

A Newspaper Devoted
to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement

THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 17

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

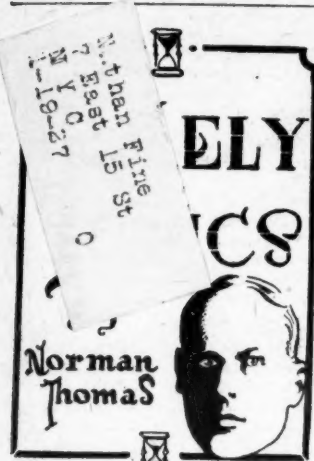
SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1927

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.25
Three Months75

A Two-Faced State Department It Intervenes in Nicaragua, Bullies Mexico, Shells Chinese, But Is Aloof When Innocent Men Face Death



ELY
CS
Norman Thomas

IN no proper sense is the sorry split in the ranks of the Chinese Nationalist party a matter of principle or a right and left wing division. Gen. Chiang masks his own treason to the Nationalist movement by the familiar talk of the wickedness of the Reds. Apparently he is without support, save his own troops, the money of some Chinese merchants, and perhaps some British gold. He is charged with not accounting for \$90,000,000 of Nationalist money and of having reached a virtual understanding with the Northern militarists. Whatever offenses Chinese Communists in Hankow may have committed against Chinese unity they are insignificant in comparison with Chiang's criminal defection. In the long run he is likely to fall. In the meantime he has thrown Chinese affairs into new chaos. One way or another the powers may take advantage of that chaos. If they do they will only add to Chinese bitterness. It is highly important to remember that not the Northern militarists nor Chiang himself, although perhaps they may at times be paid tools of foreigners, British or Japanese, have dared to talk anything but the language of relentless opposition to the unequal treaties.

Meanwhile, our country is in an extraordinary position. With surprising unanimity the public is opposed to any intervention in China. The government still says on occasion friendly words about the Chinese people. Nevertheless, we have embarked on a policy that inevitably and automatically leads toward vigorous intervention. We have joined with other powers in a threat of reprisal over Nanking. We have refused the reasonable demand for a joint commission to ascertain the facts. Our gunboats regularly convey merchant ships, mostly British, up and down the Yangtze river through the civil war zone. Finally, as Thomas Millard points out in his cable to the New York World, we have let ourselves get into a position where the Shanghai Municipal Council which has declared itself independent of consular regulation may drag us into war.

If we are not to be drawn into serious trouble in China we must accept the reasonable proposal for a joint commission to investigate what happened in Nanking, withdraw from any joint action of the powers looking toward reprisals, evacuate our nationals from Hankow, take our gunboats off the Yangtze, and tell American members of the Shanghai community plainly that if they are independent of consular supervision they can fight their own wars without our help.

Governor Smith has clarified his position on the relation of church and state in a satisfactory manner. It is particularly good that he has declared openly that a Catholic does not have to accept as binding the political opinions of papal encyclicals. Socialists ought to remember that fact in talking to their Catholic friends among the workers, for it is on the basis of these encyclicals that it is commonly declared that Catholics cannot be Socialists. The Marshall-Smith correspondence has done a real service in bringing this religious discussion out into the light of day. I hope that in consequence we can direct public attention to the governor's economic opinions and performances. Both by word and deed he has given far better assurances of sound Americanism in regard to the relation of church and state than of a sound economic program in national or state affairs. His statement of general principles with regard to religious questions in Mexico was admirable. As a presidential candidate he ought to be far more explicit.

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Throngs Break Police Lines To Greet Ramsay MacDonald; Predicts Socialist Victory

"Attaboy, Ramsay,"
Crowd Cheers as Labor's Leader Arrives
in New York City

By Edward Levinson

ABOUT 30 years ago a young British Socialist, one of the few in a small knot of "impossibles" who had set out to change the course of the mighty British labor movement, slipped into New York. He came unnoticed except for a small group here who shared his Socialist ideas. When he returned home, possibly not more than two score people even knew that he had been here.

Ramsay MacDonald returned to the United States the other day. This time he came as the undisputed political leader of British labor, and as the past and future Socialist Prime Minister of Great Britain. The Mayor of New York sent a special boat down the harbor to escort him into town. Fifty newspapermen cheered as he stepped from the mammoth Aquitania onto the city steamer Macon. A band blared forth its welcome. Just a few seconds before Secretary of the Treasury Mellon had stepped from the Aquitania into a revenue cutter to be its lone passenger into port. The cutter had almost steamed away with MacDonald's baggage. Alert stewards had noticed the mistake in time, however, and had salvaged the bags of "Good Old Ramsay," as they shouted at him in leaving.

Crowd Cheers Welcome
Nothing could be more eloquent of the rise to power of British labor than the contrast of MacDonald's two trips to America. For half an hour the reporters piled him with questions. Then the photographers demanded their second sitting. In turn MacDonald posed with the members of the Mayor's Committee, with his daughter Ishbel, who accompanies him on this trip, and with B. C. Vladeck, Socialist leader and manager of the Jewish Daily Forward. At Pier A, where the Macon tied up, a crowd of 5,000 was on hand. Scores broke through the police lines to clasp the hands of the Socialist leader. The others chorused their greeting. Borrowing a line from the reports of scenes at the British dock when MacDonald sailed, the crowd at Pier A joined in salutes of "Good old Ramsay." More often, however, it was the more American salute, "Attaboy, Ramsay."

MacDonald seemed to us to have changed little. His face was a ruddy copper, his bearing erect. Keenly he caught the import and the spirit of questions flung at him in "Americanese." He won "hard-boiled" reporters with his humor and ease. He broke a few seconds of embarrassment before the interview on the Macon with an admonition to "fire away."

In MacDonald's answers to questions, the way he measured his words, the full import of British labor's new status was borne in. It was not merely a matter of flinging off opinions, praising this, denouncing that, lauding this personage and damning others to perdition. As leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, as the future Prime Minister, every word he uttered, every move he makes must be considered in its possible effects on the interests of the labor party as the future government party and of himself as its Premier. For instance, they asked him about Sacco and Vanzetti, and about Mussolini.

Communism and Fascism
"What do you think about the Sacco-Vanzetti case?" was the question.
"It would not be proper for me to interfere in matters that are the concern of the United States, its courts and its public officials. The matter is being taken care of by Americans, on one side or the other."
"But 30 labor members of Parliament have cabled protests against the conviction," the questioner persisted.
"Well, I sometimes wish I, too, were a mere member of Parliament," MacDonald replied, with a trace of a smile. The reporters immediately marked him down as a friend of the convicted men and let it go at that.
And then on Mussolini. "What did

(Continued on page 3)

MacDonald and His Daughter, Ishbel



J. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor opposition in the House of Commons, and his daughter, Ishbel, snapped a few minutes after they landed in New York last week.

ANTI-YELLOW PAY BILL APPROVED BY COMMITTEE IN ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE

Springfield, Ill.—The "yellow dog" contract bill, designed to outlaw individual agreements, under which working people surrender their right to organize, has been reported to the Illinois Legislature with a recommendation for its passage by the House Committee on Industrial Affairs.

The vote in the committee was twenty in favor of the recommendation and five opposed.

Otto A. Jaburek, attorney for the Chicago Employers' Association, and the Associated Employers of Illinois, together with several representatives of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, made futile efforts to stop the progress of the measure.

LABOR TO WAR ON WASTE BUT WILL DEMAND SHARE IN ACCRUING PROFITS

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor at a "waste elimination" conference in Philadelphia, pledged the co-operation of labor in every attempt to banish waste, but declared that the benefits derived from such elimination must show proportionately in increased wages for workers as well as in profits for employers. Mr. Green's address ended the first conference ever held in this country for the purpose of considering the elimination of waste as a means of reducing selling costs, speeding up production and increasing wages.

SORDID POVERTY REVEALED IN SOUTH

At Least 100,000 White
Tenant Farmers'
Families in Dire
Need

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In a report that gives the lie to claims that this country is universally prosperous, the United States Department of Agriculture estimates that perhaps 100,000 white tenant families in the older cotton States are existing under a "notably restricted standard of living" that gives almost no opportunity for material or intellectual advancement in life.

The Department of Agriculture says that these 100,000 tenant families are the victims of newer and better methods of producing cotton in Texas and Oklahoma and declares that their plight is mainly due to their conservatism and their seeming inability to adapt themselves to changed conditions.

Competition Hits Old Cotton Belt
The report, which is based on conditions as found among small farmers in Gwinnett county, Georgia, says:

"In recent years small cotton farmers in the old cotton belt have been compelled to face competition of the newer cotton regions of western Texas and western Oklahoma, where large-scale methods and up-to-date machinery have greatly reduced production costs. A study has been made by the United States Department of Agriculture to determine how the white small farmers of Georgia are meeting this competition. They are doing so by accepting unusually low incomes and a notably restricted standard of living rather than by adopting improved methods of production. Records obtained from 288 white farm families in Gwinnett county, Georgia, a typical Piedmont district, farmed mostly by whites, showed an average net cash income in 1924 of only \$424 per family.

"These Gwinnett county families average five persons each. Their cash income was supplemented by food, fuel and shelter from the farm, estimated to be worth \$396 per family. Out of

(Continued on page 3)

Weighty Problem Put Before Chicago Judge for Decision

Chicago.—Judge Joseph Burke of the Court of Domestic Relations has declared it as his opinion that two quarts of beer is sufficient to cut the dust out of a workman's throat over the week-end, but the learned judge has taken the matter under advisement so that he may be able finally to render a just and wise decision in this weighty matter.

Expert testimony, based on many years of experience, was given by Frank Klesta, a woodworker, whose wife had him pinched for imbibing too freely of the bowl that cheers and sometimes makes one cock-eyed.

"I'm a woodworker, your honor, and it takes 14 quarts of beer to cut the dust out of my throat over the week-end," he explained to Judge Burke.

"Better cut that 14 quarts down to two," suggested the court.

"I would ruin my health," protested Klesta.

The judge continued the case.

KELLOGG WON'T FORWARD PROTEST

"Can't Interfere," Answer to Plea for Lives of Lithuanian Socialists

THE State Department can threaten Mexico and intrigue against its government.

The State Department can foster revolution and civil war in Nicaragua. It can look on while the War and Navy Departments help an army of mercenaries conquer an opposing faction in Nicaragua, by the process of "neutralizing" a city every time there is any danger of the Liberals capturing it.

The War Department and the Navy Department can send armed forces to the outskirts and into the interior of China. The Department of State can back up this action with diplomatic pressure.

All these things are possible and proper, but—

If a large and responsible group of American citizens make a plea in the name of humanity and justice to save the lives of innocent comrades threatened with legal murder, then—

"Under the accepted principles governing international relations, it cannot properly take any action which would involve the interference of the Government of the United States in the administration of the internal affairs of a foreign country, or attempt to suggest to other countries the civil rights which these countries should accord to their own citizens."

This was the answer the State Department made to the Socialist party of New York. The Socialists did not by any means request intervention, nor even the neutralization of the country in question. It did not in any way suggest interference in the internal affairs of another country. There was not even a request that a battleship be sent "for the moral effect."

The Socialist Party merely asked that the State Department convey to the Lithuanian government the protest of the Socialists against the threatened execution of 60 fellow Socialists in Kovno. Robert F. Kelley, chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs, sent the above quotation in reply to the State Department.

Frankly puzzled by the contradictions between Mr. Kelley's reply and the current activities of the State Department with regard to Mexico, China and Nicaragua, the Socialist Party has written to the State Department.

"One can understand," said Norman Thomas, secretary of the Socialist Party's committee on public affairs, "a doctrine of absolute non-interference or one can understand a doctrine of occasional interference, at least to the extent that we asked in the case of the imprisoned Socialists in Lithuania. What is puzzling to a layman is the strange mixture of the doctrine of no interference with the practice of intervention in the policy of our government."

Test of Correspondence
The correspondence between the Socialist Party and the State Department is instructive and interesting. Here is the complete text of the communications:

First, the Socialist Party sent this telegram to President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg:

"The Socialist Party of New York City, in convention assembled, received by cable today news that sixty Socialists have been arrested in Kovno by the Lithuanian Government. They are now before military court-martials, which presages death sentences and executions. We have with protest most emphatically against these wholesale arrests of political opponents. We call upon the State Department of our country to urge upon the representative of the Lithuanian Government in

Murder by Due Process of Law

Save Sacco and Vanzetti!

By Morris Hillquit

ON the tenth of next July two men are to be put to death in the State of Massachusetts. They have been convicted by a jury of their peers of cold-blooded murder for robbery. The highest court of the State has sustained their conviction.

The defendants are humble Italian immigrants and capital punishment is not a rare occurrence in the United States.

Yet the sentence which dooms Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti to die in the electric chair has been received with consternation and dismay in all parts of the world.

From Moscow and Paris, from Montreal and Buenos Aires; from all four points of the compass and in all spoken languages come earnest protests against their execution.

Teachers of science and preachers of the gospel, politicians and men of letters, and the hosts of organized workers in all lands have spontaneously joined in the protest.

What is there in this sentence of two convicted murderers that so shocks the moral sense of mankind? It is the widespread conviction that these men are innocent and the awful suspicion that their judge and their jurors did not much care whether they were guilty or innocent of murder when they doomed them to die. So long as this belief persists our whole system of justice is under an intolerable cloud.

Sacco and Vanzetti are radicals. It does not matter what type of radicalism they profess. It does not matter whether their social and economic views are sound or absurd. What concerns us all deeply is the undeniable fact that under an indictment of murder they were convicted for their radicalism. So long as any

man, no matter how poor and lowly, can be put to death by his fellow-men for holding and expressing unpopular views, there is no freedom of thought and conscience for anybody.

Sacco and Vanzetti were tried in 1920, in the black period of reactionary hysteria and lawless terrorism which followed in the wake of the World War. They are our last war victims. They were tried and convicted in the morbid and pathological war atmosphere, and the re-awakened social conscience revolts against the execution of a war-time sentence in times of peace.

Human life is sacred. Yet the mere loss of two innocent lives is not enough to stir multitudes of peoples on both sides of the ocean to their very depths. Millions of innocent lives have perished in the recent war. Thousands of innocent men and women die a violent death every week. What makes the planned execution of Sacco and Vanzetti so very hideous in the eyes of those who believe them innocent is the very judicial form of it.

We shudder to think of the substantial likeness between the war-captive killed by his savage captors under the accompaniment of savage war dances and incantations and solemn rites and ceremonies and the class-war captive of modern civilization put to death by his class-war captors through a ceremony of solemn court trials, sacrosanct juridical formulae and scientific execution.

In the name of humanity and civilization, in the name of social justice and common fairness we protest against the consummation of the threatened judicial murder and call upon the government and the governor of the State of Massachusetts to order a full and impartial investigation of the whole case.

"EPOCA" CIGARS ARE UNFAIR TO UNION LABOR

A strike call by the Cigar Makers Union Local 144 was responded to 100 per cent by the workers of Schwab & Baer, whose cigar factory is located at Eightieth street and East End avenue. All the 80 cigar makers joined the strike when the firm refused to grant the workers their demand for equal division of work. The strikers picket the factory every day, and in spite of the fact that they picket peacefully and lawfully the police arrest and persecute striking workers. An attempt is being made to frame up some of the strikers on drummed-up charges of violence. The union calls upon friends of organized labor to help the strikers by remembering that "Epoca" cigars are unfair to labor. Insist on the union label on the box when buying cigars.

the United States to transmit our protest to his government. No democracy can survive without freedom of political opinion." To this the State Department replied:

"Department of State, Washington, April 14, 1927. Mr. August Claessens, Executive Secretary, New York City Socialist Party, New York City. Sir:

"The receipt is acknowledged, by reference from the White House, of your telegram addressed to the President under date of April 3, and also of your telegram addressed to the Secretary of State under date of April 2, 1927, protesting against the arrest of six Lithuanian Socialists in Kovno by the Lithuanian Government and requesting this Department to transmit your protest to his government.

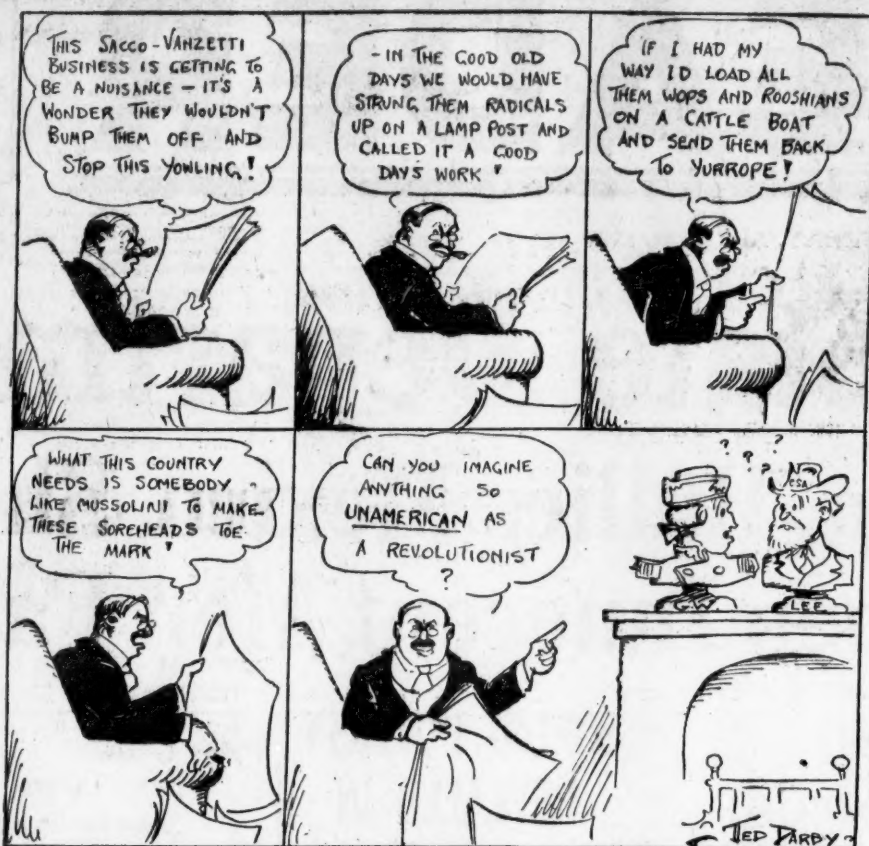
"In reply, I regret to inform you that the department is not in a position to accede to your request in this matter, since, under accepted principles governing international relations, it cannot properly take any action which would involve the interference of the Government of the United States in the internal affairs of a foreign country, as attempt to suggest to other countries the civil rights which those countries should accord to their own citizens.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant, For the Secretary of State, ROBERT F. KELLEY, Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs."

As secretary of the Public Affairs Committee of the Socialist Party, Mr. Thomas replied, as follows: Mr. Robert F. Kelley, Chief, Division of Eastern European Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C. Sir:

"I am in receipt of your letter of April 14 stating that the State Department cannot take any action whatsoever to transmit our protest concerning the arrest of six Lithuanian Socialists in Kovno to the Lithuanian Government. I note with interest your statement that the Department of State

A Latter-Day American Ruminates



"cannot properly take any action which would involve the interference of the Government of the United States in the administration of the internal affairs of a foreign country." Our first letter, of course, made clear the fact that we asked no interference except the transmission of a letter of protest. It is interesting that the State Department, which holds so high a doctrine of national sovereignty that it cannot accede to this request presents so different a face to the peoples of Nicaragua, Mexico and China. Only this morning dispatches inform us that Rear Admiral Latimer has occupied another town in Nicaragua in time to prevent an attack by the liberal forces upon it. Is not Nicaragua a foreign country and are we not interfering in its affairs by measures far more drastic than the transmission of a letter of protest? One can understand a doctrine of absolute non-interference or one can understand a doctrine of occasional interference, at least to the extent that we asked in the case of the imprisoned Socialists in Lithuania. What is puzzling to a layman is the strange mixture of the doctrine of non-interference with the practice of intervention in the policy of our government.

"Yours truly, NORMAN THOMAS, Secretary, Committee on Public Affairs of the Socialist Party."

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Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals' Executives Meet In Joint Session

PARIS.—A joint meeting of representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and of the Labor and Socialist International, under the chairmanship of the secretaries, Jan Oudegeest and Friedrich Adler, was held April 3 in Paris. There were present: Mortens and van Roosbroeck, Belgium; Wels, Germany; Jenner Brockway, England; Bracke, Jousiaux, Longuet, Renaudel, France; Vilgen, Holland; Medigliani, Italy; Grimm, Switzerland; Popovitch, Yugoslavia; Abramovitch, Suchomlin, Russia; Tsereteli, Georgia; Isahakians, Armenia; Soukup, Czechoslovakia.

The question of the danger of war in Southeastern Europe, as brought about by the attempts of Mussolini at intervention in Albania, was dealt with in a debate lasting several hours. It was pointed out that both the Treaty of the four Great Powers of 1921, and also in still higher degree the so-called Treaty of Trianon of November, 1926, are in contradiction with the independence of the Albanian people and with the safety of the Balkans. The positive demands of the working-class were made clear in a detailed resolution on the dangers of war in the Balkans.

Events in China were thoroughly discussed, and in view of the recent incidents in Nanking and Shanghai, the declarations made by the two Internationals at their meetings in February were formulated afresh in a resolution put forward by F. Brockway, which was unanimously accepted. The secretaries of the two Internationals were instructed to take advantage of the presence of representatives from the Trade Union Movement of the Far East at the Labor Conference in Geneva in May, 1927, in order to bring about closer relations with the Labor Movement in those countries.

Lastly, certain attitudes adopted by the Fascist regime in international politics were likewise debated, and in this connection also a resolution on "International organs and Italian Fascism" was unanimously adopted. The resolution "against the dangers of war in the Balkans" demands a searching investigation of the present difficulties. To attain this result, "the bureaus of the I. F. T. U. and of the L. S. I. urge all the parties representing the working-class to take action in the parliaments so that the governments of every country shall associate themselves with the movement to be initiated towards a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations in connection with the Italo-Albanian-Yugoslav problem."

"Further, they call on all Socialist parties and on all the organizations of the working-class to initiate propaganda and agitation with the object of informing public opinion that it is necessary at all costs to check secret diplomacy and the policy of rival alliances."

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)
plicit with regard to intervention in Nicaragua, Mexico or China.

What Governor Smith has proved, alike by his record and by his words, is the fact that Catholicism in the United States does not require the individual Roman Catholic to violate the principle of the separation of the Church and State which has been one of America's chief glories. As Mr. Marshall points out, the Governor does not prove that the whole Church takes his position. The facts are to the contrary even in America. And we can thank Governor Smith for setting up a yardstick of liberal Catholicism by which, if necessary, other Catholic political leaders may be measured.

How far from academic is this question of Church and State in our modern world is proved by the recent discussion in the Reichstag over the relation of Church and State in the German system of public education. Bavaria has already established a concordat with the Vatican which gives the bishops a power over teachers and teaching in State supported schools which Americans would think intolerable and which would seem to be opposed to the spirit if not the letter of the German constitution. Now some sort of concordat is being discussed in Prussia and Stressemann and his party as well as the Social Democrats are beginning to express alarm. This issue of the encroachment of Church power in the schools is one which no Socialist or Labor party can view with unconcern. Although the Catholic Church has taken the lead in this matter in Germany it is fair to say that some of the Protestants have followed after. The evils of ecclesiasticism and intolerance are not confined to one church.

I never expected to say a good word for Senator-elect Vane of Pennsylvania. But by comparison with the Mellon-Grundy machine he and his ward healers are men of heart and honor. If you doubt it listen to this story of the scandalous defeat of the Constitutional amendment which would have permitted the State of Pennsylvania to grant old age pensions. Pennsylvania had an old age pension law which was declared unconstitutional by the courts on reasoning that to a layman was not convincing. The last Legislature passed an amendment conferring power on the State to help its own citizens, grown old in toil, without sending them to the poorhouse. Under the Pennsylvania law this Legislature also had to pass the amendment before it could be submitted to the people for ratification. It was introduced by Senator Flora Vane and passed the State Senate. The majority of the members of the Assembly were openly pledged to it. Yet under terrific pressure on Governor Fisher and the Mellon-Grundy machine to which he belongs the bill was defeated. It is not certain that any legislators were bribed with money. They were told that unless they voted against this "Bolshevistic" amendment which the respectable Andrew Mellon and the State Chamber of Commerce did not like the Governor would veto all local legislation in which the particular legislators were interested. The influence of judges was swung in line by a threat to veto the bill to increase their pay. What are old age pensions if not our judges are well paid and get good pensions in retirement. This practical pressure upon individual Assemblymen was accompanied by an intense barrage in the papers against Socialist legislation. The Red menace stalked abroad again. Once more was Jim Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, pilloried as the enemy of God, home, and country. All because he was a leader in the fight to rob old age of some of its terrors for the poor.

What made this exhibition more disgusting was the fact that some of course not all "respectable" folks, supporters of the clean election bill, who hold up hands of holy horror at the way Vane bought his election, joined in the cry against the amendment. Even one labor member of the Legislature was clubbed by the Mellon machine of Allegheny County into voting against this amendment to which labor was pledged. But the wicked Senator-elect Vane of Philadelphia stood fast and held his personal following in line. What this may mean in Pennsylvania politics, no New Yorker can tell. Perhaps it marks an end of the truce between Vane and the Mellon machine by which they supported his right to his Senate seat. If so, those of us who have justly attacked Mr. Vane must remember that the Mellon machine spent far more to try to nominate the pious and proper Senator Pepper than Vane had at his disposal. And the respectable Governor Fisher probably owes his nomination to some tall tampering with votes in Allegheny, where an announcement of the primary results was held back by the Mellon machine—controlled by Andy's nephew in the family's behalf—for at least two days.

Whatever may happen in Pennsylvania politics one thing is certain. Under the Pennsylvania law it will be five years now before this humanitarian amendment under the most favorable circumstances can be submitted to the people. But Mellon, Grundy and the bankers and manufacturers of Pennsylvania have saved the State from the revolutionary proposal that the old age of the workers be protected from the tragedy of the poorhouse. Great is prosperous America. And Pennsylvania is its Keystone State.

Wages Lag Behind Huge Living Cost Under Fascist Rule

By Prof. Gaetano Salvemini
UNIVERSITY OF FLORENCE, ITALY

(This is the second of four articles prepared by Professor Gaetano Salvemini, noted Italian educator, exiled from Italy by the Fascist dictatorship, giving specific facts and figures as to the condition of the wage-earning masses under Fascism. Professor Salvemini has lectured extensively in the United States, drawing the hatred of the pro-Fascist faction. These articles were prepared expressly for the New Leader and International Labor News Service.)

IN the following table we have the average of industrial wages and cost of living in Italy, published by the Fascist government in the Conto Riassuntivo del Tesoro, July 31, 1926, pages 27, 68:

Year.	Wages Index.	Retail Prices Index.
1920	424.70	462
1921	557.74	501
1922	539.58	527
1923	503.57	518
1924	505.95	538
1925	566.37	605
1926 1st 1/2 yr.	594.05	633

Index number, 1913 equals 100.

These statistics, having been issued by the Fascist government, cannot have been "cooked" with a view to disparaging it. Thus we can take them as being below the mark. They show that in 1921 the cost of living was five times more than in 1913, but the standard of wages had risen five and a half times. In 1923, the cost of living was higher than in 1921, while wages had fallen 10 per cent. In 1925 and 1926 wages rose, but the cost of living increased far more.

Propagandist Challenged

The Fascist Professor Gini refuses to take into account these data: "These data belong," he says, "to industries having a very large income, such as the metallurgical, mechanical and chemical industries, which employ large numbers of skilled workers; those workers, in contrast to the unskilled, and the women and children, show less increase in wages."

This assertion is thoroughly fantastic. The metallurgical, mechanical and chemical workers enjoy in Italy the highest wages, and these have been increased in 1925 and 1926 at a higher rate than those of the unskilled workers, women and children, because in 1923 skilled labor began to stream toward France, where fresh gangs of workers were required, thus causing a scarcity in this particular field. This growing scarcity of skilled labor put the workers in a most favorable position to defend their wages, even when there was no longer any organization that could take up their defense. If a skilled worker was not satisfied with one factory, he could at once find another that would employ him. As a result, in 1925 and 1926, the employers were obliged, not by strikes, but by scarcity of labor, to give higher wages than those that were cut down in 1923. The favorable conditions of the skilled workers brought with them favorable conditions for the unskilled; for, in many cases, the work is done in gangs, and a rise in wages in the one case can not be granted without a proportionate rise in the other. But where the possibility of emigration was lacking, workers lived under most difficult conditions.

Pawn Shops Busy
Professor Gini must explain how it happens that the workers with higher wages reduce their consumption. Therefore he makes the following discovery:

"The working classes are denouncing, in favor of the progress of future generations, a higher standard of living which they could have afforded on the basis of higher wages." (Page 435.)

If this explanation were true, we should find an increase in savings deposits. On the contrary, Professor Gini writes:

"The index number of savings in 1925 is equal to 513 per cent, taking

1913 as a base; while that of the increase in prices is equal to 650 per cent. The former is therefore lower than the latter by 21.1 per cent; but this difference grows wider when we take the increase of population into account (12.4 per cent). Taking this augmentation in population into account, we find that the saving of the population per capita are 29 per cent below the pre-war figures." (Page 517.)

We have in Italy public pawn shops ("Monti di pietà") which make loans at a low rate of interest to poor people. If it were true that the working classes are sacrificing in behalf of future generations a higher standard of living, this should have as a result a diminution in the number of articles pawned. On the contrary, the Fascist government gives the following statistics for such loans:

Old Era—	Nos. of Pawns.
1921, Dec. 31.....	1,071,000
1922, Dec. 31.....	1,177,000
1923, Dec. 31.....	1,336,000
1924, Dec. 31.....	1,429,000
1925, Dec. 31.....	1,512,000
1926, May 31.....	1,601,000

Professor Gini will perhaps explain this table assuming that Italian workmen carry their linen, clothes, furniture to pawn shops in order to get money at a low rate of interest and to lend it at a higher rate. A professor of statistics, becoming Fascist, is forced to this and even worse efforts of imagination.

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Says NO!

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The Forward, Maker of Movements, Turns Thirty

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

THE entire Socialist and labor movement is today celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Jewish Daily Forward. The greatest Jewish newspaper in the world, and the most powerful foreign language newspaper in the United States, was founded on April 23, 1897. Its aim was solely to advance the cause of labor and Socialism.

For thirty years it has been engaged in that great task. Not only is the paper itself a remarkable success—it has been for thirty years the spokesman of the American-Jewish Socialist and labor movement. In a very real sense it has been a part of those movements. There has been almost unbelievable progress among the Jewish workers during the past thirty years. It is impossible to conceive of the huge gains in living conditions, in wages, in social sanitation, in civilization, without the Forward and the labor and Socialist movement that fought through the Forward.

For the Forward is more than a newspaper. It is more than an institution. It is more than a building and presses and editors and delivery wagons. It is a powerful force for human betterment that has influenced the lives of millions for the better in countless, countless ways.

Valhalla Hall the Birthplace
The Forward is thirty years old. It seems like only the other day to the surviving Forward pioneers that there was a great meeting of enthusiasts at Valhalla Hall when the decision was taken to publish the Forward at once. On a great wave of emotion a collection was taken up, and every man and woman there threw everything he had into the hat. Most of the workers walked home that night supperless; but they had started their paper. I do not recall the exact amount that was collected that day, but I understand that it was about \$400. And with that the Forward was started! (It cost William Randolph Hearst a cool million in a year before one of his papers showed a favorable balance sheet.)

The Forward was started not exactly as a Socialist propaganda paper, however. Rather it was the organ of a faction, the result of a split in the Socialist ranks. The Socialist Labor party—then the main Socialist organization in the country—had as its organ the Jewish Abend Blatt, edited by Philip Krants and my father. The narrow and dogmatic tactics of the late Daniel DeLeon, prophetic in many details of the Bolshevism that came five years after his death, had created dissensions in the party. An early Zinoviev, he had sworn to fight the American Federation of Labor and had the satisfaction of knowing that through his efforts alone he had alienated the labor and the Socialist movement to an extent that the disastrous results are still apparent. DeLeon was the undisputed and despotic leader of the S. L. P., and he carried things with a high hand. As early as 1896 there were grumblings of dissatisfaction, the details of which we have no time for here. However, in 1897, two years before the main split in the party, there were considerable defections from the party, especially in Massachusetts and the East Side of New York. There was a Social Democratic party in the East, and Eugene V. Debs had just reorganized his American Railway Union into the Social Democracy of America. The Eastern groups united with the Debs organization, and out of that has grown the present Socialist party, joined by the main sections of the S. L. P. in 1899 and 1900.

Among the Pioneers
Among the Jewish Socialists who joined the Social Democrats were Abraham Cahan, Meyer London, Louis E. Miller, M. Zarnetkin, A. Schenberg, Meyer Gillis, Isaac A. Hourwin and Joseph Baroness and others, all of whom became active in the management or the editing of the paper. Among the founders of the paper who are still active in the movement are Cahan (of whom more anon), Comrade Gillis, who is chairman of the committee that arranged the present celebration; A. H. Schulman, Zarnetkin, Max Pine, D. Lilienbloom, A. Turitz and Hyman King.

Cahan was elected the first editor and remained at his post several months. Then he retired and entered English journalism, becoming one of

Beacon of Jewish Labor and Socialism Celebrates 30 Years of Service

A Forward Pillar



B. C. VLADECK
Manager of the Jewish Daily Forward

the most brilliant reporters and special writers on the great dailies of New York. He learned American journalism through and through, and in the early part of 1902 he was recalled to the Forward. From that day to this the history of the Forward had largely been a history of the work of Abraham Cahan.

At first the paper was a factional organ of the Social Democrats against the S. L. P. But after the first Debs campaign of 1900 the S. L. P. faded from the picture and the Socialist party (known in New York as the Social Democratic party until 1905) became the medium of working-class political expression. The Abend Blatt had been "captured" by the minority faction of the S. L. P. when the main part of the party joined the Social Democrat, and shortly it ceased to exist. It was not very long before, in-

stead of being a factional organ, the Forward was the sole medium of expression for the entire Jewish Socialist and labor movement. And so it has continued all these years.

Cahan's Editorship
The editorship of Comrade Cahan gave many of the old-timers heart failure at first. He maintained that as man does not live by bread alone, neither is he interested 24 hours a day solely in his economic welfare. Indeed, we want to give all mankind leisure and opportunity to devote part of their lives to things other than mere eating and sleeping. Why not talk about those things now? And so the Forward began to talk about those things in the lives of human beings that are most intensely human.

The lives of the Jewish workers are beset by problems that are peculiar and unique; not merely are they workers, exploited in the shops, citizens betrayed and fooled by their political leaders, sheep led to the slaughter in time of war; also they are immigrant Jews, with a background of persecution, of hatred, of Ghetto life, thrown into an alien environment they did not understand.

Professional Jews tried to capitalize their Jewishness, round them up as a "Jewish vote," play them against other race stocks. Cahan was a Socialist, and he knew that while the Jewish worker remained alien outside of America, not understanding and misunderstood, there was a cause of irritation that would make the Socialist task infinitely hard.

Therefore, in the face of the bitterest opposition on the part of the narrow-minded professional Jews, he sought to interpret America to the Jews and the Jews to America. The Forward gave itself the task of breaking down the Ghetto barriers that had made the Jew a special problem for all these weary years. And while there still is a Jewish problem, it is a fact that, due almost entirely, to the Forward, the masses of Jews are not living in Ghettos like those of European cities, that they are an integral part of America, that they are not ashamed to be a part of the country in which they live.

In the Labor Movement

That is an achievement apart from the strictly Socialist and labor work of the Forward that is of incalculable value. But that is only part of the Forward's work in the Socialist and labor movement. First of all, the Forward has aided in a thousand ways in building up the unions in which the Jews are largely employed, principally the needle trades. We cannot here recount the story of the shocking conditions in the needle trades prior to the beginning of the century, of the abortive attempts at organization prior to 1900, of the heroic and unsuccessful strikes, and finally, of the period of organization that led up to the strikes of 1909, 1910 and 1913 that placed the needle trades on the firm foundation of 100 per cent. unionism that they occupied until two years ago, when deliberate Communist dissensions nearly destroyed the work of two decades.

That work was done by the unions, but it would have been impossible without the Forward. Indeed, there are many names that appear in the annals of several sections of the movement; simultaneously and constantly. For example, Benjamin Schlesinger, manager of the Forward upon occasion, president of the Forward Association upon various occasions, has likewise been intimately associated with the unions. For nearly a decade he was president of the great International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Max Pine, a founder of the Forward, today a member of the editorial staff, was for many years head of the United Hebrew Trades. The unforgettable Meyer London, a founder of the Forward, was leader, organizer and victorious general of great strikes of cloakmakers and trusted adviser of those masses of workers to the very day of his tragic and lamented death.

It is to those unions and to no other agency that we owe the almost miraculous improvement in working and living conditions among hundreds of thousands of workers. The Forward was always an integral part of the movement that included the building of the unions and the struggles of

those unions against the employers, that resulted in gains that are proportionately greater than those won by any other group of workers elsewhere in the United States.

As Socialist Leader

Finally, the Forward has always held the banner of Socialism high. Being a great daily with close to a quarter of a million circulation, it is the main journalistic fare of masses of people to whom the Socialist party is not as intimate a concern as it is to me, for example, or as it should be to you. Therefore, it is not feasible to make the paper what might be called a "house organ" of the party. Nevertheless, the banner of Socialism is held high in every issue, every day, in every article and news item. In campaigns the Forward throws its whole strength into the Socialist fight, and its generous financial help for every section of the movement is always appreciated.

There was a time when Tammany Hall was the foulest organization in the United States. It was unashamed. It looted without let or hindrance. It made no secret of its villainies. It was synonymous with all the evils and vileness that go with slum politics. The East Side was Tammany's balliwick. There Tammany ruled supreme. Out of tens of thousands of adults a few hundred took the trouble to vote, and then Tammany saw to it that they voted "right." There was not a glimmer of hope for any humanity. All social legislation, all humanitarian legislation, all decency was throttled before it was born.

The Socialist party, led and inspired by the Forward, fought that. First were the two glorious Hillquit campaigns for Congress in 1906 and 1908; then the Meyer London campaigns that led finally to the election of our beloved Comrade in 1914; following that there was the election of a whole crew of Socialism in spite of Tammany election thugery and thievery, culminating in the election of Judge Panken.

Tammany Sees Light

And then a light dawned upon Tammany. The masses had been taught by

The Man Who Made the Forward



ABRAHAM CAHAN

Editor-in-Chief of the Jewish Daily Forward, spokesman of Jewish Labor and Socialism

the Socialists to want better things than merely a few dirty dollars for their votes on election day, a petty favor in exchange for the sacred gift of the franchise. And Tammany always believed in the old motto: "If you can't

lick 'em, join 'em." And Tammany went in for social reform! That's where "the new Tammany" came from, the Tammany of Al Smith, the Tammany whose former practices are abandoned and that camouflages its favors with the pale cast of political jobs and contracts. Tammany is not changed within; but outwardly it has had to adjust itself, and to put Al Smith forward as its most typical product rather than the grafting district leader.

All this is due to the Socialist victories on the East Side, and to that alone; the victories that were won by the Forward and with the co-operation of all its workers.

These are but a few of the sidelights on the glorious work of the Forward for thirty years. The paper is now an institution of power, of influence, of genuine importance. It has never struck its colors and it never will. Today, Comrade Cahan, young hearty and vigorous at 66, is at the helm piloting the ship toward the goal. There are new problems, new difficulties. They are being met in the spirit of the pioneer. The final goal will never be forgotten.

Let's Have Less Propaganda

Norman Angell Argues For A Little Thinking

By Herbert Gaston

IN THIRTY years of observing and writing about political and social matters in England and America Norman Angell has come upon some interesting paradoxes. For instance:

"To make the world safe for Democracy" was the American objective in the World War. The democratic forces having been victorious in that war, democracy as a method of government becomes more suspected and discredited among the nations of the world than it has been at any period of its modern development. We have witnessed since the close of the war a veritable epidemic of dictatorships. And, to make the anti-climax more complete, American public opinion, insofar as it concerns itself with the matter at all, is usually favorable to the dictator as against his democratic opposition. Mussolini is a popular figure in America; Italy secures in the funding of her debt very much better terms than the more parliamentary government of Britain. At a meeting of American bankers, held in New York a few weeks before these lines were written, a defense of the Fascist regime, including a contemptuous reference to the "corrupt" democracy, was applauded to the echo. And among those who thus approved the kicking to pieces of the parliamentary and democratic apparatus were doubtless at least some who had given their sons or relatives in the war waged to make democracy safe."

The war, whose disturbing effect on the whole structure of society and government is only beginning to be realized, was fruitful of other paradoxes. It brought about economic disorder world-wide in its scope. Property was destroyed, business structures were wrecked, capital was confiscated by depreciation of currencies and other means, revolutions swept one country after another. All these things were the result, not of any plotting by Socialists or revolutionary elements, but as a direct result of the decisions taken by the most conservative classes in each country.

What Brought the Fall
"It is not Socialism which has half ruined western Europe and piled these troubles upon it; it is Nationalism. It is not the pacifists and internationalists who were responsible for the course which ended in utter collapse for the security of great military states; it was the patriotic parties, the National Security Leagues all over Europe."

If this fact has been noticed it has made little impression. "The revolutionaries who actually have brought about that upheaval and are now busy planning for the next one, reviving the doctrines and policies which produced the last, are regarded by the average business man with the completest complacency. And not only that. He often—and this is true of America, too—reserves his hostility for those who attempt to prevent a repetition of the revolutions and civil wars which began in 1914."

But lest the workers should think

themselves altogether superior the author cites his own experiences campaigning in a working-class constituency in England, resulting with the discovery that: "If you are dealing with a population racked by unemployment, suffering from low wages, bad housing, economic insecurity, danger of war, then the things which it is extremely difficult to get them interested in are more stable employment, better housing, higher wages, general economic security, the maintenance of peace."

Public Mind the Dictator

Is it because questions of great public moment are too intricate, too difficult for the common mind, that inattention and perversity of judgment seem to be the rule? The author answers: "Looking back upon the decisions of the nations during these last fifteen years, one is brought face to face with the disturbing phenomenon that just when the facts were plainest the decisions have been the most erroneous and disastrous. The errors have not been due to the intellectually baffling nature of the problems; but to the flat refusal on the part of whole nations to face self-evident facts, because to face them would have meant

abandoning the indulgence of a temper, or appetite, or emotion."

All of this, one might think, would indicate that Mr. Angell is "pessimistic" about democracy; and that necessarily he must then take refuge in some other theory of government as the only hope of the world. He disproves that sophistry very effectively. In the long run, as reflection will show, there isn't any other method of government but democracy. The question whether the voice of the people is the voice of God or the voice of Satan has nothing to do with the matter. At any rate it is the voice of fate. Autocracies can only exist by a common sanction. Dictators are swayed by the urgencies of popular emotion and the popular will. Ultimately, the force that decides is the public mind. The quality of the major decisions which will decide the course of our civilization will depend always on the ability of the common run of humanity to deal with the facts that face them.

Demagogues the Rulers
In the light of this conclusion the record of the past is not reassuring. We turn our backs on autocracy and we rest our hopes on "intelligent

leadership," the superior classes in the community, the trained few who are competent to make decisions, to guide the public in its blindness and peril. Well, it too is a broken reed. Statesmen, preachers, editors, professors, industrial leaders—the common characteristic of their conduct in an emergency, when a great and vital decision is to be reached, is what? Demagoguery. Their function is to fan the flame of whatever is the current emotional idiosyncrasy in any great public crisis. If there are any exceptions they are trumped in the dirt.

If any one doubts this, let him, says Mr. Angell, read the record. An instance out of many he cites is the peace settlement. Wartime hate, pumped up by every artifice of publicity, had created a public opinion impatient of any considerations of honor, justice or even common prudence in the settlement. Did statesmanship or any other branch of leadership do anything to neutralize this menacing temper? Quite the contrary. In England there was competition among statesmen as to who should hang the Kaiser on the highest limb, and Lloyd George announced that Germany was to pay "the whole cost of the war," estimated at that time as more than a hundred billions of dollars. And at the peace conference, which in the face of such an impossible expectation adopted the theory and passed the buck as to its working out, this British "liberal" is reported to have replied to a questioner: "Twenty-four thousand millions (pounds)! My dear fellow, if the election had gone another fortnight it would have been fifty thousand millions."

Ready to Repeat

But this was after the event. The damage had been done. What is more serious is the author's showing of how literary lights, pulpites, great educators and editors as well as statesmen, had been beating the drums of war, not alone in Germany, but in England and France and even in the United States for years before the great catastrophe came, had been feeding glutton national pride, had been provoking national jealousies, had been preying on national fears until belligerency and panic and "preparedness" together formed the explosive and the fuse awaiting the spark which should—and did—set it all off, with consequences which nearly everybody agrees were somewhat unpleasant, but which do not at all deter us from feverishly making ready the next blast.

With the example of Bottomley and Northcliffe, and, possibly, even some American publishers, in mind, and considering the behavior of statesmen alike in Germany and the allied countries, the author writes pungently:

"The usual price of success in journalism or in politics is to conform to the herd's opinion as blatantly as possible."

The disaster that has been wrought by appeals to the sentiment of patriotism to support a policy of national greed, arrogance, aggressiveness

and cruelty and the appalling menace that still lurks in this propaganda seems to dwarf all the other perils of public opinion, but the situation is much the same with respect to domestic questions, where demagoguery is equally persuasive, and equally well rewarded, while dissent is uniformly despised if not persecuted.

The Only Way Out

This is all a pretty black picture, and it is rather difficult to escape the conclusion that by and large it is a true picture. We are shown that the most vicious of the evils from which we suffer and which menace our civilization and our existence are not whims of fate, not due to defects in forms of government or procedure or to mistakes in our choice of leadership, but are the result of the incapacity of the human mind to deal with the situations humanity faces. We have been shown that in the past education is no help, that the educated classes go wrong just as readily as the uneducated, that in fact the fallacies which chiefly afflict us are the product of "intellectuals."

Yet Norman Angell is not a prophet of despair. He believes tenaciously that something can be done about it. A quotation with which he introduces his book points to that fact and also the nature of the suggested remedy. It is a saying of Clutton-Brock, in "Essays on Religion," which begins: "When we can explain the baser, sillier part of ourselves, then it begins to lose its power over us," which is not only ancient wisdom but sound modern psychology. And in the end we shall have to turn, as Angell implies, to the modern student of the human mind, to point the way out of the social and economic morasses from which other branches of art and science and learning have not been able to save us.

Education for Thinking

Education has failed us in the past, but education is our only hope. Reason is feeble but our only staff. The closing chapters of Mr. Angell's book are concerned with suggesting, somewhat tentatively, the courses the new education will have to take. There is irony, perhaps, in the fact that it is precisely contrary to the course that is being urged on us today by our most aggressive leaders. Some of the suggestions are: We must restore discussion to a place in public affairs. We must cease to educate exclusively for fact-knowledge and must begin to educate for intelligence. We must teach people to be critical of authority and critical of herd-judgment. We must encourage them to be suspicious of emotions that have general sanction. We must teach them to be suspicious of all beliefs that people want to believe. We must encourage "generalization" in thinking. We must instruct in the art of examining evidence. We must learn to feel a "moral obligation to be intelligent."

Beside that immortal saying of Edith Cavell, "Patriotism is not enough," the author puts another: "Knowledge is not enough." People must think and must think independently.

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NORMAN ANGELL
British Socialist and Publicist, Author of "The Public Mind"

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Donkeys and Carrots

Went up to the Open Shop town of Hartford, Conn., (with the accent, from the standpoint of the workers, on the "con") to debate a local electric light magnate on the subject of government ownership of natural resources. He was an amiable old fellow and he read quite a long piece out loud, all about kilowatts and amperes and volts and the like. He said it would be terrible if the people should go into business on their own because there would be the incentive and it would be putting the government into business and you can't change human nature. Perhaps some of you boys and girls have heard something like that before. The only novelty he introduced was when he said that the monetary incentive that made great engineers and scientists just love to work for outfits like the General Electric and the Standard Oil could be compared to the custom of riding on the back of a donkey and holding a bunch of carrots in front of said donkey's nose. The donkey keeps right on going in hope of catching up with those carrots held by the rider on the end of a stick.

This exceptionally frank revelation of what makes the donkey go, struck us as singularly apt. The old fellow said a mouthful. Most decent guys who work for the big corporations run after those carrots until they drop dead—carrots. It's the guy that holds the stick that gets the carrots.

The more we see of New England, the easier it is to understand the Sacco-Vanzetti frame-up. The descendants of the boys who sold wooden nutmegs, who made their fortunes out of smuggling rum and slaves are now doing their stuff in the industrial field. They are dish up a combination of the "old time religion," "my country, right or wrong," Coolidgeism and the company union to such good effect that they now have their feet on the necks of as docile a bunch of workers as America has ever seen. Small wonder that they figured it would be the easiest of jobs, legally or illegally, to bump off two obscure "wops" who dared to gag at this unsavory diet. The Old Dog Tray attitude of most New England workers who sit up and beg for wage cuts is as much responsible for the atmosphere surrounding the Sacco-Vanzetti trial as anything else. In one textile town in Connecticut a worker told me with pride how they, the workers, had ridden a union organizer out of town on a rail. Throughout New England they have not only offered no resistance to being washed behind the ears by paternalistic sponges, but they have come a-running with their necks held out. There are, however, evidences that this sort of thing will not last forever. Such hopeful little signs as the Salem Labor College and the work of Alfred Baker Lewis in Boston indicate that this disgusting subservience to the thin lipped, spectacled, dried-up gentry who manage New England manufacturing after the manner of medieval barons could be checked here and now by any sort of well directed, intelligent effort. I believe seriously that a group of determined and courageous labor organizers, with some understanding of the New England background and traditions, could go up there today and revive the labor movement. It is not the time, however, for pop-eyed agitators hollering about barricades and revolution. It is the time for men with feet on the ground and well planned contracts in their pockets to make a long visioned effort to rescue New England from her industrial enslavement.

Speaking of electric light magnates, a friend of mine over in Brooklyn has been receiving enclosed in his monthly light bill the loveliest sort of communications from the president of the Brooklyn Edison Company, telling my friend how dearly the president loves him and how much he is doing to help pay taxes in Brooklyn.

Tiring of this, said friend spat upon his pencil and sent the following letter to the president:

"Dear Presxy:
I have been receiving ever so many interesting pieces of mail matter from you enclosed in my monthly bill. In them you tell me how well 'Our Company' is doing and what a lot more you are going to do for us all. It is certainly fine to hear about the great strides that we are making. Attaboy. Keep up the good work. But as long as I am one of the insiders, you won't mind if I suggest that from now on you needn't bother keeping me in touch with everything that goes on at the home office. In fact, I figure that if we fire the bright young advertising man who gets out all these snappy circulars we might use his salary and the salaries of the rest in the department to cut down our monthly bills a bit. Of course, I haven't anything against our ad man. Nor against the printer who uses so much fancy type for getting out our stuff. But as you have told me about all the economies that we are putting into effect, it just occurred to me that here was one more to add to the list. And while I am writing to you, may I further suggest that we could dispense with a lot of the paid advertising in the newspapers, a bunch of the trick lawyers that are hanging around the main office and perhaps a gross or so of the lobbyists and press agents whose part in the manufacture and distribution of electric light must, after all, be a small one? As long as you are so interested in my welfare, I ought to let you know that Aunt Ma-cia has been visiting us for two weeks and that she figures her hay fever will not come back this summer. Our cat, Lucretia Borgia, has had four milties kittens and the boss cut my wages the other day on the ground that he had to economize, the cost of everything, including the lighting of the office, being so high.
Give my best to the missus and drop in and see us whenever you are around this way."

Will Durant, who is covering the Snyder case for the "New York Telegram" alibis this vulgar performance by explaining that Bernard Shaw had once sat in at a prize fight. "The first impulse," he writes, "was to withdraw into the traditional ivory tower of philosophy, careful lest metaphysical fingers should be soiled with the flesh and blood of life." The engaging picture of Will in his ivory tower is a bit marred when one recalls that the last address of the ivory tower was Flatbush, Brooklyn. No one would have mentioned this had it not been for the fact that in his first story of the trial, Will writes: "Come and see the home where the tragedy took place. It is at 222d Street, Queens Village. What an address! Already one vision a little house lost in an endless row of similar dwellings, like the cells in a prison corridor or the wards in a hospital, and it is almost so."

We have always had the profoundest admiration for Durant and nothing can destroy the work he did at Labor Temple, but when he turns sub-sister, and a very poor one at that and devotes his fine brain to elevating a drab, second-rate, soused suburbanite murder into a Macbethian tragedy, the angels themselves might well weep.

McAlister Coleman.

Impression

The sun
Is a white gold brooch,
pinned on a velvet gown.

A. R.

The American Syndicalists Draw On France for Their Philosophy

Chapter V.

THE development of Syndicalism as a philosophy in the United States was accompanied practically by no American contributions as to theory and method. It was so ill-defined that some members of the Socialist Party were expounding it with favor, while the Syndicalist League of North America, opposed to all forms of politics and political organization, was also propagating it. The latter organization accepted it in its French form, while the I. W. W., accepting it before it rejected political action as well as after, modified its French character by opposing the craft and trade basis upon which it rested in France. So hazy were the views of Syndicalism in the United States that as late as 1912 the International Socialist Review, which had become pronounced in its sympathy for Syndicalism, had to quote a conservative Boston daily which professed to define it. Its contributors on the subject frequently contradicted each other, and one writer even asserted that the Socialist Party resolution on trade unions in 1912 committed it to the "revolutionary tactics of insatiable Syndicalism." As we have seen, the convention of that year rejected sabotage by a decisive majority, while the trade union resolution contained no reference whatever to union seizure and ownership of industry, the militant minority, sabotage, and the general strike, all of which are essential to Syndicalism. The development of Syndicalism in France and exaggerated accounts of its alleged achievements that had appeared in a few American Socialist and other publica-

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

tions for several years won sympathy and support for it in some quarters. It was formulated as a substitute for political action in France, and it was certain to take the same course in the United States as its philosophy became better known.

The only logical and systematic presentation of the new movement in its French form in the United States was presented by the Syndicalist League of North America. This was not a trade union and it did not attempt to organize wage workers into unions. It was an educational organization formed in 1912 for the purpose of propagating Syndicalist principles and policies among organized and unorganized workers. Its founder was W. Z. Foster, who also founded the Trade Union Educational League, which, in fact, is the successor to the former which broke up in 1917. In the change from the parent organization to the modern one we have an example of the original assuming the Anarchist attitude toward the State, the A. F. of L. towards the trade union, and the Syndicalist towards sabotage and political action. The modern organization accepts the centralized State of a proletarian dictatorship, stresses industrial as against trade union organization, says practically nothing regarding sabotage, and serves as an auxiliary to the Workers (Communist) Party. This complete metamorphosis of policies, principles and attitudes is common among those constituting the various

"Left Wing" movements in Labor and Socialist history.

Mr. Earl C. Ford and William Z. Foster wrote and published the first and clearest exposition of Syndicalism in the United States, which served as a textbook for the Syndicalist League of North America. Only a brief summary of it can be given here. Its ethics, readers are told, do not involve any scruples in gaining its ends. In choosing weapons the Syndicalist "is no more careful to select those that are 'fair,' 'just' or 'civilized' than is a householder attacked in the night by a burglar. . . . With him the end justifies the means. Whether his tactics be 'legal' and 'moral' or not, does not concern him as long as they are effective."

The Socialist and Syndicalist movements are antagonists and cannot co-operate with each other. The so-called political field does not exist, and the Socialist Party is a usurper. Only one type of organization—labor unions—is necessary, and they can solve all so-called political questions by direct action, strikes and sabotage, while the ruling classes can be overthrown and expropriated by a general strike of the "organized workers." For these reasons all working class political parties are parasites and the "fight between the Syndicalists and Socialists is inevitable." Moreover, Socialists in office have served as strike-breakers, "the notorious Socialist, Prime Minister Briand," broke the railroad strike in France in 1910. The

Socialists recognize that every strike won by Syndicalists is a defeat for them and that every lost strike drives the workers back into the Socialist Party. Both movements must, therefore, be inveterate enemies.

Socialists and Syndicalists can never agree regarding the State. The Syndicalist is anti-State and considers it "a meddling capitalist institution," while the Socialist "proposes to perpetuate it in the future society by confiding to its care the ownership and management of all the industries." Syndicalism and Anarchism are one in their repudiation of the State and, in fact, Syndicalism is the newer Anarchism. It is impossible for Anarchism to be made possible. "Syndicalism has placed the Anarchist movement upon a practical, effective basis. It has at once given it a clear-cut aim (the emancipation of the working class) and the most powerful organizations in modern society (the labor unions) to achieve this aim." The old Anarchist movement relied chiefly on education, but the new one is "a fighting movement." The Syndicalist "accepts in principle the Anarchist positions on the modern school, neo-Malthusianism, marriage, individualism, religion, art, the drama, literature, etc., that go to make up the intellectual revolution; but he expends energy upon their propagation only in so far as they contribute to the success of this bread-and-butter fighting organization."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Barking Up the Wrong Tree

NINETY million tons of coal in storage. Non-union mines working full blast. Can produce all the soft coal needed. Industry not worried. Neither is public. Only sufferers, poor deluded coal miners. Should have accepted wage cut and remained on job, participate in great national prosperity, buy flivvers, radios, silk lingerie and so on. Old stuff. Heard it at the beginning of every coal strike. Less true now than ever. Fact is tremendous over-development in coal industry. Three times as many mines and miners than there ought to be. Same in every other industry, including farming. Everybody working top speed. Everybody shouting produce, produce, produce. Nobody asking why, why, why?

Wild men of Borneo too much to eat, quit hunting. Woolly Eskimos of Greenland too much blubber, cease blubbering for more. Animals fed up, take snooze. Man is only critter who suffers from too much and still wants more.

Some day when our oil wells come in, as it well may do, we'll endow chairs in universities of civilized countries teaching the art of living and the folly of work.

Cocod miners not working now, the only sensible people in the grand old U. S. A. Conserve life, energy, health and good looks otherwise squandered in useless efforts.

Operators say if we work for less they'll give us more work in return. Thanks awfully. Nice swap—more work for less pay. Must think we work for the sake of working when all sensible people work for the sake of loafing.

Besides, will folks burn more coal if miners dig it for less pay? Will the demand of coal double when miners cut their wages in two? Will it treble if they work for nothing at all?

Well, yes—no—that is—you see—

See what? Well, you see the unorganized miners down in Kentucky and West Virginia are working for about one-half of what the union miners have been getting and so they get most of the work. But if the union miners would work as cheap as the non-union miners, then they would get most of the work.

Is thasso? And then the next thing we'll hear of is a wage cut in the non-union fields to meet the competition of the union fields followed by a wage cut in the union fields and so on until the miners in both fields will work for the sheer pleasure of working for nothing.

Nothing doing, friend operator. Free trade in labor is bad enough. But paying union dues for the sake of collective wage reduction worse still. Organized scabbing on scabs, worst ever.

Besides, what's the end? Starvation, degradation, hell and damnation. Human beings reduced to beasts of burden. Homes reduced to hovels and breeding pens for peons. Mining towns converted into festering sore spots swarming with bums, beggars and bankrupt merchants. For what?

To cut the price of coal which is already so cheap that it is wasted by the millions of tons both under and above ground. To increase the competition among operators when the cost of selling coal already exceeds the cost of mining coal.

Why not try limitation of production instead of acceleration of output? Why not stop cut-throat competition of operators instead of asking miners to cut each other's throats? Thousands of miners have already deserted the mines to find new fields of activity or starvation. Let the operators shut down some of the surplus mines. Discourage the opening of new mines. Let Hoover, the government or somebody deny rail facilities to mines that are popping up every week. Then reduce hours of labor and days of labor until supply and demand get within hailing distance again.

One thing is dead sure: The end of throat cutting is death in industry as well as in life. The policy of trying to boost business by cutting wages belongs to the museum of exploded fallacies. Men must learn that the purpose of industry is not to increase work, store up capital and duplicate plants but to make life on earth livable and enjoyable and this only can be achieved by bringing output and income closer together.

In the absence of an understanding of the aims and purposes of life on the part of the master minds of civilization, the suspended coal miners are fighting the battle of progress toward a happier and freer existence. Nature gave us two dominating instincts, hunger and love. These we share with every living creature down to the lowest wiggle tail. Hunger and love are imbedded in every cell of our body. They drive us to live today, tomorrow and for all eternity. Later on, nature gave us eyes to see, ears to hear and nerves to feel. Still later she supplied us with a brain which acts as a kind of telephone exchange for the body. Last of all she presented us with the cerebrum which is Latin for highest and supreme adjuster. Thanks to this cerebrum fitter, man can measure the distance to the farthest star, tell its schedule habits and chemical make up. With the aid of the cerebrum, man also invented the microscope with which he discovered the billions of little bugs that make up our body.

But the trouble is we still let the bugs do the thinking for us. And these little bugs having had such a devil of a time for millions of years to keep going are still animated by the fundamental urge of hunger for food. So most bodies blunder along in the old rut and pay not the slightest attention to the supreme Judge in the upper story who tells them not to worry about food any more, now that he has invented so many contraptions to ease the struggle for existence that it is pure foolishness to grab every morsel in sight or to quarrel over it.

Science's inventions and discoveries have made man master of his environment. And they in turn are the children of the Chief Adjuster Cerebrum. But the cerebrum can't do his work when the body is straining in manual labor which explains why art and science is usually the accompaniment of leisure. So now, by being suspended, the miners belong to the leisure class. Their cerebrum can function. And it's a darned sight more important at this stage of the game that men do more thinking and less working.

Adam Coidigger.

To Judge Webster Thayer

And when you meet your God (Is there a God Within the limits of your finite brain?) How will you expiate, and how explain The harsh direction of your legal road?

Upon your robe of justice is a stain . . . The blood of the immortal Jesus shed That men henceforth as brothers might be free: Reclaimed from mortal hate and jealousy.

Impaled upon a cross of lies, again Christ agonizes through a fearsome day.

Yet while His spirit tarried in the clay "Father, forgive them," were the words He said. JAMES UNDERHILL LUFTON.

NECKWEAR MAKERS' STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY.

Part III

Some of the problems of the neckwear industry arise from the mere existence of different crafts. We have cutters, operators, turners, pressers, trimmers and boxers. The cutters, as we have noticed, still maintain a separate local, No. 6,339 of the A. F. of L., founded in 1897. Originally keeping aloof from the other workers, they have gradually, and especially recently, come to work with them in close co-operation. In 1910 the Neckwear Cutters' Union assisted in the campaign to organize the inside workers. The disagreements over the union label have been ended. In 1916, at the urgent representation of the United Neckwear Makers' Union, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor granted the A. F. of L. union label to the makers to be administered under the joint control of both locals. In strike situations the cutters and the makers have been united through joint committees. In 1923 it was stipulated in the agreements of both unions with the association that the members of either might suspend work in case of a general strike by the members of the other. Perhaps the best co-ordination of activities is exemplified in the National Organization Committee, consisting of five representatives from each local, which was established in 1925 to conduct organizing work outside of New York. Two makers are president and secretary of this committee, namely, Louis Feldheim and Aaron Fleischer, respectively. The cutters treasurer and organizer, Fred Fesslabend and David Silverman. Readers will be interested to know that the officers of the Cutters' Union are: Fred Fasslabend, president; A. Weltner, vice-president; N. Ullman, recording secretary, and J. Rosenzweig, financial secretary and treasurer.

Tackers, Trimmers and Boxers
Another group of workers that requires special attention consists of tackers, trimmers and boxers. The tackers sew on the slip band and label; trimmers cut off stray threads and make final adjustments, and the boxers pack the ties. Trimming and boxing are generally done by the same persons. It will be deduced from this description that these workers, especially the last two, are not particularly skilled. Up to about ten years ago they were not even organized. Consisting mostly of boys and girls fresh from school, they not infrequently did not remain at the trade. Their fellow employees paid scant attention to them. Nevertheless, the more intelligent and permanent element among them felt the need of organization, especially with the excellent example set them by the rest of the shop. Their wages ranged from five to ten dollars a week. They had no protection whatsoever.

Unfortunately the Neckwear Makers' Union was not interested in them. As is common in such cases, the better paid workers felt, first, that the tackers, trimmers and boxers were not skilled enough to associate with them in their union, and, secondly, that in some way it would keep their own wages down. Not encouraged by the regular union, Aaron Fleischer and Philip Zole, representing the unorganized group, approached Louis D. Berger, then business agent of the Neckwear Makers, and, therefore, not directly concerned with organization work. Berger undertook the work of unionization in his private capacity and in 1916 founded Neckwear Tackers', Trimmers' and Boxers' Union, Local No. 15,265 of the A. F. of L.

In a week's time five hundred young men and women had gladly joined the new organization. With the assistance of Jacob Panken, then counsel for the Neckwear Makers, a set of demands was drawn up. A strike was called, and within ten days victory was assured. The tackers were placed on a piece work basis, since their work was, after all, a form of operating. The new method of compensation increased their wages immediately by as much as three hundred and four hundred per cent. The trimmers and boxers were guaranteed a minimum wage of fourteen dollars, increases were granted and provision was made for time and a half for overtime. Since then other gains have been obtained. For all practical purposes the Tackers, Trimmers and Boxers are amalgamated with the Makers. They make agreements in common. The Tackers, Trimmers and Boxers also have seven representatives on the Joint Executive Board of the Neckwear Makers, along with seven from the English-speaking uptown or finishing branch and fourteen from the Jewish-speaking downtown branch.

Two problems that have played havoc with other needle trades unions have been kept fairly well in hand by the Neckwear Makers. One is sub-manufacturing, which began to appear during the war. The union took hold of this situation just as firmly as it did in the case of contracting. The solution was not control, but elimination. A clause was put into the agreement which provided that "no association member shall purchase from a neckwear manufacturer employing non-union help, finished cut silk neckwear made out of silk sold directly or indirectly by the associated member to such non-union neckwear manufacturer."

At this point it may be well to mention that the union permits a half dozen contractors to exist under union agreements in order to take care of the work of small manufacturers who spring into existence from time to time. This makes control possible, so that when the shops increase in size the manufacturers are compelled to have their work done on their own premises.

Out-of-Town Problem

The other difficulty concerns out-of-town work. This has two aspects—the runaway manufacturer and the outside market. The first evil was met by mercilessly following fugitive manufacturers wherever they moved their places of operations. They were always brought back or driven out of business. The second problem has been more difficult. It has been necessary to go to Boston, Chicago and other cities to help organize the few neckwear workers in those localities who constituted a potential menace to the union by undermining the higher standards that the New York manufacturers had to meet in competition. In 1917, especially, a fierce strike lasting twelve weeks took place in Boston, financed and practically directed by the New York union. The nucleus of an organization was established. This year a walkout took place unexpectedly when a presser, Leo Lapides, president of the Boston local, was discharged for belonging to the union. This challenge of the employers, for such it was, was accepted. The National Committee spoken of previously took up the matter. Organization work had been carried on by David Silverman, of the New York cutters,

and Pearl Katz, of the Boston Women's Trade Union League. Now Louis Fuchs, business agent, and Louis Berger, manager of the New York makers, came upon the scene. A strike was declared on March 7 against the contractors of the defendant manufacturers. The employers waited for each other to sign first. Finally several manufacturers came to an agreement with the union and the strike was called off on March 17. Thus, within ten days a local disturbance turned into a widespread victory. The prospects for completely organizing Boston are much brighter now than a month ago.

The Slip Stitch Tie

Of special concern to the neckwear makers has been the recent revival of the hand-made tie, known to the trade as slip stitch. It differs from the machine-made stitch-and-turn tie in that it is not sewed on the reverse side and then turned inside out. The worker receives the cut and hemmed goods from the manufacturer and then hand-sews, presses and trims the ties until they assume the final form. The union neckwear makers have refused to do slip stitching, since they find it too tedious. Consequently, the work has gone into the homes, where women and children can be found who are less impatient. What has been the result? Pressers, turners, trimmers and most of the tackers have been eliminated, for only cutting, hemming and boxing have been retained in the inside shop. With the hand-made tie growing more popular and cheaper this situation has become a serious menace to the union. Two weeks ago a sub-committee of the Executive Board was appointed to study the problem and make recommendations. The union cannot give official recognition to the home workers, since it condemns the sweat shop in principle. What it can do is to induce a sufficient number of women to take up slip stitching in inside shops and then force the manufacturers to break in future learners not in the homes of the latter, but on the premises of the former. Thus, a slip stitching force will be developed to satisfy the manufacturers' demands. This policy is not without its precedent. There was a time when the finishing system was more prevalent than now. The better grade ties used to be turned and pressed by women at home. The union encouraged enough finishers to come into the shops to enable it to insist upon inside finishing.

The neckwear makers have no beneficiary system, though there has been agitation in favor of one. After all, they are only a local union of the A. F. of L. Then, too, it has been generally feared that sick and death benefits would divert attention from the strictly economic functions of the union. In response to the need, however, a number of members joined hands at the beginning of this year and formed an association, which they named after the manager of the union, the L. D. Berger Progressive Benevolent Society, Inc. Membership at \$5 a year is open to all present and former members of the Neckwear Makers' Union. A finance corporation or credit union is in contemplation now. The first annual banquet and dance is taking place May 15, 1927.

Toward an International Union
The neckwear makers have done remarkably well. They have rid the industry of most of the ills with which

the other needle trades unions are still grappling. Annual earnings are higher than in allied trades. Factional strife has had little upon which to feed, and is, therefore, practically absent. One object is still to be attained—the formation of an international union. It would give the neckwear workers greater prestige. It would facilitate co-operation among the various locals through a common organization with trade autonomy. Finally, it would save the unions considerable sums of money which could be turned into organizing work. As directly affiliated locals of the A. F. of L. the neckwear workers must contribute 35 cents per member per month to the American Federation of Labor. International unions pay only one cent. Thus far the A. F. of L. has discouraged consolidation into a single national body. It has said that more locals are necessary, although precedent is to the contrary. But the day will come when the neckwear workers will all be one. "On to an international union" is the slogan.

NEGRO PAINTERS HOLD SUCCESSFUL MEETING; ANOTHER IS PLANNED

The mass meeting for Negro Painters, held Sunday afternoon at the International Progressive Alteration Painters and Paperhangers Union 85 East 116th street, proved a great success. Many Negro painters attended and listened to impressive talks on the value of trade unionism. It was decided to call an executive meeting of all those who have made application to join the union on Friday evening, April 22, at 8 o'clock. Election of officers and action on the holding of another mass meeting will take place. Those who have not as yet taken out membership cards are urged to do so as soon as possible. At the executive meeting the Rev. Ethelred Brown, of the Harlem Community Church, will be one of the speakers.

Prof. S. R. Williams has made a contribution of \$10 to the union and will give his services in addition to the organizing efforts. V. C. Gaspar, organizer of the union, also addressed the meeting.

Discussion on Free Radio Speech to Be Held April 28

Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation; J. Maher, radio editor of the New York Journal; Thomas Wilmet, of the Municipal radio broadcasting station WNYC, and Morris Ernst, attorney for the Civil Liberties Union, before the Federal Radio Commission will talk on "Freedom of the Air" at the radio symposium of the American Civil Liberties Union, to be held April 28, at 6:30 p. m., at the Aldine Club, 200 5th Avenue.

Executives from other radio broadcasting stations will talk on radio censorship and Federal control of broadcasting. One of the Federal radio commissioners will be present or will send a statement, it is announced. Though this is the annual meeting of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, the public is invited to the dinner and talks.

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The Good Old Formulas—What Price Loyalties?
—The Human Cost of Big Business

THE seasons bring us always to the circus. Somehow, long years after he has ceased taking his grandchildren; longer years than it is pleasant to remember since the thrill that comes once in a lifetime, something of the "first-time thrill" comes to the heart when the circus comes to town. Women are frequently circus fans; men (at least, those who have once been boys) invariably are. The circus is one of the most democratizing of influences, wherever it is popular.

There once was official recognition and use of this power of the circus; the Roman rabble was held in obedient check by the Emperors, who felt certain that they had the people at their beck and call as long as they supplied free "bread and circuses." Of course, the "circus" that the Roman citizen watched was quite a different spectacle from that which so entranced the children of today; and the extent to which civilization is still barbarian may be traced by the quality of its circus.

In Roman days wild animals were exhibited in cages; the thrill came from the thought that soon these snarling starved beasts would be released to leap upon struggling slaves or passive Christians. Today wild animals are exhibited in cages; the thrill comes from our fancying what might happen if they should by any chance break loose. We are a much tamer race. Probably even the animals are tamer; certainly some of them are, for we do not expect to have our pride in the supremacy of the human race gratified by seeing how elephants, seals, perhaps even less docile species, turn somersaults and dance at the crack of a trainer's whip? The actual fighting element of the circus has, for us, been transferred to the boxing ring, from whose spectators our kindly laws exclude the children, where cigar smokers may bask in the sunshine of vicarious blows and bruises.

But the old sense of danger, of wild chances and risks bravely run, death barely averted, must accompany the circus; instead of the sword, therefore, we have the sword-swallower; instead of the spear, the bar of the trapeze. Just what mixture of fear, pride, self-satisfaction, curiosity and pity is present in those who look upon the freaks, upon the strangely distorted, contorted, gigantesque, tiny, multiform and manifold creatures who form the entourage of the circus, the center of the early and late gaping throngs, I leave for those to determine who yearly feel sliding up from the third row that

strangely luring rhythm whose refrain takes form: "The circus is in town!"

The Good Old Formulas

Several plays of the dramatic stir after Easter, taking advantage of the spring tide of playgoers, rely rather upon the general good business than upon any vitality of their own. They are content with playing upon variations of old and well tried formulas, trusting to occasional good lines and the public good will. There is this spring fever in the drama every year, when the winter hits have held their sway in theatres gradually emptying of the next best runners, and it is not quite time for the flood of light pieces for the summer.

Among those plays which are seeking to fill this seasonal gap, with fair measure of sprightly lines and good acting, are "The Tightwad," by Robert Keith, at the 49th Street Theatre, and "Love is Like That," by S. N. Behrman and Kenyon Nicholson, at the Cort. Keith's "The Tightwad" is the story of a "Great God Brown," but this does not prevent his play from approaching the family in a fashion more homely and simple. He does draw a number of effective moments, however, from his picture of a man made over by a maid, especially in the domestic details of her father's family. "Love is Like That," what with Basil Rathbone and excellent support, is a better acted play, and it, too, has lively dialog, with rippling moments of mirth; but it plays with equal familiarity around a Russian prince pretending he's a valet—Monnier Beauchamp has the copyrights on barbers—to win the inevitable girl. The season for light, slight amusement is at hand.

What Price Loyalties?

The Lenox Hill Players, at the Grove Street Theatre, are reviving Glenda Sowerby's powerful drama, "Rutherford and Son," which has left a vivid memory on all who were fortunate enough to see the original presentation. The current performance shows that the Lenox Hill Players are gathering understanding of the theatre with ripening experience, and adds another sterling dramatic offering worthy to stand with their last season's production of "The Cenil."

The play pictures the family of a worker who has raised himself above the others of his English village, and has become the owner and developer of his firm, "Rutherford and Son." He himself is the second generation, and has accepted the tradition that the family exists solely for the promotion of the business. Unfortunately for him, the three children, brought to feel that they are dedicated to the firm, and that they are superior to the others around, all rebel against both tenets of their father's creed. One son has become a weak curate, laughed at behind his back by his parishioners. The other son, destined to succeed his father at the works, has married "beneath" the family station; what is worse, he has invented a combination for producing a metal that will bring prosperity to the weakening firm, and he has the unadulterated nerve to ask for money for it, instead of sinking it freely into the firm. After all, will he not inherit when his father goes; will he not carry on? And, finally, the daughter is in love with the assistant to Rutherford at the works, with a mere employee!

There is no panoramic view of the

works themselves, and the attitude of the workers must be guessed through the characters we see; but the disintegrating effect upon his own family of the exclusive concentration of a business man upon his work is well portrayed. All—including honesty—is to be sacrificed for the sake of the firm. It is a case of "My country, right or wrong," on a smaller scale—until the "country" is no longer respected (though feared) by outsiders, and its sons are no longer loyal among themselves. Nor is the bargain driven at the close, by the daughter-in-law for her child, any greater assurance of that continuing devotion which may preserve an interest—and destroy the spirit of those involved.

Joseph T. Shipley.

News of the Drama

The Messrs. Shubert announce that Desiree Tabor will sing the title role of "The Circus Princess" when the musical comedy opens at the Winter Garden on Monday, April 25.

Margaret Anglin will appear in two special performances of the "Electra" of Sophocles in the Metropolitan Opera House on the evenings of May 3 and 4. Glenn Hunter in "Young Woodley" will be the Shubert-Riviera Theatre attraction for the week of Monday evening, April 25. The supporting cast includes Mary Servoss, A. E. Anson, Grant Stewart, Philip Tomge and others.

The Messrs. Shubert have set Monday evening, May 2, as the New York opening date for "A Night in Spain," their largest and most colorful summer revue. The theatre has not as yet been selected.

"A Night in Spain" has a cast which includes Phil Baker, Ted and Betty Healy, George Price, Grace Hayes, Teddy Claire, La Meri and Lola Raine. In addition to a troupe of Gertrude Hoffman Girls and a troupe of Allan K. Foster Girls, there are twenty direct from Spain. The book is by Harold Atteridge, music by Jean Schwartz and lyrics by Al Byrum. Watson Barrett designed the scenery and Ernest Schrappe is responsible for the costumes. The staging is by Gertrude Hoffman and Charles Judels, with additional dances by Ralph Reader.

DR. PERL, PIONEER OF POLISH SOCIALISM, DIES AT AGE OF 57

Warsaw.—Dr. Felix Perl, one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party, died here Friday, April 15, at the age of 57.

Dr. Perl, who was a scion of one of the most prominent Jewish families in Poland, had a long record of service in the Polish labor movement. He, together with the present Marshal Pilsudski and the former president of the republic, Stanislaw Wojciechowski, founded the P. P. S. He was threatened by the Czarist government and at one time he, together with Wojciechowski, were expelled from France at the request of the Czarist government. When the Republic of Poland was reconstituted, Perl, together with Pilsudski and other Polish labor leaders, returned to Poland and took an active part in the shaping of the policies of the Polish Socialist Party. He was editor-in-chief of the "Robotnik," the organ of the party. He was a member of the Polish Sejm since 1919 and played an important part in the councils of the Polish Socialist club.

NEW YORK SOCIALISTS ANNOUNCE FOUR RALLIES FOR MAY DAY

The tentative list of May Day meetings held under the auspices of the Socialist Party and the Jewish Socialist Verband is as follows:

Saturday evening, April 30—Bronx Free Fellowship Auditorium, McKinley Square. Speakers: Esther Friedman, Samuel A. De Witt, Samuel Orr and William Karlin. Also musical program.

The same evening another meeting will be held in Pythian Hall, 22d street, Coney Island. Speakers: Norman Thomas, August Claessens and others. Also a concert.

Sunday morning, May 1—Meetings will be held in the Brownsville Labor

Lyceum. Speakers: Norman Thomas, A. I. Shipiloff, Chas. Solomon. Leon Goldman and other artists will furnish the musical program. In Williamsburg, at the Amalgamated Temple—Speakers: Esther Friedman, Norman Thomas, Sam Pavloff, Hyman Nemser and others. Also music. In Harlem, at the Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street—Speakers: Algermon Lee, James Oneal, Kantrovich and others.

Sunday evening, May 1—A mass meeting and concert will be held in the Boro Park Labor Lyceum. Speakers: August Claessens, Morris Ganset and others.

Yipseldom

The next general league meeting will be held Sunday, May 15. Comrades are urged not to make conflicting arrangements. This is expected to draw an even larger attendance than the one on April 10. The place will be announced in a future issue of The New Leader.

Circle 2

The next meeting of Circle Two, Brooklyn, will be held on Sunday, April 24, 6 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. At 8 p. m. Mr. William T. Davis will speak on "Youth Today and Tomorrow." No admission will be charged.

On May 1, the circle, in conjunction with the local party branch, will hold an old-fashioned "Vetcherinka." The admission will be one dollar. All welcome.

City Office

There are still a few more copies of the Fifth Anniversary Review published by the New England Yipsels in the city office. Those desiring copies should get in touch with Comrade Goodman.

The reports of the city office show a considerable lapse in the payment of dues by the members. Comrades, remember that dues is an important revenue and as such we depend on your utmost support. Please buy dues stamps.

Circle 13

In every circle of the league one feels the growing interest in Circle Thirteen's second annual dance which will be held on Saturday, April 30, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The circle has sold more tickets for this affair than for all past affairs combined. Bernie Cherry and his Silver Lake Society Orchestra will furnish the music.

Every comrade in the league is expected to come and spend a pleasant evening.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

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Brooklyn Office open only Mondays and Thursdays from 6:30 to 8:30 p. m. Labor Lyceum, 949-957 Willoughby Ave. For addresses of Branch Secretaries write to our main office.

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For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch Financial Secretary of Your District

UNION DIRECTORY

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 39 EAST 84TH STREET LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4359
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple
THOMAS CAHILL, President
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stagg
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGERT, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Secy.
VALENTINE RUMR, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Secy ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 E. 166th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President
HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Secy CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
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CHARLES JOHNSON, Jr., President
MICHAEL ERIKSON, Vice-Pres. J. J. DALTON, Vice-President Ludwig Benson
Christopher Gulbrandsen, Charles Johnson, Jr., Treasurer Ray Clark
Recording Secretary Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 160 East 63rd Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
JOHN A. HARRIS, President. J. J. DALTON, Vice-President. W. J. COLLIER, Recording Secretary.
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Secy. CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS of America

LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stagg 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HALLKETT, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Recording Secretary
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, President Business Agents:
THOMAS O'BRIEN, Fin. Secy. MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Secy. JOSEPH LAMORTE

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

Amalgamated 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: 62 East 106th Street Telephone: Lehigh 3141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street
ISADORE SILVERMAN, WILLIAM MERRROW, Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZILANT, President
J. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
N. FEINSTEIN, Recording Secy. I. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Secy., 209 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Phone Watkins 9186
LEON H. BOURK, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
John A. O'Connell, Secretary-Treas.
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer
Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELDS HALL, 81 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6594.
Office and Headquarters, 259 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHTENS, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

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LOCAL UNION No. 443, of NEW YORK CITY
Office 2033 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 E. 84th Street.
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President. TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary.
FRED DEIGAN, General Secretary. Business Agents:
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT BLEW.

LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

LOCAL 996, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4453 Main.
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.
JOHN K. JOHNSON, President. GUSTAV ANDERSON, Vice-President. GILBERT O. WRIGHT, Secretary-Treasurer.
EUGENE MURPHY, Recording Secretary OTTO WASSTOL, Business Agent
B. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WISTEN, Delegates.

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A Co-operative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members in Various Matters in which They Should Have the Advice and Other Services of a Lawyer.
S. JOHN BLOCK, Attorney and Counsel
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 Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.
CHAS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Secy.
Carpenters' Union 488 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
Far Dressers' Union No. 2

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Wednesday Evening, April 27....."INHERITORS"
Thursday Evening, April 28....."JOHN GABRIEL BORKMAN"
Friday Evening, April 29....."LA LOCANDIERA"
Saturday Matinee, April 30....."TWELFTH NIGHT"
Saturday Evening, April 30....."THREE SISTERS"

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WEEK OF APRIL 25

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Missouri

St. Louis Reorganized
Local St. Louis was reorganized on Saturday, April 14, at a well attended meeting of Socialists. National Secretary Henry visited St. Louis and explained the progress being made in other sections of the country. The comrades elected Otto Kaemmerer, of 3430 Tennessee street, secretary and he started his work at once. Several revived Branch organizations will be put into action right soon. Our readers should get in touch with the secretary at once.

California

San Francisco
Local San Francisco has inaugurated a series of meetings every Tuesday night at 230 Jones street. Musicians Headquarters, and issues of the day will be discussed from time to time by able speakers. It is expected that Walter Thomas Mills will address the meeting on April 26. The data concerning the subject and speaker of each meeting may be obtained from the Labor World and also the State Office at 208 Grant Building.

Los Angeles
The Socialists of Los Angeles will celebrate May Day by holding a picnic at South Park. Comrade Osborne, the blind orator, will be the speaker. Candidates for the Board of Education will speak, and also a representative of the Yipsels. Music will be rendered and refreshments will be served.

Two Members Die
Two old time comrades passed away recently. Comrade Frank T. Wheeler died on March 11, and Comrade Oscar E. Lawrence on April 5. Comrade Wheeler was 71 years old. He possessed considerable property and had in mind a plan to inaugurate a co-operative enterprise. He leaves a widow and daughter. Comrade Lawrence was financial secretary of Branch Central and was faithful in attending meetings although he lived a considerable distance out of town. He was past 60 years of age. He leaves a widow, two sons and two daughters. These two comrades will be greatly missed.

Friends and comrades travelling through the state are invited to call at state headquarters. Look up the address in phone directory.

Illinois

Cook County
George R. Kirkpatrick, former National Secretary of the Socialist Party, will speak on the Present Situation in China at the May Day Celebration arranged by the Socialist Party of Cook County at Schoenhofen Hall, Milwaukee and Ashland, at 2:30 p. m. Kirkpatrick's talk will be in addition to that of Andrew Laffin, who will speak on American Ideals and May Day. There will be a one act play presented by the Yipsels and several musical numbers.

A complimentary ticket is being sent to every subscriber of the American Appeal.

Pennsylvania

Franklin-Conemaugh Reorganized
Chas. Pogorelec, Translator-Secretary of the Jugo-Slav Federation, writes: "I am happy to report that we reorganized Branch No. 5 of Franklin-Conemaugh, Pa., which has been inactive for the past five or six years. Twelve comrades joined at the first meeting and I have the assurance from at least that many more will join at the next meeting. Our activities we propose to put into full bloom as soon as possible. On the 24th of April we will give an entertainment with a short play entitled 'A Way from Capitalist to Socialist Society,' which will be given by local talent."

New Jersey

Union County
The Progressive Club of Elizabeth will hold a May Day festival and dance Sunday, May 1, 8 p. m., at its headquarters. Members of Local Union County of the Socialist Party and their friends are invited to join in the festivities and help make the celebration a success.

Connecticut

New Haven May Day Meeting
Morris Rice, president of the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, announces the plans for the big May Day celebration.

The Rev. Ethelred Brown of the Harlem Community Church of New York will be the principal speaker. J. Adler, humorist of the Jewish Daily Forward, will read some of his humor. Miss Pauletta Wolozin of Waterbury will render some of her best songs. Miss Anna Liebman of the Yale Music School will render a number of piano selections. Mr. J. Preisner, the well-known banjo player, will also entertain. The May Day celebration will be held under the auspices of the Workmen's Circle of the Socialist Party and other radical organizations of New Haven at Dought Hall, 270 Crown street Sunday, May 1, at 8 p. m. Admission is 50 cents.

Hamden
Local Hamden has sent the following resolution to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts:

"Whereas, After six years of tortuous court procedure the two men are now condemned to die in the electric chair, and

"Whereas, These two workers have shown by a great deal of evidence that they are innocent of the charges of murder brought against them, and

"Whereas, It appears that these men have not received justice at the hands of the courts of Massachusetts,

"Therefore, be it resolved, That we demand that you appoint a committee of impartial citizens to conduct a public investigation of the entire case and that the men be released from jail pending the investigation."

Elm Lodge, No. 420, International Association of Machinists, at their meeting held Thursday, April 14, passed resolutions in favor of a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

Joseph Pede, member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, secured about forty subscriptions to "The Commonwealth," the

party's state paper, at meetings of the Workmen's Circle held Sunday, April 9.

Bridgeport
Local Bridgeport is holding weekly whist and pinocle parties. The proceeds are going toward a campaign fund. The parties are held at Carpenter's Hall Saturday nights.

The Yale College Liberal Club is arranging a Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting. The date has not been set, but it will be within a week.

New York State

State Executive Committee
The State Executive Committee will meet at People's House, Sunday morning, April 24, at 10 o'clock sharp. State Secretary Merrill has asked every member of the committee to be on hand promptly, so that adjournment may be taken in ample time for the Forward's Thirtieth Anniversary meeting at the Century Theatre.

MacDonald to Broadcast
Thanks to a courtesy of the National Broadcasting Company to the New York State Committee of the Socialist Party and to the Jewish Daily Forward, the address of Rt. Hon. Ramsay MacDonald, ex-Labor Premier of Great Britain, to be delivered at the Forward Thirtieth Anniversary Celebration in the Century Theatre, New York, Sunday, April 24, beginning at 3 o'clock, will be put "on the air" by the following radio broadcasting stations: WJZ, New York City; WBZ, Springfield, Mass.; WBA, Boston, Mass.; WDKA, Pittsburgh; KYW, Chicago.

New York City

Central Committee
The City Central Committee met Wednesday, April 6, with Belo Low as chairman. Seventeen delegates were elected to be present at the thirtieth jubilee anniversary celebration of the Jewish Daily Forward. Minutes of the City Executive Committee indicated that fifty-one applications for membership were received during March. A donation was made to the Tapestry Carpet Workers' Union of Philadelphia for aid in their strike. Secretary reported purchase of an automatic addressograph machine and that the membership in it to be started as soon as funds are available; also that a number of large mass meetings and concerts are to be arranged for May Day in the various parts of the city in co-operation with the Jewish Socialist Verband. Comrades Karlin and Bromberg rendered their reports as a committee delegated to attend the Hands Off China Conference. They stated that it was a purely Communist affair. The committee decided that our branches should be notified against participation. The Grievance Committee rendered its report on the charges of the Italian Branch against Comrades Frisina and Vacirca. A motion was carried that the report be accepted and that copies be sent to our Italian press. The New Leader, Italian Socialist Branch and Comrades Frisina and Vacirca. The report reads:

Grievance Committee Report
"The Grievance Committee appointed to hear the charges of the Italian Branch of the Socialist Party against Leonard Frisina and Vico Vacirca met at 7 East Fifteenth street on March 12, 1927. Both persons charged were present. The committee also met on March 19.

"It was alleged by the representatives of the Italian Branch present at the trial that Comrades Frisina and Vacirca, "violated the rules of the branch, in that they attended a convention of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, held in New York in September, 1926; that subsequently, while Communists participated in the activities of the Anti-Fascist Alliance, Comrade Vacirca wrote an article in Nuovo Mondo, an Italian labor daily, appealing to Socialists to rejoin the alliance, and that Vacirca spoke under the auspices of the alliance in various parts of the United States.

"After hearing all the evidence on both sides the Grievance Committee finds that the charges by the Italian Branch were made in a spirit of party loyalty, nevertheless the expulsion heretofore made by said branch was illegal and unauthorized. We further find that the acts of Comrades Frisina and Vacirca against the specific desires of the Italian Federation were tactless.

"Therefore, be it resolved, That we demand that you appoint a committee of impartial citizens to conduct a public investigation of the entire case and that the men be released from jail pending the investigation."

Elm Lodge, No. 420, International Association of Machinists, at their meeting held Thursday, April 14, passed resolutions in favor of a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti.

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The Yale College Liberal Club is arranging a Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting. The date has not been set, but it will be within a week.

Since, however, the activities charged did not constitute any offense against the party constitution or by-laws, we recommend that the same be dismissed, recommending that the difficulties which originally gave rise to the present charges are over, we strongly recommend that all the comrades affected by the dispute reconcile their difference and continue their common work on behalf of our movement. Jacob Bernstein, William Karlin, Bela Low, Joseph Tuvin, Andrew Regaldi. Secretary Claessens reported in behalf of the City Convention that a leaflet on the Chinese situation had been written by Judge Jacob Panken and that a mass meeting had been arranged in Cooper Union. The secretary also reported in behalf of the activities in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The Hungarian Branch reported news from Europe about the imprisonment of fifteen Hungarian radicals by the Horthy government. On motion this matter was referred to the National Executive Committee for effective protest.

No-War-With-China Leaflet
There is still a quantity of the leaflet entitled "War With China" written by Judge Jacob Panken, at the City Office. Branches and comrades who desire it for distribution should get it at once. The leaflet is an effective piece of propaganda on the Chinese situation.

National Referendum
Secretaries of the branches are again reminded that the closing date for a vote on the national referendum relationship to the liquor plank in our national platform is May 15. Branches are urged to take this matter up without delay, so that a thorough discussion and vote can be obtained. Branch secretaries must file reports with the City Office on or before May 15.

Membership Drive
Socialist-enrolled voters' meetings will be held during the rest of this month and all through May. The following meetings have been arranged: Monday evening, April 25, in the territory of the 2d-4th A. D. Bronx, at the headquarters of the Jewish Bronx Branch. Speakers will be August Claessens and Sol Wechsler. Another meeting in the 2d A. D. Kings county, and in the 6th-8th A. D. Manhattan, and another one in the 23d A. K. Kings county. Still other meetings are being planned in other sections of the city.

Panken Banquet
All arrangements are now perfected for the event of events on the East Side on Friday evening, May 20, at Beethoven Hall. The occasion will be a testimonial banquet given to Jacob Panken in celebration of his ten years' service as Municipal Court Judge and in appreciation of his fine work in the Socialist and labor movement. It is expected that a large and representative gathering will be present to tax every inch and capacity in Beethoven Hall. Invitations are now in the mail. More details later.

Harlem
A May Day meeting under the joint auspices of the Harlem branches will be held Sunday morning, May 1, in the auditorium of the Harlem Socialist Educational Centre, 62 East 106th street. Speakers will be Algernon Lee, Kantrowich, and others.

Protest Meetings
At the County Committee meeting on Monday, April 18, plans were made for four huge out-door meetings on Friday evening, May 6. These meetings will be arranged in behalf of the Sacco and Vanzetti Protest Movement. Four large platforms will be placed at the following corners: Longwood and Prospect avenues, Wilkins street and Intervale avenue, Claremont Parkway and Washington avenue, and 130th street and Daly avenue. Large platforms, appropriately decorated, will be used as rostrums, from which every prominent Socialist speaker in the city will speak. These meetings will be advertised by handbills and press publicity and it is expected that they will be attended by thousands. Resolutions will be adopted and telegrams will be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts. Every active Socialist in the Bronx is ordered to be on the job that evening. We must make the demonstration the largest held in the Bronx for some years.

Manhattan
6-8-12th A. D. Branch
The grand opening of the new branch headquarters at 96 Avenue C has been arranged for Saturday evening, May 7. A wine program is being arranged, one feature of which will be a serious debate between Sam A. De Witt and August Claessens on the burning theme, "Can Russian Communism Be Cured in America."

Bronx
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UNION DIRECTORY

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 210 EAST 8th STREET
Phone: Orchard 9800-1-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesdays.

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec.-Organizer.
S. BERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLES, Organizers.

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

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

All Meetings are held in the
Headgear Workers' Lyceum
(Beethoven Hall)
210 East 8th Street.

United Hebrew Trades
115 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 601 E. 181st St.
M. GUSKIN, Chairman
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

HERBIE BUTCHERS UNION
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
173 E. 17th St.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL. GRABEL, President
L. KORN, Vice-President
J. BELSKY, Secretary

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'
UNION, LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. STUYVESANT 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
GEO. TRIESTMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street STUYVESANT 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Faustbender, N. Ullman, President
A. Wehner, J. Rosenzweig, Vice-Pres.
Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION
Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
Office: 175 East Broadway.
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.
OFFICE: 208 W. 116th St., City
Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 10th St.
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at
BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 10th St.
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION
Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at 400 E. 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10173. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
Pres. AL. LEMONICK, Sec. Sec'y.
Barret Hargreave, J. Green, Fin. Sec'y.
JACOB RAPAPORT, Aaron Rapaport, Bus. Agent.

German Painters' Union
LOCAL 489, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAINTHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51
Headquarters 348 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone LOANERS 489
Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 8 p. m.
JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President, Fin. Secretary
M. McDONALD, E. BRUNN, Vice-President
Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

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Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810
Headquarters, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2148
MORRIS SIGMAN, President
ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street - Telephone Ashland 9900
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.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—E. 187th St. & 3rd Avenue 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
Bayside—146

THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone Stuyvesant 5885

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	United States	To Foreign Countries
One Year	\$2.00	\$2.50
Six Months	1.25	1.50
Three Months	.75	1.00

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

SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1927

GOVERNOR SMITH'S ANSWER

GOVERNOR SMITH'S frank answers to Charles C. Marshall's questions regarding his attitude to the relation between Church and State have received general commendation and we have no doubt that the Governor is sincere. Marshall returns with a statement that the Governor ignored the polity of his church and Marshall submits some interesting quotations from Catholic books to enforce his contention.

Here the matter rests for the present, but it appears to us that an important fact has been ignored by the two debaters. One cannot ignore history and both men would admit that in the past where one or the other faith has been dominant the Church has enforced its creed by State power. The Morning World, which approves Governor Smith's answers, states this candidly. "There was a time when every church, Catholic or Protestant, claimed temporal power," it declares. "There are countries in the world today where the Catholic Church claims temporal privileges and there are places, like England and the State of Tennessee, where Protestant churches still claim temporal privileges."

Moreover, wherever a sect is in a minority it opposes State support and protection of the majority sect, but when the minority becomes powerful it tends to seek such protection and support. Massachusetts is an example of this. In the Catholic city of Boston the police department has become the censor of literature. In Tennessee and other Protestant states a Protestant censorship is becoming increasingly bold. Despite all promises of sincere men of either faith in politics, all evidence shows that the clerics will use the law and the police in proportion to the political power they are able to win for politicians who do not have the scruples of Governor Smith.

We are interested in this question as it affects the working class and the labor movement. The workers of all faiths and no faiths, Catholics, Protestants, Jews and all others, should through the labor movement oppose any tendency whatever to use the State for any particular sect, whether that tendency takes the form of censorship of books, voting funds to sectarian schools, laws outlawing the teaching of evolution or in any other way favoring or opposing some church or faith. Otherwise the organized working class will become divided by extraneous issues that have caused more bitterness, hate and division than anything else. The upper class of masters of industry do not divide on religious lines in economic struggles and the working class would be fools to do so.

ROBOTISM

ANDRE SIEGFRIED, a French educator who has travelled widely in the United States, adds his impressions to those of other intelligent Europeans regarding the tendency of the United States to reduce its inhabitants to a dull level of mediocre robots. In his "America Comes of Age" he presents a mass of evidence showing the forces that make for standardized thinking. Like a great plant turning out millions of standard steel bolts, the ideal of our upper classes, their attorneys and editors, is to turn out millions of standardized minds.

As though to emphasize the truth of Siegfried's view, three items of robotism appear in the news this week. Martin W. Littleton, who served robotism by helping to expel Socialists from the New York Legislature, addressed the priesthood of a robot cult known as "Key Men." Littleton declared the Civil Liberties Union desires to "choke liberty." Frederick Marvin, who revived the Illuminati of the Bavaria of the late eighteenth century and sold it as a "menace" to the robots, declared that Sacco and Vanzetti had been fairly tried and should be executed.

Turning to the Boston sector of robotism, we note that the city's official literary censor, the Police Department, has Theodore Dreiser's novel, "An American Tragedy," on the index. As Dreiser is recognized as the foremost American novelist, we understand why Boston's robots become apprehensive of any knowledge seeping into their barony.

In West Chester, Pennsylvania, the Legion robots have submitted a report of eighteen pages, which, in substance, declares that some illicit knowledge had been smuggled into the city through the Liberal Club. It will be recalled that two teachers lost their positions because they helped to smuggle a few ideas into that community. "Giving full recognition to the constitutional right of free speech," says the report, "we submit that it is entirely out of place. . . . The rest of the sentence is unimportant. As it reads it is the creed of robotism."

It used to be a standard objection to Socialism that it would reduce all of us to a dull level of mediocrity. Robotism is determined to beat us to it.

PECKSNIFF, HEEP AND CO.

THE answer of the National Association of Manufacturers to forty-one representatives of churches who had urged a program of "good will and co-operation, higher wages, shorter hours, labor representation and the absorption of the mill village by the larger community" deserves to go down in history as a classic. Into this document is crowded the souls of Simon Legree, Pecksniff, Uriah Heep and Billy Sunday.

The factory capitalism of the South has reproduced some of the worst evils of our early factory system, especially in long hours and low wages for men, women and children. Pecksniff and Uriah Heep speak in the statement that the average minister, teacher and social worker know "as little about the practical operations of economic law as the average industrialist knows about the operations of spiritual law."

Billy Sunday has his say in the statement that wage standards "never have been, and never can be, determined by the necessities of men, nor by moral requirements. Christ himself did not determine rewards that way, and men cannot do it." From which we gather that the exploiters of women and children have discovered the economics of Christ and found that the "necessities" of human beings do not count in industry.

A swift change of action and Simon Legree steps forward to declare that "anything resembling the sovietization of American industry is repugnant to the American theory of democracy." The conclusion is obvious. When well-fed owners of industry ride the backs of women and children a little outside protest against this sport means that the protests come direct from Moscow. Moreover, outsiders are told that if the slaves of the mills really want "representation" in the industry they can draw upon their pitiful wages to "purchase stock."

Having indulged in this little bit of humor Legree becomes stern and threatening. The statement declares that "The closed union shop is a monstrosity which will never be tolerated in America until the nation relinquishes altogether its attachment to those peculiar ideals which have made it the leader of the world." And thus we understand that the open shop, with helpless and disorganized workers facing a powerful organized corporation, is the ripe fruit of American "ideals."

There are some people so utterly dull, so insufferably sanctimonious, so contemptible in their obvious hypocrisy, so to argue with them is absurd and useless. Those responsible for this statement of the National Association of Manufacturers are of this type.

NEW LEADER PLANS

FRIENDS of The New Leader will be heartened to know that extensive plans are being worked out to make it the foremost journal of its kind in this country. The civil war in the trade unions is dying and we may now look forward to the next few years when a daily English paper will be a possibility in New York City. To the extent that The New Leader can help this to be realized it will do so.

Meantime we are organizing a group of speakers who will be available for special lectures in party branches, trade unions and Workmen's Circles in New York City, up state, New Jersey and Connecticut. Their work will correlate with our campaign for subscriptions and their services will be given with practically no cost. Organizations interested in this work should write immediately.

A fine group of Yipsels have also been enlisted in our circulation drive and they have already done excellent work at mass meetings. A New Leader conference of agents elected by the party branches and Yipsel Circles will also be called soon and a continuous program of increased circulation will be worked out. The New Leader plans are comprehensive and we are certain that our paper will reach many thousands who have never seen it. Only a bare outline can be suggested here, and as for co-operation, we know that we can and that we will get it.

FORDIZING HALTED

HENRY FORD has decided to abandon general sales in his three great stores and limit them to his army of workers. The announcement was made to a large mass meeting of merchants who were threatened with bankruptcy by the lower prices maintained at the Ford stores. He at least has demonstrated that distribution of commodities can be organized more efficiently and for a smaller cost than the distribution which continues through thousands of small stores. As the chairman of the mass meeting said: "If Ford carries out this selling scheme of his to his logical conclusion all our business streets in Detroit in a few years will be business graveyards, and every city in the country would finally be in the same condition."

Eventually the Ford idea will be realized. There is no more reason why distribution should be scattered into thousands of small stores than there is for as many small post-offices in private hands, each retailing its service on a competitive basis at an enormous increase in cost. As for the "business graveyards" in each city, if mass organization of distribution becomes the rule, it may be said that every advance in economic progress generally sacrifices the interests of some special groups or classes.

More than a century ago machinery began to invade the handicrafts and in some countries machines were destroyed by the workmen, who understood that machine production would ruin their handicrafts. More than a century later the thousands of scattered shops of handicraft production have been replaced by mass production in great plants. The handicraftsman has disappeared and the machine worker has taken his place. It would be silly to go back to handicraft production. It is silly to bar the way to more efficient distribution.

However, we will yet arrive at the stage of mass distribution and then move on to the collective mastery of our economic powers through Socialism.

The News of the Week

China May Face Cruel Fascism

The split in the ranks of the Chinese Nationalists is wide, and civil war is waged between the two factions. The Communists have set up in business at Hankow and the anti-Communists at Nanking. In Moscow the Communists are terribly shocked because Chiang Kai Shek has executed some of his Communist opponents and is carrying the war into the opposition camp. With the Moscow braves' record of executions, jailings and exiling of Socialists, Chiang probably thought it wise to give his opponents a dose of their own medicine. We note that Earl Browder of the American Communist Party, Tom Mann of England and M. Doriot have gone to Hankow to advise the Communists. Chiang has issued a statement telling what happened. The Nationalists had accepted the "united front" offered by the Communists, and it has worked out as it has worked where Socialists and trade unionists have accepted it in other countries. Read what happened to the Farmer-Labor Party in its Chicago convention in July, 1923, and we have a repetition of what the "united front" has meant for the Chinese Nationalists. Meantime forty or more warships of the Powers with 15,000 men are in the port of Shanghai ready to bring more "civilization" to the Chinese. Thomas F. Millard's informing cables to the World gave important information not sent by the regular American correspondents. He declares that the Municipal Council of Shanghai, consisting of nine members, of which five are Britons, two Japanese and two Americans, are "selected and actuated by a small business and property oligarchy." This body is really forming alien policy respecting China. With the Nationalists divided into warring camps, thanks to the Russian Bolsheviks, the northern reactionaries making advances, and the "property oligarchy" at Shanghai hostile to the New China, a cruel Fascism may be the outcome in China—a Fascism that may be thankful to Communist intrigues and supported by the military might of the Imperialist Powers.

Bank Merchants Prepare Goods

One of the greatest and most essential of American industries is the manufacture and marketing of bunk. Of the various types of this commodity the one that promises sure dividends for the insiders is bourgeois politics. Two large firms—the Republican and Democratic—are already preparing to supply the market next year. All indications are that Coolidge will carry the Republican banner and Smith the Democratic flag. Elsewhere on this page we comment on the character of Smith's letter on the religious question. It may be added that from press comment from all over the country and the comment of the profes-

Politics and Steel in Union

Bands of steel are being shaped to bind Europe into political and economic unity. A united front of the European industry is contemplated by admission of Great Britain in the Continental Cartel. How intimately the steel magnates are related to politics may be gathered by the following facts. Louis Loucheur, former French Finance Minister, is prominent in the negotiations for a European steel entente. Sir Robert Horne, former British Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir William Larke, head of the British Steel Federation; Herr Wasserman, Director of the Deutsche Bank, and Dr. Dulsberg, Chairman of the National Association of German Industry, are all interested in negotiations now going on. If the plans go through the European steel oligarchy will be the most powerful combine abroad. Arnold Reeb, head of the German Potash Trust, declares that "a combination of German coal, French iron ore and English coal would completely subjugate the whole of Europe economically" as it has "far-reaching political consequences." These consequences "inevitably lead to political understandings among States whose economic interests become closely interwoven." This is an admission that when the great magnates of capital of a number of nations make certain arrangements across frontiers to enhance their economic interests the governments of their respective countries are made more or less parties to the economic alliance. What effect this united front of steel and political magnates will have on our own steel kingdom we do not know. At any rate the United States Steel Corporation has become a billion dollar baby and this week it has distributed a big slice of dividends

sweated out of the hundreds of thousands of steel sets in American plants.

Dictatorships in Europe

Whether the tendency towards Fascist dictatorships is to continue is a matter that cannot be forecast, but transforming nations into national prisons and keeping the inmates slaving for small oligarchies is the fashion today. Poland is traveling the road fast. A few days ago Count Bethlen, Hungarian Premier, returned home after a visit to Mussolini and paid an affectionate tribute to the Italian freak. The two gentlemen have concluded "a treaty of friendship" and Bethlen declares that there are some phases of Fascism which he expects to introduce to Hungary. Of course, Hungary is a pioneer in Fascism and requires no instruction from Mussolini in crime. The Hungarian regime came into power and has maintained its supremacy by tortures and murders that remind us of the saddest days of medieval cruelty. Whether Bethlen can improve on these methods by suggestions from Mussolini is doubtful. As we go to press the trial of Tito Zaniboni, former Socialist Deputy, on charges of trying to kill Mussolini and overthrow Fascism, continues and the prosecution asks for a sentence of thirty years in prison. The same penalty is asked for Angelo Ursello, one of the alleged conspirators who is a fugitive, and penalties ranging from five months to twelve years for six others. In Spain General Weyler has been acquitted of similar charges and six others have been sentenced to prison for various terms. All were charged with trying to overthrow the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera last June. It is evident that dictatorships cost the same price that was paid by the Romanoff gang in the old Russia. They are certain to breed conspiracies and assassinations. In the end they will be washed out in a sea of violence for they leave nothing else to tortured humanity.

VICTORIA LABOR NOW LARGEST POLITICAL PARTY

Melbourne, Australia.—Labor has become the largest party in the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in consequence of the State elections, but is still in a minority of nine in the full house of sixty-five members.

The Laborites obtained twenty-eight seats, Nationalists nineteen, County Party ten, County Progressives four, Liberals one and Independents three. Before dissolution the Nationalist-County Party Ministry controlled thirty-seven seats, but the coalition has been broken.

THE CHATTER BOX

Two Variations on an Old Theme

I had been growing old against the Spring;
I struck a sigh for every lover's tune;
I saw no hope in any budding thing,
And even scorned the magic of the moon.

And then you came . . . and so this be your song . . .
No word of what is said is mine tonight.
Your beauty waxes a wand . . . the spell is strong . . .
The world is haloed in an eerie light.

I dreamed a rose had blossomed out of space,
A crimson jewel set in petalled tips . . .
I leaned for vision, and I saw your face;
I bent to touch it and I found your lips.

And now my days are Maying, flower-strung,
And I have grown miraculously young.

I fear the love that ends in hard desire.
Possession is a drab, a common thing,
And that is why I tremble and retire
Before the wild insistence of a fling.

I am a Puritan in all pretense;
I find it builds an efficacious dam
Against the cataracting swirls of sense,
And all the giddy passions that I am.

Possession is a coarse, a common trait;
No love is due the shame of its degree;
No king is higher than his low estate;
No worm is lower than cupidity.

And this I say, with every sordid knave,
No love is worth the service of a slave.

One of the few biological wonders of modern times is the genus Communist, habitat U. S. A. and in particular Union Square, Manhattan. The numerous herds that have suddenly appeared in our midst have trampled down all the crops of education, organization and tangible progress, planted and tended with so much sacrifice and care, and have left the husbandry of labor, a shambles of destruction for harvest. In a world of startling contradictions, the advent of the left influence and its minions is not beyond all understanding.

We will take the case of Jake Higginsky, member of the Workers' Party, devout and honest convert to Communism, and a very much disciplined legionnaire of proletarian dictatorship via the Kremlin. For years we worked together with him in Socialist Party campaigns. He carried platforms, chaired meetings, handed out leaflets, paid his dues, and enthused enough out of sundry local elections to satisfy his revolutionary urge. Of course during party meetings, he hammered Gehenna out of the party bosses, the State secretaries, the "yellows," the bourgeoisie, and applied cold Marxianisms to every "immediate issue" platform or ukase of the general party conventions. All in all he was a most valuable entity, an energetic negation to balance the cold but necessary platitudes of the sane majority. Suddenly Russia erupted, the old order was buried under the ash and lava of the untold horrors repressed and compressed by blind autocracies for ages. A dawn of hope broke over the dark East. A madness of joy touched millions of us here. Insanity is contagious to the spirit. Some of us recovered sufficiently to remember that we were still in America. A great many have been so virulently infected, that they have built a temple and formulated a faith and organized a congregation right here in the States. It is a temple of the mind, true, but its architecture is concretely patterned after the Kremlin, the ikons of Lenin and Stalin and Trotsky are hung

in every nave and niche, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is daily thundered forth with the sonorous sound of a te deum in the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome.

Jake Higginsky has a bad case of it. All the pent up revolutionary fervor, all the enthusiasms, all the energies he expended in part during Socialist Party campaigns of yore are now loosened up in him and he does a daily dervish whirl before the shrine of his new faith. When Moscow intones anathema on capitalism in general, he shrills its echo with the destructive fury of Jericho's fateful trumpet. If Socialists and Liberals are flung into the old Czarist jails for political differences, he howls up and down the corridors of the Rand School and in union halls, that the rights and "Bourgeois reformers" ought to be drawn, quartered and smoked to the taste of a Kafkasian mullik. If Socialist labor leaders, and conservative officials of American labor unions are given the Cossack razzia by the Central Soviet committee in Nijni Novgorod, Jake helps elect a more articulate Higginsky to the joint board, who will declare a strike in the industry that will be carried on along true Russian Revolutionary lines. If Socialist political action is declared to be a fraud or a trifle too slow to suit the gallivanting logicians in tea houses of Petrograd, Jake organizes a new political party, nominates hundred per cent, proletarians, and tries to outshoot the Socialist speaker on Rutgers Square. All in all he is giving his true soul an exhilarating hell of a good time. At last he has found a world for his revolting ego to go galloping about with the abandoned fervor of a young broncho still unbroken to the tether. Here, oh, ye scientists and philosophers, is a clear case of the atom and its bottled up dynamism gone loco.

We have no harsh names to call him and his pathetic tribe. If it were not for the tragic waste and chaos these reasonless fanatics have created in every house and plan for labor's progress in America, we might even spare them our grief and sorrow, and allow them the applause of our hilarity and laughter. Somehow, we are holding even pity in leash until this show of maddened clowns ends, and we find them all in a heap—exhausted and disillusioned. Because we have had no passion part in the lamentable struggle between the Communist elements and the rights in either the political or industrial arena, there is no blood in our eyes. We hold no brief for dishonesty. We hold no white-wash brush for personal greed and hunger for power in any progressive movement that is banners by high ideals for the oppressed. Yet somehow, even if we knew definitely that certain labor or Socialist leaders were holding office to the immediate detriment of the men and women under them, we could never, in our bitter moments of outrage sanction the destruction of a party or a union to oust the undesirable officers. Only madmen will tear down a well built house, just because the janitor has been misbehaving in his apartment.

Well, no matter what we say here, Jake Higginsky will grab the Leader, tear it to shreds, froth at the mouth with epileptic convulsion, emit a few "ha, ha's" and a few more "look, look's," and make a mad bull's trample over the fallen bits of paper, the righteousness of Lenin in his heart and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat singing in his soul.

Some day Jake will burn himself out and return to cold reason. Or he may join a co-operative in Russia and go to work where he is most needed. Or else he may go into the real estate business on Long Island, sell a few lots and join the redskins of Tammany Hall. The last being the most logical outcome for one of that rarest of all biological paradoxes, Jake Higginsky—genus Communist Americana.

S. A. de Witt.

Public Opinion and the War

THERE are three modern theories about war. The first theory blames war on the intrigues of politicians. The second theory says that war is caused by economic conflicts of nations. The third theory affirms that war is grounded in human nature. In "Five Weeks," by Jonathan French Scott, Ph. D. (N. Y., John Day Co., \$2.50), we have a case study of the origins of the World War, which, while it is not concerned with the second theory, disproves the first and sheds considerable light on the third.

Professor Scott examined the press of the principal belligerents, Austria, Germany, France and Russia, for the five weeks prior to the opening of hostilities with a view to determining whether the war was begun by designing politicians, rulers or governments, or was an inevitable consequence of an inflamed public opinion. His conclusion is illustrated by the story of a Frenchman in the Revolution of 1848, who "was cautious not to follow a mob to the barricades and replied, 'I must follow them. I am their leader.'"

A psychological analysis of public opinion preceding war would reveal the following. An initial shock—in this case the murder of Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo—causes a "psychotic explosion," releases inhibitions and brings to the surface hatreds and animosities long suppressed. The press exercises the same function for the nation that memory does for the individual. That is, it brings to the social consciousness national conflicts, injuries, hatreds, which, until the moment, were in process of being harmlessly forgotten. Emotional shibboleths are resurrected such as "Pan-Slavism" in Russia, and "sacredness" of the monarchical principle in Germany. Internal weaknesses such as "the nationalistic inferiority complex" of Austria, assume an extreme chauvinism as a compensatory reaction. Pressure is felt from "militarists," army officers bent on promotion, young persons thirsting for adventure, old men viciously pugnacious, ill-balanced individuals of various types. Men's pent-up and overwrought emotions must find relief and do in the overt act of war.

From the psychological point of view, the author proves his case very effectively. Much as we dislike to believe it, public opinion with the exception of tiny minorities in each country did favor war when war was declared. Of course public opinion does not function in a vacuum, and the more remote economic and social influences are of fundamental importance. But the practical impossibility of starting a back-fire once the conflagration is under way is a psychological fact of moment. Certainly, too, the enormous influence in international crises of the press, now augmented by tabloids, radio and movies is one of the great problems of our time.

Henry Miller.

International Labor's Book

THE I. F. T. U. is the only International which regularly issues full statistics of the memberships of its affiliated organizations, and of the international trade secretariats. The Year Book of the I. F. T. U., in which this voluminous material is published, is also of especial importance because the I. F. T. U. is the strongest international in the world, comprising as it does 35 per cent of all the trade unionists of the world.

Part I of the Fifth Year Book (1927) is just out with statistics extending up to the end of 1925. The publication of the Year Book in two parts has enabled the I. F. T. U. to issue this first part, which contains the most essential material, (i.e., the statistics), at a relatively much earlier date than it has ever hitherto been able to do. The book is absolutely indispensable to all those who want information concerning (a) the I. F. T. U., its membership, competent authorities, publications, etc.; (b) the names (in English, French and German) of all the organizations affiliated with the national centres, their memberships (both male and female), addresses and trade journals; (c) the whole machinery of the international trade secretariats (both a comprehensive survey and particulars of the individual secretariats); (d) the names of the chief workers' educational bodies of the various countries; (e) the organizations affiliated with the Cooperative International; (f) the names, addresses and memberships of the organizations belonging to the Labor and Socialist International, and the Socialist Youth International. It contains in all 160 pages of English, French and German text.

No trade union or other Labor organization, and in fact, no one who holds any post of importance in the Labor Movement can afford to be without the Fifth Year Book of the I. F. T. U. The agent in the U. S. of America is Bruno Wagner, 243 East 84th street (Labor Temple), New York City.

NEGRO BISHOP WINS IN DEPORTATION FIGHT

After fighting four years against deportation, Bishop Reginald Grant Barrow of the Christ African Church of Long Island, N. Y., has won his case before Judge John C. Knox of the Federal Court of New York City. His counsel was Isaac Short, New York attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. Mr. Short charged that naval officers of the Virgin Islands and officials of the Harding regime persecuted Bishop Barrow because during his stay in the islands he displaced the wealthy classes by his talks on the labor question.