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N. Y. Auto Workers Are Busy Organizing Custom, Repair Men

10,000 Workers in the
Industry—Changing
Styles Play Havoc
with Conditions

By Louis S. Stanley

THE consideration that the automobile industry is now receiving in New York City is especially interesting. The great metropolis, to be sure, is not noted as a manufacturing center of cars, as is Detroit, but once automobiles are brought here, then they require a local army to care for and repair them. Besides, the wealthy in this city are not averse to having the bodies of their expensive cars, domestic or foreign, made to order. New York's part in the automobile industry is, therefore, played in the custom and repair field, where employment is provided for perhaps 10,000 workers.

This is the time of the year when the shops begin to get busy again. Those days of spring that escape the showers are glorious and automobiles can do no less than acquire a bright new polish and a re-upholstered interior. Thus until July 4 work in the automobile establishments of Greater New York and vicinity is plentiful. Summer is slack. Then in the fall, until about Christmas, business picks up again.

As may be surmised, early spring is the appropriate time for any unionization drive in the local automobile industry. The unions in the American Federation of Labor do not undertake this work. It does not interest them, first because the individual operation is only significant if taken in connection with the others, and that necessitates common action on the part of all the unions to make organization more effective; and, secondly, it is recognized that the existing union in the industry, although independent of the A. F. of L., is attending to the job.

Isolation Hampers Work
The United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America used to belong to the American Federation of Labor. It was organized in 1891 as the International Union of Carriage

and Wagon Workers and affiliated with the A. F. of L. two years later. With the advent of the automobile the organization in 1910 sought to extend its jurisdiction into the fast-growing industry. It encountered, of course, the jurisdictional claims of various craft unions. At first it appeared that all obstacles would be overcome. An agreement was made in 1911 whereby the members of the various crafts were permitted to join the Carriage and Wagon Workers, which was operated on an industrial basis, or the craft unions, as the men themselves preferred. This arrangement did not function smoothly, so that in 1913 the craft unions concerned, namely, the blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, metal polishers, painters, pattern makers, machinists, carpenters, electrical workers and upholsterers, induced the A. F. of L. convention to order the industrial union to shunt its members into the various craft unions to which they might be eligible to belong. This decision and subsequent ones did not change the situation, however. By 1915 affairs reached such a state that the disobeisant union was expelled from the A. F. of L. Since then, it has carried on under its present name, while the craft unions now free to organize the automobile field, have lost interest in the industry. On the other hand, the isolation of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers has been a factor in hampering its progress.

Two Locals in New York

In New York two locals of the Automobile Workers have covered the territory. No. 49 in Manhattan and what was No. 8 in Brooklyn. The former was organized in 1910 and prospered until it reached a membership of 500. During the war, unlike other unions, it met with reverses. Many members were attracted to better paying occupations in the shipyards and airplane factories, others lost their jobs because government orders had cut automobile production by 25 percent, and, finally, still others were estranged by the war issue.

By the end of 1918 the membership had dropped to a mere ninety-six. Then the task of reorganization began. An organization drive was under-

(Continued on page 6)

GREEN DEMANDS GANGSTERISM END

Communist-Hired Mercenaries Create Reign of Terror Among Fur Workers

THE authorities of New York City must take immediate steps to end the use of gangsters in industrial disputes or face the publication of embarrassing facts concerning the police department now in the possession of the American Federation of Labor. The situation has been brought about by the wholesale use of thugs and gunmen by the deposed Communist Joint Board of Furriers in an attempt to prevent the reorganization of the union ordered by the A. F. of L.

The threat to the city authorities was made by President William Green of the American Federation of Labor in an address before a special meeting of the Central Trades and Labor Council on Monday. In the course of his address, President Green gave further data, including names and specific amounts, concerning graft the Communists who led the fur strike last year say they gave the police.

Despite the use of thugs, thousands of fur workers have responded to the appeal of the A. F. of L. and the International Fur Workers' Union and severed all connections with the dissolved Communist local unions. In the last week, the Communists have thrown scores of gunmen into the fur district in an effort to intimidate those who are signing up with the international union. The reign of terror has reached a stage where President Green found it necessary personally to intervene.

Two weeks ago President Green turned over to Mayor Walker evidence the Communists had given to an A. F. of L. investigating committee in which they admitted bribing the police. At the meeting, it is understood, the Mayor promised to take immediate steps to end gangsterism in the fur district and also to prosecute police and others who may be involved. The implication of President Green's address to the Central Trades Council is that gangsterism still continues, despite the Mayor's assurances.

"Is there civil government in New York?" asked President Green in the course of his address, after telling of gangster attacks on non-Communist furriers. "Can unionists be protected from underworld characters? We will try and find out if they can. If the American Federation of Labor is driven out of New York by gangsters and gunmen, we'll go. But if we go, we'll tell the world that civil government has broken down in New York City."

Taking up the specific denial of Ben Gold, Communist manager of the Joint Board of Furriers, that the charges of police bribery in the fur strike were "a clumsy frame-up," Mr. Green read verbatim extracts from the testimony of Gold, Secretary Morris Cohen and President I. Shapiro of the Joint Board concerning alleged payments to the police. Their testimony is now in the hands of Mayor Walker.

According to Shapiro's testimony as (Continued on page 3)

Capture of Shanghai Forces Issue Between China and Imperialism

Pennsylvania Coal Operators Recruiting
Army of Mercenaries to Fight Strike

Pittsburgh.—Coal mine operators in this district who have been producing on an open-shop basis are recruiting an army of armed thugs, with a view to the coming strike. The Pittsburgh Coal Company has employed sixty extra police, increasing the number of these guards to over 160. Other companies have also increased their private police force.

United Mine Workers of America have been bringing in organizers from all parts of the country, and apparently will concentrate their efforts on the former union workings which are now operating non-union. The Pittsburgh Coal Company, the Bethlehem Steel Company, the Y. & O. Coal Company and the McClane Mining Company are included among these operators. Open-shop mines here started paying the November, 1917, scale, but advanced wages to above the union scale in November, and have since reduced wages to levels higher than the 1917 scale but lower than the union scale.

Nationalists Prepared
to Negotiate for Return of "Concession"
Seized by Powers

HUGE WAR FLEET
MENACE TO PEACE

Foreign Control of City
Continuous Source of
Unrest—Power Ruthlessly Used

By Edward Levinson

WITH the peaceful taking over of Shanghai by the Nationalist armies of China, the issue between foreign imperialism and the awakened Chinese nation has become one calling for immediate solution. One of the avowed purposes of the Nationalist movement has been the recovery of the territory or "concessions" extorted from her by the foreign powers. The richest of these concessions is Shanghai, "prize city of the Far East." The Nationalists have fallen heir to the outer city of Shanghai, "the native city." They are now at the gates of the "concession" where reside 30,000 aliens and 1,100,000 Chinese.

What will be the future of the "concession"? The answer to this question carries with it the implications of war or peace in China.

There have been plenty of kind words from the powers, the United States and England, in particular, which might lead one to hope that they will no longer insist on withholding the Shanghai "concession" from the Chinese. The British have already set a precedent which would lead to a satisfactory agreement on Shanghai. In the case of Hankow they have surrendered to the Nationalist government the "concession" which they "inherited" from the Germans after the World War. However, there has been no official recognition by the British or by the Cantonese government of the Hankow agreement as a precedent for the Shanghai "concession."

Guns and Kind Words

The British gave what appeared to be further proof of a conciliatory position when they published a memorandum on December 25 of last year, intimating that it was seriously considering the question of acting independently of other powers in arriving at a readjustment of Chinese relations which would recognize the Nationalists as a factor in Chinese affairs. In the face of the then tense situation in Hankow, Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Minister, on January 27 further defined the new British policy. On the subject of "concessions" he said that Britain is ready to "enter into local arrangements with each port relative to the surrender of the concessions, while assuring to the British Community some voice in municipal affairs."

This encouraging change of front on the part of the British foreign office would have instilled great joy in the hearts of those who want an honorable settlement with China, had it not been accompanied by the ominous concentration of a powerful fleet of warships in the Shanghai harbor. Large detachments of British troops, from England and India, have been stationed in Shanghai. This concentration seemed to the Chinese to speak louder than the oral pledges of Mr. Chamberlain. For a time the conference over the disposition of Hankow was endangered. The intervention of the British labor movement brought about a continuance of the negotiations.

Meanwhile, the United States Government was following in the footsteps, practically, of Great Britain. The United States also despatched kind words and battleships to the Chinese. Secretary Kellogg made a definite proposal about Shanghai, however. He suggested that the city of 30,000 foreigners and 1,100,000 Chinese be "internationalized."

The Cantonese Program

Thus there is the anomalous situation of the foreign powers promising to recognize the new status of the Chinese nation, at the same time concentrating a huge naval and military force as though it were dealing with a China of decades ago. There are more than 20,000 troops, American, British, Chinese, French, in Shanghai today. In the harbor are anchored some 80 warships. The dove of peace perched on the gun of a battleship!

What do the Cantonese propose to (Continued on page 2)

Control of Courts Machado's Big Club Over Cuban Labor

By Chester M. Wright

WASHINGTON, D. C.—When I declare the present Cuban administration of justice a travesty I am on ground where I do not stand alone. There have been other findings, among them those of Professor Chapman, whose writings in the California Law Review have been read into the Congressional Record from the Senate floor here.

Those who look to President Machado for reform in this and other directions may remember with possible profit that Gerardo Machado was Minister of Gobernacion (Interior) in the cabinet of his occupancy of that office he broke a railroad strike and was dismissed from the cabinet because of the brutal methods then employed.

Courts Under Machado's Thumb

Cuba has four court branches—the municipal courts, the Courts of First Instance, the Audiencia, or appellate court, and the Supreme Court.

Municipal court judges are selected after examinations to determine their fitness. Though the Cuban constitution was designed to maintain an independent judiciary, under the present practice the President appoints the judges of the Supreme Court and he may remove them at will.

Members of the Audiencia and judges of the Courts of First Instance are appointed by the President from lists furnished by the chief justice of the Supreme Tribunal.

The head of the Supreme Tribunal may be removed by the President at will and this, Cubans are certain, influences the compiling of lists of names for appointment to the lower courts. As for municipal judges, each is a potential candidate for promotion and the power to promote rests entirely with the President.

That this arrangement gives the President an almost autocratic power over the judiciary is a certainty. There are and have been fearless judges and it is notable that the Audiencia has rendered some fearless decisions. But these are usually circumvented in one way or another. Cuban law offers many loopholes for the politically and economically powerful.

In the present crusade against labor organizations, the obstruction of justice is one of the most potent weapons in the hands of tyranny. There may be a record of the prosecution of the assassin of a trade union member, but I could not find one. The assassins have simply gone unpunished. There has been no law to protect labor and no relief at court.

Added to this dominated court system is another strange characteristic of present day Cuba. This is the distortion of Congressional immunity. A Congressman is immune from punishment during the entire year, whether Congress is or is not in session and immunity extends to every crime, up to and including murder.

Congressmen Save Papers from Suits
Congressmen are commonly named as titular editors of newspapers, to save the newspapers from prosecution for such offenses as libel. Immunity has been stretched to such an extent that it covers the paper of which the Congressman is the fictitious editor.

Another weapon in the presidential domination of the country is the presidential decree, by which court decisions, when unpleasant, may be and are set aside. The President, as a matter of fact, uses the decree to also set aside laws, an instance having been his decree lifting the immigration restriction so as to permit the influx of some 60,000 contract Haitian laborers.

Added to this is the national lottery (Continued on page 2)

SOUTHERN MOB MENACES CLARENCE DARROW

Clarence Darrow, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, was forced to leave Mobile, Ala., on March 8, after his meeting had been broken up and he was threatened with lynching. In a speech to Negroes in a school building he attacked lynching and derided Southern justice. During a second speech to a white audience in a theatre, he was interrupted by cries of "Lynch him!" He was forced to leave the theatre and was guarded by police with drawn weapons. Ku Klux Klan handbills denouncing him as an advocate of "social equality" were passed out to the crowd. Newspapers and preachers attacked him as a "meddler from Illinois." Friends urged him to leave for Tennessee the next day to avoid mob assaults.

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS AGAIN

The Canadian National Railways report a net operating profit of \$46,400,000 for the calendar year 1926. When in 1926 the government took over roads now comprising the National System there was an operating deficit of \$32,254,000. Last year's profits will meet charges on securities held by investors and leave the government between four and five millions, which, however, will not meet interest on loans made by the government to keep the old privately owned roads from collapsing completely.

ROGER BALDWIN GAGGED IN ENGLAND

Roger Baldwin, a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been admitted to England for two weeks on condition that he will make no political remarks and engage in no political activities. His visa was held up by the British Consulate at Paris, supposedly on account of information lodged by Scotland Yard. Mr. Baldwin attended the International Congress of Oppressed Nations in Brussels, at which British and American imperialism was attacked.

Norman Thomas to Address Young People of the Bronx

Norman Thomas will make one of his first speeches after his return from the West on Sunday afternoon, March 27, at 1167 Boston road. He will address a meeting of all Bronx Yipels on the subject, "Youth and the Socialist Hope." This rally will also be addressed by two or three other speakers. All young people are invited to attend. The meeting will start at 2 p. m. sharp.

ARMS EMBARGO CONTINUANCE URGED

Representative Citizens
Ask Coolidge to Avoid
Any Provocative Act
Against Mexico

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—A petition signed by 362 prominent citizens representing 41 States and the District of Columbia, and expressing opposition to any change in the Administration's policy regarding the arms embargo against the shipping of arms to Mexico has been submitted to President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg.

The petition, drawn up under the auspices of the Committee on Peace with Latin America, was occasioned by recent dispatches sent out from Washington and Mexico City to the effect that the Administration is "reconsidering its policy" on the arms embargo, and that unless the results of the recent conferences in Mexico City between President Calles and Ambassador Teller are satisfactory to the President and Secretary Kellogg, a lifting of the arms embargo may be ordered. The petition was as follows:

"We respectfully and earnestly protest against the persistently rumored lifting of the arms embargo as leading to the overthrow of the Mexican Government and eventual intervention. We reiterate our appeal for arbitration."

Among the signers of the petition are officials of Republican and Democratic State organizations, college and university presidents and professors, heads of State and local Rotary Clubs, Chambers of Commerce and business organizations, judges of municipal and district courts, newspaper editors and authors, National and State women's organizations, and officers of National educational, religious and business organizations.

The petition was presented to President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg on the recommendation of representatives of 25 National organizations who met in Washington on March 16 to discuss the Mexican situation, at a conference presided over by George M. La Monte, of New York City, treasurer of the Foreign Policy Association.

UNEMPLOYMENT FUND ENDS IN NEW YORK

Communists Blamed for
Temporary Suspension
of Bureau in
Industry

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, through cloak shop chairmen employed in the New York market, has agreed to the suspension of the Unemployment Insurance Fund instituted in the cloak and suit industry August 4, 1924. The shop chairmen approved a tentative plan, subject to modifications, calling for the suspension following the failure of the fund to function as a result of assaults upon it by Communists, when in power in the union, and by a group of employers seeking to evade their responsibility to the fund.

The suspension will continue until July, 1928, when the International Union will again enforce the provisions for the operation of the fund. Since its inception \$2,700,000 has been contributed into the fund, of which \$2,000,000 was expended for unemployment relief. All funds collected, since January 1 are to be turned back to the contributors. All funds due but uncollected up to January 1 of this year are to be collected by the trustees of the fund.

President Morris Sigman of the International Union and Vice-President Julius Hochman, manager of the newly reorganized Joint Board of Cloak and Dress Unions, laid the blame for the suspension directly at the door of Communists who led the New York Joint Board until it was reorganized by the International Union.

Mr. Hochman stated that during the last cloak strike \$250,000 should have been collected, since 16,000 cloak-makers were working in settled shops. Payments were to be made into the fund at the rate of two per cent of the pay roll contributed by employers and one per cent of their wages contributed by workers. Of this sum, only \$75,000 was collected by the Communists, Mr. Hochman charged. Prior to the strike and after the left wing came into control of the union, he (Continued on page 7)

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SHIP OWNERS BREAK LAW; WHO CARES?

O'Connor Silent in Face of Illegal Wage- Slashing Agreement Reached

By Joseph A. Wise

CHICAGO.—American shipowners can ignore or violate the shipping and anti-trust laws without fear of discipline from the United States Shipping Board. That is the inference plainly set forth in a letter written by T. V. O'Connor, chairman of the board, to the Chicago office of International Labor News Service.

Chairman O'Connor was sent a copy of a story in reference to a secret meeting of interstate carriers held at Hot Springs, Ark., in January at which, it is charged, agreements were entered into in reference to shipping rates and a decision reached to lower wages of employees and to refuse to recognize labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Law Is Specific
Section 15 of the Shipping Act of 1916 provides that agreements thus made must be filed with the Shipping Board immediately and provides a penalty of \$1,000 a day for failure so to do.

International Labor News Service sent Chairman O'Connor a long wire message February 23, a month following adjournment of the Hot Springs conference, seeking to learn whether the Shipping Board had knowledge of the meeting and what the board had done or proposed to do about the matter. The inquiry was answered by William S. Hill, acting chairman of the board, who sent the following telegram to International Labor News Service February 24:

"Shipping Board has no information other than that appearing in the press."

Story of Meeting Made Public
International Labor News Service then published the facts regarding the situation, and a copy of the story was sent to Chairman O'Connor, who was invited to comment on the matter. He replied by letter, as follows, March 8:

"Joseph A. Wise, Esq., 4943 Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir—This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, regarding your article on the meeting of the interstate carriers at Hot Springs.

"The only information concerning the meeting to which you refer that has come to us is that which can be found in the newspapers. So far as the Shipping Board knows, no agreement has been reached, and if and when such agreement is reached, I have no doubt that it will be filed with the board in accordance with Section 15 of the Shipping Act.

"T. V. O'Connor, Chairman."

The O'Connor letter is construed here as meaning that the shipowners can comply with the law when and if they get good and ready.

Thirteen Lines Represented
Forty persons representing 13 steamship lines doing business on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts were present at the Hot Springs conference, according to the best information obtainable. If these 13 companies entered into agreements in reference to rates and other matters affecting shipping, as alleged, and failed to file a memorandum of the proceedings with the Shipping Board "immediately," as provided in Section 15 of the Shipping

Poverty, Poor Housing, Crime Is Vicious Circle, Investigation Discloses

Youths Seeking Escape from Drab Homes Steal in Order to Buy Play Materials

LOW wages for the head of the household, poor housing, unattractive home-life, children who have no play-space, gangs and crime—that is the vicious circle once more disclosed in a study of the causes of crime. The survey has just been concluded by the New York State Crime Commission. The "Red Hook" section of Brooklyn, N. Y., was the district chosen for the probe.

The investigators report that most of the misdeeds of the children result from an attempt to escape from an environment that affords little or no opportunity for normal or wholesome play. They steal largely to buy playthings which they cannot afford to buy.

After detailing the bad housing and the unsanitary conditions, the report continues:

"Since most heads of the families are longshoremen, their type of occupation is reflected to a great extent in their manner of life. Their job is an irregular one as the men must report for work whenever called upon by their leader, be it day or night. Their work requires much muscular strain and is monotonous, and, therefore, after a long, hard day's work, rest is imperative and the men retire almost immediately upon returning home. The result is that the children are urged to play in the street so as not to disturb their fathers' sleep, and the father has very little actual contact with his children. As a result of these conditions the usual attitude is that the boys, at least, must take care of themselves.

"Since stavedoring is irregular work, pay is also irregular, and as a result many families lead a most haphazard existence, being always on the ragged

edge and not being able to plan ahead with any degree of certainty. It may not necessarily be so, but it does seem at least that among people living under these conditions of poverty plus uncertainty of income there would be greater temptation to steal things, or, at least, to wink at theft, than among people who, even though poor, were regularly employed and could count on a definite income. The periods of unemployment create another social condition that is more or less peculiar to this section. It gives large numbers of men leisure periods. They usually have some money at the beginning of this leisure period, having just been paid off, and, consequently, they indulge freely in drinking, gambling and all too frequently in brawls, shooting and stabbing matches.

"The women, of course, have very little in common with their husbands so far as social life goes, so these activities are engaged in by the men alone.

"The mothers in this section, particularly among the Italians, lead a narrowly restricted life of drudgery. The mother is charged with the household duties, with rearing a large family and with the moral responsibility for the daughters. Aside from church attendance the mother receives no emotional outlets and has no healthy relaxation or recreation. The moving picture theatres, which are about the only form of recreation for adults in this section (outside of poolrooms), are filled almost entirely by adult men and children; rarely is a woman seen inside.

"The boys, as has been indicated, are usually left to shift for themselves. They are not encouraged to remain at school longer than is absolutely necessary, as their earnings, no matter how small, are always a welcome addition to the uncertain resources of these large families. Even before they have finished school they are already earning money as boot-blacks and newsboys.

Rochester Clothing Workers Organize Credit Union to Aid Needy Brothers

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A new credit union is added to the list of this type of organization, in the State of New York. It is less than twenty years that the Credit Union laws began to appear in the statute book of this country. Since then several States have passed such laws and today more than one-half the States in the Union permits the legal function of the Credit Union, which might properly be called the bank for persons of small means.

The Clothing Workers of Rochester, second to none in their efforts to be of service to the members of the union, have for quite a time made an effort to establish such an institution.

Approximately 60 days have elapsed since adjournment of the Hot Springs conference. Assuming that there were 13 steamship lines represented at the conference, the aggregate fines for the 60 days would amount to \$780,000.

Attorney General Notified
The matter has been referred to the Attorney General of the United States with a view of learning whether the Department of Justice will show more interest than has been demonstrated by the Shipping Board.

Abt, then each of the participants in the conference is subject to a fine of \$1,000 a day for each day that the law has been violated.

The sister organization, the Amalgamated Credit Union of New York, has in a few years become an important factor in the life of the clothing workers in the City of New York. It has already a capital of more than \$200,000 and has paid interest to the shareholders each year from 8 to 10 per cent. Loans are made to members at a very low rate of interest, thus preventing workers to become prey of the loan sharks so abundant in the City of New York and elsewhere.

In this city, Brothers, Chatman, Cursi, Greco, Kowski, McMahon, Rotondo, Sherman applied for a charter from the State banking department in Albany last August. On the 4th of this month they finally received the much desired certificate.

The Charter members who now constitute the board of directors recently met and elected the officers for this year's term as follows: John McMahon, president; Aldo Cursi, vice-president; Al Sherman, secretary, and Leo Kowski, treasurer.

A meeting of the Credit Union will be held in Rochester at 475 Clinton avenue, North, Saturday, March 26, at 2:30 p. m. Several members have already made application to join the Credit Union. At Saturday's meeting the constitution will be submitted to the approval of the shareholders, and a credit and supervising committee will be elected.

Having been in Kansas City, I know the cause of this early spring weather which the country enjoyed some days ago. It was due to the heat generated by the appearance of "Elmer Gantry." Kansas City was Sinclair Lewis' laboratory where he held his famous Sunday School class of ministers. What most of them are saying now about Lewis would get The New Leader debarred from the mails. I went to one church in town which somehow made the book seem more credible—I am naming no names. Seriously, though, I think that Lewis missed a great chance. He could have made better use of his material. "Elmer Gantry" had his place in the book, but the hero should have been another type of minister who could have been treated a little more sympathetically—as Lewis himself treated Babbalanja. I think he tried to be fair to Gantry, but he hated him too much. In consequence, the book will accomplish less in church circles than it ought. My own theory is that Lewis would have done a better job had he not been thinking so hard about H. L. Mencken, to whom he dedicates the book. Mencken has his uses, but his robust, even hatred for the Methodist Church does not supply the frame of mind in which a great novel of life can be written.

CALIFORNIA KEEPS SYNDICALISM LAW

The campaign of the California branches of the American Civil Liberties Union for the amendment of the California criminal syndicalism law has met with defeat. The Senate Judiciary committee has refused by unanimous vote to report the Fellow amendment to the floor. It has been tabled.

This action followed a hearing on March 1 during which representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union clashed with spokesmen from the American Legion, the Better America Federation, the Ship Owners' Association and Attorney General U. S. Webb. The Union was attacked as the defender of an organization which would "menace California." During the Union's campaign statements urging the repeal of the law were made by David Starr Jordan, president emeritus of Leland Stanford Junior University; Bishop Edward L. Parsons of the Diocese of California of the Episcopal Church; ex-Congressman William Kent, Judge Jackson Ralston, former United States delegate to The Hague, and George W. Kirchwey, former dean of Columbia University Law School and former warden of Sing Sing prison, New York.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

dustrial areas in the cities and is part of the price we pay for our unscientific use of soft coal.

One thoughtful man told me that the money in the small towns is being drained to the big cities by the steady growth of absentee ownership, and that after every small town man has bought his automobile there is no money left to make the towns gracious and beautiful. All of which is passed on for what it may be worth.

Speaking of towns and cities, attractive and otherwise, who don't we Socialists do more bragging about Milwaukee? For more truly than Detroit it deserves the title of City Without Slums, which Detroit has claimed. I do not know a better, more attractive city anywhere in industrial America, and for its good condition Socialist education through these many years and Socialist administration deserve a large part of the credit. The Socialists might have done more if they had had complete control of the municipal government. Even so, as Mayor Hoan points out, a Socialist municipal government in any Wisconsin city would be handicapped by the so-called progressive legislation of the State, which fastens the private operation of public utilities under indeterminate franchises upon the cities and makes a constructive program of public ownership almost impossible.

My trip did not take me into the coal fields, though it took me near them. I found an impression even in well informed circles that there would not be much of a strike. The reason generally given is that the miners' cause is hopeless. I think there will be a strike and a bitter one. The only success that can come through it will be through the organization of non-union territory. A correspondent of the Cleveland Press insists that rank and file miners from Southern Ohio are going to swarm into West Virginia to organize the non-union fields. If this can be accomplished it will be a great victory. It is to be feared that it will have to be a victory of the rank and file. Certainly there is nothing in the words or deeds of the Lewis machine in the last few years to inspire much confidence or hope.

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University of Kansas Organizes Big Committee To Aid Pullman Porters

120 Students and In- structors Back Move to Aid Negro Work- ers—College Head Sympathetic

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LAWRENCE, Kansas.—To help organize public opinion in favor of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a committee of 120 has been organized at the University of Kansas. The committee has won the approval of the students as well as a large part of the faculty. The Chancellor of the University has written a personal letter to the Railroad Mediation Board urging recognition of the union. Signers of the petition include Prof. Seba Eldridge, Stuart A. Queen, head of the Department of Sociology; Dr. John Lee, E. B. Schultz, secretary of the Y. M. C. A.; H. B. Chubb and Welles A. Gray of the Political Science Department. The signers also include many student leaders.

The petition follows:
"Honorable Edwin P. Morrow,
United States Mediation Board,
Chicago, Illinois.

"In the annual report of the Secretary of Labor for 1925 we note that the purpose of the Division of Conciliation is to 'secure not only a fair settlement (of an industrial dispute) but a permanent one.'

"We believe that the differences between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, representing its Negro employees, can be settled permanently only on the basis of fair treatment of each of the employees as a man, entitled to all the privileges of freemen, including the opportunity to enjoy the respect of others and to feel his own self-respect.

Celebration Will Mark Completion of Year by Judge Panken Forum

THE forum conducted by the 6th-12th A. D. Branch, New York County, will conclude its season's work this Sunday morning, March 27, at 11 o'clock at Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. A special program has been arranged to celebrate this occasion. This forum was opened in January under the able direction of Comrade Judge Jacob Panken, who spoke every Sunday morning on the "Events of the Week." It was the most successful venture of its kind on the East Side in many years.

A very gratifying attendance was in evidence. Although the weather was unusually vicious on most of these Sunday mornings, the surprising fact is, nevertheless, some 200 or more people came steadily to this forum. This Sunday morning will be the 12th

JESSIE STEPHEN TO GIVE LAST LECTURE SUNDAY; SEND-OFF IS PLANNED

JESSIE STEPHEN, of the British Independent Labor Party and one of the most effective British Socialist speakers, is concluding her American tour at the end of this month. She has been in the United States since last October, during which time she has accomplished remarkably effective work in speaking at the many campaign meetings in New York City. During the month of November she went on a tour through Canada, speaking at various forums in that part of the country. During December, January and February she lectured at the Rand School and at numerous Socialist Party and Workers' Circle forums in and around New York City. She is now returning from a tour arranged by the National Office of the Socialist Party, and her last public address will be given this Sunday evening, March 27, under the auspices of the Yorkville Branch, 241 East Eighty-fourth street. Her subject will be "You Americans."

All of the comrades and friends of Jessie Stephen are invited to attend this meeting on Sunday evening. The admission is free.

In the event that the clubrooms of the Yorkville Branch cannot accommodate the crowd, arrangements are being made to get a larger hall in the Labor Lyceum Temple, next door.

Immediately following Comrade Stephen's address a social gathering will take place in the headquarters. Refreshments will be served and farewell will be said to our excellent comrade, Jessie Stephen.

All these Socialists who have had an opportunity of listening to Comrade Stephen and who have worked with her during these several months that she has been with us are eloquent in their testimony of her. Without exaggeration it can be said that she was one of the most remarkable types of Socialists that have visited this country for some time. She proved herself a devoted party worker, heart and soul with the cause, and a very effective propagandist. She also showed herself to be a woman of extraordinary energy. During the late campaign she would address as many as four or five meetings a day and permit herself to be swept around to all parts of the city in all kinds of weather. She never missed a date, and wherever she did speak her remarks were highly appreciated.

It is sincerely hoped that she return to America in the near future. In fact, she says she will, and there is every indication that when she does come back she will be a full-fledged member of Parliament.

BIG MEETING PLANNED TO ORGANIZE WORKERS IN ALL N. Y. LAUNDRIES

A mass meeting of all steam, hand, flat, wet wash and bundle laundry workers, unionists and unorganized, will be held Saturday evening, April 22, at 8 o'clock, in the Peace House, Fifth avenue and 109th street.

The purpose of the meeting will be to further the efforts of the laundry workers to organize into a union and to win higher wages, abolish unsanitary places of work, win the 44-hour week and secure extra pay for overtime and holidays. The speakers will include Alexander Marks, organizer of the American Federation of Labor; August Claessens, executive secretary of the Socialist Party; Morris Feinstein, Frank R. Crosswath, A. Merlino and F. F. Mendoza.

The meeting is called by the Joint Committee for Organizing All Laundry Workers. The campaign has the endorsement of the A. F. of L.

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 Districts are invited to attend.

A. REGALDI, Organizer.

The East Side Open Forum

At the CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS
9 Second Ave., near Houston St.
Sunday, March 20, at 3:30 p. m.
ROBERT W. DUNN
Will speak on:
"MENACE OF COMPANY UNIONISM"

SCOTT NEARING

—ON—

Rise of Capitalism The Crumbling British

Imperialism Empire

Tuesday Thursday

March 22nd March 24th

At 8:30 P. M.

Brownsville Labor

Lyceum

219 Sackett Street

Co-Operative Educational

Association

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

5 P. M.—"The Pioneers of the Race"

G. F. BECK, Ph.D.

A Great Chinese Sage—Lao-Tsu

ADMISSION 15 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—

EDMOND B. CHAFFEE

"Business and the Church"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—

SCOTT NEARING

"Where Is Civilization Going?"

ADMISSION FREE

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A. F. of L.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At COOPER UNION

AT 8 O'CLOCK

SUNDAY, MARCH 27

DR. A. WAKEFIELD SLATEN

"Humanism"

TUESDAY, MARCH 29

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SHANGHAI FALL RAISES SERIOUS ISSUE

Cantonese Demand Return of Territory Wrested from Chinese Nation

(Continued from page 1)

do to recover Shanghai and the other foreign concessions?

Will they attempt to give battle should other means fail?

The second question cannot be answered. In a message to the British Labor Party, Eugene Chen, Cantonese foreign minister, reiterated the position taken by the Nationalist government on January 22. From this it appears that the Nationalists will not attempt to take the Shanghai "concession" by force.

"In the manifesto dated the 22d January," Mr. Chen cabled British labor leaders, "the Nationalist Government declared that it was their wish and intention to have all questions relating to treaty and other cognate matters settled by negotiation and agreement. This covered by implication and it was so intended to cover the question of the future status of the International Settlement at Shanghai, which it is not, and never has been, within the contemplation of the Nationalist Government to occupy by force."

Chinese Mistrustful

In the same message Mr. Chen indicated the Chinese mistrust British intentions, in view of the concentration of forces at Shanghai. He said: "The continued concentration of armed British forces at Shanghai, now openly referred to as the 'Chinese Expeditionary Force,' as well as certain military information relating to the British plan for operations in China which has now come to the knowledge of the Nationalist Government, make it impossible for the Nationalist Government to continue to view the British concentration at Shanghai except as an act of coercion directed against Chinese Nationalism."

The present form of control of the foreign "concessions" and foreign "settlements" is one of the most important of the many Chinese grievances. Chinese pay the largest part of the taxes in all these settlements and concessions but they have no voice in the administration. They demand representation, if not control, of the territory in which they dominate by overwhelming majorities. The territory occupied is Chinese, the revenue that runs the municipalities is derived from the Chinese.

The foreigners who reside in these territories are notoriously prejudiced and strangely resentful of the Chinese people and nation from which they draw their wealth. The vast majority would not think of having any social relations with the Chinese. Thousands born in the concessions, and now grown to manhood, have never ventured beyond the confines of the foreign "concession." Yet in spite of this ignorance and isolation, they are not backward in offering themselves as authorities on matters Chinese. Their ignorance and malice toward the aspirations of the Chinese people is in sharp distinction to the understanding which appears to dominate the minds of most of the missionaries who have penetrated the interior of the country. This bias on the part of the aliens in the foreign "concessions" expresses itself daily and contributes much to the Chinese resentment against foreign interference in their country.

Prize of Opium War

Following the notorious "Opium War," fought by Great Britain for the right of her businessmen to sell the poisonous "dope" to the Chinese, Britain forced the Chinese government of the day to permit British subjects to reside and conduct mercantile pursuits in Shanghai, Canton, and other cities. A few years later (1844) the United States availed herself of the benefits accrued by the principles laid down in the British treaty. Other nations followed. In 1863, the British and American "concessions" were amalgamated into the present "International Settlement."

"REWARDING LABOR"

How the Democrats in the New York Legislature Are Doing It

ALBANY.—Mrs. Hilda S. Boyle, candidate of organized labor of New York State, did not get a single vote when the Legislature elected a Regent last week. Mrs. Boyle, who has given conspicuous service as a member of the Schenectady Board of Education, was unanimously endorsed for State Regent at a general State conference or organized labor held in Albany on March 8, and a letter to this effect, signed by President John Sullivan and Secretary John M. O'Hanlon of the State Federation of Labor was sent to every Senator and Assemblyman.

However, when the vote was taken all the Republicans and all the Democrats, to a man, ignored the candidate. Some of the Republicans, it is alleged, stated in private conversation that they could not consider Mrs. Boyle on account of her enrollment as a Democrat, but the Democrats have no alibi whatever. All the Democrats voted for Miss Martha Draper, and all the Republicans for Mrs. Herbert Pratt, the latter being elected.

France still maintains a separate concession.

The present situation dates back from this brutal warring of the "concession" from a defeated Chinese government. The subsequent developments were to be expected. Granted a "concession" (granted is used advisedly), the foreigners now act as though they own the city. Coincidentally with the growth of the trade that poured through Shanghai, enriching the foreigners while the Chinese people remained sullen in poverty and chronic pestilence, the foreigners encroached more and more upon Chinese sovereignty. In 1854, a municipal council was set up for the foreigners, exclusive of the Chinese. It remains so to this date. Eight years later complete independence was proposed under the guidance of the foreign powers. This was rejected as too bold. But two generations of businessmen have now achieved by another name what they originally sought in 1854. In 1859, the infamous "Mixed Court" was established. In 1881 further revision of the original "land regulations" gave the foreign municipal council power to size land for road construction. The council also conferred on the police arbitrary powers of arrest and search without warrant, and organized an army of 1,700 men. Again the foreign businessmen had overstepped themselves, and the diplomats were forced to counsel moderation. To a certain extent, they reassured the consular authority originally provided for.

The Massacre of 1925

But the subjection of the Shanghai "concession" was not to be stayed. In 1900 it was decreed that no Chinese soldier bearing arms could enter the settlement. The right of expelling "undesirable" Chinamen has been set up. Parks and playgrounds paid for by Chinese, through taxes, are not to be used by the Chinese or their children. Month by month, the foreigners secured new bits of territory. Sikh police, bitter against Chinese, have been imported.

That is the political side of foreign domination of the 1,000,000 Chinese in the "foreign concession." Economically the Chinese have been mercilessly sweated. Child labor has been the rule. The foreign-owned cotton mills are the scenes of the most degrading exploitation of human beings.

As Shanghai is likely to become the pivot on which China is to swing into her own as a sovereign nation or to be involved in a new war with the foreign imperialists, so Shanghai was a turning point in the history of the present struggle for Chinese freedom. It was in the foreign "concession" of Shanghai, on May 30, 1925, that the British police fired on a demonstration of Chinese students and workers. The story of the Shanghai massacre swept through all China. The Nationalist movement received new impetus. Similar incidents contributing to the already latent resentment of the foreign imperialism, the armies of Canton began their victorious sweep toward the re-conquest of China from the foreign powers and their puppet "war lords."

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CUBAN COURTS TERRORIZE LABOR

Lottery Another Link in Despot's Chain—Congress His Puppet

(Continued from page 1)

as another powerful link in the chain of virtual one-man control, which makes corporation control so much less complicated.

Havana is a gambling paradise, even without the lottery. But with the lottery, taking a chance is the most popular of all pastimes. As intended in the lottery law approved by the United States, the lottery was intended to help veterans of the revolution and their dependents. These unfortunates were to profit by selling tickets. But that has pretty much passed from sight.

Lottery tickets are sold through a considerable mechanism. At the outset there are what are known as collecturians. A collecturia is nothing more than an agency for the sale of tickets, each collecturia carrying the right to sell five tickets, the retail price of which is about \$30 each. There are 2,000 collecturians, and the President controls them all. Of these he retains about 1,000 and appoints about 1,000 among Congressmen and Senators, five to Congressman, ten to a Senator.

Give President Grip on Congress

These collecturians are sold to professionals who do the actual selling. But the collecturia has a market value of about \$200 per month, and the congressional and senatorial holders benefit accordingly. From this source Congressmen derive about \$18,000 a year, while Senators draw about \$36,000.

When it is remembered that collecturians are bestowed or withdrawn at the pleasure of the President, it is not difficult to picture the grip on Congress secured through the lottery. Few Congressmen and Senators rebel.

And the President may do as he sees fit with the revenue from the collecturians which he retains for himself. Most of his 1,000, it is said, he keeps, placing others here and there where they are "deserved" or where they will be "appreciated."

When the creation of the dictatorship by virtue of the bill of January 8, 1927, is coupled with the presidential domination of the courts and control of Congress through the lottery collecturians, the picture of one-man rule is virtually complete, because under the presidential direction there also is the army, with its efficient secret service contingent.

Deportations and exile are ordered by presidential decree, and no one knows how many of these there have been. Assassinations go unpunished.

As to cases in which men have suffered money damage, there are many, and some are shocking. But I have allowed those to pass because I went to inquire into what is happening to life and to the organizations of labor.

American Finance Could Stop Terror

If I seem to lay the entire responsibility at the feet of the Cuban administration, I do so because it is presumably the sovereign power in Cuba. As a matter of fact and as a matter of justice, it must be recorded that American finance, notably that finance which dominates the sugar industry of Cuba, exerts a power beyond measure. It is the assertion of some Cubans that the terror in Cuba is not the unqualified wish of the Cuban administration, but that it has been brought upon the masses of the Cuban people by great and ruthless American interests working through the Cuban administration. The power of these interests is manifest. Whether or not they command, it is certain that they could mitigate, if they wished, either through Ambassador Crowder, or without his services. Ambassador Crowder and the directors of American enterprises in Cuba are not strangers.

Jokes Greet Delaware Anti-Evolution Bill

An anti-evolution bill pending before the State Legislature of Delaware is, according to a Civil Liberties Union correspondent, not taken seriously, though "the Methodists come nearer to controlling this State than any other sect and should be watched."

G. B. S. Takes a Fall

Socialist International "Calls" Shaw on His Implied Endorsement of Italian Fascism—Refugees Also Correct Him

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S eagerness to seize upon any fairly good reason for pouring out the vials of his sarcasm upon the heads of the British Tories has caused him to be criticized severely recently by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International and by the exiled Italian Socialists who are carrying on the war against Fascism from Paris and other points abroad.

A few weeks ago Shaw, writing for a symposium on Fascism got up by the Daily News of London, said he preferred an out-and-out dictatorship like that of Mussolini to a veiled and hypocritical one such as obtained in England. He also opined that the Fascists were getting "things done in Italy." This indirect endorsement of Fascism was eagerly picked up by the Blackshirt press and exploited to the limit. When the news reached Paris a committee of Italian refugees, composed of Modigliani for the Socialist Party of Italian Workers, Salvi for the Maximalist Italian Socialist Party, Buozzi for the Italian Confederation of Labor, and Pistocchi for the Italian Republican Party, sent a telegram to Shaw, reading, in part, as follows:

"You speak of an Italian people that you do not know and you are helping to stabilize a tyranny of bloodshed and destruction, against which even those who will it for the purpose of crushing the working class movement are beginning to turn in revolt."

"This working class movement has rendered such services to the advance of our people along the pathway of civilization that the chance disturbance of the post-war period cannot justify its extinction, above all when it includes within its ranks such martyrs as Matteotti and such exiles as Turati, who rise in revolt against the murderers."

"A great thinker who professes belief in Socialism ought to have judged with somewhat less levity the tragedy of a whole people."

Then came a statement from the Zurich Bureau of the International, which, after giving Shaw due credit for his attacks upon his own country's reactionaries and hypocrites, said:

"But important as this tactical principle is and desirable as it would be that it should always be observed in the Socialist parties of all countries, it must never be forgotten that the international idea demands yet a second thing, namely, the subordination of action in a particular country to the necessities of the international movement as a whole."

"This implies especially a true estimate of the opponents' forces in the various countries. Where this international judgment is lacking, the best meant criticism of the ruling class in one's own country may swing round to the interests of reaction as a whole."

"Certainly Shaw is right in every word of criticism which in this letter he aims at England, but he does a great wrong to the oppressed in Italy when he speaks of the reaction in the two countries as things of the same magnitude. Certainly one should never overlook reaction in one's native country, but one loses every criterion of reality by setting down the outrages of Fascism thoughtlessly as equivalent to that which is possible at present in England."

"Bernard Shaw's greatest virtue here turns to its opposite. His shafts against reaction in England serve to strengthen reaction in the world. The cause lies in a lack of the capacity to imagine the sufferings and problems of countries without democracy. He falls, like so many of his countrymen, in the true understanding of what it means to live and struggle in a country where every possibility of the free expression of opinion in Parliament, meetings or the press has been wiped out root and branch."

Had the letter only been published in England the true inwardness of its intention would have emerged, despite the paradoxical comparisons, and would have had its educational effect. But Shaw forgets that he is speaking before an international forum, and that what may do good to the English, in Italy helps on reaction. And in fact Bernard Shaw's aberration has at once had its inevitable sequel. His letter was reprinted in Mussolini's press with the utmost joy. On the contrary, Shaw's remarks were received by the oppressed in Italy with all the more pain, because any reply or explanation is denied to them."

At the rate Comrade Dutton is proceeding it is a question of but a few weeks when he will complete his quota of 100. Dutton has always been keen on supporting the party press by gaining new readers whenever possible. He is puzzled that so few party branches or individual hustlers have taken up our special subscription offer. An investment of but \$10 brings you ten yearly subscription cards which can be sold at lectures, meetings, branch gatherings or in shops, and within a short time you have your money back, a reserve of \$10 for a new supply of cards, while The New Leader, thanks to this effort, will reach ten or more new readers, once a week for an entire year.

With his last letter Dutton encloses \$50 to pay for 50 yearlies and promises to remit the balance as the work progresses. He feels that The New Leader is a splendid medium for Socialist propaganda and deserves a wider field and is determined to do his share in the good work of gaining new readers.

What Comrade Dutton is doing for The New Leader all the way on the Pacific Coast can be done with more success at with less effort in or nearer New York. He has shown you the way and it is to be hoped that he will be encouraged to continue by other comrades undertaking similar work for The New Leader in their own territory. It is needless to say that we appreciate beyond words the good work which our Comrade Dutton is performing for us but we feel that he will consider himself amply rewarded if he will read in The New Leader in the next issue that a great many more of our hustlers have undertaken similar work.

Branch 7, Local Bronx, with headquarters at 4215 Third Avenue, is the new addition to our list of branches that have joined our special subscription card offer. The Branch has just acquired 30 yearly subscription cards which will be placed in charge of committees and efforts made to dispose of them as speedily as possible. Thus the two English branches in the Bronx—the Central Branch and Branch 7—are helping in this campaign and it is to be hoped that with their assistance our subscription list will receive a great boost.

As usual The New Leader will issue a special edition for May 1—the International Labor Day—which will contain many articles by the best writers in

GREEN DEMANDS GANGSTERISM END

(Continued from page 1)

read by Mr. Green, two precincts were in the pay of Communists, inspectors receiving \$250 a week, captains \$100 to \$150, lieutenants \$50, sergeants \$25 and police clerks \$15, with patrolmen getting up to \$5 a day during the strike. The head of the industrial squad was set down for \$100 a week, and ten members of the squad which \$50 a week.

The money, it was alleged, was paid through Abraham Goodman, a lawyer, since deceased. Gold's testimony was that money was paid detectives, and "if you did not deal with those in charge you were treated rough."

Secretary Cohen testified that Goodman "guaranteed that all guerrillas would be taken care of by detectives and the police would be neutral"; further, that \$4,000 a week was required for payments to the police.

"That is how they accounted for an item of \$100,000," declared Mr. Green.

Tolerant Too Long, He Says

Mr. Green said the A. F. of L. had been tolerant too long with the Communists and urged the unions affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Council to rally to the support of the International Fur Workers' Union in the fight against the Communist-led Joint Board. He said the Joint Board was now definitely out of the Federation of Labor, as the charters of the locals had been revoked and the Joint Board dissolved.

The "fighting speech" of the President of the A. F. of L. was received with outbursts of applause by the delegates to the council, who interrupted with approval the attacks on the Communists.

Mr. Green charged that the expenditure of \$50,000 during a seventeen-week strike of 10,000 furriers was a waste of money and an orgy of extravagance, and that he was surprised by the use of such a large sum inasmuch as 300,000 miners fought for months on less.

Mathew Woll, vice president of the A. F. of L., and Edward F. McGrady, representative of the A. F. of L., were other speakers. They told of the reign of terror being conducted by the Communists in the fur district. Mr. Woll replied to charges made by the Communists that he is responsible for the arrest last week of Ben Gold in Minneapolis on a charge involving the use of gangsters during the strike last year. Since the original arrests took place months ago, before the intervention of the A. F. of L., the charge on the face of it is ridiculous. Much nearer the truth concerning the cause of Mr. Gold's arrest at this time is that gangsters employed by him during the strike have turned State's evidence. Gold is now out on \$10,000 bail.

Confirmation of President Green's charge of gangsterism is forthcoming every day. On Tuesday the police rounded up eight gangsters and officials of the furriers' union in the fur district. The officials were pointing out non-Communist furriers to the gangsters, who, in turn, threatened these men and struck them.

TWO-DAY CELEBRATION TO MARK 25TH YEAR OF CUTTERS' UNION, NO. 10

Commemorating the 25th anniversary of the existence of Cutters' Local 10 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, a concert, mass meeting and banquet will be held at Mecca Temple Saturday at 2 p. m. and Sunday at 5:30 p. m.

William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, will be one of the principal speakers at the concert and mass meeting Saturday afternoon. Other speakers of prominence will include Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward; Morris Hillquit, noted Socialist leader, and Morris Sigman, President of the International Union. Artists for the occasion will include Toscha Seidel, violinist; Isa Kramar, balladist, and Isidor Gorn, Russian-American pianist.

Clothing Cutters Tender Dinner to Hyman Nemser

A huge turn out is expected at a banquet that will be given in honor of Hyman Nemser by the Clothing Cutters' Union Local 4, Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. The banquet is to take place this coming Friday evening, April 1, 1927, at the Park View Palace, at 110th street and 5th Avenue.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, March 27, 11 a. m. Judge Jacob Panken. Subject, "Events of the Week." Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. Auspices of the Socialist Party, 6th, 5th and 12th A. D. Branch.

Sunday, March 27, 8:30 p. m. Samuel J. Schneider. Subject, "Human Progress." 204 East Broadway. Auspices of the Socialist Party, 1st and 2nd A. D. Branch.

Sunday, March 27, 8:30 p. m. Jessie Stephen of Great Britain. Subject, "You Americans." 241 East 84th street. Auspices Yorkville Branch, Socialist Party.

BROOKLYN

Friday, March 25, 8:30 p. m. Joseph Shaplen. Subject, "Prospects of Socialism in the United States." Tremont Forum, 4215 Third Avenue. Auspices Socialist Party, Branch Seven.

On Friday, April 1, Alain Locke will speak on "The Negro of Today."

Sunday, March 27, 4 p. m. Norman Thomas. Subject, "Youth and the Socialist Hope." 1167 Boston road. Auspices Y. P. S. L. Bronx.

Monday, March 28, 8:30 p. m. Esther Friedman. Subject, "The Trend Toward Equitable Distribution." 1167 Boston road. Auspices Central Branch, Socialist Party.

Sunday, March 27, 8:30 p. m. Morris Wolfson. Subject, "Socialism and Individual Liberty." 167 Tompkins Avenue. Auspices Y. P. S. L. Circle Six, Brooklyn.

Monday, March 28, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Hyman Katz. Subject, "Elements of Socialism." 345 South Third street. Auspices Socialist Party, 4th and 14th A. D. Branch.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM

BY JAMES ONEAL

Author, "The Workers in American History"

Editor, The New Leader



history of the origin and development of the American Communist movement, its numerous organizations formed since 1913, their programs, their relations to the Communist International, the Trade-Union Educational League, their work in the trade unions, their policies and methods.

It is documented with excerpts from Communist and other sources, many of them no longer available to the student of this movement.

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The Paris Commune-- A Costly Lesson in Labor's History

By R. W. Postgate

THE origins of the Paris Commune go back to the last days of the Empire of Napoleon III. If we had been in Paris in the year 1870, we should at first have observed no opposition except that of the Republican deputies and the traditional Republican groups. The large financiers and the few representatives of "modern industry" were at one with the peasants in supporting the Bonapartes. Opposed to them under the one standard of the Republic were the small bourgeoisie and the workers, apparently a united body. Further investigation, however, would have shown us that there were in reality some deep divisions. These were two—the Blanquists, a secret armed society led by L. A. Blanqui, which distrusted the official Republicans and prepared for an armed rising to overturn the Empire and substitute a Republic, which, like the Soviets in 1917, would not institute Socialism so much as turn the development of society in that direction. The second, non-political in theory, was the International, whose headquarters were in London, and whose leading spirit was Karl Marx. This society in France was really an immense Trade Union, and its liveliest branches were, in fact, local trade societies. Yet it had certain political ideals; it was Socialist, and mistrusted the bourgeoisie Republicans and hoped for a Workers' Republic.

When, after the crash of Sedan, the official Republicans took power, these dissenting bodies became of importance. The new Republicans showed as great incompetence as the old Imperialists, and an even greater suspicion of the revolutionary workers. A new Assembly was elected. While Paris returned revolutionaries or semi-revolutionaries, the provinces elected monarchists. The new government was chosen by the monarchists and headed by Thiers. Before long this government and Paris had come into conflict. Most serious of all was the Parisian workers' refusal to accept the new Bonapartist General appointed to command the democratically organized defense of Paris, the National Guard.

Feeling that the moment was approaching, Thiers prepared for his government and Paris had come into conflict. Most serious of all was the Parisian workers' refusal to accept the new Bonapartist General appointed to command the democratically organized defense of Paris, the National Guard. Feeling that the moment was approaching, Thiers prepared for his great stroke. The National Guard of Paris, the sole Republican armed force, possessed a great park of artillery on the heights of Montmartre. These guns Thiers proposed to seize. Without them, and with his soldiers in possession of the heights, the National Guard would be militarily only of the value of a police force.

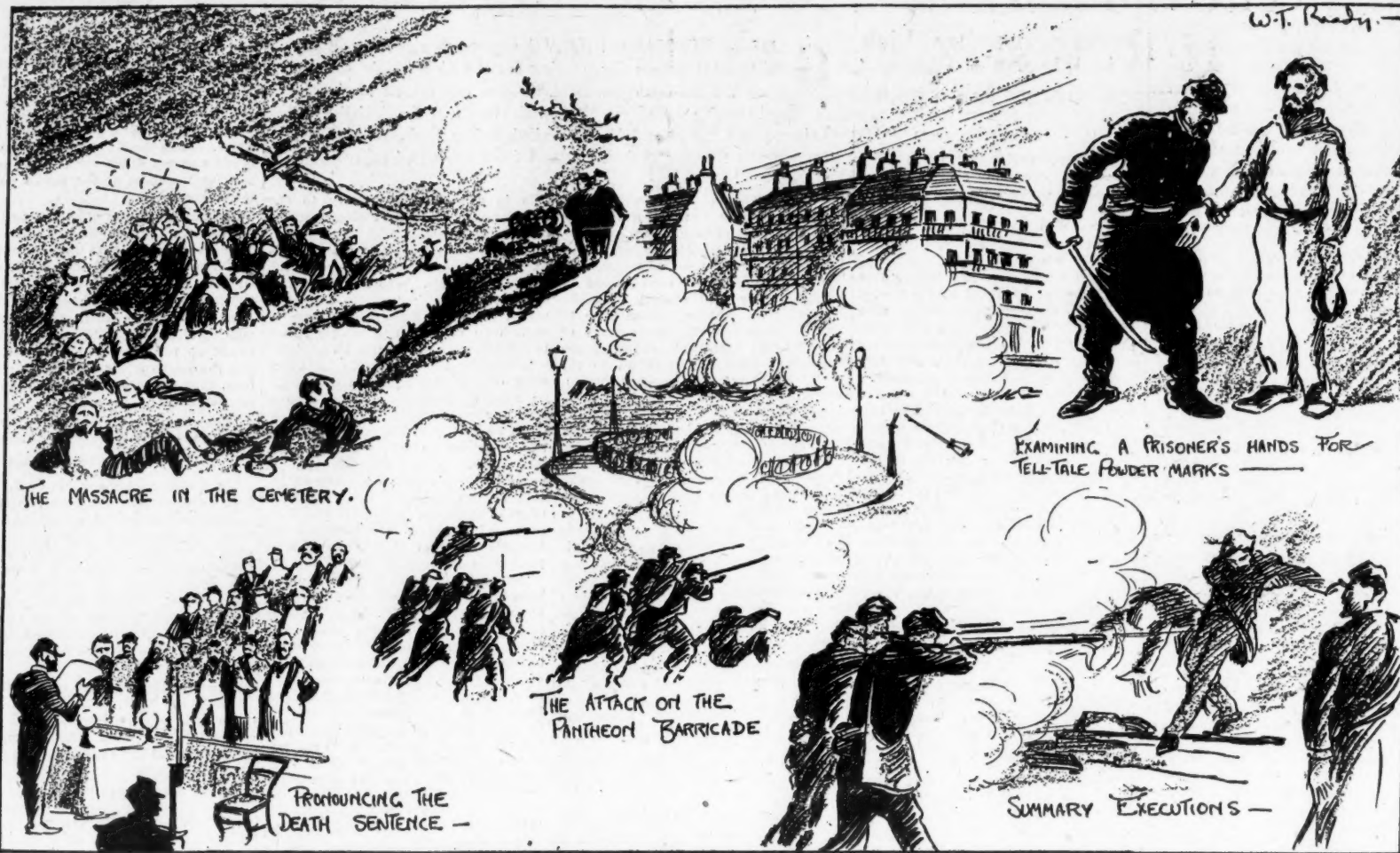
Therefore, on the night of the 17th and 18th March, General Vinoy, a Bonapartist relic, was put in charge of an expedition against Paris. He was to occupy the western half of Paris. General Lecomte was then to occupy the heights of Montmartre and seize the artillery, guarded night and day by the National Guard.

The heights of Montmartre rise sharply from the general level of Paris. General Lecomte and his troops toiled painfully up in the early morning of the 18th. They broke in upon the few and unsuspecting National Guards, and took both the upper and lower plateau at the point of the bayonet. By 6 o'clock the whole of the heights were in Lecomte's hands. The famous cannon were captured.

But the cannon were very heavy, and horses and gun carriages lacking. The moving of the guns to the foot of the heights went on very slowly. The sun was rising, and a few people appeared in the streets. Among them were some National Guards who had escaped during the surprise. At half-past seven the silence was suddenly broken by a frantic ringing of church bells. Soon every spire had caught up and was ringing the tocsin. There echoed about the foot of the hill the dull murmur of drums, beaten to call the National Guard together; bugles sounded throughout the district. In squares and streets around the heights National Guards were hastily running up, putting on their accoutrements as they came, and forming into line. Round the troops of Lecomte was gathering a growing crowd of spectators, mostly women and children.

Gradually, the crowd approached closer. With it came up the National Guards. Twice Lecomte was able to drive them back. But they returned. At last some of the ranks were broken by the crowd. Frightened, the general gave the order to charge, this time

The Bravery and Brutality of the Paris Commune



(DRAWN FROM A SERIES OF PICTURES PRINTED BY L'HUMANITE, WHEN IT WAS THE ORGAN OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS)

In earnest. There was a moment's anxious hesitation. The women of the crowd implored the soldiers: "Would you shoot us—our husbands—our children?" The officers threatened them. Suddenly a sergeant's voice called:

"Put up your arms!" That did it. The soldiers put up their arms, the crowd rushed in, the National Guard fraternized with the line. In a moment, like a black wave, the Revolution had taken Montmartre. It was 9 o'clock.

Lecomte was surrounded by an angry crowd of soldiers and civilians. He was taken to the Chateau Rouge. Vinoy, in command of the mass of the troops, lost his nerve, and ordered a complete retirement to the other side of the Seine.

The retreat of Vinoy and the collapse of the attack on Montmartre had thrown the government into panic. By nightfall every member of the government, except one, had fled from Paris, leaving behind instructions to the officials

to disorganize every department and to follow to Versailles.

Yet the Government had run from its own shadow. There was really no central direction on the other side to be afraid of. Not until the 20th or 21st did the Committee realize that it was sole governor of Paris. It was still so oppressed by its own incompetence and lack of constitutional authority that it permitted itself to be deluded by the Mayors, who were gaining time for the Government. It entered into negotiations with them to arrange for the election of a Paris municipal body; it attached such importance to their assent that they were able to delay this election till 26th of March.

Till that date the Committee did nothing. Meanwhile Thiers was carefully collecting an army. He concentrated his untrustworthy troops into a large camp at Satory, from which civilians were banished.

On March 26th the Paris municipality was elected. It had a crushing

revolutionary majority, and took the name of the Commune.

What did the Commune mean? What was the challenge this name involved?

It was not an absolutely clear-cut and certain defiance. It was still vague. "Commune" was, and still is, a respectable French bourgeois word. It means an Urban or Rural District Council, and as such is part of the French State machinery. Legally, therefore, the proclamation of the "Commune" might have meant only the assumption by Paris of the ordinary municipal autonomy, which had previously been denied her. Anarchists have been found who claimed that this demand, together with the broader scheme of decentralization outlined later, was the real essence of the Commune. Such an argument is entirely misleading. A dispute about details of local government is not a possible basis for a revolution.

First and foremost, to both the workers and smaller middle class, who rallied to it, the Commune meant the

great Commune of 1792 and 1793—the strong revolutionary organ of all the poorer classes of Paris, which had torn down the King and erected the Republic, which had purged the Convention of Girondins, and throughout the critical years had led and made the Revolution. Again and again it had overturned and broken down the power of reaction and the moneyed classes. It was this body which Paris was calling back to life—a power which should turn upon the enthroned reaction, the money power represented by the Thiers Government, and snap it like a brittle stick, as the old Commune on the 10th of August, 1792, had broken for ever the French Monarchy.

This idea had taken hold of all classes. But a new idea was in the minds of the majority of the Communards, and that idea, the future showed, was the essence of the Commune, and all that was vital and dangerous in it. The rest was Republican and decentralist sentimentalism, mere historical dreaming. The new idea was that the Commune was

the Workers' Republic. All the working class of Paris, and the small shopkeepers and working employers who were still in the proletarian environment, felt that the workers had taken their fate into their own hands. At the very beginning, on March 26th, the Journal Officiel wrote:

"The proletarians of the capital, in the midst of the failure and treason of the governing classes, have realized that the hour has arrived for them to save the situation by taking over the direction of public affairs. . . . The proletariat, in the face of the permanent threat to its rights, of the absolute refusal of its legitimate aspirations, and of the ruin of the country and all its hopes, understood that it was its imperative duty and absolute right to take its destiny into its own hands and ensure victory by seizing power."

This was the Commune—the seizure of power by the workers. This is what made it great and dangerous to

the governing class. It is for this that it lives and is remembered in history.

On March 26th, when the Commune was proclaimed, a great wave of happiness and relief swept over Paris. Rarely have such scenes been witnessed as were seen in the square of the Hotel de Ville that day. The delirious enthusiasm spread even to the bourgeoisie. Worker and employer rejoiced together. Old men who had seen '48 were weeping silently. Young men, women and children—all were radiant. The flowers scattered, the red flags dipping and waving, the singing crowds, the maddening pulse of the Marseillaise—there was something in all this that gave the feeling of a great freedom, a new life. Spies reported to Versailles that Paris was "mad with the Commune." It was true. Paris felt that an old oppressing tyranny had been broken; she felt that rare joy of a revolutionary moment, when the old and evil weight is cast aside, and for a moment all is possible, when there is a vision or a feeling of the future which compensates for past and coming sufferings and intoxicates like wine.

But rejoicing could not last for ever. Thiers was preparing his army, and on April 2nd it was ready. He turned his guns on Paris that day. That day, too, occurred the first battle between the Federals, as the National Guards were called, and the Versailles, as the troops of Thiers were named. Next day the Commune replied by a "grand sortie," which met with disaster and defeat, due, not to the rank and file, but to the utter incompetence of the generals. From that day, April 3rd, Paris and Versailles settled down to a grinding and bloody trench warfare. Along all the western walls of Paris the battle was fought relentlessly day by day, and day by day the Communards were more outnumbered.

The fiasco of April 3rd was followed by the appointment of Cluseret to command the whole Guard. He was supposed to have distinguished himself in the American Civil War. Be that as it may, Cluseret destroyed the Commune. He did nothing, and what little he could have done was defeated by the interference of the re-elected Central Committee of the National Guard, which claimed to issue orders without consulting him.

Twenty-seven days of this folly nearly destroyed the Commune Army. On April 30th Cluseret was arrested, and a young officer named Rossel took his place. Now some beginnings of organization were made. The front was divided up under three competent generals; munitions were organized. But on May 8th the fort of Issy fell. Rossel made an attempt at a coup d'etat against the Commune, failed and fled. Delescluze, a veteran enemy of Blanqui, but a Blanquist in ideas, took over in a vain attempt to reduce the War Department to order.

From the 26th of March two months elapsed before the Commune fell. So it had had time to outline a general policy and to begin, clumsily and hesitatingly, the creation of a "workers' state."

It made the Commune there was a majority and a minority. Very roughly, these were composed of the Blanquists, the romantic Republicans, and the International, respectively. The members of the International, together with the rest of the minority, were not opposed entirely to the policy, or lack of policy, of the majority. Of this majority, the Blanquists were deprived of guidance and policy by the capture of their leader, Blanqui, by Thiers' Government. Blanqui's policy had always been, briefly, concentration on the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, and upon the successful prosecution of the war on the bourgeoisie. For this reason he had deliberately eschewed all discussion of general Socialist policy, and selected his followers for their audacity and obedience rather than their theoretical principles. So he had built up a close body of militant revolutionaries; but now, when he himself was in prison, captured by Thiers in the provinces, his followers were without any leader. The

(Continued on page 6)

A Reply to the Critics of the Socialist Party

By Julius Gerber

(Concluded From Last Week)

IF WE agree that Socialism is inevitable and that the Socialist Party is the only organization that now works for Socialism, and that while our position on the war may have for the time being prejudiced people against us, and it is nothing that we ought to be ashamed of, but rather proud of, what, then, are the problems before us? What must we do to make the Socialist Party an active force?

We are told, "Americanize the party." I don't quite understand what is meant by that phrase.

From time immemorial, as long as I have been in the Socialist movement, I have heard that phrase, "The Socialist movement must be Americanized." I well remember how, in the 1899 convention of the Socialist Labor Party, De Leon, Sanial, Vogt, Fibiger argued that the Socialist Labor Party was German, and to succeed it must Americanize, adopt American methods and, to be real American, it must endorse and support the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Well, the Socialist Labor Party was Americanized. It adopted American methods. It endorsed the

The Implications of "Americanization," "Laborization" and "Socialization"

Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, with the well-known results.

Then came the period of the Industrial Workers of the World, and again we were told by the sponsors of that organization—Haywood, Sherman, St. John and others, including De Leon—that that was the way to Americanize the Socialist movement. From 1904 to 1916, at every convention of the Socialist Party, we were told, we who opposed the organization of the I. W. W. and its endorsement by the Socialist Party, that we were foreigners, and that the party must be Americanized, and the way to do it is to endorse the I. W. W. To the credit of the majority, it must be said, we were not stampeded. We refused to endorse the I. W. W. So, when I hear talk about Americanizing the Socialist Party I look for the "nigger in the woodpile." I look for what new "cure-all" will be found that will cure off the face of the earth.

I think I know something about our party, and I know that the overwhelming majority of our membership is American, and by American I mean people who have made up their minds that this is their country and that they are going to live and die here. While they do not all descend from the Mayflower, most of them have been born here. I consider myself, with my forty years in this country, as good an American as anyone else.

That we want more Americans is understood; but that does not mean that the Socialist Party should become a "Know-Nothing" party and put up a sign, "Americans only admitted." And, by the way, Tammany Hall has more foreigners in its membership and voters than the Socialist Party, but I have not heard anyone suggest to Tammany that it must Americanize. Up to the death of Mr. Charles Murphy, most of the leaders of Tammany were born on the other side, but I have not heard of any objections to Tammany because of its being composed of foreigners.

"Laborization" The next thing we are told to do is to "laborize" the Socialist Party. If by that is meant that the Socialist Party is composed in the main of non-labor elements and we should or must

get a larger number of workmen, then the suggestion is out of place. Our party is the most composed of working men. Fully ninety per cent of our membership is of working class elements. Certainly, we have professional men and middle class people, but I can't see why we should not have them. Yes, we want more laborers in our party and we also want those of the professions and business men if they are Socialists and are not afraid to say so.

We are told that we must "laborize, socialize, and Americanize the party." In New York we had a daily Socialist paper. It may not have been a great success as a newspaper, but it acted as a means of publicity for the party. Our membership and followers were reached quickly whenever we had to act quickly, and the trade unions, too, found in it a good means of publicity.

During the war the government did its worst to kill this paper but failed. For fourteen years this paper struggled but lived. Along came our critics and guides, and we were told the paper must be "laborized, Americanized and socialized," which meant it must stop being an organ of Socialism. We fell for it. The Call was "laborized, Americanized and liberalized." You are all acquainted with the results.

I am afraid the same slogans applied to the party will land the party where The Call is.

The Problem of Leaders Then we are told our leaders are no good and we ought to get rid of them and get new leaders.

I would agree to change leaders if some one would point out our leaders to me. The trouble I find with our party is that it has no leaders. If ever there was a rank and file organization, it is the Socialist Party. That is why it was possible for a Medill Patterson, a J. G. P. Stokes and others to become for a while shining lights and members of the executive of our party. The rank and file likes big names, likes to "look up."

But if we had leaders I would still hesitate to get rid of them. Our right wing friends who left us because we were too revolutionary say our leaders are "no good." Our left wing friends who left us because we were not revo-

lutionary enough say the same thing. I have my doubt about the truth in both of them, and since I am not afraid of being a middle-of-the-roader (Centrist) I listen not to the right, nor to the left, but look straight ahead to find a way out. Neither of the two extremes have shown enough sagacity, capacity, wisdom or leadership to create anything. There is still the Socialist party.

Then we are told that it would be best for us to give up the Socialist party as a political organization and to these propositions are attached three different plans.

1. To adopt the American Federation of Labor policy of non-partisan political action.

I don't think the proponent of this plan really meant it. Would he want us to support Tammany Hall in New York? While it may have become outwardly decent it is nevertheless the most corrupt political organization (though such a plan would suit certain careerists who could support Tammany, receive favors and parade as Socialists). Would he have us support the Republican Party, seemingly respectable—so respectable that they don't see anything but the upper class—and serve the interest of big finance and industry?

2. The suggestion that the Socialist Party cease to be a political party and function as a propaganda organization, primarily to disseminate propaganda for a Labor party.

The Socialist party has since 1924 proclaimed that its main aim is independent political action by the producers, and to this end has changed its construction to permit locals and State organizations to co-operate with any bona fide independent labor or farmers' party. As a national organization we endorsed and wholeheartedly supported the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket in 1924. I do not know of any group in the C. C. P. A. that supported the LaFollette ticket as loyally as did the Socialist Party.

Fine's Proposal It seems to me that were the Socialist party to decide to give up political activity and resolve itself into a propaganda organization it would die very quickly. On the one hand it

would open the door to all kinds of charlatans who would be Socialists the whole year except around election time. By their activity in these Socialist propaganda organizations they would build up a following that would be of value to the politicians. During the last campaign I heard a former member of the Socialist party and a left-winger who, since he became a lawyer, had joined Tammany Hall. He was campaign manager for one of the Tammany candidates. I heard this person say: "Yes, I am a Socialist, I believe in Socialism, but for the present there is no chance for the Socialist candidate. Therefore I believe in supporting the candidates of Tammany Hall because they are nearer to us, the workers, than the Republican candidates." He wound up by asking the people to vote for this worthy Tammany candidate and the rest of the Tammany ticket.

If we should adopt this policy, as suggested by Comrade Nathan Fine, we would have many such worthies and some so-called Socialist candidates. Tammany is not adverse to nominating anybody. They know how to get rid of them if they don't obey orders. Look at Sulzer and Hyman.

3. A third plan to give up the Socialist party as a political party is also proposed. In the main this is the same as that proposed by Comrade Fine, but is even more dangerous because it is clothed in a phraseology that makes it almost palatable for the chance onlooker; but when one looks into the plan one can see all the dangers described above.

But we are told as long as the Socialist party remains a political factor there is no chance for the organization of another party. So, in order to encourage the organization of a new political party the Socialist party must go out of business.

Hearing this talk one could think there is a clamor for the organization of a new political party and that the only obstacle is the existence of the Socialist party. But, is that so?

There may be some reformers and progressives who may want to form a new party and to whom the existence

(Continued on page 7)

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Now, World, Listen, Will You?

IF this cock-eyed world would listen to me, it would become a pretty decent place to live in. But the trouble is it won't listen to me, and come to think about it, never listen to anyone who has vision enough to see beyond his nose.

Take this guy, for instance. His name is Forbes. He's a big noise in the financial and business world. He's a big noise in the world of dailies, papers, and all the wise men of Mazzuma land, and his head in approval exclaiming, "ain't he the flea's knees?"

Well, this is what he says in one of his latest effusions:

Were you asked to name the chief bane of American industry today, what would be your reply?

Mine would be, "overproduction."

Almost every manufacturer you meet has this complaint: "Business isn't bad in volume. But prices are not satisfactory. There are too many people in our line of business. The productive capacity is far greater than the demand. And, as everybody is buying from hand to mouth, this means that we are not able to run at full capacity."

When you think through to the bottom, is not overproduction the main cause of distress in the wheat states?

And are not the unsatisfactory prices for cotton directly due to excess production?

A soft coal strike is looked for. The trouble is not described as one of wages:

What is the fundamental trouble? Not wages. It is overproduction, the existing capacity for producing more than the country can consume or export.

Were there demand for anything like all the coal our mines could produce, there undoubtedly would be little or no friction over wages. The mine owners could afford daily rates which, by reason of steady employment throughout the year, would give the miners a decent living wage. But our mines could produce two tons every day for each ton needed. This means that there are painful periods of idleness. And as a consequence the total wage earned by the average miner for the whole year is unsatisfactory.

Having thus disposed of the troubles of the mining industry, he goes on:

This country has more steel producing capacity than it can fully employ. It has more shoe manufacturing capacity, more motor making capacity, more cotton manufacturing capacity, more packing capacity, more rubber manufacturing capacity, more sugar refining capacity, more shipbuilding capacity, more can making capacity, more lumber producing capacity, more cement making capacity, more woolen goods capacity, more copper mining capacity, more cotton seed oil capacity, more locomotive and car building capacity, more silk manufacturing capacity, more clothing manufacturing capacity, more radio manufacturing capacity.

Sure, Mike. Water, water everywhere and not a drop to drink. But cheer up, folks, the worst is yet to come. Having diagnosed the case as over-production, Brother Forbes also offers a remedy. Here it is. Read 'em and weep:

Skillful reducing of costs through increased efficiency, through labor saving machinery, through increased loyalty of workers can help many concerns and some industries. So, too, can more extensive, more vigorous, more effective advertising, education, salesmanship, creating new and wider markets.

Say, isn't that enough to give Saint Vitus dance to a brass monkey? That trouble is over-production. Get that, over-production. That means that the people who work produce more than can be sold. All right, then, let's cut the hours of labor. Let's loaf a few days of the weeks. Let's declare a national holiday and everybody go fishing. Anything to reduce that surplus of good things which is smothering industry and life.

But no, the remedy is "Increased efficiency through labor saving devices." Less hands and more machines. Automatic production, if possible, meaning all machines and no hands at all. It is true, of course, that machines rarely go shopping. Some way they manage to get along without food, clothing, radios, tin lizzies, traveling bags and lip sticks. A little coal and oil is all they need to keep them going. That's why they are so popular with the manufacturers. That also is the reason why each and every one of them tries to produce automatically.

The only remaining question is, who will buy the machine-made goods? The machines?—Don't talk nutty. Machines have damn few wants and still less purchasing power so the only customers for machine products are the folks whom the increased efficiency of labor saving devices has thrown on the scrap heap. True, the ghost seemed to walk the minute they joined the great and inglorious army of the unemployed. Their pockets are empty. But why worry about such small details when "more extensive, more vigorous, more effective advertising and salesmanship will create new and wider markets."

Brother Forbes does not say where these new and wider markets are to be found. That too, is a minor detail considering the fact that every modern nation is trying to dump its surplus on the others while making frantic efforts to keep the other fellow's goods out of its own country.

Well, what's your remedy, Adam?

Lower the speed, days and hours of labor and raise wages until the output and the value of the output equals the purchasing power of labor.

"Will it work?"

Well, I dunno, but if it don't work we've lost nothing but worse than useless work.

Appreciated Praise

I have received an awfully nice letter from an admirer in Michigan in which he says among other true and complimentary things:

"Without undue laudation I say that I consider you the most forceful and logical writer we have today on the North American continent. I believe Shaw is taking good care of the European countries. To 'debunk' this old world of ours is some job but if we had a few more like you, satisfactory progress would be assured."

Of course I knew that all the time. Nevertheless, it feels good to have one's good opinion of himself corroborated by others. I am also going to send that letter to Shaw just to let him know that he isn't the only pebble on the beach. The old gent is getting a little conceited of late. It may do him good to be taken down a few pegs by being compared with me.

I also embrace this opportunity to notify the judges who laud the Nobel prizes to be more careful in distributing them. I haven't got a Nobel prize yet. Not even a peace prize. They went and gave one to Root who didn't do a thing but root for war when the war was on.

So it comes about that genuine peace angels like Bertrand Russell, Reinhold Rolland and myself get the indignities while peace makers like Root and Co. walk off with the glory.

Adam Coaldigger.

The Socialist Party Comes Into Existence; It Refuses To Drop "Immediate Demands"

Chapter IV

THE Socialist Party, excepting for the period of the World War, has been least affected of the various organized phases of American Socialism by tendencies leading to a philosophy of force, but the end of the war found it facing an upheaval of this type that easily made up for its comparative absence of force advocates in its previous history. Organized in 1901 as the result of the union of two national Socialist organizations and three independent State organizations—Iowa, Kentucky and Texas—it brought into it some veterans whose experience included a struggle with the force Anarchists of the eighties. Then what was known as the Springfield party, the larger group which had left the Socialist Labor Party because of its attitude towards the trade unions, came into the new party with the memory of this experience before it. There was practical unanimity in the Unity Convention of 1901, when these organizations united in a declaration regarding the new party's attitude towards the economic organizations of American wage workers.

In a resolution on "Socialism and Trade Unionism" the new party declared that the trade unions are an inevitable outgrowth of "the development of capitalism"; that they express one phase of a class antagonism inherent in the present industrial order, and that without them "the working people would be at the mercy of the capitalist class." The resolution further affirmed that "trade unions are by economic and historical necessity organized on neutral grounds as far as political affiliation is concerned." That is, in carrying on their struggles the trade unions must fight for all wage workers, whether they be Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Populists and so on. But the members of trade unions were also appealed to "to sever their affiliation with the capitalist parties and with the so-called middle class reform movements, and to follow the banner of independent political action of labor." Members of this party were urged to strengthen and build up the trade unions as well.

A survey of the composition of the convention brought out an interesting fact. This survey "served to demonstrate how much the character of the Socialist movement had changed during the preceding years. Out of the 124 delegates no more than twenty-five, or about 20 per cent, were foreign born; the others were native Amer-

icans. Socialism had ceased to be an exotic plant in this country." The writers, speakers and organizers of the new party were also chiefly Americans.

An Old Conflict

Nevertheless, even in this convention, which displayed no trace of assigning to the trade unions a subordinate position in the struggle against the present order there appeared the old conflict between reform and revolution. One year before the Unity Convention met the Socialist Labor Party had eliminated from its party declaration those measures of immediate relief which it had always carried. A strong group, led by the Chicago delegation, appeared in the Unity Convention with a proposal that all references to current measures and reforms reported by the platform committee should be stricken out of its report. Delegate Simons, the leading spokesman for this proposal, favored it because nowhere else in the world had "the struggle between capital and labor narrowed down to as . . . clear an issue as it has in America." He favored no "competitive bidding for votes," because "either of the old parties can outbid us." He emphasized the belief that "economic development demands that we should stand clear-cut and square on the fact that between us and capitalism there is no common ground; . . . there is naught but an abyss into which he who seeks to bridge it will only fall to absolute oblivion." Moreover, "immediate demands are something of which the benefit to the laborers (will not be) commensurate with the side-tracking of the Socialist movement." He favored issuing an address "which shall not contain these demands, but which shall contain an explanation of our attitude in relation to them."

Three sessions of the convention were devoted to a discussion of this proposal, and the vote cast is interesting. Each delegate had as many votes as there were members assigned to him to represent, and the votes of 6,801 members were cast. Of these the vote stood 1,321 in favor of the proposal and 5,480 against. The defeat of the proposal was decisive, but had it carried it would have implied that the Socialist Party regarded immediate problems of little consequence.

The remarks cited above indicate the point of view. Although the speaker and his associates would all agree that

human society is constantly changing, that it is an evolving social organism and not a machine, they argue as though it is a machine. It must be either accepted or be replaced by another machine. There is no "bridge" to reconcile the two views, and those who attempt to find one "will fall to absolute oblivion." The idea of society being continually modified, not only by the laws of its own evolution, but by the conscious will of human beings, is foreign to this catastrophic view.

In considering one phase of the career of William Morris in the British Socialist movement, a phase when Morris assumed the same position and argued it with intense conviction, M. Beer said: "Strictly considered, this argument is directed not only against parliamentary action, but against every kind of reform short of revolution. It may be applied to factory legislation, to social insurance, to trade unionism, and generally to all measures that are aiming at amelioration. The error into which Morris fell lay in regarding society as a mechanical contrivance and reform as a sort of patching up of some defective parts of the machine. This mode of viewing society allows of no other remedy than the complete removal of the old machine and its replacement by another of a quite different pattern. In reality society is not a mechanical contrivance, but a living organism in constant change and development, an organization capable of being developed into a higher form by legislative and other measures granted to a new class rising in importance and power in society. At first the influence of such reforms on the social structure may be imperceptible, but with the increase of the quantity of reforms the alteration in the quality of society grows apace, until it amounts to a revolutionary change visible to all. Great social upheavals which are designated revolutions are the effect of the inrush of economic and ethical transformations into the region of politics, or of the peremptory demand of a large portion of the nation to give legal effect to them and redistribute political power accordingly. The real revolution had been going on more or less silently for a long time anterior to the upheaval, but, as it had been split up in particular changes and reforms effected during long intervals, there was no con-

siderable resistance to its growth. The revolution, in its dramatic or sensational form, is but an attempt to add up the particular changes and reforms and bring out the sum total. The revolutionary character of a reform does not depend on its volume and sweep, but on its direction and nature. In our time, for instance, any reform is revolutionary which tends to strengthen the working class and to give them control of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

"Socialists and Anarchists who have not yet overcome the mechanical conception of society would no doubt reject that definition of revolutionary reform and would maintain that everything which tended to intensify the dissatisfaction of the working classes and influence them against the existing order was revolutionary, while social reform but tended to render them less dissatisfied and less rebellious and was therefore anti-revolutionary in its effect. According to this view the condition of the working classes must grow worse before it would grow better, while according to the biological view the condition of the working classes must gradually improve in order to fit them for the high duties of social citizenship."

Moreover, in practice the rejection of an immediate program of social, political and economic amelioration becomes absurd the moment representatives are elected to a law-making body. Such representatives would have to vote against every proposal offered in such a body and refrain from introducing any measures of their own. Or they would have to present a resolution demanding the complete abdication of the possessing classes and their representatives and fight for nothing else. In city councils and State legislatures this would be particularly absurd for the reason that collective acquisition of the powers of production and distribution implies nationwide power. To believe that the working class, which by its very position in society is compelled to fight its way day by day to more advanced positions, would be content to retain representatives in office who ignore measures of relief is to completely misunderstand the character of the working class struggle.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Speech—Free and Otherwise

WE are in New Haven, "the city of Eli-lums" Yale, on our way to uplift and enlighten the minds of college students at Yale, Harvard, Trinity, Wesleyan and points East. Morris Ernst is with us and we are doing a Gallagher and Sheehan act, Morris talking on civil liberties and your humble servant on the coal situation, or what have you? It is lots of fun for us as we go from spot to spot in an automobile. We don't really know if it's as much fun for our audiences but we must say they have so far been most polite and long-suffering and as long as they are beggars for punishment we will go right on talking.

A friend sent us the following swell song together with a magnificent musical accompaniment. Try this on your player-piano:

I am a one hundred per cent. American.

I am one.

I am one.

I am a one hundred per cent. American.

I am a supe.

I am a supe.

I am a superpatriot.

A red, red, red, red, I am

A red-blooded American.

I am a one hundred per cent. American,

I am, God damn, I am.

I am an anti-Darwin intellectual

The man that says that any nice young boy or gal

Is a descendant of the ape,

Shall never from Hell's fire escape.

I am a one hundred per cent. American,

I am, God damn, I am.

For I'm just folks and that's just what I am.

I like to read the Saturday Evening Post,

In art I pull no high-brow stuff,

I know what I like and that's enough.

I am a one hundred per cent. American,

I am, God damn, I am.

I'm a believer in Osteopathy.

The man who tries them other kinds of

therapy

May do for them damned foreign ginks,

Who won't take medicine without it stinks.

I am a one hundred per cent. American,

I am, God damn, I am.

I may be a Mary Baker Eddy follower,

And I don't care what any doctor says of

her.

Disease is now laid on the shelf,

And a dead man only kids himself.

I am, etc.

An American marine, who got tired of seeing life through a porthole, went ashore in Shanghai and got hit by a spent bullet or a mis-spent shell or something, and we are supposed to get all het up about it and holler around about our national honor. The more we read about the Chinese mess the deeper grows our admiration for the wiley ways of the Oriental and the less we worry about our national honor, whatever that is. Instead of killing a lot of people in an expensive battle one outfit simply sold out to the other. The Northerners sent word to the Southerners that if the latter wouldn't get mussy and shoot off cannons they could have Shanghai at a bargain price. What could be fairer than that? If the Germans had only thought of it they might have purchased Paris at the outset of the war and saved everybody a lot of trouble. Paris might have come a bit higher than Shanghai but it would have been cheap at any price.

Pretty soon we are going through the town of Meriden, Connecticut, and we always get a kick out of knowing that we have a Supreme Court decision announcing that we are at liberty to say anything we want in Meriden, Conn. It cost us a day in the Meriden jail to get said decision but it was worth it as the cop who arrested us for speaking for Debs in the town square was particularly snooty about "you dirty Socialists butting in where you ain't wanted."

The only trouble is that now that we have proven our right to speak in Meriden, Conn. We will probably send a post-card to the chief of police with "You are welcome to your city on it."

Tell you more about our trip next week.

Speakingly yours,

McAlister Coleman.

MOVIES FOR MAGNATES

HOW thoroughly domination of the Government by parties representing the possessing classes results in uncooled co-operation between the two is demonstrated by an announcement of the Department of Commerce this week. The department is co-operating with large copper companies in producing a moving picture in five parts "depicting graphically copper prospecting, mining, milling, smelting and refining methods." Some 20,000 feet of film will be used in telling the story of copper from the prospector to the making of the finished bars.

This is merely a beginning of this program. About forty-six other industries are to be covered, including about 1,700 reels, and the "entire cost of producing each picture and of providing copies for circulation is borne by the co-operating agency." It is a comprehensive program and that it has a certain educational value we would be the last to deny.

But there is another side to the economic development and technical phases of the copper and other industries. This is the life of the workers in these industries, their struggles and strikes to win a more human status in them. The copper industry has been the scene of some of the most terrible struggles in industrial warfare and without visualizing something of these struggles such films are one-sided and amount to intimate co-operation between a department of the Government and the owners of the industries.

Is it likely that the department will reproduce the scenes in the strikes of upper Michigan, Minnesota and the copper region of Montana? Will it provide us with a close-up view of the hired mercenaries of the copper companies and the part they have played in beating down the metal miners in their struggle for a place in the sun? Not likely. The pictures will tend to glorify the absentee owners, many of whom live in New York, Boston and abroad, and who never in all their lives ever saw a copper mine.

Whom does the Government belong to, anyway?

Scanning The New Books

The Background of the Russian Family

IF OUR good bourgeois moralists who are dumfounded or bewildered by what they suppose the Bolsheviks have been doing to the family in Russia were to read Elaine Elnett's study of the "Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia," recently published by the Columbia University Press, they might wonder whether any harm can actually be done to the Russian family. Starting very much as the family did among other primitive peoples, with a certain communal solidarity and a certain emphasis on the maternal line, the Russian family succumbed to patriarchal lordship, the blight cast by the dismal Byzantine Christianity, and the arbitrary interference of Tsaristic governments, and the result was demoralization of family relations, the dissolution of family ties, and a general morbidity of family life. If the family can persist at all in the face of centuries of such devastating experiences, perhaps it has a vitality that communists can not erase.

Doctor Elnett does ample justice to the individual revolt, especially that of the women, against the hampering conditions of family life, and brings the story up to the eve of the great revolution. This part of the narrative seems to ring true to American impressions of the Russian soul. The same is true of the long chronicle of the tedious ages when the Russian family was wading through the clinging gloom. The one big question that will arise in the reader's mind is as to why the author did not come through with the Bolshevik revolution. The book is certainly not counter-revolutionary. In fact, the casual reports of the high-handed way in which earlier governments dealt with the family would serve to extenuate for a fair critic of Communism the vigorous measures that the Bolsheviks have taken with the family. Thus the idea of separating the children from the family and from the faults of the old society was applied more than once under the old regime by would-be progressive monarchs.

So far as one can tell who is not an authority on Russian history and Russian ways, Doctor Elnett's book is to be commended to the careful attention of all that would understand the historic background of the Russian social problem of today. The reading of her account may possibly leave the impression that much that has been called Bolshevik is merely Russian.

Arthur W. Calhoun.

How's Your Racial Health?

MUCH as the earlier volumes of the Today and Tomorrow Series have given our minds to digest, "Hygiene, or Disease and Evolution," by Burton P. Thom (Dutton, \$1), gives our minds our bodies to feed upon. This volume is the first which has presented disease from the point of view which all other sciences have adopted, that of the theory of evolution. With a packed condensation that does not prevent him from bringing in wide-sought yet pertinent and effective illustrations, Dr. Thom indicates a period before disease was, shows how it probably came into being, and traces its progress across civilization to that far prophetic period when it shall disappear from our completely immunized bodies.

Disease as an element in the development of civilization, as well as an individual matter, has also received clear presentation here. "It is not straining a historic probability too much to say that the early and firm foothold Mohammedanism gained in the Near East was due not so much to the fanatic valor of the soldiers of the Prophet as to the weakened resistance of those opposed to them; which was the direct result of the 'Great Plague.' Dr. Thom quotes other authorities as emphasizing the action of pandemic malaria in bringing on the decline of Rome, and supplies other instances of definite interrelation of history and epidemics. The history of various great diseases is also suggestively outlined, from the mummy of the twentieth Egyptian dynasty (1200-1100 B. C.), that had smallpox, down to the latest curative agents of our day. Beyond this is a consideration of the various healing possibilities, natural development of immunity, chemotherapy, sero-therapy (injection of serums) and radio- or electric-therapy, with wide indications of the limitations and likelihoods in each field, and a soundly optimistic aspiration for humankind.

The human body itself, in the course of these crowded pages, is shown in comparison with what we know of ancient giants and Methuselahs, and the tendency to greater strength, general health and longevity is supported with summoned statistics. The nearest words I have seen in regard to alcohol and prohibition slip casually in; and a clear refutation of any Malthusian alarmist who might worry about overpopulation with increasing health. In scarce one hundred pages "Hygiene" packs as meaty a consideration of a practically virgin field as one is likely to find. Dr. Thom has done a new job, and, unlike most venturers into

new territory, has not merely discovered, but has thoroughly explored, and competently and absorbingly reported.

William Lea.

Light Stuff

TWO books that bid for the attention of the literary idler, who has nothing but time to spend (beyond the purchase price), and nothing but laughter to lose, are "Sweet and Low," which Simon & Schuster are issuing for a dollar and a quarter, and "Time Exposures," which Boni & Liveright publish for twice that sum. The first is by Liggett Reynolds, which is as illuminating as the author of the second: "Searchlight." The second of these volumes, which might equally be described as lowbrow entertainment for highbrows, is the more pretentious; it contains twenty character sketches that have already appeared in the "New Yorker," each with a caricature or a photograph of the victim. Being more pretentious, it is less effective than the other volume, which pretends to nothing—yet is all pretense; "Time Exposures" seems to find it impossible, despite the searchlight that is turned upon the persons discussed, despite the "time" of the exposure, despite the double play of "exposure," to reveal anything save the most pleasant facts about its subjects. The most it ventures in the way of criticism is to expose an occasional hobby, or perhaps a foible; the farthest it goes in the way of unpleasantness is to be feely Conde Nastly.

"Sweet and Low" is a satire on most anything that is unimportant in civilization, especially the current would-be best-seller fiction. With side slaps at current figures, such as Heywood Broun and other idols of the World-New Yorker - and - perhaps - American Mercury reader, the book achieves a sort of nonsense that is usually agreeable and sometimes hilarious. The public the two books seek, that slight and light sophisticated type that considers itself the last word—if not the one after—is well indicated by the jacket remarks. The one: "Have you a Daughter? A Son? A Limousine? A Father? A Mother? A Problem? A Dollar and a Quarter? If you have any of these (or only the last) this is the book for you." And the other: "Who is Searchlight? has been almost as frequent a remark this last season, in fashionable and literary circles, as 'Who is your hottelger?'" This is perhaps the complete characterization.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Notes On Books

Van Wyck Brooks's new book, published by Dutton, consists of a group of critical papers on "Emerson and Others," the others including such different figures as Ambrose Bierce, Herman Melville, Randolph Bourne and Upton Sinclair. Giuseppe Prezzolini's "Fascism" is soon to be published by the Duttons.

A revised edition of "The New Negro," edited by Alain Locke, is announced by the Bonis, who have just issued "Anthony Comstock," by Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech.

Ford Madox Ford is writing a satirical impression of this country to be called "New York Is Not America." This will be published by Albert & Charles Boni in May. The same publishers will bring out "The Good Soldier," by Mr. Ford.

Evelyn Scott's new novel, "Migrations," will be published this month by the Bonis.

Gaetano Salvemini's "The Fascist Dictatorship" is about to be published by Henry Holt & Co.

Putnam will publish "Silver Cities of Yucatan," by Gregory Mason, on April 8.

The latest additions to "The New Science Series," edited by C. K. Ogden, have just been announced by W. W. Norton & Co. They are "Types of Mind and Body," "A Short Outline of Comparative Psychology" and "Father in Primitive Psychology."

"The Idea of Social Justice" is the subject of a survey by Charles W. Pipkin, of Louisiana State University, which Macmillan has just published. Mr. Pipkin's purpose has been to get at certain common factors in the social movement in England and France since 1900. He gives an outline of the social legislation of these years in both countries, and also endeavors to link up this legislation with the development of administration.

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Technical Men Continue Organization Drive; Invade Private Field

The Field of Labor

LAST summer we reported on the fact that the technical men in the employ of the City of New York were flocking into New York Local No. 37 of the International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen. So successful has the organization campaign been that the union has been called into hearings conducted by the municipal authorities, has aroused the ire of the editors of the technical magazines, and has undertaken the publication of a monthly journal.

What Local 37 has to overcome in unionizing persons often looked upon as professionals is illustrated in a story told by Organizer H. W. Nelson, who is himself a graduate of the Colorado School of Mines and an engineer of wide experience:

"One day I called upon a certain city drafting room where a score of draftsmen were employed, and I asked for the engineer in charge. After being pointed out to me, I walked in and introduced myself and my purpose. The effect on Mr. Engineer was alarming. His face grew red, his throat wound up into a howl, he spit, and then exploded: 'Technical Men! I have no use for them. I'm an engineer! Yeh! But I'm retiring and I don't want to see any more technical men! I worked hard for the old union, we won a 10 per cent raise and then they quit.'"

"He paused and filled his lungs again: 'I tell you, they won't stick! They think because they wear white collars they're professionals! They don't know they're only wage earners! They're not even men! They might organize, yes, but only when they're starving to death, and then they will come crawling in on their hands and knees.'"

"He waved his hand toward his men: 'There they are! Go ahead and organize them! I'll bet they haven't got the guts to join!'"

"After this tirade we shook hands, and I went back to the men. Needless to say, they all joined."

The move for union affiliation started among the men employed by the Board of Transportation, which lays the plans for subway construction. From the start technical men in other city departments began to join. The architects, draftsmen and engineers of the Bureau of Construction and Maintenance of the Board of Education were a large and enthusiastic addition. Since then efforts have been made to invade the private field. At a recent conference, employees of twenty large firms were represented. Indeed, despite the fact that the majority of the members of the union are city employees, one-half of the executive council, as well as the honorary president and president, are employed by private concerns.

It is refreshing to see how clear-cut the technical men are making the union issue. True, they are more or less professionals, but their economic status, they insist, is that of workers, for they are employees of others. It is well enough to talk of codes of ethics, group insurance, an employment service bureau, fee schedules and a legal service bureau, but these are but sops. They are blind to conceal the need for economic improvement. So also with engineers' and surveyors' license laws. They have their place, but "the danger is in em-

phasizing that which is but incidental and of minor importance." With respect to salary increases and reclassification schedules, the union has taken the position that the lower-paid men must not be sacrificed for the aristocrats. The organization hopes, too, to affiliate with the Building Trades Department and compel the union label on blueprints. Finally, there is a disposition not to hurry. The officers are relying upon the intelligence of the members to postpone "immediate material gains" until the organization is firmly established. Then concessions will be granted either with or without the resort to drastic action.

TYPO DEAD-LOCK CONTINUES

The "Typographical Journal" continues to present the unusual spectacle of an official union organ carrying the arguments of both sides to an important internal controversy. John W. Hays as editor allows space for the views of himself and his three colleagues on the Executive Council, while President Charles P. Howard, the fifth member, replies to them in the succeeding issues in the "President's Pages." The Council's business is still dead-locked over the removal of several international organizers by Howard despite the contrary wishes of the other four. The President claims he has discretionary power in the matter; his opponents argue that they must be consulted. Of course, the whole dispute goes back to the election of last year when Lynch was defeated for office. Howard insists that he is living up to his campaign pledges of economy—the I. T. U. ran up a deficit of a million dollars in the last two years. Partisanship as a factor must not be overlooked, however.

The Executive Council members Seth R. Brown, Austin Hewson, Charles N. Smith (of the Mailers), and J. W. Hays have proposed that the questions at issue be submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for that body's review and decision, the decision to take effect immediately after being promulgated and to continue until the next convention of the International Typographical Union. Howard has suggested "that the four members of the Executive Council, certain from the executive council of the federation whether or not that body is willing to assemble and hear both sides present their arguments. That information also be secured as to how soon a decision can be reasonably expected if the federation's council consents to hear and decide the controversy. If a favorable reply is received and a decision can be had at an early date the President will agree to submit the questions in controversy which can be legally submitted."

Then "if it be found an early decision cannot be had by this method the four members of the council agree to submit to a referendum vote the question as to whether or not the President's rulings and interpretation of the constitution shall be approved or disapproved."

And this brings us to another phase of the controversy. Howard is constantly harping on the need for referendum decisions to remove the stigma of arbitrariness from the Council. The last election hinged in a large measure on the increase in the minimum contribution to the old age pension and mortuary funds that the Council had ordered. The temporary injunction obtained at that time by Typographical Union No. 6 of New York was made permanent in the midst of the present controversy and has not eased up the situation. Now, the Mailers, affiliated with the I. T. U., have obtained an injunction in the federal court at Indianapolis restraining the President from issuing a referendum on two amendments sponsored by the Detroit Local No. 18 at the instance of Howard, which the Mailers' officials claim would virtually disfranchise them and limit their participation in the affairs of the union. The whole thing is a sorry affair in the very year when the union is to celebrate its Diamond Jubilee. The probability is that no settlement will be reached until the convention in August of this year.—L. S.

grave faults of his organization at once came out. No one could take the place of Blanqui, and incapable of any regular policy, the Blanquist drifted. They carried out small coups and showed isolated instances of vigor, but were unable to follow any. They were lieutenants without a general. Their greatest anxiety was to recover Blanqui. They offered to Thiers to exchange for Blanqui all the hostages in the hands of the Commune, but Thiers, prudently enough, refused.

The vacillations of the Blanquists were made worse by the mass of the Commune members, who were accustomed to look to the old leaders of '48 for guidance. The Commune was essentially a chance and haphazard assembly of working-class representatives. There would be probably one or two actual scoundrels, a sprinkling of foreigners, a number of steady and honest workers of both second-rate abilities, a disproportionate number of mere talkers, and a few who by their ability and courage were able to impress themselves on the assembly. Such exactly was the Commune. The mass of the Commune members were working men of solid worth, but they were completely under the influence of the mere talkers, of whom Felix Pyat may stand as the type. The stock-in-trade, rather than the policy, of these men was only the memory of 1793, and their only resource an imitation of those days.

The members of the International, who mostly belonged to the minority, were in some ways more "realist" than the rest, though they were called dreamers. The International, in 1870 a strong trade union federation, found that the unions had disappeared during the siege. It was, consequently, reduced to reliance upon its political "sections," which in Paris had not become strong or typical of the International until 1871. The programme of the International was the handing over of capitalist industry to autonomous workers' associations, arising out of the trade unions, while the political state was to be a decentralized Republic. The International was, indeed, too preoccupied with its ideal State to realize the supremacy of the demands of the Department of War.

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that there is little to record concerning the Commune's general policy.

The Commune, naturally, repealed the destructive decree of the Assembly on rents and bills. It excused the workers all rent, and provided for their existence by continuing the pay and allowances of the National Guard. It returned all the furniture and property of the poorer classes which were in the pawnshops. It separated Church and State, confiscated ecclesiastical property and secularized education. It pulled down the Vendôme Column, the most famous Paris monument to the victories of Napoleon I.

But that was all. Rightly or wrongly, the Commune was too oppressed by the military needs of the moment to

NEW YORK AUTOMOBILE WORKERS ARE BUSY ORGANIZING CUSTOM, REPAIR MEN

(Continued from page 1)

taken. The unusual experience of a busy summer season in 1919 was of great assistance. The membership rose and soon passed its former maximum. At one meeting as many as 187 recruits joined the union. Then men and women, too, for they are engaged for sewing machine operating—felt the time was ripe to present demands to the employers. The morning following Columbus Day, 1919, twenty-seven hundred members of Local No. 49 went out on strike.

Most of the smaller shops surrendered very soon, but the Big Five—Locks (which went bankrupt two weeks ago), Holbrook (now out of town), Demarest's (unimportant now), Sterling's (out of business) and Miller, Hicks & Hewitt (broken up)—held out for fifteen weeks. All of the larger shops settled up except Cadillac's and Wood's. By the terms of the agreement the forty-four-hour week was secured, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays, and wage increases ranging from fifteen to thirty per cent, with the greater gains for the lower paid.

Manufacturers Are Split

The strike left the union in a favorable position. A few shops were lost, but the membership continued for some time at about two thousand. On the other hand, the New York Motor Coach Manufacturers' Association was split in two, and some time elapsed before the breach was healed.

Shortly after Local 49 walked out Local 8 in Brooklyn followed. The membership of the latter at that time was about three hundred and fifty. The strike in general was successful, and even non-union shops met union conditions. All should have been well, but through the blunders of a business agent the local lost membership rapidly, and finally petered out. The few survivors came into 49. It was not until last summer that the Brooklyn organization was revived as Local 22.

During and especially since the war certain changes that have been taking place in the automobile industry have reacted unfavorably upon the workers and their union. Although specialization has not been introduced to the same extent as in the production establishments, it has not left the custom and repair shops unaffected. Subdivision of labor has taken the skill out of woodwork and trimming (upholstering). Inventions have simplified metal work. Probably the most revolutionary transformation has occurred in the painting of cars. A beautifully polished exterior is the pride of every auto. Up to ten years ago this was obtained by a long and tedious process. First the rough stuff would be put on; then a process of rubbing would ensue, followed by additions of color and

color varnish; then more rubbing, and finally stripping and finishing. A day or two for drying would have to be allowed at various stages. Now time and men are eliminated. A coat of lacquer or other filler is put on—two in high-class work—and then the paint, usually Duco, a product of du Pont's, is sprayed on with a specially contrived gun. These technical developments have not only diminished the need for the old workers' skill, but actually reduced the number necessary to do any particular job. It must be remembered, too, that painting has always been the mainstay of the custom and repair trade. Add to this, now, loss of jobs due to speeding and inability to keep up the pace, and it can be seen what havoc will be played with union membership.

The Changing Styles

A second factor of disturbance has been changes in automobile styles. Formerly the owners of an expensive car would turn it in for repairs every season. Now this is a poor man's practice. The custom today is to sell the old and buy a new one every year. The purchaser does not think it worth while to refresh a perfectly good car.

If he sells it in turn, the new buyer will follow the same procedure. Thus, much employment is eliminated. Two other fashions have had the same effect. One is the vogue for the closed car, which results in the preservation of the trimmings and the abolition of the comparatively fragile top of the old touring car. Another is the disappearance of tufted backs, cushions and even head linings and the substitution for these of plain or, at best, fluted upholstery. Thus, taking all factors into consideration two men today can trim four cars in one day, whereas fifteen years ago one car would demand their attention for two weeks.

These developments, the elimination of skill and the increased productivity per worker, are at the bottom of the auto workers' present organization campaign in New York and Newark. It is felt that the industrial form of organization can best meet the situation. It is believed that the only hope of the workers is a strong union. The unorganized are working at wages as much as fifty percent below the minimum paid to union members. They work ostensibly forty-eight hours per week but since they receive single pay for overtime there is nothing to discourage the employer from working them sixty hours. In two establishments, Cadillac's and Rolls-Royce's (formerly Brewster's) piece work has been introduced. There is, of course, no protection against the unwarranted discharge of an employee at any time.

Pacts Ends in 1928

The contract that Local 49 has with

the Union Group of the New York Motor Coach Manufacturers Association—and only three of the large shops in the Association are still run on a non-union basis—corrects these abuses. Twenty-five establishments are affected—twenty-three in Manhattan and two in Brooklyn. The agreement is for a term of two years and expires on March 1, 1928. It provides for the closed shop and the placement of all help through the union office. In case Local 49 cannot meet the needs of the employers, the non-unionists hired must become members of the union. Provision is made for a forty-four hour week with time and a half for overtime and double time on Saturday afternoons. The minimum scale of wages runs from thirty-three dollars for a motor mechanic's helper to fifty-four for a hammerman metal worker or a trimmer. All disputes are settled by a Joint Grievance Committee. Regulation of apprentices is provided for. This is the kind of an agreement that should attract workers to the union.

Finally, the auto workers are making a new and effective kind of appeal. They are urging the abolition of health hazards in the industry. Workers are reminded that occupational dangers will be wiped out only when the union is a powerful organization that can demand protective legislation and compel reforms. The Board of Health has shown an interest in the prevailing conditions. The Workers' Health Bureau with which the union is affiliated has surveyed the field and prepared an effective propaganda leaflet. It has pointed out the high frequency of tuberculosis, lead poisoning and accidents among the automobile workers. It has recommended among other things that the men demand damp rubbing down or wet sandpapering as a precaution against lead poisoning, the prohibition of benzol, the cessation of open spraying, special ventilating systems to carry off dusts and fumes and the elimination of wood alcohol. The health appeal is very effective. The union's protection is worth the five dollars initiation fee and the dollar fifty dues per month. The local officers, assisted by the General Executive Secretary, Arthur E. Rohan, who has come East for the purpose of expecting to add substantially to the seven hundred odd members now in the Metropolitan area. The return of the high class firm of Holbrook's, whose two hundred and fifty employees were the backbone of the local organization until the concern moved to Hudson, New York two years ago in search of cheap labor, is also expected to swell the union's ranks. All in all we see a noble effort aided by unlimited resources to cope with the tremendous odds that the efficiency-ridden automobile industry presents.

THE COMMUNE—A COSTLY LESSON

(Continued from page 4)

occupy itself with outlining the basis of a new society.

The fight of Rosel had been followed by the appointment of a committee of public safety. A fine name, but mere names would not make Pyat and his kind change their characters. It was recalled for its own incompetence, and the defense left to Delescluze. But his efforts were obviously hopeless; his men were outnumbered by 10 to 1. After Issy, Fort Vanveurs had fallen, and the end was only a matter of time.

The Commune, romantic as ever, attempted to meet the situation by appointing another committee of public safety (May 15th). The minority, disgusted at what they considered to be playing with a serious situation, quitted the Commune and withdrew to the arrondissements (boroughs), for the members of the Commune were exiles of the borough council for their district. The Federal Council of the International persuaded them that to withdraw at this moment would be scandalous, and they returned.

On May 22 a spy gave signals to the Versailles army that the extreme southwest end of Paris (Auteuil) was undefended and the government troops crept in during the afternoon. That evening and next morning they poured in by all the western gates.

Immediately upon their entry into Paris and Versailles troops organized a massacre. The soldiers had orders, which were executed, to kill at once all who surrendered with arms in their hands. They murdered, moreover, anyone whom casual suspicions or interested denunciations indicated. Crowds of idle passers-by were penned to gather, searched and ordered to show their hands. Any black marks on the palm which might be taken to be powder stains were sufficient evidence for execution. Any man who had retained any portion of the National Guard clothing was shot. The police received 399,523 letters of denunciation, of which but a twentieth was signed. And the writing of such a letter was sufficient to make forfeit the life of the man denuded, if he could be found. The fable of petrolouses—women petrol-throwers, who were supposed to have fired government buildings—led to the inclusion of women in this massacre. The firemen were most exterminated, because some malicious person had spread the story that they had filled their hose-pipes with petrol.

Civilians whom good fortune saved from immediate death were taken for trial before one of the numerous courts-martial. The "trial" never lasted more than a few minutes, and death was the sentence in fully half the cases. The bodies were left lying in the Paris streets or half buried in haste.

Those who were not shot by order of the courts were sent to Versailles for re-trial. Before they could pass the gate of La Muette they were stopped by the vain and theatrical General Marquis de Gallifet, who selected a number of them to be shot on the spot. One day it was the white-haired

he killed, another, those who were taller or uglier than their neighbors—any fantastic reason that amused his ghastly fancy.

Then the wretched fainting convulsions marched uncovered under the blazing summer sun to Versailles, often forbidden water or rest, sometimes even shot en masse as a nuisance to their captors. They arrived at Versailles only to suffer fresh tortures, beaten and spat on by the "swell mob," and crowded into stinking underground dungeons.

Such horrors had occurred before in out-of-the-way corners of the world, against black men in colonial wars, but never before in the center of Europe.

Maddened by these brutalities, the remaining Communards demanded the forfeited lives of the hostages remaining in their hands. Ferre, disdaining to evade responsibility, gave the order, and they were shot. The few defenders of the Commune were now forced back into the eastern quarters of Paris. The Luxembourg and the south side of the river were lost, Montmartre had been taken by surprise, and the Hotel de Ville was in flames. Belleville, the workers' quarter, was the only Communist stronghold. The sun hid itself, and the heavy downpour brought by great guns had begun.

On the 25th, 26th and 27th the Versailles met at last with an organized resistance. Their troops, in overwhelming numbers, were checked everywhere. The National Guards made a heroic, amazing resistance. The story of those days is one continuous record of noble bravery and unquestioning devotion. The progress of the Versailles was slow and dearly bought.

But the end was not in doubt. Gradually the Versailles pressed forward. On the 26th they took the Place de la Bastille and the old Faubourg Saint Antoine. On the 27th, descending from the north, they took the cemetery of Pere Lachaise. In the early hours of Sunday they took the remaining Communist barricades, on the heights of Belleville. Next day the outlying fort of Vincennes surrendered, and the last red flag was pulled down.

For these last few days Thiers had loosed Gallifet himself upon the city. What he did can hardly be described. Suffice it that for months after Belleville was a town of the dead. The traveler, passing through, saw no light or sign of life in the deserted houses; street after street was empty and desolate, as though a pestilence had swept the inhabitants away. Gallifet had depopulated the workers' quarters as though he had been Tamerlane or any other mad Eastern ruler. The unfortunate victims were taken mostly to the Pere Lachaise cemetery, where—since flesh and blood was failing—machine guns were used for execution.

To this day the wall where so many Communards were murdered is known as la mur des federes (Wall of the National Guards), and is a sacred place of pilgrimage for Socialists the world over.

Hungarian Courts Keep Ban on "Internationale;" Wage Cuts in Lithuania

Labor Doings Abroad

OCASIONALLY the bloody reaction that has obtained in Hungary since Dictator Horthy came into power, with the aid of foreign troops, in 1919, furnishes a little amusement as well as horror. Of late the Hungarian police have made themselves ridiculous the world over by their super-Comstockian censorship of books, art works, etc., and now comes a decision by the second highest court of the country to add to the galaxy of nations.

In 1925 a couple of small farmers, Paul and Franz Olajos, sitting in a tavern in Weckmeset asked a nine-year-old gypsy boy fiddler to play the "Kosuth Song," the "Marsellaise" and finally the "Internationale" for them. When the last-named piece was played the farmers hummed an accompaniment. This was enough for some volunteer spy to lodge a complaint and Soa and Olajos were promptly arrested for singing the forbidden song and sentenced to six months in jail.

Their friends employed a lawyer and an appeal was made. A few weeks ago the Gado Senate of the Royal Court of Appeals considered the case. After listening to a defense, consisting largely of the assertion that the little gypsy fiddler was such a poor player that, even with the aid of the humming of his auditors, it had been impossible to recognize what he had played as the "Internationale," the judges solemnly declared that even humming the revolutionary air was calculated to "excite his hearers to acts against the State." So they confirmed the verdict of guilty, but reduced the sentence to one month. As this meant the release of his clients, who had already put in more than a month in jail before they had found bail, the farmers' lawyer accepted the verdict, thus depriving the Supreme Court Judges of the pleasure of passing upon the merits of the "Internationale."

On March 1 the Senate of the Royal Court of Appeals presided over by Judge Gado rendered a decision in a really serious case involving the right of workers to complain about their working conditions. Some time ago Stephen Hunya, a farmhand of Enroed, who had been active in the movement for organizing the Hungarian farm workers for more than twenty-five years, prepared for distribution a leaflet showing up the fearful conditions under which his fellow peasants toiled. Upon a complaint by an agrarian boss, he was arrested on a charge of inciting the peasants to revolt and sentenced to two years imprisonment. Efforts by his lawyer to submit proof of the truth of the data given in the leaflet were in vain. Appeal was taken and now the higher court has confirmed the sentence, after having absolutely refused to allow the defense to submit working contracts agreed to between a number of big agrarians and their farmhands, revealing a weekly wage of less than \$2 and working conditions worse than those cited in the pamphlet. Furthermore, no allowance was made for the year and a half already spent in jail by the aged farmer.

In view of the slavery of the workers prevailing in Hungary there has been much sarcastic comment in European labor papers about the recent visit paid to that country by Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor office of the League of Nations, and the elaborate reception accorded to him by all the high reactionary officials, including Premier Bethlen and Regent Horthy. In Thomas' defense it is pointed out that, as a high official of the League of Nations, it is his duty to make trips to member countries, regardless of their backwardness. It is also stated that he, of course, was not fooled by the hearty reception given to him by the oppressors of the Hungarian workers. When the Socialist members of Parliament were invited to the reception given to Thomas by the president of that body they turned it down, saying they would join in no social functions with the reactionary deputies.

M. Thomas spent a couple of hours at a meeting of the Hungarian trade union officials at which he learned the truth about the fearful oppression of labor by the Horthy gang, so beloved of the bankers of Wall Street and London. Talking to a reporter of Nepesava, the Budapest Socialist daily, M. Thomas sent his Socialist greetings to the Hungarian workers. In a speech on the workings of the International Labor office delivered before a Buda-

pest women's club, he noted that Hungary was "a little backward in social legislation" and then showed them a comparative chart revealing the complete absence of such laws in their country.

LABOR'S INTERNATIONALS STAND PAT ON FASCISM

The Socialist policy of no compromise with Fascism was reaffirmed at a joint meeting of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist and Labor International, held in Amsterdam on Feb. 26.

After listening to reports by representatives of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers and of the Italian General Confederation of Labor, the Socialist and trade union officials adopted a resolution condemning the compromise with Fascism made by the handful of former Italian trade union leaders in their much-discussed statement issued in Rome a few weeks ago. The resolution pointed out that since the Mussolini regime had made it impossible for the Socialist and trade union movement to function in Italy at present, the Labor Internationalists recognized the executives of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers and of the Italian General Confederation of Labor living abroad as the only real representatives of the Italian labor movement and would continue to assist those executives in their struggle for the restoration of liberty of organization in Italy.

The joint meeting also took up the program of the international economic conference called by the League of Nations for May 4 in Geneva and decided to have a joint meeting of the executives of the two Internationals in Geneva on May 2 for the purpose of coordinating the work of the labor delegates to the economic conference.

The Amsterdam meeting was attended by Joubaux (France), Mertens (Belgium), Lelapart (Germany), Buongiorno (Italy), and Secretaries Oudegroot, Sassenbach and Brown for the I. P. T. U. and De Bruckere (Belgium), Witbout and Vliegen (Holland), Modigliani and Treves (Italy), and Secretary Adler for the Socialist and Labor International.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the I. P. T. U. held just before the joint meeting, a resolution was adopted calling for a square deal for China and approving the efforts of British labor against foreign intervention. The legislative program for young workers drawn up in the Berlin meeting of the three labor internationals was indorsed, subject to approval by the national trade union organizations.

LEIPZIG BOURGEOIS FIGHT HONOR TO KARL MARX

The bourgeois-controlled upper house of the municipal government of Leipzig has started a row in that well-known fair city, by blocking a resolution passed by the lower house to change the name of the famous Augustus Platz to Karl Marx Platz. The upper section of the city fathers fears that the name of Karl Marx might have a bad effect upon the crowds of visitors who come to the semi-annual fair.

When the proposal to rename the Augustus Platz came up some weeks ago in the Board of Aldermen, the Socialists wanted to call it Platz der Republik, but the 100 per cent Communists joined the bourgeois members in voting the resolution down. Then the Socialists supported a Communist resolution in favor of calling the big square after Karl Marx and it was put through. Now the row is on, and may go to the State authorities for settlement.

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A REPLY TO THE CRITICS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

(Continued from page 4)

of the Socialist Party is a barrier—because the 80,000 to 100,000 Socialist votes in New York may be in the way. But we are Socialists interested in the organization of a new political party? We Socialists are interested in the formation of a Labor Party because a Labor Party, no matter how conservative its demands and principles may be, if it is a genuine Labor Party will ultimately become a Socialist Party. But we have no interest in organizing a Reform or Progressive Party. The Socialist Party went into the 1924 campaign, endorsed the candidacy of La Follette and Wheeler because the overwhelming supporters of the ticket were labor, and not "progressive." Should at any time a bona fide Labor Party be organized, then and not until then will or shall the Socialist Party give up being a political party.

Giving Up Politics
To give up political action as part of our activities would be to deny the cardinal principle of the Socialist movement—that the struggles between the working class and the capitalist class are for the possession of the political powers. That is why syndicalism failed in Italy. They captured the factories but did not have the political power. They had to fail, and Fascism succeeded because the Fascists captured the political government. Now that the Fascists have the government, they are intensifying more and more and assume economic control where it suits their purposes.

To give up political action by the Socialist Party would make us anarchists and we would disappear as the anarchists disappeared. As to the Socialist Party being a barrier in the way of a new party. Assuming the Socialist Party decides to quit political action, are we Socialists to remain political orphans? What is there to prevent some Socialists continuing to nominate candidates and, yes, even use the name of the Socialist Party? Unless the Socialists opposed to political action will come out and run a campaign telling the people not to vote the Socialist ticket, that ticket will get the Socialist vote and will still be here to interfere with the new party that is as yet nowhere to be seen.

So you see, comrades, even that will not help. We must look somewhere else for a cure.

I would say to Comrade Fine and those with him: "Go to it. Start your propaganda for an Independent Labor Party. When you show us that it is independent and labor, we will be with you. But don't ask us, who believe in Socialism and who have held up the torch of Socialism in this desert for decades in this country, where political parties of all kinds have been organized, only to disappear in the morass of the two corrupt capitalist parties, to give up our party." Because it refused to compromise its principles and because office was not its goal, only the Socialist Party has remained.

Socialist-Made Issues
The fact that the Socialist Party is here has acted as a deterrent to the capitalist parties. Do not the proponents of the plan to disband the party realize that it was the Socialist Party that started the campaign against child labor, for workmen's compensation? The five-cent fare would have gone a long time ago were it not for the fear of the Socialist Party. The rent and housing laws and, yes, the water-power issue that is now before us in the State of New York, are all due to the Socialist Party and its propaganda. Even the direct election of U. S. Senators was first proposed by the Socialists.

So, while the Socialist Party may not achieve direct political success, it has indirectly compelled both political parties to make concessions to the workers. Necessarily, the party that ordinarily is the minority must take up these issues, make them their own, and thereby strengthen the minority party so that it may become the majority. That is why the Democratic Party in New York is compelled to take up the issues popularized by the Socialist Party, add some water and make them their own.

Take the prohibition issue. When it was before the Legislature the ten Socialist Assemblymen proposed to submit it to a referendum. Neither of the two parties would have it. The following year the Democrats proposed a bill to submit the question to a referendum. The Republican majority

would not have it, and it took them nine years to find out that the question should be submitted to a referendum.

If we are interested in political victories, then the Socialist Party has been a failure. If we are interested in improving the condition of the workers and making this world a better place to live in, we have succeeded. This may not be consolation to those who want the Social Revolution tomorrow or who are looking for political success. We must realize that the change from capitalism to Socialism will not come overnight, but will, rather, be a matter of evolution—a gradual change. So, if our critics are impatient, they ought to join the Communists, as they guarantee a quick revolution.

The Socialist movement at present is a pioneer movement and must be based on idealism.

Unemployment Fund Ends

(Continued from page 1)

said, arrears of \$225,000 had been allowed to accumulate.

"Because of the union's defeat in the strike conducted by the Communists," Mr. Hochman declared, "only \$30,000 has been collected since the strike out of about \$550,000 due."

"The Communists have always looked upon the fund halfheartedly, because to them it was a form of class collaboration. Shortly after the settlement of the end of the fund, pointing to the conditions which had been allowed to develop and particularly to the failure of the union to collect during the strike, Mr. Sigman has made every effort to maintain the fund, has tried to induce employers to change their views, but the suspension has been to be faced, and suspension is the only way out. When the union has regained its strength it will be in a position to enforce the provisions of the law. During the strike Mr. Sigman urged Louis Hyman, then manager of the Joint Board, to enforce collections, but Hyman made no serious effort to do so."

The Communist view of the Unemployment Insurance Fund, which had been hailed as one of the most enlightened advances in industry, was expressed yesterday by Mr. Hyman, who called the fund "more of a charity than a matter of working standards." This becomes significant in the light of a declaration in the Trade Union Bulletin, issued January 1926, by the Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions in Moscow, which declares that in Russia private enterprise is not allowed "to create funds, which are deducted from the profits, for the improvement of the living conditions of the workers, because even indirect sharing of the profits would conflict with the principles of the class struggle."

Mr. Sigman yesterday again warned against Communist efforts to solicit funds for the imprisoned cloakmakers whom they forced to plead guilty and for whom there is no recourse to appeal. The latest effort, Mr. Sigman charged, is to obtain funds on a sentimental appeal which would be diverted for the only one purpose, "to continue the guerrilla warfare against loyal union workers who have refused to subscribe to dictation from Moscow."

A CORRECTION

Editor, The New Leader.

Dear Sir and Brother:

With reference to your article on the painters of Greater New York City, appearing in the issue of The New Leader of March 19, 1927, would you kindly have the acclaimed computation in the first column, second paragraph, corrected so that it will appear that to the best of my knowledge and investigation, organized labor has control of from 60 to 65 per cent of the industry.

Also under the sub-title Other Organizational Problems, paragraph 2, column 3, correct the word "proposition" to "proportion."

Fraternally yours,

THOMAS WRIGHT,
Secretary, District 9, Brotherhood of Painters.

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MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 405 East 160th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET Telephone Melrose 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President CHAS. E. BAUMER, Sec. Agent
HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Bus. Sec'y

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LOCAL UNION 1466, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA Madison Square 4992
Regular meetings every second and fourth Monday
CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President
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Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Charles Johnson, Jr., Ray Clark
Christopher Gulbrandson, Recording Secretary Treasurer Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 160 East 58th Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 8339
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
JOHN A. HANNA, President W. J. CORDING, Sec. Sec'y
THOMAS SHARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

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HEADQUARTERS in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stagg 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HALKETT, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Vice-President
FRANK HOFFMAN, Recording Secretary GEO. W. SMITH, Treasurer
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 4432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 345 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. J. J. DALTON, Vice-President
THOMAS SHARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. THOMAS WRIGHT, Secretary

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 43 East 106th Street Telephone: LEdis 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFELD, Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZLAN, President
I. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
N. FEINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y I. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELDS' HALL, 61 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.
Phone Watkins 9158
LEON H. ROUSE, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
John S. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas.
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6394.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary
WILLIAM MEHTENS, Recording Secretary
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION No. 465, of NEW YORK CITY
Office 2063 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 84th Street
MATTHEW J. NOBAN, President
FRED DEGAN, General Secretary
Business Agents: GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BASSETT, FAT DREW.

LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

LOCAL 996, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4623 Main.
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.
JOHN E. JOHNSON, President GUSTAV ANDERSON, Vice-President
OTTO WASSTOL, Business Agent
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THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

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Labor organizations can obtain full information regarding cost of membership, etc., from the office, 198 Broadway, Room 1100, New York.
Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the New York Labor Temple, 247 East 84th St., New York.
CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.
Carpenters' Union 483 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 36th STREET
Phone: Orchard 950-1-2

The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer, S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

All Meetings are held in the Headquarters Workers' Lyceum (Bethoven Hall) 210 East 5th Street.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday.
Meet every 1st and 2nd Tuesday.
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M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 224, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 175 E. B'way. Orchard 950-1-2
Meet every 1st and 2nd Tuesday.
AL. GRABEL, President
I. KORN, Manager.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street. Tel. Stuyvesant 3637
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union.
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN REISEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 3637
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Eisenhand, N. Elman, President
A. Wellner, Vice-Pres.
J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec. & Treas.
Wm. H. Chilling, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3260
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.
208 W. 14th St., City
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th St.
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at
BETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th Street
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAN LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astors Hall, 62 East 49 St. Phone Dry Dock 1013. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
ABE LEWIS, Pres.
PETE KOPP, Sec. Sec'y
GARREY BRISCE, Vice-Pres.
A. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y
JACOB RAPPAPORT, Bus. Agent

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 199, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAINTING ENGINEERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve. at the Labor Temple, 247 East 84th St.
PETER ROTHMAN, President
ALVIN ROCHTENTIN, Recording Secretary
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 558 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5628
Day Room Open Daily, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
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3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 3148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Telephone Ashland 2689
Office 231 East 14th Street
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Office, 231 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Bronx—E. 18th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'klyn—165 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local & I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 551 E. 161st St. Malrose 1430
CARL GRABER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office 26 W. 28th St. Phone: Lackawanna 4514.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.
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NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
911-921 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephones: Spring 7608-1-2-3-4
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 5596.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1837
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVOYDOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. of A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 2409
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
ERK SCHNEIDER, Chairman
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

Pressers' Union

Local 5, A. C. W. of A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple, 11-15 Union Sq., N. Y.
LOUIS CANTO, Chairman
M. TAYLOR, Sec. Sec'y
LEON B. DECK, Fin. Sec'y

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE:
11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
A. I. SHIPLOCOFF, Manager

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK
Office and headquarters, 701 Broadway
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
AL. GREENBERG, FRED CATOLA, SAM SCHNYAL, FLORENCE GELLER, President, Manager, Treasurer, Fin. Sec'y
Organizers: GEORGE E. POWERS, THOMAS DINONNO, Delegate, JOSEPH DIMINO.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 649 Broadway. Phone Spring 4544
Uptown Office: 50 West 25th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1270
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office.
HUMAN LEDEPARE, L. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SECTOR, ALEX ROSE, Chairman, Manager, Secretary, Sec'y-Treas.
ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELOWITZ

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 223)
G. GOOZE, Manager
J. H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 215—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 249—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

Office and Headquarters, 130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1924
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART, Sec'y-Treas.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union.
Office and Headquarters, 945 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 3798
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
M. REISS, President.
E. FINE, Vice-President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Fin. Sec'y.
E. WENDEL, Sec. Sec'y.
H. KALINOFF, Bus. Agent.

INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Holm 88
O. SCHACHTMAN, General President.
I. WOHL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

The AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS

UNION LOCAL 137
Office and Headquarters 12 St. Marks Place, N. Y.
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Friday at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone Orchard 2758
M. BROWD, President. JAMES SMITH, Financial Sec'y
J. I. NEWMAN, Vice-Pres. PHILIP GINDOR, Bus. Agent

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9238.
Regular Meetings every Monday evening, at 183 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

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Eighty Unionists and Socialists Completing Workers' Training Course—Outlook Is Bright

AS IT approaches the end of the most successful term in recent years, the Rand School of Social Science is busy planning for the 1927-28 terms. The advance announcements give every indication that the next year of the school will make a new record in usefulness to the labor and Socialist movement.

The elaborate plans for 1927-28 are a direct result of the heartening assurances of support and of work accomplishment during the scholastic year now drawing to a close. The attendance has been more than gratifying. The workers training class is large and representative of the trade union and Socialist movements. For the first time in years, the financial situation has not been the terrific source of worry that it has been in years past. Consequently, the staff has been able to devote its time to direct educational work. Nevertheless, with three months to run, the sum of \$10,000 is still needed to balance the annual budget. To help raise this, the school is planning an appeal to its Socialist and trade union supporters.

The workers training course of 1927-8 will be divided into two types, for members of the trade unions and for members of the Young Peoples Socialist League. For trade unionists the course will comprise two full evenings of class work each week through the season, with an option of one additional evening or two half evenings. The work will include 63 sessions in trade unionism and labor problems and an equal number of sessions in English. The school expects to enroll eighty union members for this course. Under the head of trade unionism and labor problems will be included instruction in social history, economics and social psychology. In the main, the groups following this course will not be bound by a rigid syllabus and schedule, but will conduct their study in such manner as the instructors in charge find advisable as the time goes on.

For Yipsels the course will comprise one evening or two half evenings of required work, with the option of taking as much more in elective subjects. Most of the Yipsel students will not need instruction in English. The work required of them will be in the field of social science—history, economics, sociology, socialism, trade unionism and labor problems.

There will be eighty scholarships open only to members of trade unions. Each recipient of a trade union scholarship is to pay \$13, the \$1 matriculation fee, the \$2 library deposit and \$10 as an account for tuition. At the end of the season every such student having completed the course and having returned all books borrowed, will get back all except the matriculation fee. Saturday, August 20, will be fixed as the last day on which applications for scholarships may be received. Two weeks will be allowed for examination of applicants by a committee of three, including the Educational Director, and the awards will be announced by Monday, September 5.

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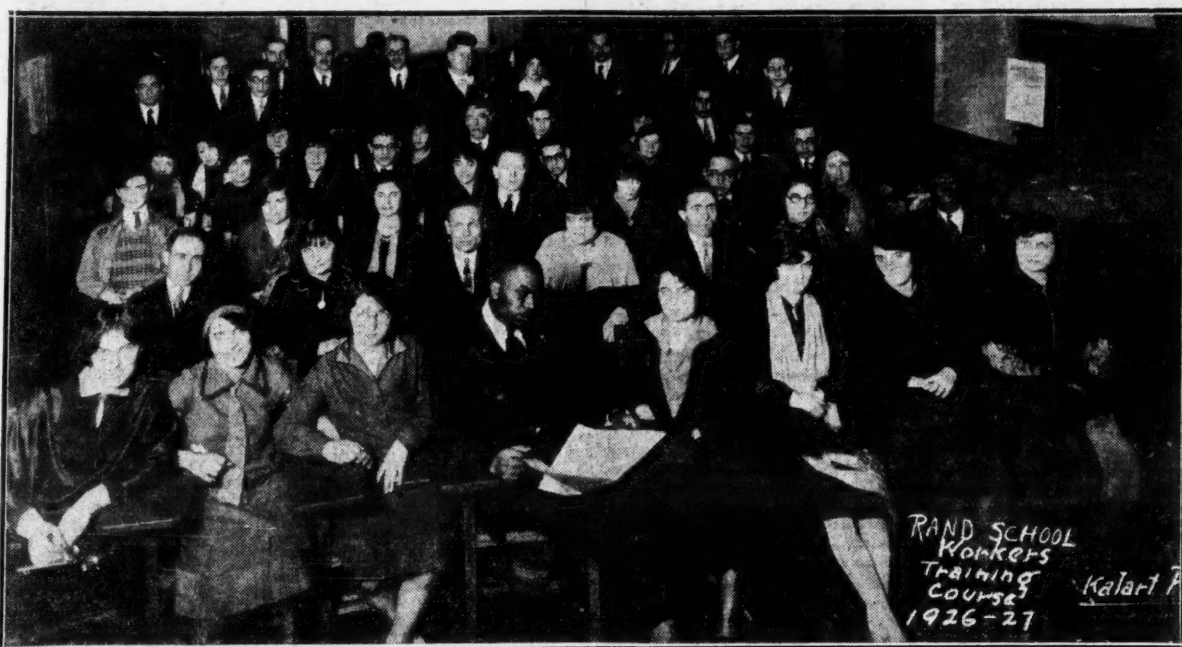
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The Workers Training Group at the Rand School



The regular student body for the school year 1926-1927 consisted in all of 535 enrolled and matriculated students. Of these 80 were members of the Workers Training Courses on a free scholarship basis. Fifteen of these are members of the Y. P. S. L. organizations. Sixty-five are members of trades unions.

The school will also offer twenty-five service scholarships, open only to members of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

The Women's Committee has signified its intention of providing a few scholarships, but details have not yet been arranged. It is possible, too, that some branches of the Socialist party may give scholarships.

Those of the present students who complete this year's work will be offered the opportunity to take advanced courses next season on a similar scholarship basis.

Next season the school will have four English grades. Each class will have 63 sessions. The present very low rate of \$18 for the season, if full payment is made in advance, will be maintained. There will be a 25-session course in Correction of Accent, given by Mrs. Beatrice Becker. David P. Berenberg's 28-session course in Composition and Literary Criticism will be given as new with one session a week through 28 weeks.

August Claessens will continue as instructor in Public Speaking.

This subject will be optional for all training course students, and will probably be selected by most of them. It will be open also to other persons.

The program of study courses in the field of social science, as thus far determined, is as follows: Modern World History, Mr. Berenberg; American Social History, Mr. Berenberg; Data of Sociology, Mr. Hansome; Problems of Sociology, Mr. Hansome; Descriptive Economics, Algonon Lee; Theoretical Economics, Mr. Lee; The Case for Socialism, Esther Friedman; Questions for Socialists, Mr. Claessens and Mr. Lee; Trade Unionism and Labor Problems, Louis Stanley in charge, with other instructors or lecturers for parts of the work; Research Work, Nathan Fine; Parliamentary Practice, Mr. Lee.

The program of lecture course is still far from complete. Only those are listed which, barring any untoward happenings that cannot now be foreseen, may be considered as quite certain. The Origin of Species, Prof. Henry E. Crampton; The Ascent of Man, Prof. Samuel C. Schmucker; The Story of Human Work, Mr. Lee; The Story of Philosophy, by a professor in Columbia University, whose name we are not yet free to announce; The Story of World Literature, John Macy; Psychology of Personality, Joseph M. Osman; Social Psychology, Mr. Osman; Problems of Philosophy, by an instructor in Barnard College,

whose name we are not yet free to announce; Elements of Social Progress, Mr. Claessens; Sex and Society, Mr. Claessens; History of the Labor Movement, Mr. Lee and Mr. Stanley; Types of Unionism, Prof. Paul Brissenden (It is possible that, instead of this, Prof. Brissenden will within a few days decide to give six lectures on Historic Battles of American Labor); Labor and the Law, Morris Hillquit; Psychological Aspects of Unionism, by a lecturer whose name we are not yet free to announce.

Among lecturers not named above, who are willing to take part in the work with whom definite arrangements will be made within the next two or three weeks, are Stuart Chase, Julius Hachman, Prof. Broadus Mitchell, Prof. Roy E. Stryker, and Dr. Leo Welman; and others of whose co-operation the school is now almost sure are Prof. Edward M. Earle, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, and Dr. Ira Wile.

The program as thus far reported includes altogether about 1,110 class sessions, lectures, and museum visits. Additional courses and special lectures will probably bring the number up to 1,200, possibly to 1,300. This means an amount of activity as great as in the most flourishing period, from 1917 to 1920 or '21.

The school also hopes to have a few single lectures by prominent persons in the course of the season. Only one of these has thus far been definitely decided on. Bertrand Russell will give a lecture under the auspices of the Rand School in the first week of October.

At least one public debate, on a question of live interest, and between well known speakers, will be held, either by the Rand School alone or in co-operation with the Socialist Party.

The school's board of directors at present consists of: President, Adolph Held; treasurer, David Rubinow; secretary, G. August Gerber; members: Mrs. Charlotte Bohlin, Mrs. Bertha Malloy, Abraham Zucker, Philip Gelleher and August Claessens. The officers are: Educational director, Algonon Lee, and executive director, David Mikel.

The regular student body for the school year of 1926-1927 consists in all of 535 enrolled and matriculated students. Of these, 80 are members of the Workers Training Courses. Of these fifteen are members of the Y. P. S. L. and the balance were members of the various trade union groups of the city. These 65 trade union member students are representative of 35 organized trade unions.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Party Activity

Every Local and Branch of the Socialist Party should make it a point to visit members who are not active and who are back in their dues and get them to pay up. At each Local or Branch meeting announcement should be made urging all members to be readers of the American Appeal, to keep their subscriptions paid up and get new readers. Every Socialist should be active in every way and help prepare the organization and extend the circulation of the American Appeal and other Socialist papers to the utmost.

Miss Stephen's Tour

The tour recently finished by Jessie Stephen of England was very successful from every viewpoint. The locals are highly satisfied with her work, and Comrade Stephen is now ready to leave for England much pleased with the reception the comrades gave her everywhere.

Indiana

Terre Haute

The readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader in Terre Haute and throughout Vigo County should get in touch with Phil K. Reinhold, 426 Ohio street, Secretary of the Socialist Local, and help build a powerful organization in the home city of Debs. Comrades can get in touch with Reinhold by calling at his place of business or communicating by letter.

The State Secretary reports continued awakening of comrades throughout Indiana, and feels confident that

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Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

August Claessens will speak at a Comradeship Supper arranged by the North and West Philadelphia Branches of the Socialist Party for Sunday, March 27, 7 p. m., at the Stephen Girard Hotel, 227 Chestnut street. Plates are only \$1 each. The Stephen Girard Hotel is one of the most pleasant dining places in the city, and this will be an evening of good cheer, fellowship and inspiration. The veterans of the movement will renew old acquaintances and meet the new recruits.

If the good time enjoyed by the large crowd which attended a similar affair last month addressed by James H. Maurer is any criterion, the capacity of the dining hall should be taxed to the limit to accommodate those who desire to hear Claessens.

Kansas

State Secretary Arthur Bridwell has sent the following letter to friends in the State:

Once more the old-timers who thought the Socialists could do more by aiding the movement in the stronger centers of Socialism are renewing their allegiance to the Kansas movement, and see in the increased Kansas Socialist vote in the 1928 election reasons for a renewal of faith and effort preparatory to the next Presidential campaign. Without organization in 1926, our highest vote was over 34,000. With a functioning organization we should make a big increase next time. Even those who thought the Socialist Party could never come back are now admitting that everything looks favorable and are once more becoming active.

One of the strongest arguments for your getting back into the Party is its fine activity, anti-war propaganda, which is showing up the imperialistic policy in Mexico and Nicaragua, and which will probably call for some Cabinet changes as a result. We need a strong organization to create a back-

ground of anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiment.

While we made an excellent showing last election, the great difficulty lay in getting out the ticket, getting petitioners and acceptances for office from those qualified by the constitution to serve. With an organization perfected there should be no trouble next year. Join the Party now. If you are back in your dues, can you not now pay up, so that there will be available funds to carry on the work? Get busy and circulate leaflets. Renew for the American Appeal. Do something to bring the State of Kansas back to its old-time pre-war activity in the Socialist movement.

New England

The committee for the Debs Memorial Radio Station has been formed and expects to have a banquet on May 6. This committee includes many people prominent in the labor and peace movements, including the president of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

Boston Central Branch will wind up its series of lectures on Thursday, March 24, with a supper and speeches by MacAlister Coleman on "The Coal Question" and Morris Ernst on "The Radio Situation and Civil Liberties."

The speakers' training class meets regularly every Sunday at 5 p. m., at 21 Essex street. Talks on "The British Labor Movement," "Guild Socialism" and "Immigration" are scheduled for the following Sundays.

Comrade Lewis is scheduled to speak for the Workmen's Circles in Pawtucket and Providence on March 23 and 25, respectively, and the party branches in Quincy on March 27 and in Norwood on April 10. The subject selected by these branches is "Socialism Disloyal?"

The State convention will be held on April 24 at 21 Essex street, Boston. Branches which have not elected delegates are urged to do so at once.

Connecticut

State Committee

The March meeting of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will be held Sunday, March 27, 2 p. m., at the Workmen's Circle headquarters, 438 Oak street, New Haven, Conn.

New Haven

William Loeferstedt, a member of Local New Haven for many years, died Saturday, March 19. Comrade Loeferstedt was very active in the Cigarmakers' Union, of which he was a member. He was also an active member of the Arbeiter Mannerchor and an official in the Workmen's Fire Insurance Society. Loeferstedt was the candidate for State Senator, running in the Tenth district in the State election last year. He had run for almost every office in past city and State elections and also served on the State Executive Committee many terms. The Socialists of New Haven and the State will feel the loss of our late comrade greatly.

Senator Borah's Address

Senator Borah spoke at the March 20 meeting (Forum) of the New Haven Trades Council to over 4,000 people in the Poli Palace Theatre. His subject was "The Outstanding Issues Confronting America." President Murphy of the Council presided. Lieutenant

Governor Brainard spoke a few minutes in place of the Governor, who was unable to be present. Professor Jerome Davis of Yale introduced the Senator.

Mr. Borah spoke on the Nicaraguan, Mexican, Chinese and Russian situations. He condemned secret diplomacy and declared we have no business butting into Central American affairs. We should arbitrate all differences with other nations, small as well as large, and he condemned war in all its phases. After the lecture he answered questions for over an hour.

New York State

Radio Broadcasting

State Secretary Merrill announces that numbers of our speakers could be heard on existing radio stations if the State Office only had the finances necessary to meet the charges made for this service. The income received from sale of dues stamps to members is altogether insufficient to undertake this sort of propaganda, but, pending the realization of the Debs Memorial, to which every comrade should contribute "until it hurts," occasional Socialist speeches will be "put on the air" if comrades will only purchase Debs Liberty Bonds for 1927. As previously announced, every subscriber for one of these bonds of \$5 denomination and upward will receive as a premium a splendid photograph of Eugene V. Debs.

The Legislature

Indications at Albany lead to the conclusion that little change will be made in the election law by the present Legislature. However, the bill permitting the registration of voters as early as July 1 will probably pass. This bill will certainly help manual workers who have to leave their homes for weeks or months of employment quite as much as the traveling salesman. The bill in its original and unamended form would have permitted registration with boards of election as early as May 1.

New York City

City Convention

The following branches have elected delegates and have sent in their credentials for the City Convention to be held Saturday afternoon, April 2: New York County, 4th A. D., 6th-8th-12th A. D., 14th-15th-16th A. D., Furriers, German and Finnish branches, Jewish Harlem Branch; Kings County, 6th A. D., Boro Park Branch, 22d A. D., Branch No. 3, 22d A. D., Branch No. 1; Bronx County, Central Branch; Queens County, Branch Jamaica. The following branches have not yet elected delegates, or, if they have, they have failed to notify the City Office: New York County, 1st-2d A. D., 3d-5th-10th A. D., Upper West Side, 17th-18th-20th A. D., 19th-21st A. D., Italian Downtown, Italian Harlem, Jewish Downtown, Cloakmakers, Bohemian, Russian and Hungarian branches; Bronx County, Branch No. 7, Jewish Branch, Lower Bronx, Jewish, Italian Branch; Kings, 1st-3d-8th A. D., 2d A. D., 4th-14th A. D., Bensonhurst, 13th-15th A. D., 17th-18th A. D., 23d A. D., Branch No. 2, 23d A. D., Jewish, Finnish and Coney Island Branch; Queens County, Branch Ridgewood, Richmond County, Branch Staten Island, Finnish Branch.

It is absolutely necessary that these branches hold a special meeting and elect delegates within the next week, or, if they have already held the election, to have their secretary immediately send credentials to the City Office.

Membership Drive

The drive for an increased membership in the branches of Greater New York is making excellent progress. The schedule of enrolled voters' meetings for the next several weeks is as follows: Tuesday evening, March 29, two meetings in Brooklyn. The first will be in the territory of the 23d A. D., and the Socialist enrolled voters in that entire Assembly District will be called to a meeting in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The speakers will be August Claessens and possibly Norman Thomas. The second meeting will be held in Flatbush. The Socialist enrolled voters of the 2d-9th A. D. will be called for a meeting in the Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P. The speakers will be William Morris Feigenbaum and Joseph Tuvin. Tuesday evening, April 5, the enrolled Socialist voters of the 4th-5th A. D. of the Bronx will be called to a meeting in the headquarters of the Central Branch, 1187 Boston road, Judge Jacob Panken and Samuel Orr will address this meeting. Another meeting will be held on that evening in the territory of the 6th A. D., Brooklyn, at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. The speakers will be Sam Pavloff and August Claessens. Friday evening, April 8, another meeting will

Manhattan

1st-2nd A. D.

A huge bazaar, entertainment and dance will be held under the auspices of the East Side Branches and the East Side Socialist Center Association at the Forward Hall, on April 1, 2 and 3. A very fine entertainment has been arranged. A large number of booths offering all types of merchandise for sale and dancing and general merriment will be the principal features of this three-day bazaar. This affair is being arranged to raise funds for the maintenance of the building of the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

6-8-12th A. D.

There is considerable activity at 96 Avenue C, the new headquarters obtained by this branch. All this activity is in preparation of the opening event, a housewarming, when the branch will move into its new clubrooms. Present indications are that these clubrooms will be by far the most commodious of any Socialist branch in the city. The Sunday morning forum conducted by this branch under the direction of Judge Jacob Panken will hold its 12th and last session of the season Sunday morning, March 27. An excellent program is being arranged to celebrate this remarkable successful undertaking. The details will be found in another column of this issue.

19-21st A. D.

A meeting of the Branch of the 19th-21st Assembly District will be held at 149 West 136th street at 8.30 p. m., Friday, March 31. All enrolled Socialists in these two districts, whether members of the branch or not are invited to attend.

Vorkville

The Sunday evening forum held its third session last Friday evening and in spite of bad weather a good crowd was present and heard Jessie Wallace HUGHAN. Next Sunday evening an audience is expected that will tax the capacity of the clubrooms when Jessie Stephen of Great Britain will give her last lecture before she sails for England. Her subject is "You Americans." Further particulars as to this meeting will be found in another column of this issue of The New Leader.

Washington Heights

All Socialist Party members and sympathizers residing in the Washington Heights section of the 22nd and 23rd A. D. are invited to attend.

(Continued on page 9)

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

Superior to Pastes and Powders!

Because it is liquid, free of grit and solid substance AMEGIN, the dread enemy of PYORRHEA, penetrates the gum issues, soaks into the deep places, destroys germs, cleans up pus.

AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your tooth brush sanitary. AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums.

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It Heals as It Cleanses!

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Amusements



Cardboard Comes to Life

Superb Acting in Delightful Comedy at the Empire Theatre—Festa Furiosa Gloriosa Magnifico!

AT the Empire Theatre, Jeanne Eagels is making her return from the long years of "Rain" in the restful and delightful comedy, "Her Cardboard Lover," adapted from the French of J. Deval by Valerie Wynne and P. G. Wodehouse. The play serves no known social purpose save that of entertainment, but that it serves fully and with many-sided joy.

There is, in the first place, the commanding personality of Jeanne Eagels, whose easy sweep of the stage and deft grace of bodily movements and variations of tone make her every moment a pleasure. With her is the fluent charm of Leslie Howard, whose boyish vivacity and complete control of the semblance of naïveté make him an excellent rallying point for the humor of situation which the play develops.

For the drama itself is deftly drawn along, admirable direction keeping it at a swift pace of amusement, as we watch this ardent lover, whom the divorced Simone hires as her "cardboard lover" to keep her from returning to the cruel ex-husband who is weak enough still to love. The manner in which Andre manages to slip eternally between Simone and the man she is trying to return to, the way in which he is ever on hand with just the right device (even to wearing Simone's own pet pyjamas!) to drive away the hesitant husband, runs over the three acts of the comedy with a lightness that is reflected in the constant rippling of laughter through the audience. The second act is especially rich in pointed episode, driving the play to its inevitable close.

It is her fear that Andre has committed suicide that makes Simone recognize she loves, not her husband, but him? Whatever the cause, the knowledge contributes to the close of the play a last line that may well find its way into our current slang. When Andre comes out of his contract into the role of genuine lover, when he abandons his professional position for one intimately linked with Simone; in other words, when he takes the dear woman into his arms, hugs her and shows her the value of his kiss (she is a romantic thing, for all her experience!) she holds him at a moment's distance to look him over in this new light; she savors the embrace he has given her; and she remarks: "Well, that's not so cardboard!" The play is just unreal enough for us to know all the time that we are watching, not this Andre and his ultimate Simone, but Leslie Howard and Jeanne Eagels; and we enjoy watching two such excellent performers having such a good time. Insubstantial as the play may be, THAT'S not so cardboard!

Festa Furiosa Gloriosa Magnifico! Picture to yourself—but unless you've seen it, you can't!—a group of sons and daughters of Italy moving softly, let us say, in a Venetian gondola, through a late afternoon in springtime, to a meadowed shore beyond the city. The work of the day is over, the turmoil and hubbub have died into the murmuring of nature—and across the water to you floats a song. It is a peasant song, of course, and therefore familiar in its basic rhythm; new, yet familiar as butterflies and summer grass. From one song a voice leads the group into another; an inspired juggler performs; laughter breaks more boisterously into another song; a pretty maiden dances a ballade of barded love with a luring cavalier. Picture all this; be snared in the spontaneous gaiety and rhythmic flow; only—instead of being in an Italian field you are at 28 Macdougall street, on a week-end evening, watching Remo Bufano and his Festa Furiosa folk.

The singers now slip into the background, and from the clouds descend

the principal puppets of the Orlando Furioso, of which the climactic episode is given. The amusing tale is enlivened with deft dialogue, and the antics of the inanimate actors keep the spectators overflowing with amusement. The battle was even more furious than the duel between Orlando and his Saracen rival; the infidel sharpening his blade while the Christian sharpens his wits, then the two clashing in whirling onslaught until the paynim dies.

After a rest, the singers reappear, playing "a farce before a most distinguished audience, which farce bears the name of 'The Doctor in Spite of Himself.' The author is Moliere. The translator of 'Le Medecin Malgre lui' is not credited on the program, but one suspects Remo Bufano's touch in the clever modernization of the allusions and in the speed and rhythm of the dialogue. The highly stylized presentation, in costume and make-up, in stage decoration, and setting, and in the manner of the performers, combines with the foolery of the farce itself to make the delight continuous.

But it is growing late; a new day's labor is ahead; and even happy folk must be headed before the morning knocks at slumber's gate. The morning playing folk recall the waiting boat; with eyes that sparkle and hearts that are light, they raise once more a merry peasant note, and bid the lingering audience good-night.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Notes of the Theatre

For the engagement of "Cherry Blossom," the new musical play based on "The Willow Tree," coming to Jolson's Theatre, Monday, March 28th, the Messrs. Shubert have decided upon a radical reduction in the price of orchestra and balcony seats. The top price will be \$3.50 for all performances, including Saturday. For the premiere, however, there will be a charge of \$5. It is the first time in over fifteen years that such prices have prevailed for a big musical production. Whether this scale will be applied to other productions, Mr. Shubert would not say.

"What is working class drama?" will be discussed in a symposium at the New Playwrights Theatre, 52nd street and Eighth avenue, next Sunday, March 27, at 3:30 p. m., by critics, writers, actors and directors. Admission is free. The speakers are to be Mossy Olgin, Joseph Wood Krutch, dramatic critic of the Nation; Helen Westley, of the New York Herald Tribune; and a group of writers, including the author of "Loud Speaker," the John Howard Lawson play now at the New Playwrights Theatre. The talks will be short and the audience will be asked to debate the subject from the floor.

Katharine Cornell in "The Green Hat," by Michael Arlen, will be the attraction at the Shubert Rivera Theatre for the week commencing Monday evening, March 28th.

George Hassell was engaged yesterday for "The Circus Princess," the Jewish Kalman opera which the Messrs. Shubert are preparing. Virginia Hassell, his daughter, was also engaged for a role in the opera. Miss Hassell long wanted her father to abandon musical comedy and opera and go into drama with her. Miss Hassell appeared in one dramatic production and then decided that her father was right. Opera, she thinks, is the far more enjoyable field. So now she has joined him.

"Foodies" Hanna and his entire circus act of six people and a dozen horses were engaged yesterday by the Messrs. Shubert for "The Circus Princess," the elaborate Kalman opera which they are preparing. The Hanna troupe will appear in the circus in the first act of the opera which is given during the progress of the act as a background to the story.

Edgar M. Schoenberg, who collaborated on "The Mystery Ship," now at the Garrick Theatre, is co-author with Lyon Meerson of "People Don't Do Such Things," which Jones & Green will produce in the fall.

Evelyn Keller, the lively ingenue of "God Loves Us," is to play the leading



JEANNE EAGELS
In "Her Cardboard Lover," at the Empire Theatre

role in the Chicago production of "Broadway." This talented young actress will soon be starring not merely in "Broadway," but on Broadway.

An exhibition of historical data is being displayed in the lobby of the Forrest Theatre for the presentation of "The Crown Prince," with Basil Sydney and Mary Ellis. The exhibition tends to verify the play's interpretation of the Meyerling tragedy surrounding Prince Rudolf of Austria. Most of the evidence has been borrowed from Austrian museums. Several items in the collection have never been publicly exhibited hitherto.

Guy Robertson, one of the most popular and successful of the younger tenors of opera, was engaged yesterday by the Messrs. Shubert as leading tenor of "The Circus Princess," the new Kalman opera which they are preparing. He is of a widely known theatrical family, his father, William Webb, having been a well-known actor for years. His mother is Dollie Davis, for twenty years a dramatic star. William Webb at present conducts a stock company at Asbury Park.

The Music Calendar

March
26—Beano Moisevitich, piano, afternoon, Aeolian Hall.
26—Philharmonic Orchestra, evening, Carnegie Hall.
26—Blind Men's Club concert, evening, Aeolian Hall.
26—Mount St. Vincent Alumnae concert, evening, Town Hall.
26—Free Orchestra concert, evening, Metropolitan Art Museum.
27—New York Symphony Orchestra, afternoon, Mecca Temple.
27—Friends of Music, afternoon, Town Hall.
27—Alexander Brailowsky, piano, afternoon, Carnegie Hall.
27—Alexander Chigirinski, piano, afternoon, Aeolian Hall.
27—Chamber Symphony Orchestra, evening, Carnegie Hall.
27—League of Composers, evening, theatre to be announced.
28—Walter Gieseking, piano, afternoon, Carnegie Hall.
28—American Orchestral Society, afternoon, Aeolian Hall.
28—Bach Association, evening, Town Hall.
28—Efrem Zimbalist, violin, evening, Carnegie Hall.
28—Jos. Pavloff, Irwin Hassell, evening, Aeolian Hall.
28—Allied Concert Artists, afternoon, Town Hall.
28—Misha Levitzki, piano, evening, Carnegie Hall.
28—Leona Mehlitz, violin, evening, Aeolian Hall.
28—J. Ebel, violin, evening, Town Hall.
28—St. Cecilia Club, evening, Waldorf Astoria.
30—Schola Cantorum, evening, Carnegie Hall.
30—New York Trio, evening, Town Hall.
30—Lillian Fuchs, violin, evening, Aeolian Hall.
31—Philharmonic Orchestra, evening, Aeolian Hall.
31—Singers' Club of New York, evening, Aeolian Hall.

Socialist Party at Work

Brooklyn

2nd A. D.

Tickets are being sold in all parts of Brownsville and the surrounding neighborhoods for the Grand Concert to be held Friday evening, April 1, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. This branch, along with its thriving Y. P. S. L. circles, both Senior and Junior, is badly in need of a new building. The dilapidated shack at 420 Hinsdale street that now houses these organizations, and which is their property, is in danger of a nervous collapse. It is crowded to the walls almost every evening, and if there is one place on the face of the earth that needs improvement and a new building it certainly is in this neighborhood. The comrades are determined to raise funds within the next few months to tear down this old building and erect a brick fireproof structure.

The Concert

This concert is one of the many enterprises undertaken by this branch and the Y. P. S. L. circles to raise funds for the new building. Every ardent Socialist of Brooklyn and other parts of the city is requested to assist in making this affair a success. The program includes Miss Molly Schnyder, gifted young soprano, whose recent song recital at the Town Hall brought her into popularity—will render a program of folk songs. The brilliant young violinist of the East Side, Solomon Deutsch, will play a program of popular classic violin solos. The concluding number will be a series of pantomimic sketches, "wordless stories," by August Claessens. Admission fee is 50 cents. Remember the date, Friday evening, April 1. Please help in every possible way to make this affair the success it deserves to be.

6th A. D.

The business meetings of this branch are becoming increasingly in-

How About a Theatre For and By the Workers?

By Joseph T. Shipley

IN The New Leader of March 19 John Howard Lawson urges support of the New Playwrights as the first step in laying the foundation of a workers' theatre. "We have great hopes," he says for all five playwright-heads of the organization, "of building the structure of a workers' theatre. In the first place, what in the name of common sense is a proletarian theatre? It depends, I suppose on the plays and on the audience. At this moment we have neither. . . . The only thing we can say is that if we set a REAL workers' play we will produce it as heartily as possible, even if it cracks the walls of the theatre."

While we commend this resolution of the New Playwrights, and have enjoyed their production, we hate to see them so naive. Accepting Mr. Lawson's letter as the expression of a sincere desire, rather than the clever device of a publicity campaign, we wonder at his easy self-deception. "In the first place, in the name of common sense," a workers' theatre does not spring from the dramatic efforts of five, however honest, intellectuals (Mike Gold seems to have made the leap) going off to organize a production company with funds furnished by a millionaire. A genuine workers' theatre, like a genuine democracy, is not merely "for," but "of" and "by" the workers.

Yet it does seem time for the beginning in this country of a real workers' theatre. A number of strong unions are in existence, whose industrial relations with employers are well handled by chosen representatives and whose members have little to do at meetings save to indulge in petty arguments or in heated championing of right or left wing. The social energy of these members is not merely being wasted; it is working toward disruption, for want of properly organized activity.

Surely many of these unions, separately or jointly, could make excellent use of the services of a social director—not an "intellectual" superimposed upon them by a benevolent philanthropist, but some one springing from their midst, intimate in fellowship and understanding of their needs and their desires. Such a man (or woman) would be a prime factor in the next vital step in the development of the labor movement of America. So long as there is industrial, financial, need there will be a large measure of labor solidarity; but so soon as there is greater financial opportunity beyond the union the worker will leap for it—as long as the basis of labor's union is purely industrial, financial. The continuance of a healthy, thriving industrial fellowship, the development of a real sense of comradeship among the workers of the country, depends upon the extension of their united activities from the purely industrial and financial to the social. The political organization of the workers of the land will be extremely difficult until they are more of a social unit, with papers, with amusements, with many united activities, of their own; nor will the worker come even into full industrial power until fellowship in all fields—not merely in labor—makes him recognize his oneness of interest with all other workers. A great force in the direction of this extension of the labor movement more fully into the lives of the workers would be a social organizer from among the workers, and, incidentally, through the efforts of such a person, a workers' theatre might arise to do its share.

First there might be a small group within a particular local, gathered some

night to chat and play cards, and some member spontaneously mimics the foreman of his shop. A skit could easily be developed around a foreman, showing him trying to flirt, let us say, with one of the girls under him, or to argue about a piece of damaged goods. The difference between the responses he might get in a union shop, where the workers can be independent, and a non-union shop, where the girl must smile, the man must bow, or be fired, could also easily be shown. From shop humor, these skits might change the subject to wider fields; local and international politics offer ample opportunity for satirical sketches, and several of them might be devised and prepared in an evening. These early short pieces might thus be propaganda; they would surely be broad humor, caricature, for the workers are merely seeking to entertain themselves.

Grown more ambitious, some local aspirant might try to write a more elaborate, more serious study of conditions; more probably, the acting group will decide that it would be a lark to try a longer drama. Encouraging their own budding playwright to go ahead, therefore, they meanwhiling turn to the proletarian drama already available. Russia is producing many plays not yet known in America; from other lands such plays as Hauptmann's "The Weavers," as Kaiser's "Gas," as Toller's "The Machine-Stormers," are already at hand. In translations or adaptations preferably made by some one (or by several collaborators) from the group, the production is planned and prepared. Scenery, costumes, directing, all come from within the group. Amateur! you scoff. How shall a workers' theatre start save among and by workers?

The performance is offered at a meeting of the local, with (space permitting) friends from other locals and other unions invited. The audience are perhaps not highly critical, are easily pleased, ready to enjoy. Little impetus is required for them to be ready to take part. Other locals have already begun similar activity; in time two or more combine for the production of a drama that requires mass action or calls for a larger outlay than one group can afford. Merrily and by slow degrees, but with gathering power, the ball, once started, will roll. In these various amateur companies certain members will stand out as actors, scene designers, directors, adapters (Shakespeare began as an adapter) and playwrights. These are the nucleus of a permanent company, drawn from the various unions into one theatrical enterprise. At first they will probably continue their regular union jobs, playing week-ends, rehearsing the next play after the performances of the old. Ultimately they may win sufficient support from their worker-audience to develop freedom from other occupations as the first workers' theatre of the United States.

Whether this will be the course of events or not—whether, indeed, it might not be harmful to have the worker-actor lose his connection with his other job and become a "professional" player—these and other problems time alone can solve. But fuller social activity, fuller intellectual and artistic fellowship, is essential to the rounded growth of a labor movement. Toward such an enlarged social sense of unity one of the strongest unifying forces, both for spectators and for participants, would be a workers' theatre. And a workers' theatre, in spite of all hopeful efforts of wealthy or intellectual liberals, must spring, in initial impulse, in plan, in fulfillment, out of the will of the workers.

7th MONTH

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Week of March 28
Mon. Eve., March 28....."CRADLE SONG"
Tue. Eve., March 29....."INHERITORS"
Wed. Mat., March 30....."CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Eve., March 30....."LA LOCANDIERA"
Spec. Mat., March 31....."CRADLE SONG"
Thurs. Eve., March 31....."THREE SISTERS"
Fri. Eve., April 1....."INHERITORS"
Sat. Mat., April 2....."CRADLE SONG"
Sat. Eve., April 2....."MASTER BUILDER"

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Week of April 4 ROCHESTER AMERICAN OPERA CO.

WEEK OF MARCH 28

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1901—1926

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Written by JAMES ONEAL. One copy to every
member of Local 10.

will address Circle Six, Brooklyn. Sunday, at their headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. The lecture will start at 8:30 p. m. sharp. Comrade Wolfson's subject will be "Socialism and Individual Liberty." Comrades are invited.

Circle Two

Circle Two, Brooklyn, is keeping up its record of good work. After three months of hard but successful work by members and officers real results are in evidence. Last week in spite of bad weather over fifty young people crowded the small room. The membership is gradually increasing, and the outlook is very bright. The next meeting will be held this Sunday at 8 p. m. at headquarters, 219 Sackman street. All friends are invited.

Junior Yipsels

Circle Nine has moved from 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, to 303 Albany avenue, corner Lincoln place. It will continue meetings every Friday evening and welcome all comrades.

Junior Mike

The first Junior Mike of the season was held on Sunday, March 20, and a clupal subjects.

good time was had despite the afternoon rain. Circle Twelve, Juniors, captured the hike, being represented by 17 members, while Circle Two had five and Circle Nine, which had called the hike, was represented by two members. The features were walking in the rain, eating canned beans and burning steaks. Comrades are asked to watch for the next hike.

WITH THE CIRCLES

National Executive Committee

The National Executive Committee of the Yipsels held its mid-winter meeting in New York City on March 5 and 6. The sessions lasting all of Saturday afternoon and most of Sunday were attended by Novis and Field of New York, Syrjala of Boston, Erickson of Gardner, Wagner of Milwaukee, Parker, the national secretary, and an invited representative of New York City, Ben Goodman, secretary of the City League. Banquet of St. Louis was absent, having advised the committee and sending in his views on the prin-

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THE NEW STUDENT
2929 Broadway, New York

Bronx

Central Branch

Ephth Friedman is continuing her interesting series of lectures every Monday night at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road, and every effort is being made to obtain an increased attendance for her. The next dance by this branch will be on Saturday evening, April 8. The tickets are now ready. In order to stimulate activity and attendance at the lectures the branch is offering a set of Oscar Wilde's five volumes and Will Durant's "Story of Philosophy" to be awarded as prizes to the most active members.

A meeting with the enrolled Socialist voters of the 4th-5th A. D. will be held Friday evening, April 5 at headquarters. The speakers will be Judge Jacob Fanken and Samuel Orr.

Branch 7

The Friday evening forum will continue its weekly sessions until the end of April. The last entertainment and dance of the season is scheduled for Saturday evening, April 23.

THE NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1927

DRAB RURAL LIFE

EIGHTY years ago Marx and Engels remarked upon "the idiosyncrasy of rural life." By this they did not express a contempt for rural people. They had in mind an environment which isolates its inhabitants from general progress, condemns them to long hours of unremitting toil, restricts them to a parochial outlook, and fosters a low cultural level. For these reasons the rural population serves as a drag on human progress by venerating the ancient and fighting the new.

The interior regions of New York State offer an interesting study of rural life. In the eastern section something like European feudalism survived into the forties. The feudal magnates looked down upon the merchant and capitalist as vulgar, but as both began to accumulate wealth they acquired respectability and power. The landed aristocrats were slowly pushed into the background and the capitalist class took its turn at ruling the State.

Since the Civil War the rural communities have been pockets of extreme conservatism. Thaddeus Sweet and Silverware Lusk have measured up to the rural voters' idea of what constitutes a statesman. The rural representatives at Albany have generally served not rural interests, but have constituted the shock troops of banking, capitalist and corporation interests. In return for their votes the rural voters have received very little, and generally nothing at all.

It is this background that makes the report of the New York Crime Commission on two upstate rural counties especially interesting. It is a bleak and barren picture of social and cultural life that is depicted. One gets the impression that urban progress has emptied the rural areas of much that was once interesting and left them a drab heritage of monotony. It is not surprising that the tendency of the young generation is to flee to the cities. The young blades who remain obtain solace in the hip-pocket flask, are ever on the quest for thrills that are scanty, but the gang crimes of the large cities are practically unknown. Bootlegging and moonshining are essential industries despite the fact that the rural sections are strong prohibition areas. The cheap stories of the Nick Carter and Frank Merriwell type are still consumed not only by the young but by adults.

It is a dreary survey that is presented and it confirms the judgment of Marx and Engels eighty years ago. When it is remembered that an archaic system of representation surviving from the days when New York State was chiefly rural gives a preponderance of power to these backward regions in the State Government, we get some comprehension of how far we are from the democracy of which politicians boast.

BORAH'S SPEECH

SENATOR BORAH rose to the occasion in his speech last Sunday at New Haven when he exploded the myth of a "Bolshevik menace" in Mexico. The only Communists, he said, "who ever made any trouble with Mexico went there from the United States and were sent back by the Mexican Government." This is the literal truth. If the State Department does not know it, it is served by incompetents, and if it does know it it plays the role of a false witness against Mexico.

There is one sentence in this speech which will probably survive the speaker and become one of the epigrams of American political speeches. "God has made us neighbors, let justice make us friends," said Borah. The sentiment is a noble one, and while it is not likely to be followed in these days of government by oil, investments and concessions, it is worth remembering.

There is only one utterance in the speech with which we disagree, and yet it is consistent with Borah's career. He declared that Mexico "did not have the right . . . and has not the right . . . to destroy vested interests, to confiscate property," and yet he concedes the right of any nation to "break up large estates." How the latter can be accomplished in all cases without coming into conflict with "vested interests" Borah did not explain. On the other hand, this dictum is a dangerous one. Important alterations in human society in the future will certainly have much to do with the present form of property. The American Revolution certainly played havoc with some solid "vested interests," and the same is true of the Civil War. The prohibition amendment in our time is an example of ignoring vested interests, and it certainly was a case of rendering large investments valueless without compensating the investors. The Borah view in this matter is satisfactory to the most confirmed imperialists.

A more satisfactory view is that when in-

vestors invest their funds they should do so under the laws of the nation where they invest. British investors invest funds in American enterprises under American laws. Why not American investors under Mexican laws? The Borah view places property above human life, for life is confiscated in war, while property is left in the position of a sacred cow that must not be confiscated.

Borah is fundamentally a conservative who believes in a high code of political and governmental ethics. This type is so rare in American politics that for a man to be honest and decent in his attitude toward public problems is to often invite the charge of being a "radical." Borah is safe for the modern order of property, with its unfair and unequal distribution of wealth, but he is also decent and honest, and it is this that sets him apart from the Kefloggs and Gallivans.

"CLASS COLLABORATION"

WE HAVE heard about "class collaboration" in the past year and the question has been raised by the "lefts" in the trade unions. In the needle trade unions it took the form of opposing arbitration and accepting the recommendations of the Governor's Commission as a basis for negotiations between the union and the employers. The formula of the "lefts" is simple, very simple. Workers sell labor power and employers buy it. There is a fundamental antagonism between buyer and seller. Out of this conflict of interests there can be no compromise. Therefore arbitration or acceptance of recommendations of the Governor's Commission as a basis for bargaining is a "betrayal of the workers."

The premise of antagonism is sound. The conclusion of no arbitration is absurd. The fact is that despite the antagonism the workers have often gained concessions by arbitration, and this is especially true in the needle trades. Resort to arbitration is not in conflict with belief in the class struggle. In fact, that struggle is carried into arbitration bodies and it is always present at the arbitration table. It can no more be concealed there than it can be in a strike. The only question for the union is, how to wage that struggle before an arbitration commission, not to avoid arbitration.

In the trade union struggle certain tactics in bargaining have been evolved. The union often asks for more than it expects to get. What it demands will depend upon the strength of the union and the employers, whether the market is brisk or dull, and other factors that are important. Suppose the union's demands are scaled down to 50 per cent. Before an arbitration body and a settlement at this rate is possible. Would it not be stupidity for the union to risk a strike when this gain is within reach? Of course it would.

On the other hand, suppose the workers agree to arbitrate and the employers refuse. Immediately the union obtains the strategic advantage of having outside opinion on its side, and this is a big asset for the union, as frequent strikes in the needle trades have shown. The "left" formula would deliberately throw away this advantage and even hazard the welfare of thousands of workers.

Moreover, arbitration is not "class collaboration." As a rule arbitration bodies are scenes not of collaboration, but of prolonged contests between the contending parties, sometimes breaking up in the end and followed by a bitter strike. This is true of the most conservative unions as well as the most radical. The "left" formula solves no questions. It merely leads to disaster and defeat.

A TRADE UNION PERIL

ANOTHER court decision shows the pit that still yawns for the trade unions of this country. A Massachusetts court has awarded damages to the amount of \$61,971.44 to three milk companies and to be paid by Local 30 of the Milk Drivers and Creamery Workers Union. The latter carried on agitation to induce customers not to purchase of the three companies during a strike. The activity of the union and the strike it carried on constitute the basis for the court's award of damages.

This recalls the famous Danbury haters' case, in which one firm sued the union for damages and was awarded the sum of \$272,000. The homes and savings of many haters were attached and the American Federation of Labor collected contributions from members of trade unions all over the country to pay the award. The A. F. of L. later obtained the enactment of the Clayton Act, which, it was hoped, would forever make it impossible for this to again occur, but later court decisions have so modified the Clayton Act as to make it useless in protecting union funds from seizure on the ground of damages sustained by corporations in strikes.

It should not be forgotten that in Great Britain such action is impossible. The trade unions there were also faced with the same peril and the Taft Vale decision contributed to the rapid development of the Labor Party. The increasing power of the Labor Party forced the parties of the possessing classes to pass an act which relieved the trade unions of the menace. We are still in the stage through which the British trade unions were passing nearly thirty years ago. We have nothing to lose and everything to gain by following their example.

I Sing the Battle

I sing the song of the great clean guns that belch forth death at will.
Ah, but the waiting mothers, the lifeless forms and still!
I sing the songs of the billowing flags, the bugles that cry before.
Ah, but the skeleton's flapping rags, the lips that speak no more.
I sing the clash of bayonets and sabres that flash and cleave.
And will thou sing the maimed ones, too, that go with pinned-up sleeve?
I sing acclaimed generals that bring the victory home.
Ah, but the broken bodies that drip like honeycomb!
I sing of hearts triumphant, long ranks of marching men.
And wilt thou sing the shadowy hosts that never march again?
—Harry Kemp.

The News of the Week

Fascisti Stir Balkan Kettle

Out of the rumors of war in the Balkans, with Yugoslavia and Italy as the chief belligerents and sparsely populated Albania as the prize, comes a pretty good guess from Geneva that the effect that when all the noise has died down it will be found that Mussolini has managed to make the League of Nations believe that in compensation for his forbearance he ought to have a special "sphere of influence" in Albania. Then a few hundred thousand of the surplus Italians being produced at the rate of 500,000 a year will be settled in the little country ostensibly ruled by young Ahmet Zogu and the dream of making the Adriatic a real Italian lake will be realized within a few years. While it is not probable that either Mussolini or the Yugoslav Government wants war, there is always the possibility of some of their hot-headed followers taking the belligerent talk of their bosses seriously and starting something that will put the League of Nations to the acid test. In the meantime, the Preparatory Disarmament Conference is again in session in Geneva trying to get the representatives of the "great Powers" to agree on an agenda for the coming Conference on Limitation and Reduction of Armaments. Good news comes from Vienna in the shape of a report of heavy Socialist gains in the communal elections in the Burgenland Province last Sunday at the expense of the Clericals. This is in line with the recent good showing made by the Socialists in the elections for the Agricultural Chambers in the same province and indicates that the Socialists' chances of winning a Parliamentary majority at the ballot box on April 24 are bright. In Poland the strike and lockout of some 200,000 textile workers has been ended by the threat of a general sympathetic strike in Lodz, which caused the Government to intervene and induce employers and strikers to submit their dispute to arbitration. The workers demand a 25 per cent. wage raise.

Fatuous Ford, Jew-Baiter

Just how Henry Ford gets a kick out of his anti-Jewish propaganda. We do not have the long centuries of racial contacts which in many European countries have produced the anti-Jewish complex. We have had anti-alien movements a number of times, but these have been aimed at immigrants in general. The trial at Detroit is of general interest because it affords an opportunity for Ford to reveal on what grounds he has subscribed to his prejudice against Jews. The trial is of interest to workers in general because any injection of racial or national prejudices into American life tends to prevent that solidarity of all workers that is so essential to an effective labor movement. Ford's views in this matter have no more substantial basis than the withercraft craze had in the days when the Matheres were afflicted with this peculiar brainstorm. If it be said that we have mercenary Jews the same may be said of Germans, Englishmen, Americans and others. The mercenary type as well as the idealist belong to no particular nationality. We cannot interpret the

Shanghai Falls Background of To Nationalists

For the general background of events in China our readers are referred to the article on another page. As we go to press it is evident that China has reached a turning point in her long history of alien domination and exploitation and we again express the hope that the Powers will recognize that it is no longer the old, corrupt and divided China with which

they have to deal. The fall of Shanghai and the crumbling of the northern armies show how thoroughly the Canton Nationalists represent the great majority of the Chinese. That considerable disorder has followed the occupation of the captured city may be likely, but we should not forget that news of what is going on in the city is coming through sources that for decades have been allied with alien control of the country. For this reason it is well not to accept all the stories of "terror" raging in the city. On Wednesday came reports that foreign guns repulsed an invasion of the foreign concession of Shanghai and that 40 were killed and wounded. It is reported that red flags and a big parade of thousands of Chinese welcomed the conquerors and that 150,000 workers are on strike. The chief of staff of the northern armies declares that the Shanghai victory is not important and that a firm stand will be made at Nanking, but it is evident that this is a dying gesture of the old guard that has served all other interests except those of the Chinese. If China is consolidated under one government a new power will rise in the East, a power of such vast resources and great possibilities that it will play an important part in world history.

Mexico Still A "Problem"

Wednesday brought the news that Washington had abrogated the Mexican treaty against smuggling which will become effective March 28. For the present the embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico remains, but the abrogation of the treaty leaves Washington free to lift the arms embargo at any time. Senator Norris declares that this means revolution in Mexico and others are of the same opinion. Doherty, Sinclair and other oil interests "could finance all kinds of revolutions," declares Norris. The next few weeks may bring the repeal of the embargo which will certainly be an unfriendly act against Mexico. The abrogation of the treaty comes at a period when the religious rebels are very active and if the oil interests get a free hand in shipping arms across the border there is only one conclusion to be drawn. It will constitute an alliance between piety, petroleum and profits. Various religious bands are reported as active in Mexico. One passenger train is reported as being held up and the passengers asked to contribute to the "Catholic revolution," while El Sol, the official labor organ in Mexico City, alleges that rebels in the State of Jalisco are under orders by their bishop to burn to death all prisoners who fall into the hands of the rebels. One thing not counted on by our oil interventionists is that the organized workers of Mexico have been so often required to meet with rebellions that they are all well equipped with arms to protect the government. They made short work of de la Huerta's revolt a few years ago. Meanwhile Collier's Weekly declares that certain oil interests have sought to bribe the Mexican Government and to purchase Obregon to lead a revolt. Oil capitalism is about the dirtiest thing spawned in this century.

THE CHATTER BOX

Two Poems of a City

I.—Riveter

Riveter,
Stitcher of red wool,
Needle-worker on the sky,
Sew them tight
On the night,
Rap the moon a tap
As it goes by.

Stitcher of red wool,
Nail them loud
To a cloud,
Sting the sweet steel.
Let it feel
The vibration of
A climbing nation.

Needle-worker
On the sky,
Build them high,
Build them high,
Rap the stars a tap
As they trip by.
Stitcher of red wool,
With your pall of coffee
And your piece of pie.

Why so proud?
Why so proud?
As you hammer, them home
Good and loud,
While a cloud
Takes your measure
For a shroud—
Why so proud?

Riveter,
Stitcher of red wool,
Needle-worker on the sky—
Rap your wits a tap.
Before they die!
Dinners of steel last longer
Than apple pie.

II.—Tenement Wall

The flowered paper
On the wall
Plastered scenes
From Spring to Fall.

The wall showed ribs
Like an old mare,
A tired sofa
Covered it there.

And here two lovers
Pressed their pride
Into the moonless
Living tide.

While on the other
Side of the wall
A coffin made
No sound at all.

—Charles A. Wagner.

Spring has stolen in so softly on our winter-hardened senses that we are hardly ready to welcome it in proper fashion. Our stock of rhymes is still overlaid with cold grief and north wind furies. The season has hardly given time to get out our regular line of spring samples, and so the customers who come flocking in on the balm of the south wind for lilting cadenzas and sprightly villanelles go out a bit peeved with our unseasonable wares. Who, for instance, would wear a Sonnet to Spring when the first robin scampers over the sprouting green on a hillside? Who would wrap his softening soul in threnodies and angry pentameters when the brook has broken through the prisoning ice and gone gallivanting with a mad music to the valley? We simply will have to rush our factory of verse on triple shift, to catch up with the hastening days of spring. This is one time we were caught off our usual business balance as a poet.

Love, Give Me the Feel of Tomorrow

Come, love, help me move all the mirrors out of my workshop.
All the rose spots out of my heart!
You only can give me what I need:
A steel girder faith to build on.
The feel of tomorrow in my hand.
Andante of a happy city's hundred thousand feet,
Keeping step in a grand procession,
Telling the world they walk in peace and freedom,
Broadcasting a forever-and-ever armistice day.
Autos humming get-where-you-want songs,
Dinamos purring of man free from dreams and for play.
—E. Ralph Cheney.

Haunts

There are pyramids of empty cornhusks
A-creaking and a-wavering in the fields.
There is a lonely straw-stuffed scare-crow
With whom the wind loves to play.
There is an old oak tree shorn of leaves
When it bowed with the cutting Northwind.
And a boy in a distant city closes his book:
Cannot forget the cornhusks, the scare-crows and
the old oak tree.
And watches five-pointed lanterns
Stuttering in the cold skies.
—Syd Segel.

Something is mellowing us in temper and in thought. We find no desire to rise in sputtering phrase and give anyone or anything the one-two and a roundhouse fist full of literary knuckles. Are we passing out as a militant rebel? Has the University Heights seven-room flat, electric radio and soft sofa diluted our messianic energies and given us an honorary membership in the Lodge of Worn Out Radicals? We can't even stir up enough verve to squint malevolently at a ukase out of the Kremlin Executive Committee Rooms on New York Labor Unions. We even said, "Fine Weather, Today, Sir" to our landlord as we made exit for work this morning. First thing you may learn is that we have actually shaken hands with a lawyer and smiled at a doctor. We stand now on the brink of vague fear as to what further step we will most unconsciously take in the direction of soul reaction and revolutionary decay. The dust is gathering thickly, we notice now, on the sociological and economic tomes in our library. Karl Marx has a most neglected look, and even Bellamy's "Looking Backward" is taking on a genteel appearance. We notice also that we have paid up all telephone, gas, electric and auto repair bills, without even so much as remarking to our marital partner on the greed of public corporations and the bourgeois tendencies that our household is assuming particularly in indulgence of middle-class diversions. Mexico, China, Russia, and "Darling Nellie Keflogg" perturb us not in the tiniest least. Weltschmerz, Weltpolitik and Peaches' Last Stand are less than fluff ash of a borrowed cigarette. Even Cal Coolidge has ceased as a source of irritation. We are realizing right now for a brief and intriguing moment the glorious safe and sane comfort of mind and flesh that has been enjoyed by thousands of the old Comrades in recent years. For a brief and intriguing moment we fear only. Another week and Adolph Warshaw and the Socialists of University Heights sections will organize a new Socialist Branch at our home. April First in the evening is the date—ah—jeating day—and again will we cease loafing and looting about, and again—the old battle—meetings, lectures, propaganda, dues, mass gatherings, and campaigns. And what is a Socialist to do who has not as yet grown out of his youthful faith and visions? What else can Socialists do who have not learned the pessimism of the weak, nor the tyrannical haste of those who know not their strength? For those who despair there is always the gasp or Tammany Hall. For those who have hope and understanding, a local S. P. B. Branch can always be built up and made to carry on happily, even in a sad, sad world.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Radical Poets

RADICAL poetry has progressed slowly in the United States. Under the inspiration and encouragement of the old "Masses" and "The Liberator" a school of radical poets began to form. Max Eastman, for a time, was their leader—a vague, enticing, but uninspiring leader. Eastman had a feeling for soft intonation, melodious phrase, tempting rhythm, but no vision of the fusion of these forms with a fundamental radical substance. In "Colors of Life" Eastman made his position definite. Into poetry he could not intrude his radicalism. Art was sacred. The fact that this type of attitude was derivative of a bourgeois outlook and conception, that this peculiar separation and exaltation of art was expressive of a specific economic system and a particular organization of social life, never darted into the mind of these romantic radicals. The war shifted the situation. The elusive metaphor, gossamer allusion and evanescent substance of the earlier verse surrendered to a more vigorous genre. What was lost in subtlety was compensated for in dynamics. Action replaced introspection, aspiration succeeded reminiscence.

In the struggle of these two forms—their antithesis is represented sharply in the poetry of Max Eastman and Michael Gold—the great danger of poetic exaggeration and sentimentality is imminent. That a radical could think of poetry as having nothing to do with radicalism, as Eastman maintained he does, is ridiculous. That radicals can think of poetry as being merely a vehicle for revolutionary propaganda is not less absurd. Poetry is a technique of expression by which words are combined in forms that are strange and rhythmic in order to attain an effect that is essentially emotional. The word-sequences in poetry is not adopted in order to clarify a philosophic idea or shape a scientific theorem; it is a sequence adopted because of emotional appeal. Radical poetry is not less emotional than conservative. There are different emotions aroused by the different types, but the fundamental forms as yet at least are not dissimilar. The strange comparison, the subtle metaphor, the striking rhythm—these still remain the essence of poetic form. Rhyme has been largely abandoned. The old types of rhythm in the main have been deserted. But rhythm itself, which is the basis of every art and basic likewise in human reaction (of heart-beat, pulsation of blood, peristalsis of intestines, nictitation of eyelid, walking, swimming, etc.) cannot be discarded. Good radical poetry must have effective rhythm—or rhythms. In simple, the mere patching together of phrase, the mere ebullience of emotion, the mere outpouring of hatred and denunciation, are insufficient as the touchstone of poetic substance. The phrase, emotion and hatred must be expressed in rhythmic form. In addition to the rhythm involved, the diction must be subtle. Obviousness of phrase will mar the most perfect rhythmic form. To say a thing in a new way, to catch a slant of its form, an element of its texture, a touch of its substance, and imprison it in phrase that communicates its newness, the new vision attained—this, too, is part of what the poet aims to achieve. The radical poet cannot escape this necessity any more than the reactionary.

The radical poet, however, must exhibit a different substance than the conservative. His material is more vigorous. His mood is more violent. The reminiscent sweetness of Tennyson, however perfect its poetic form, is repugnant to the radical. The retrospective calm of much of nineteenth century verse is sickening to the contemporary sensibility. The attitude of the radical poet demands revolutionary substance. Revolutionary substance necessitates active attack instead of sweet renunciation, dynamic aspiration instead of soothing recollection. The poetry of Eastman, for example, is not revolutionary poetry at all. However much he might sing of the torturing toil of the proletarian, his sweet, lingering, lassitudinous rhythms would inevitably produce poetry without revolutionary meaning or inspiration. The attitude of the revolutionary, arising from emotions more violent, is liable to pitfalls that often convert poetry into mere verse. With the radical, therefore, restraint must become a jealous expedient. To disregard it is to hinder the growth of radical poetry as a dynamic form. (To be concluded next week, with a discussion of radical poets in America: in particular, of E. Merrill Root and his recent book, "Lost Eden.")

LABOR BACKS WOMAN FOR UNIVERSITY REGENT

Labor in Schenectady, N. Y., backed by the State Federation of Labor and the school authorities, is seeking the appointment of Mrs. Hilda Swenson Boyle as regent of the University of the State of New York. If her nomination is secured she will be the first labor representative on this important educational body. Mrs. Boyle's name was proposed by Michael Fanning on behalf of the Schenectady Trades Council at the largest labor conference ever held in this State in connection with the drive to have the Legislature curb the injunction abuse by equity courts. Before her marriage Mrs. Boyle was a commercial telegraph operator, secretary of Commercial Telegraph Operators' Union No. 16 of New York City, and active in the Women's Trade Union League and legislative work. She has for six years been a member of the Schenectady Board of Education. She is the wife of James P. Boyle.