether or not his Financial Secretary

Circle 9

Circle 9, Midget Juniors, will hold their meetings on Saturday evenings. plendid success of their Sunday morn- in attendance and an added circle 1836 Lincoln place, Brooklyn.

trict. The details will be made public from time to time. It should be said, however, that the membership is determined to go over the top on every undertaking and to be in the best possible trim for the campaign, in which

The women's committee of the Rand

School undertook last spring to raise funds for the school by means of sell-Thanks to their work, a large number of new readers have been secured. Recently the committee has resugned its activities and we look forward as a result the Socialist vote and the readers. This week they added three new subscribers to their credit, with more to come.

From Alaska we have received the primarily for Socialist organizations following letter: "With my renewal I enclose also four new subscriptions, viduals." This appeals offer her bear each of the new subscribers having in extended to April 1, and it is to be the past borrowed my copy when it

withdrawn after April 1, the cards come here and in the past your copy purchased on this offer are good until was read by five of us. Now that five Branches and individuals copies will come here, we will pass them have thus the opportunity, if they do around and we hope to get you some

Branch 1 of the Socialist Party, Newark, N. J., sends three new subevidence that the Socialist revival that members realize that the best way to

> W. T. De Coster of Mankato, Minn., allowed his subscription to expire without renewing. He rewards our confidence in continuing his subscription by renewing, this time for three years in advance.

J. P. Beatty of Surry, Va., orders two copies for one year, as he wants the extra copy to be given away to prospective new readers, and hopes that in this way he may eventually add a few new subscribers to our list

Our special offer to accept a renewal ability, a Yipsel debating society will to secure their own renewal free, but be organized shortly to train Yipsels by the opportunity to increase our cirweek: Alice McFaddin, Tucson, Ariz.; Mrs. Solomon Fillin, New York: J. G. Friedman, Bronx; W. S. Hutchine Greenfield, Mass.; S. Shimkechi, New York: Dr. J. M. James, Bronx: Prosner stadt, Baltimore; Elizabeth Donovan, North Brookfield, Mass.; Norton Brown, Carteret, N. J.; M. Hochen, that we can beat them on their own Brooklyn; Henry Schinnagel, Brook-ground. Let those comrades in the lyn: Fred Johnson, Fargo, N. D.: Edwin Whitmarsh, New Bedford, Mass.; Leo Missievicz, Mount Carmel, Pa .; Charlotte Bohlin, Ridgefield

That some of our readers have not allowed our appeals for help to go unheeded is evidenced by the number Some circles have not reported on the Circle auditing. Remember, that Among those who have been Fund. heard from this week were: Axel Wiheard from this week were: Ale wiberg, Montclair, N. J.; Mrs. A. Herstein, Brooklyn; John C. Lawsoir,
Websterville, Vt.; J. H. Sanders,
Jamestewn, O., and P. Schatter, Los Angeles, Cal.

> A. C. Ebby. Columbus. O., writes: "Enclosed find check for renewal of my subscription for another year. I would do more, but cannot at this time people, so that they may know the way ut when they chance to awaken from their lethargy, selfishness and mental laziness.

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.

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THE NEW LEADER

Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 18TH STREET New York City

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES United States To Foreign Countries

SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1927

"COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP"

DEALIZING the process by which you come into possession of others' valuables is a special art in this country. Taking over the goods of other people and giving it an ethical justification does not apply to the gambler who plays with marked cards. He is considered vulgar. Moreover, he is a piker because of the small stakes that lure him. It is the big oligarchs of "business" who are glorified.

A circular of the George Batten Company, Inc., bearing the caption "Who Owns Gen-eral Motors?" is about the cleverest thing we have seen. It observes that community ownership as against individual or family ownership is a "rapidly developing fact in this coun-This does not mean that we "snatch a business from the hands of its founders or owners. . . . and declare it common property." Not at all. What happens is that a group of silk hats appear on the scene. Batten tells us what follows:

"Usually the process begins when a group of gentlemen known as investment bankers make a visit to the individuals, the founders, or the family that owns a business. Shortly after, the original owners find themselves possessed of incredibly large sums of money in addition to a continuing substantial ownership in the business that was once all their

That is one way, but purchase of plants by the silk hats is not always followed by a "substantial ownership" by the former pro-prietors. Quite often the silk hats obtain possession by driving "founders and owners' into bankruptcy. Batten continues:

"Certain advertisements appear on the financial pages of the newspapers, certain new faces appear around the old plant, and it is realized that this automobile shop or this steel mill or this bakery or this candy kitchen now belongs in a certain measure to the public Consumers may, if they choose, invest their surplus money in the common or preferred stocks of the very business from which they buy electric power, tea, tires, stockings or roofing. This is community ownership-restricted, it is true, to an investing class; but community ownership advantageous to the community because of the definite advantages it brings to the producing industry."

Isn't that idyllic? The silk hats come into possession of the property and just to keep us contented with the dominion of the great masters we are permitted to add a few dollars to their millions. Thus we get "community ownership." What more can we ask, any-

THE OIL FRAUDS

FTER years of litigation the Supreme Court of the United States has nullified the oil contracts and leases obtained by Edward L. Doheny with the aid of Secretary of the Interior Albert B. former Fall, declaring that the transactions were "brought about by means of collusion and corrupt conspiracy between him and Doheny." The decision is a unanimous one. Doheny loses \$12,000,000 he spent and is required to make good all depletions. By this decision yeggs are compelled to give up their loot, but it should not be forgotten that a jury has also acquitted them on a criminal charge. Guilty before the Supreme Court, but not before the jury. The result is, surrender the loot, gentlemen, but no jail yawns for you.

This case is of more than ordinary interest considering our strained relations with Mex-American investments in Mexican ico over ofl. The Doheny crowd obtained some rich concessions under the old Diaz regime and these interests are among the most uncompromising of those opposed to having their titles inspected. Many other foreign companies have registered and have had their titles confirmed.

Now this same crowd that opposes any investigation of oil titles in Mexico finds its conspicuous representative, Doheny, compelled to surrender oil lands obtained in United States by fraud. Is it not reasonable to assume that gentlemen who will swindle their own government are likely to pos-sess some fraudulent titles in Mexico? Should not Mexico have the same right to inspect all titles and nullify them if any of them prove to be spawned in fraud?

Our State Department has objected to inection of Mexican titles. It assumes that they are sacred. Would it not be a disgraceful thing if the people of this country were called upon to wage war to protect American investments in Mexico, including those obtained by the Doheny interests, who today stand in the pillory by virtue of a decision of the Supreme Court?

CELEBRATION OF COMMUNE

UR readers in Greater New York and vicinity are urged to make a note of March 18, as that is an important date for all friends of The New Leader, the Rand School of Social Science and Local New York of the Socialist Party. This is the date of the Commune celebration, reunion and ball, its sponsors have every expectation of making it the most notable affair of the year.

The anniversary of the Paris Commune has occasion for a reunion of always been the Socialists and their friends in all countries. That tragic episode in working class history has been an inspiration to workingmen and women of all countries because of the heroism of its martyrs and the idealism of the Paris masses. The cowardice of the French ruling cliques, their ferocity in suppressing the Commune, the hideous slaughter of thousands of prisoners, and the exiles to New Caledonia, are phases of this period that will never be forgotten by the awakened workers of all

No better anniversary could be chosen for The New Leader, the Rand School and the Party to celebrate. At the Central Opera House Friday evening, March 18, we expect a great reunion that will be memorable to all our friends. The New Leader advises all sympathetic organizations and institutions to make no conflicting dates and to co-operate in making the celebration a notable one. The admission fee is a small one and the program is sufficiently varied to be interesting to all.

Remember the Commune celebration and for details see the advertisement on another

THE COOLIDGE VETO

RESIDENT COOLIDGE read a long lecture on economics and constitutional law to the bankrupt farmers of the West in vetoing the McNary-Haugen bill. He would not support a tax "for the special benefit of particular groups," for this "repre-sents the most vicious form of taxation." He obtained inspiration for this veto message by first issuing a proclamation increasing the duty on pig iron 50 per cent. Secretary of the Treasury Mellon's iron crontes of western Pennsylvania must have enjoyed the veto message as much as they did the 50 per cent. handed to them, for as a "particular group they will be able to buy a few more vachts and place a tidy sum in the Pittsburgh banks.

We are doubtful of the value to the farmers of the bill vetoed by President Coolidge, but his passing of a tariff bonus to the owners of blast furnaces and then lecturing the farmers about the sin of legislation "for the special benefit of particular groups" is a performance that staggers us. We have often thought that it would be of immense value for science to devise some method of ascertaining how many conflicting ideas can be sheltered in the same head without any harm to its possessor, President Coolidge would provide an interesting experiment.

It would also be interesting to try such an experiment on the thousands of capitalists and bankers who urged the veto and then complimented Coolidge for having the "courto write it. With large gobs of tariff honey dripping from their lips, they object to passing a little jam to the bankrupt farmers.

Well, the upper sections of our industrial and financial nobility are in the saddle and they can afford the luxury of addled thinking. It at least pays good dividends, and they are realizing on their investments in the Republican Party in 1924.

"PROSPERITY"

ROM Massachusetts comes a story which President Coolidge. It comes from the homeland of Coolidge and Butler and throws some light on the prosperity which has been the theme of so many Presidential speeches and messages.

In the city of Maynard many of the working population are dependent upon the Assabet mills of the American Woolen Company. "Pallid little girls without warm underwear and stockings," reads the news dispatches, which continue: "Boys in sneakers walking through the snow to school. Fathers and mothers, hungry and in threadbare clothing.

hoping against hope, pale and despondent Many families, consisting of the parents and seven or eight children, are trying to live on five dollars per week. It is reported that 200 children are in need of food and clothing. The Superintendent of Schools describes the conditions as "terrible" and adds that the Assabet mills "have been closed days at a time. The 600 or more mill workers get only a day's work now and then."

It is a harrowing tale of distress which comes from the heart of the region blessed by the holy tariff which constitutes a part of the religion of Coolidge. We would like to hear from Cal about this. In 1913 Woodrow Wilson explained similar industrial distress by asserting that it was not real, but a "psycological situation." How bout it, Mr. Cool-How 'bout it, Mr. Coolidge? Are the shivering and hungry men, women and children of Maynard, afflicted with a mental disorder, or is your "protection" of industry the exclusive concern of the owning

OLVANY'S PROXY

NDER the caption of "The Wise Man of Gotham" the morning World ventures farther in its criticism of Olyany's boy Mayor, Hon. James J. Walker. The World was anxious to rid the city of the simpleton who preceded Walker and looked forward to a golden age with Walker as proxy for Ol-The World is now disillusioned.

Our Park Row neighbor observes that when Walker "tackles some homely problem, like the one which arose in connection with the deck-hand who fell off a municipal ferryboat, he can go to the nub of the issue more quickly than any man who has held forth in these parts a long time." Then follows a quotation from Walker on this incident which some vaudeville artist could use to good advantage.

'Beautiful stuff," is the ironical observation of the World. Just as beautiful, we might add, as the World's sditorials in behalf of Walker in 1925.

The News of the Week

that the Espionage Act requires for problems' approved by the head of sons, their radicalism is so "pink" that its revival only the proclamation by the state. Il Messaggero, in normal at the convention of the Communist the President of an "emergency." times a fairly sensible Roman news-After that, newspapers and citizens paper, bewalls the failure of the for-denounced as "reformers" and cenmust cease to think independently of eign press properly to appreciate the sured in a resolution, the repercusthe Administration's course or invite feats of Italians, such as De Pinedo's sions of which nearly caused a split course towards Mexico and, as the something to laugh about just before munist party alone, but by a combina-"World" puts it, the Administration the beginning of Lent, puts an extra tion with the Labor party. But any has shown that "it cannot be trusted kick into his periodical denunciation excuse will do for Ibanes. to suppy the American people with un-of modern woman's dress. Then, for biased and reliable information." The good measure, the Vatican newspaper Senate Foreign Relations Committee couples Mussolini and our own Cool-has turned down Senator Borah's pro-idge as "two statesmen who above all posal to visit Mexico and Nicaragua to others understand the supreme im-Act of 1799, which forbids citizens to justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. nicate with foreign governments in relation to disputes. The answer is tentiary will be filled with the heads Exiles Foes

the following: Mussolini's hand- his victims. Of course, General Ibanez, the policy of the party.

Opera Americanisms

issmus is that there American opera. It has been

written by two Americans, financed by American gold,

given an American debut in an American metrop-

olis, before a presumably American first night audi-

ence. But by a strange twist of either temperament

or logic, the title and the story of the opera is 100

Therefore we call upon the American Legion, the

Ky Kluxers and the White House to ride the whole

cast, the directors and the authors out of town-Feathers and tar, rails and other such distinctly

American methods of dealing with alien plotters are

Hereby suggested as proper accompaniment.

Ain't there enough beautiful material in our own

grand and glorious history to form the basis of a libretto and title? Must we always kow-tow to them

What's the matter with the romance of the Ford car, the battle of San Juan Hill, the first Mexican

war, or the Peaches-Browning, Rhinelander, Hall-

And even at this late date, why wouldn't the Do-

heny, Sinclair, Fall, Teapot Dome episode make an

own inimitable talents toward that end. We ask only

the collaboration of Irving Berlin, George Gershwin,

or any capable trombone player to blurt out a few

ing libretto excerpt from our impending magnus opus, without reserving radio or even movie rights. For instance, here follows part of the prologue as sung

our opera appears. We throw out the follow

per cent. British.

foreigners for inspiration?

Mills galaxy of human emoting?

by the bass voice-Mr. Doheny:

....and as long as you have dough,

There isn't much to know

There is oil in Navy fields.

Are the trinkets I exchange

Gushing out in luscious yields.

in a bargain doubly strange,

Oil is oil and dough is dough

And there isn't much to know

But should you steal instead

Just a loaf of crusty bread

Lurked a nation mad and sore,

Till it made their envy boil

Who watched our Navy oil

And so to save the juice

looked and found a man, Who was pure American, And to his trusty care

Oh, the oil was rich with gas.

And so pure American— That we're selling it in barrels,

And what we can't we can....

I quickly sold it.

On a foreign shore

ideal poem for our future opera-goers.

Bottom

Of penal codes or statutory crime. Laws are mode for starving rubes,

Petty thieves and righteous boobs,

And radicals too smart to suit our time

And so a hundred grand within a bag

While I sing "America" and wave the flag

Chorus-Sung by one hundred million Americans....

Of law if you can grease your jolly way;

You're just a bit too vicious for this play....

And then there is interspersed among the high

lyric scenes of lawyers and witnesses and experts

and military whitewashers who pave the way to our

and Doheny in duet (the plot showing how both had

done the little sin with their own hatchets for "Old

That was lying around so loose. While foreigners so madly planned to hold it:

Glory"), a part of which is hereby revealed:

heroes' acquittal such delicious love themes as Fall

The sorrowfullest slap at 100 per cent. American-

can mining laws, which soon become for the last thirty years are eligible, thetic process of producing fertilis

As we go to picked Italian Academy, about to be who has a long and bad record of anti-Mexican Issue press the Mexican officially announced, is going to wipe labor activity, "justifies" his procedure

Now a Mystery situation becomes out Bohemianism and make a nation by declaring that it is necessary in a deep mystery, of 100 percent Babbitts out of the order to "wipe out Bolshevism" and The old Congress has expired and a ordinarily happy sons of Italy, incl- keep the agitators from planting the note has been sent to Mexico, the dentally waging bitter war upon all non-red flag on the Chilean White House. contents of which are shrouded in Italian art, including American movies. But the real reason is the desperate deep mystery. It is affirmed that it Then the Italian Heraldic College creeconomic situation of Chile. Her nihas no reference to oil, but it is surates a "new nobility of good conduct," trate exports are being rapidly reduced mised that it may refer to the Mexi- to which all families with good records through the improvement of the synoperative. Ambassador Telles, who Of course, no anti-Fascist could pos-was on his way to Mexico City, has sibly qualify for this "distinction." are clamoring for the suppression of been ordered to return to his post at Furthermore, Rinaldo Rigola and some all organizations defending the inter-Washington. Whether all this is prepa- of the other ex-labor leaders who ests of the workers, thousands of ration for some act against Mexico signed the "toleration" manifesto re- whom are idle and practically starving. while Congress is adjourned, as many pudlated by Ludovico D'Aragona meet While there are seven so-called Comprosecution. No less than four "ex- trans-Atlantic flight. And Pope Plus in the party. These Deputies and planations" have been given of its himself, perhaps, to give the world Senators were not elected by the Com-

personally investigate, but it is likely portance of spiritual things." Tory in China has not occurred as this is that a number will unofficially make England calls Soviet Russia some hard written, although it is evident that it the investigation on their own account. names, which are returned in kind. will not be long delayed. The Nation-Borah's cable to President Calles for Paris police make a great display of alists are not only effectively organ-information and his reply thereto "protecting" the American Ambassa- ized, but the troops are inspired with Trotsky, Plechanov, Serrati—such are brought the suggestion that Borah dor from a visit of French Parliathe ideal of an independent Chinabut a scattering of radicals whose
could be prosecuted under the Logan mentarians protesting against delayed. The northern forces are controlled by military adventurers who lead mercenaries and unthinking soldiers unin-General Carlos spired by any ideal. For this reason ary propagandist. These men interest, made that in this event Atlanta peni- Chile's Despot tentiary will be filled with the heads Exiles Forms. The first something pale and insipld, of newspapers, press associations, many bankers and corporation mag- in the interest of foreign capital and Our own General Smedley D. Butler something colorful and alcrt, exciting nates. Greetings to our readers. We native exploiters, very appropriately is on his way to China and five Ameriand electrifying about the latter. may wear a muzzle before our next issue appears.

See a proper a control of the c Europe Plays the news from States Government in Ibero America any undue incidents, although they have announced a cut of 10 percent from by the way in which he is suppressing Tso-lin," who controls Peking. A control of the ways of the ways of the ways of the news from the odinineering policy of the United States Government in Ibero America any undue incidents, although they minerous. Our historians are still fewer. Our philosophic theoreticians and voicing great joy at the recent were the biggest in the history of the conclusion of the Italo-Chilean treaty, city. The paraders shouted "Down are not even a handful. The satiric where the Saar Valley mine owners from his friend, Mussolini, is evidenced military leader, and "Down with Chang achieved by the liberals and not by the way in which he is suppressing Tso-lin," who controls Peking. A March 16, and wholesale arrests of opposition papers. Communist and serious dissension within the Koumin-greeting the American situation with-"Communist plotters" in Hungary and Liberal, rushing his opponents out of tang, the Republican revolutionary out acquiescence is the satiric. An-Roumania, where the national dicta- the country, either over the border or party of the Cantonese, appears to other is the evasive. The evasive is toos are evidently planning some new to the Chilean "Siberia" on Easter have been settled for the present. The typified by the emphasis upon psychoropressions of what remnants of Island, 2,000 miles from home, and factional trouble seems to have grown analysis instead of upon social backliberty remain, laughter outstrips in- even damning the courts for daring to out of the ascendancy of Russian Com-dignation when we read such news as try to stay the deportation of some of munists, who have endeavored to shape -:- THE CHATTER BOX -:-

Critical Cruisings By V. F. Calverton-Beautiful America

HERE are a number of ways of greeting the American situation without acquiescence. The acquiescents; the Mary Pickfords, Hamlin Garlands, Cal Coolidges, Bishop Mannings, Booth Tarkingtons, Edgar Guests, Kelloggs and Guggenheims, interest little except as manifestations of an influence that is in control, but have feared, only the next few weeks in Rome and solemily lay the base munists in the Chilean Parliament, all which is without that moving intelli-will reveal. It should not be forgotten for "an association for study of labor of whom are among the arrested perthat penetrating vision which we call profound and philosophic. In simple, they are conservative Americans:

Recalcitrants and radicals always captivate if not always convince. From the early struggles in primitive times, through the strikes of the Jewish bricklayers and Roman musicians, the Spartacan revolt, and the peasant insurrections, the radical leaders in-China Awaits battle between variably attract the pen of historian Vital Struggle the northern and and biographer. Huss Muenzer, Joss southern forces Fritz, Wat Tyler, Cromwell, Jefferson Paine, Danton, Babeuf, Godwin, Marx, Bakunin, Blanqui, Smith, Parker, Pujol, names are inevitably remembered both

> In approaching the American situation, the radical attack has been painfully incomprehensive. We have few ground as a motif. Another is the aristocratic. This is to be discovered in the aloofness of the passionless scientist, the student of mob-psychology, for instance, who achieves his objectivity by examining the behavior of crowds from the windows of his school-room, or the seclusion of his study. Another, to be sure, is the esthetic, exemplified by the esthete who finds his solution in contemplation of universal beauty that enchants a microscopical scattering of dilettantes and oddists.

> Robert Littell's "Read America First" (Harcourt, Brace Co. \$2.50) is one of the latest expressions of the satiric attack. As light and flippant as is its style, as trivial as are its themes, "Read America First" is as definite and in many ways as sharp an assault upon American acquiescence as is "The Golden Day" of Lewis Mumford, which is a psychological and sociological dissection of the same material. Mr. Littell is a quick-witted, gay satirist. Without radical conviction or insight. he never satirizes the deep, underlying contradictions of our economic civilization. As analyist of its foibles and absurdities, however, Mr. Littell is an expert master.

In his essay 'Learn While You Sleep," he has satirized American education and American intelligence, in distinctly subtle and striking fashion:

That's all you need, high lee, high low....

Again we call upon the Metropolitan Opera Company, the press and the Kiwanis to oust these subtle British propagandists who are responsible for the "King's Henchman." And let them partake of what others high in the land have taken so freely and with such profitable result-our own 100 per cent. American offering-"The Little Black Bag."

And now that this is over, and also the original hulabaloo from the press over the debut of "The King's Henchman," allow us to offer a terse opinion on it both as music and literature. Both Mr. Taylor and the lady of the rythmic name have given their rich patrons their money's worth, and the rest is hokum. The libretto is a mechanical, strained and, at times, even inept procedure, showing the full strain of having been composed under duress of contract and time-table. Edna Millay is too genuine a poet to have done any better under the crass and mmercial circumstance. The music is neither Bee thoven, Mozart, Gershwin or Deems Taylor. Mr. Taylor is too splendid a composer of melodious lyrics to have done any more under the terms of the deal. Their combined work will live only as another warning to monied fools that art in its permanent classic perfection cannot be ordered like a dinner at the Ritz-Carlton or a special body for a new Rolls Royce chassis. We are glad that both a poet and a musician were the material profiteers in the transaction. We have no objection at all to their writing another such opera to order, and we hope at highly increased rates. Both Miss Millay and Mr. Deem: Taylor can well use the money so earned from prac ticing as practical opera architects, for the leisure necessary to bring out from within them the poetry and melody that is really their own, and to which the ages will be the happy heirs. As for the "King's Henchman," the poor fellow will hardly survive even Marion Talley for all of the Americanism. Some day, and perhaps soon, a genuine thing will sprout from our seil. But all the Metropolitan Opera Company grandees and all their dough bags will have little or nothing at all to do with its birth. Thank God that

dramatic aria, from the tenor at the close of the trial, which is addressed to the composite sweetheart of one of the male singers in the opera-the "U. S. A."-and sung perhaps by Mr. Sinclair-Sinclair: America, where would you be

If not for men like Fall and me, Who organize and finance, too, Such daring deeds of derring-do? Who teach your young the godly ways Of dough and whom to pay with it-A little black bag for Teapot Dome, And, what's more, get away with it

And joined by the multitudinous cherus to blares of saxophones from every night club in the States-Get away with it, get away with it, Oh, boy! oh, joy! oh baby mine! Dough, ray dough me, and so fah dough

Etc., etc., etc. Our facile brain is all a-twitter with inspiration. We could write you a complete libretto for five full acts inside of two hours and a village speakeasy. We know of no more genuinely American operatic plot. We know of no subject so near and dear to our nation of tabloid gulpers and New York, New Haven & Hartford widowed stock-

whatever we have in heritage as real art and song was never first written to order.

S. A. de Witt.

ation and American intelligence, ilistinctly subtle and striking fashion

"Taking a jump into the future, we can imagine the life of the average citizen immeasurably enriched by the discovery that knowledge can enter into him, as it were, via the Ostermoor. Within a year or two, nins thirty five will find Mr. John Gutz, of the desk on the consolidated asset an important of the desk on key-wrench merchant at his desk on key-wrench merchant at his desk on the consolidated asset an important of the desk on the consolidated asset an important of the consolidated asset an important of the subtle subtle

In The Higher Alcohol his percepon of the bootlegger reading a book as "the greatest social change of the decade." and his reflection that "art fol-lows the dollar, as trade the flag, as neumonia wet feet," his satire is carcely less effective. In fact, the whole range of his essays from the fleer at Henry Ford, the picture of Golden Rule Nash, the kodakking of fraternalism in "Hop in, Noble" to the descriptions of "Abie's Irish Rose" and The New Spoon River, are all marked by the same sprightliness of style and cleverness of dissection.