

NO OTHER WAY TO BUILD THE PARTY

AND still the men and women who make history continue to answer our appeal for aid in our expansion program for The New Leader. There are still others to answer the roll call, and we expect them to respond. This is the way that every Socialist movement has been built and there is no other way to build it. Our movement has been made by party papers. They are the advance couriers of the hosts that are later organized into Locals and Branches.

In this connection we have a letter this week from William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, that is to the point. Henry has his own problems of surveying the states for organization work the coming summer, taking care of the business end of the national propaganda paper, and looking after the office routine, but he also has time to consider The New Leader. Here is his letter.

"In looking at the New Leader, issue of February 12, I notice contributions sent during the week. The amount was \$42, \$14 of which came from 18 from outside. I understand why the Comrades of the nation, and especially in New York City, are contributing to its expense of publication. Comrades should realize that it is the way. The New Leader is both a Party paper and a national paper. It carries an unusual amount of news and other material. I hope your readers will not be slow in their mouthpiece.

"I am enclosing one dollar as a contribution, and I am sorry it is not more. The Comrades who cannot afford to give more should at least send a dollar. Every reader should contribute something, and not expect a few to do all the work and finance our papers and the movement as well."

Incidentally, Comrade Henry informs us that from his tower in the National Office the prospects for Socialist education and organization has never looked brighter for many years. Socialists want to organize, they want speakers, they want literature, and they are working hard for the national party paper. There are readers we have not heard from. We want to hear from them NOW. We want to close this column. If you have not answered the roll call DO IT NOW.

The report is more encouraging every week. Here is this week's fine record:

Cloak and Reeler Makers Union No. 2.....	\$25.00	Lloyd E. Potter, Media, Pa. 1.00	
Military Union No. 24.....	25.00	Alva Coffman, Weaver, W. Va.	1.00
W. S. Hutchins, Greenfield, Mass.	10.00	Joseph Anderagg, Merced, Cal.	1.00
M. Patterson, Brooklyn.....	10.00	Geo. Webber, Rochester, N. Y.	1.00
Bruno Wagner, New York.....	5.00	Wm. H. Henry, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
Olga K. Long, New York.....	5.00	Oskar K. Edelman, Dayton, Ohio.	1.00
Wm. Bernstein, Brooklyn.....	5.00	No Name, New York.....	1.00
Dr. S. M. Neistadt, Baltimore, Md.	5.00		
W. L. Smith, Green River, Utah.	3.00		
		Total for the week.....	\$100.00

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COAL STRIKE FOR CIVIC FEDERATION STUDY OF OLD AGE PENSIONS IS EXPOSED AS FRAUD

Union Reported to Have Decided Against Calling Out Others April 1

IT was disclosed in an authoritative quarter, says a Miami dispatch to the New York Times, that the miners' Policy Committee has decided that only the union mines in the central competitive field would be affected by any walkout on April 1. Union mines in the "outlying districts" would be permitted to operate under the existing Jacksonville agreement, although no new contracts would be made in these districts until the disagreement with the central field operators is settled.

The central competitive field includes Ohio, Western Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois. Outside of these States are many other unionized bituminous mines, usually referred to as being in the "outlying districts." About 150,000 union miners are employed in such "outlying districts" in Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Michigan and Washington. A majority of these mines are owned by the Northern Pacific, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul, the Rock Island, the New York Central and other railroad systems. The fact that these mines would not be shut down means that the coal supplies of most of the large railroad systems would be assured in the event of a strike.

The Policy Committee is also reported to have discussed the question of district settlements. The miners are said to have favored a conciliatory policy and to have advocated making separate contracts, if possible, with the Illinois and Indiana operators. The miners think that the conference indicated that these operators are not averse to a settlement on the old wage scale, but their hopes received a setback when the operators from both States openly denounced the Jacksonville contracts and alleged union domination.

Since Mr. Lewis' attacks on the disorganized condition of the industry there has been a growing demand for an operators' organization, and the early formation of one is declared probable.

By a New Leader Correspondent

HARRISBURG, PA.—In an effort to defeat whatever chances there are of enacting old-age pension laws in various states of the union, the National Civic Federation has set in motion a fake "investigation," at the same time requesting legislators and governors to delay action pending the result of this "investigation."

The Federation's extensive efforts to kill prospects of legislation to aid the aged worker was exposed here by James H. Maurer, president of the Old Age Commission of Pennsylvania, who is also of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. As the head of the Pennsylvania labor organization, Mr. Maurer has written a letter to Mathew Woll, acting president of the National Civic Federation, embodying his charges against the "study" of old age pensions that organization is now carrying on. President Maurer refers to organized labor's repeated declarations in favor of old age pensions, and asks Mr. Woll, who is also president of the International Photo Engravers' Union and a vice president of the American Federation of Labor, how he reconciles his labor affiliations with the presidency of the Civic Federation.

Sherman Heads Study Making the "study" the Federation is making is being financed by the Carnegie Corporation, Mr. Maurer points out. Literature sent about concerning this "study" declares there are no "reliable statistics" on the subject except in Massachusetts, whereas official commissions in at least seven states have conducted complete investigations. The chairman of the "study" is Teoumeh Sherman, notoriously reactionary, who has written consistently against old age pensions. On top of this evident stacking of the cards against the possibility of a report favorable to old age pensions issued from the Civic Federation's study, Mr. Maurer reveals that the local investigators employed in gathering data "are definitely instructed to obtain only such information as will disprove the facts found by the various state commissions and especially those found by the Pennsylvania Commission."

Since the literature sent by the Civic Federation, bearing Mr. Woll's name, has become public property Mr. Maurer gave out copies of his letter to the labor press. The letter follows: "February 21, 1927. 'Mr. Matthew Woll, 'American Federation of Labor Bldg., 'Washington, D. C. 'Dear Brother Woll: 'The American Federation of Labor at a number of conventions unanimously adopted resolutions demanding the establishment of old age pension laws throughout the States. The United Mine Workers of America for many years has had an official committee working to that effect and have introduced bills in a number of States. In addition, many international labor unions, and especially State federations of labor, have been actively engaged in promoting old age pension legislation for a long time.

Legislators Are Convinced "In view of the above I confess I am puzzled to understand a letter, addressed apparently to all governors and legislators by the National Civic Federation, of which you are the acting president, and signed by Ralph M. Easley, chairman of the executive council. In substance, the letter states that legislators 'are confronted with all kinds of proposals for old age assistance and that they have little of a practical character upon which to base decisions.' It practically asks the governors and legislators to do nothing on old age pensions until a study now being undertaken by the Civic Federation is completed, and modestly suggests that only this study will reveal the truth about the problem. "An announcement of the study attached to the letter adds some misleading assertions that 'foreign experience indicates that State pensions have increased pauperism instead of diminishing it and that they have imposed added taxation burdens.' It is also untruthfully asserted that 'there are no reliable statistics at present except those pertaining to the population of Massachusetts.' The fact of the matter is that not only has there been reliable information in Massachusetts, but official State commissions in Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Virginia, Montana and Nevada have repeatedly shown the need of such legislation, as well as the comparative cheapness of such laws. "Mr. Easley seems to be convinced that only the National Civic Federation can be trusted to gather the truth about the necessity for pensioning the aged toilers. A perusal of the men connected with the present study of

LONGUET, BLUM APPEAL FOR SACCO-VANZETTI PARIS—A demand that "American capitalism either execute Sacco and Vanzetti at once or release them" was placarded on the dead walls of Paris today over the signatures of well-known French Socialists. "Six Years in the Face of Death!" is the headline of the poster, which adds: "Such is the fate of the two labor leaders condemned to death by the American courts for a crime they did not commit. Let us demand their immediate execution or their release at once." The signers include Leon Blum, leader of the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies, and Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx. They call for a mass meeting at the Ball Bullier, a hall in the Avenue de l'Observatoire, to "set up this cry so the Americans cannot fail to hear it."

PIONEER YOUTH TO HOLD ANNUAL CONFERENCE The Fourth Annual Pioneer Youth Labor Conference will be held at 3 West 16th street at 8 o'clock on Wednesday evening, March 2. A full report on the work of the organization, a demonstration of the children's work, including a one-act play, musical numbers by the orchestras, and an exhibition of hand work will be given.

AUSTRALIAN LABOR HITS AT COMMUNISTS Sydney.—One of the most remarkable documents that ever emanated from the headquarters of the Australian Labor Party has been adopted at a special meeting of the executive body as a move against communism in labor councils. It will be circulated immediately among labor organizations to advise them against countenancing the Communists. "The deadly grip of communism," says the manifesto, "gradually is becoming tighter and tighter on the labor movement. The plotters who have been at work for the past four years have been Willis, Voigt, Garden and others acting in behalf of the Communist Party." This denunciation of Willis, who is a member of the New South Wales Cabinet, by his party executive is unparalleled in the history of the movement. The New South Wales Trades Labor Council has decided to enlist members for "a volunteer labor army, pledged to maintain direct free speech and assembly and to organize collective action for the protection of the working class in the event of international developments." This army will have divisions, divisional officers and a general staff.

FURRIERS OPEN FIGHT TO OUST COMMUNISTS

Membership in Cooper Union Denounces Officials for Betrayal of Workers

A REVOLT of the membership similar to that which has ended the Communist domination of the cloakmakers' union broke out in the New York Fur Workers' Union this week. Fifteen hundred furriers assembled in Cooper Union Wednesday after work and passed resolutions repudiating the Communist officials of the union, who, the resolutions charged, have betrayed the union into the hands of the Communists.

The action of the fur workers is likely to win the full support of the American Federation of Labor, whose Executive Council has already expressed itself in condemnation of the Communist officials of the Joint Board. Before the week is over it is expected the A. F. of L. will move to reorganize the union. At the same time the return to New York of Mayor Walker will see the presentation to the Mayor of the graft charges made against the Communist fur union heads. It would not be surprising if the A. F. of L. also attempts to institute prosecution of the Communists for misappropriation of funds during the strike of 1926.

The Cooper Union meeting was called by the Furriers' Trade Union League, which has slowly been organizing its forces to retake the union from the Communists. Harold Goldstein presided, and the other speakers were Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Max Fine, former secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Louis Weiser, Samuel Glassman and Hyman Schlissel. The charge was made that the Communists had induced into the union 1,800 young Communists, who had proved the mainstay of the machine by which they continued to dominate the union, despite their loss of the long strike. These young Communists were being taken into the union as apprentices in violation of the union's agreement with the manufacturers, it was alleged. One result of this action has been the throwing out of employment of hundreds of older members of the union.

The resolution further charges that the Communists "led the workers into a long strike, only to betray them, signing away concessions the union had won in the past by bitter effort," and that gangsters were used against all who questioned the Communist policies. The resolution concluded: "Therefore be it resolved that we, members of the International Fur Workers' Union, do repudiate the leadership of the Communists; and, be it further 'Resolved, That we pledge our every effort to any means the American Federation of Labor and our international organization may find expedient to rid our organization for all time of the Communist wreckers and disrupters."

After the meeting was over a number of workers were beaten up a few blocks from the hall. "Bookie" Gold's Greek sluggers were on the job. Among those that were beaten up were S. Farber, editor of the "Union Worker," an anti-Communist paper published in behalf of the needle trades workers, and H. Schlissel, the latter having been one of the speakers at the meeting. Farber explained to a New Leader reporter that he was pointed out to the sluggers by Lena Goodman, a Communist executive board member of Local 22, I. L. G. W. U. A. Rich, an elderly member of the Raincoat Makers' Union, who happened to pass by, not knowing anything about the meeting, was severely struck over the head with a blackjack because he was pointed out to be an anti-Communist in his own union. He was treated by a physician.

DUTCH WAR MINISTER WARS UPON HET VOLK

Because De Notenkraker, the weekly satirical supplement of Het Volk, the leading organ of the Dutch Socialists, is running a novel depicting the ridiculous side of army life, Mynheer Lambou, Minister of War of the Netherlands, has issued an ukase forbidding said funny paper from being brought within the sacred precincts of the War Department, notes that the demand for De Notenkraker is sure to increase rapidly and it thanks Minister Lambou for the fine piece of free advertising. The Socialist paper concludes, however, by remarking that such a stunt is a sad commentary upon the mentality of a Cabinet official who prides himself upon being up-to-date.

On the whole, the Chinese news is good. Certainly the victories of the Chinese Nationalists afford the best hope of order and progress in China. (It is astonishing, by the way, to judge from certain newspaper despatches how many British and American citizens in China seem to prefer the outright misgovernment of the loosely federated and mutually suspicious bandit generals of the north to the progressive policy of the Nationalists which they call Bolshevism. "Better banditry than Bolshevism, would seem to be their motto".) The fact that the British have come to some terms with (Continued on page 3)

TIMELY TOPICS
by Norman Thomas

DESPITE the solemn assurances of both President Coolidge and Secretary of State Kellogg that "it is not the desire of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Nicaragua," more than 2,000 marines are in Nicaragua to impose conditions under which the Diaz government cannot be overthrown. This is being written the latest chapter in our hypocritical and wholly indefensible conduct toward this little nation. It is not merely the government, but the people of the United States who are under test. From all over our country went up the demand that there must not be war with Mexico. Mexico is big enough to make a war a difficult and costly matter. But so far the protest of churches, individual citizens, and even the labor movement against the conquest of Nicaragua is formal. We seem to say, "Let the marines do it. They have enlisted to get an education and see the world. The only wars we mind are those that are big enough to make us trouble." If this is the attitude of the American people toward Nicaragua, there is little or no hope that we shall ever arrest the imperialism which some day will bring us to a great war. Then it will be too late to prevent catastrophe by the most frantic efforts.

A week ago in this column I asked some questions about the ownership of oil lands in Mexico and the attitude of the owners to the Mexican laws. Within this week I have again received separate answers, no two of which wholly agree. Carleton Beals in the New Republic makes a good case in support of the argument that it is the Doherty interests or those companies which have acquired Doherty interests which constitute the backbone of resistance to the Mexican laws, and that they do this because of the flaws in the Doherty titles. This opinion is not altogether inconsistent with the list submitted by the Mexican government of companies that have not registered their titles. Secretary Kellogg's statement cannot be reconciled at all with this statement of the Mexican government. While, as a matter of national pride, we might prefer to believe in our State Department, the Mexican government is in a much better position to know the facts, and to put it bluntly, the record of our State Department is bad. It has charged Bolshevism where Bolshevism did not exist. It has denied intervention where intervention does exist. Dr. Albert Putney, himself formerly an official of the State Department, accuses it of making three serious mistranslations of the Nicaraguan Constitution to buttress its case for recognizing Diaz.

One thing is certain. We need more specific evidence on the ownership of the recalcitrant oil companies. As matters now stand, it would appear that we have an excellent chance of being asked to dis for the property of those eminent patriots, Mr. Doherty and Mr. Sinclair, whose scrupulous honesty in making contracts is so well known in our own country that their leases of the Elk Hills Basin and Teapot Dome have been upset by our civil courts.

It is this investigation of American concessions which is the most imperative necessity of the moment. If Senator Borah's proposed Congressional trip into Latin America will really investigate concessions, it may get at the root of our troubles. Even at its worst, this trip may furnish a sounding board for opposition to the Administration's policies after Congress has adjourned. One could wish that in Senator Borah's proposal there was more of a co-operative note and less of the idea that we of the United States will settle things to our own liking and in accordance with our own sense of justice. Still, Senator Borah's own stand ought to be a guarantee that any Congressional committee which he procures will put human rights above oil and mahogany.

On the whole, the Chinese news is good. Certainly the victories of the Chinese Nationalists afford the best hope of order and progress in China. (It is astonishing, by the way, to judge from certain newspaper despatches how many British and American citizens in China seem to prefer the outright misgovernment of the loosely federated and mutually suspicious bandit generals of the north to the progressive policy of the Nationalists which they call Bolshevism. "Better banditry than Bolshevism, would seem to be their motto".) The fact that the British have come to some terms with (Continued on page 3)

Unemployment Follows Strike in Passaic; Workers in Dire Need

10,000 Jobless as Union Office Finds It Impossible to Give Assistance

By Mary B. Trask

THE year-long strike of the Passaic textile workers is now almost at an end—may be over before this article appears in type. In only one mill, the United Piece Dye Works of Lodi, are the workers still on strike. Instead of strikers, there are now unemployed.

Unemployed workers—ten thousand of them. Despite the fact that settlement began over three months ago, only a very small percentage of the strikers have been re-employed. The reasons for this are numerous: machinery is rusty, it is a slack time in the mills, and, strangely enough, there is apparently no great desire on the part of some of the owners to re-employ their former workers as rapidly as one might expect.

The present situation in Passaic is, briefly, this: Of 12,000 workers on strike when settlement began, less than three thousand have secured employment in the mills; many have temporary jobs outside the mills, but there are nearly one thousand families of which no member has been able to secure work of any kind. These families are utterly dependent on the relief office of the union. In thousands of other homes only one member of the family works, and that one miserable pay envelope must support the whole family.

The mill-workers of Passaic are facing actual starvation. Their need now is greater than at any time during the strike. And now, at the end of the long struggle, when every effort must be made to build up strong unions in the different mills, when the workers have no longer the encouragement of mass struggle but are facing long weeks and months of waiting for re-employment, now there is less money in the union relief office than ever before. Where, during the summer months, relief cards to the value of ten and fifteen dollars were given to the families of strikers, now each family receives less than five dollars' worth of food each week. One bushel of coal is the weekly allowance per family. And no relief can be given to the families where even one member is working.

This situation is largely due to the misunderstanding of conditions resulting from the capitalist press accounts of the termination of the strike. Since November, when the first mill capitulated to the strikers, the press has been spreading the news that the strike was over, and that the need for relief no longer existed. "Everyone goes back to work Monday," was the story which the daily papers carried. Improbable as that story might sound, the general public believed it, and (Continued on page 2)

HUNTINGTON MAYOR GAGS RELIGIOUS DEBATER

Governor Howard M. Gore of West Virginia was urged on Feb. 12 by the American Civil Liberties Union to restore the rights of free speech in Huntington and to rebuke Mayor W. E. Neal for banning a religious debate. At the same time Forrest Bailey, a director, wired Mayor Neal protesting against his "high-handed procedure" in violation of "fundamental American rights of free speech" and threatened to "seek other means if relief through executive channels is not obtained."

The controversy arose from the action of City Commissioner Homer L. Yeich, in forbidding Dr. T. T. Martin, field secretary of the Anti-Evolution League of America, and Charles Smith, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Atheism, to debate in the city auditorium on "Is There a God in the Universe?"

CHIEF WHO RAIDED HOMES "NOT GUILTY"

Chief of Police Hamilton Brown, of Aliquippa, Pa., was found not guilty of charges of false arrest and imprisonment brought by Peter Muselin, a Croatian radical, in a jury trial before Judge McConnell of the Beaver county court on Feb. 9.

Chief Brown was accused of raiding a private home in Aliquippa without a warrant on July 27, 1926. He arrested eleven men and women, four of whom he marched handcuffed through the streets. After being kept several hours in jail all were released without complaints or hearings. Three of the prisoners have brought suits for damages.

10,537 Deaths in Year Industry's Toll, U. S. Says

The latest statistics of industrial accidents on a national scale have been brought together as far as possible by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. As reported by the States, there were 10,537 fatal accidents and 1,687,957 non-fatal accidents in 1925, as compared with 11,479 fatal and 1,668,522 non-fatal accidents in 1924, and 11,062 fatal and 1,636,837 non-fatal accidents in 1926.

As to causes of accidents the handling of tools and objects gave rise to the greatest number of accidents, there being 472,895 cases out of 1,552,055 accidents in the two periods, machinery coming next, with a total of 294,951. "Bruises" and "cuts," lacerations and "punctures" led all the other groups in the nature of injury.

D'ARAGONA NOT SUPPORTING FASCISTI

Government of U. S. Advised Oil Magnates To Break Mexican Law

Veteran Socialist Says Reports Circulated from Rome Are False

WHEN the report was telegraphed from Rome on February 3 telling of the alleged yielding of several noted Italian labor leaders to the Fascist regime and their signing of a manifesto explaining their action, Socialists the world over were shocked and surprised to see listed among the signers the name of Ludovico D'Aragona. Veterans acquainted with the long services to labor of the former general secretary of the Confederation of Labor and Socialist member of the Chamber of Deputies in pre-Fascist days, immediately expressed skepticism about the report and opined it was another Mussolini press agent stunt.

The veterans were right. While it is apparently true that a rather vague declaration of "toleration" of the black shirt regime was extorted by Mussolini's henchmen from a few Italian labor leaders, Ludovico D'Aragona was not one of them. As soon as the news reached Paris, where he was stopping at the time, D'Aragona gave out a statement, printed as follows in the European Socialist papers:

"I have just read in the newspapers that I am supposed to have signed a declaration of adhesion of Fascism, drawn up in Italy a few days ago by some Italian trade union leaders.

I know nothing about any such meeting. In any case I could not have attended it, for the simple reason that I have been abroad since January 26 for the purpose of going to Geneva to attend the sessions of the International Labor organization and to visit relatives here in Paris. (Editorial Note—It must be noted here that, perhaps in order to forestall D'Aragona's denial, the persons in Italy who gave out the statement on February 2 averred that it had been drawn up on January 16.) It is superfluous to add that I did not sign the declaration in question.

"It is true that some former functionaries of the Italian labor unions that were affiliated with the general confederation recently discussed the attitude to be taken toward the organization of Italian labor as compulsorily fixed by Fascist law. It is also true that I took part in this discussion. But nobody made any proposals during this discussion that could be interpreted as a going over to Fascism.

"We examined the Fascist trade union reform from the standpoint of the principles that always guided the trade union activities of the organization of the Italian trade union confederation. As for me, personally, I need only to draw attention to what I have repeatedly declared, when I was still secretary of the trade union federation.

"I merely consider it worth while to point out that during the discussion between my friends and myself we repeatedly reaffirmed that it was my duty and intention to demand absolute respect of democratic principles for the life of the trade unions. Does that mean being a follower of Fascism? I shall merely add that I have never concealed my opposition, when the question arose, to all decisions to transfer the seat of the Italian trade union federation to a foreign land.

"Will Continue Opposition
"For I was, and am, of the opinion that it is better for the defense of the trade union principles to which I remain faithful for the Italian Confederation of Labor to continue its existence in Italy. Not through positive action, which is impossible in the immediate future, but as a permanent challenge corresponding to its tradition and its rights.

"Persons who know me, know that I am not accustomed to dodging my responsibility. They also know that I should not hesitate for a minute to admit it, if I had signed the declaration that has been attributed to me. Persons who know me, also know that there would have been no lack of opportunities and invitations if I had desired to go over to Fascism.

"I have chosen to remain true to

"I have chosen to remain true to

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON.—Flouting of the Mexican oil laws by American companies in the past has been instigated by the U. S. Government, it was recalled here in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Jose Miguel Bejarano of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the U. S.

Mr. Bejarano read to the committee from the minutes of Congress, quoting in particular statements by Edward Doheny and former Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall. He said:

"American capital in the oil industry in Mexico, under instructions of the State Department, not only refuses to submit to Mexican legislation, but gives material support to rebels in arms against the Mexican Government. American investors in the Mexican oil industry constitute a group more liable than any other to exert pressure upon the State Department and, on the other hand, be the instrument of the State Department in exerting pressure against the Mexican Government. Their power and organization enable them to stand as a distinctive unit and their actions may easily be traced.

"The Congressional Record of April 12, 1921, contains a letter written by Albert B. Fall, at one time Secretary of the Interior, in which he says: 'The British Agula Oil Company, owned, as a matter of fact, by Great Britain herself, is yielding to such decrees and obtaining advantages of American companies who are faithfully abiding by the advice and instructions of the American Government in the matter.'

"Senator E. F. Ladd, of North Dakota, in a speech before the Senate, commenting upon the above letter, stated that the advice and instructions of the American Government were presumably not to obey the laws and that the letter plainly reveals a close understanding between the oil companies in Mexico and the United States Department of State to disobey the laws of Mexico, in order that Mexico may be forced to revoke domestic legislation and be compelled to sign a treaty distasteful to its legally elected officials.

"Senator Ladd further said: 'There was exposed in the press of the United States authentic evidence whereby it appeared Thomas F. Lee, secretary of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, an association financed largely by the oil interests and whose evident purpose is to force American intervention in Mexico, sought to finance General Pablo Gonzalez in a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the Oregon government. Letters and telegrams which have never been denied show that a group of American financiers

myself and to the thirty-five years of my participation in the battles of the Socialist labor organization and to demand no more from my labor than I need to maintain myself and my family.

"And, therefore, I have the courage to return to my home, to my work, with out a stain and without fear."

According to reports reaching the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Edmondo Rossoni, the former Paterson anarchist, now heading Mussolini's so-called labor unions, recently made tempting offers of high salaries and high positions in the black shirt organizations to D'Aragona, Baldasi and some other prominent Italian labor men, but without success.

"Thus far no explanation by the other alleged signers of the manifesto, repudiated by D'Aragona, has reached the outside of the big jail run by the Italian dictator. But even if it should prove true that Rinaldo Rigola, a former secretary of the Confederation of Labor, and the others did sign the vague pronouncement, their action would have no material influence upon the active spirits of the confederation who have recently decided to keep up the skeleton of the organization by transferring its headquarters abroad, with the support of the Amsterdam International.

The recent announcement in reports from Italy that Il Lavoro, the Genoa Socialist paper formerly edited by Giuseppe Canepa, a Socialist deputy, was to reappear "with the permission" of the government, drew a declaration from the governing body in Paris of the Socialist Party of the Italian workers that under such circumstances Il Lavoro could not be recognized as a Socialist organ.

"When an occasion is piled high with difficulty, we must rise to the occasion.—Lincoln.

offered to advance arms and money in this revolutionary effort."

"Perhaps the most amazing charge against the State Department is the one made by Mr. Doheny when answering Senator Brandegee during the investigation of Mexican affairs (U. S. Congress 66-2; Sen. Doc. v-1, p. 288). 'Venustiano Carranza was president of Mexico. General Manuel Palaez was in arms against Carranza, controlling the Tampico oil region.

"The Chairman 'Has our State Department been aware of the fact that you have been making payments to Palaez?'

"Mr. Doheny: 'Yes; not only aware of it, but so far as they could, without giving it in writing, they have approved of it.'

"The forces of a lieutenant of General Palaez assassinated President Carranza.

"After the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917 the oil producers began the payment of regular monthly sums to Palaez, who 'has an organized force of some numbers and has held possession of a large portion of the country for the last two years. I think his force was organized at about the promulgation of the Constitution in 1917, and in opposition to that Constitution' (Sen. Doc. p. 279-280).

"L. J. de Bekker (The Nation, v. 109, p. 37) notes that he was told at the American Embassy in Mexico that the oil men paid Palaez for guarding their interests \$200,000 a month. 'I was surprised to learn from the spokesman for the oil interests next day that they would like to see Palaez president of Mexico because he was their friend,' de Bekker said.

"The Association of Oil Producers in Mexico made a vigorous reply to this article in which they declare that 'Palaez's troops are operating in the oil fields only for the reason that the government is attempting to confiscate their oil values.'

Mr. Bejarano also quoted Prof. Lee on Mr. Doheny's activities. In this connection he said:

"John Lee, professor of economics in the University of Kansas, in his book, 'The United States Oil Policy,' on page 382 writes: 'Doheny's money was used at other national capitals than Washington. It is said that he offered the United States Government a plot of ground in Mexico City for embassy purposes, and that President Harding accepted the gift. He has loaned vast amounts of money to various Mexican governments. It is not recorded whether any of the loans were of the nature of his loan to Fall. He testified that he had loaned \$5,000,000 to the Oregon government. The above story, as revealed by the investigations of the Walsh committee, is by no means the whole of the oil scandal. Later court proceedings brought out further details, involving high officials of other oil companies in the United States. Several of the most influential oil men in the United States fled to Europe until some of the proceedings were over.'

MURRAY SAYS WORKER IS THE TRUE AMERICAN

Oxford, Eng.—Home-staying workmen of the United States do more credit to that country than the wealthy who travel in Europe, in the opinion of Prof. Gilbert Murray of Oxford, who has just returned from several months in America.

When interviewed on his impressions Professor Murray said: "I think we England do the United States a great wrong when we say that Americans are ill-mannered and uncivilized. We never see the hard-working masses by whom the nation should be judged, but only the very rich."

U. S. Better Field for Socialism Than England, N. Y. Socialist Finds

A chat with Bernard Shaw, attendance at the opening of the House of Commons, at the "Peace With China" meeting in Albert Hall, and at the Lady Rhonda, Chesterton, Shaw debate, a tour through the Commons building under the wing of one of the noble members of the House of Lords, attendance at a number of Independent Labor Party branch meetings, these and scores of other interesting incidents were crowded into a short visit by Harry Kritzer, well-known Brooklyn Socialist. Mr. Kritzer returned home last week.

The outstanding impression made upon Mr. Kritzer, an impression he received in political circles as well as from men in the street, merchants and tradesmen, is the feeling that seems universal in England that there is no immediate recovery in sight from the industrial depression that has hovered over the country since the end of the war. Some were so pessimistic as to

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

the Nationalists concerning the concession at Hankow is certainly good. Nevertheless, the concentration of foreign forces at Shanghai, the whole gunboat policy of the Western Powers, the failure of our government to take advantage of the psychological moment for an actual demonstration of friendship—these things make that the situation is charged with dynamite.

Our British friends seem inclined to blame the Russians for anti-British propaganda in China. Perhaps. But when one remembers British policy in China from the opium wars to the massacre of Wahnien; when one remembers that mercenary Indian troops under British control police cities on Chinese soil and help to exclude the Chinese from public parks, one is inclined to give more credit to the British and less to the Russians for whatever anti-British feeling may exist. And that same remark applies to Americans in so far as they have followed the British lead instead of following the better line we marked out when we dedicated the Boxer indemnities to the education of Chinese students.

"Not for him the easiest way." Thus writes Norman Haggood in a eulogy of Al Smith published recently by the Nation. Well, maybe he is right, but we have our doubts. Governor Smith could hardly have been less progressive and held his popularity with the masses. He has certainly never been so progressive as to scare off his rich friends and backers. Witness what he has not done on such vital issues as housing and the injunction evil in New York. Witness his total silence on every national issue of importance except prohibition. Who knows where this principal Democratic candidate for the Presidency stands on Mexico or any other foreign policy which may lead to peace or war? What is this prolonged silence except an attempt to follow the easiest way?

Mr. Haggood offers as the crowning proof of his hero's greatness the applause of social workers. Why wouldn't they applaud the Governor? He is the first man in a long while to flatter them and seemingly defer to them. And has he not in the political world given them aid and comfort in their noble effort to do a little something for the poor without losing the approval and support of the rich? I suspect Mr. Haggood of wanting a Messiah. I shall not soon forget the way during the war he advised me "to trust Wilson" and all would yet be well! Now there is a lot of good to be said about Al Smith, his personality and his administrative gifts. But the attempt to make him a New Messiah for progressives and for the labor movement is fraught with danger. No man can be the leader of the great political movement of emancipation which America so sorely needs and keep the support of all the elements who now enthusiastically back his excellency, Gov. Alfred E. Smith.

I am indebted to Jim Maurer for a copy of his letter to Matthew Woll on the subject of the National Civic Federation and Old Age Pensions, which I understand, the New Leader will print and which I hope all those who see these lines will read. That Matthew Woll should be a acting president of the National Civic Federation at all requires some explanation. The fact that he would permit Ralph Easley to send out this vicious and misleading attack on old age pensions requires more. Even that old Democratic war horse and foe of Socialism, Assemblyman Cuvillier has introduced in the New York Legislature a long bill providing for insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment. Whatever the merits or faults of this particular bill it is a sign of the times. It is, therefore, the more amazing and intolerable that one of the most prominent officials of the A. F. of L. should apparently endorse an attack upon the

Young Workers Line Up In Sports International; Olympiad for 1931

ACCORDING to reports made by representatives of the labor sports organizations in Finland, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, France and Austria at a meeting of the Bureau of the International Workers' Association for Sports and Physical Culture held in Leipzig the last week of December, the husky young workers of Europe are lining up so fast with the athletic societies run on Socialist and union labor lines that in some countries they are already challenging the supremacy of the bourgeois organizations in the domain of sports.

President Bridoux, in announcing the inability of all the member countries to send delegates to the bureau meeting because of economic and other difficulties, said that the sports movement was everywhere moving forward despite all handicaps. The Russian sports organization, although not affiliated with the Lucerne Sports International, had intended to send representatives to Leipzig, presumably to present arguments for a "united front," but delay in passport visas prevented them from appearing.

Judging from the sentiments expressed at the meeting, the prospects of getting together with the Communist Sports International are poor. It was pointed out that only in Russia and Czechoslovakia has the Communist sporting organization any strength and that, despite much talk about unity, the Communist sport leaders continued to revile the heads of the Lucerne Sports International.

Delegate Kalnin of Latvia told of the attacks upon him in the Communist press and said that the reports in the Communist papers about his alleged speeches while on a trip to Russia were lies out of whole cloth, as he had made no political speeches at all while there. A demand by the Latvian Sports Association that the Communist Sports International retract its false statements had gone unheeded.

When the question of the various national organizations affiliated with the Lucerne Sports International participating in athletic events in Russia in 1927 and 1928 came up it was brought out that these events would

kind of legislation which the A. F. of L. itself has formerly favored. Mr. Woll is a leader in the fight against the left wing. May we suggest that leadership in this fight should not belong to men who play into the hands of reactionaries of the National Civic Federation?

Mr. Darwin James, who is making no conspicuous success of his job of Chairman of the Housing Commission, undertakes also to solve the transit problem by suggesting a transit authority like the Port of New York Authority to handle the transportation, not only of Greater New York, but of the adjacent suburbs. He argues at length in favor of a self-supporting system administered by a non-political agency. The joker is this: No transportation authority would have the power to assess any part of the cost of new transit lines against the real estate, which will be enormously increased in value by them. A transit authority will have to administer transportation in the interest of real estate groups on a principle of making transit pay for itself. The principle is wrong in theory and in practice will down the five-cent fare.

Passaic Strikers in Great Need

(Continued from page 1)
many who had supported the strike through long months sent no more help to the textile workers of Passaic. If those former supporters could step into the office at 743 Main avenue, Passaic, they would see long lines of women begging for a little food for the children—a little coal to keep the house warm where a child lies sick. They would see those women leave the office, crying because they could not be given that little more.

Nor is it only against starvation that the union must fight. The hundreds who were arrested during the strike and whose cases have not yet been decided, must be protected. Strong locals must be built up in the mills where recognition of the union was not specifically granted.

In the four mills which settled before Christmas, recognition of the union was conceded to the strikers, and already four locals have been established. The task of building unions in the other mills, where the terms of settlement did not include specific recognition of the union, but only granted that most important demand, the right to organize, in these mills the task is more difficult. But unions can and will be built. The spirit of the workers has not been broken by thirteen months of struggle. Suffering and physical want could not keep them from the picket line—suffering, more acute, cannot make them lose faith in the union.

Twelve thousand strikers gave a year of their lives to this struggle for a living wage and a union. Half a million dollars have been spent on the strike. Is this investment of time and money to be wasted?

The next few weeks and months will bring the answer. That answer depends almost entirely on the generosity of those who are willing to give to the mill workers of Passaic until spring brings the rush season and employment.

DR. COHEN TO LECTURE
Dr. Michael Cohen will be the speaker this Sunday evening at the Lecture Forum, conducted by the Free Workers' Center, 219 Secoy avenue. He will lecture on "Anarchism and Communism." Admission is free.

TWO MORE VETERAN SOCIALISTS ARE GONE

In the last week of 1926 the International Socialist movement lost two veteran fighters. On Dec. 27, Fritz Zubeil died in Berlin from a stroke of paralysis, and on Dec. 29 Charles Naine passed away near Lausanne from inflammation of the lungs.

Comrade Zubeil, who was in his 79th year, was a cabinet-maker by trade, and since 1903 had represented the Berlin Teltow-Beeskow district in the old Reichstag, the National Assembly and the reconstructed Reichstag. He had always voiced a desire to die in the harness, and his wish came true. Comrade Zubeil broke with the old Social Democracy over the World War question and belonged to the Independent Social Democratic Party until the two wings of the Socialist movement in Germany came together again. His seat in the Reichstag will be taken by Kurt Heing, who was next on the list at the last election. Comrade Zubeil's energy and upright character endeared him to all sections of the labor movement and his passing was the occasion of a great demonstration of affection by both party officials and the rank and file.

Comrade Naine was only 82 years old, but he had been active in the Swiss Socialist movement for many years and since 1911 was a member of the National Council of the Confederation from Neuenburg. A mechanic by trade, Naine studied law at the Universities of Neuenburg, Berlin and Paris and became an attorney and later a newspaper editor. During the World War he was strong for action by the international working class to end hostilities and took part in the Kienthal conference, where the foundations of the Third International were laid. After the war he gradually swung to the Right and during later years was counted as leader of the minority in the Swiss Social Democratic Party, which was labeled Reformist. His death is esteemed a great loss to the movement, regardless of his clashes with the majority.

Dr. Ingerman to Talk at Bronx Socialist Forum

"Nationalism and Internationalism" is the subject of a lecture to be delivered this Friday evening by Dr. Sergius Ingerman at the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont avenue, Bronx. Dr. Ingerman is one of the ablest Marxian scholars in this city, and is thoroughly familiar with socialist theory and history of the movement in every country. The lectures of the forum start at 8:30 sharp, and are followed by questions and discussions, pertaining to the subject of the lecture.

Percy Stickney Grant

The People's Memorial

Dr. Grant's Forum Revived for the Occasion

Speakers on "Leadership," JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, Minister of the Community Church, NATHAN KRASS, Rabbi of Temple Emanuel, NORMAN HAPGOOD, Editor and Author, EDWIN MARKHAM, Dean of American Poets

FOLLOWED BY THREE-MINUTE SPEAKERS for an hour, from the floor

St. Mark's In-the-Bouwerie, Second Ave. and Tenth St. February 27, 1927, 8 p m

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The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 160th Street, Sunday, February 27, 8 P. M.
"What is an Emancipated Individual?" LEON ROSSER LAND
OPEN FORUM
"The Public and the Theatre" BERTHA SULLIVAN PAPAIZAN, Author, Lecturer, Dramatic Director
MUSIC—ADMISSION FREE

FREE WORKERS' CENTER

219 Second Avenue
LECTURE FORUM
This Sunday Evening (February 27)
DR. MICHAEL COHEN
Will Lecture on "Anarchism and Communism"
ADMISSION FREE

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At COOPER UNION AT 8 O'CLOCK
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27
LEWIS BROWNE
"The Believing World"
TUESDAY, MARCH 2
DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS
"Can Youth Be Coerced?"
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 25
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"What is the Matter with Modern Ideas?"
"Modernism in Religion"
ADMISSION FREE
Open Forum Discussion

At MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL

At 8 O'CLOCK
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28
DR. MORRIS R. COHEN
"American Political Theory"
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2
DR. LAWRENCE J. HENDERSON
"The Adjustment of the Human Body"
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 24
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
Questions People Expect a Philosopher to Answer
"What is Potentiality?" or "Can Something Come Out of Nothing?"
SATURDAY, MARCH 5
MORTIMER J. ADLER
"The Morality of Health"
ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

Socialist Party

Upper West Side Branch
Meets every first Tuesday in the month, at 8:30 P. M., at
245 West 74th Street
All Socialists and friends in the 7th, 9th, 11th and 13th Assembly Districts are invited to attend.
A. REGALDI, Organizer.

WEST SIDE MEETING HOUSE FORUM

in the Auditorium of the
WEST SIDE UNITARIAN CHURCH
110th Street, Just East of Broadway
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 8 P. M. Sharp
Speaker: JAMES T. HUNTER
Subject: "What Price Success?"
ADMISSION FREE QUESTIONS ANSWERED
(Under Auspices of West Side Chapter of Unitarian Laymen's League)

CIVIC FEDERATION STUDY BARED AS FRAUD

Maurer Asks Mathew Woll Why He Permits Use of His Name By Organization

(Continued from page 1) the Civic Federation, however, warrants the definite conclusion that the entire undertaking was conceived in iniquity, bias and untruthfulness.

"The chairman of the particular old age pension study is Tecumseh Sherman, an old reactionary and a man who has consistently written against old age pensions regardless of all facts and truth.

On the Executive Committee "In looking over the letterhead I find that among the members of the executive committee associated with you are such notorious anti-union and open shop employers as Nicholas E. Brady of the New York Edison Company,

"In the name of fairness and consistency, I, as president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and as chairman of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions for ten years, must ask how you, an official of the American Federation of Labor, which organization has repeatedly endorsed old age pension legislation and many of whose officials and members are at this very time engaged in battles for such laws, can permit yourself to be a part of an organization which ungrudgingly is definitely working against such legislation?

"While I have no desire to question the right of the National Civic Federation or any other group or individual's attitude towards labor legislation, I cannot help but feel, however, that it is hardly consistent for high officers of labor organizations to at the same time allow their names to be associated with individuals and organizations who are consistently working against the programs and ideals advocated by organized labor.

"As Mr. Easley's letter indicates that it is being addressed to all governors and legislators, I feel that it therefore becomes a public document, and for this reason I feel justified in making this letter public through the labor press.

Yours fraternally, JAMES H. MAURER, President."

Daily Danger to Life and Health Revealed In Judge Panken's Testimony on N. Y. Housing

Emergency Facing Poor Tenants Now Greater Than Ever, Socialist Declares at Public Hearing—Municipal Building Is Urged



In the stifling heat of summer, when the air is poisoned by the filth of tenements, wooden rookeries and decrepit yard-houses, the New York slum dwellers pray for winter. When winter comes, the freezing inhabitants of the heatless hovels look forward to summer. Here is a winter scene of the East Side. Garbage and dung heaps mix with the snow, cluttering the sidewalks as well as the gutters. This menace to life sometimes is on the ground for weeks before it is cleaned up. Often it stays until the thaw carries it away.

[Here is the testimony of Judge Jacob Panken, Socialist, before the State Housing Board last week. The hearings were called to take evidence with a view to recommendations on the extension of the emergency housing laws of 1915].

JUDGE PANKEN: The continuance of the rent laws is necessary, but not for the reason that prompted the passage of the laws in 1920. An emergency existed in 1920 and therefore, the emergency as it was conceived by the legislature at that time doesn't exist, in my judgment, at the present moment, but an emergency far more serious exists.

There are, undoubtedly, apartments to be had in the City of New York. Unfortunately, a great proportion of the apartments to be had are not fit for human occupation.

I am sort of an eccentric and responding to the eccentricities to which I am subject, I once in a while make a personal inspection of premises with relation to which some controversy arises in court. Very often I have a landlord tell me that the apartment for which he seeks rent is a veritable palace, and, on the other hand, the tenant tells me it is a veritable hell hole. I don't like to disbelieve either. I can't believe both. So I make a personal inspection. These inspections throughout the city have brought to my attention a condition existing in our city which is a menace to the public health, a menace to life and, undoubtedly, a menace to the morals of our people, and, without question, a stigma upon the good name of this city in which we all live and which we all love.

Last year, when I came before the Housing Commission, I informed you that I had made an inspection of several buildings on East 14th street, between Avenues B and C. I told you at that time that those buildings are fire traps, and if a fire should break out in any of those buildings the people living in them would have no escape. Unfortunately, my statement at that time was verified within a very short period of time; within four or five weeks a fire broke out in some of these buildings and several lives were lost in that fire.

I really don't know whether I called it to the attention of the Housing Commission, but I remember making inspection of a building in Cherry street as a result of some controversy there, and I want to underscore at this time what the controversy was. It was a controversy not with regard to increase in rent or non-payment of rent, but a controversy in regard to the repairs necessary in a building.

I made an inspection of that building. They had no water there. They had rat holes large enough to admit,

not rats or cats, but to admit goats. I went into that building and I called the tenants together in the building and I told them that, in my judgment, they ought to leave the building. I don't know whether it was a judicial act or a judicial act, but I told the people if they had any regard for the lives of their family or their children they ought to leave that building.

About a year and a half afterwards, a fire broke out in that building and three people lost their lives.

I could recount to you any number of incidents of that kind which show a condition which is terrible and a menace to the life and limb and health and morals of our people. I remember going to a building on 11th street, in which there was a rear house. They called it a yard house. I found two rooms occupied by the tenants with just one window into the yard and an open closet there. I don't know how many thousands of buildings there are still in the City of New York with the toilet in the public halls. I visited hundreds of them myself. I visited apartments where they have private toilets which are no more private than City Hall Park is, because two or three families use the same one. They all have doors entering upon these toilets, a condition of that kind, in my judgment, creates an emergency and an emergency which would justify the legislature to take definite action to remedy that condition.

If the United States Supreme Court in its wisdom could uphold the rent laws as passed in 1920, if our Court of Appeals and every other court in the State upheld the constitutionality of these laws, it would seem to me that the emergency which I point out to you, gentlemen, is one which would justify the legislature in enacting laws protective of the life, limb and health of our people, and the courts, in my judgment would uphold these laws. It would not be an infringement on the rights of the property.

I think the emergency exists. I don't know whether this law as it is now upon the statute books should be continued. I make this statement after very careful and calm deliberation. I know the rent laws have been political footballs in some parts of the city. So I have given that matter very due and calm deliberation.

In my judgment, the rent laws as they are on the statute books today are no longer protective of the tenants. I think that the rent laws at no time have been derogative to the landlord, to the reality interests in our city, I mean to the decent man, to the man who invests in order to have a return on his property, not the speculator. There is a difference between an investor and a speculator. I think the investors weren't at all

harmful by the rent laws. As a matter of fact, they were benefited to a large extent. I think the decent realty man in this city will support my position. "I say, however, that the rent laws as they are now upon the statute books and as interpreted by the courts can be made to become a weapon in the hands of unscrupulous landlords as against the tenants. That is a very broad assertion and a direct challenge to that law, and I want to explain just what I mean.

Take a building with, say, twenty tenants anywhere in the city. Say there are three or four vacancies in that building. Under the present law the sixteen tenants occupying the building will have to pay a rent covering the four vacancies, because the rent is assessed, not upon the value of the apartment, but upon the return to the landlord, and if he has four vacancies in that building during the entire year the other sixteen tenants will have to pay for these four vacancies. I might direct your attention to the case of Sheekgan against Reley. I think it is reported in 124 Miscellaneous, in which I wrote an opinion not directly in point in this particular question, but with relation to the laying out of stores as if they were apartments.

In that case I was fortunate to lay down the law, interpreting the law so that no harm came either to the decent landlord nor to the tenant, but the situation as it exists today gives the landlord the right to come into court and ask the tenants occupying an apartment to pay for unoccupied apartments.

I know that the Governor will consider every recommendation that comes in this Housing Commission seriously. I know that he will make recommendations to the Legislature which the Legislature will in turn consider very seriously, and I therefore ask you gentlemen to consider this particular phase of the rent laws, and I suggest that an amendment be offered to the rent law if they are to be continued, which should allow the courts to fix the rent on a market value rather than upon a fair return. That is one phase of it.

There is another question in connection with the continuance of the rent laws which is very important. The rent laws have been a departure from the accepted concept of jurisprudence in our State and in the community at large. It was an innovation, something novel. It established a principle, in other words, it established the principle that the Legislature can empower the court or some agency to fix rents, to fix the cost of certain commodities which the people use, and I don't want that principle to be sidetracked or sidestepped. I should like that principle to be not only continued but to be extended in the body politic. It is important that we ought to consider the continuance of the rent law in connection with that principle.

The rent laws need two more amendments which in my judgment are imperative. In the first place, the notice period should be extended to a longer period. I don't think that three or five days are a sufficiently long notice. That is a matter of detail. It is also very important that the courts be given power to inquire into the need of repairs so that the court may order repairs made. I suggest that under certain circumstances the court be empowered to suspend the rent until the repairs are made. In some instances it is the only possible way to compel the making of repairs.

These are some of the amendments that I urge if the rent laws are to be continued. Your emergency exists and it is a very serious problem. I read today that Mr. James (chairman of the Housing Board) said that the people of this city are not ready for municipally built, owned and controlled buildings. I think in that he is mistaken. I think, in fact, he is in error. I think that Mr. Hecksher's point of view is the correct one. I think that the people of this city are ready to accept a proposal whereby the city shall build homes and operate them for the use of the people in the city. I am not a bit averse to a plan of this kind because it originated in Europe. I know the situation of Vienna quite well.

Last year in Vienna the city built 25,000 flats. This year the city is going to build \$12,000,000 worth of more flats for the people. Let me point out

to you gentlemen that the question of funds doesn't enter at all. Vienna is building \$13,000,000 more worth of flats this year, yet Vienna hasn't paid one cent of interest on any indebtedness for the year of 1926. As a matter of fact, it has collected interest of \$1,000,000 upon its reserve. It has a reserve upon which it drew to the tune of \$70,000,000.

I think that the Housing Commission should consider that phase of the case, too, and even though Mr. James has expressed himself, I think you ought to reconsider your viewpoint and you ought to make a recommendation to the Governor that we empower the cities to build municipally owned buildings. Did you want to ask me a question?

Mr. James: I am going to ask you to go back to the subject before us. We want to hear every word you have to say on the question of the extension of the rent laws. The other question is not a question at issue at this time.

Judge Panken: Well, of course, I am going to bow to your decision, but I must disagree with you again. I think you can't meet your emergency by the continuance of the rent laws. I think one thing is tied up with the other. Your limited dividend corporation scheme, all of these things are part of the general plan. You can't simply pass a law and say that the court shall fix the rents and in that fashion believe that you are going to solve your problem and you are going to remove the emergency that exists.

Mr. James: In connection with one of your suggestions of legislation to enable the judges to inquire into the need of repairs, have you ever gotten in touch with the Tenement House Commissioner to ask if violations have been filed, and if they have been filed, why conditions have not been corrected?

Judge Panken: I was going to come to that. You just broke in on me at an inopportune time. I was going to come to that. Yes, I have gotten in contact with the Tenement House Department. I even received some letters from Tenement House Commissioner Mann when he was the head of the Tenement House Department.

I have some concrete suggestions to make with relation to the Tenement House Department, too, which I hope you will consider when you enter into secret convalescence, but won't you please let me express what is in my heart with relation to the need of the city engaging in housing? You know we have got a situation in the City of New York which really requires a very definite and drastic action. The city today owes \$2,100,000,000. The taxpayers of this city—renter and taxpayers—pay \$85,000,000 a year in interest. Why, it is unheard of in the history of the human race! Nowhere in the world has anything like that occurred. So, when I talk of housing, I am not unmindful of the city debt limit and I am not unmindful of the great debt that is burdening the city—and I don't want any bond issue, no new bond issue, and if there is a bond issue, it should be only for the purpose of lending money to co-operatives like the Rockefeller Building in the Bronx, like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Building, to bona fide co-operatives, not to speculators, not to builders. People want homes. Let the city come to their aid and lend them money at a small interest.

They should pay the interest, and I don't believe there should be any tax exemption. If we exempt it on property being built the other people have to pay it anyway.

Coming to the Tenement House Department and Health Department, I suggest that you gentlemen consider this plan—that the Tenement House and Health Department be merged into one department. That is a radical suggestion.

I stepped into a house this morning as I walked down to court, and I know that if a fire breaks out in that house the people in that house cannot escape. It is a four-foot hallway with wooden partitions—that is, wooden walls, and wooden floors, and the staircase leading to the upper floors is about sixty feet in the rear. And how in the world these people can get out of there if a fire breaks out I don't know. It is a problem.

The question is in the province of the health and tenement house departments. It is a question of conserving

public health, a question of conserving the life and limbs of the people. I think if we could merge these two departments into one department we could save some money in the first place, and I think we would be able to exert greater supervision over our tenement houses in the City of New York. You talk about saving money—the first department that we attempt to save is on Dr. Harris's department, \$100,000. We try to save it on the tenement house department. These are the departments that ought to be properly financed and properly supported so that we could get the best kind of service from them.

My experience has been that I couldn't get anything from the tenement house department at any time. All that we get is that they will sue. Well, by the time they sue, and by the time the case is litigated in the court, there may be a fire in the building or consumption might set in, or some other disease may take hold of the inhabitants, and no good will come of that.

Chairman James: That is necessarily a legal matter, and we have a very able commissioner in that department. We can only proceed along these lines. The judges have that power—not that there isn't sometimes delay. I was wondering whether you have ever attempted to secure action, get action when you found bad conditions exist. I have, and I have been successful.

A. I will say that you are more influential than I am. By Mr. Stern: Q. I want to ask you about the operation of this discretionary stay. Have you had occasion—you have come across that? A. I have only once or twice, and I will tell you how I do it. Since I have been on the bench, whether it is a landlord or tenant or any other proceeding, I try to get people to agree to what I want them to agree to, so that they both go out, both sides go out more or less satisfied that they made the agreement and not the judge made the agreement. That is the way I have been trying to do it.

I might say to you that I haven't been able to get any action from the tenement house department, but by virtue of the fact that I am a judge, I have been sometimes able to get some action from the landlords. I once did this sort of thing: A landlord promised me he would make the repairs in open court, and upon his promise that the repairs would be made I ordered the tenant to pay the rent. Two or three weeks afterwards the tenant came back to me and said the repairs hadn't been made. I said "We will appoint a lawyer for you." We did appoint a lawyer. We had him cited for contempt of court, and before the return of the citation all the repairs were made and everything was fine and dandy.

By Mr. James: Q. Have you had any opportunity, Judge, to size up the rent situation as to whether rents have increased in the past twelve months, and as to what the vacancy situation is today, greater, or whether there are fewer vacancies?

A. I might say that the rents have increased in certain portions of the city. The \$8, \$9, \$10 and \$12 a room apartments have increased but I should say that the apartments ranging say up to \$2,000 and \$2,500 a year have not increased. But the room which is fit for human occupancy, that room has increased in price. The room that is—well, I don't say that the \$2,500 apartment isn't fit for human occupancy, but none of us can occupy it; only a few of us can occupy it. But the rooms that haven't increased in the rent are those rooms that even you wouldn't house your dog in, and I say that advisedly; you wouldn't house your dog, nor would I house my dog in some of the apartments that I have seen people live in. These apartments are not increasing in rent.

By Mr. James: Q. That is very interesting, Judge, and very instructive. A. I am sorry I didn't have time to prepare a careful statement so I could leave it with you. (Applause.)

Anti-Capital Punishment League to Pick Officers The League to Abolish Capital Punishment will hold its first conference and election of officers at the Pennsylvania Hotel Monday night, Feb. 28, at 8 o'clock. The following officers of the league are among the speakers: Warden Lewis E. Laves, Dr. George W. Kirchwey, Mrs. Kathleen Norris, Dr. Raymond T. Bye, University of Pennsylvania, and Ruth Hale.

Let's See Your Tongue! If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once. EX-LAX The Sweet Chocolate Laxative will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

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Water Power, The People's Last Great Natural Resource

By Louis Waldman

"SAY it with facts" is the new slogan of the radical and Socialist movement. Nothing is as convincing as facts and figures. Heretofore we have relied too much upon theories and formulas. We did not get very far.

The movement now seeks new methods.

The outstanding political and economic issue of the day in this state is water power. It must and will be fought on the basis of facts and not of theories.

One more observation before I proceed with the discussion of some recent developments in this field. It is undoubtedly wise for the radicals and Socialists to concentrate upon one issue at a time. That, it is said, is the American way. I do not know why it is particularly "the American way." In my judgment it is just the commonsense way. It applies to all people everywhere.

We need not be misled by this conclusion. From this it does not necessarily follow that we must go along with Governor Smith in his water power policy—

for he goes some distance with us—or that we go along with Mayor Walker on transit for the same reason; or that we support Vice President Dawes on his farm relief program, etc.

Emphatically there is a difference between a kind of public ownership, or any reform for that matter, which promotes a general scheme of collective and democratic administration of large industries and a kind that has a tendency to strengthen the grip of private control and private exploitation.

The test is clear; its application difficult. Each kind of public ownership or reform must be examined on its own merits and judged accordingly.

Some may favor and support no matter how far short they fall of our own program; some may have to oppose, although they look like our own proposals.

Rauschenbush's Report

We cannot be dogmatic about it. All of this is preliminary to a discussion of a report just rendered to the Committee on Coal and Iron Power, by its able secretary, H. S. Rauschenbush, on the question of water power in New York State.

Every student of water power should read this report. It covers a wide range and is "check-full" of facts. Not only does it contain valuable information on water power, but also in a large sense on other public utilities.

The report is divided into four parts: Part one deals with the concentration of power control in New York; part two deals with the special question of state control of the St. Lawrence power; part three deals with the adequacy of our system of regulation; part four deals with the author's conclusions and recommendations.

The first three parts are an excellent contribution to the literature on the subject of water power. Having demonstrated, in the first three parts of the report, that the times three is six—so to speak—the author concludes in part four that therefore two times three makes exactly five. In my judgment, some of the conclusions and recommendations are not borne out by the facts as set forth in the report proper.

Enumerating the failures of the various schemes devised to protect the small consumers under private ownership of electric energy and power, the report says:

It is to the public advantage to have a part of the power resources of the State under public control in order to have a yard-stick by which the rest of the power industry, which is in private hands, may be measured.

Continuing, the report says: "The inadequacy of our system of regulation to the production of the small consumers, the greater security and economy of development of this particularly desirable water power under State control and the need for a public yard-stick to measure the rates and services afforded by a state-wide system of private power ownership, have led the committee to recommend the endorsement of the State Power authority to construct and operate the State's water power resources on the St. Lawrence."

Although this is somewhat indefinite, taken together with the rest of part four of the report, it is a recommendation to endorse Governor Smith's program.

These recommendations raise some interesting questions: 1. Why only the water resources of the St. Lawrence? How about the water resources of Niagara Falls? And how about the undeveloped water resources in the interior rivers and

The Program of Governor Smith and Its Shortcomings; A Valuable But Contradictory Report

canals? Not all of them have been given away to private companies.

2. Why stress the "greater security and economy of development," when as a matter of fact there is much greater security and economy involved in the cost and method of distribution?

3. How will the State development of the St. Lawrence constitute a "yard-stick by which the rest of the power industry, which is in private hands," may be measured when the report itself shows that the rate-base employed by the Public Service Commission is not that of market value, but that of "reconstruction-cost" new?

And how can "a part of the power resources of the State under public control" constitute "a yard-stick by which the rest of the power industry, which is in private hands, may be measured," when the St. Lawrence is "a particularly desirable water power?"

Obviously a particularly desirable water-power under public or private control would not and could not be a fair yard-stick for the measurement of charges for power produced from resources lacking in these advantages.

N. Y. State in Lead Some of these questions carry their own answers. Some will be touched upon later.

The important part of Mr. Rauschenbush's report lies in the gathering and presentation of the material facts. Briefly, they are as follows:

1. New York State has already developed more water power than any other State in the Union. California is a close second. It is estimated that in 1924 the developed water power of our State was 1,842,427 horse-power. Of this 177 public utility and municipal plants controlled 1,234,015 horse-power, or about 67 percent, and 348 manufacturing plants controlled 308,412 horse-power, or about 17 percent.

2. The undeveloped water resources of the State total approximately 3,200,000 horse-power. Of this, it is estimated that 800,000 horse-power is located at lower Niagara, 1,200,000 horse-power at St. Lawrence and 1,200,000 horse-power at interior and other rivers.

I might say, parenthetically, that these resources, when developed, will yield enough electric energy to drive every wheel of industry and transportation and supply heat, light and power to all homes and illumine the streets and public institutions all over the State.

3. Of the 1,200,000 horse-power in the interior rivers of the State over thirty-five percent has been given away to private companies; most of that is still undeveloped. In many instances these companies require for a

profitable exploitation of these franchises further grants and favors from the State.

The attempt made by the Malone Light & Power Company, a subsidiary of the Northeastern System, to obtain a storage reservoir on the Salmon River, is an illustration. Mr. Rauschenbush quotes the secretary of the Adirondack Civic Association on that point as follows:

"It is conservatively estimated that the water rights on these reservoirs controlled by the Northeastern Power Company and its affiliated interests will be increased in value by these storage reservoirs, constructed under the Conservation Act with the land, services and credit of the State to the extent of \$50,000,000."

4. "Of the undeveloped power in the interior rivers of the State," says Mr. Rauschenbush, "possibly three-quarters is available, only 50 percent all the time, and must consequently be used in connection with local steam plants."

Three Dominating Groups 5. The power industry is now almost entirely privately owned and controlled. Although there are over one hundred water power companies in this State, they are now combined and united by financial interconnections and holding companies and are dominated by a very few powerful groups, which include the General Electric,

Aluminum Company and DuPont interests.

6. The relationship between active men in politics and heads of power companies is scandalously close. The report points to H. E. Macphail, former Speaker of the Assembly, as being now the president of the Northeastern Power System, and to a recent candidate for Governor who had a substantial interest in the Niagara Falls Power Company.

These companies deal with the State government in many ways. Some of them seek to obtain further grants and privileges. All of them are supposed to be regulated as to issues of securities and the charging of rates to consumers by the Public Service Commission, which is appointed by the Governor.

7. Regulation, says the report, is entirely inadequate to protect the public interests. The Public Service Commission, backed by the courts, is fixing rates and on the basis of "reconstruction costs."

That kind of "fair value," on which a minimum return of 8 percent is guaranteed to the companies by the State, is not at all fair to the people who are the consumers. In addition to that, through the holding company and other devices known to the public utility experts and lawyers, the "fair value" is hoisted to such a point that

the companies all but elude regulation.

8. The proposed lease which was about to be granted by the Republican Power Commission to private companies for the exploitation of the waters on the St. Lawrence was a steal. Besides, under that lease the rates to be charged to consumers would have had to be regulated by the Public Service Commission. Judged by the past, that would mean regulating the people in favor of the power interests instead of regulating the interests in favor of the people.

On the basis of the foregoing facts, which are amply supported, enlarged and developed by Mr. Rauschenbush, what fair inferences can we draw and at what conclusions can we arrive?

The Folly of Regulation For the State merely to develop the St. Lawrence power and then lease the developed industry to private companies for distribution is, in my judgment, worse than leasing the raw resources. Of course, a good lease or a bad lease may be made, depending upon the diligence of the public representatives. That is true whether the State leases the resources raw or after it has developed them. To follow Governor Smith's suggestion would be repeating, in the field of water power, the horrible transit history and mistakes of New York City. Have we

learned nothing from our costly experience in New York City, where the city built subways at its own cost, then leased them to private companies for operation? If we have not, then, of course, Barnum was right, and the politicians know that secret. Whether the private distribution of St. Lawrence State-developed power is under contract or lease is immaterial. No matter what it is called, it is the same thing. In the traction situation they are sometimes called contracts and sometimes leases. The legal and economic effects are the same.

Contract or lease, it would have to be for a long term—anywhere from twenty-five to fifty years. The Public Service Commission would regulate the distributing companies, fix the rates to be charged to consumers, and pass upon their securities in the same way as it would have to do if they developed the resources with their own money. Governor Smith's proposed policy and legislation has all the disadvantages of private ownership, with none of the advantages. The very power interests so thoroughly criticized and condemned would be the ones at whose mercy the State-developed resources would be. Who, pray, would contract with the State for the distribution of its power? On this point it must be borne in mind that the cost of building transmission lines, distributing stations, etc., is even greater than that of development. With the power trust occupying the rest of the field, who would be in a better position than this very trust to dictate terms to the State? As stated by Mr. Rauschenbush, at page 9 of his report:

"The manner in which the 1,200,000 horse power on the St. Lawrence is distributed is important to all the power companies in New York State, and control of it can be used to raise subsidies or affiliated companies of the controlling company."

The problem, as I see it, can be met only by the State through a properly organized corporate agency taking the field against the private power combines, develop and distribute the water resources at cost. It would frankly have to embark on the policy of planning a comprehensive system that would embrace Niagara Falls, the St. Lawrence River and the interior rivers of the State. If such a campaign were waged, and no additional favors and privileges extended to private companies, much of the undeveloped water rights of the interior rivers, already given away, could be gotten back by the State.

The State Equipped From the technological point of view this industry is peculiarly fitted for State ownership and administration. Comparatively little labor is employed in the operation. Principally, the three elements required are: First, the natural resources; second, finance or credit, and third, engineering skill. The State has the first; it can obtain the second more cheaply than the private company can; the third is as much at the disposal of the State as of the private interests.

Public distribution of electric energy and power is much more important than development. No matter who develops it, as long as a public agency has the initiative and the right to plan the distribution of power, light and heat and fix the rates to be charged, the interests of the public can be adequately protected. In planning for the distribution and in fixing the rates to the various classes of users of electric energy, the public agency would have the interests and the welfare of the state as a first consideration.

Not so in the case of private distribution. Greater profits and financial manipulations are the motives there. Nor is it true that we can favor now public development and private distribution and create a Power Authority on that basis, then to change our minds and get public distribution anyway. The plans and arrangements are vastly different in the two cases. We are not getting "half a loaf now" and will not get the other "half" later; by favoring Governor Smith's plan you just don't get any part of the loaf. That plan carries no advantages to the view of those who look upon power as the people's last great natural resource which ought, by right, to remain theirs inalienably and be utilized by them to their greatest advantage.

Toward Reconstruction in Socialist Practice

By Harry W. Laidler (Continued From Last Week)

TURNING to America we find a number of changes in practice among American radicals since the war. The most important of these changes was the temporary co-operation with labor, farm and progressive groups during the La Follette campaign, in the hope that this movement would lead to the formation of a powerful Labor-Farmer party in this country, of which the Socialist party would be a constituent and an important element.

The Communists have had to make many changes in their program since their organization in 1919, when many of them believed that they were in the midst of a revolutionary crisis and that the most important need of the hour was to divide such "centrist leaders" as Jack Reed from the "revolutionary rank and file," on the ground that, during a revolutionary crisis the centrist leader is "the most dangerous counter-revolutionist." Developments have proved even to themselves the falsity of their premises at the time of the split.

During the years following the war, several Americans have made contributions to the problem of socialization of industry. Among these are Glenn Plumb, author of the Plumb plan which for a time caused such a stir in America and Europe; John Brophy and Arthur Gleason, who, with others, hammered out a comprehensive plan for the nationalization of the mines; H. S. Rauschenbush, who has done some distinguished work on coal and power; Walton Hamilton, Dr. Lubin of the Institute of Economics, and others.

Line of Attack Shifted The Socialists and radicals since the war have also somewhat shifted their line of attack on the economic system. In the early part of the twentieth century, we concentrated in our propaganda pretty much on such facts as Robert Hunter so graphically set forth in his poverty. Today we are dealing not so much with the naked poverty of the masses—the standard of living of considerable groups of workers has advanced since these early days—but with the great and tragic wastes of capitalism. Stuart Chase's brilliant volume on the Tragedy of Waste and his brochure on the Challenge of Waste have done yeomen service along these lines and have caused Ramsay MacDonald to urge similar researches in England. The growing menace of American imperialism has led all sections of radicals to give much attention to this burning evil of capitalist development. In this field Nearing and Freeman's Dollar Diplomacy and Robert W. Dunn's American Investments Abroad are pioneer efforts.

Many radicals have been trying to connect up the radical, educational and

American Contributions to New Tactics for the Socialist Movement

propaganda methods with the newer discoveries of social psychology. Professor Harry A. Overstreet has long insisted that the propaganda of the radicals has been too negative; that it is their job to build up wants in the masses "now felt only indifferently, into wants that are vivid and clamorous"; show the masses how the radicals can satisfy these most fundamental wants—their desire for freedom, for self-expression, for security, for equality of opportunity, for comradeship.

As we are beginning to build up the Socialist forces in America again after the persecutions, hysteria and schisms of the war and post war period, there are certain tasks to which we should set ourselves.

Some New Tasks 1. In the first place, we should, I believe, make a careful survey of the forces for and against Socialism in this country, and relate our tactics to the findings of this survey. We have swung too much in our movement from one extreme to another—from undue and exaggerated optimism to gloomy pessimism, neither state of mind being based on any realistic analysis of the situation. I remember, when I first joined the movement some twenty-odd years ago, hearing some comrades declare that Socialism would surely come in the next five to ten years because Massachusetts had sent a few Socialists to the legislature and had elected a mayor or two. These comrades had no conception of the task ahead or of the forces pitted against them. The same thing was, of course, true of the Left wing in 1918-19, some of whom felt that it wasn't necessary to buy a headquarters in Fifth Avenue, New York, because in a year or so the Socialists would have their choice of all Fifth Avenue mansions.

On the other hand, we find many today stoutly maintaining that all is lost in the radical movement—not realizing that the masses accept today as commonplace many of the Socialist's positions regarding the profit system, the economic causes of war, the unreliability of the press, the waste of capitalism and the functionless character of the absentee owners which were regarded as theories of wild-brained fanatics a decade or so ago. This sentiment is unorganized. It must be organized and crystallized into a powerful movement. But it is there.

The Agencies for Socialism 2. We ought to make a thorough survey of the agencies that we may use in bringing the Socialist challenge before the great mass of the American people, and the best methods of using these agencies. There is the radio, the movies, the press, the school and college, the trade union platform, the pulpit, among others. In many instances it is difficult to secure a hearing through these media. In most instances we can obtain a far better hearing than we have availed ourselves of. In every community we should do our best to see that we let no opportunity pass for reaching the outsider.

We must do this if we ever hope to develop into a powerful movement. We cannot content ourselves with the assertion that the capitalists have a monopoly on the means of communication with the people and give up all attempts to break through. The attempt to establish a radio station as a Debs Memorial is a step in the right direction. During political campaigns, particularly, we should insist that our local radio stations give the Socialist party equal privileges with other political groups.

3. I would like to see another group, giving chief attention to the possibility of the formation of a labor party of which the Socialist party would be an active member. We ought to think through at this time much

more clearly than we have the problems that such a party must face. How inclusive can it be and attain its object? Should it include the farmers and free lance progressives as well as organized labor? How can the groups that ought to be reached be best approached? What would be the most scientific structure of such a party? How are successful political organizations of workers kept alive here and abroad? What is the nature of their district organizations? How are personal contacts with the voters maintained? What kind of literature distribution is most successful? What kind of social features are necessary to maintain interest among the younger people, the women, etc.? Are stump speeches all that is necessary, or must a party go into the homes of the workers and reach them where they are?

And on what issues should such a party concentrate, local and national, in order to stir the imagination of the average worker?

The Unorganized 4. We ought, I think, to give renewed attention to the problem of the organization of the unorganized and see to it what can be done, without interfering with the machinery of the trade unions on the job, to encourage a far greater organization among the vast majority of American workers than at present exists. For without industrial organization, on a much greater scale than at present, it is difficult to organize an effective working class political movement.

5. I would like also to see a group taking up the assumptions of the older Socialists, one by one, and finding out whether they needed revision in the light of modern developments in this country. For instance, many of us, in periods of prosperity, comfort ourselves on the fact that if we but wait until a period of depression comes along interest in the movement will develop, and the Socialist party will grow by leaps and bounds. "The workers have to have an empty stomach before they will think," is the remark. Is that true? Do former periods of depression show the truth of this assumption? Do the unemployed flock to the Socialist party, or do they vote for those who promise to give them their next meal, irrespective of the revolution? Is it the starved worker or the worker who is somewhat better off who is the best

power lies in the hands of landlords and profiteers, apartment will be piled on apartment, and office on office. The population will become more and more concentrated, while the streets remain as narrow as ever; and their congestion, becoming constantly worse, forces the building of more and ever deeper subways.

Thus, under the capitalist system, the living and working conditions of the people in a city like New York must be expected to become steadily worse and worse.

Communist Administration Is Decisively Beaten In Custom Tailors

The entire Communist administration went down in utter defeat in one of the most contested elections ever held in the history of the Custom Tailors' Union, Local 38, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

For several years the local has been in control by Communists. The activities of the Communists during the last year have disgruntled the membership, by calling unnecessary strikes, thereby having drained the treasury by many thousands of dollars and weakening the position of the union. The Communist manager of the union was defeated by Morris Drizin, who polled a hundred votes more than Wishnevsky. The entire Communist executive board also went down in defeat.

SKY SCRAPERS

By HERMAN KOBBE

THE skyscraper is not an economic necessity. A very dense population in a limited area enjoys less sun and air and less freedom of movement than the same population spread out over a greater land surface.

The landlords gain by piling floor on floor, for every additional floor increases the rent obtainable from the ground by so much.

The storekeepers gain by having so many more potential customers within reach of their stores.

The subway owners gain because the more skyscrapers there are the more overcrowding there will be, and an overcrowded train pays bigger dividends than a moderately filled one.

If New York were governed by capable men chiefly concerned with the welfare of its people there would need to be no skyscrapers, no overcrowded streets, and no packed subway trains.

Most of the industries could be located in outlying districts, with the workshops within walking distance of the homes. Manhattan, with its valuable waterfront, could be given over entirely to commerce, and the housing and recreational activities of the workers engaged in commerce. No dwelling need be—or should be—higher than the width of the narrowest street on which it fronts; and no office building, factory or department store need be higher than an apartment house. The greater heights could be reserved for a limited number of public buildings. But as long as the

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Outline History Of China

WHAT do you folks know about China? Nothing! Just as I supposed. So let me put you wise.

Well, China is the biggest country on earth. It contains about four times as many people as the United States. Its history goes back 10,000 years more or less. The Chinese invented gunpowder before the fashion of wearing breech cloths was established among the white races. But being naturally a backward people, they only used powder for the making of fireworks, (see "Chinese crackers," etc.). The Chinks also invented paper and printing about the time our forefathers carried the blessings of stone axes, flint arrowheads, and home brew to the barbarians of the north, but never developed the art of yellow journalism on account of the backwardness previously mentioned.

About 600 B. C., which don't mean British Columbia, but Before Christ, a Chinaman appeared who taught table manners to his countrymen. Among other innovations, he introduced the art of eating peas with a fork instead of with a knife, as is still the vogue among the primitive people of Afghanistan and Arkansas. He also got the little Chinks to say "Yes, sir," and "No, mam," and "Thank you," and so on. The name of this premature Lord Chesterfield was Confucius, and it is said that his teaching polite manners disqualified China from raising rough-houses with the rest of the universe, as it easily might have done on account of its great population and advanced arts. So instead of seeking a permanent place in the sun by conquering both sides of the globe, the sleepy Chinks built a wall some 3,000 miles long to keep civilization out.

Now, while all the inventing, philosophizing, and building was going on, China was fast asleep. Anyway, all Christian historians agree that the country did not wake up until a British fleet dropped a carload of cast iron fireworks on the seaport of Hongkong. This happened Anno Domini 1842, and if you don't know what Anno Domini means, I'll explain that it stands for "After Christ," signifying that it was 1842 years after the birth of the Prince of Peace when the British alarm clock woke up China.

The reason for this rude awakening was something as follows: Somehow, some of the Chinese had gotten in the habit of smoking opium, to keep them in that 10,000-year-long snooze, I suppose; so, the more peppy Chinks passed a law prohibiting the growing of the poppy plant from which opium is stewed, or whatever they do to poppy to make it pop. Being more thorough than our own prohibitionists, they succeeded in destroying the poppy culture, root and branch, so that before long the only way a sinful Chinaman could get pickled on opium was by buying it from an Indian bootlegger, and as there is no more lucrative trade than the selling of forbidden fruit, China became an island surrounded by opium fiends.

Unfortunately for the Chinese, India, from which the opium came, belonged to his Christian majesty, the King of England, Emperor of India, defender of the faith, etc., and the opium runners outside of the Chinese 12-mile limit were his subjects. So what could be more natural, when the pigtail-headed Volsteaders staged a sort of Boston tea-party by sinking a few of the opium runners, than that his serene majesty should declamate the offenders and swipe a hunk of their country to repay the outlay in grape shot?

After the first opium war, as this piece of brigandage is complimented in history, the awakening of China progressed rapidly. Whenever the British hankered after another port with appropriate hinterland, they sent a fresh batch of bootleggers to China, had them killed by the Chinese enforcement officers, and then annexed the territory in mind as reparations for the unknown heroes. In this manner Great Britain became the legal owner of some forty-odd ports and parcels of China, and this is how the heathen Chinese got their first taste of Christian civilization.

In 1857 the second opium war broke out, for in spite of all hard knocks the Chinese Volsteaders continued their fight against opium, and it was at this point that France joined in the pious enterprise, repaying itself with whatever concessions, indemnities, and treaty ports the British senior partners permitted her to get away with.

But to cut a long story short: In 1853 France swiped Tonkin. In 1854 Japan swiped Formosa and Korea. In 1858 Germany "leased" Kiaochau in reparation for two dead missionaries.

A few years later Russia swapped a few of its missionaries for a lease on Port Arthur, whereupon Great Britain leased Weihaiwei, paying in similar currency.

In 1900 the Boxer uprising took place, resulting in a holy crusade of all civilized nations against China, netting numerous concessions to all hands on deck and a cash indemnity of \$337,000,000 as the price of the lives of missionaries slain in the rising, which, when we consider that Christ was sold for 30 silverlings, should have made the dead missionaries exceedingly proud of themselves.

In 1909 a revolution overthrew the Manchu dynasty and China became a member of the sisterhood of great democracies, whereupon the dismemberment of the new member progressed faster than ever, and if the supply of missionaries had held out, or the world war had not interrupted the white chop suey cooks, causing them to cut each other's throats with even more enthusiasm than those of heathens, little would be left of China by this time.

However, the world war gave a respite to China, during which Japan swiped a hunk of China the size of New England for assisting the great democracies of the west, including Russia, in making the world safe for democracy, and this in spite of the fact that poor bleeding China was also a stockholder in the noble enterprise.

In 1918-19 the great western democracies having succeeded in making the world safe for democracy and establishing self-determination for everybody concerned, informed Japan to cough up the annexed territory or take the consequences for doing such an ungentlemanly thing as walking away with loot while its associates were still looting. And Japan coughed.

(Continued on page 6)

Dual Unionism of Socialist Labor Party Leads to Extinction of the Organization

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

Chapter III.

FROM the origin of the American Federation of Labor in 1881, its annual conventions gave consideration to political measures and political activity. One of its objects as stated in the first convention was to "secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes." It also recommended to "all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot."

When the convention of 1886 met, the trade unions had lost the widespread telegraphers strike in 1883, the long strike of the Hocking Valley miners in 1884, the railroad strike on the Gould lines in 1885 and many smaller strikes. An industrial depression had contributed to these defeats and the belief became widespread that some form of united political action was necessary.

In 1886 local political movements of the workers appeared in a number of the larger cities and some minor successes were realized. In the convention of the American Federation of Labor that year the sentiment for independent political action was strong. A resolution was adopted declaring that "the time has now arrived when the working people should decide upon the necessity of united action as citizens at the ballot box" and the convention urged "a most generous support to the independent political movement of the workmen." Although, as later developments showed, Samuel Gompers was opposed to independent political action, this resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote. The resolution did not favor organization

of a national party but it did urge support of local parties where they were organized. With the revival of industrial activity the next few years the agitation for independent action subsided.

Sanial is Expelled
Four years later an issue arose between the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party which involved a peculiar variation of Lassalleism in the latter organization.

In 1889 there were two central bodies of trade unions in New York City, one friendly to the Socialist Labor Party and the other not so friendly. They managed to compose their differences, however, and received a charter for the united organization from the A. F. of L. But another division soon followed and the organization friendly to the Socialists applied for a separate charter which was refused on the ground that one of the organizations affiliated with it was a section of the Socialist Labor Party. The central body refused to exclude this section and Lucien Sanial, a prominent Socialist, was elected a delegate of the central body to the convention of the A. F. of L. in 1890 to obtain a reversal of this decision. After a nine-hour debate Mr. Sanial was denied a seat in the convention solely on the ground that it was in conflict with the constitution of the A. F. of L. to permit representation of any political party in city central bodies. The Socialist Labor Party had such representation in sixteen city central organizations of trade unions and all its delegates were withdrawn.

This history is cited because of what followed. The action of the A. F. of L. was sound. It could not give repre-

sentation to the Socialist Labor Party without conceding it to Greenbackers, Single Taxers and other political organizations that might be formed and in which many trade unionists were active. But the leading spirits of the Socialist Labor Party were dissatisfied with the decision and began a campaign of bitter denunciation of the trade unions and their prominent leaders, especially Mr. Gompers.

The S. T. and L. A.
This warfare culminated in the organization by leading men of the Socialist Labor Party of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in 1895. The intention was to build a rival trade union movement to the A. F. of L. under Socialist leadership, finally supplant the A. F. of L. and make the S. T. and L. A. serve as an economic organization supporting the Socialist Labor Party. The S. T. and L. A. never obtained more than a few thousand members. It dragged out a precarious existence until it joined the Industrial Workers of the World organized in Chicago in 1905. The Socialist Labor Party itself "split" into two factions over this policy, the larger one rejecting the policy of dual unionism and joining with other Socialist organizations to found the Socialist Party in 1901.

The Lassalleian aspect of this phase of Socialist history differs from the phase discussed in the preceding chapter although both had one thing in common—impatience with the organized working class. In the earlier period this impatience found expression in premature political organization, followed by pessimism because of meager political results, which in turn brought a tendency to question the value of political methods and finally ended by choosing physical force.

The later phase of impatience took the course of trying to coerce the trade unions into assuming a position subordinate to the Socialist Labor Party, serving this party as an auxiliary, and providing that all officers of trade unions, local and national, shall "not support any political action except that of the Socialist Labor Party." Like the earlier Lassalleans the economic organizations of wage workers were considered of secondary importance. This peculiar attitude brought the Socialist Labor Party into bitter conflict with the A. F. of L. As stated above it led to a "split" in the Socialist Labor Party and what remained of it declined to an impotent small organization that has practically no influence today.

Politics Questioned
Eventually this party turned to introspection and in part repeated some of the experience of the earlier Lassalleans by considerably modifying its emphasis on this political action and supporting a qualified form of force. This stage was reached when the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance united with other organizations and organized the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. A few years later the Socialist Labor Party faced the next stage in repeating the earlier history of Lassalleism when a heated discussion arose in its ranks as to whether it would not be best to disband, reject the ballot and political organization, and organize industrial unions for the seizure of all industry through a series of strikes leading to some final conquest of power and the expropriation of the possessing classes. This analogy with the earlier period is not complete but the tendency to repeat the earlier evolution is so marked that its history is worth considering.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

"Ask Me Another, You Son of a Gun"

EVERYBODY seems to be doing it. Men, women and children are marching about with copies of the book called "Ask Me Another," posing the most terrifying questions. Here is the long-awaited successor to the Cross-word Puzzle. Sit down to a hearty meal and before you know it Junior is piping up, "Who led the Mexican forces against the United States in the War of 1846-47? Lie down for a moment's rest and the wife suddenly pops at you, "Who composed 'Onward, Christian Soldiers'?"

This new book, which is proving such a source of humiliation to some (ourselves included) and such a fountain of renewed hope to others, contains questions on every imaginable subject on the earth and under and above it, with the sole exception of the labor movement. We have questions on the Bible, sports, geography, science, mythology, history, current politics to the number of thousands, but scarcely a mention of anything or anybody connected with the American labor, liberal and radical movements.

So to fill this breach, as usual, we have to get up a list of our own, and here is the first instalment. There are twenty-five questions. Get them all correctly answered and you can write yourself down one hundred percent. Take off four points for each question you miss in order to get your percentage score, using one hundred as the highest mark possible. All right, boys and girls, get out your pencils and let's go:

- 1—Define these terms: (a) strike, (b) general strike, (c) sympathetic strike, (d) lockout.
- 2—What was the name of the first president of the United Mine Workers of America?
- 3—What fighter for the abolition of slavery was a graduate of Harvard Law School and a wearer of a Phi Beta Kappa key?
- 4—What leader of a recent strike against wage slavery was a graduate of Harvard Law School and a wearer of a Phi Beta Kappa key?
- 5—What was the average weekly wage of factory workers in the United States in 1925?
- 6—In what year was the Adamson eight-hour law for railway workers passed?
- 7—Who wrote an epoch-making essay on "The Casual Laborer" dealing with the riots in the Wheatland, Cal., hop fields in 1913?
- 8—Who was Richard Trevellick?
- 9—Who wrote "The Report on Manufactures" that started industrial activity in this country?
- 10—What was the first international union to admit women on equal terms with men?
- 11—In what year and in what city was the Knights of Labor founded?
- 12—Who pardoned the so-called "Haymarket rioters"?
- 13—Who wrote "God was feeling mighty good when he made 'Gene Deba'?"
- 14—What is meant by (a) Vertical trust? (b) "straight-line production"? (c) company union? (d) management engineer?
- 15—How old is the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America?
- 16—Who is the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers?
- 17—What is meant by the expression "The New Unionism"?
- 18—What report of what church organization condemned the methods of employers in a great strike in 1919?
- 19—What Socialist leader of today was born in the home town of the late Warren Gamaliel Harding?
- 20—What prominent Jewish journalist came to this country in 1883 as the result of persecutions for his activity in the revolutionary movement in Russia?
- 21—What is the B. and O. Plan?
- 22—Who was John Siney?
- 23—What was the year of the first big strike in the clothing industry that resulted in substantial gains for the workers?
- 24—Who was Robert Dale Owen?
- 25—Who was the author of "History of Coal Miners of the United States"?

Those are easy—so easy that we aren't going to offer any prizes this time, for fear we would go bust after the first mail arrived. You keep your score and we'll publish the questions and answers in this column next week.

What we would like to do is to give for prizes those autographed copies of Sam de Witt's forthcoming book of poems. But when we look into the exchequer and figure how many of you hundred percenters would be hollering for five dollar books, the old economic fear assails us and we just don't dare. But, by the way, have you sent in yet for your copy of Sam's book? Remember, it helps get New Leader subs, and Sam won't ask you for a cent until the book is out and autographed and on its way to you, and by that time, no doubt, you will have dug five bucks out of this sea of Coolidge prosperity that we are all wallowing in.

Speaking of prosperity, Charles Wood, in the role of a manufacturer, waving a little American flag, appeared at a grand meeting of the "Rotarians of the New York Civic Club" the other night and contributed his bit to the solution of unemployment. He said that the great company which he represented, feeling that there would be a lot of unemployment around this Spring, had decided to take time by the forelock and lay off most of its employes right now. He said that the big-hearted members of the board of directors decided that it wouldn't do at all to fire anybody. Nothing as hard-bodded as that. What they were doing was simply to abolish the departments in which the men worked. Then everybody was happy, even the oldest employe, who was interviewed in his room in the porchouse, who was member of Charles' board of directors, who went to see him there to give him a framed diploma for having served the company so long and faithfully. This ancient wanted it distinctly understood that he did not blame the company for his being in the porchouse. On the contrary, he said that it was his own fault. If he had only saved all his wages and not spent anything he wouldn't be in the porchouse. Which seemed fair enough to Charles, who suggests that we all save our money and turn into high-powered salesmen who never buy anything, but just sell and sell. Then the Civic Club Rotarians arose and sang:

"Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky—bys and bys."
McAlister Coleman.

The Waif
God! I am tangled in a damned net
Of petty circumstances, necessity,
And brutish-base desire, To quit all free
And stand erect again, and cuts forget
The drifting poltroon Fate has made of me!

We were not made to serve mean ends and small.
But some great Cause, for which the weakest die
In cheerful fortitude; and even I
Hear dimly still Youth's ardent trumpet call
To risk a lance for sweet-eyed Liberty!

Scanning the New Books

Logic and Utopia By Henry Miller

THE publication of "Thinking About Thinking," by Cassius J. Keyser, professor of mathematics at Columbia University (E. P. Dutton & Co., \$1), adds another fascinating little volume to the brilliant popularizations of modern scholarship which make up the "Today and Tomorrow" series. Professor Keyser is one of those rare specialists who are interested in the common lot of mankind, and under his genial enthusiasm the cold facts of logic glow with warmth and significance.

The author distinguishes between three types of thought, organic thinking, empirical thinking and postulation thinking. Organic thinking is the sub-human phase of thought, found in animals. Empirical thinking is based on observation, experiment, experience. Postulation thinking is based on a hypothesis, assumption or postulate. It begins with a few simple propositions which in the nature of things must be assumed, and from combinations of these, tries to deduce as many new propositions as possible. It is this third type of thinking, or postulation thinking, which is the especial concern of the essay.

Postulation thinking is, as the author explains, a relatively untried method of thought. Man as a species has existed five hundred thousand years or more, but the first great system of postulation thinking, Euclidean geometry, appeared only twenty-two centuries ago. And it was not until the time of Spinoza that men perceived that Euclid's method had any general validity. It was only a hundred years ago, with the construction of non-Euclidean geometries, that the postulation method became part of the equipment of men of science, with results to be seen in the amazing development of physics, chemistry and the mathematical sciences.

Were postulation thinking to be restricted to the physical sciences, the essay would have little point, but it is Professor Keyser's thesis that it is not so restricted, but is available and significant for the social sciences. The present emphasis in social thinking is empirical and doctrine building is suspect. Yet the attributes of postulation thinking, cogency, clarity, and a minimum number of undefined terms, are essential as criteria of criticism for empirical thinking. If postulation thinking is valuable as a method of criticism, asks Professor Keyser, does it not become infinitely more valuable as a completely constructed system? The trouble with social doctrines now current, says the author, is not that they are built on doctrines or postulates, but that they are not built perfectly enough. And he indicates the possibilities of a postulation system in ethics, economics and sociology, the autonomous propositions of which enter the "practical" world, are subjected to the refining processes of experiment and then return to the world of autonomous thought to ultimately create a perfect system. In other words, we have a logical justification for Utopias. For what is Euclidean geometry but a Utopian dream projected with greater clarity, more cogency and fewer unde-



A woodcut line drawing of a Pennsylvania Dutch home, from the jacket of Helen R. Martin's novel, "Sylvia of the Minute," published by Dodd, Mead & Co.

defined terms than any other Utopian dream the world has even seen!

One may ponder the problem of how knowledge can be acquired by assuming a few postulates and marvel at the philosophical dilemma that truth may be built upon error, in back of which lies the mystery of life itself. Yet it remains that the most imposing creations of science are built on a few unproved assumptions, that even when the assumptions are later proved false as the theory of relativity showed practically all of earlier physics to be untrue, the inventions and discoveries based on the mistaken postulates remain. For the logician knows that a postulate or theory is only an instrument, a spade, and that which we dig up will remain, even though later we acquire a better instrument. Reason sounds the call to action. Errors are paths to new truths. If we only perfect our logic we shall achieve Utopia.

Germany's Colonies

UNBELIEVABLY naive is this defense of imperialism in general and of German colonization in particular (German Colonization Past and Future. By Helmrich Schnee. Alfred Knopf, N. Y. \$3.00). Dr. Schnee was for years Governor of German East Africa. Now that his day of glory is over, he yearns again for his lost grandeur, for power over natives, for the sense of superiority that his office gave him. His book is a plea for the return of the former German colonies to Germany. His case is easy to sum up: Germany needs colonies to supply her with markets, with raw materials, and with an outlet for her

surplus population. German colonization shows no darker record than does that of England, and a better record than that of France and Belgium. The colonies were taken from Germany by force and treachery, and their return is dictated by honor and equity. The native needs to be civilized, and who can do the job better than the Germans?

It would be quite superfluous to rehearse here the case against colonization. It will suffice to repeat one outstanding argument that men like Dr. Schnee can never understand: That what we call civilization may be terribly destructive to native values, and that native cultures, evolved out of local conditions, are better suited to those who have produced them than can ever be the artificially engendered western culture of which we are quite needlessly proud.

When Dr. Schnee argues that the Germans were no worse in their treatment than the British, the Belgians, and the French, he is not saying so much as he thinks. He tells of corporal punishment in the German colonies and states quite openly that the black cannot be of the term unless corporal punishment is applied. All his attempts to show how humane the German government was will not serve to cover the ugly fact of this admission.

It is not to be supposed that the British will treat their subjects any better than did the Germans. It is even credible that the Herero's and others pine, as Dr. Schnee asserts, for German rule. What they pine for even more is independence and a chance to be themselves again. The day when this becomes possible is far off.

David P. Berenberg

A Stockholder Virtuous

By Louis S. Stanley

A MOST amusing book is John T. Broderick's "A Small Stockholder" (Schenectady, N. Y.: Robson & Adee, \$3). It purports to be the observations and musings of a coupon clipper, whose conscience pricks him because he performs no service to deserve his six thousand dollars a year income from dividends. "I certainly do not desire to be a human parasite," he says, "for as such I cannot be well thought of. Naturalists, even in their most dispassionate accounts, speak with scant respect of a parasite in the world of insects."

Our stockholder's complaint is the complement to Professor Ripley's recent contentions that non-voting stock is divorcing responsibility from ownership, and thus endangering the validity of the axiom of laissez-faire that capitalism will succeed because capitalists in the long run will not destroy their own capital.

Mr. Small Stockholder frets because even when he once did go to the annual meeting of one company he found that the directors already had proxies for 75 per cent. of the shares, and that discouraged him from voting at all. He also wonders where the 362,179 individuals or stockholders of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company could be accommodated, and how they could manage to do business if they all showed up for the yearly pow-wow. Mr. Small Stockholder wants it to be known that he has implicit faith in the integrity and intelligence of his stewards, as he consistently calls the directors of the companies in which he holds securities. True, there are some things about which he has some very faint suspicions. He does not approve altogether of excessive writing off of depreciation, carrying of heavy cash items among assets, or multiple directorships, but his faith is still unshaken, and to prove it, "voices a vigorous protest against the inclusion of certificates from independent auditors in corporation reports. He believes in his stewards without their being checked up."

Nevertheless, Mr. Small Stockholder is greatly troubled. What should the seven million shareholders in the United States do? He urges them to unite in a National Association of Shareholders, which shall meet in semi-annual group meetings.

... first, to answer questions, when essential information is available, and to refer them to interested boards of directors when such information is not available; second, to consider suggestions and to transmit those deemed to have merit to interested boards of directors for consideration."

This, then, is the Stockholders' Revolution that must take place, for "if stockholders are to be unemployed indefinitely; if they are never to participate, except perfunctorily, in the work of earning the dividends that come to them, they are certain, in time, to become an economic and social menace." Stockholders of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your self-respect!

Actors' Union Lays Plans To Help Theatre Industry; "Agitators" in the South

The Field of Labor

WE frequently hear of trade unions taking steps to correct the evils of their industry not merely on the theory that their members deserve the best possible earnings from the trade in which they are engaged, but also because love of their work leads to a professional interest in making improvements. The men's clothing workers, the ladies' garment workers—alike—union teachers, full-fashioned hosiery workers, miners and others have been heard in this connection. Now come the actors. Theirs, they recognize, is also both a profession and an industry, and to help the one will generally prove beneficial to the other. About two years ago the Actors' Equity Association made the organized producing managers come to terms. Since then there has been peace between the two groups. The players are well enough unionized not to worry about losing the standards they have won. "Under such circumstances," says an official announcement, "most organizations accumulate fat, as do individuals, and tend to sag back upon their laurels. . . . In the exercise of its purely police powers Equity might have found enough work to keep it reasonably busy and to insure strict control." Yet Equity was not satisfied with merely standing still. Its officials believed that the association was "the one force in the theatre which is conscious of itself and feels responsibility for the welfare of the theatre as a whole." Looking about for an opportunity to be of service it learned of the losses sustained by managers who took their companies on the road. Formerly this used to be a profitable enterprise. Recently, however, the audiences have fallen away. To revive this declining branch of the theatre industry the actors' union has just made an agreement with the Drama League of America, through which experimental companies will take to the road next season. The League will organize the audiences and Equity members will compose the companies that the union will induce the managers to send out. In this way enlightened self-interest will be served, for "with that expansion will come new audiences for the legitimate theatre and new opportunities of work for the acting profession." L. S.

Interest is attached to this document because the State in question is one of the most industrialized and progressive of the New South. The commissioner speaks of "the near ideal" relations existing between capital and labor. He sets this down as due to "community spirit" by which he means welfare work. "Every industrial plant, of any size, now furnishes for its employees, community houses, swimming pools, playgrounds and various other forms of recreation and amusements. Instructions are given by doctors and other trained professional men and women, to employees of the various plants, on health and living conditions. Interest is shown in the public schools adjacent to and in connection with the various industrial plants, by the owners and managers." Unfortunately a few minor industrial disruptions have taken place "without legal authority." They have been caused in most cases by "agitators" that have come in from sections beyond the borders of North Carolina. The Commissioner is wise enough to see that legislation can not prevent these "agitators" from coming into the State. He recommends more "harmony and fellowship" along the lines of the past, a workmen's compensation act and inspection of mines. Otherwise, everything is satisfactory. Then, if one turns to the statistical section of this report, he will see detailed figures presented as to hours of work and wages paid that may not cause the commissioner to wince but will surely provide the "agitators" with the kind of arguments that no amount of "fellowship" can resist.—L. S.

THE UNION LABEL ON COLLARS

Those who have attended labor conventions cannot forget the notices presented to the delegates urging them to buy Bell Brand collars. The appeal is generally successful, for those whose business it is to attend union meetings must have their full quota of union labels on their clothing anyway. We always wondered what effect this agitation had on the rank and file. We can guess more accurately now. According to a circular being sent to labor organizations, just three girls are now employed at the Bell Brand factory! What conclusion can we reach as to this state of affairs in view of the fact that the collar industry is rather thoroughly trustified right now. Can we honestly blame the three million odd trade unionists for not patronizing Bell Brand collars and thereby automatically increasing the membership of the United Garment Workers? Or should the U. G. W. first organize the employees and thus automatically put the union label on more collars?—L. S.

"AGITATORS" BREAK N. C. "HARMONY"

The Thirty-fifth Report of the Department of Labor and Printing of the State of North Carolina for 1925-1926 has recently been made public by Commissioner Frank D. Grist. Special in-

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CHICAGO LABOR'S NEW QUARTERS

The Chicago Federation of Labor is moving to larger headquarters, a symbol of increased activity. By March 1, the change will have been completed. Ten thousand square feet, a whole floor, have been leased in a modern building. Not only will be Federation itself be accommodated but also its splendidly weekly publication, the "Federation News," edited by James Bruck, and two studios of WCFL. The latter will eventually become the biggest broadcasting station in the world. A twenty-five thousand dollar pipe organ will be installed and improved acoustics will give listeners increased pleasure. It is expected that the more accessible location of the WCFL studios will gain for it more attention than it has had in the past. At any rate, the new headquarters will bring together more closely the three branches of Chicago's official labor movement.—L. S.

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

War Needs Bring Union Recognition; Membership Reaches Third of Million

THE outbreak of the European war created such a demand for machinists that the business depression of 1914 turned into a boom before the end of the year. For the first time in the history of the International Association of Machinists its membership did not decline during a panic year. Instead increases in wages and reduction of hours were obtained. During 1915 the demand for the eight-hour day took on the proportions of a campaign. In the manufacturing and contract shops victory was general. A vigorous organization drive was conducted. Literature was distributed in large quantities and open meetings, often at the shop gates during the noon hour, were held. The membership for the year increased from seventy to ninety thousand. On the railroads less progress was made. Financial maneuvering had weakened the railroads and made a change in working conditions inadvisable. Negotiations with the Navy Department resulted in arrangements to have wage increases go into effect on the various navy yards at the beginning of 1916. In the case of the War Department a plan was worked out whereby wages at arsenals were to be determined after an investigation by a joint board consisting of an equal number of representatives of the machinists and the management. During 1916 these gains were continued.

After the entrance of the United States into the World War the history of the International Association of Machinists became bound up closely with that of other unions, for during that conflict labor was forced to present a united front. When it became apparent that war with Germany was inevitable, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, called a conference of labor leaders on February 28, 1917. As a result of this meeting the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. convened on March 9, and after three days of deliberation drew up a document on "American Labor's Position in Peace and in War." This is presented to a large gathering of trade union executives, including those of the railroad brotherhoods, on the twelfth. The I. A. M. was represented by President William H. Johnston, Editor Fred Hewitt, former G. E. B. member E. L. Tucker, and Arthur E. Holder, chairman of the Law Committee. A day of solemn discussion ensued. President Gompers directed all his influence toward swinging the labor leaders into line to support the Wilson administration. Finally the A. F. of L. declaration was unanimously adopted. It was a long pronouncement, pledging labor's loyalty to the government and at the same time making a bid, if not a demand, for union recognition and the maintenance of the workers' standards. Finally, it was stated that "in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representatives on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense."

It was because of this feeling of organized labor that the government felt it wisest to give labor some representation in the conduct of the war and thus avoid the difficulties which England had experienced during the first years of hostilities. Samuel Gompers was appointed a member of the Advisory Commission of seven who with the Secretaries of War, the Navy, the Interior, Commerce and Agriculture took over the administration of the war. Gompers was made chairman of the committee on labor, to which he appointed an equal number of representatives of capital and labor. One of the earliest recommendations of this committee approved by the Council as a whole on April 7 met with much opposition. It advised that "neither employers nor employees shall endeavor to take advantage of the country's necessities to change existing standards. Where economic or other emergencies arise, requiring change of standards, the same should be made only after such proposed changes have been investigated and approved by the Council of National Defense." Employers criticized this resolution as limiting the productivity of labor, the workers as enslaving them to the status quo. Gompers had to rush into print to explain his position in a statement entitled, "To Steady, Not to Hinder." The journal of the International Association of Machinists came to Gompers' support editorially, at the same time giving generous publicity to the protest of the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn and Queens, New York, in disapproving of the action of the New York State Federation of Labor in agreeing to the suspension of State labor laws during the war emergency. The president of the C. L. U. at this time was J. P. Coughlin, of Machinists' Local No. 401, now secretary of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York.

War Labor Board Dictates In spite of the efforts of the Department of Labor and the Council of National Defense labor would not be pacified. There were persistent requests for higher wages, followed in case of refusal by strikes. The machinists were in the forefront of this movement. In November, 1917, President Wilson addressed the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor, made a plea for no strikes, and promised in return "instrumentalities." The outcome was the War Labor Board established by presidential proclamation on April 8, 1918. Two chairmen were appointed, one, William Howard Taft, chosen by the National Industrial Conference Board (for capital), and the other, Frank P. Walsh, selected by the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor (for labor). of the Board was an important factor in the decisions. The awards resulted in increased wages to keep up with the rising cost of living. At the same time an attempt was made to equalize rates throughout the country in order to discourage labor turn-over. The machinists along with the other mechanics enjoyed the improved conditions.

While the decisions of the War Labor Board were only advisory, the government, nevertheless, exerted pressure to enforce them. Thus, the Western Union Telegraph Company was taken over by the United States Government through the post office for discriminating against unionists. Similarly the Smith and Wesson Company of Springfield, Mass., was taken over by the War Department for refusing to accept collective bargaining. On the other hand, the government's hand was ready to fall on the workers as well, as the Bridgeport, Conn., machinists soon learned. Five thousand struck in 1918 against an award of the Board, upholding the attitude of its arbitrator, Otto M. Eidlitz, denying trade classifications. The United States Government practically threatened the strikers with economic boycott unless they returned to work. In general, however, the War Labor Board tried to maintain the old classifications in spite of the increasing division of labor and the introduction of unskilled workers into the trades.

The War Labor Board was useful to the I. A. M. in other ways. Insisting as it did upon the justice of union recognition, many machinists were induced into the union with but little effort. In addition, however, no organization was more alert than the I. A. M. in taking advantage of situations favorable to unionization that were called to the attention of the Board. When President Johnston, as a member of that body heard grievances that were brought by workers' representatives from factories in various parts of the country he lost little time in despatching union organizers to the affected cities. In this way thousands of machinists at a time were often taught the message of unionism at the most susceptible moment. Perhaps no other union took such complete advantage of its opportunities during the war as did the International Association of Machinists.

Ship Yard Machinists Gain Not only did the war machinery prove beneficial to the machinists in the manufacturing and contract shops, who generally obtained the basic eight hour day and handsome wage increases, but also to those engaged in ship-building and in railroad work. Shipping had become a prime necessity. Agreements had already been made with the longshoremen and seamen when on August 25, 1917, arrangements were also made with the shipyard workers of both the metal and the wooden trades that provided for adjustments of disputes. On December 5, 1918, another agreement was signed in which the wooden trades did not participate. The parties to the new scheme were the Navy Department, the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation and the unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. L. President Johnston of the Machinists signed this agreement.

A United States Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board was set up, consisting of V. Everitt Macy, connected with the Standard Oil Company, representing the public as chairman; Louis A. Coolidge, treasurer of the United Shoe Machinery Company, as a representative of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, and A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, who spoke for the A. F. of L. Professor Henry R. Seager of Columbia University as secretary

Outline History of China

In the meantime, China had lost its power to tax foreigners. She could not try foreigners in her own courts. She was forced to set apart large districts in her principal cities for foreign industry and commerce. Control of her railroads, mines and profitable industries passed largely in the hands of foreigners and China was not even permitted to enact laws for the protection of its own workers, including child workers. Thus the Chinese government lost the respect of its own people and because the government was deprived of legitimate income, it became unspeakably corrupt and in the end degenerated into governments of, by, and for bandits, for all of which the foreign awakeners are entitled to receive whatever credit is due.

The world war completed the awakening of China. In fact, it caused all of Asia to sit up and notice things and what Asia sees now with cold and hating eyes is a set of robber civilizations reared on the exploitation of their own people and augmented by pirate raids again—any people too weak or too good to resist evil. And that these robber civilizations cannot be met with the gentle philosophy of a Buddha, the dreams of a Zoroaster, or the loving meekness of Christ, but must be met with their own sort of arguments—with machine guns, hand grenades, trench clubs, flame throwers, shrapnel, bayonets and poison gas. Yes, friends, China is awake. Asia is awake. Six hundred million yellow people are awake. They are awakened newly every morning by the shriek of factory whistles. They are kept awake by the rumbling of trains, by whirling wheels, by hissing steam, by pounding forges, by rattling muskets and thundering batteries.

Two standard agreements were established, one for the United States and the other for Canada. Some of the conditions established were: 1. Union recognition. 2. Eight-hour day. 3. Increased wages. 4. Apprenticeship rules. 5. Requirement of four years experience for mechanics. 6. Recognition of seniority in reduction or re-employment of forces.

An important change occurred in 1919 concerning piece work. In July, 1918, an order had been issued granting to all employees on an hourly basis a thirteen cents increase and providing that those on a piece-work basis should not receive less than the minimum rate per hour awarded to hourly workers, including time and a half for overtime. This ambiguity worked out to the disadvantage of the piece-rate workers. At the suggestion of Acting President Jewell of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. a poll was taken among those who were performing piece work. An almost unanimous vote was cast against the continuance of the system and thus piece work for the time being was done away with on the railroads.

Another change was the abolition of the specialists or handymen on the railroads. They were accepted practically as apprentices and put upon a step rate system whereby they would become full-ledged mechanics eventually. After July, 25, 1918, no more handy men were to be hired on the railroads and within the following four years the last of them was to vanish. Only three classes of labor were to be recognized: the journeymen, the helpers and the apprentices.

A Third of a Million Members The war, of course, was a wonderful stimulus to the I. A. M. The membership increased rapidly, as the following figures show:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Membership. Data: Dec, 1911... 61,597; Dec, 1912... 64,342; Dec, 1913... 76,939; Dec, 1914... 78,506; Dec, 1915... 90,517; Dec, 1916... 111,896; Dec, 1917... 150,000; May, 1918... 206,000; Dec, 1919... 330,000

How the post-war period brought a decline in membership will be one of the topics for discussion next week.

Norwegian Federation Continues Its Growth; Dockers Make Gains Labor Doings Abroad

WHEN the Norwegian Federation of Labor returns to the ranks of the International Federation of Trade Unions (which may happen within a comparatively short time), it will be as one of the few national organizations that have not suffered severe losses in membership since the boom days immediately after the end of the World War.

According to a report on its activities in 1925 just put out by the Norwegian Federation, its membership was 95,931 on Dec. 31, 1925, against 92,767 on the same day of 1924 and 95,927 on Dec. 31, 1921. The increase in 1925 was made despite the withdrawal on Dec. 1 of that year of the Railroad Engineers' Union. Indications are that in 1925 gains were also made, and now the Bricklayers' Union, which withdrew from the Federation some time ago because of a dispute over industrial unionism, has voted by referendum to rejoin it.

During the year under review there were 115 labor conflicts, involving 13,780 workers, nearly all of which were won by the unions. By means of 392 new collective agreements, covering 102,885 workers, wage increases averaging about \$45 per person per year were won for 72,349 workers. The 48-hour working week was maintained in all agreements. Annual paid holidays, ranging from four to twenty-one days, were provided for in agreements covering 101,669 workers.

Another step toward affiliation with the I. F. T. U. was taken on Dec. 17, when the General Council of the Norwegian Federation of Labor adopted by a vote of 89 to 18, with 6 abstentions, a resolution urging the Executive Committee to examine the question of closer co-operation with the other Scandinavian labor unions and the matter of international union relations for the purpose of facilitating the plan for a joint Scandinavian Trade Union Conference of representatives of the unions in Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, held Dec. 6 and 7. As the Stockholm plan is conditional upon all the organizations belonging to the I. F. T. U., the resolution of the Norwegian General Council is highly significant.

ONE BIG LABOR PARTY NOW A FACT IN NORWAY

Since Jan. 30 the one big labor party has been a fact in Norway. On that day delegates of the Social Democratic Party and the Labor Party met in joint convention in Oslo and voted for immediate amalgamation. The vote was hailed by wild demonstrations of joy by representatives of Norwegian trade unions and of the two Socialist parties, who filled the big hall.

The name of the new party is the Norwegian Labor Party and its president is Oscar Torp, head of the old Labor Party. Magnus Nielsen, chairman of the old Social Democratic Party, was chosen vice-president of the new party. Martin Trandmael remains editor-in-chief of the party's principal newspaper, Arbejderbladet. The amalgamation convention had preceded the day before by conventions of the two parties which had ratified the unity proposals of the party executive bodies. The Norwegian Labor Party has thirty-three deputies in the Storting and, with the evil effects of the split in the labor movement engineered by the Communists in 1921, pretty well eliminated and the Communist Party reduced to a mere handful of theorists the prospects for the Norwegian Socialists rapidly gaining a powerful position in the political life of their country, like their comrades in Sweden and Denmark, are bright. Tivens Tegn, a leading Norwegian bourgeois paper, declared amalgamation of the two parties one of the most important events of recent years in Norwegian politics.

For the present the Norwegian Labor Party will not be affiliated with any international, but its adherence to the Socialist and Labor International is regarded as merely a matter of a short time.

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DOCKERS REGISTER GAINS

The turn of the year brought some notable victories for dockers employed in several North Sea and Baltic ports. In Hamburg-Altona arbitration brought an increase in the basic wage of 40 pfennigs, bringing it up to 7 marks, 60 pfennigs a day (about \$1.80), with proportional raises in the other rates. The new agreement runs from January 1 to September 30, 1927, when it may be ended upon one month's notice. If not denounced, it automatically renews itself for three months.

The employers of the Swedish dockers, after long negotiations, dropped their demands for wage cuts and concluded a new agreement with the men in the ports of Stockholm, Gothenburg, Norrköping and Oxelösund and some smaller places, under which some 2,000 workers receive eight wage increases and material improvements in working conditions. In Norway the port bosses, in terminating the old agreement with the Norwegian Transport Workers' Union, proposed a drastic change in working conditions and a wage cut of 10 per cent. But, when the union showed fight, arbitration was resorted to, with the result that an agreement was made retaining the old wage rate, subject to revision if the official cost of living index for May, 1927, falls at least 5 per cent. from that of the same month last year.

German Unions Educating Selves in Czechoslovakia

Reports from Czechoslovakia indicate that the German-speaking trade unionists of that republic are rapidly taking advantage of the opportunities for education in trade union work and other social matters furnished by the founding last October of a national center for workers' education. During the season some 800 lectures will be given and thousands of workers interested in systematic training. Following the example of their Czechoslovak fellow workers in the Textile Workers' Union, who have already organized resident schools at which special training is given to trade union leaders in periods of one week at a time, the German unionists are planning to establish resident schools. The expenses of the national education center are being covered by a special levy on all trade unionists.

BELGIAN SOCIALISTS VOTE TO STAY IN GOVERNMENT

By a vote of 372,000 against 165,000, with 42,000 abstentions, the rank and file of the Belgian Labor Party has decided that, for the time being, Emile Vandervelde and his three fellow-Socialist cabinet members are to remain at their posts in the bourgeois government to safeguard the interests of the workers until the work of stabilizing the currency and readjusting industry is definitely accomplished.

The result of the vote of the branches in the Province of Luxembourg was not yet known when the report was given out on Feb. 2, but, as the total population of that province is only about 225,000, the outcome of the referendum will not be changed. As was reported at the time, the December special conference of the Belgian Labor Party passed a resolution favoring the continuance of cabinet collaboration until the next party congress, at least, and submitted it to the branches for approval or rejection. In Brussels and Antwerp the vote was against further participation, but in the mining and industrial districts the trade unionists voted heavily for the resolution. Their leaders felt that, under the present circumstances, with the bosses apparently eager for a fight and industrial conditions not favorable, the presence of Socialist Ministers in the cabinet was highly desirable.

In case the ameliorations of working conditions and improvements in social legislation demanded by the Socialists are rejected by the government and the parliament, the Labor Party can go to the country in a new election with excellent chances of winning a majority of the deputies.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

CONSCRIBING WEALTH

Editor The New Leader:

I am grateful for your editorial (Nov. 27) on President Coolidge's "Conscription of Wealth" for war purposes.

What the conscription of wealth in time of war ought to mean is something simpler than "to take over all the plants of production and permit no capitalists to take dividends."

If bonds could be sold in other nations than ours, then, indeed, wealth beyond "the entire wealth of our nation" could be obtained for war expenses.

Bond issues are popularly supposed to postpone payment to the future. This is an utter fallacy. Nature demands payment in advance.

Nobody buys a bond without paying for it, and nobody pays without money to pay with. All the money that can be got by bonds sold to our own people can be got by taxation if our government determines to get it in that way.

Any one who accepts the conscription of men for the job of killing fellow men or being killed by them must accept in principle the conscription of wealth to meet the expenses of that job.

Courts and juries are not the judges in such matters. For instance, if a man thinks that either a despotism, or an oligarchy, or a republic, or even no government at all, is the best way of conducting human affairs, he is at perfect liberty to say so.

Not to indulge in any more controversy for the present, let's have a little clarification of terms. What, for instance, is meant by the word "personalities"?

I have always supposed this definition to be the accepted one, and it is a bit disconcerting now to find that a censure of the action of a group or party may conveniently be regarded as a "personality" or its equivalent, and therefore serve as at least a partial justification of a come-back in the form of a defamatory statement regarding an individual.

Usage in this matter is ancient and well established. To say of the St. Louis convention of 1917 that it acted stupidly is a far different thing from saying that John Jones or Bill Smith, participants in that convention, were a pair of stupid.

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DEFENDS GHENT

Editor, The New Leader:

In your issue of Dec. 25 appears a statement by Irving Mandell charging W. J. Ghent with being in the employ of the Better American Federation and of writing and speaking in their behalf.

I am not a Socialist and am not interested in their quarrels, but I know and esteem Mr. Ghent very highly and wish to protest against this charge. I have known him for several years. We were members of the X Club of this city, where we met at two-week intervals for four years.

The probable foundation for the charge is this: Mr. Ghent crossed swords with a number of the Socialist leaders as to party policies, and his opponents had occasion to feel his attack.

It would be natural for some intellectual weakling, worsted in the controversy, to make a charge of this kind, and the charge once made might be passed from one to another.

Trusting that you will not entertain a charge of this kind without positive proof, I remain

STOUGHTON COOLEY, Los Angeles, Calif.

Editor, The New Leader: Not to indulge in any more controversy for the present, let's have a little clarification of terms. What, for instance, is meant by the word "personalities"?

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Amusements



Light on the Russians Through "Window Panes"

Renee Bufano Puts Spirited Puppets on Stage

"WINDOW PANES," by Olga Frintslau, which Charles L. Wagner is presenting at the Mansfield Theatre, tells a moving story, a theme that is in itself powerful and sincere drama, but which when pondered proves also symbolic of Russia's heavy problem today.

The plot is a simple one, told in straightforward fashion, with little oversteering. The simple Russian peasants have heard a card-reader prophecy the second coming of Christ; with the eagerness of the medieval watchers for the false Messiah, they make their gifts and wait for Him. Marya has perhaps the most need of him, although she most despairs. For her son has been unable to speak for over four years; yet she has no gift to send save a paltry kerchief of her own making which her husband—a cruel, grasping man with little to atone for his evil—scorns even to take to the church. Yet to her home comes the Wanderer—not the Christ, indeed; merely Sergius, the outlaw, who has dared stand up against the masters; yet Sergius cleans the window panes that Artem, the ignorant husband, has feared to touch lest they break; he gives a word of love to the wife, and a belief and trust to the child that (overcoming its timidity) restores its speech.



EILEEN HUBAN in "Window Panes," at Chanin's Mansfield Theatre.

That this miracle proves him the Christ she almost believes, and her husband seems almost swept to a kindness by the lingering spell. . . until he proves a second Judas, sent similarly to his fate. But behind this story runs the parable. Tolstol has written a tale he calls "Where Love Is, There God Is Also." This is the lesson the ignorant of the world must learn—nor are they all in Russia. Christ need not come again; He is always here, for He is love—if only we will accept Him, if only we will take Him in. But the world today has found another way to "take Him in," and has given the phrase another meaning. That sums up the evils of our age. Save that it is we ourselves who in this way fashion are taken in. Particularly now in Russia, which moved toward regeneration out of a long and deeper darkness, is the lesson sound: "Window Panes" must be cleaned of ignorance and superstition; forgiveness; love—perhaps, but that word has too many meanings—as the outcast Ritka knows—respect for one's fellowmen must come, a glad, confident singing of comradeship. Yet among those who would most profit by this new spirit, by this growth of love, are those who, like A-tem, like Judas, are ordained by the very ignorance from which they must be raised to strike down who would raise them. There is the essence of age-old tragedy in this theme.

Pinocchio Performed
DOWN at 28 MacDougal street a hidden treasure is waiting, in the week-end performances of "Pinocchio," dramatized, designed, and directed by Renee Bufano. This maker of marionettes, always known for the deft grotesquerie of his puppets and the skill with which he arranges them in rapidly-moving plays, has turned an episode from the life of that wooden rascal, Pinocchio, into a swiftly moving playlet that every child will roar, and most adults will chuckle over.

The dialog of the play is marked with ready wit and frequently keen satire, carrying a thrust beyond the fun of the frolic into our social system. But more important than the play—and Broadway might learn from Bufano, as he has drawn from the fount, the Commedia dell'arte—is the manner of presentation. The surging surge before the curtain's rise almost rocks the small room to its rhythm, and swings the audience into its mood. The opening seriousness of the Story Teller (Frances Cevasco has, also, a later effective moment as the cricket) is excellent preparation for the moods to follow. The masks of the actors, the making of Pinocchio, the make-up of the puppet-master—for these real actors in the marionette tradition draw their play to its close with a puppet show—are humorously compounded of "dreads and drolls." The romping of the performers suggests a spontaneous participation in fun-making, that catches precisely the spirit of Pinocchio, and makes the presentation a genuine evening of enjoyment.

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

"SATURDAY'S CHILDREN"

"Saturday's Children," by Maxwell Anderson, at the Booth Theatre. Presented by the Actors' Theatre. Staged by Guthrie McClintic.

SATURDAY'S children must work hard, says the fable, and Rims O'Neill and his young bride Bobby, born Haley, were Saturday's children apparently. After a lovely and romantic courtship riding all over town on Fifth Avenue buses and prowling in strange places they were married, thanks to the thoughtful co-operation of the family, and they settled in a neat little home of two rooms and a sink. And then troubles began and romance flew out of the window.

Rims, you see, was a he-man and he wouldn't let his wife work because the fellows at the office would think he couldn't take care of his wife if she did. He had been asked to go to South America to open a branch of the music publishing firm that both of them worked for, and it had seemed as if that was the end of Rims. Bobby's married sister, Florie, was anxious to see the kid married, just as all married sisters seem to make it their business to get their relatives married off, and when she heard about Rims' impending departure she lured him to the house, got Bobby dressed in her most alluring party frock, maneuvered the whole family out of the way, left a complete "line" of conversation lying around in shorthand for Bobby to fol-



SOLOMON DEUTSCH Gifted young violinist, who plays weekly at the Socialist Party forum in the East Side.

low, and it worked. He was trapped into a proposal.

The play is written in that wise and searching dialogue that only Anderson can write, sparkling with humor, crackling with wit and satire and utter understanding of the human heart. The lovely Ruth Gordon is Bobby, and she plays it up to the very hilt. The words seem to be her own as she speaks in that plaintive half wail of hers of her blasted dreams of romance.

Roger Pryor is a perfect picture of the New York young man, trapped into a marriage he didn't exactly want with a girl that to him was utterly desirable, although not as a teammate in an undesired marriage. Frederick Perry is a wise and wistful father, who tells his story with deep feeling and just the touch of embarrassment one would expect when a father so far unheeded as to speak to a daughter as he does.

W. M. F.

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Wed. Mat., March 2, "JOHN GABRIEL BORKMAN"
Wed. Eve., March 3, "CRADLE SONG"
Spec. Mat. Thurs., March 3, "CRADLE SONG"
Thurs. Eve., March 3, "MISTRESS OF THE INN"
Fri. Eve., March 4, "CRADLE SONG"
Sat. Mat., March 5, "MASTER BUILDER"
Sat. Eve., March 5, "THREE SISTERS"

WEEK OF MARCH 7:

Mon. Eve., March 7, "INHERITORS"
Tues. Eve., March 8, "CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Mat., March 9, "INHERITORS"
Wed. Eve., March 9, "CRADLE SONG"
Spec. Mat. Thurs., March 10, "CRADLE SONG"
Thurs. Eve., March 10, "MASTER BUILDER"
Fri. Eve., March 11, "CRADLE SONG"
Sat. Mat., March 12, "THREE SISTERS"
Sat. Eve., March 12, "INHERITORS"

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

The German Socialists as An Opposition

By Tony Sender

IN the following article, written especially for the American Socialist press, Miss Tony Sender, the Socialist Reichstag member from Dresden who spent several months in the United States last year, explains why the Socialists of the Fatherland feel so well satisfied with their present position as a fighting opposition party.

THE German Republic is materially different from most of the world's bourgeois republics. It was not created by the rising bourgeoisie, that in its 1848 revolution soon quit, partly out of cowardice and partly out of fear of the rising proletariat. The German Republic is the result of a proletarian revolution, desired only by the German workers.

Indeed, the proletariat imagined that the new State would be a Social Republic. It didn't become that, as even a great historical event could not act as a substitute for education in the ideals of Socialism, especially in the case of the millions of new women voters.

Perhaps the development into a Socialist State would have progressed faster if not for the permanent difficulties in foreign politics, the Treaty of Versailles, the occupation of Meuse, Ruhr and then the whole Ruhr district, and finally the chicanery of the Nationalist Bloc in France. All these humiliations were blamed upon the young Republic, upon the German Republic parties by the counter-revolutionary parties.

The proletarian origin of the German Republic caused the Socialist Party to run the Government, at first alone and later together with the little Democratic Party and the relatively powerful Catholic Centrist Party. And finally there arose in the party a feeling that the Social Democracy must never be outside the Government of the Republic. There was an inclination to regard participation in the Government always as a strategic position.

Effects of Inflation

Today, looking back over the past eight years, we can admit that in the period immediately following the November revolution the participation of the Socialists in the Government represented a position of power. But the composition of social forces changed to our disadvantage when domestic difficulties, multiplied, speeded up by difficulties in foreign politics, and when inflation brought about wholesale expropriation of the masses and wholesale misery for them. Terrible misery, fearful need—these can be elements favorable to desperation, to hunger revolts. They are not the most promising prerequisites for revolutionary education. The German working class learned this through hard, bitter experience. When, as the result of the Ruhr occupation by M. Poincaré, the inflation, and with it the misery of the people, had reached their last stage and the first steps toward stabilization had been taken, came the election of a new Reichstag.

The present Reichstag, elected in December, 1924, plainly shows the effects of the inflation period. Downheartedness among many voters, doubt about the republic, the new form of Government and the new Constitution. It must not be forgotten that practical political education in Germany only began after the World War, that up to that time it had been a semi-absolutist state, that the people in general didn't have any real rights. Its real political education has hardly begun. Great numbers of the people never understood the deeper causes of the misery due to inflation. They did not comprehend that the owning classes, stock gamblers as well as industrialists, were interested in inflation for a long time and refused to make the sacrifices involved by stabilization. The revolution and the republic seemed to have been to blame

Social Democrats Rejoice as Lines Reform in Politics of Reich

for the terrible misfortune. In such a time of mental depression was the existing "inflation Reichstag" elected.

Reichstag Not Representative
In this Reichstag the bourgeois parties of the Right were the gainers. They still represent the relative strength of the sentiments prevailing at the time of the election. But in the meantime stabilization has strengthened the working class, the elections to State Diets and other tests at the polls have shown a big jump in the Socialist vote. So today this Reichstag no longer correctly reflects the country's political sentiment. The Right's strength there is greater than is warranted by its strength in the nation. But it is not easy to understand that the Right wants to make the best of its position of power while it can? And the Reichstag has almost two years more to live.

[The German Constitution provides that the Reichstag is elected for four years, unless dissolved sooner by the President of the Republic.]

And so the German Nationalists were especially anxious to exclude the

Socialists from the government and they were actively supported in this by the big business German people's party. Thus—with the almost unconstitutional aid of President Hindenburg, who by no means occupies the influential constitutional position of the American president—the new government of the Catholic Centrist party, the People's party and the Nationalist party, was born—a government aptly stigmatized by Dr. Joseph Wirth, the [left wing] centrist deputy, as the government of the bourgeois property owners' bloc. Naturally the Social Democracy assumed a position of the sharpest opposition to this government.

Foreign Policy

Only to the accompaniment of hard labor pains was it possible to organize the new Cabinet. Think of the foreign policy alone! The same German Nationalists who formerly had branded the Locarno Pact as treason, the entry into the League of Nations as slavery, now had to declare that they were willing to support the policy of Locarno and the League of Nations. In fact, this policy has become com-

pulsory for Germany. Indeed, at the beginning of the post-war period when it was still unpopular the Social Democracy had to make sacrifices for the inauguration of the policy of mutual understanding and agreement, and the Nationalists exploited, with curses and slander, the situation in which they owe their success at the polls. Now, as a Government party, they are forced to recognize the republic, to promise to help carry out a League of Nations policy. And, as the Nationalist voters are not able to shift their position as quickly as the Parliamentary wire-pullers, the Nationalist leader, Count Westarp, was obliged to make a speech when the new Cabinet appeared before the Reichstag in which he tried to modify the official government program through interpreting it in a nationalist manner.

But, on the other hand, the Catholic Centrist Party could not stand for this, as it had to fear rebellion on the part of the Catholic workers. And so there was an amusing verbal parliamentary duel between the two govern-

ment partners that had been joined in matrimony only a few minutes before. How well the Nationalists know that their present position of power is not going to last forever and that they must make the best of it while they can is shown by the fact that Westarp said pater peccavi, and finally declared that he would recognize the League of Nations and the Locarno Pact—in short, everything that he had damned only the day before.

A Lesson to Labor

This new government of the bourgeois property owners' bloc thus gave a valuable object lesson to the working people at the moment of its birth. It laid bare the fact that the bourgeois bloc hasn't any really deep ideals at all, but merely seeks power. Haven't the Nationalists made junk of their holy ideals about the monarchy and a strong foreign policy for the sake of a few Cabinet positions and hasn't the Catholic Centrist party put its formerly loudly proclaimed love for the republic and the workers on ice, also to save its seats in the ministry?

There was an interesting development during the great political debate in the Reichstag. Not for many years had there been so many happy faces among the members of the Socialist group. Wasn't this strange when they had just been completely excluded from the Government?

And this happiness was by no means mere malicious pleasure at the row going on between the newly wedded Blacks and Blues, but was the expression of relief at the regaining of absolute freedom of action. In this "inflation Reichstag," whose make-up no longer corresponds to the political situation, participation by the Socialists in the Government would merely mean bearing the responsibility for the policy of the other parties without being able to put through their own. The Socialists have held no Cabinet posts since the collapse of the "Big Coalition" in November, 1923, but they have supported various bourgeois Governments in order to improve Germany's foreign relations and block extreme reaction at home. Since the formation of the new reactionary Cabinet by Chancellor Wilhelm Marx, a Centrist, on January 28, the Socialists are in clear-cut opposition.

Hindenburg's Slogan

Now through the creation of the bourgeois property owners' bloc the real responsibility will be fixed where it belongs. And what is still better—President Hindenburg himself raised the slogan of "Here is the bourgeoisie, there is the proletariat." The bourgeoisie itself shows that the class struggle is not a hateful Socialist invention, but is the very base of its own political action. Thus the class contrasts will become more apparent, class consciousness will be aroused.

And, therefore, in spite of the seriousness of the situation, we are happy. The great mass of the working people is still an important political factor that will exercise pressure upon the government's policy, even outside the Cabinet. And the Socialist Party will grow more powerful in opposition. It will stand out as the only political and moral force that fights exploitation and spiritual oppression in an effective and practical way. And thus it will more than ever become the party of those who oppose not only the physical exploitation of humanity, but also the enchainment of free spiritual development.

(The strength of the parties in the Reichstag is as follows: Socialists, 131; Communists, 45 (split into warring groups); Democrats, 32; Racialists, 15; Nationalists, 110; Centrists, 69; People's Party, 61; Economic Party, 21; Bavarian People's Party, 19.)

Ramsay MacDonald Reveals Why Strike Was Called Off

By J. Ramsay Macdonald LONDON

I HAVE just come from the inquest that the Trade Union Congress has been holding upon the unsavory remains of the General Strike. The decision in favor of the policy of the General Council in calling off the strike when it did was 2,849,000 to 1,095,000. The miners, of course, voted solidly against it, because it involved disapproval of the way they conducted the dispute, but in their support only the most insignificant vote—about 200,000—was cast. The debate was even more decisive than the vote, and the result undoubtedly reflects trade union opinion.

Upon this last point outside opinion is apt to be misled by the noise of two sections. We have our Communists, scanty in numbers, insignificant in ability, but active in propaganda. Enjoying a command of money which they themselves aren't required to supply, they appear to the onlooker to be enormously bigger and more important than they are, and they are such valuable allies to reactionary stage managers that the public is not allowed to forget them. Then there is a Left Wing of Labor, largely middle class and professional, generally Communist in mind if not in allegiance, not more advanced than what they call the Right, but more careless in what they say, unsteady both in program and interest, but wagging on wires all the time.

Mr. Cook is one of the greatest mob orators of this generation. There is an attractiveness about his physical energy and as he never considers what he is saying he speaks recklessly, passionately, with great vitality. In so far as he can be considered to be a leader, his claims consist in his temporary powers over a crowd. In debate, in council, in negotiations he is useless. I once sat upon a committee with him and during the whole time he never held his tongue and never understood the points he was discussing. He fought the min-

ers' fight as though it were an incident in Communist propaganda, never faced a fact, never considered the tactics of his battle, inspired his people to go to destruction and in the end left them smashed, to make what arrangements they could to get back to work. There never was such a fight nor such a defeat. The call for the general strike was responded to with religious enthusiasm; the miners and their wives fought with the faith and the stubbornness of martyrs. Those who think only of the heat of the battle feel empty against T. U. C. because they were good generals. What the Trade Union movement thinks the conference that is just ended shows.

In order not only to understand the defense of the Trade Union Congress, but also the mind of the labor movement here, it might be useful if I explain what the tactics of the general strike were. For a long time trade unionists have been assuming that the best way to fight industrial battles is by the sympathetic strike, so that when one union comes out on a big issue the others should lay down their tools. So we have been having military alliances between miners, dockers, railwaymen and so on. This policy never received the whole-hearted support of all the leaders who saw that by extending the line of battle we weakened it rather than strengthened it and that by bringing new issues into a fight we run the danger of confusing it rather than clarifying it. But it looked fine and sounded fine and was popular.

This policy prevailed during the general strike and in a day or two all the inherent weakness of the policy was revealed. It was begun solely as an industrial move; it was to help the miners to get a settlement; it had not the faintest idea of becoming political or constitutional. But two sections at once began to thwart trade union intentions and proclaim it as a blow at the constitution—the Communists and the government.

The general council, however, stood rigid. It was acting to help the miners to win and it decided not to change

the character of the strike at the bidding of anyone. It therefore busied itself trying to get terms that would be good for the miners, and hammered them out with Mr. Samuel, who had been chairman of the coal commission. These terms were the best that in the opinion of the general council could be got under the existing political and economic circumstances. The council considered that wages could not be saved for the time being, however long the strike was to last, but that hours and national agreements could be saved if negotiations were begun without delay. It further considered that so soon as the organization of the trade was begun wages would rise again, and in some districts it believed that the fall would only be for a week or two.

The miners rejected the advice given to them by the general council, and it, believing that no further assistance could be given by the strike, determined to call it off. Another thing had happened, however. Many labor leaders, both industrial and political, were willing to do their best to make a general strike successful for purely industrial ends, but were not prepared even in appearance by their silence to support a strike of a political or constitutional character. Mainly by the purely partisan action of the government, the general strike by the end of the first week was being forced into constitutional channels, and had the general council agreed with the miners' leaders and continued the strike after the rejection of the Samuel Memorandum by the miners, the strike would have changed its character and have become purely political. But the general council continued to keep its head, and having done its best as a legitimate industrial power declined to form itself into an illegitimate constitutional power, and called the strike off.

Now that is the story of the general strike and that is the policy both on its industrial and political side which the general council of the Trades Union Congress so ably pursued and for which in such an overwhelming way it received a vote of confidence today.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Speakers and Organizers

The national office wants the name and address of every speaker and organizer in the nation who would like to be considered for work during the spring and summer.

The national executive committee ordered the national executive secretary to make a complete survey of the nation regarding organization in the past and at present; vote of the party in past campaigns; organizations other than the socialist party that are friendly to the party; labor newspapers, etc. This information will be valuable to the committee in mapping out its work for the spring and summer of 1927. The national secretary is getting this information in shape for the N. E. C. when it meets again. It will also want to know who is available for work, and what funds there are on hand to do that work. Address William H. Henry, executive secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Tour of Jessie Stephen

The national office has arranged a lecture tour for Miss Jessie Stephen of the British Labor Party which will take her as far west as Kansas City. Most of her meetings are in large cities and it is hoped that her work will be productive of much good. Her dates are as follows:

Kentucky

John J. Thobe, state secretary, informs national headquarters that he is on the job planning for future work of organization. Comrades should all co-operate with him. Appeal readers should join the party by sending 50 cents with name and address for first month's dues. Write John J. Thobe, 702 Patton Street, Covington, Ky.

Illinois

Chicago Notes. There will be a meeting of party members, Socialist sympathizers and readers of the American Appeal residing on the south side at the home of Andrew Morrison, 3024 Cheltenham place, on Monday, February 28, at 8 p.m. Chicago Socialists have started to boost the Jessie Stephen meeting,

which will be held at the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kadzie and Ogden avenues, Saturday evening, March 5. Miss Stephen will speak on "Nine Days That Shook Britain." Tickets can be secured from County Headquarters, 808 West Madison street, and offices of Socialist newspapers.

Indiana

The national office sent a letter to all readers of the American Appeal in Indiana, asking them to join the party, provided they are not already members, and should they be members now, then they should get others to join. They are also reminded that renewals to the American Appeal are in order with many of them.

Ohio

A meeting for Miss Jessie Stephen will be held in Dayton on March 16 at the Y. W. L. auditorium, 11th street, just west of Main. All readers of the American Appeal and The New Leader should put this down in their memorandum.

Connecticut

The monthly meeting of the state executive committee will be held in New Haven Sunday, Feb. 27, at 2 p.m. The Legislative Committee of the Socialist Party will appear at Hartford before the Legislature in behalf of a number of labor bills that will be up for a hearing in a few days—amendments to the Compensation Act, the Unemployment Insurance Bill and the bill for the repeal of the Personal Tax Law.

Charles R. Brown, dean of the Yale Divinity School, will be the speaker at the mass meeting to be held by the New Haven Trades Council at the Bijou Theatre Sunday afternoon, March 6, at 2:30 o'clock. His subject will be "Religion and Industry." Plans are practically completed for the Commonwealth Banquet and Entertainment, which will be held at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak St., Saturday night, Feb. 26. George H. Goebel, of New Jersey, will be the main speaker. We also expect to hear from Jasper McLevy, Karl Jusech and Martin Plunkett.

New York State

BUFFALO. Miss Jessie Stephen, one of the most able members of the British Labor

Party, will speak at Elmwood Music Hall Tuesday, March 1, at 8 p.m. At 6:15 p.m. Miss Stephen will broadcast from the studio of WGR. We urge all Socialists and friends to tune in at the above hour. If Buffalo friends do we are certain they will not want to miss the lecture at 8 o'clock.

The next General Party meeting of Local Buffalo will be held Thursday, March 10, at 8 o'clock, at 1644 Genesee Street. At the last meeting John Neeb was authorized to collect dues, solicit membership, sell tickets for lectures and subs for The New Leader and the American Appeal.

In other words, Neeb is to continue the good work of Emil Herman. Local Buffalo asks all Comrades and friends to co-operate with him.

Six thousand leaflets, "Hands Off Mexico," were distributed by members and 1,000 mailed out.

The arrangement for another lecture on Mexico is under way, tentatively for March 15, with Jose Kelly, the official representative of the Mexican Federation of Labor. Watch for further announcement in the next issue.

Miss Stephens on Radio. Jessie Stephen, of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, will broadcast a Socialist talk from station WGR of Buffalo Tuesday, March 1, from 6:15 to 6:30, Eastern Standard Time. This talk will precede Miss Stephens' meeting in Buffalo. The State secretaries of Pennsylvania and Ohio have been requested to pass notice of the Stephens' broadcasting along to their membership.

Party Conference. The second session of the Socialist Party conference called by the State Executive Committee will be held Sunday, March 6, at the headquarters of the Yorkville Branch of Local New York, 241 East 84th street. The hour of the meeting will be announced later.

A number of locals of the party have expressed the disposition of getting first-hand information on the Mexican situation, and the State secretary is co-operating in making arrangements for the appearance of General Delegate Jose Kelly, of the Mexican Federation of Labor, under the auspices of locals, central labor unions and other liberal organizations.

Super-Power Legislation. The State secretary announces that owing to an unusually early adjournment of the State Legislature and the possible agreement of Republican and Democratic legislators with the Governor to refer the waterpower development proposition to an alleged impartial commission for report next year, there may not be any hearing on the Downing bill at this session. It has been proposed to adorn sine die on March 18. Comrades desiring copies of bills or information in regard to legislative matters are again urged to use the facilities of the State office.

The State secretary has put the party on record as opposed to the bill of Assemblyman Sargent to permit

savings banks to invest in the bonds of companies that, with State development of waterpower, would become highly speculative in character. The savings of the working class are at the present time largely deposited in savings banks.

Queens

At the last meeting of Branch Jamaica, after hearing reports by Delegates Herman and Welch on the good work being done by the Central and Executive Committees of Local New York, the Branch voted a donation of \$15 toward covering the deficit incurred in such work.

Despite the inclement weather last Sunday night, the lecture delivered by August Claessens before the Jamaica Lecture Forum was one of the most successful of the season, both in interest and attendance.

New York City

The Central Committee will hold its regular monthly meeting on Wednesday evening, March 2, in Room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th street.

Commune Ball and Reunion. The next big Socialist event is scheduled for Friday evening, March 18, at the Central Opera House. This affair will be in the nature of a ball and reunion arranged under the joint auspices of the Socialist party, Rand School of Social Science and the New Leader. Details as to the nature of the program will be announced shortly.

For the present it is sufficient to say that the Socialists and their friends in the Greater City will turn out in large numbers. As March 18 is the anniversary date of the famous Paris Commune, this affair will be in the nature of a commemoration of that thrilling historic event. The Socialists hold similar celebrations in all parts of the civilized world. Tickets are 21 and are on sale at every Socialist party headquarters in the city. Schiller's Society Orchestra will furnish the music.

Berger's Speech. A large quantity of Congressman Berger's speech in Congress on the Mexican and Nicaraguan situations are now on hand. This speech makes a leaflet of about eight pages, and it is enclosed in a franked envelope, ready for mailing. All of our branches and Comrades are hereby notified that any quantity of this leaflet is obtainable at the city office, 7 East 15th street, Room 805. Kindly call or write for some at once. This splendid piece of propaganda should be used to advantage.

Enrolled Voters' Meetings. An intensive drive for new members to the Socialist party will be made in all parts of the city beginning February 28. The enrollment lists of the registered voters of October, 1926, are now on hand for the Greater City and special help has been engaged to make typewritten copies of same for use in every Assembly District. A number of mass meetings are being arranged, and we are determined to use every possible evening, speaker and organizer and hall available in the holding of as many of these meetings as we possibly can between now and the beginning of the summer.

The first of these meetings will be held on Monday evening, February 28, in the territory of the 17th-18th Assembly District Branch, Manhattan. This meeting will be held at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 82 East 108th street. Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens will be the speakers. Every Socialist enrolled voter in these districts will receive a special invitation letter and every Socialist and sympathizer will also be notified to be present.

Other meetings will follow shortly in the following districts: 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th and 16th A. D.'s, Manhattan. Also in the 2d, 4th, 14th, 22d and 23d A. D.'s, Brooklyn; in the various Assembly Districts in the Bronx; and in several districts in Queens County. Exact details as to dates, halls, speakers, etc., will be made public in this column from week to week.

German Branch. The German group of the Socialist Party will hold a very important meeting Friday, Feb. 25, at 8 p.m., at room 14 of the New York Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street. The speaker will be Sergius Ingerman, of the Russian Branch.

At the last meeting Algernon Lee gave an instructive and very interesting lecture on "American Imperialism and the Present Situation in Mexico and China."

The officers for the year 1927 are: Organizer, Bruno Wagner; recording secretary, G. Wirth; financial secretary, Hermann Wolter; treasurer, Joseph Mueller; trustees, R. Pohle, Fred and Bruno Wagner. Press agent, Rudolph Modest. Delegates to Central Committee, Bela Low, Mrs. H. Wallstrom and Mrs. R. Pohle.

The regular meetings are held every second and fourth Friday at 8 p.m. at the New York Labor Temple.

Manhattan. The lecture forums on the East Side continue to progress with most remarkable success. The forum of the 6-1-12th A. D. at Hennington Hall every Sunday morning is particularly a most gratifying undertaking. Although the weather seems to be most wretched on Sundays and the effect of that a source of continuous worry to our Comrades in charge of the forum, strange to say, although the streets are covered with ice, or banked with snow, or whether it rains cats or dogs, doesn't seem to have the slightest effect on the size of the audience. Regardless of how inclement the weather may be, the hall is always filled. This is particularly a fine

tribute to Comrade Judge Jacob Panken, the director and speaker at this forum. The gratification of both the Comrades of this branch, as well as the audience, to Comrade Panken will soon be made in the form of a demonstration. Details for this celebration will be made public shortly.

The Sunday evening Forum in the Yorkville territory will begin its session on Sunday, March 6. The schedule of speakers and topics will be made public in the next issue of the New Leader.

The Upper West Side Branch will hold its next meeting on Tuesday evening, March 1, at the office of Dr. Simon Berlin, 245 West 74th street.

The Harlem Forum will begin its work on Wednesday evening, March 2, at the hall of the Harlem Socialist Center, 62 East 108th street. A series of lectures by eminent speakers will be given every Wednesday evening at 8:30 p.m. sharp. The conduct of this Forum will be under the direction of Assistant Organizer Pierre De Nio in co-operation with Comrade Sophie Segaloff and other of our Harlem committee. The schedule of lectures and names of the speakers and topics are as follows:

Wednesday, March 2—Esther Friedman, "Labor and the Next War."

Wednesday, March 9—McAllister Coleman, "What Price Electricity?"

Wednesday, March 16—August Claessens, "Are the Conditions of the Masses Growing Better or Worse?"

Wednesday, March 23—William Karlin, "Problems of Organized Labor."

Wednesday, March 30—Jessie Wallace Hughan, "Will Socialists Support the Next War?"

Wednesday, April 6—Rev. Ethelred Brown, "Debs, the Apostle of Socialism."

BRONX. Central Branch. Esther Friedman will deliver a series of lectures every Monday evening, beginning February 28, on Socialism and Social Problems. Her subjects and dates are as follows:

February 28—"Spiritual and Ethical Elements of Socialism."

March 7—"The Changing Social Orders."

March 14—"Wasting of Wealth."

March 21—"The Next War."

March 28—"The Trend Towards Equitable Distribution."

Tickets for this series of five lectures are 75c. Individual admission, 25c. It is urged that every member of the branch shall help to sell these tickets and to obtain a presentable audience for this interesting and important series of lectures.

Thomas Roger is conducting a class in Socialism every Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m. at the headquarters. An intensive drive for membership will be made through a series of enrolled voters meetings in the territory of this branch. Announcements as to date, speakers, etc., will be made shortly.

Branch Seven. The Forum conducted by this branch, known as the Tremont Forum will continue its sessions to the end of April. Among the lecturers engaged so far are: Dr. Sergius Ingerman, Joseph Oaman, Joseph Shaplen and Dr. Alain Locke. Another enrolled voter's meeting will be held in the territory of the 7th-8th A. D. branch within a week or so.

BROOKLYN. Plans for intensive organization work are now being formulated in the 2nd, 4-14th, 6th, 17-18th, 22nd and 23rd Assembly districts. Enrolled Socialist voters' meetings will be held in the above mentioned territories. Details as to dates, speakers, etc., will be announced shortly. Probably the first of these meetings will be held in the 23rd A. D. branch. Meetings are also being planned in the Boro Park, Bensonhurst and Coney Island sections of Brooklyn.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia Theatre Benefit. Only a few days remain in which to secure tickets for the theatre benefit of the North and West Philadelphia Branches at the Walnut Theatre, March 7, 8 and 9. The play is "Pickwick," a stage adaptation of Charles Dickens' famous work. Tickets range in price from \$2.75 to \$1.10 and may be secured from the office of Local Philadelphia, room 3, Labor Institute, 808 Locust street.

Yipseldom

WITH THE CIRCLES. Newark, N. J.

Another name added to our weekly roll-call. After the commendable organization efforts of S. H. Stille, county organizer, Anna Pomerantz of Newark, a group of over a score of young people met at the home of Arthur Newman and unanimously decided to organize a circle and apply for a charter.

The circle elected the following officers: Corresponding secretary, Irving Moscowitz; financial secretary, Anna Pomerantz; press agent, Robert Baker. Other officers were to be elected the following Sunday. The circle will get in touch with neighboring circles and will probably develop an exchange plan for speakers, and other program.

Port Chester, N. Y. The circle was organized toward the end of the organization fund drive and was not included in the quota list.

MORRIS WOLFMAN

Attorney and Counselor-at-Law (formerly of 68 Graham Avenue) announces that he has removed his law office to the new building at Court and Remsen Streets, No. 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., where he will continue the General Practice of the Law. Telephone No. TRIANGLE 3140. Res. Phone: LAFAYETTE 6380

Having the rights of a full-fledged circle, they naturally demanded the right to participate in the drive, which right was duly granted by the national office. The circle has arranged a special entertainment for raising the quota they have themselves determined, and the party local has offered the free use of the hall. Contribution lists are also being filled up rapidly. A bunch o' regular fellows, eh?

New England District. The district committee of Yipsels met in Boston, Sunday, Feb. 13. The meeting was attended by Levensber, Stryals, Johnson and Silverberg, and Alfred Baker Lewis, district organizer for the Socialist Party, as well as the national director, A. J. Parker. Honoring the progress made by Maynard Yipsels, the committee decided to offer Maynard the opportunity of arranging the coming district convention, to be held the first Saturday and Sunday of April. The committee is also planning the annual declamation contest. In past years the contest has proved very popular and has always drawn a score of participants as well as record audiences.

A report was given on the Fifth Anniversary Review. Outside of a small allotment, the publication has been placed in the hands of district circles and circles in other parts of the country. The Review has been received with great approval by Yipsels and party members.

Prize Essays. The committee accepted a proposal of Lewis to hold an essay contest. Participation is limited to good standing members of the district. The money prizes of \$25, \$10 and three of \$5 have been offered by Albert Sprague Coolidge of Cambridge, whose past gifts are gratefully remembered. The essays may be anywhere from 1,000 to 5,000 words in length. The judges are A. S. Coolidge, A. E. Lewis and A. J. Parker. To organize the contest and instruct contestants a number of speakers will be sent to the district circles.

New York City. On Sunday afternoon, Feb. 20, Bela Low addressed Circle 4 on "The Object of Socialism." A lively discussion followed. The Mexican Situation, Cancellation of Inter-Allied Debts, Prohibition and Capital Punishment are some of the subjects that Circle 4 has taken up at its fortnightly discussions. Next week, Feb. 27, the subject will be "War." All friends are invited to attend at 4215 Third avenue, near Tremont avenue, at 3 p.m.

Jack Davis was elected recording and corresponding secretary, and Celia Bender member of the executive committee.

Circle 2. Circle 2, Brooklyn, held an interesting meeting Sunday, Feb. 20, at 219 Sackman street. Five applications for membership were accepted. After a lively business meeting the Circle adjourned to its educational program.

A question box was held, including such topics as Modern Women, What makes Her Modern?, How Members Can Help the Y. P. S. L. Plans were made for an affair for the first anniversary of the circle. The next meeting will be held on Sunday, Feb. 27, at 6 p.m. MacGlass will speak on "Modern Tendencies in Socialism." The lecture will begin at 8 p.m. All comrades and friends are invited.

Friday night, Feb. 18, members of Circle 3 heard a review and readings from "Cyrano de Bergerac." On Friday night, Feb. 25, 8 p.m., at 1187 Boston road, a discussion will be held on "Modern Means of Education." This topic will include the advisability of abolishing examinations, are examinations a true test of a student's ability, what subjects should be added to the school curriculum and which should be dropped. Friends are invited to attend this discussion.

Junior. On March 10 his subject will be "Wasting the Consumer's Dollar." Some of the points he will develop at this meeting are: A review of the grand total of useless, tawdry and actively harmful products and services

turned out annually in America. The high cost of the "higher atomismship." Advertising, trade association drives, the burden of adulteration, misrepresentation. The failure of price to measure quality. Selling the package rather than what it contains. The great army of quacks. The duplication of selling facilities. The "new competition" and what it is costing us.

"Cutting a Continent, and Some Conclusions" will be Mr. Chase's subject on March 17. On that evening he will give a review of the waste of natural resources—coal, oil, water power, minerals, forests, soils and the losses of the present industrial system, and also some possibilities for a way out.

Fellowship Dance. For more fellowship and a better fellowship come to the dance given by the Rand School Fellowship, 7 East Fifteenth street, Saturday night, February 26, at 8:30 o'clock. Admission 75 cents, including refreshments.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, Feb. 27, 11 a. m.—Judge Jacob Panken. "Events of the Week," Hennington Hall, 214 East Second street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th-8th-12th A. D. Branch.

Sunday, Feb. 27, 8:30 p. m.—Samuel J. Schneider, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1st-2nd A. D. Branch. "Origin and Evolution of the Human Body."

Wednesday, March 2, 8:30 p. m.—Esther Friedman. Subject, "Labor and the Next War." Harlem Forum, 62 East 108th street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 17th-18th A. D. Branch.

BRONX

Friday, February 25, 8:30 p. m.—Dr. Sergius Ingerman. Subject, "Nationalism and Internationalism in the Light of Marxism." Tremont Forum, 4215 Third avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Branch No. 7.

Sunday, February 27, 3 p. m.—Thomas Rogers. Subject, "Elements of Socialism." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices, Central Branch, Socialist Party, Y. P. S. L., Circle No. 1.

Monday, February 28, 8:30 p. m.—Esther Friedman. Subject, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism." 1167 Boston Road. Auspices, Socialist Party, Central Branch.

BROOKLYN

Friday, February 25, 8:30 p. m.—Jessie Stephen. Subject, "The Economic Emancipation of Women." 167 Tompkins avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th A. D. Branch.

Friday, February 25, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens. Subject, "Ethics and Economics." 218 Van Sicken avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 22nd A. D. Branch.

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

Often do the spirits of great events stride on before events, and in today already walks tomorrow. —Barnet Taylor Coleridge. There is no great difficulty in changing human institutions. The difficulty is in changing the thoughts of those who alone can change the institutions. —"Equitator"

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THE NEW LEADER

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Table with subscription rates for United States and Foreign Countries for one, six, and twelve months.

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the interests of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1927

AMERICAN HUMOR

PEOPLE who are interested in American humor should consult the monthly bulletin of the Employing Printers' Association. Each issue is amusing in that it emphasizes the need of freeing workers from the "tyranny" of the union shop.

the business of distributing light and power at all, but merely have found that it is cheaper for them to drop their antiquated little power plants and buy their "juice" from one of the big concerns whose lines are near at hand.

This is strictly in line with the modern idea of big productive units being able to deliver power much more cheaply than it can be produced by little, old-fashioned plants.

THE CONSTITUTION

CONSIDERING that the 100-percenters stand guard over the Constitution as a sacred document we may call their attention to an impious disregard of its provisions. When that charter was framed the war-making power was not lodged with the executive.

Congress has not been consulted in levying war. In fact, war has not been declared by either department of the Government associated with the war-making power, and yet war is being waged by American troops on foreign soil.

Since the days of Roosevelt this practice has become common. Moreover, the Senate is associated with the President in the treaty-making power and this clause of the Constitution has also become almost a dead letter.

COUNCILS OF THE WISE

IF ONE attempted to follow the heated debates in the Russian Communist Party for the past few years he would have no time for anything else. If they are long and tedious the same may be said of the discussions in the various organs of the Communist International.

We have received only nine of the bulletins reporting the discussions and decisions. How many more appeared we do not know, but the nine contain nearly 300,000 words.

Among the radicals, if they are not fortunate in being able to make a livelihood outside of their field of faith, the job-holding mania obsesses all the ideals he might have once possessed, and we are in the main faced by a group of leaders and underlings who plot and plan and connive to keep their chairs and their salaries regardless of the cost.

Dissonances between one group and another, while they are smoke-screened with pronounced slogans of idealism, are fundamentally nothing more than struggles between a group of office and salary seekers against those who enjoy the privileges of power and compensation.

Well, it is their affair, but we recoil from the acute suffering which must be the lot of those who endure this thing.

Wendell Phillips

(Abolitionist and Labor Agitator, 1811-1854.) His life was a ceaseless protest. And his voice was a prophet's cry. To be true to the Truth and faithful. Though the world were arrayed for the Lie.

The News of the Week

Waging War On Nicaragua

Starting out with the declaration that we are "neutral" in the contest between Diaz and Saca in Nicaragua, we now have nearly 5,000 troops in that country, 1,400 more are on the way, eleven cruisers are off the coast and eight cities have been occupied by American forces.

Labor is right to the front in the news dispatches from Europe this week. A Vienna wireless reports an offer by Dr. Seipel, the Clerical Chancellor, of a general election for the National Assembly in the spring and its acceptance by Dr. Otto Bauer, in the name of the Austrian Socialists.

Nationalists Winning China

It now appears fairly certain that the Nationalists will eventually control all China. Of course, there is always the possibility that the big Powers may again mess things and throw China back into chaos, but there is reason to also believe that the more intelligent of the European bosses recognize that a new order has come and that they will reconcile themselves to it.

THE CHATTER BOX

IT WILL come to pass, we greatly fear, the death of the ideal in America. Whatever may be the direct cause is immaterial. The impending tragedy is most important. It began with our large professional classes, the doctors and lawyers, some decades ago.

The symptoms are atrocious. The doctor is asked how business is, and in the absence of an epidemic he replies: "Business is something awful these days," implying no doubt a great regret over the lack of human misery from which he plies his merry trade.

Among the radicals, if they are not fortunate in being able to make a livelihood outside of their field of faith, the job-holding mania obsesses all the ideals he might have once possessed, and we are in the main faced by a group of leaders and underlings who plot and plan and connive to keep their chairs and their salaries regardless of the cost.

Dissonances between one group and another, while they are smoke-screened with pronounced slogans of idealism, are fundamentally nothing more than struggles between a group of office and salary seekers against those who enjoy the privileges of power and compensation.

No one is to blame. No particular influence within our ranks can fully bear the guilt. We simply are not strong enough to stand the poison gas of capitalist prosperity. We are simply human beings with all the weaknesses of the species and with so few of the heroic qualities that we are capable of, if only we pursued the intangible dream instead of the solid comfort in life.

were the ten "non-coms" were found guilty of "unwarranted cruelty" to privateers and sentenced to jail, the old Prussian methods of physical and verbal abuse of enlisted men are still in vogue. That most commissioned officers are of so-called noble stock does not tend to aid army reforms.

A Quiet Week In Mexico

After a sleep of centuries under a medieval despotism, Mexico ventured upon her revolutionary era and is following a course that other nations have followed upon their awakening to national consciousness. In proposing a boycott of American products she is following the course the New China adopted a few years ago.

Frankly, we are heartily sickened with the bickerings of labor within its own ranks. We love many of the leaders personally, we are always soul and spirit with the rank and file; but neither our love nor our sympathy can interfere with the waste and lost idealism that is withering the once mighty battalions of the worker in this country.

Maybe we have said enough here. Maybe we are taking away quite valuable space from our group of bards whose interests we also espouse in this column. Maybe we will just be scolded into silence by a number of our sane and settled soldiers of the day to come, who will tell us how everything, including the Cooperative Commonwealth, comes to him who waits. So will the millenium.

The recent epidemic of suicides among the young intellects of our collegiate life is a fit subject for contemplation in spirit with the foregoing pessimism. Knowledge is a double edged weapon and in untrained hands will sometimes hold danger for the one who wields it. There are always among us some few finely drawn temperaments who cannot bear the stupidities and tangled problems of material existence without great pain to themselves.

The only bright note we have for this week's threnody is that next Tuesday night, March 1, will be "Chatterbox" night at the Labor Temple Poetry Forum, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street and 2nd Avenue, Manhattan. Anton Romatka, poet and patron of poets, who is the Director of the Forum, informs us that together with the writer, A. M. Sullivan, David P. Berenberg, Margery Swett Mansfield, Kate Herman and others who have appeared in the column will read from their work.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton— Out of the Past

FEW periods in history have been so subjected to misinterpretation as the era of the Paris Commune of 1871. The ordinary history of either France or Europe, dismisses it as an event of insignificance, vivid only in its chaos and terror. The professor is unaware of its meaning. Those who do discuss it, mark it for attack. To these latter, it is an expression of the canaille, an outburst of the rabble, a revolt against order, an explosion of mob-mania. To them it is interesting only as expressive of the vicissitudes of the underdog in hopeless protest against his master.

In her Introduction (1886) to Lissagaray's "Histoire de la Commune," the one authentic history of the period, Eleanor Marx Aveling, daughter to Karl Marx, pointed out the importance of the revolt to the proletariat. It is time people understood the true meaning of this revolution; and this can be summed up in a few words. It meant the government of the people by the people. It was the first attempt of the proletariat to govern itself.

In a later passage, inspired by her theme, she added:

Is Socialism dead? Was it drowned in the blood of the people of Paris? Socialism today is a greater power than it has ever been. The bourgeois Republic of France may join hands with the autocrat of Russia to blot it out; Bismarck may pass repressive laws, and democratic America may follow in his wake—and still it moves! And because Socialism is today a power, because in England even it is "in the air," the time has come for doing justice to the Commune of Paris. The time has come when even the opponents of Socialism will read, at least with patience if not with sympathy, an honest and truthful account of the greatest Socialist movement—thus far—of the century.

Lissagaray's history has remained the leading analysis and description of the period. In fragmentary form, such as in Nearing's "Law of Social Revolution," snatches of new interpretations are added, but with the exception of Postgate's "Out of the Past" nothing astonishingly brilliant has been contributed to the topic.

"Out of the Past" (Vanguard Press, 50 cents) is a valuable study of that critical epoch. It is an addition to, in places even a criticism of, Lissagaray, and in biographical information it is without a parallel. The picture of Blanqui is excellent. Blanqui, who led revolts, gloried in struggle, suffered with heroism in prison, inspired thousands to battle with their oppressors—this Blanqui is portrayed with a vigor that is compelling and dramatic. Blanqui has been under-estimated. Postgate has done a serviceable task in indicating the significance of Blanqui, his influence when Marx was a mere name, and his insight into revolutionary methods and technique. It was Blanqui, for example, who preceded both Marx and Lenin in proposing to "disarm the bourgeoisie and arm the proletariat" and also in conceiving of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Despite these contributions to proletarian ideology, Blanqui was not a theoretician. He was a man of action. His aphorisms reveal this fact:

Forty-eight hours are enough to make a revolution.

Thrift is a pest.

A rich man dead is a hole stopped. All gain, no loss.

Communist and prouidionism stand by a river bank quarrelling whether the fish on the other side is maize or wheat. Let us cross and see.

While Blanqui's economics may have been shoddy and superficial, his inspiration was profound. Not even the duplicity of Barbe's could destroy his power over men. Nor could the fidelity and competence of Emile Eudes replace the dead Blanqui.

In the description of Ferre, the orator of the Commune, who refused to be saved by cowardice, and was shot "through the ear . . . (as) the regiments drawn up to watch the execution defied past the corpses to the sound of a cheerful march tune," there is the same pictorial power. The other characters in the volume, Richard Parker, the English sailor who led the Nore mutineers; the Rev. J. E. Smith, who was the first to outline the Soviet idea and to achieve the leadership, through The Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, of 500,000 revolutionary-minded Englishmen; Louis Blanc, the "Little Louis," through whom "the working class first began to acquire form and consciousness"; Louis Puleol, who made Paris breathe with barricades, and led the workers with a heroism that was flaming if not intelligent—all these characters are made to live with a curious and captivity vitality by the descriptions of Postgate.

S. A. de Witt.