

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

THE NEW LEADER

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Coolidge Move Against Mexico Seen As End of Congress Removes Critics

TOPICS by Norman Thomas

IF THE farmers persist in making the McNary-Haugen bill a political issue for the next two years...

CONGRESS ENDS; WAS USEFUL TO BANKERS

Farmers and Workers Received No Aid from the 69th Session

WASHINGTON.—As this is being written the 69th Congress is getting ready to adjourn...

Murder, Prison and Exile Smash Cuban Labor Unions

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

Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg is urged by the American Civil Liberties Union to protest the action of British passport authorities...

Machado Government Crushes Workers for Benefit of American Property Owners

WASHINGTON, D. C.—I have just returned from Cuba, where I went to dig into conditions affecting the masses of the wage earners.

Morgan May Put Aid In Place of Kellogg, Washington Reports

Washington.—If Frank B. Kellogg resigns as Secretary of State, Dwight W. Morrow will succeed him, it is rumored with credence in official circles.

KELLOGG KEEPS NEW NOTES SECRET

Calles Ready to Make Them Public—Borah Investigation Seems Sidetracked

WASHINGTON.—As the adjournment of Congress draws near, it has become increasingly necessary that ever closer watch be maintained on the Administration's handling of the Mexican and Nicaraguan situations.

BROOKLYN BAKERS' CASE TAKEN TO HIGHER COURT

An application to carry the case of the nine Brownsville bakers, members of Local 87, who were found in contempt of court by Supreme Court Justice Crosey...

WHITE GOODS WORKERS PREPARE FOR STRIKE

The White Goods Workers' Union, Local 52, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, are preparing for a general strike...

CITY ENGINEERS ASK PAY RAISE

THE Union of Technical Men, principally made up of city employed engineers, draftsmen and surveyors in New York, formulated and approved a wage schedule...

Shoeless Boys, Starving Men And Record Dividends Give Testimonials of Prosperity

CLOSING OF MILL IMPOVERISHES TOWN

Maynard, Mass.—Pallid little girls without warm underwear and stockings. Boys in sneakers walking through the snow to school.

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

Substantial improvement was shown in the consolidated income account of the American Locomotive Company and its subsidiaries for 1926...

The New Leader Needs Aid To Take Full Advantage Of Its New Opportunities

OUR contributions this week do not measure up well. The total for the week is only \$32. It may be that the end of the month, with rent approaching and obligations to meet, is responsible for it.

Paris Commune Commemoration

About ten thousand tickets have been mailed to individuals and organizations for the commune commemoration to be held under the joint auspices of the Socialist Party of Greater New York, Rand School of Social Science and The New Leader...

President Coolidge and his Secretary of State have been successfully checkmated heretofore by Senators who have hurled embarrassing questions at him as he proceeded his clumsy way to involve the nation deeper and deeper in trouble with Latin America.

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

CONGRESS ENDS; WAS USEFUL TO BANKERS

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

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

Boulder Dam Defeated

Among the more important measures of general benefit that failed of passage, largely because of the opposition of the private power companies, who announced very early in the session that they will not permit it to pass, was the Boulder Dam project.

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

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

Tax Cut Passed

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

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

Under that law the maximum surtax is cut down from 40 per cent. to 20 per cent. Due to the graduation of the tax the large incomes will pay an average rate of 8.41 per cent. on the whole income.

These same interests, having extensive holdings in Mexico and Latin America, have employed the State Department, the War Department, and the Navy Department, for the support of which they will pay legs this year than they paid the year before, to keep inviolate their investments in those countries, even though it may require the blood of the American youth to fertilize the lands they own.

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

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

Bankers Are Thankful

They have no reason to regret that this Congress lived.

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

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

Together, But Not Mixed



From "Cortinas," Cuba. CUBAN PEOPLE (to the people of the United States): "Do not be worried. We know how to distinguish."

MURDER AND REPRESSION REDUCE CUBA LABOR UNIONS TO WRECKAGE

(Continued from page 1)

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

Unions Crushed or Existing in Forced Inaction

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

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

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

I have the names of nearly 100 dead workers, half of them union leaders. I am assured by an authority that by all the rules seems entitled to belief that aside from this list there are 214 missing union railroad men on one railroad system alone, and that there is due to these missing men money ranging from \$5 to \$50 each. It is assumed that if these missing men lived, or dared come forward, they would collect their pay.

Sixty Innocent Farm Workers Wantonly Slain

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

Next week I shall recount the more important and the more striking cases of assassination. Most of the dead are trade unionists, but two were

newspaper men, one a hero of the Cuban revolution and the editor of a great daily.

Not only death strikes its terror to Cuban hearts today. Deportation is almost as much feared. In the harbor lies the hated prison ship, the Maximó Gomez, taken from the Germans during the war. Men are arrested, taken from their homes, from the streets, from wherever they are, and, without trial, thrown into imprisonment aboard the Maximó Gomez, in the blazing sun of the harbor. There is a Cuban law which makes it unlawful to detain a prisoner more than 72 hours without a court presentment. But I know of one case where a union man was held aboard the Maximó Gomez for 58 days without any court proceeding of any kind.

No one knows how many men have been taken aboard the Maximó Gomez. Many who go there are never again heard of. The uncertainty of it all, as to numbers and consequences, makes the thing the terror that it is. Foreigners are deported, Cubans are exiled, and sometimes there is no apparent effort to distinguish between foreigners and Cubans.

Cubans Dare Not Openly See Investigator

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

So much of beauty and loveliness abounds on the surface everywhere that those who go and who do not look underneath are astounded at the charges that are made. "It cannot be true!" they say. And it is all but an incredible story.

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

In this war against human freedom men have been shot from ambush, men have been shot down in cold blood by army officers, men have been hung from trees, men have been thrown into prisons and transported overseas. How many are on the roll of this great human sacrifice to greed no one knows and no one ever will know. But I know that Cubans know that somehow there must be an end to tyranny. There is a seething underneath that is portentous.

Whether the American ambassador has told his government about these things I do not know, but there is, in any event, no public record of his displeasure or regret.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

or we shall make very little progress on political lines. We may not even make much progress industrially, for I cannot believe that we can indefinitely maintain relatively high wages in factories side by side with an extraordinarily low money return for the farmers.

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

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

Even in a country where the average real income is said to be increasing at the rate of 7 percent per annum we have neither the bread, the security, the peace, the freedom, the culture which man might gain for himself and his children by wiser social co-operation. On this statement of plain fact we ought to be able to build a Socialist program which will appeal to our own generation.

There is a lot that I should like to say about Mexico and China and Boulder Dam and the Debs Memorial Station, and ever so many other things. Instead I am going to make that honest confession which is said to be good for the soul and which Heywood Brown finds so useful for filling his column. The disgraceful truth is that I owe The New Leader and certain publishers more book reviews than I can count. I like to read books and I hate to write reviews. It interests me more to write about other things. But if I cannot or will not all the learned literary pages of The New Leader with critical essays I shall at least in this column pay something on account of my debt for books.

Here, for instance, is "Man Is War," by John Carter, which Bobbs, Merrill publishes. It is a brilliant provocative, cocksure book, not altogether convincing, which asserts but does not prove the pessimistic notion that man, being what he is, never will get along without war. Mr. Carter by no means persuades me that the job is not worth trying. Judge Bausman in "Facing Europe" also leaves one with an uncomfortable feeling about the possibility of lasting peace. His book, a Century publication, is a useful antidote to lingering delusions about the nature of the last war or the past and present policies of our former associates, notably the British. But the author does not bring to bear such a passion for internationalism against imperialism or such ingenuity in discussing social machinery as to make his book a very valuable contribution to the problem of peace.

Very different and far more valuable is Professor Parker T. Moon's magnificent "Imperialism and World Politics" (Macmillan). A stupendous amount of research and real literary gifts combine here to produce an accurate and readable history of imperialism with which all radicals ought to be familiar. Mr. Moon adds some conclusions which raise certain questions which I may discuss in a later review. Now I want to acknowledge a very deep debt to him, and cordially recommend his book.

If I ever do get around to writing the reviews I ought to say something about "Religion in the Making," by A. N. Whitehead, also a Macmillan publication. Those who have formed some taste for philosophy, thanks to Will Durant, might try their appetite on this provocative book by a distinguished scientist and philosopher. Mr. Whitehead's conception of religion differs somewhat from, shall I say, Almeer Semple McPherson's.

The firm of W. W. Norton is doing a good job in publishing genuinely educational material. I can't too highly recommend to individuals and to labor unions their book "Modern Science and People's Health," which gives in interesting and understandable form an account by various competent authorities of the way in which science is ministering to health. In a different field Everett Dean Martin's entertaining and stimulating lectures on the "Meaning of a Liberal Education" is worth while. Somehow I think his educated man might have a more vivid sense of obligation to society and a more intelligent concern with the problems of society than is implied in his picture of a wise and tolerant

Roads' Own Figures Revealing Poverty Forced on Workers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In the various occupations on Class 1 railroads, 215,000 men make an average of under \$75 a month; 320,000 make an average of under \$80 a month; 385,000 make under \$85 a month; 435,000 make under \$100 a month. These figures are exclusive of messenger boys, who make under \$60 a month, and apprentice and telephone girls, who make between \$75 and \$80 on the average.

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

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

MAKING \$100 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING \$57.50 A MONTH BEFORE THE WAR. MAKING \$75 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING ABOUT \$42.50 BEFORE THE WAR. MAKING \$80 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING \$48 BEFORE THE WAR. MAKING \$85 A MONTH NOW IS THE SAME AS MAKING ABOUT \$49 BEFORE THE WAR.

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

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

SHOELESS BOYS, STARVING MEN TESTIMONIALS OF PROSPERITY

(Continued from page 1)

\$10,362,193, which, after depreciation taxes and accrual for Federal taxes, gives the net profit shown above. Dividends of \$2,280,209 on preferred and \$5,620,000 on common shares left a surplus of \$115,730 for the year.

RAILROAD CLERKS TELL OF POVERTY

Some of the 20,000 clerks, freight-handlers and station attendants of the New York Central lines, who have petitioned the United States Arbitration Board for a 12 percent increase in wages, told the board at a hearing in New York City how hard it was to live on their present pay. A Martin, a delivery clerk at the Polk Street Station, Chicago, said that he could not afford a suit of clothes in two years and that his wife was able to buy only one dress a year. Another delivery clerk, John Carter, who lives in Astoria and is stationed at the Thirty-third street freight station, said that he had worked for the line for thirty years and his pay now was \$125 a month. The responsibility placed upon small-pay employees was stressed by R. P. Shanks, assistant cashier at the Thirty-third street freight station. He said he got \$194 a month and handled about \$12,000,000 in cash and checks for the company.

146 COMPANIES PAY 194 DIVIDENDS IN DAY

There was a total of 180 regular dividends payable Tuesday, and in addition there were fourteen extra dividends, the total representing the distributions of 146 companies. Seven of the 184 dividends were wholly or partly in stock. Those that consisted of stock alone were the 33 1/3 cents of the Burroughs Adding Machine Company, the 5 percent, in common shares of the Eureka Vacuum Cleaner Company, and the 1/40th share of Class A stock of the Hartman Corporation given to holders of Class B stock.

gentleman, half amused and a little cynical. But none of these books is so absolutely necessary to the radical's library as the latest volume of the American Labor Year Book, from the Rand School Press. It has been reduced somewhat in size and much in price. If anything, it has been improved in quality. It is a credit to its authors and publishers.

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

Just as I was finishing this column I was informed of Ruthenberg's sudden death. Sharply as I differed from him in my view of tactics, I always found him sincere and engaging in his personal relations and absolutely devoted to his cause. He was certainly one of the ablest and sanest men in the Communist Party and one from whom constructive leadership might best be expected. His death is a loss to the radical movement as well as to his own party.

BOOKKEEPERS' UNION EXPELS 21 MEMBERS FOR DUAL UNIONISM

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

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

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

RUTHENBERG, LEADER OF COMMUNISTS, DIES

Charles Emil Ruthenberg, executive secretary of the Workers' (Communist) party since 1922, died Wednesday in Chicago following an operation for appendicitis. Mr. Ruthenberg was born July 9, 1882, in Cleveland, Ohio. He had a primary school education and worked as factory hand, clerk, manager of sales and collections, newspaper correspondent and superintendent of maintenance and supplies. He was active in the Socialist party, its Cleveland organizer and secretary from 1909 to 1919. He also engaged in journalistic activity, writing three pamphlets and newspaper articles. He emerged as a national leader of the Communists in 1919. The year 1925 found Ruthenberg head of a minority wing in the Workers party. William Z. Foster leading the majority. By decision of the third International Ruthenberg was made the leader of the party, however.

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.

FREE WORKERS' CENTER LECTURE FORUM

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

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THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

- At COOPER UNION AT 8 O'CLOCK
- SUNDAY, MARCH 6th Concert by the AMERICAN ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY CHALMERS CLIFTON, Conductor
- TUESDAY, MARCH 8th DR. FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS "Results of Attempts to Coerce Youth"
- FRIDAY, MARCH 11th EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "Why Is There No More Internationalism in the Modern World?"
- At MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL AT 8 O'CLOCK
- MONDAY, MARCH 7th DR. MORRIS R. COHEN "American Philosophy: 'American' Aesthetic Theory"
- WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9th DR. CARL P. HERWIN "The Chemistry of the Human Body"
- THURSDAY, MARCH 10th DR. E. G. SPAULDING Questions People Expect a Philosopher to Answer: "What Is Sensation? or, Does Water Answer Berkeley?"
- SATURDAY, MARCH 12th MORTIMER J. ADLER "The Soul of Reaction" ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

IS MONOGAMY DESIRABLE?
FLOYD DELL says Yes, V. F. CALVERTON says No.
SATURDAY, MARCH 12th, at 8:15 p. m.
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CITIZENS JOIN TO AID PULLMAN PORTERS

Leaders in All Walks of Life Promise Support to Colored Workers

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

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

Philip Randolph, general organizer, says:

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

The "Citizens' Committee of One Hundred" is made up as follows:

Henry T. Hunt, chairman; Arthur C. Holden, treasurer; Rev. William Lloyd Innes, secretary; Dr. A. A. Berle, Bertha Poole Weyl, Mrs. Jean Mackenzie Waiser, Anna N. Davis, Rev. Edwin Fairley, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. John L. Elliott, Prof. Harry A. Overstreet, Dr. Harry W. Laidler, James Weldon Johnson, Dr. Henry Neuman, Prof. Robert Lee Hale, Abraham Beckerman, Rev. Clarence V. Howell, Thomas J. Curtis, Prof. Harry F. Ward, S. John Block, Dr. Harry F. Coffin, Leonard Bright, Ernestine Rose, Lewis Gannett, Forest Bailey, Truda T. Well, Rev. John W. Robinson, Prof. John H. Randall, Jr., Prof. Leroy E. Bowman, Fannie Hunt, Prof. Paul Brissonden, Herbert Croley, Mrs. Gordon Norrie, Bruce Bliven, Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Julius Bladsoe, Dr. J. P. Warshaw, Dr. Henry R. Linville, Ruth Morgan.

Dr. Norman Thomas, Lester A. Walton, Helen Phelps Stokes, Edward P. Cassidy, Eugene O'Neill, Benjamin Stolberg, Thomas V. Churchill, Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch, William H. Baldwin, Alexander M. Bing, Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, Rev. John Howland Lathrop, Amos R. E. Pinchot, Dr. U. Conrad Vincent, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rev. George Frazier Miller, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, William L. Patterson, Arthur B. Spingarn, Prof. John Dewey, Nicholas Kelley, Arthur Garfield Hays, Gertrude E. McDougald, Orway Tead, Katherine D. Blake, Joseph Schlossberg, Morris L. Ernst, William L. Kelley, E. Charney Viadeck, Wesley C. Mitchell, H. Adolph Howell, E. C. Lindeman, Cedric Long, William Floyd, Harris Stanton Blatch, Thomas B. Dwyer, Mary E. Drier, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, John E. Nell, Kirby Page, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge, Prof. Franz Boas, Mrs. Henry G. Leach, Dr. Louis T. Wright, George E. Hall, Lillian Wald, Stuart Chase, Eugene K. Jones, Morris Hillquit, Walter Frank, McAlister Coleman, Samuel Untermyer, Prof. E. A. R. Seligman, Rev. A. C. Garner, James Oneal, John A. Fitch, Alfred Bernheim, Heywood Brown, Freda Kirshway, Dr. Robert W. Bagnall, Paul Robeson, Philip Umstadter, Walter White, Mrs. Clara A. Goldwater, Prof. William P. Montague, Frank P. Walsh, Guy Emery Shipley, Mrs. Charles E. Knoblauch, Florence Kelley and Fred R. Moore.

Will Rogers Reports On "Reds" in Mexico

El Paso, Texas.—Just returned from Juarez, old Mexico. Liquor smuggling is going on the other way now. They are crazy about our new drinks and claim they receive twice the insensibility for one-third the amount of drinking. I have to disappoint Mr. Kellogg, but I didn't see a single Russian Bolshevik plotting against us. Mexico had received their morning note from our State Department telling them how to run their country. Headed for Beverly Hills to protect my honor.

WILL

DRESSMAKERS IN PHILA. WIN CONCESSIONS ARE SECURED WITHOUT RECOURSE TO STRIKE BY OVER 5,000 WORKERS

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Philadelphia.—A general strike of 5,000 Philadelphia dressmakers has been averted through efforts of Director of Public Safety George Elliott in getting dress manufacturers to sign an agreement with Waist & Dress Makers' Union, Local No. 59, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

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

The union had presented the manufacturers with a set of 12 demands for improving labor standards and conditions in the industry. Only one of these, a request for a 50-day, 40-hour week, was not granted. The workers obtained, however, the 44-hour week for the year 1927, instead of the present 48 and 50 hours. The workers will enjoy five legal holidays during the year, time and a half for four hours overtime per week, minimum wage scales for week workers, price committees for piece workers, equal division of work for all employees in the full season, the creation of a Joint Board of Sanitary Control and the adjustment of all complaints, disputes and grievances between employers and employees.

The agreement does not affect about 50 manufacturers in the trade who have had already union agreements, nor does it affect a score of independent manufacturers who have been watching the negotiations between the association and the union. The union, Elias Reiberg, manager, declared last night, will prosecute its organized campaign in the shops of those non-union manufacturers who are not parties to yesterday's agreement. While a general strike has been averted, Mr. Reiberg stated, the union will not rest content until conditions similar to those obtained from the employers yesterday will obtain in non-union shops.

A very tense mass meeting, originally announced as a strike meeting, held Monday night in the Labor Institute, cheered the announcement that concessions had been obtained from the employers without recourse to strike. Only a handful of Communists were disgruntled with the settlement achieved without a strike. Over 1,500 men and women, including many non-union workers, endorsed the work of Mr. Reiberg and his executive committee.

Prof. Osman to Lecture In the Bronx Forum
The Tremont Educational Forum announces two lectures on social psychology by Prof. Joseph Osman at its clubrooms, 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont avenue, Bronx. The first lecture, on "Changing Human Behavior," will be delivered this Friday, March 4, at 8:30 sharp; the second, on "Crime and Psychology," will be given on the following Friday, March 11, at the same time and place. The lectures are followed by questions and discussions.

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

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

By Charles Solomon

NO GRAVER question confronts the organized workers than that of injunctions in labor disputes. Beginning about thirty years ago, when injunctions in labor disputes were practically unknown in this country, this instrumentality of our law has been used with ever increasing frequency by employers in disputes with employees. The relief afforded employers by these writs today is uniformly sweeping and drastic and probably beyond anything in the contemplation of the judges who first introduced this agency into industrial disputes.

Probably nothing has greater potency to arouse the ire and stir the resentment of labor than what has come to be characterized as the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes. So marked has this "abuse" become that the Governor of New York State has found it necessary to bring it to the attention of the Legislature in several recent messages. Speaking in Queens County, October 29 last, the Governor adverted to this question as follows:

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

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

"Naturally enough, during the past two decades there have been bitter protests from the ranks of labor. To the strikes it seems like tyranny to find such vast power exercised, not by a jury of one's neighbors, but by a single official who is not elected, but appointed, and that for life, and whose commission comes from a distant and little understood source."

The Senator was referring to the issuance of injunctions by Federal judges. However, his remarks apply substantially to the practice in the State courts as well, the procedure being practically the same in both jurisdictions.

A Psychological Problem
In 1921 Mr. Justice Howard of our own Supreme Court in the case of Wood v. Mowden and Reaping Machine Company v. Tooney, 114 Miscellaneous N. Y. Reports, after declaring that "many publicists and some jurists have taken the position that injunctions

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

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

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

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

What Roosevelt Said
Striking as are these quotations from Judge Cardoso they are comparatively mild when set alongside the following from Theodore Roosevelt, when President of the United States, in his message to Congress of December 8, 1908:

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

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

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

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

Again quoting Judge Cardoso: "Deep below consciousness are other forces, the likes and the dislikes, the predilections and the prejudices, the complex of instincts and emotions and habits and convictions, which make the man, whether he be litigant or judge." In the light of such views as these it will perhaps be better appreciated

TWO MINERS GIVE LIVES TO AID COMPANIONS

Pottsville, Pa.—Two mine workers sacrificed their lives in the South Penn Colliery at Port Carbon in an effort to save the lives of two fellow-workers, one of whom also was killed.

The men who gave up their lives were William Plunkett of Mineville and John Sincavage of Port Carbon. The other man killed was Felix Buber, also of Mineville. All three were suffocated.

The fourth in the accident is Frank Shugarinski of Mineville, who suffered two broken toes.

Buber and Shugarinski were working in No. 5 breast when they became aware of a squeeze which threatened a heavy fall of coal. Buber attempted to stay a rush of coal with a stout pole. Plunkett and Sincavage, working in the adjoining breast, discovered the plight of the men, and instantly went to the rescue.

Before they could do anything Buber's strength gave way to the pressure of the coal, and all but Shugarinski were caught under the rush of coal and rock. They were dead from suffocation before they could be rescued. Shugarinski was caught on the edge of the fall and had a narrow escape.

Plunkett and Sincavage were married; the former father of two children and the latter having four children. Buber was unmarried.

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Garment Workers' Educational Notes
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Educational Department, announces the following courses this week:

McKinley Square Garden, 1255 Boston road, Bronx, Friday, March 4, 8 p. m.

Dr. C. Lieberman, "Style and Substance in Literature," Workers' University, Washington Irving High School, 16th street and Irving place, Room 550, Saturday, March 5, 1:30 p. m.

B. J. R. Stolper, "Social Tendencies in Literature—Is There a Yiddish Theatre?" Sunday, March 6, 11 a. m.

H. J. Carman, "Social Factors in American History."

These courses will be continued throughout the season at the same time and place. New students may join. Admission free to members of the I. L. G. W. U.

75 Union Heads at Conference Hear of Pioneer Youth's Progress

SEVENTY-FIVE labor unions were represented at the Annual Labor Conference of Pioneer Youth of America, held Wednesday in the auditorium of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, N. Y. The conference was presided by the Annual Meeting of the National Council of the organization. A report of the year's work was made by Joshua Lieberman, executive secretary. Other speakers included Prof. LeRoy E. Bowman of Columbia University, S. R. Slavson of the Walden School.

Mr. Lieberman said in part: "The growth of interest in Pioneer Youth has been phenomenal. Requests for the formation of branches have been received from all sections of the country—the Seattle Labor College, San Diego, Cal., Central Labor Union, the American Federation of Hostess Workers in Milwaukee, Pa. Federation of Labor, Harrisburg, Pa.; and labor groups in Chicago, Schenectady and Boston. Coal miner groups in Pennsylvania have been particularly urgent.

"Even now a group of labor people and educators in Baltimore, headed by Broening, head of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, are preparing for the first Pioneer Youth Conference in that city on March 10. They plan establishing a branch and to begin with a summer camp.

An interesting feature of the conference was an actual demonstration of the activities of the children of Pioneer Youth; the dramatic group presented a one-act play; the orchestra rendered musical selections, and there was an exhibition of art work.

Workers' Education Bureau Calls Convention for Boston, April 22

The Workers' Education Bureau invites affiliated national and international unions, State Federations of Labor, city central bodies, local unions, trade union colleges, study classes, departments of workers' education and other workers' educational enterprises to the fifth national convention of the bureau to be held in Boston on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of April, 1927.

The basis of representation in the convention will be as follows:

Group 1—National and international unions: One delegate for national and international unions with membership up to 20,000; two delegates with membership from 20,000 to 50,000; three delegates with membership from 50,000 to 100,000; four delegates with membership from 100,000 to 200,000; five delegates with membership from 200,000 to 400,000 or more.

Group 2—State federations of labor, departments of workers' education, city central bodies and locals are entitled to one representative with one vote each.

Group 3—American Federation of Labor entitled to five representatives with one vote each.

Group 4—Workers' study classes,

Coal Mine Fatalities In January Total 194

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

Based on the total production of coal during the month, the fatality rate per million tons was 3.06. The output of bituminous coal alone was 56,861,000 tons, showing a fatality rate of 2.76, while that for anthracite was 6,561,000 tons, with a fatality rate of 5.64.

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

INJUNCTIONS HEARING SET

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

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY.—All arrangements have been made for the joint public hearing to be given before the Senate General Laws Committee and the Assembly Judiciary Committee on Tuesday, March 8, at 2 p. m., on the Lipowicz-Hackenburgh bill to regulate the issuing of injunctions in industrial disputes. Vice-President Matthew Wolf, of the American Federation of Labor and chairman of its Law Committee, will be the principal speaker in support of our bill at this hearing.

The many union representatives coming here for the hearing are requested to assemble at the Albany Labor Temple, 87 Beaver street, at 12:30 noon on Tuesday, March 8, for a conference before proceeding to the hearing at 2 p. m., which will be held in the Senate chamber.

William Collins, representing the American Federation of Labor, and Vice-President William Brown of this federation, addressed a mass meeting of wage earners of Oneida county at the Labor Temple in Utica called by the Trades and Labor Assembly of Utica in co-operation with the New York State Federation of Labor to discuss the evils of court injunctions issued in industrial disputes and to advocate enactment of the Lipowicz-Hackenburgh bill to regulate and curb the issuing of such court orders. Resolutions calling upon the Senator and Assemblymen from Oneida county to support this bill were adopted by the huge gathering by unanimous vote.

A similar meeting of the wage-earners of Dutchess county was held in Labor Hall, Poughkeepsie, under the call of Poughkeepsie Trades and Labor Council. Mr. Collins was the principal speaker, the other speakers being officers of the local unions. Resolutions calling upon the members of the legislature from Dutchess county to support the Lipowicz-Hackenburgh bill were adopted and ordered forwarded to them at once.

Mr. Collins, while in Albany on Tuesday on his way to Utica, addressed the meeting of the State Building Trades Council, which was held in the Labor Temple in this city this week. He urged the Building Trades unions of the state to communicate with the members of the legislature, asking them to support the Lipowicz-Hackenburgh Injunction Regulation bill.

Doctrines that have been derived from no better original than the superstition of a nurse and the authority of an old woman may, by length of time and consent of neighbors, grow up to the dignity of principles in religion or morality.—Locke.

No man can be wise on an empty stomach.—George Elliot.

CITIZENS' GROUP RAPS PAPER BOX EMPLOYERS

Billikopf Says Bosses Flouted Public Opinion by Arbitrary Stand Toward Strikers

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

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

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

"Such a victory by the employers settles nothing. It increases bitterness. It remedies no basic cause of trouble in the industry. Wages and working conditions are still subnormal, according to official documents of the State Labor Department. It is not a matter of indifference to the public that this should be so. Nor should those men and women in the community who sought to substitute negotiation for force see the failure of their efforts without recording their solemn protests. The hope of peaceful social progress depends upon an increase of industrial self government and a steady improvement of conditions in those subnormal industries where conditions are worst. Both these desirable ends have been temporarily thwarted by the course of events in the paper boxmakers' strike. A public action which is powerless to take other action may at least be informed of the facts in order that it may render its moral judgment against a repetition of this sort of thing in the industrial life of the community."

"JACOB BILLIKOPF."

Young Socialist League Executive to Meet in N. Y.

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

The meeting will also be attended by representatives of some of the newly organized circles of New Jersey, Massachusetts and New York. The committee will have to consider various organizational and propaganda plans, as well as the arrangement for the National Convention.

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

The Field of Labor

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

FINANCING I. W. W. PROPERTY

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

A CENTURY OF LOBBYING FOR LABOR

Typical of the legislative history of labor in an advanced and progressive industrial state of the union is that of New York during the last century. The New York State Federation of Labor reminds us that exactly 100 years ago, in 1827, human chattel slavery was abolished. The year previous the property qualifications for white voters had been removed.

For nearly a half century thereafter any attempt to enact protective labor laws was defeated by the assertion that

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Machinists Fight for Plumb Plan; Shop Crafts Strike Against Abuses

THE gratifying experience of the trade unions during the war under the control of a Federal Government, necessarily friendly in view of the military emergency, stimulated the movement for public ownership. During 1915 the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods waged their campaign for the retention by the Government of the railroads under democratic management, a scheme which came to be known as the Plumb Plan. In the form of the Sims Bill this proposal came before Congress in July, 1919, but was defeated. The International Association of Machinists, with its socialist tradition and its constitutional commitment to "public ownership of all public utilities," was a leader in this fight. When the plan came before the A. F. of L. convention at Montreal in June, 1919, the A. L. M. delegation was a factor in having a resolution of approval adopted. Yet, despite these efforts, the railroads were returned to private hands on March 1, 1920, in accordance with the obnoxious Esch-Cummins Transportation Act. At the same time the now infamous Railway Labor Board, abolished last year, was created, with authority to make decisions and to enforce them. It will be recalled that this body consisted of nine members appointed by the President, three representing the public, three the employers and three the employees. The railroad corporations had waited impatiently for their liberation from governmental control to open a fight for the annihilation of the trade unions. The officials of the two hundred and sixty-one Class 1 railroads of the United States organized into an Association of Railroad Executives and placed the conduct of their relations with their employees into the hands of a Labor Committee. The policy adopted by these specialists was the destruction of the shopmen's unions and the establishment of the open shop; in brief, the eradication of all the gains made during the war. To attain this end two methods were pursued: (1) wage reductions to demoralize the union ranks, and (2) the transfer of work from the railroad's open shops to outside contract establishments in order to force unemployment upon the men. The employers were helped in their objectives by the let-down of business activities after the war and the accompanying open-shop drive of 1920-21.

Labor Board Helps Roads
Here it is that the Railroad Labor Board served the railroads well. The managers put in a plea for wage reductions in view of the depressing business conditions. The Board responded by cutting wages eight cents an hour for railroad shop craftsmen. There was a show of fairness in this, since in July, 1920, an increase of thirteen cents had been granted. As a matter of fact, the men had been bitterly disappointed with the first decision. The increase had come after the maintenance of the status quo for two years, was too slight to be satisfactory by the provision that two of the five members of the State Industrial Board shall be representative wage-earners. At present there is a movement on foot to abolish this economic distinction. An advisory State Industrial Council attached to the department to assist in solving its problems is composed of five employers and five employees. All of these officials are appointed by the Governor. Of course, much of this legislation has come about through the efforts of humanitarians and liberals, but there is no doubt that the eternal vigilance of the State Federation of Labor at Albany has been responsible for a good deal. Had there been a labor party even further-going laws would have been passed. L. S.

While these two major operations were going on, forcing wage cuts and farming out shop work, the railroads also busied themselves in strengthening their position by impeding the execution of the Transportation Act as it applied to labor. In 1922 the Association of Railroad Executives, whipped up by the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads, even overruled its own Labor Committee and refused to recommend the establishment of National Adjustment Boards in compliance with the law. As a consequence all sorts of petty cases had to be decided by the Railroad Labor Board, whose docket became unnecessarily crowded. Simultaneously came all kinds of radical changes in working rules. Various decisions of the board, particularly those on contract work, were disregarded. But the most grievous crime of all was committed by the Pennsylvania Railroad. It broke off relations with the standard shopcraft unions and held an election under its own auspices which resulted in the formation of a company union repre-

senting a fraction (10½ percent) of the men. The Railroad Labor Board declared this election invalid and ordered balloting anew in the old way. The Pennsylvania ignored this decision and was supported by the United States Supreme Court in February, 1923, in an opinion declaring the board's rules merely advisory and unenforceable at law. In April, 1923, the sixth biennial convention of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. met at Chicago and passed resolutions demanding the abolition of contracting out of work and the restoration of the Sunday overtime rules and providing for a strike vote should the Railroad Labor Board fail to give satisfaction. Not only did the latter body deny the men's requests, but, as we have seen, on June 5 ordered the eight cents per hour wage reduction for July 1. This award as well as the rulings on the two propositions provided for by the convention was submitted to a referendum and was overwhelmingly rejected. The six shop crafts—machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, electrical workers and railway carmen—struck on July 1. The firemen and others followed soon after. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Men, bluffed into postponing their walkout by promises of a hearing, weakened the effect of the general strike. The Government as Strikebreaker

Four hundred thousand men responded to the strike call. Eighty thousand alone were machinists. Their enthusiasm was unlimited. Seldom had such zeal been displayed. It was evident that the rank and file had been straining at the leash long enough. Thus the country's first national railroad strike got under way.

The strikers would have won out, for from the first the railroads found it difficult to have their equipment repaired. Accidents occurred as a result of deterioration. But all the governmental forces were now concentrated against the men. Chairman Ben W. Hooper of the Railroad Labor Board abandoned his impartiality and bitterly assailed the strikers for snubbing the board—this in the face of repeated, brazen and contemptuous violations by the railroads. On July 3 the board took official action. It resolved: " . . . That the men who remain in the service and those who enter it are within their rights in accepting such employment—that they are not strikebreakers—seeking to impose an arbitrary will of an employer on employees that they have the moral as well as the legal right to engage in such service of the American public to avoid interruption of indispensable railroad transportation of every department—State and national." Thus the strikers were virtually declared outlaws.

Ghosts and Governors

(Continued from page 5)

used generally to describe the newer philosophies, methods and aims of trade unions beyond wages and hours.

18—What report of what church organization condemned the methods of employers in the great strike in 1919?
Answer: The report of the Inter-Church World Movement on the Steel Strike.

19—What Socialist leader of today was born in the home town of the late Warren Gamelle Harding?
Answer: Norman Thomas was born in Marion, Ohio, on November 20, 1884.

20—What prominent Jewish journalist came to this country in 1893 as the result of persecutions for his activity in the revolutionary movement in Russia?
Answer: Abraham Cahan.

21—What is the B. and O. plan?
Answer: It is a plan whereby organized employees in the shops of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad co-operate with the management for the elimination of waste and for greater efficiency in production.

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

23—What was the year of the first big strike in the clothing industry that resulted in substantial gains for the workers?
Answer: 1910, when the New York City Coat and Suit Makers struck and as a result the noted Protocol was signed.

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

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

Labor Internationals Demand Aid for Young; Russ Union Rejects Terms

Labor Doings Abroad

A DEFINITE program for the legal protection of the youthful workers of the world was laid down at a meeting of representatives of the Socialist and Labor International, the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Socialist Youth International, held in Berlin on January 31.

According to resolutions adopted by the joint meeting, which was attended by the members of the Bureau of the Youth International, by Arthur Crispin for the Socialist and Labor International and by John W. Brown for the I. F. T. U., the trade unions, the parliamentary representatives of labor and the labor youth organizations in all countries affiliated with the labor internationals are to be lined up in active propaganda for the passing of the legislation necessary to make the recommendations effective. That the program worked out in Berlin will be approved by the executive committee of the three internationals concerned is almost certain, so action is expected to begin soon.

The minimum demands of the program are:

1. A ban on gainful labor by children under 14 years old.
2. Obligatory school attendance up to the beginning of legalized gainful work.
3. Obligatory vocational schooling up to 18 years of age.
4. Extension of the protective regulations for apprentices, young manual workers and clerical employes up to 18 years.
5. Limitation of the working week to not more than 48 hours, including technical instruction and time spent in preparation.
6. Sunday rest period to begin at noon on Saturday, or else an afternoon off during the week.
7. No night work for young people.
8. At least three paid-holiday weeks annually for gainfully employed youths, including apprentices, under 18 years of age, and at least two weeks for those between 16 and 18.
9. Welfare work and educational facilities for youths not gainfully employed.
10. Regulation of vocational training on a basis of legally equal cooperation by the workers.

The labor members of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations are to be asked to try to have the question of special protection of young workers placed upon the agenda of one of the next conferences of that body.

RUSSIAN UNION REJECTS METAL WORKERS' TERMS

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

At a conference between the Russians and a sub-committee of the Central Committee the former were asked if, in case they were admitted to the Metal Workers' International, they would be willing to dissolve the various metal workers' unions organized by the Communists in different countries, and advise them to rejoin the regular organizations. Also, if they would dissolve the well-known Communist "cells" in the regular unions. The Russians replied in the negative, so the negotiations were declared off.

While the Russians doubtless will try to justify their position by asserting that their organization cannot interfere in the activities of Communist groups outside their jurisdiction, it is evident that the officials of the Communist Trade Union International would pay considerable heed to a suggestion by one of its most powerful unions.

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

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

AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS AID TROUBLED WOMEN

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

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

DUTCH SOCIALISTS OPPOSE EXECUTIONS

In a dispatch sent to A. C. D. de Graeff, the new Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies by Henri Polak, president, and C. Verhoeven, secretary, of the Social Democratic Labor Party of the Netherlands, on orders by the party's Executive Committee, protest is made against the drastic reprisals demanded by the frightened Dutch colonialists upon the leaders of the recent so-called Communist revolt in Java and Sumatra.

It is stated that although the Socialists do not approve of the revolt and consider it against the real interests of East Indians who are struggling for their rights, they believe the death sentences should not be executed. On Jan. 28 Het Volk reported that thus far Governor De Graeff had not approved any of the death sentences and had already commuted three of them to life imprisonment.

RUMANIA TIGHTENS BAN UPON ARBEITER-ZEITUNG

Under the heading "Averescu Honors the Arbeiter-Zeitung," the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung prints a Bucharest dispatch of Feb. 1 reporting that the official organ of the Rumania Government had just published an order banning the Vienna Socialist paper from the mails. Up to that time the Arbeiter-Zeitung had been banned from the newsstands in Rumania, but was allowed to go through the mails. Its recent exposure of the rotten political conditions and the ferocious anti-Semitism prevailing in the land of Queen Marie evidently got under the hide of the thick-skinned rulers.

Three other foreign papers were honored in the same way.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

Gompers and a Labor Party

Editor, The New Leader:

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

Your criticism of an article appearing in the American Appeal which placed entire responsibility for the failure to have a labor party in the United States upon the leaders of the American Federation of Labor is sound and timely. It is to be hoped that The New Leader, guilty in the past of similar misstatements, will in the future consistently follow the precedent laid down in its own editorial.

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

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

The Cleveland Conference - The Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, as also the numerous smaller attempts that were made in various parts of the country for independent political action was not the result of any material demand upon the part of the masses. Almost all of them were instigated, led and inspired by the leaders. Had the rank and file responded to these attempts in a manner that would show to the leaders that the sentiment is there, a labor party would now be a fact. Unfortunately, they have shown in most instances actual lack of interest. In several instances where the response was hearty permanent movements for some time existed, and in some cases assumed very important proportions. Does anyone doubt that if in the La Follette campaign the workers of America had voted as they should there would not immediately thereafter have been formed an independent party? It is because labor responded so poorly to the call of its leaders and has displayed so little sentiment for independent political action that the leaders abandoned the idea. Of the five million votes cast for La Follette, perhaps no more than one or two millions were cast by labor.

In connection with this, the following may be of interest: Over two years ago the writer, with a number of others, on the way to Mexico to the inauguration of President Calles, spent a week at the convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Texas, and had a splendid opportunity to study and observe the men that would be the American trade union movement, the inner workings of the organization, their problems and their hopes. He was present at the meeting when the resolution for the formation of a labor party came up for discussion, heard the various arguments advanced, and understood perfectly well the reasons for its defeat. Many others of our group of Socialists that were there also understood it. Had the writer of the Appeal article been there he, too, possibly would have understood it and most likely would have written dif-

ferently.

Samuel Gompers' Views - On the evening following the defeat of the resolution of the late Mr. Gompers, sitting in the lobby of the hotel, was surrounded by a number of us and asked why he so strongly opposed the formation of a labor party. His answer in substance (I am not attempting to give the exact words) was as follows: "Boys, you are wrong in supposing that I am opposed to a labor party. I am opposed to the Federation taking such a step because I do not believe that either the sentiment of our members or present conditions in America justify it now. I am fully informed of the accomplishments of the British Labor Party, as also of some other similar European movements, and I believe that they are doing good work and wish their success. Our situation, however, is different. Anyone that imagines that all we have to do is to adopt a resolution at our convention for a labor party and it becomes a fact is either a fool or ignorant of conditions in the American trade union movement. It would only lead to one thing, and that is dissension and disruption everywhere, and our men and women, now working unitedly to gain higher wages, shorter hours and better working conditions, would dissipate their energies in political fights. It is very simple for all sorts of doctrinaires to tell us what we are to do, but who face the problems of the workers daily, who must battle for the rights of labor, do not propose to enter upon political experiments, even to please you gentlemen. Let conditions change, let there be a real sentiment for a labor party, and you will have all of us working for it as hard as we do now on the economic field."

It is high time that those who write in our publications and assume to speak for the party should not indulge in statements without first studying the situation. It is also about time that the methods pursued by the S. L. P. in former days and in a milder form by the Socialist Party in recent times be abandoned and left to the Communists. Certainly, unwarranted attacks upon the leaders of the trade union movement, irresponsible statements in the press and upon the platform, by men who do not know, who have never taken the trouble to truly understand the conditions in the American labor movement, are not likely to promote the fortunes of the Socialist Party, and much less to create sentiment for the formation of a labor party. Other methods more in line with American traditions, more adaptable to the psychology of the American workers, should be adopted. It is not enough to simply have ability to write or lecture. One must also know what he is talking or writing about.

If the Socialist Party is ever to gain a foothold among the American workers it must discard the belief that you can gain the masses by attacking the leaders. DeLeon tried it, the Socialist Party in a measure tried it, and the Communists are doing it now. The result is the S. L. P. is dead, the Socialist Party is nearly so, and as for the Communists, they are today considered the lepers of the labor movement, isolated and despised by every decent human being.

In the discussion on "Problems of American Socialism" now going on in The New Leader one is amazed to find so many who, in the face of present conditions in the movement, persist that nothing is the matter with either the policies or tactics of the Socialist Party. That labor is farther away now from the movement than ever before means nothing to them. Nor do they see any significance in the fact that the party has dwindled down to just a few. By what mental process they arrive at their conclusions God only knows. They seem perfectly happy in their isolation, content in the belief that ultimately the mountain will come to them. Poor creatures, if only they could have their vision restored!

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Amusements



“And You Are Right And I Am Right”

Philosophy Made Dramatic at the Guild Matinees —“In Abraham's Bosom” a Tragedy of Negro Aspiration

LUGI PIRANDELLO is a playwright avoided by those who do not like their theatre intellectual, and his “Right You Are If You Think You Are,” now playing for matinees at the Guild Theatre, is no exception to his rule of making his audiences think. (The exception, indeed, a dramatized smoking-room story, was recently given at midnight performances.) Yet in another of the smooth renderings Arthur Livingston has given of the Italian, and in the rapid and rippling performance of the Guild, the play proves once more that ideas as well as emotions may be valid theatrical material.

The usual dramatist attempts to put on the stage characters in action through an emotional crisis in their lives; he tries to reveal the interplay of individual and event when strong impulses are manifest in feelingful moments. Pirandello emotions, such as Brueix in his “Damaged Goods,” nor the individualization of such a thesis, as in “Ghosts,” but a problem of esthetic or intellectual concern. In “Six Characters in Search of An Author” we are asked to follow the wandering of a group of fictional persons created by a writer, and then abandoned. Never worked into the completed tale that might have given them “life,” these characters wander hopelessly about; they are a most peculiar group, and hold our attention, if not their original creators. In “Naked” Pirandello shows an author trying to live with his story. As Dreiser for his “An American Tragedy,” so the author in “Naked” reads a newspaper item that seems to afford a good plot. But the girl has not died; her attempt at suicide has proved abortive; the author gets the excellent idea of taking the friendless girl into his home and writing the story while living beside her. “She proves, however, not to be quite the character he has already imagined; the man for whom she says she attempted suicide reappears; life begins to run away with the writer, until we wonder how he is going to adjust himself to the manipulation of his figures. Turning from these purely literary speculations, in “Henry IV” the dramatist strikes obliquely at life in his portrait of a man who, to protect himself from the law after committing murder, pretends to be insane; we see the man a number of years later, keeping up the pretense when visited by his former friends, until he no longer knows himself whether he is shamming insanity or is really insane.

In “Right You Are—If You Think You Are,” Pirandello moves into the field of philosophical speculation, managing still to weave his fancies into effective theatre. His concern is the old problem of reality vs. appearance; his suggestion, that truth is for every person—that that person believes; if you believe a thing, it is so; insofar as your acts and subsequent personality depend upon the issue, its “truth” is immaterial beside what you believe. The philosopher whom Pirandello provides for the play derives a deal of amusement from those who in the play must be told the truth about the family relationships of the new under-secretary of the Prefect. We may be permitted to fancy that these gossip folk typify, in wider application, the great mass of human beings who are athirst for certainty, for an absolute—call it God, or the Life Force, or scientific law, or what you will—those who cannot be satisfied with a curious threading of their path through unstraightened mazes of this interesting life, but who must have supports, props for their weak spirit: “Truth.” Such persons, when they find nothing to affirm, will seek solace by denying; always, they will be assured, will be sure. This approach to life is impelled by fear and leads to superstition, whatever the surface layer of culture. The attitude that accepts the impossibility of a final truth, that recognizes the validity of any man's ideas—to that man, may lead to such fun as Gilbert and Sullivan found it in, but will also lead, if not to wisdom, at least, to its neighbor, tolerance.

All of this the Theatre Guild conveys in its sympathetic presentation of the drama, smooth-running, fluid. To select individuals for praise would require too detailed mention; Reginald Mason as the philosopher, Beryl Mercer as the mother-in-law who helps to put the problem, Edward Robinson as the other half of the difficulty, Helen Westley in her brief but excellent bit; all share in the development of the play that manages to be philosophy while never ceasing to be drama.

“Do Blind Man Stood on de Road” THE success that deersly had come to Paul Green's tragedy, “In Abraham's Bosom,” has caused its removal from the Provincetown Play-

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NOTES OF THE THEATRE

The Civic Repertory Theatre announces the eighth play of its repertory season, “Inheritors,” by Susan Glaspell, to be presented Monday evening, March 7. Miss Le Gallienne and her company have established an excellent record for sincere and sensitive art, and their production of Susan Glaspell's moving play should maintain their high standard.

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

The Press Agents' Show for the benefit of the relief fund of the Theatrical Press Representatives of America will take place at the Liberty Theatre on Sunday evening, March 12, the playhouse having been donated by Manager A. L. Erlanger. The Actors' Fund and the National Vaudeville Association will also share in the proceeds. Clark and McCullough, the stars of “The Ramblers,” are among those who have volunteered their services for the benefit. John Philip Sousa and Edwin Franko Goldman will, as usual, be the guest conductors of the orchestra.

Walter Woolf, star of “Countess Maritza,” will deliver two lectures before the advanced drama class of New York University during the month of March. The first lecture, to be delivered on Friday, March 5, will be on the subject of “The Stage as a Vocation.” The second lecture, to be given two weeks later, will deal with the technical side of the stage, such as voice culture, make-up, etc. The Dramatic Association of the university will sponsor the lectures.

Ruth Wilton, of the permanent company of the Civic Repertory Theatre, has been lent by Eva Le Gallienne to the Intimate Opera Company, which will present Gluck's “Orpheus” under the direction of Macklin Marrow. Miss Wilton, who is playing a part in “The Cradle Song” at the Civic Theatre, made her debut as an opera singer in the title role of Eurycleia at the Mayfair Theatre this week.

A. H. Woods has purchased a new play entitled “Connelly and Merritt,” by John B. Hymer, author, with Samuel Shipman, of “Crime,” the melodrama now playing at the Eltinge Theatre.

The Comedie Francaise has accepted a one-act opera composed by Odette Myrtil, violiniste in “Countess Maritza.” The opera, called “Dance Monte Carlo,” was composed by Miss Myrtil last fall. It will be presented in Paris during the spring season.

Margaret Lawrence, who was the original selection for the leading feminine role in “The Heaven Tappers,” by George Scarborough and Annette Westbay, has been engaged for the part. The play is rehearsing here preliminarily to its Metropolitan premiere, which takes place next week at a theatre to be announced.

MUSIC NOTES

For the benefit of the Knickerbocker Hospital Building Fund, a performance of Deems Taylor's new American operatic triumph, “The King's Henchman,” will be given at the Metropolitan Opera House on Wednesday afternoon, March 23, under distinguished auspices. This will be the only non-subscription performance of this opera this season, and therefore will present the sole opportunity for the general public to witness it. The cast appearing at this matinee will be the same which sang at the sensational premiere of “The King's Henchman,” including Edward Johnson in the title role, Lawrence Tibbett as the King, and Florence Easton as Aeltrida, and the orchestra will be conducted by Maestro, Tullio Serafin.

LETTER CARRIER RISES TO STARDOM

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

Tiring of this, and feeling that there was little future in the legitimate theatre field for a negro, he took civil service examinations, and became a letter carrier—“at least it's steady,” is the way he puts it.

But the proverbial lure of the footlights was too strong for him, and he organized a group of Negro actors for one-act plays—all his own—and presented them twice a week at the Lincoln and Lafayette theatres in Harlem. There were in all, sixteen one-act plays, one of which, “Sugar Cane,” won a prize last year offered by the Negro magazine, “Opportunity,” for the best one-act play. Incidentally, the judges were David Belasco, Paul Robeson and Stark Young.

Holding on to the letter carrier job for ballast, Wilson began to try parts in regular plays. He carried the lead in a play of Butler Davenport's, “Justice,” at the Bramhall, played a small part in Mary Hoyt Wiborg's “Taboo,” which was starring Paul Robeson. He



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

was brought by Robeson to the Provincetown Playhouse to play in “All God's Chillun Got Wings,” he appeared in minor parts in “Skyscrapers,” and “The Emperor Jones,” and played the title role in O'Neill's “Dreamy Kid,” when it was used as a curtain raiser for “The Emperor Jones” last year.

When “In Abraham's Bosom” was cast, he held the role of Bud Gaskins, a colorful bit in the first act, and understudy for the lead. Ten days ago he was called upon to step into this part at ten minutes' notice, and gave such a moving performance, that he earned the praise of his audience and the press.

How Actors Act

THERE have been many heated discussions between defenders of the two schools of acting. Those that believe that the performer should “feel the part,” should emotionally become the person he represents, call their opponents cold and mechanical. Those that, on the other hand, consider that the actor should not be merged with his part, but should be always watching himself, always intelligently directing his own performance, retort that the emotional school is erratic and unintelligent. It is clear that the success of either type depends upon the degree of emotional depth or intellectual power of the player concerned, and as psychologists declare that co-ordination of intellect and control of emotional expression develop in harmony, the truly cultured and capable performer will give an equally sound presentation, whichever his method. In this imperfect theatre that is our world, however, there remain for inspection several implications that the clamant advocates of emotion or intelligence do not so generally make clear.

In the first place, it is obvious that in America the actors who guide themselves by emotion far outnumber those that direct themselves by the intelligence. Our public, from which our course players are drawn, is not presumably endowed with intellect, nor bred in its atmosphere, nor quick to pay it respect. Much less is the avenue by which our actors and actresses commonly come to the stage, paved with understanding. The new schools of acting, sounder and more thorough than the dramatic academies they are superseding, may help to produce a more thoughtful type of actor, whom the new city stock companies may grant opportunities for rounded experience. At present it is too easy for one who has the proper introduction to rise without serious, sustained effort to a fairly prominent position among the pygmy mountains of the profession, as it is too facile a career to continue playing the type of role in which one first was cast.

Intelligence, moreover, is less easily assumed than emotion. The man that seeks to play a part by pondering each movement and each tone will succeed either in presenting a sound interpretation or in making himself ludicrous—if indeed his actual performance does not lapse into a sudden emotional effort. The only actor that can employ the intellectual approach is a good actor. Yet while a good actor may also move through emotional acceptance of a role, a poor performer finds in the feelingful approach his salvation, if not his lift to stardom. For emotion is readily stimulated; “violence of passion” consists largely of external gymnastics each may carry on as he wills, and a wooden performance may among blockheads pass for rare restraint. When the audience finds its chief intellectual stimulus outside the theatre in the tabloid accounts of the latest bared murder or veiled perversion, even when it turns from these to the pseudo-classic leer with which a modern professor smirks over an ancient lady's private life (the classics turned tabloid!) there is little stage appeal in genuine emotional expression beside the exaggerations of ignorance and shallow feeling. The tradition of overemphasis, moreover, comes down from the theatre; from the distant symbolism of the early moralities, legitimately through comedy and what is commonly called the “illegitimate,” on through the ten-twenty-third melodrama and farce of two generations ago, directly into “Able's Irish Rose” and the movies.

Before considering which of the two attitudes—which we may more simply refer to as the actor living the part as he plays, or the actor watching the part as he plays—before attempting to assign greater merit to either attitude, it might be well to observe whether they are both valid, each in its different

type of dramatic situation. And if it is at once evident that in broad comedy, farce and burlesque, the good actor is always watching the part, is never merged with the character that indeed no one accepts as real, but is always ready with apt word or deft movement to slip in a new gag, taking advantage of the news of the day, of the presence of a notable in the audience, of the occasional siff of the theatre. Wherever the stage person is largely a device or symbol, the actor is manifestly unable to live the part.

The behavior of a performer in emergencies may be an indication of his method of approach to the theatre. The man who can play a love scene while carrying on a quarrel, sotto voce, with the heroine, who offstage is his wife; the actor who, while stirring through the climax of a drama deep with implications, criticizes the audience to his neighbor onstage: “What do those asses understand of this?” these players are watching their parts. The heroine who tears herself into a climax that droops her exhausted night; the actor whose clutch leaves five-minute memory on his rival's neck, these players are living theirs. To realize a part by either method demands a rich personality; at times you may have seen a performer, called on to speak out of his role, embarrassed, hesitant; let such men be suspect.

As has been remarked, the difference between the two types of acting is less in the result than in the approach. Yet it should be noted that when the actor lives the part, successive performances will change with the actor's physical condition and his mood without his being able to analyze the variations; he will know that he has had a “good” or a “poor” evening, but for details he will have to turn to the director. And—once the actor has learned his part—the only way the director can improve the performance is by inducing him to change his diet, or to cut out cocktails before the play, or otherwise to adjust his life so that he may come full-powered to his acting. When, on the other hand, the actor watches his part, he will more nearly approach the same interpretation nightly—at the Theatre Francaise the audience awaits the expected intonations, and critical paragraphs spring from a syllabic shifting, and when physiological conditions produce a variation, the performer will probably be able to tell just how his playing has changed.

Let us fancy two actors preparing the same part; they have reached the line: “You'll pay for this!” The first player has gone through the situation; he has roused himself to a high pitch of anger; he hates and despises the other man, who has temporarily conquered; in a burst of foiled fury he cries “You'll pay for this!” The second player has come through the situation; he has analyzed the actions of the various characters to discern the motives beneath; he sees that in the present situation such a character as he is to represent would probably feel anger quickened by temporary defeat and stung with pride (is not the heroine present?) and he reads the line: “You'll pay for this!” Both may give precisely the same rendering, may elicit exactly the same response. But the first has his main work to do, every performance; the second has his main work done.

On the stage, as elsewhere, the easy and the profitable predominate; the thoughtful and the sincere move indifferently on. Emotional overacting appeals to an emotionally underfed public, seeking through tabloid and theatre the expression they dare not in themselves. And as long as sex-suggestion, body-baring and roaring melodrama hold the stage from searing or searching drama, so long will posturing or stamping emotion, in place of sincere presentation—so long will poor acting prevail.

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Opening Monday, March 7th—“INHERITORS” SEATS NOW

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

PYGMALION

GUILD THEATRE 82nd Street, West of Broadway. Even. at 8:30
Matinees THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30

Week of March 14—BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

NED McCOBB'S DAUGHTER

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 18th St. East of Broadway CIRCLE
Matinees THURSDAY and SATURDAY 5:15

Week of March 14—THE SILVER CORD

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

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

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

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

Wednesday, March 9, 8:30 p. m., McAllister Coleman; subject, “What Price Electricity?” Harlem Forum, 62 East 106th street. Auspices of Socialist Party, 17th and 18th A. D.

BRONX

Friday, March 4, 8:30 p. m., Dr. Joseph Osman; subject, “Changing Human Behavior.” Tremont Forum, 4215 Third avenue. Auspices of Socialist Party, Branch 7. On Friday, March 11, Dr. Osman will lecture on “Psychology and Crime.”

Sunday, March 6, 3 p. m., Thomas Rogers; subject, “Elements of Socialism.” 1167 Boston road. Auspices of Central Branch, Socialist Party, Y. P. S. L. Circle 1.

Monday, March 7, 8:30 p. m., Esther Friedman; subject, “The Changing Social Order.” 1167 Boston road. Auspices of Socialist Party, Central Branch.

BROOKLYN

Friday, March 4, 8:30 p. m., Louis Waldman; subject, “Crime and the Law.” 218 Van Siclen avenue. Auspices of Socialist Party, 22nd A. D. Branch.

Monday, March 7, 8:30 p. m., Dr. Hyman Katz; subject, “Elements of Socialism.” 345 South 3rd street. Auspices of Socialist Party, 4th and 14th A. D. Branch.

Provincetown Playhouse Production

IN

ABRAHAM'S BOSOM

NOW PLAYING AT

GARRICK THEATRE
65 West 35th Street

“A sweeping theme... noble in conception.”—POST.

Present this AD at the Boxoffice to secure special half rates—two tickets for the price of one.

critus and the Materialistic Conception of Nature and Life. March 14, Plato and the Idealistic Conception of Nature and Life. March 21, Descartes and the Dualism of Mind and Body. March 28, Bergson and the Conception of Vitalistic Evolution.

Fellowship Notes

The Fellowship of the Rand School of Social Science had a very successful dance last Saturday night. They are now devoting their energies toward the reunion and ball to be given by the Rand School, Friday evening, March 18, at the Central Opera House. A camera will be given to the member of the Fellowship selling the largest number of tickets and an umbrella to the one selling the next largest number.

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

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

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THE NEW LEADER

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

Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association

Editor: JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor: EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager: U. SOLOMON

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class...

SATURDAY, MARCH 5, 1927

COMMUNITY OWNERSHIP

IDEALIZING the process by which you come into possession of others' valuables is a special art in this country...

A circular of the George Batten Company, Inc., bearing the caption "Who Owns General Motors?" is about the cleverest thing we have seen...

"Usually the process begins when a group of gentlemen known as investment bankers make a visit to the individuals, the founders, or the family that owns a business..."

That is one way, but purchase of plants by the silk hats is not always followed by a "substantial ownership" by the former proprietors...

THE OIL FRAUDS

AFTER years of litigation the Supreme Court of the United States has nullified the oil contracts and leases obtained by Edward L. Doheny...

This case is of more than ordinary interest considering our strained relations with Mexico over American investments in Mexican oil...

Our State Department has objected to inspection of Mexican titles. It assumes that they are sacred. Would it not be a disgraceful thing if the people of this country were called upon to wage war to protect American investments in Mexico...

CELEBRATION OF COMMUNE

OUR readers in Greater New York and vicinity are urged to make a note of March 18, as that is an important date for all friends of The New Leader...

No better anniversary could be chosen for The New Leader, the Rand School and the Party to celebrate. At the Central Opera House Friday evening, March 18, we expect a great reunion that will be memorable to all our friends...

THE COOLIDGE VETO

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE read a long lecture on economics and constitutional law to the bankrupt farmers of the West in vetoing the McNary-Haugen bill...

It would also be interesting to try such an experiment on the thousands of capitalists and bankers who urged the veto and then complimented Coolidge for having the "courage" to write it...

PROSPERITY

FROM Massachusetts comes a story which we hope will engage the attention of President Coolidge. It comes from the homeland of Coolidge and Butler...

In the city of Maynard many of the working population are dependent upon the Assabet mills of the American Woolen Company. "Pallid little girls without warm underwear and stockings," reads the news dispatches...

It is a harrowing tale of distress which comes from the heart of the region blessed by the holy tariff which constitutes a part of the religion of Coolidge. We would like to hear from Cal about this...

OLVANY'S PROXY

UNDER the caption of "The Wise Man of Gotham" the morning World ventures farther in its criticism of Olvany's boy Mayor, Hon. James J. Walker...

The News of the Week

Mexican Issue Now a Mystery

As we go to press the Mexican situation becomes a deep mystery. The old Congress has expired and a note has been sent to Mexico, the contents of which are shrouded in deep mystery...

China Awaits Vital Struggle

The expected battle between the northern and southern forces in China has not occurred as this is written, although it is evident that it will not be long delayed...

Chile's Despot Exiles Fees

General Carlos Ibanez, the Prussian-trained Dictator of Chile in the interest of foreign capital and native exploiters...

Europe Plays High Comedy

Comedy wins in the news from Europe this week. Despite reports of impending wage conflicts in Germany, where the Saar Valley mine owners have announced a cut of 10 percent from March 16...

Opera Americanisms

The sorrowfullest slap at 100 per cent. Americanism is that there American opera. It has been written by two Americans, financed by American gold, given an American debut in an American metropolis...

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Beautiful America

THERE are a number of ways of greeting the American situation without acquiescence. The acquiescences; the Mary Pickfords, Hamlin Garland, Cal Coolidge, Bishop Mannings, Booth Tarkingtons, Edgar Guest, Kelloggs and Guggenheims...

In approaching the American situation, the radical attack has been painfully incomprehensive. We have few if any satirists. Our novelists are not numerous. Our historians are still fewer. Our philistine theoreticians are not even a handful...

THE CHATTER BOX

Opera Americanisms

And out of such musical joy we come to a most dramatic aria, from the tenor at the close of the trial, which is addressed to the composite sweetheart of one of the male singers in the opera—the "U. S. A."—and sung perhaps by Mr. Sinclair...

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