

just demands.

"No Blood for Oil" Is Socialist Slogan; Calles Is Defended

LET Mexico alone; recall the Marines from Nicaragua; abandon the recent imperialistic policy of the United States before it leads this country to war. These were the demands made at an emergency meeting of the New York City Socialists held at the Rand School, 7 East Fifteenth street. Speakers, including Norman Thomas, Judge Jacob Panken and James O'Neal, urged American workers to beware of reports that the Mexican situation is in any way relieved by Senator Robinson's arbitration resolution or Secretary Kellogg's announcement that this country is willing to arbitrate differences with Mexico. "On all hands there is an obvious tendency to soft-pedal the severity of the present situation," said Norman Thomas, "but, if anything, it is more menacing to peace than ever before."

At the close of the meeting the following statement giving the Socialist position on this country's relation to the Latin countries was issued:

"The Socialist Party of New York City calls upon all those who work with hand or brain to resist to the utmost the attempts of a small group of capitalist investors in Latin America to plunge this country into disgraceful warfare with its weaker neighbors to the south. The Administration's menacing attitude towards little Nicaragua and the Labor government of Mexico is but the logical outcome of a policy of brazen imperialism as vicious as any pursued by overseas empires. In furthering this policy the Democratic party is equally as guilty as the Republican. The present lack of any effective opposition on the part of the Democrats to the ruthlessness of Calvin Coolidge and his funkies in the State Department is evidence that both old parties are resolved to obey the dictates of those American investors in foreign securities who contribute the bulk of the campaign expenses with unbiased generosity."

The Trade Figures

"A thousand and one reasons have been given by the Official Spokesman and the bewildered old gentleman in the State Department for the presence of our Marines in Nicaragua and the bearing of our teeth at the Mexican government. All the talk of religious persecution, seizure of American property, mythical canals, Bolshevism and the rest comes at length to this: The latest figures for American investment in Mexico place them at some one billion and a half dollars. Over 70 per cent. of the foreign trade of Nicaragua is conducted with the United States."

"The latest figures issued semi-officially by the Department of Commerce show the present relative importance of our various interests in Mexico to be as follows:

"Government bonds..... \$22,000,000
Railroads..... 100,000,000
Mining and smelting..... 500,000,000
Oil lands and refineries..... 478,000,000
Manufacturing..... 60,000,000
Wholesale and retail stores..... 50,000,000
Plantations and timber..... 200,000,000
Banks, telephones and telegraph companies, light and power companies and transportation..... 10,000,000
Total..... \$1,280,000,000

* Not including provincial and municipal bonds held here.

"Familiar to all Americans are the names of those interested in Mexican oil. Again and again, as having a controlling interest or direct share in the petroleum industry in Mexico, the names of American oil magnates, such as Doheny, Sinclair, Standard Oil, J. P. Morgan, Henry Doherty and others whose property we are now called on to defend. In connection with mining, our second largest interest in Mexico, we find the Guggenheim, Green and Ryan interests, the Phelps-Dodge Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Company. Several of the directors of the National Railway of Mexico are New York bankers representing

MINN. LABORITES PLAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Farmer-Labor Party to Convene Regional Confab in the West

(Continued from page 1)

unanimous. The present Farmer-Labor Association which was organized on March 20, 1925, will be continued. This association is made up of economic and political organizations and excludes any person or organization advocating political or economic change "by means of force or by means of revolution or advocating any other than a representative form of government."

This organization committee reported against any divisional or separate political organizations of economic groups and came out for one united and affiliated body, the association. It was unanimously sustained by the conference.

The state conventions of the Farmer-Labor Association are made up of delegates from the counties, not from the economic organizations direct. An effort was made to give these groups direct representation in the state conventions. This was defeated at the conference. The delegates to the state conventions will continue to come from the counties in proportion to the vote cast for governor at the last preceding election. The county conventions which elect the state convention delegates are made up of delegates from each affiliated organization of not less than 10 members, in proportion to their strength, but no group has more than 3 delegates. The Farmer-Labor Association will hereafter meet annually instead of biennially. Its next convention will be held in March, 1927. Candidates receiving the support of the association must hereafter make public such endorsement. Elections in Minnesota are conducted on the non-party basis. The Farmer-Labor Party, it was unanimously decided, will be continued as the sole political expression of the workers and farmers. The State Federation of Labor at its last convention had urged its local unions to affiliate with the Farmer-Labor Association. The conference thus unanimously decided for the further upbuilding of the Farmer-Labor Party.

For National Movement in 1928 Because the problems of the farmer-labor movement are national, the conference considered what could be done in a practical way to extend the movement. As against a nation-wide convention immediately, the Minnesota conference decided to ask the Farmer-Labor Association convention of March, 1927, to send out a call for regional conferences of the northwest and southwest. At the same time the Minnesota movement will conduct educational work and take the initiative in furthering organization of farmer-labor political efforts in other states. The definite basis for a common program in the interests of the movement nationally in 1928 is to be worked out in this way.

Resolutions The resolution on public ownership and democratic management of the railroads met with some opposition, but it was carried easily. A resolution which was adopted called for the impeachment of Secretary of State Kellogg and protested against the action of the government in Nicaragua, Mexico and China, and demanded the recall of the marines. Other resolutions adopted declare for retention of the day labor system, old age pensions, retention of the civil service, removal of personal financial responsibility to drivers of power vehicles employed by cities and villages, adequate compensation to injured workmen, the issuance of money by the government instead of Federal reserve banks, an anti-injunction law, legislation to eliminate financial or other forms of monopoly, and that Emil Youngdahl, who was counted out, be seated in the State Legislature.

"The Socialists of this country urge that the workers, who in the long run must do the fighting, if fighting there is to be, are not caught napping, as they were in 1917. Let them acquaint themselves with the facts about this ominous germ of capitalism which is called imperialism. Let them everywhere raise their voices against intervention of any sort in Mexico. Let their slogan be, 'No Blood for Oil, No War for Wall Street.'"

Free Fellowship Dance A dance will be given at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Saturday evening, February 5, at 9 o'clock.

The Alma Mater of Chapman Wins Two New Students

By Charles Solomon

THE place is the Court of General Sessions in the City of New York. The judge is imposing sentences.

Two names are called. "The prisoners to the bar." "Two youths come forward. Mechanically from the clerk: 'What have you to say why sentence should not be imposed upon you according to law?'"

The youths say nothing. They are unaccompanied by counsel and there is no one to speak for them. Let us take a look at these boys seated waiting for our case to be reached for trial.

Young Prisoners Both are young, very young. One is sixteen. The other is nineteen. They are poorly dressed, very. Neither has an overcoat. One has not even a coat of any kind. He wears an old, worn, weather-beaten sweater jacket. It is a long time since his hair was trimmed. He is the younger of the two. His face places him in striking contrast to the older boy. It is a fine, sensitive face. The kind you would associate with that of a lad with artistic leanings. He is the shorter of the two. The other, the nineteen-year-old boy, is tall, thin, gangling; his face is pale, almost white. There is a growth of stubble on his chin and hair on his cheeks. They are charged, along with another boy, unapprehended, with having committed a robbery. You are surprised to learn this because these boys look so frail, so timid, so utterly harmless. Are they? We'll soon know more about it. They have been found guilty or have pleaded guilty.

The complaining witness is called and he tells the judge that these boys, together with a third, came into his place of business, a second hand clothing store in the Bowery, ostensibly to buy a suit of clothes; a suit was taken by them, and they ran away with it, without paying. One of the trio, not one of the two before the court, had a gun, it is said. The suit of clothes? It was recovered. The police have it. It is in their custody in the court room, then and there. In fact, when it was recovered it was being worn by one of the two

boys who came to the second hand clothing man's store.

"They are Unfortunates" The arresting officer is called. He is a strongly built man, with a good face. The judge wants to know how he feels in the matter, what his recommendation is.

"They are unfortunates," he says, referring to the boys. "Victims."

The court says something about the people who go out and kill police while committing crimes.

The policeman replies that when the boys were apprehended they offered no resistance whatever. "They were as meek as lambs." And the older boy was wearing the stolen suit.

From the court: "Where is the third fellow?" The police are trying to get him. It develops the three met in an army recruiting office for the first time recently. From there they went out to the adventure which culminated in the appearance of the two before the bar for sentence.

The younger boy, the one with the poet's face, never knew his parents. They died when he was very young and he has no recollection of them whatever. The older boy lost his mother when he was five; he never knew his father.

The Judge Is Perplexed Neither was ever taught a trade and their education was fragmentary. It is a touching case and the judge is perplexed, perhaps challenged. Who knows?

He says something about ten years in state's prison, obviously to scare the lads, to impress them with the enormity of their joint offense. He adds something about Elmira Reformatory. "It is very cold up there," he says, addressing the younger boy. "Would you rather go there or to state's prison for a long time?"

The younger boy, the one with the sensitive face, a mere lad physically, a child mentally, is weeping now, digging a dirty handkerchief with a black border into his eyes. He is just a kid, silently weeping.

The court stenographer, a gray-haired gentleman with an intelligent, kindly face, is visibly affected. He shakes his head sadly in compassion, and he looks at me with an expression of inquiry. I tell him, "It is terrible."

where the Governor stands. He is, of course, entitled to his own views as to the merits of the religious controversy in Mexico. American citizens generally are entitled to know whether or not he thinks that this religious controversy furnishes ground for itself or in addition to other reasons for intervention in Mexico or for steps looking toward intervention. Continued silence on questions like these at this time ill becomes one who is already a party leader in a national sense and who aspires, justly and honorably, to an even more decisive place of leadership.

"Sincerely yours, 'NORMAN THOMAS.'"

LEWIS IN SADDLE

(Continued from page 1)

friends would say that the election was stolen."

William Stevenson, defeated candidate for vice-president, said he was a friend of Brophy and resented the imputation of President Lewis. He raised a storm when he declared he could tell of "filmy things."

Stevenson asserted that he knew that delegates had been brought from West Virginia, their expenses paid by the International Union. In order to "pack the convention and put over any program the Administration saw fit."

During the discussion of the resolution concerning the establishment of a labor party in the United States, Secretary-Treasurer Thomas Kennedy said that industrial co-operation between unions in this country has not yet been achieved and that after unions were ready to co-operate with each other on the industrial field it would be time to talk of a labor party.

In this connection he asserted that the railroad brotherhoods were unwilling to co-operate with the miners by employing union labor in their coal mines.

Appealing for a labor party, John W. Hindmarsh of Riverton, Ill., pointed to labor's support of Senator-elect

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BRITISH LABOR FIGHTS WAR

(Continued from page 1)

haunted military demonstration against the Cantonese Government as the effect may be to stir up a spirit of panic and aggression on both sides and make inevitable the very misfortunes which it pretends to prevent.

"This demonstration, moreover, is likely to thwart the policy of negotiations and amicable settlement on the basis of a frank recognition of Chinese national self-government, which our Foreign Office was appearing to pursue, and tends to set that policy aside for one of threat and defiance."

"The British labor movement, therefore, calls for the patient and honest pursuit of peaceful negotiations with China, free from the menace of armed force, for the ultimate abrogation of the treaties that now have no right to be enforced and for amicable arrangements for the immediate winding up of the conditions that depend directly or indirectly upon the existence of these treaties."

"The British labor movement further sends to the Chinese workers its sincerest sympathies and support in their attempts to improve their economic conditions, and it is hoped that by a firm but peaceful policy of negotiations they will guide their country through its present difficulties and dangers and publish it among the self-governing countries of the world and make it of their free will, which will be for the benefit and dignity of their people."

The Council telegraphed this resolution to Eugene Chen, the Cantonese Foreign Minister. It added a message declaring that British labor was doing all in its power to obtain a peaceful settlement and expressed confidence that Mr. Chen would do "everything possible to negotiate a settlement and prevent any incidents that will give an excuse for the use of military force."

UNITY HOUSE REUNION
DANCE FEBRUARY 12

Only four weeks remain before the Unity House Reunion Dance which will take place on Saturday evening, February 12, Lincoln's Birthday, in the ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House, 34th street and 8th avenue.

This affair was arranged on the request of the thousands of friends that Unity House has made during its existence, and who appreciate its significance. On this occasion members and their friends—all those to whom the ideal for which "Unity" stands is dear, may join together in fellowship and sociability for a happy evening.

The beauty of the ballroom which has been chosen to recall the beauties of Unity Village, the excellence of the dance floor, and the unequalled music of the Paul Whitman Piccadilly Players will add to the pleasure of the evening.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'
DANCE NEXT FRIDAY

The Trade Unionist Group of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union has arranged its first entertainment and dance, which will take place this Friday evening, January 28, at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street.

The program will include a one-act play by members of the union. An excellent jazz band will also be secured to provide dance music until the wee hours of the morning. A good time is assured to all those attending by the arrangements committee. All trade unionists are invited to attend.

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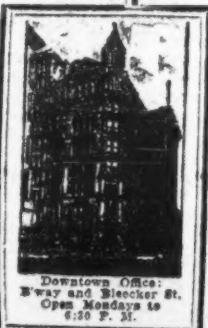
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Berger's Sensational Speech Charging U.S. Plot in Mexico

By Victor L. Berger

Socialist Congressman from Wisconsin
(An address delivered in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, January 18.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House: I really did not intend to take the floor at this time. I am under a physician's care. Moreover, we have had enough oratory.

I read in the paper and heard on the floor of this House, however, something about a war with Mexico in which the United States may become involved. And the moment I heard the word "war" I felt like the old military steed that heard the bugle. I am an old war horse. I went through a war for four years and a half, and my "croix de guerre"—my cross of war—consisted in a sentence to serve 20 years in the penitentiary. Some cross to bear.

After looking over the situation carefully, however, I am not a bit afraid that there will be war. There is not the slightest danger.

The American people are not ready for any war. Wars nowadays must be mentally and psychologically thoroughly prepared—prepared by a drum fire of propaganda. We have not even had a preparedness parade as yet, as we had in 1916.

It would take quite a little propaganda before the bulk of the American people would become ready for war with Mexico. First and foremost, they would want to know why they should have any war at all.

There are millions of Americans who are beginning to see now that we were bamboozled and flimflammed into the World War; that it was not a war to protect the small nations; not a war to make the world safe for democracy; not a war to do away with militarism; not a war to make an end to all wars.

Yet all these reasons for entering the World War were given at the time to the "intellectuals" of the Nation.

The truth is that no one is anxious to have a war just now—except a small clique of young militarists in the War Office.

Intimidation of Calles Sought

President Coolidge does not want war, and poor Kellogg does not want it. Some papers close to the oil magnates, a few Knights of Columbus fanatics, and the Hearst organs talk about war—but it is evidently done for the purpose of intimidating the Calles government in Mexico. Our American capitalist class is not ready for any war.

Of course, if the American capitalists should really want war with Mexico or anybody else they could have it quickly enough. Our capitalist class owns the press, controls the churches, rules the schools; speaks through the radio, the playhouses, and the billboards, and possesses all means of publicity and of communication.

The capitalist class owns the "patria," and therefore has the first call on all "patriotism."

The capitalist class, as a matter of course, also owns both of the old parties in Congress and out of Congress.

Therefore, if our capitalist class really wanted war with Mexico, who would be here to stop it?

The Republican Party would be for it about 98 percent. And the Democratic Party, whose stronghold is nearer Mexico, would be for it 99 percent.

Socialist Congressman Tells House of American Interests' Plan to Safeguard Their Huge Property Holdings

Who would oppose it?

The peace societies? They would adjourn, as in 1917, and the ladies would knit stockings, jackets and possibly do some Red Cross work for the soldiers.

The Ku-Klux Klan? That is a patriotic society, and in killing Mexicans their members would be killing Roman Catholics and some negroes, which is not against a "Klansman's creed."

The American Federation of Labor? It would want \$1 more wages per day for the munition workers.

The farmers? They would simply demand \$2.25 for a bushel of wheat.

Opposition Would Fade

The Liberals? Where was the New York World during the war? It was Woodrow Wilson's mouth-piece. Where was the New Republic? Its editors were in the War Department, or working for George Creel.

In short, there would be no real opposition if our capitalist class would be really determined to go to war with Mexico.

But I am disappointed in the way the President and Mr. Kellogg handle this situation. It is really humiliating.

There is Mr. Kellogg. He knows all this, or ought to know it. He has lived in this country for some time. Therefore, why did he have to take refuge in that worn-out scarecrow, the "red spook" for this particular war whoop? Why did he have to trot out Bolshevism to fortify his position?

When Mr. Kellogg was invited to appear before the Senate committee to explain the basis and the justification for our Government's policy in Nicaragua, and also the policy against Mexico which is interwoven—he left with the committee a paper entitled "Bolshevik Aims and Policies in Mexico and Latin America."

From this paper we learned that there is in Mexico a deep and dark plot which originated in Moscow to combat American imperialism—and particularly American imperialism in Latin America. That plot is to be carried out by the American Communist Party, called the Workers' Party, and it is this plot that gave the Secretary of State, and evidently also the President of the United States, the cold shivers.

Now, I will say this: I very seriously doubt whether Mr. Kellogg, or Mr. Coolidge, has ever seen a real live Communist. There are so few of them in the United States.

Now, I can proudly claim that I have seen, met and spoken to some. And I had some very serious disagreements with them—and I never shivered the slightest bit.

Mr. Kellogg's Documents

But to come back to Mr. Kellogg's documents.

It is hard to see how he can make out a case of Bolshevism against Mexico. All that Mr. Kellogg has to show is Tchitcherine's statement that he wished the American Workers' Party would make propaganda in Mexico against American imperialism.

But Calles, the President of Mexico, protested against the Communist pre-

tense to use Mexico as a basis for any kind of propaganda.

Moreover, our State Department must have known of the protest because just two days after the Calles protest the Associated Press reported it from Mexico City.

Mr. Kellogg's so-called evidence consists in resolutions by Russians in Moscow or American Communists in Chicago—saying that they would like to combat American imperialism in Mexico. Anybody who has any idea as to how prolific are the Communists in resolutions would not pay the slightest attention to evidence of that kind. It is unmitigated trash.

But at the end of Mr. Kellogg's statement given to the Senate Committee what do we find? We find three Mexican documents. And these are the only three.

All of them are protests against any attempt to use Mexico as a base for Communist propaganda.

Especially strong is the protest of the Mexican Federation of Labor to the Russian ambassador against his giving moral and economic support to the Communist group—"enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of the Mexican Government."

Are we to go to war about that? The only case that Mr. Kellogg seems to make out is that the Bolsheviks are opposed to American imperialism.

Are we to go to war with Mexico because a few Bolsheviks preach opposition in Latin America to our imperialism?

There can be no question that the present policy of the United States in Central America is imperialistic, and stupidly so.

Let us first consider our actions in Nicaragua.

The policy of the United States in dealing with revolutions in Central America was defined in the Washington treaty of 1924, which was signed by Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador.

The United States did not sign that treaty; President Coolidge himself points out, however, that the treaty was made in Washington, under the auspices of our Secretary of State, and that therefore the American Government has felt a moral obligation to apply its principles in order to encourage the Central American States in their effort to prevent revolution and disorder.

Who Is Diaz?

The main principles of that Washington treaty is that no recognition will be extended to anyone who achieves power by virtue of "a revolution against a recognized government." The purpose evidently is to back the forms of constitutional government in Central America—in the hope that eventually orderly procedure will become fixed.

Now, let us see how our State Department has lived up to these principles.

In October, 1924, Salazar and Sacasa were elected President and Vice-President of Nicaragua. There was no question of the legality of their election, and recognition was granted to them. Ten months later the American marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua, and within two months a revolution, led by General Chamorro, broke out. There was the situation the treaty condemned.

What did our State Department do? It kept its hands off.

It refused to intervene to save Solorzano and Sacasa; but when they were overthrown they refused to recognize Chamorro because we had achieved power by a revolution against a recognized government.

All this was perfectly correct so far. But while the State Department adopted the theory of non-intervening in the case of any help wanted by Solorzano and Sacasa, it abandoned this theory when it came to dealing with Diaz.

Now, who is Diaz? Diaz was one of the most active partisans of Chamorro, the revolutionist. Diaz is now President only because Chamorro overthrew the legally elected government. Diaz is the ultimate beneficiary of the Chamorro revolution, and our marines are now in Nicaragua upholding his authority.

The question is, How can the United States Government justify non-intervention to save Solorzano and Sacasa, who were legally elected, and at the same time justify intervention to protect Diaz, who is the direct beneficiary of the kind of revolutionary movement our government has solemnly announced it would not tolerate?

The claim of Diaz to the Presidency rests upon an alleged election that took place by Congress.

There are two vital objections to this claim. First, the body holding the alleged election was not the legal Congress of Nicaragua; second, that even the legal Congress would have had no authority to make such an election.

The revolutionary forces under General Chamorro expelled the Liberal members of Congress, who, together with the anti-Chamorro Conservatives, constituted a majority of that body, and filled up the vacancies with Conservatives without a vestige of title to such position.

But to get back to Mexico, which I think at present is the crux of the matter.

I ask again, Are we to go to war with Mexico because Bolsheviks in Chicago and Moscow preach opposition in Latin America to our imperialism? There are millions of Americans opposed to the imperialistic policy of

our State Department. And I am one of these millions.

Now, as to American foreign investments.

We are told by Stuart Chase in the New York Times of June 27, 1926, that—

Not far short of 25,000,000,000 American dollars are today reposing in lands outside the territorial boundaries of the United States. In 1900 we had only \$500,000,000 invested abroad, the bulk of it in Mexico, Canada and Cuba. In the same year foreign investors had the equivalent of some six or seven billion dollars in American enterprises. During the next decade our own investments abroad increased sharply. In 1909 they aggregated two billions, in 1913 two and one-half billions, half of it in Latin America and a quarter in Canada. Then came the war. From a debtor nation we turned suddenly into a creditor nation, with a prodigious balance on our side of the ledger.

Figures prepared by the finance and investment division of the United States Department of Commerce bring up the grand total for loans of private citizens to foreign governments and investments in foreign undertakings to \$9,522,000,000.

In this the western hemisphere leads, with investments of 71 per cent of the grand total, Canada holding 27 per cent, and Latin America claiming 44 per cent, or more than twice the total for Europe, and five and one-half times the aggregate for Asia and Oceania.

We Americans believe evidently in our own half of the map, for we have put 71 per cent of every \$100 invested in America outside of the United States.

And this must continue. In view of these figures, it is also of great interest to know how much American money we have invested in Mexico and by whom it is invested.

American property in Mexico is estimated to be worth approximately a billion and one-half dollars.

Oil lands, refineries, and appurtenances constitute the bulk of the property. They are worth about \$500,000,000.

Mining and smelting account for another \$300,000,000; plantations and timber, \$200,000,000; railway holdings, \$160,000,000; manufacturing enterprises, \$60,000,000; merchandise stores, \$50,000,000; street railways, power companies, telephones, and whatnot, \$10,000,000, and "concealed interests"—partnerships in concerns which have Mexican or other foreign names, and so forth—another \$250,000,000.

The Big Five In Mexican Oil

The "big five" American companies in the oil business are dominated by Standard Oil. This controls the "Comintental," also the Huasteca Co., formerly owned by L. Doheny.

Another of the "big five" is the Freeport-Mexican, controlled by Harry F. Sinclair; Mexican Gulf, owned by the Mellon family of Pittsburgh, and the Texas Co. (Ltd.) are the fourth and fifth.

The Guggenheims, owning the American Smelting & Refining Co., the Phelps Dodge Co. of Arizona, controlling the important copper mines; the American Metals Co., operating around Monterey and headed by Morrow, partner of J. Pierpont Morgan; and the Green Cananea Consolidated Copper Co., controlled by the copper king, John D. Ryan, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are among the most important mining concessionaires.

The Ryan-Rockefeller outfit owns the famous Anaconda, of Butte, the greatest copper concern in the world.

Among the big American landowners in Mexico are Harry Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles Times; William Randolph Hearst, of the Hearst newspapers; John Hays Hammond, prominent engineer; J. O. Jenkins, United States consular agent who was kidnapped by Mexican bandits a couple of years ago, and George Carnahan, and Charles Sablin, New York bankers, and others.

By scanning these names—and this list is by no means complete—one can readily see why all this agitation about Mexico and where it originates at the present time.

It is unfortunate, of course, that just at present the Mexican Government is in a bitter struggle with the Roman Catholic Church, trying to separate church and state in Mexico, as church and state has been separated in every civilized country. This makes the position of the Mexican Government much more precarious and adds the voices of the Catholic Church dignitaries, of the Knights of Columbus, and of the Catholic papers to those that are clamoring for our interference in Mexican affairs.

To sum up the situation as it appears today—

First—The United States is not much interested in Nicaragua, per se. Those canal rights—the canal is still only a paper canal—no one will take from us, for the simple reason that no one is strong enough. Moreover, Mexico had better justification for recognizing Sacasa than we have for recognizing Diaz. Nicaragua is not the issue, anyway; Mexico is the issue.

Second—Our Government is using Nicaragua to force a showdown with Mexico. Basic irritations are over Mexican policies toward American interests—oil and land primarily. The Roman Catholic Church is only secondary. Nicaragua, however, provides the "external issue."

De La Huerta Is Implicated

Third—Communist plottings in Mexico and Latin America are of no account, although the irritation to our

Government is increased by similar reports from "secret agents" in the Philippines, China and other countries—and Kellogg evidently likes to believe these ghost stories.

Fourth—We seem headed toward precipitating a revolution in Mexico to overthrow the Calles government and substitute a reactionary government which would assure the property rights of American capitalists in Mexico.

Fifth—Such a revolutionary movement is already definitely organized. It is generally directed by its leaders from the United States—Washington, Los Angeles and El Paso. American capitalists owning industries and land in Mexico are its principal supporters. Their candidate for the presidency is De la Huerta, now in the United States. His program is to suspend by military decrees the 1917 constitution, which is objectionable to the "interests," to substitute temporarily the 1857 constitution, and subsequently to call a new constitutional convention that will serve American vested property rights.

Sixth—Lifting of arms embargo would precipitate that kind of a revolution. Mexican revolutionists already have some arms and munitions, most of which were smuggled from the United States. Sacasa also got his arms in this way from New York.

Seventh—Regular war between the United States and Mexico is improbable. Naval and military forces would be used "to protect American interests" against "revolutionary chaos," and to help Huerta after he is recognized by the United States.

Whether this program can be carried out in its entirety I very much doubt, even though this is a capitalist world and the United States is the foremost capitalist country in the world.

And now we ought to consider in a few words the question of imperialism from a purely historical point of view.

There are those who point out that all colonialism in America, especially also in the United States and Canada, were imperialistic to a large extent, since the land had been taken away from Indians who had possessed it.

Others point to the fact, after all, the earth belongs to humanity as a whole, and especially to those who can make the best use of it.

And that, therefore, it is foolish and silly to let some wild tribes, or a more or less barbaric or backward nation, occupy hundreds of thousands of square miles of land which they can-

not and would not put to good use, and keep the land more or less vacant, while there are 300 or 400 inhabitants to a square mile in England or Germany or Belgium.

The Danger of Imperialism

These historians say that there are today 120,000,000 people living in a high state of civilization in the United States, while there were never more than 500,000 Indians at any time living as hunters on the same territory.

We are also told that while the war against Mexico, waged against President Santa Ana in 1846, was undoubtedly one of the least justifiable our country has ever waged—unless it was our entry into the World War—still the result of the Mexican War made it possible to carve out six States, among them California, part of Oregon, Colorado, Oklahoma, and so forth, where people, of course, enjoy a much higher civilization in every respect than would the inhabitants had they remained with Mexico.

These are philosophical problems which I cannot solve. They involve the question as to whether human beings are happier under a complex civilization, with its many wants and duties, or happier leading the simple life of a backward nation.

And there is also this to be said:

The uncivilized or less civilized parts of the globe are mostly in the hands of the colored races. And these races are beginning to wake up. The World War has taught them a few things. Especially, also, that a bullet fired out of a modern rifle by a colored man is as deadly as when fired by a white man.

They have also learned how to use the power of the boycott and are using it effectively in India and China against the English—and the Spanish-speaking peoples will use this weapon against America.

Moreover, there is social disaster threatening in every civilized country.

Italy, which is itself a sort of industrially backward country, has temporarily stayed it off by organizing the Fascist to subjugate the proletariat by open violence. In our country the danger is more remote on account of colonial conditions still prevailing. But even here we find private armies everywhere organized as detective agencies who serve under various pretexts, mainly as deputy sheriffs.

But remember, gentlemen, if you believe in property as a creed, so is Communism a religion for those who believe in it. You cannot kill ideas with a club. And you cannot keep up the present system the moment the great mass is persuaded that it has outlived

its usefulness and that it is the enemy of the happiness of mankind.

Will Fight Kellogg Policies

The Communist Party is absolutely insignificant. And the Communist theories may be ever so wrong; but if you keep on persecuting the Communists, sufficiently, you will make heroes and martyrs of them.

And when the battle will be on in earnest it will be a struggle like the religious wars, but it will be waged with a ferocity, a self-sacrifice and a persistence that will make the religious wars of the seventeenth century seem like little riots by comparison.

I do not want any violent convulsions. I want to see a Socialist Commonwealth grow out of the present economic and political conditions by natural evolution.

But there can be no doubt that after a whole century of trying out the dictatorship of the capitalists for the purpose of private gain it has failed to commend itself to the judgment of the democracies throughout the world. Whatever one may think of the motive for business, no one will dare say that it is a high motive or a noble aspiration.

Everybody will agree that it does not lead to the production of art or beauty; that it is inimical to friendship and that profit making is not the parent of love.

Even the keenest profit maker instinctively resists the introduction of the profit motive into his own family relations. There he wants the opposite principle to prevail.

And to come back to the Mexican situation. Suppose it is written in the stars that there shall be only one economic and political unit on this continent from the North Pole to the Panama Canal, is there only one way to accomplish this? Can this be done only by using brutal and ruthless force against weak and defenseless neighbors? Is there no such thing as peaceful penetration?

Does the highest culture of the white race consist in making dollars and investing them with the largest possible profits? Is this our destiny?

If our culture is higher than that of our neighbors, let us prove that in a cultural way.

I am against the policies of our State Department and shall use all civilized and human means to oppose them.

At Brooklyn Jewish Center

The speaker at the Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667-691 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, on Monday, Jan. 17, at 8:15, will be Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, author of renowned. Professor Barnes will speak on "The Implications of Living in the Twentieth Century."

Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

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The Sweet Chocolate Laxative will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

NEW LEADER PUBLISHING ASS'N NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of The New Leader Publishing Association will take place on Monday, January 31, at 8 P. M. at the People's House, Room 508, 7 East 15th street.

In addition to the election of officers and members of the Board of Management for the ensuing year, a full report will be presented of the condition of The New Leader and plans for the future.

Members of the Association are urged to make a special effort to attend this meeting. Applications for new members will be accepted. Membership in the Association is limited to members of the Socialist Party, and it is the duty of every party member to join The New Leader Association. Initiation fee is \$1.00 and the yearly dues are but \$1.00 a year.

MORRIS BERMAN, President.
J. GERBER, Secretary.

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The Problems of Socialism—From a College Window

By Vida D. Scudder

THAT title of Mr. Benson's was good enough to steal. For the person who spends his years in a college has a curious sense of looking out on the spectacle of life rather than sharing it. Suppose him to have been an ardent Socialist—say in the nineties—what has happened to his convictions during the long years while he has watched the passing show? What does the prospect look like to him now—a-days?

One dares not make assertion about "him"—"He" is too complicated and collective. Let us talk frankly from the private and personal point of view.

First: It is possible to be more passionately a Socialist now than thirty years ago. The movement of events has made it more and more desperately clear that short of the abolition of class in the modern sense, and the destruction of an industrial system based on private profit, there is little hope of sanity or even of survival for our civilization.

But, second, it is a great deal harder than it used to be to tell what Socialism is.

The Old-Time Religion

Back in the early days, how fortifying to troubled minds was the Socialist formula! One could plant one's feet on it firmly; it was the rung of a ladder pointing to the stars. Communal ownership of the means of production, nationalization of natural resources, cooperation not competition—the phrases were illuminating, satisfying, worth living for, worth dying for. But as one tried to hold one's foot on them, they slid from under—or perhaps it is more accurate to say that the foot trying to spring up to the next rung encountered air and emptiness. The trouble with American Socialism today is that it can not find firm footing anywhere. Metaphor apart, the fact is that our cherished formulae are of decreasing practical value.

Nationalism of resources, for instance. Well and good; many Socialists believe in it still. But the war taught us a deep distrust of State capitalism. We see that without intricate safeguards and guarantees, the control of resources by government might mean worse menace to liberty than any riot of individualistic anarchy.

Communal ownership: It is a blanket definition which may imply any one of a dozen things. If all the employees in a given business, for example, were stockholders in that busi-

ness, we begin dimly to wonder whether we should be any further advanced toward an epoch of industrial peace and equal brotherhood.

PARTING OF THE WAYS

People are always trying to treat formulae as if they were programs. But a formula is not a program. When one tries so to treat it, it laughs at one, and turns into a will-o-the-wisp, leading now here, now there. From that college window, it sometimes looks as if some American Socialists were rather pathetically pursuing will-o-the-wisps, and likely to plunge into a marsh any minute. One discerns lack of any unity in direction among them. Disintegrated radicalism! That is what one sees in America today—or what one saw a few years ago; for there are signs of rallying. The New Leader being one. This is, of course, common knowledge. During the war one group of American Socialists swung off into what many of us thought a pseudo-patriotism that gave the lie to our professions. We had been simple enough to take the solidarity of labor seriously, to assume that a Socialist must be an internationalist. It was disconcerting to find so many of our comrades in time of test carried away by phrases that seemed to us—and here we were unjust—mere clap-trap, with the old ring of national greed disguised as idealism. Our social theories, at the sharp impact with traditional loyalties and interests, proved mist driving against a stone wall.

It was salutary to learn this. The experience should have taught us once for all, not to minimize the power over men's minds of instilled beliefs and inherited devotions. There was the nation—a reality. There was the Brotherhood of Man—a paper phrase. Even a pretty poor reality always has at a pinch the advantage over an ideal, and it was the reality which won out, with many noble people. In fact, there is usually much to appeal to the best as well as the cheapest in us—and the existing state of things is more deeply entrenched in men's hearts than we realize. So American Socialism came to the parting of the ways, was divided against itself, and only just now is once more drawing together.

SOCIALISM DISINTEGRATING? Divided ways! How many, how bewildering! All within that wide region which may justly be described as

Issue of the Future Is Between Clashing Socialist Forces; Dictatorships vs. the Democratic Values

Socialistic. Thinking in terms of the whole Western world, it may fairly be said that we are within that region now. Twenty-five years ago we looked at it as if it were a map; we began now to explore it as a country. This hardly needs proving. Why allude to the entrance of the British Labor Party into politics, all but obliterating the older liberalism? Why point to Russia? More cogent is the insensible assumption on the part of every government, of functions of economic control which would have been anathema to the epoch of laissez-faire. The whole tone of feeling has changed—and behavior slowly follows feeling.

But—speaking of Russia—the advance of Socialism from formula to experiment involves such sharp divergences that new solutions now antagonisms appear on every side. American Socialism, which thought it derived from Marx, repudiates much that is going on over there, where they claim to be pure Marxists. Our orthodox Socialists feel the urgent necessity of expelling the Communist virus, judged to be as deadly as the virus of capitalism. Again, in opposition to the state Socialism cruelly discredited by the war, various types arise, now of today, presently of yesterday. Guild Socialism, alluring, baffling to work out. (Let Mussolini in his own way have a try at it!) The ideas of Mr. Orage. The ideas of Bertrand Russell. The ideas of Mr. Wells. Terror of the state, versus invocation of the state. Every man has his Socialism! American Socialism disintegrates under our eyes.

OR IS IT GROWTH?

Or stay! Is it disintegrating or is it growing?

All this confusion is a hopeful sign in one way. It means life, not decay. A bulb is a simple structure, excellently centralized, symmetrically organized. What springs from it in April is far more wayward. Unity, coherence, order, are a plant, growing every which way—a wealth of blossoms. Now what if we are witnessing can hardly be called an efflorescence, but at least it is a sign that our divergencies and quarrels mean that we are coming more and more alive. Spring winds are blowing.

Let us hope that Socialism, in America, will never return to the old complacent assertion of formulae as if they were finalities. Painfully, practically,

it must work out into the stuff of life; and as it has only Socialists to work through and they are variegated human beings, we may look forward to increasing confusion. Of course, there is essential unity, in that all Socialist faces are set away from a civilization based on profit to one based on production for use, and away from disparate divisions of wealth toward a reduction of economic inequalities. But how to reach this goal?

Almost no ventures to say that the issue among thinkers is no longer between capitalism and Socialism. In the world of affairs, that issue will last our time. But the college Socialist, looking pensively through his window, is rather disposed to disregard the "darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night." He gazes off, if not toward the stars, at least toward the horizon lands, where battle will still go on but the combatants will be under new banners. The real issue will then be between different Socialist groups. Already two main divisions tend to define themselves. There will be the centralized Socialism compatible with dictatorship; Russia proves that Socialism and liberty are not synonymous, and the Duce seems to aim at a Socialism of sorts, though few people perceive it. The Proletariat, or a despot—what is there to choose? On the other hand, there will be various Socialist

types, differing widely, but agreed on the defense of those primary democratic values which are just now sadly out of fashion, poor things.

THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The answer is easy. Socialism depending on any kind of despotism, proletarian or other, is not in the American picture. But if the democratic approach is the only one possible to us, we must not look for a short cut. Long and difficult is the way before us, beset with pitfalls on every side.

In the contributions of various races to the society of the future there will be many special emphases. I suspect that our distinctive American function will be just here: to build Socialism on the firm, the one abiding, foundation, of freedom. For if the American tradition is worth anything, it teaches, not so much that freedom is a good in itself as that no other good can be permanent without it. We are learning, I think, from the logic of events that this issue of freedom is in a way independent of any social theory. One part of a radical program, for not only in Russia does radicalism try to enforce itself automatically. For years I have taught Mill's Essay on Liberty, privately finding it obvious and jejune. Today it has become again extraordinarily pertinent. So has the Acreopag-

What American can think that Socialism would be worth while at the cost of freedom? Per contra: unless freedom lead to a Socialist world, better organized, more friendly, than our world today, it will lead to a world of anarchistic cruelties. This is quite thinkable. Freedom is a means not an end.

If the college observer turns from his window and peers into his own little academic chamber, he sees the world problem repeated on a small scale. Contemporary youth wants a lot of freedom, less for the noble end of social emancipation than for the chance at what it calls self-realization. Freedom is end to it, not means. Youth has not thought through this problem of liberty in the least. And how should it? The child thinks exclusively in terms of self, and the habit is not outgrown at twenty. We are all children, for that matter, when it comes to the question of the adjustment of freedom to the general good.

Meanwhile, to hammer away with our Civil Liberties Union is, I take it, one of the chief tasks of the hour. But that problem of freedom versus welfare cuts deep. The conception of freedom, like everything else, must be socialized. Here we run up against the deep distrust of the State as at present constituted: An American is loath to grant that the State must in the nature of things be as we are now so

often told, enemy to freedom and progress. But certainly the State must be transformed before it can be trusted to protect freedom, and certainly manhood suffrage can not suffice, as our forebears naively thought it could, to effect that transformation. To ask what can suffice, is to ask how we shall ennoble democracy. Two old words occur to me as helpful: education, and religion. Socialism must adopt them both.

Workers' education! From that college window, nothing else seems so charged with promise. Of course, it is again a formula, already we see in it no finality, but a portal leading to a maze of questions as to aim, method, content. In the near future we shall probably witness increasing dissent among its advocates. All the same, it is the most vital formula in sight.

Religion! Greatest of formulae! And, like the others, useless until tested by experience. Some of us think that education can never turn the trick without it. One thing is sure—a mechanistic age can not save itself by mechanistic means. Looking from that window, we perceive that the alliance of Socialism with an exclusively materialistic interpretation of history is played out. It was useful in its time but that time is over. Only a psychological transformation, can make the world safe for democracy. That transformation will not be effected till the Living Spirit of Justice and Love shall enlighten and warm us, dispel our chilly apathy, and reveal as it alone can, the social forms and institutions in which it can at last have free play. Are there not a few signs that Socialism here and there begins to receive that illumination?

Two of a Kind Lore, the Volkszeitung and the Communists

IN the issue of the Volkszeitung of January 25, the editor of the Volkszeitung (Ludwig Lore, an expelled member of the Communist Party) defends himself against the accusation by the "Worker" (official organ of the Communist Party) for having joined the reactionaries in fighting and excluding Communists from the organization.

It appears that ten Communist delegates to the Volkszeitung Conference (a body composed of delegates from German organizations) were expelled from the conference. Lore justifies the expulsion because these Communist delegates, instead of working with the conference and for the purpose for which the conference was organized—to raise funds to sustain the Volkszeitung, and to secure readers for the paper—these Communists delivered long speeches on questions of policy, and attempted to sabotage the conference, preventing it from doing any constructive work. So much so that the delegates became disgusted with the activities of these Communists and at the last meeting expelled them.

Now the "Worker" accuses Lore of having joined the union "bureaucrats and reactionaries" in the fight against left wingers, and that the order for the exclusion of the Communists was given by Lore as the leader of that faction.

Lore defends the majority by the fact that these Communists sabotaged the work of the Volkszeitung Conference, and then proceeds to show that in the conference there is no need to give orders, that the delegates have minds of their own, and the will to act, and because the Communists are so accustomed to act on orders from above, they can't conceive of any group acting except by orders. While Mr. Lore finds it right for his majority to exclude Communists for sabotaging the work of the conference, for their policy of rule or ruin, he proceeds to show that he and the Volkszeitung are as opposed to the actions of the unions in fighting the Communists as the Workers Party, in fact even more than the Workers Party.

In other words, Lore and his followers are right in excluding Communists for sabotage and interfering with the work of the conference, but it is wrong for the unions to do the same. Verily, Communism destroys the capacity for correct thinking. But it seems Mr. Lore is trying to sit on two chairs, and the result is he sits between both—on the floor.

L. I. D. ANNOUNCES SERIES OF WINTER LECTURES

"A Program for Radical Action" is the general topic covering the winter series of lectures which has been arranged by the New York section of the League for Industrial Democracy. The first lecture, on Friday, Feb. 4, will be given by Harry W. Laidler. His subject will be "Toward Revision in Socialist Practice." Subsequent lectures, to be given on Friday evenings, will be by Benjamin Stolberg on "Labor in Our Present Industrial Culture"; George Soule on "Industry and the State"; H. S. Raushenbush on "Ways and Means of Control"; Dr. Joseph Krinsky and James Fuchs on "The Radical Function of the Professions"; and Prof. William P. Montague on "The Scientific View of Democracy." These meetings will be held in the dining room of the Clivie Club, 18 East 10th street. Tickets, which will include doughnuts and cider for the hungry, will cost 75 cents, and \$3.50 for the series. The admission cost for members of the League is 50 cents, or \$2 for the series. Reservations should be made at the League, 70 Fifth avenue.

How Bethlen Won Making a Mockery of Elections

By Sigmund Kunfi

[The following description of how Premier Bethlen, the tool of the Hungarian reaction and foreign bankers, managed to cut the number of Socialist Deputies from 24 down to 14 in the December elections is by a prominent Hungarian Socialist publicist and helps explain why even the bourgeois newspaper correspondents in Budapest labeled the elections a mockery.]

THE elections, conducted by storming tactics and terrorism, have ended in a signal victory for Count Bethlen. In the previous National Assembly the various counter-revolutionary parties held 186 seats. In the Parliament now elected they will have at least 222. The main body of this formidable majority consists of the so-called "Unity Party" of Count Bethlen and of the Christian Economic Party. The Hakenkreuzers and Legitimists have shrunk to 13 apiece. The latter lost 10 seats out of 3, the Hakenkreuzers 4 out of 7. This defeat of the parties which stood for particular aspects of the counter-revolution is merely apparent, for the two government parties have absorbed into their ranks all the serious elements of the Legitimists and of the Hakenkreuzers. Fronting this powerful counter-revolutionary block we find an opposition numbering 24 members, comprising 14 Socialists and 10 Liberals and Democrats, which latter are to a great extent of very questionable reliability.

How has this unprecedented victory been achieved? The election terrorism alone provides no sufficient explanation, for this terrorism, though in other shapes, existed in 1922 when the last elections but one were held, without having led to the same result.

The electoral law divides the country into two quite distinct spheres. The ballot is secret in 46, open in 199 constituencies, with the same franchise qualifications in both cases; men must be 24 and women 30 years of age; they must have passed the fourth school standard, and show two years' residence. The practical significance of the open ballot can be illustrated by one example which speaks volumes. In 1922 the town of Oedenburg belonged to the constituency with secret ballot. The Socialist Hebel managed to defeat there the minister of the interior, Count Klebesh and Count Julius Andrássy, obtaining against these strong opponents 5,318 votes. The new electoral law thereupon classed Oedenburg with the constituencies having open ballot, and accordingly Hebel received 387 votes, while the minister of commerce, Herrmann, got more than 9,000.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that in the 199 constituencies with open ballot, not a single opposition candidate, whether Socialist, capitalist or peasant-democrat, was elected. Over 100 districts "elected" unanimously; the opposition candidates were by every kind of craft method prevented from standing, and that is the secret of the unanimous election. In about another 100 districts in which candidates were put up, both they and their election agents were locked up on election day. Where even this did not serve, the electors waiting to vote were themselves locked up by hundreds and thousands. It was quite usual to find troops and gendarmes blocking the roads leading from the villages to the polling booths against opposition voters, or to find urban or rural districts known for their opposition tendencies encircled by a cordon of troops.

In the districts with secret ballot the election began with a feeling that the political struggle was already de-

cided and had become almost void of purpose or hope. Notwithstanding this the government, out of 46 seats, with the help of all its auxiliaries masquerading for this purpose as Liberal and pro-Jewish, was only able to get 22. However, in these secret districts also it improved its position. At the last election 18, at this 22 members of the counter-revolutionary parties were returned to Parliament from these districts. The Socialist Party had alone to bear the brunt of this success of the counter-revolution. In Budapest city it had to lose three seats. In Budapest province one seat to the government party. In the districts with open ballot the Socialist losses were indeed regrettable—especially since the three largest mining areas belong to these districts—but in view of the prevailing terrorism they were virtually unavoidable. A graver problem confronts the party in the fact that among the ten seats lost there were four in districts with secret ballot, and that it has to record a very disagreeable fall in its poll.

A comparative study of the poll can only be attempted satisfactorily for the city and province of Budapest. In the other districts with secret ballot it is more difficult to compare because in 1922 they used the method of single election, but now that of election by lists; but in the city and province of Budapest election by list has been in use since 1922. These two constituencies elect 30 members. In 1922 the poll included 328,000 voters, but this time roughly 252,000. Here are the results for Budapest city and province:

Socialists—1922, 167,616 (13 seats); 1926, 81,473 (10 seats).
Liberals—1922, 79,344 (7 seats); 1926, 58,069 (7 seats).
Counter-revolutionaries—1922, 112,000 (10 seats); 1926, 113,400 (13 seats).
In the provincial towns with secret ballot—with the exception of Szeged and Fünfkirchen—the decline in the socialist vote is relatively greater still. The town of Debrecin elects three members. Under the method of single election in 1922 6,234 votes were cast for the Socialist candidate in one constituency. This time Debrecin used election by list. In all the three constituencies 4,690 votes were cast for the same Socialist candidate. The result was the same in almost all the constituencies.

This setback has arisen from a whole chain of circumstances. The register of electors was so framed as to omit the workers. The severe economic crisis—deflation without unemployment benefit—has driven into exile tens of thousands of workers. The factories and mines in France are

crowded with Hungarian workmen. The workers were deterred from voting on the one hand by terrorism which made itself felt also in the towns though under other forms, and on the other hand by a feeling of hopelessness since after all it seemed that through the ballot box they could hope for nothing. In 1922 elections in Budapest were held on a Sunday, this time on a working day; and in view of the persecutions to which the electors who could be recognized as workers were exposed, this meant the loss of a full working day. Since the law allowed no posters whether pictures or announcements, since the police rationed out the number of Socialist meetings so that in Budapest only eight of such per day were permitted, it was difficult to make an approach to the workers.

Moreover, these elections exhibited to a marked degree a character of class conflict. All other competitors such as the middle class voters fell to the capitalist parties. In Budapest scarcely 1,000 capitalist votes can have been cast for the Socialists, whereas in 1922 there were many electors who as a protest against the terror terrorism of the "Awakening Hungarians" voted for the Socialists. This factor was now eliminated, since Count Bethlen had suspended the type of terrorism which threatens the well-to-do citizen. The middle-class citizen does not ask too much from a man who keeps the workers under.

The Hungarian Socialists have suffered a reverse. Nevertheless, it was a considerable achievement to retain so much of the conquests of 1922 in the storm launched against them by the counter-revolutionary powers in the state and by the united bourgeoisie. Among all the opposition parties they were best able to parry this deadly assault, and notwithstanding the defeats suffered they remained the strongest party in the opposition.

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Our Readers' Views On the Problems of Socialism

Editor, The New Leader:

As a member of the Socialist Party and an executive member of the second A. D. branch of Brooklyn, I am answering Nathan Fine's open letter. He said that the Socialist Party is entirely wiped out. I do not believe that the Socialist Party is wiped out, but the trouble is that the party communicates with other parties, such as Farmer-Labor or La Follette and La Guardia endorsements and that kills our party. This will not go on any longer if the members of the national executive committee will settle down and put their mind on their own business. Even these three states which you have mentioned, if the party members would start and wake up in every state then the Socialist Party would be the leading party of all those La Follette's and other parties of that kind. This Socialist Party isn't wiped out and never will be wiped out. This name will never change.

Comrade Fine, you said that we have nothing to lose if we go out entirely as a political party. We have a great deal to lose, because you said that three states have a real Socialist Party. Our votes are coming up and up each year and we are getting back our votes which we have lost in the past. If we go out all that we have gained will go down and fall to pieces, and nobody will ever think of Socialism any more. That is why we will never join with independent parties, because we have lost enough by doing this.

Here is an example: Wisconsin used to endorse La Follette's and other such parties; then they came down and hardly got any votes for U. S. Sen-

ator. Now that they don't endorse any more for U. S. Senator it has become one of the leading states for Socialism.

Dear comrade, the way you speak in your letter you are closer to the Farmer-Labor and progressive parties than you are to the Socialist Party. If you were really in earnest about the Socialist Party you would tell it to get to work and try to make it bigger, and not change its name and take in independent and professional parties.

Why doesn't the Farmer-Labor and professional parties go into a state where there isn't a Socialist Party and try to build a Farmer-Labor party. They could only enter a state where Socialists were the leading party. And then they take it away. This is the fault of our party. When the progressive parties go into a state they make fusion and endorsements.

My suggestion to the national executive committee is that in 1928 we should start a real campaign to reorganize throughout the U. S. and to rebuild the party, reorganize all the branches and organize branches in states and to make the New Leader, the American Appeal and all the rest of the Socialist papers grow.

Benjamin Aka.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

DISPUTES FINE ON CALIFORNIA

Editor, New Leader:
In the article by Comrade Fine of January 8 he makes the statement that most of the Socialist vote in California comes from Los Angeles. The following figures prove the contrary: The Socialist vote of the state was

3.8 per cent for governor, 4.5 per cent for lieutenant governor. San Francisco gave 3.5 per cent for governor and 7 per cent of the vote for lieutenant governor. Alameda County gave 4 per cent for Socialist candidate for governor, San Diego gave 4.3 per cent; Fresno gave 3.1 per cent, while Los Angeles County only gave 4.5 per cent. The highest vote was \$6,506 for lieutenant governor, with a vote of \$3,673 and the governor vote of the Socialist ticket 45,972.

Considering the population, Los Angeles only held its own with the rest of the large cities and did not cast nearly so good a vote proportional to the population as did Alameda County nor San Francisco, so far as the two highest candidates are concerned.

We received votes in every county but one, and of the 57 counties where we polled Socialist votes 32 gave an increase over the governor's vote of 1922.

Generally speaking, our vote has been quite uniform over the state. We maintain our official standing as a political party and are looking forward to active participation in the coming municipal campaigns in some of our large cities and already have in mind some plans for the Presidential campaign of 1928.

LENA MORROW LEWIS,
San Francisco.

BONNAZ BOSSES BREAK OFF PEACE CONFERENCE; UNION MAY CALL STRIKE

The agreement of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union with its manufacturers expires on Jan. 31. Among the union's demand is one for a forty-hour week.

The union had several conferences with the Bonnaz Manufacturers' Association. When it came to the point of the forty hours the bosses refused to concede to the union's demand. This brought the conferences to a standstill.

A shop chairman meeting was called by the union and a report on the negotiations with the association was given. This resolution was adopted unanimously:

"We, the shop chairmen of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 68, I. L. W. U., at a shop chairmen's meeting assembled on Jan. 24, 1927, resolve that we will stand solidly behind the administration of our union, and if our just demands are denied, we are ready and willing to fight for them."

"We also express our full confidence in the Conference Committee and unanimously approve of the sound judgment manifested in the negotiations for the renewal of the agreement."

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

Superior to Pastes and Powders!

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

AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your teeth brush sanitary.

AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums. Get the AMEGIN habit and know the joy of a healthy mouth and a germ free tooth brush.

AMEGIN
PRONOUNCE IT AMMA-JIN
PYORRHEA LIQUID
It Heals as It Cleanses!
Ask Your Druggist About Amegin!

A Few Drops on your Tooth Brush
A Product of Kastle Laboratories, New York.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Oil Scandal

CUT this out and paste it in your hat. It's the past and future history of the Oil Scandal as started by one great historian and finished by another.

May 31, 1921—President Harding transferred the oil reserves from the Navy to the Interior Department.

November, 1921—Edward L. Doheny sent \$100,000 to Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall.

April, 1922—Doheny's Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company was awarded the Pearl Harbor oil contract, carrying a clause giving it "preferential rights" on future leases in the Elk Hills oil reserve.

December, 1922—Doheny's Pan-American Company was awarded a lease to the Elk Hills reserve.

March, 1923—Fall resigned as Secretary of the Interior.

January, 1924—Doheny told the Senate Oil Committee he advanced Fall \$100,000 as a private loan.

February, 1924—Secretary of Navy Denby, who, with Fall, had approved the leases, resigned from the Cabinet.

May, 1925—Fall and Doheny were indicted for criminal conspiracy in the District of Columbia.

May, 1925—Federal Court in Los Angeles invalidated Elk Hills lease, a decision subsequently affirmed by the Court of Appeals and now on appeal in the Supreme Court.

November 22, 1926—Trial of Fall and Doheny began in Washington.

December 12, 1926—Jury justifies Fall for taking money on ground he needed it; votes Doheny a good fellow for giving it and turns both loose.

December 23, 1926—District of Columbia Supreme Court orders trial of Fall and Sinclair on charge of having swiped Teapot Dome in cahoots with Doheny.

April 1, 1927—Supreme Court denied appeal of prosecution for new trial on grounds that everybody connected with the case is dead and the oil gone.

Who's the Goat?

"Dad" Barker, 55, made in the image of God, is the oldest engineer on the Dubuque division of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railroad. He started railroad engineering way back in '67; has been railroad engineering since; is still railroad engineering and may keep on railroad engineering until he hits the place where there are no more firemen to fuss.

"Dad" Barker, besides his other distinctions, is also the owner of a goat, pet or mascot, sex and antecedents unknown, which puffs in and out of her or his pet haunt, the local railroad shop. This goat has been doing this for all of thirty-five years and is still going strong. Incidentally, Billy or Nanny, whatever the gender of the gentle creature may be, has been on pension all those years, while Dad has his pension still to come. We, therefore, offer a premium of a silver plated ball of hay for the best essay, not exceeding one hundred words, on the subject: "Who's the goat?"

While on the related subject of man and goat, permit me to say a few words about the vice of labor in general.

Why do men work? To make a living, or to make money? Or to make money so as to make more money? Or to escape an old age accompanied by work and worry? Or to fix the children so they don't have to work? All well and good. But why work from childhood to the grave in a world that is full of labor-saving devices?

Take this "Dad" for instance. He and his understudy, the fireman, can pull more in a day than all the king's horses and all the king's asses of yore could pull in a year. But does Dad work only one day per annum and then go fishing for the balance of the year? Not much he does. He works every day they let him work and only goes fishing when there is no work to do and then he very likely views these blessed workless days as calamities.

In the olden days before these confounded labor-saving devices, the steam engines, befell humanity, only the poor worked. The better classes went fishing and when they didn't go fishing they went hunting or played war, or built temples and palaces or patronized the arts by making love to prima donnas and ballet ponies.

Now, everybody works, poor man, rich man and beggar man. The poor work because they must. The rich work because they don't know any better, and the beggars work because they too are smitten with the bug to become bigger and better beggars.

Moreover, in the pre-machine age, the poor had their saint days, feast days, holy days and even whole weeks on which the bosses could not work them under the penalty of going to hell. But then the reformation came along and emancipated blustering humanity from all these precious loafing days and now we have nothing left except a few legal holidays like the Fourth of July, Labor Day, and Christmas which we celebrate by raising sweat, dust and blisters in endless parades, or trying to squeeze enjoyment out of spending more than we can afford.

What the world needs is less pep and more leisure, less noise and more peace, less words and more thoughts, fewer square-jawed go-getters, hustlers, hustlers and fighters and more dreamers, singers, prophets and poets.

Our hearts are stifled, our minds benumbed, our visions warped, our conception distorted by a deluge of material superfluities. We are turning God's footstool into a racing bowl, where, with eyes to the track, with heaving breasts, pounding hearts and burning cheeks, we race to keep up with the Joneses, that is, the fools in pursuit of other fools.

We waste a few precious drops which the All-Father granted us from the ocean of eternity in a maniacal struggle for things that rot and rust and burden—for things that pall and weary the moment they are ours.

Oh, for a Messiah that would come with a new gospel of "peace be with thee." Peace, serenity, tranquility to enjoy the virginity of unsoiled snow; to feel the fierce sublimity of banking thunder clouds; to rise into unsoiled skies with thrilling larks; to bathe our hearts in limpid pools beneath bowers of whispering leaves; to weave dreams with the silver threads that moon and Indian Summer bring; to bask in the face of a rising sun; to sing songs to stilly night; to hold communion with the good and wise, speaking from book rack and shelf; to drink the heavenly harmonies man wrested from silent void.

No, let us not pray for a new Messiah of peace. They would send him to jail for advocating restriction of output.

Adam Coaldigger.

Some Early American Radical Leaders; Marx vs. Lassalle in the United States

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

Chapter II. American Origins

IT has been a tradition of American politicians that America has been free of revolutionary thinking and that whatever revolutionary theories have found expression here have been imported from abroad. Nothing is farther from the truth. It is a fact that, independent of Europe, men have appeared in the labor movement (and some who had no relation to it) who have formulated revolutionary ideas for the reorganization of American society. That similar economic conditions and problems would suggest similar ideas to some men and that those ideas would find intellectual pioneers who would attempt to formulate them in a more or less systematic philosophy should be expected.

Twenty years before Karl Marx was born William Manning, a native of Massachusetts whose pioneer ancestor came over with the Puritan migration in the year 1633, anticipated some of the leading ideas of Marx. Manning's work is all the more remarkable, considering that he wrote when the first forms of labor organization had hardly appeared and he had no knowledge of them. In an old manuscript discovered a few years ago and which was rejected by a Boston editor in 1798, Manning anticipated Marx's labor theory of value, the conflict of economic interests, the necessity of workers having organizations of their own, the basis of government in property, the economic ties that bind men into groups, orders and classes, the fundamental need of education before the masses could unite on an intelligent program, and eventually a world-wide association of the working people of all nations.

In many respects Manning was more modern in his ideas than any other American writer, despite his crude spelling and difficulty in presenting his views. But he was a forerunner of other men who appeared when a labor movement had been established. Among these were Josiah Warren, George Henry Evans, Lewis Masquerier, Edward Kellogg and Thomas Skidmore, all of whom were interested in the complete reconstruction of society. There is no evidence that they had come into contact with any of the writings of European revolutionaries. Their respective views registered the fact that the modern system of industry cannot rise without it being subjected to revolutionary criticism. Moreover, before the middle of the nineteenth century had been reached the social effects of the industrial revolution had produced the same reaction upon an important section

tion of the American intelligentsia that the industrial revolution produced in England.

The terrible exploitation of women and children in the textile industries of New England, its effect upon working class families, the overlordship of factory owners, the mass poverty in many cities that threatened the health of their population, and general disillusionment made men familiar with the writings and the agitations of economic and social dissenters like Brisbane, Fanny Wright, Margaret Fuller, Thoreau, Emerson, Ripley, Rykman and others.

The European revolutions of 1848 also brought many revolutionary refugees to the United States so that by the time that the headquarters of the international were transferred to New York social and economic dissent was by no means an innovation. Social and revolutionary philosophies had already invaded the American labor movement, although they had a character peculiar to American conditions. However, it cannot be said that any particular philosophy had captured the labor movement or even a large section of it. The followers of Evans, Masquerier and Skidmore constituted small groups of propagandists, never at any time winning the organized masses yet having an important influence at times in shaping policies.

Among the refugees of 1848 were Socialists and Communists. By the middle of the sixties the Socialists, especially the Germans, were divided into followers of Marx and Lassalle. Lassalle emphasized the importance of universal suffrage and political action. In a famous letter to the organized workers of Germany in 1853 he said: "I have no hesitation in saying that through political action only can the workingman hope for the fulfillment of his aspirations as a citizen." In another passage he said: "The working class must constitute itself an independent political party, based on universal suffrage; a sentiment to be inscribed on its banners, and forming the central principle of its action." The Lassalleans in the United States took this point of view, believing that they should organize politically regardless of whether the economic organizations of the wage workers had become stable and enduring. The Marxists contended that to attempt political action before the trade unions had become stable was premature and would lead to disappointment. Sound economic organization should always precede any attempt at independent political action. The first international was built chiefly upon economic organizations of the working class with the expectation that as rapidly as they

became rooted in the soil of each country political action would follow.

Commons and Associates, in considering this controversy in the United States, present this distinction between the views of the international and the Lassalleans: "The distinction between the ideas of the international and of Lassalle consisted of the fact that the former advocated economic organization prior to and underlying political organization, while the latter considered a political victory as the basis of economic organization. These antagonistic starting points are apparent at the very beginning of American Socialism, as well as in the trade unionism and Socialism of succeeding years."

As both Lassalleans and Marxists were members of the North American section of the international, the conflicting views brought heated discussion and a tendency to form two groups within the section. The free hands of the West were still drawing dissatisfied workmen from the industrial centers of the East, while the industrial depression of 1857 had shown that trade union organization was yet too weak to withstand the disintegrating influence of unemployment and economic prostration. Moreover, class lines were not yet sharply drawn, except in the East. The Ohio and Mississippi Valley sections were still in the stage of small business, while the West still presented all the phases of a crude individualist democracy characteristic of a frontier society. Trade unionism was still largely a sectional, not a national, movement.

Experience was to prove that the Lassalleans were wrong. F. A. Sorge, an intimate friend of Karl Marx, and leading spirit in the American section of the international, as well as its corresponding secretary, wrote the general council in London in November, 1871, that a labor political movement had appeared in New York which he believed would fall as "no organization of the working classes is behind the political movement." The organized workers were not interested in it and he feared that this premature attempt would prejudice them against political action at a later period when the time would be ripe. He added that the Marxists "maintain that an extended and somewhat perfected organization must precede any political movement of the working classes."

Sorge's judgment proved correct. Nothing came of this new movement, yet the prostration of the trade unions in the panic year of 1873 seemed to the Lassalleans a strong argument for political organization. They argued that the unions had failed, and it was

time to concentrate on political organization. A labor party was organized by the Lassalleans in Illinois in 1874 because the trade unions had failed to maintain their standing in this period of industrial stagnation. Its Chicago German organ, "Vorbote," in its first issue, February 24, said that "in Chicago, organization into societies similar to guilds (unions) is entirely abandoned, for it is generally conceded that it never led to any lasting betterment for the workman in the several trades." The Chicago movement persisted in this course despite protests that the policy was based on a complete misunderstanding of the real situation. Knowledge of this policy being reported to the general council of the international in London, that body sent a sharp letter to Section 3, Chicago, in which it said, in part:

The trade union is the cradle of the labor movement, for working people naturally turn first to that which affects their daily life, and they consequently combine first with their fellows by trade. It therefore, becomes the duty of members of the international not merely to assist the existing trade unions and, before all, to lead them to the right path, i.e., to internationalize them, but to establish new ones wherever possible. The economic conditions are driving trade unions with irresistible force from the economic to the political struggle, against the propertyed classes—a truth which is known to all those who observe the labor movement with open eyes."

Events showed how accurately Sorge and the leading spirits of the international had interpreted the situation. The labor party polled hardly a thousand votes in Chicago in the spring of 1874. In the autumn election it claimed 2,500 votes in the congressional election, but the official returns gave it 735. Pessimism followed, the membership declined, and eight sections disbanded within four months. Had the Lassalleans devoted their time to educational work within the trade unions, building them up, and looked forward to the period when a powerful and stable union membership could sustain a labor party, the results would have been different. Generally speaking, in Europe the Socialists worked within the unions until the latter carried themselves into independent party politics by establishing labor or Socialist parties. In the United States an important section of the Socialists were too impatient to face years of education and organization. They engaged in premature political experiments in Chicago, New York and other cities. These experiments were doomed to fail. Their failure brought a reaction against labor politics at a later period when such action was possible.

How to Entertain an Earl

AT LAST there has come to hand something for which we have been patiently waiting for years. This is Kelly's "Handbook to the Titled, Landed and Official Classes." We are informed by the publishers that we can have this massive work of Mr. Kelly's for the small sum of twelve smackers. When you consider that 30,000 titled, landed and official Britishers are listed in the book and that it contains more than 1,800 pages you can see for yourself what a bargain that is.

With Kelly's Handbook on your hip you can tell right away all those who have a definite position in the British Empire. Furthermore you can put them in their places as follows:—1. From hereditary rank; 2. From a Title or Order; 3. As Members of Parliament; 4. As members of the higher grades of diplomatic, naval, military, clerical, legal, colonial or civil services of the State; 5. As Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace for the Counties of England, Scotland and Wales, King's Counsel, Royal Academicians and Presidents of the Learned Societies; 6. As Landed Proprietors; 7. As distinguished members of the dramatic, literary and artistic worlds; 8. As leading members of the British commercial world.

Isn't that simply ripping? And what's more you will find at the commencement of the book "Particulars of the Royal Family, Tables of General Precedence and of relative ranks on the Army, Navy and Air Force, various forms of epistolary address, the names of British ministers abroad and foreign ministers in England, a list of the House of Peers arranged in order of dignity, with the date of their creation."

The bird who tipped us off to this, writes us, "When you are entertaining, you will find its tables of precedence for ladies and gentlemen solving many a troublesome problem in etiquette."

All we have to say is "Thank God for Kelly." Hardly a day goes by but what we shall have some use for his invaluable book. For instance, only last week our janitor, name of Hanrahan, came in and said that a Belted Earl had been looking for us. We were out, so he interviewed the janitor. It seems that this Belted Earl is not earling just at present, that being a highly seasonal occupation and trade what it is in the Empire, but he is selling men's socks for Turkelbaum and Lifshits who have a neat little wholesale business down on Mercer street. He just dropped around to see us, to chat over the latest doings in the House of Peers and find out if maybe we could use some socks of the very finest quality.

From Hanrahan's account of the visit, we fear that our janitor is not up on Kelly's Handbook. Apparently he was quite rude to the dear chap and said something to him about belting that is not down in the book. But if he comes again we shall do all in our power to make amends and keep intact that entente cordiale that is the glory of the English speaking peoples from Land's End to Coshocott, Ohio.

When we see the Earl with his titled sample-case at the door we shall rush immediately to the book-case and take down our Kelly. Tumbling through it hastily, all we have to do is to turn to the part where it tells you how to act when a Belted Earl comes to call on you. There are probably quite a lot of forms to go through that we of the lower classes never thought of. It may be necessary, for example to get out an awning over the front door, the kind they have for snooty weddings on Fifth Avenue. Under those circumstances you can always call up Headquarters and get a couple of cops assigned to keep back the rabble. That is, if you can find a couple of cops in New York who are not busy with strike-breaking assignments. Then as the Earl marches up the carpet under the awning amidst the wild huzzas of the common people, you rush out and kiss him on both cheeks and render the official welcome.

Once in the home you introduce the Earl to the Little Lady. Here another problem arises. How does this go? Do you say, "Earl, I want you to meet the Misses. She has read a lot about you in 'Artists and Models'?" Or does the Cell-Mate drop a courtesy and murmur shyly, "Mr. Lord, this poor but honest home is graced by your presence?" And what is the precedence for going into chow? Certainly it would never do to go through the usual initiation of the rush hour at Brooklyn Bridge that accompanies the summons to dinner at our home. There must be some official way of getting an Earl into dinner. Getting him out is, of course, no trouble at all. You just fish for him under the table and one takes his noble legs and the other seizes his aristocratic bean and you leave him to beddy-bye as easy as that. But before he has drunk all your gin, he has a right to expect that due deference shall be paid to his standing and once more there is the blessed Kelly to the rescue.

We are always strangely moved by hearing poetry read aloud. The other night we heard three first-rate poets, Lucia Trent, Ralph Cheney and Gordon Lawrence read from their works and it was for us a thrilling experience. We knew that amongst the hard-boiled in the labor and radical movements, poetry, unless it is strictly propagandist in its nature, is still looked on with suspicion as being something that tends to soften the resistance of the embattled proletarian to the onslaughts of capitalism. This is the bunk. In the first place, the real proletariat, if such there still be in this land of Chevrolets, Company Unions and Contentment, couldn't get much softer reading real poetry than the mush they swallow with such rapacity today. Let Eddie Guest tune his lyre to the Home, Gaid and Mother theme and plumbers assistants and coal miners, railroad engineers and boiler-makers are first to clip his offerings from the evening papers. We know, because when we were helping edit a paper for coal diggers more than one half of the contributions from the rank and file consisted of verse that showed a very strong Guest influence and across the hall the editor of a trainmen's journal was filling his waste-basket with stuff that read as though Rudyard Kipling and Robert Service had been drinking synthetic gin with the late Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Let's forget this hokum about poetry and softness. What the Hell are we all sweating and grunting around for except to make it possible for poets to dream and write in a world where there is something to write about? There are plenty of prose writers to take care of the exploited factory workers. Let the poets tell us of their ecstatic contacts with the life of the spirit and through them we may gain a new strength of purpose, a new determination to fashion a society where the most honored of all shall be not pork packers or pedantic philosophers but the true singers.

McAlister Coleman.

Scanning The New Books

By M. Winograd

When God first conceived the idea to create man, He thought that his glorification would be perfect, for man, born to live only a short period and so far below Him, will recognize his worthless existence and be humbler than the angels. . . . But there He was mistaken. By this time we have already convinced Him that our scanty years on earth are more interesting than His monotonous eternity in heaven. . . . For where as He only saw the manifestation of one world, we see the manifestation of many. . . .

SUCH thoughts flared up in my mind when reading the three volumes of Abraham Cahan's autobiography, "Leaves from My Life." Forward Publishing Association, three volumes, \$5, that have just appeared. The three volumes, containing over 1,500 pages and 75 portraits of world-famous personalities, comprehend spheres of innumerable fascinating worlds whose birth and growth Cahan has seen in the course of his 55 years. You gaze at these calm and tempestuous worlds and you are astonished how, after having traversed all of them, one could have preserved such great individuality as the one of the author. An individuality that we notice in him in his early childhood and grows later with an artistic tempo.

Born the son of poor and deeply religious parents, in a shanty in a small town near Vilno, Russia, Cahan gets his first impressions at the age of three, the first sign of an unusual nature. The scene that had then impressed him so deeply was the hanging of revolutionaries in a field. This was the first wrong that awoke his young heart, which later burned with the desire for justice. A little later we see him gazing at the big world through the small window of their poor dwelling. He is inspired by the wide meadows and the singing, free birds.

The description of that period, of his interesting parents, of his grandfather, the rabbi, and other relatives that had an influence upon him is full of lyricism, and highly interesting studies of the conflicts in the souls of some of them. In depicting them the "Maskilim" (Hebrew scholars), the Hebrew writers of that age and the town-characters of his birthplace and

of Vilno, where his parents moved when he was about six years old, he simply puts to shame the art of photography. For reading his descriptions of them, one not only recognizes their character but also their physical appearance. We see their faces distinctly, without looking at their photographs, which, by the way, are remarkable reproductions.

At the age of nine he secretly carries with him a Russian text book for beginners, from which he learns to read. At thirteen we see him seated on a bench of a Yeshiva, where he studies the Talmud. But his thirst for worldly knowledge is not quenched. He sits up nights, absorbed in Russian books. The freight of the lamp in their house is very small; it is almost dark, but the fire of his thought and eagerness burns in his eyes and he goes on reading while people passing their window stop and wonder how he manages to read with so little light. Finally, at the age of seventeen, he enters the Russian Teachers' Institute of Vilno, and four years later he is himself a teacher in such an institute.

By that time he had already been a member of "underground" circles and had already published an article in a famous Jewish weekly in the Russian language. This part of his life, also the life of the Russian revolutionaries, their subterranean movements that reached out very high, the killing of Alexander II, and those who killed him, the whole life under the Czarist regime in those years is told with the greatest detail, which makes the story more interesting than fiction.

Through his correspondence with a revolutionist who fell into the hands of the police, Cahan is soon found out by the Russian government. A raid is made upon his home where "subterranean literature" is discovered. He is taken to the district attorney and is ordered not to leave the town before he is taken for trial to some other city. Being a teacher at a government institute, the local district attorney, not having sufficient evidence against him, Cahan is not put to prison just yet, but he knows that after the trial he will be. They will exile him to Siberia.

He wants to sacrifice himself for his ideals, but his inexhaustible energy calls him to action. He cannot afford to rest (in prison) when he has to build. Thus he steals across the Russian

border and escapes to America, where he immediately starts to carry out his mission, to improve, to build. And we see a master builder building spiritual worlds.

Only one year after his arrival in this country he writes his first English article, which is given a prominent place in the New York World. America attracts his curious mind. He studies its life, its conditions, and reveals them to us. He studies its government. We learn (in vols. 2 and 3) about all the radical and reactionary movements in the America of that time; how they originated, their fights and their splits.

In the first volume we are told of the Jewish life in the old country; about the pogroms and their real causes; about the first Jewish emigration from there (Russia, Poland, Galicia and Roumania) and its causes.

In the second and third volumes we are told about the establishing of those emigrants in this country. We get a clear and precise description of their struggles, their activities, their unions which Cahan helped to organize; their theatres, the foundation of the Jewish Socialist press, including The Forward, the largest Jewish daily, of which Cahan is the editor, and the Jewish press in general. He introduces us to his personal friends: William Frey (of the Positive movement), Serge Shvetsky, Helena Von Rakovits (for whom Lassalle was killed in a duel), Alexander Jonas, Lucien Saniel, Busche, Daniel De Leon, Henry George, Edward King, Gompers, Hillquit, Edgar Soltus, Erasmus Darwin Beech (of the New York Sun), Edward Bellamy, Simon Wing, Colonel Hinton, Eugene V. Debs and many other great American, German, Russian and Jewish personalities of different movements. His portrayals of them as well as of the famous leaders with whom he associates at the two international congresses (held in Brussels and Zurich in 1891 and 1893, respectively), to which he is sent as delegate, and during his visit in other European cities, are done with extraordinary vivacity. And the latter are none the less than Wilhelm Liebknecht, Eleonore Marx-Aveling, the daughter of Karl Marx; Friedrich Engels, Victor Adler, Jean Wauders, Clara Zetkin, Paul Axelrod, August Bebel, Peter Lavrov and Georges Plechanov, the spiritual leaders of the Russian revolution; the

famous English poet, William Morris, and others.

At this period Cahan is already a famous personality, famous as a leader, a novelist, a journalist, an orator in both Jewish and English, and in his memoirs of that time new worlds are revealed to us.

It is particularly interesting to see how, during all these years, Cahan did not change but grew. On the canvas of his early life we already perceive positive colors that were only magnified later on by his fecund mind and activities. It is like a fugue sounding all through the tenor of his life; a fugue of a great symphony, of which he is himself the conductor. And, like a symphony, are also his written memoirs for their value is as international as music.

PIONEER YOUTH TO HOLD PARENTS' CONFERENCE AND BUSINESS MEETING

The annual membership meeting of Pioneer Youth of America will be held on Tuesday, Feb. 1, at Columbia University, Room 209, Business Building, and will begin at 8 p. m. sharp. This meeting will end promptly at 8:30 to give way to a parents', educators' and club leaders' conference. The most important item on the order of business will be the election of officers and executive board for the coming year. A report on the work of the year 1926 will also be made. At the parents', educators' and club leaders' conference Prof. A. L. Swift will lead the discussion on the social value of club life, and Dr. Marion Kenworthy will talk on the psychology of the exceptional child. Mrs. William Burroughs and Mrs. Herman Epstein, parents of Pioneer Youth club and camp children, will tell us of the effect of the club and camp experience on their children. Dr. Le Roy E. Bowman will preside.

There will also be an exhibit of the children's art work beginning at 8 p. m. and after the conference.

Post-Election Dispute; Typo Council's Work; Organizers Removed

The Field of Labor

THE Typographical Journal, organ of the International Typographical Union, has lived up considerably since Charles P. Howard on November 1 last replaced James M. Lynch as president. This is not because Howard has taken the periodical in hand. Quite the contrary. The editor and publisher continues to be J. W. Hays, the Secretary-Treasurer, who was re-elected along with the other three members of the Executive Council besides the President. The outcome is that Hays takes issue with the President in the leading editorial of the January number of the "Journal" while Howard states his side of the case in the section called "President's Pages" allotted to him.

It appears that Howard opened his administration by removing from office twelve of the twenty-five representatives or organizers in the field. The reason he assigned for this action was to effect economies in fulfillment of his campaign pledges. He pointed out that the average amount of each organizer was in excess of six hundred dollars for every four-week period. He also made passing references to some "conference" that had taken place previous to his taking office, whereat it was decided that all organizers were to retain their positions. Incidentally, Howard gave the representatives removed from office the opportunity to adjust their claims for salaries and expenses for a stated period.

All this had been done without consulting the Executive Council. When the latter met formally for the first time on December 6 the three Vice-Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer rebelled against the President's action. They claimed that the removals from office could not be made without the consent of the Executive Council. Howard contended that there was no constitutional justification for this and that he had discretionary power. For these reasons he refused to entertain any motions that would replace the representatives in office. Whereupon, the other four members of the Council informed him in writing that unless he submitted, they would not consent to the transaction of any other business. Editor Secretary-Treasurer Hays predicts that "a way will be found for the Council to function," and President Howard has countered by proposing that he and the other members of the Executive Council resign and run for office at a special election or that the question in dispute be put to a referendum vote of the membership or any fair agency upon which the Council may agree. Meanwhile the Council work is blocked. L. S.

EXPULSION U. G. W. LOCAL APPEALS

Under date of December 8, 1926, a committee of two purporting to represent the unanimous sentiment of the membership of the United Clothing Cutters and Trimmers Local Union No. 26 of St. Louis, Mo., has sworn to an affidavit lodging charges against Thomas A. Rickert, who is President of the United Garment Workers, a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and a director of the Union Life Insurance Company. Martin C. Seeger and Otto Kaemmerer, speaking for their fellow members, assert that Rickert made the union label "a badge of servitude" by granting it to the Peters Company, a small firm in St. Louis, when the latter agreed

to a contract undermining union conditions. Among the concessions made to this concern, they say, were reductions in wages to a point where they were five and a half dollars a week below the prevailing rate in St. Louis and the abolition of pay for five holidays per year and time for voting on election day. "For our determined efforts in trying to prevent the making of the above-mentioned unfair agreement," continues the affidavit, "and to uphold the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor by insisting that our union label be not used as an official sanction of unfair conditions of labor, our local union of Garment Cutters and Trimmers No. 26, which for twenty-eight years had been the backbone of the United Garment Workers of America in St. Louis, was expelled from the United Garment Workers of America."

Having lost its charter under such circumstances, the local has been giving its case publicity. It has published the affidavit in the local labor press and sent copies of it to the unions of the country enclosing at the same time a communication stating seven indictments against the Rickert Administration. The additional grievances concern alleged infractions of the constitution of the union. A new and broader line of attack is blaming Rickert for keeping the Amalgamated Clothing Workers out of the A. F. of L. so that "the sphere of his organization has thus been limited almost exclusively to the Overall Workers, whom he can easily control." In a printed appeal to President William Green, which sympathetic local unions are asked to sign, it is requested that an investigation be held, a report thereof be made to the next A. F. of L. convention, the charter of the U. G. W. be revoked, and a reorganization take place to include the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. While it is doubtful whether the generosity of L. U. No. 26, U. G. W., in coming to the rescue of the Amalgamated, will be very helpful, the serious charges against Rickert and his administration do call for some sort of explanation. It seems that none has been thus far forthcoming. L. S.

MEXICAN PROBLEM HITS TOLEDO

A condition reminiscent of the old imported contract labor days has arisen in the city of Toledo. Several hundred Mexicans have been brought into the Toledo area—in the absence of any quota regulations in the immigration law—to work in the beet fields and railroad camps. The native workers were already in excess when this was done. Snow-covered beet fields and the railroad camps were virtually empty. The Mexicans were brought to Toledo on false promises in wage levels. Hungry and lean they are huddled in the old "Red Light" district. One is curious to know what the Federal authorities think of this situation. L. S.

Pullman Company Starts Series of Reprisals Against Union Members

The Pullman porters' union, following the procedure of the other railroad workers' organizations, has presented its case for adjudication before the United States Mediation Board. Preliminary hearings were held in Chicago and lasted from Dec. 8 to 17. The Pullman Company stated its case before that government agency and the porters did likewise. The hearings were interrupted to give the mediators an opportunity to report to the full board and to permit them to adjourn over the Christmas holidays. Sessions will be resumed some time during this month.

The Pullman Company in the interval is engaging in reprisals against the porters it believes are members of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Old and experienced men are being discharged in several districts, including the two New York districts. This procedure on the part of the company at a time when it is in the midst of renewing an agreement with Pullman conductors seems to indicate that because the porters are Negroes and the conductors white, the former should be treated differently.

We believe the action of the company is unsound, unethical and un-American, and in the interest of fair play and justice to the race which has served it for over two generations, should be discontinued.

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Young Machinists' Union Obtains National Contract in 1900 Strike

WE HAVE seen how the first national union of machinists collapsed in the years of depression following the panic of 1873 and how those members who still sought affiliation with a labor organization went into the Knights of Labor, where they began to play an important part. By 1886 they numbered as many as eighteen thousand, about three-fifths of the number of members in the old Machinists and Blacksmiths' Union of North America in the heyday of its existence. Thus the idea of unionism was kept alive until on the evening of May 5, 1888, nineteen machinists employed in a railroad shop in Atlanta, Georgia, held a meeting and organized Atlanta Lodge No. 1 of the United Machinists and Mechanical Engineers of America. The leading spirits in this movement were Thomas W. Talbot, H. F. Garrett, W. L. Dawley and "Mike" Reilly. Soon other lodges sprang up in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and in September a circular letter was sent to machinists throughout the country, urging organization.

The Modern Union Appears
When the first convention met in Atlanta just a year after the new organization had been founded, thirty-four lodges in fourteen States were in the union. A monthly journal had been established the previous February when the membership passed the thousandth mark. This first convention changed the name of the organization to the National Association of Machinists and elected Talbot first head of the order, with the title of Grand Master Machinist.

In the period under discussion a number of changes took place to emancipate the union from its modest origin amid the secrecy of the Knights of Labor. The name of International Association of Machinists was adopted in 1889 to indicate jurisdiction over Mexico and Canada. In May, 1897, the blackball was abolished and union finances were improved by the inauguration of a dues stamp system. Two years later the titles of Grand Master Machinist and Grand Foreman were replaced with terms of modern nomenclature, International President and Vice-President.

One of the most significant steps taken at this time was the affiliation of the I. A. M. with the American Federation of Labor. This had been impossible at first because the union with its southern origin had limited its membership to "white" machinists. The A. F. of L. had no alternative, then, than to charter in 1891 another organization, the International Machinists' Union, which did not have the color line. In 1895 the I. M. U. modified the distasteful clause in its constitution and applied for affiliation to the A. F. of L. It was granted a charter, while that of its rival was withdrawn. Thereafter the I. M. U. passed out of existence.

Should the Specialist Be a Machinist?
In the previous article we reviewed the history of the machinists' trade, showing how the application of machinery to the manufacture of machinery itself was of rather recent date. Inventions, we pointed out, resulted in a division of labor. The specialist resulting therefrom was more easily replaceable than the former all-around man, so that the skilled machinist objected to his presence in the union as merely a "handy man." An attempt to broaden the qualifications for membership to include "any person working at the trade" failed in 1899. At the next convention, two years later, the specialist fared better. A report was adopted which showed that the delegates were forced to take cognizance of economic facts:

"Whereas, the introduction of automatic and special improved machinery into our machine shops is becoming more general, we recommend that we admit into our Association all men operating such improved machinery in the same shop." Then, in 1903, the final step was taken, when Article I, Section 1, of the constitution was amended by striking out the word "machinist" and inserting the following:

"... Any man working in a machine shop and engaged in any manner with the making or repairing of machinery, provided that at the time he makes application he is working at some branch of the machinists' trade. This Association shall be divided into two branches, known as the journeymen machinist and the specialist branches, to which latter branch all machine shops help shall be eligible. Each branch shall establish a minimum rate of wages to govern eligibility in their branches, and all applicants for admission shall be required to receive the minimum rate in their locality for his branch."

The Chicago Machinists Give the Signal

The most significant events during these early years of the International Association of Machinists revolved around the struggle with the employers' organization known as the National Metal Trades Association. The "bosses" saw the growing strength of the men in the metal trades and determined to organize also. In 1898 the employers in New York City came together as a result of a patternmakers' strike in that locality. This led to the formation of the National Metal Trades Association on August 31 of the following year, none too soon in view of

the unrest among the machinists.

In 1899 the I. A. M. came to the conclusion that something had to be done to stir up organization sentiment in the city of Chicago, where it was not what it should have been. An organizer was sent in on March 1, and by June the membership had increased from 493 to 741, and District Lodge No. 8 was formed consisting of the delegates from the local lodges. The business agent elected by this central body hit upon the scheme of boosting the organization work by formulating a definite set of demands and going on strike, if necessary, to obtain them.

This met with the approval of the local union in December, when the membership had materially increased to 1,143. The chief demands of the union were the following:

1. Closed shop.
2. Definition of machinist according to the I. A. M. constitution.
3. Increased minimum rate of wages.
4. Nine-hour day.
5. Time and a half for overtime and double time for legal holidays and Sunday.
6. Limitation of apprentices according to the I. A. M. constitution.
7. Compulsory arbitration after ordinary adjustment fails.

In spite of the fact that this agreement was to become effective on March 1 in the busy season, the manufacturers even refused to discuss it. The union called a strike on February 21 and the employers responded by forming a fighting organization, the Chicago Association of Machinery Manufacturers. When a conference between the two sides was finally held it broke up on the question of the "closed shop." Nothing now prevented the strike from continuing in full swing on March 1. Within a week six thousand machinists had walked out, one-third to a half not even union members.

The strike soon spread to other cities: Philadelphia, Paterson, N. J.; Cleveland and Columbus, Ohio, and threatened to overtake Baltimore, Boston and New York. By the end of March nine thousand machinists were out on strike.

The Bosses' Union Offers Arbitration
The National Metal Trades Association now enters the picture. Early in March the Chicago manufacturers offered to join the N. M. T. A.—as they later did—which would then arbitrate all questions with the international union, provided the men first went back to work. The strikers agreed to this if the wage increases and the nine-hour day were granted in advance. This offer was rejected. The next conference was directly between the national organizations of employers and employees. On March 17, 1900, the officials of both groups met in Chicago. The representatives of the N. M. T. A. proposed arbitration now and hereafter, and the resumption of work. The unionists balked. They wanted to set a definite date for the beginning of arbitration and not leave the time hanging in the air. The conference disbanded with nothing accomplished. An attempt was made to operate the shops with scabs, but the strikers' ranks held. Their mass meetings were more enthusiastic than ever. The N. M. T. A. was compelled to enter into negotiation again. This time a definite time was set for the beginning of arbitration, and the employers in a letter stipulated the points to which they were ready to agree. This together with the proposition to arbitrate came to be known as the Chicago agreement.

The settlement made was substantially the Chicago agreement:

1. No discrimination against union labor.
2. Definition of machinist according to constitution of union, which provided only for all-around men.
3. No mention made of wages, except that the Paterson machinists were to receive the 10 per cent increase they had been demanding.
4. Provisions for extra payment for overtime carefully defined.
5. Union apprenticeship ratio was adopted.
6. Fifty-seven-hour week after six months and fifty-four after one year from final adoption of agreement, "the hours to be divided as will best suit the convenience of the employer."

This agreement was a victory for the men. It was national in scope. It meant the recognition of the union. It granted the strikers' demands in general. But it had its weaknesses. The nine-hour day was not granted as such. Wages were not defined. The arbitration clause which was to apply to all future disputes was trouble-breeding and, as we shall see, eventually brought about the end of collective bargaining on a national scale.

trate came to be known as the Chicago agreement.

The Troublesome Arbitration Provision

"... in all pending disputes, and disputes hereafter to arise between members of the respective organizations, i. e., an employer and his employee or employees, every reasonable effort shall be made by the said parties to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulty; failing in which either party shall have the right to ask its reference to a committee of arbitration, which shall consist of the presidents of the National Metal Trades Association and of the International Association of Machinists, or their representatives, and two other representatives from each association appointed by the respective presidents. The finding of this committee of arbitration by a majority vote shall be considered final as regards the case at issue and as marking a precedent for the future action of the respective organizations. Pending adjudication by the committee of arbitration there shall be no cessation of work at the instance of either party to the dispute."

When the agreement was ratified by the strikers all over the country, they returned to work. The arbitration by the bi-partisan board took place as scheduled in May, 1900, at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York City. The representatives of the union were James O'Connell, president; D. Douglas Wilson, vice-president; and Hugh Doran of Chicago, members of the board of trustees. The Association delegates were D. McLaren of the United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry Company, president; Edwin Reynolds of the E. P. Allis Company, Milwaukee, Wis., and W. L. Pierce of the Lidgett-Wood Manufacturing Company, New York.

The Chicago Agreement a Victory for Men

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(To be continued)

Colonial Empire of the United States By Parker T. Moon

Associate Professor of International Relations, Columbia University

	Area (square miles)	Population	Commerce* (dollars)
OUTLYING TERRITORIES			
Alaska	590,884	60,000	88,905,000
Hawaii	6,449	307,000	188,541,000
DEPENDENCIES			
Philippine Islands	115,026	11,076,000	243,356,000
Porto Rico	3,435	1,347,000	172,478,000
Virgin Islands†	132	26,000	2,559,000
Samoa‡	58	8,000	294,000
Guam	210	13,000	967,000
Wake and Midway Is.	29
LEASED TERRITORY			
Panama Canal Zone, Guantanamo, Fonseca Bay, Corn Island	527	27,000
Total Possessions	716,750	12,864,000	697,100,000
NOMINALLY INDEPENDENT DEPENDENCIES†			
Cuba	44,164	3,369,000	724,595,000
Haiti	11,072	2,045,000	28,872,000
Dominican Republic	19,325	897,000	51,843,000
Panama	33,667	443,000	16,250,000
Nicaragua	49,200	638,000	21,797,000
Liberia‡	36,934	1,500,000	2,522,000
Total Nominally Independent Dependencies	194,262	8,892,000	845,885,000
Grand Total	911,012	21,756,000	1,542,985,000

* 1923.

† 1924, Commerce Year Book.

Whether these should be included, and whether other Latin American countries might also be added, must necessarily be a matter of opinion. I have selected the countries which are definitely under a form of control which Europeans might be tempted to describe as a protectorate, quasi-protectorate or veiled protectorate. Technical classification is difficult if not impossible, but the fact of control is indubitable.

(From Imperialism and World Politics, N. Y. MacMillan Co.)

New International For Union Teachers; Town Won in Argentina

Labor Doings Abroad

Another town in Argentina has been captured by the Socialists, bringing the total up to six. This time it is the little city of General Roca, away off in the territory of Rio Negro in Patagonia. Despite the fact that many workers had been kept off the voting lists by the registration officials, the Socialist vote on Oct. 24 ranged from 237 to 272, against a range of from 222 to 259 for the Progressives. The Radical Party did not nominate any councilmen, so most of its votes went to the Progressive candidates.

While winning local electoral victories the Socialist Party of Argentina continues to defend the interests of the working class in the Chamber of Deputies. Backed by the Argentine Federation of Labor, the Socialist deputies are demanding minimum wage legislation for farm workers, temporary restriction of immigration and the distribution of uncultivated land along Mexican lines. Such action has become imperative in view of the unemployment crisis in both industry and agriculture and the decline in wages.

Answering a communication from Dr. Ricardo A. Paredes, of the recently organized Socialist Party of Ecuador, suggesting the calling of a congress of all the Socialist and Communist parties of America, especially those of Ibero America, for the purpose of getting together and laying plans for the defense of the interest of the workers, Adolfo Dickmann, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Argentina, welcomes the idea in the name of the executive committee and hopes that such a congress may be held.

Among the many tributes paid by the Socialist press of the world to the memory of Eugene V. Debs, none was finer or more complete than those of La Vanguardia, the Buenos Aires daily, and El Sol, the official paper of the Socialist Party organization in the Province of Buenos Aires.

NEW INTERNATIONAL FOR UNION TEACHERS

Negotiations for the formation of a Teachers' International which had been under way for several months under the direction of the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions bore fruit in Brussels on Nov. 27 and 28 when representatives of about 100,000 organized teachers in Austria, France, Belgium, Germany, Holland and Luxembourg voted approval of the rules drafted by the preparatory committee and declared, subject to eventual referenda or conventions of their unions that the Teachers' International was a fact.

Pending the organization of a general council consisting of one representative of each affiliated organization, the work of the new International is being carried on by a committee composed of S. N. Posthumus and T. Thirssen, of the League of Dutch Teachers, and M. Leblanc of the French Teachers' Syndicate in Caen. The Brussels meeting was presided over by Jan Oudegeest, who, as one of the secretaries of the I. F. T. U., had played a leading part in getting the teachers together.

Up to the present there has been no effective international organization of the teachers, as the International of Educational Workers, whose secretary is L. Vermechot of France, and which was founded in 1923, has but a few members outside of Russia, and although not officially affiliated with the Communist Trade Union International, is generally regarded as more of a political Communist organization than

a union body. On the other hand, the founding in May, 1925, in Paris of the International Association of Clerical Employees, Petty Officials and Teachers in Public Service, mainly for the purpose of bringing the teachers' unions into the I. F. T. U., appears to have been in vain, due to the probability of jurisdictional disputes with the existing international taking in public service workers and clerks and to the opposition of many teachers to being lumped up with all kinds of other workers in the same organization.

SAXON LABOR DIVIDED, BUT IS STILL ON TOP

It devoted much of the last issue of its bi-weekly employees' paper to an attack on the union. But it cannot explain to the men why the Jacksonville scale—that it has attacked since it broke its contract—is so easily paid by the D. L. & W., which reopened its mines with 700 employees nearby on the river a week ago. And so many of its men have quit recently that it is taking men off immigrant ships. Forty-two such immigrants were brought in from Ellis Island in the last few days.

It was definitely decided to set up a labor bank, with a capitalization of 20,000,000 lei (worth about 200 to 311), divided into shares of 500 lei each. National headquarters of the Federation is to be moved from Cluj to Bucharest. Jan Flueras was re-elected president and I. Miresco named general secretary.

Economic conditions for Rumanian workers are very bad, the average skilled man's wage being about 18 lei an hour, which in actual purchasing value equals only about 46 per cent. of pre-war wages.

OUSTED FROM PULLMAN, NEGRO WOMAN SUES

Because she was ejected from her Pullman berth when her through train from New York City reached Florida, Mrs. Blanche S. Brookins is suing the Pullman Company and the Atlantic Coast Line Railway for \$25,000 damages. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is supporting her case and has secured Arthur Garfield Hays and Clarence Darrow as counsel. Mrs. Brookins was imprisoned in Palatka, Fla., last July, after her ejection and fined \$500 and costs for violating the Florida Jim Crow law. She was told by the judge he was "sorry he could not double the fine." Mrs. Brookins maintains that as a passenger in interstate commerce she was not subject to the Florida law.

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Helping the Good Work Along

THE Eugene V. Debs Branch of the Young People's Socialist League of Los Angeles, Cal., is the only addition this week to the list of organizations that are taking advantage of our special offer of ten yearly subscription cards, good for new readers only, for \$10. This circle starts with ten cards and promises to duplicate the order soon. The branches of the Y. P. S. L. in New York City have been slow to see the double advantage of our offer, and perhaps this action on the part of the Los Angeles circle may stimulate them to follow their good example. This offer is only good to the end of February, while this special campaign for new readers is on, and we suggest that those who contemplate taking advantage of it that they act quickly. It has proven a splendid medium for gaining new readers for The New Leader and it has given indirectly to the organizations who took up our offer a substantial revenue for their own work.

We are happy to mention again that Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis in behalf of the New England district organization remitted this week for 22 additional three months' trial subscriptions. This brings the total to his credit for this month to 332 trial subscriptions. They all go to a list of picked names, and it is our hope that at the expiration of the three months we may be able to retain most of them as steady readers. What is done in Boston should be repeated in every industrial city. Get the active comrades together and start a small fund to be used to mail The New Leader for three months to a list of sympathizers or prospective party members. You will find this one of the most effective means of Socialist propaganda and, incidentally, a splendid way in which to help gain new readers for The New Leader.

There are quite a substantial number of our readers whose subscriptions expired last week who have not sent in their renewals. Why not do so at once and save us the expense and work to remind you by mail of it? That expense and effort in mailing out second reminders can be put to better advantage. Examine the expiration date on your subscription label, and if you are among those who overlooked to renew, do not neglect to forward your renewal immediately.

Remember our special offer to those who send in their renewals. For \$4 we will extend your expired subscription for another year and The New Leader will be mailed for one year each to two new readers to be designated by you. This offer virtually means that subscribers unable to renew can get a free renewal of their own subscription if they secure two yearly subscriptions. It also means that those who can spare the money may for an additional \$2 send The New Leader to two of their friends. Last week we published quite a substantial list of friends who sent us each two additional subscriptions. To that list should be added the following, who sent in subscriptions this week: Fannie Weren, New York; George Nafe, Boulder, Col.; H. Beriman, Brooklyn; Alex. Schwartz, New York; Gustave Schmidt, Newark, N.J.; Leonard C. Kaye, New York; Fred. Sococera, Buffalo, N. Y.; Dr. Louis Sabloff, New York; Norton Brown, Carteret, N. J.; Anna Traum, New York; Martha Cronshore, Perryopolis, Pa.; Frank C. Bryant, St. Cloud, Fla.; Jos. Weil, Brooklyn, N. Y.

On our list of single subscriptions received last week no less than 16 States are represented, divided as follows: Alabama, 1; California, 5; Connecticut, 6; Florida, 2; Georgia, 1; Illinois, 4; Indiana, 2; Massachusetts, 8; Maine, 1; New Jersey, 6; New York City, 10; New York State, 16; Ohio, 3; Pennsylvania, 1; Texas, Vermont and Washington, 1 each. Many of the States not on the list this week will undoubtedly come through next week. The New Leader having subscribers in every State in the Union.

W. E. Ammon, of Philippi, W. Va., has made arrangements for a bundle

Make your reservations today for the New Leader anniversary dinner

of New Leaders every week for distribution and sale, and he hopes by thus introducing the paper he will be able to secure many new readers. W. E. Davis is doing likewise in New Haven, Conn. He is arranging to distribute copies of The New Leader containing the installments on the history of the Machinists' Union at the machinists' meetings in New Haven. Comrade Davis never misses the opportunity to boost The New Leader.

Four orders were received this week for the combination offer of The New Leader and Calverton's book, "Sex Expression in Literature." Remember that for \$3 you get a copy of this book and in addition The New Leader will be mailed to a new reader for one year. The book sells for \$2.50, and for the addition of but 50 cents to its price you can have the book and a friend of yours will receive The New Leader for one year.

Readers of The New Leader within reaching distance of New York and those residing in Greater New York are reminded that The New Leader anniversary dinner will be held on Feb. 11. It is an event deserving the patronage of every one of our readers. It comes but once a year and it is generally a social and intellectual treat worth having. For \$2.50 you will get a splendid dinner, good music, and you will listen to speeches from seven of the best-known speakers in the Socialist and labor movement. Reservations are going fast and we suggest that you make yours immediately. Read the announcement on the first page and act quickly.

Tremont Educational Forum

The Tremont Educational Forum announces a lecture at its clubrooms, 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue, for this Friday evening at 8:30, Jan. 28, on "Russia Today," by the noted liberal, Arthur Garfield Hays, who spent this last summer in Russia observing its condition and studying its governmental and industrial machinery.

Mr. Hays was a member of the national executive committee in the La Follette campaign of 1924, and was associate counsel in the famous Stokes anti-evolution trial in Tennessee.

Lecture by Dannenberg
Dr. Karl Dannenberg, recently here from Germany, will lecture February 2 at the open forum (held every Wednesday night by the International Anarchist Group) at 149 East 23rd Street, New York City. The subject will be "Conditions in the German Labor Movement."

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Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4021 Stagg
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
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MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 E. 160th Street
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Day room and office, 100 East 43rd Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 8339
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
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UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America
LOCAL UNION NO. 508
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stagg 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
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FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSON, Treasurer
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Office, 4 West 135th St. Phone Harlem 6432.
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Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the International Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza-4100-5416. THOMAS WRIGHT, Secretary

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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
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Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N.Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 31 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.
Phone Watkins 9158
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OF QUEENS COUNTY, NEW YORK. Telephone, Stillwell 6301.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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Office 2053 Fifth Avenue. Phone: Harlem 4878.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 243 East 84th Street
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GEORGE MEANT, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HASSETT, PAT DREW.

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Board of Delegates meets on last Saturday of every month at 8 P. M. at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue, Brooklyn.
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OFFICE: 210 EAST 84TH STREET Phone: Orchard 9540-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Saturday.
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Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.
CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

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

United Hebrew Trades
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Local 224, A. C. W. of N. Y. & N. J. 125 E. B'way. Orchard 3229
Meet every 1st and 2nd Tuesday
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BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'
UNION, LOCAL 68, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 5637
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FRIEDMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN REISEL, Manager Secretary-Treasurer

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Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street. Stuyvesant 7679
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
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HEBREW ACTORS' UNION
Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,
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Office: 175 East Broadway. Phone: Orchard 6639
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
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Office: 565 Hudson St., City. Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.
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JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent. MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

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Local 1067, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1889
Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
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Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th St.
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FUR DRESSERS' UNION,
Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union, Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave. Brooklyn. Phone: Stagg 5414
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays.
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R. FINE, Vice-President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.
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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 40
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UNION LOCAL 137
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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone: Orchard 2798
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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 3145
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The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 2809
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
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Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers
Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4840
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
Section Meetings
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—E. 18th St. & B. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1914 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'way—116 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—74 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINFO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'
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Rec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 301 E. 161st St. Phone: Melrose 7690
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Union, Local 29, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office 26 W. 25th St. Phone: Lackawanna 4814.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.
112 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager

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New York Clothing Cutters' Union
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Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
PHILIP OKLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

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OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1397
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Office: 2 Delancey St. Drydock 2400
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KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary.
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Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. U.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway. Phone Spring 4514
Uptown Office: 30 West 37th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1210
Executive Board Meets every Tuesday evening
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G. GOOZE, Manager
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Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 244—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings are Held in the Office of the Union

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,
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E. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Sec'y.
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INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 40
O. SCHACHTMAN, General President.
E. WOEL, General Secretary-Treasurer.

The AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS
UNION LOCAL 137
Office and Headquarters 12 St. Marks Place, N. Y.
Regular Meetings Every First and Third Thursday at 8 P. M.
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 8 P. M. Phone: Orchard 2798
M. BROWD, President. JAMES SMITH, Vice-President.
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Office: ANALITHONE BLDG., 265 WEST 14th St. Phone: WAT 1100
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Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9732.
Regular Meetings Every Monday evening, at 122 Chatham Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
THOMAS F. OATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.



Amusements



DRAMA

"A Florentine Tragedy" on Second Grand Guignol Bill

Georges Renavent and his American Grand Guignol Players will present their second bill of one-act plays in English at the Grove Street Theatre, commencing next Tuesday evening. Oscar Wilde's tense, short play, "A Venetian Tragedy," is the most important offering of the bill, and the leading parts therein will be played by Clarence Derwent, Mary Blair and Mr. Renavent.

The other one-act plays to be given include "The Morgue," a comedy by Joseph Noel; "Butterflies," a thriller by Thomas W. Broadhurst; and "Napoleon's Barber," Arthur Caesar's play that has been acted in all European countries. As was the case with the first bill, which continues up to and including this Saturday night, the run of this program will be limited to three weeks.

Matheson Lang in "The Wandering Jew"

Matheson Lang, one of England's most noted actors, will begin an engagement at the Cosmopolitan Theatre next Tuesday evening. His premiere bill will be "The Wandering Jew," a play in four phases by E. Temple Thurston, which is based on the ancient legend of "The Wandering Jew," who lives on "throughout the ages." It served Mr. Lang for an entire season at the New Theatre, London. He is bringing with him the London cast and production, and the play will be done here under Mr. Lang's management.

In the supporting company are Hutin Britton (Mrs. Matheson Lang), who plays Judith; Winifred Izard, Vera Hurst, Ernest Bodkin, Arnold Rooke, George Butler, George Thirlwell and Sharyl Gardner.

Mr. Thurston's "Wandering Jew" begins on the day of the Crucifixion and goes through the First Crusade; Sicily in the 13th century; Spain in the Middle Ages and the Inquisition.

"Pinwheel" Next Production Of Neighborhood Playhouse

The Neighborhood Playhouse announces the opening of "Pinwheel," an impressionistic play of New York by Francis Edwards Farago, which will take place next Thursday evening. "Pinwheel" is staged and directed by Alice and Irene Lewisohn. The scenery and costumes were designed by Donald Oenslager.

The cast includes Dorothy Sands, Lily Lubell, Blanche Talmud, Paula Trueman, Marc Loebell, Albert Carroll, Otto Hüllcius, Sadie Sussman, Grace Stickley, Mary George, George Heller, George Bratt and Theodore Hecht. Later "The Dybbuk" will again go into the bill alternating with "Pinwheel."

Thompson Buchanan's New Comedy, "Sinner," Due Feb. 7

The title of Thompson Buchanan's new comedy which Richard Herndon has now in rehearsal, with Allan Dinehart and Claiborne Foster as its featured players, has been settled and it will be called "Sinner," and it applies to the heroine of Mr. Buchanan's ultra-modern comedy. The play opens at the Klaw Theatre Monday evening, February 7. Mr. Herndon has leased the Klaw Theatre for a period of twenty-one years, to take effect the first of August.

The cast for "Sinner," besides Claiborne Foster and Allan Dinehart, will include Merle Maddern, Hugh Huntley, Edwin Mordant, Raymond Walburn, Vera Allen, Dan Kelly and Allan Vincent.

"The Bottom of the Cup," by John Tucker Battle and William J. Perlman, will be presented at special matinees at the Mayfair, beginning Monday. This was the play that was to have succeeded the revival of "The Emperor Jones" at that intimate house, but was crowded out by "La Finta Giardiniera."

ROY GORDON



Plays one of the chief roles in "New York Exchange," the Peter Glenney play of Broadway life, at the 49th Street Theatre

MATHESON LANG



The noted English actor will appear in his London success, "The Wandering Jew," opening Tuesday night at the Cosmopolitan Theatre

"Trelawney of the Wells" With an All-Star Cast

Sir Arthur Wing Pinero will be represented on Broadway next week with his famous comedy "Trelawney of the Wells," which opens Monday night at the New Amsterdam Theatre, presented by George C. Tyler.

The all-star cast includes many names familiar in the theatre world. The principals are: John Drew, O. P. Heggie, Otto Kruger, Rollo Peters, Wilton Lackaye, John E. Kallender, Eric Dressler, Lawrence D'Orsay, J. M. Kerrigan, Pauline Lord, Helen Gahagan, Estelle Winwood, Mrs. Thomas Whitford, Henrietta Crossman, Effie Shannon, Frieda Innescott, Peggie Whitford and Gerald Rogers.

"The Student Prince" at the Bronx Opera Next Week

"The Student Prince," the musical operetta based on the play "Old Heidelberg," will come to the Bronx Opera House for one week, beginning Monday night, presented by the Messrs. Schubert. Dorothy Donnelly did the book and lyrics, Sigmund Romberg the music.

In the company are Ilse Marvenga, creator of the role of "Kathie"; De Wolf Hopper and Halford Young, who head the cast of players.

"No, No, Nanette," which played on Broadway last season, will be the following attraction.

"The Road to Rome," with Jane Cowl, Here Monday

William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman announce that their production of "The Road to Rome," a new comedy by Robert Emmet Sherwood with Jane Cowl as star, will open Monday evening at the Playhouse.

The supporting cast includes: Philip Merivale, Ritchie Ling, Jessie Ralph, Joyce Carey, Barry Jones, Lionel Hogarth, Alfred Webster, Fairfax Burghier, Charles Brokaw and William R. Randall. Lester Loneragan directed the play, and the settings and costumes have been designed by Lee Simonson.

"Yours Truly" at Shubert Theatre Tuesday Night

"Yours Truly," with Leon Errol as star, Gene Buck's first musical production, opened at the Shubert Theatre Tuesday evening. Clyde North, Anne Caldwell and Raymond Hubbell are responsible for the book, lyrics and music, respectively. Joseph Urban designed the settings.

The cast, in addition to Leon Errol, includes Marion Harris, Greek Evans, Ina Williams, Harry Kelly, Hilda Ferguson, Jack Squires, Ann Greenway, Theodore Babcock, Geneva Mitchell, Anastasia Reilly, Edgar Nelson and sixteen Tiller Girls.

"The Dark," Another Martin Brown Opus, Opens Tuesday

William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman will present their production of "The Dark," a new play by Martin Brown in which Louis Calhern is featured, at the Lyceum Theatre on Tuesday evening.

Besides Mr. Calhern, the cast includes: Ann Andrews, Stanley Logan, Julia Hoyt, Saxon Kling, Juliette Day, Master Warren McCollum and Walter Colligan. George Cukor directed the play, and the settings have been designed by Livingston Platt.

"The Strawberry Blonde," another play by Martin Brown, author of "Praying Curve," was presented at the Bronx Opera House Monday night. It is scheduled to come to Broadway the week of February 7.

The Theatre Guild has leased the road rights of Sidney Howard's play, "Ned McCobb's Daughter," to John Cromwell, who will present the play in Chicago shortly.

"Inheritors," by Susan Glaspell, Next Civic Repertory Production

Rehearsals began Tuesday, following the opening of "The Cradle Song," of the "Inheritors" by Susan Glaspell which the Civic Repertory Players will present, for its eighth production this season, on Monday evening, February 21. The leading role will be played by Josephine Hutchinson.

Eva Le Gallienne's Company is going out on tour the first week in May, leaving the Fourteenth Street Theatre for a six weeks' trip. It plays a week of repertory in Washington, then Baltimore, Philadelphia two weeks, and then, probably Boston. There is a rumor that the company may play a week, by invitation, at the new Harkness Memorial Theatre at Yale, whose impresario is Professor George Pierce Baker.

Sierra's "Cradle Song," which opened at the 14th Street Theatre Monday night, will be given at three performances next week; on Tuesday and Wednesday nights and on Saturday matinee. Other plays of the week will include: "Twelfth Night," Monday and Friday nights; "Three Sisters," Wednesday matinee and Thursday night; "Master Builder," Saturday night.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The billiard champion, Ralph Greenleaf, will head the vaudeville program at B. S. Moss' Broadway next week. Other acts include Bobby O'Neill and Company; Lew Kuitz and Myra Tracy; Dorothy and Rosetta Ryan.

Helene Chadwick is featured in "Stolen Pleasures," which has its premiere showing on the Broadway's screen next week. The supporting cast includes Dorothy Remer and Leah Baird.

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Joe E. Howard Revue; Frisco; others. Dorothy Mackall and Jack Mulhall in "The Girl from Coney Island." Thursday to Sunday—Leatrice Joy and Charles Ray in "Nobody's Widow." Miss Bobby Adams; other Keith-Albee acts.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Charles Hill and Girls; other acts. "The Girl from Coney Island," with Dorothy Mackall and Jack Mulhall. Thursday to Sunday—Kenny-Carvet and Co.; Shapiro and O'Malley; others. Charles Ray and Leatrice Joy in "Nobody's Widow."

PAULA LANGLEN



In "The Pirates of Penzance," now in its third month at the Plymouth Theatre

Broadway Briefs

Ferdinand Zegel will replace Glen Dale in the role of Captain Fontaine in "The Desert Song" at the Casino Theatre.

Due to temporary illness, Charles Goodrich has retired from the cast of "The Red Lily," the new play which opened at the Comedy Theatre Thursday evening. His part is being played by Carleton Macy.

Glen Dale joined the cast of "The Nightingale" at Jolson's Theatre Monday night, appearing as Major Gurnee.

The auxiliary players of the Civic Repertory Theatre Company will present "The Lower Depths," by Maxim Gorky, at a morning performance at the 14th St. Theatre, Monday, January 31, at 10 a. m. Most of these young people have minor parts, or understudy positions with Miss Le Gallienne's company.

The New School of Social Research has bought the house for "The Master Builder" on Monday evening, February 14, at the Civic Repertory Theatre.

The first of a series of plays to be inaugurated at the Greenwich Village Theatre will go into rehearsal this morning, with Claude Rains, formerly

DOROTHY SANDS



Is an important member of the Neighborhood Playhouse repertory company, and will play a leading role in "Pinwheel," which opens next Thursday night

of "The Constant Nymph" cast, in the principal part. The piece is "Lally," a satiric comedy by Henry Stillman. When this is presented John D. Williams and Carl Reed will place in rehearsal "Casino," a new play by John Colton, co-author of "Rain" and author of "The Shanghai Gesture."

The new Ziegfeld Theatre, Sixth avenue and Fifty-fourth street, it was announced yesterday, will be opened Wednesday night, February 2, with "Rio Rita," a musical show now playing at the Forrest Theatre in Philadelphia.

::: MUSIC :::

PHILHARMONIC

Arturo Toscanini has recovered sufficiently from his illness to conduct the Philharmonic Orchestra concerts of Tuesday, Saturday and next Sunday. These three concerts will form a Beethoven festival, and four of that master's symphonies are scheduled for performance. On Tuesday evening at the Metropolitan Opera House Mr. Toscanini will conduct the third ("Eroica") and Fifth Symphonies.

Next Saturday evening at Carnegie Hall Mr. Toscanini will conduct the Ninth Symphony, preceded by the First Symphony. The assisting chorus in the choral movement of the Ninth will be that of the Schola Cantorum. The soloists will be announced later. The program will be repeated on Sunday afternoon in Carnegie Hall. Mr. Toscanini also will conduct the Philharmonic Orchestra in Philadelphia Wednesday evening.

This Sunday afternoon Fritz Reiner will appear as guest conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. The program will include Weber's "Oberon" Overture, Beethoven's Fourth Symphony, Debussy's "La Mer" and excerpts from "Die Meistersinger."

Ernest Schelling continues his series of children's concerts at Aeolian Hall on Saturday morning and Saturday afternoon, February 5. This concert will be devoted to an exposition of rhythm, and will be illustrated as usual with lantern slides.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The New York Symphony Orchestra will wind up its tour this week, returning to New York for next Sunday afternoon's concert in Mecca Auditorium. This is to be a Wagner-Tschakowsky program.

Otto Klemperer will conduct at next Sunday's concert. His program will include two numbers from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger," "Siegfried Idyl" and Tschakowsky's "Pathetique" symphony.

At the following Thursday concert, Feb. 10, Klemperer will perform a new work by Hindemith, "Kanzertmusik für Blas Orchester." He will also present Handel's Concerto Grosso No. 4, appearing himself at the Camello. Assisting artists for the February concerts will be Elizabeth Rethberg, Pablo Casals, Alexander Brailowsky, Joseph Szigeti and the Marmelins.

Music Notes

Josef Hofmann, pianist, and Lea Luboshutz, violinist, will give a joint recital at Carnegie Hall this Sunday afternoon. The program includes: Sonata in A major, by Cesar Franck; Sonata in G major, by Brahms; and the violin concerto in G minor, by Bruch.

Madame Louise Homer, contralto, and her daughter, Louise Homer Stires, soprano, will give a joint recital at Carnegie Hall this Saturday afternoon, January 29th.

Doris Niles, assisted by Cornelia Niles and an orchestra under Louis Horst, will give her third recital in Carnegie Hall Tuesday evening. Her offerings will be Russian and Spanish dances to music by Glazunov, Tschakowsky, Ippolitow-Ivanov and Albeniz.

Alfred Blumen, pianist, at his second recital in Aeolian Hall, on February 2nd, will play a program of Bach, edy Theatre Thursday night

THEATRES

Forrest Theatre, 49th St., West of B'way. Evenings at 8:30. Matinees Wed. and Sat., 2:30.

ALICE BRADY

"Gives the soundest, most temperately searching performance of her career."

—Frank Vreeland, Telegram.

IN THE STIRRING PLAY

LADY ALONE

WINTER GARDEN

Sunday Night Concert

"STILL THE HUB OF SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT"

Stars and numbers from Broadway's current revue and musical comedy hits and other headlines acts

SMOKING PERMITTED IN ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE

Buy seats early and avoid being one of the standees.

49th St. Th. W. of B'way. Eves. 8:45. Matinees Wed. and Sat. 2:30.

A PLAY OF NIGHT CLUBS.

CABARET LORELEIS and CRADLE SNATCHERS

SEE

N-Y-X CHANGE

"A Male Captive"

—with—

Alison Skipworth and Sydney Shields

"Begins where 'The Cradle Snatchers' left off."—Eve. World.

B.P.

A play you won't forget

THE LADDER

By J. FRANK DAVIS

WALDORF Th. 50th St. E. of B'way. Eves. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

JED HARRIS Presents

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The Very Last Word in Revues

The Perfect Musical Production

THE NEW GAY PAREE of 1927

Absolutely New in Every Detail

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Ohio

John Willert, State Secretary, writes that there seems to be more activity the last few weeks than there was for some time. He hopes that all the Appeal and New Leader readers will be members of the party and will co-operate with him in building the party organization.

Cleveland

A resolution protesting this country's entrance into Nicaragua with marines was unanimously passed at a meeting of the Cuyahoga County Central Committee. The danger of another war, termed unnecessary, unprovoked and of our own making, is pointed out and the immediate withdrawal of the marines demanded in the resolution.

Illinois

Party members and readers of the American Appeal and New Leader are urged to reserve Thursday evening, Feb. 17, Comrades Mahoney and Pogorelec, the committee in charge, promise to give details next week.

Circulate the city nominating petitions. There will be no other working class party in the field. The Farmer-Labor, Progressive and Communist parties have not nominated candidates. The task of getting the required number of signatures is too great a job for them. Socialists must not fail. Write for petitions at once to County Headquarters, Room 315, 803 West Madison street, Chicago.

New England

Ethel Friedman's Dates.

Feb. 13, Springfield, Workmen's Circle; Feb. 14, Salem Workmen's Circle; Feb. 15, Maynard; Feb. 16, Lowell Workmen Circle; Feb. 17, Boston; Feb. 18, Worcester; Feb. 19, Greenfield; Feb. 20, Springfield; Feb. 21, open; Feb. 22, Maynard; Feb. 23, Worcester Central Labor Union; Feb. 24, Boston; Feb. 25, Worcester; Feb. 26, Greenfield.

Jose Kelly's Dates. Between the Mexican Federation of Labor and an authority on Mexico, will speak on Thursday, Feb. 3, at the Boston Socialist Party Hall, 21 Essex street, at 8 p.m. On Wednesday, February 2, he will speak for the Central Labor Union at Worcester and on Friday, Feb. 4, at the Salem Labor College. His subject is "The Mexican Situation." The Speakers' Training Class in Boston will discuss "Capitalist Journalism" on Sunday, Jan. 30, and "Feminism" on Sunday, Feb. 6. They meet at 5 p.m. at Socialist Party headquarters.

New Jersey

Hudson County

Local Hudson held its first social gathering on Jan. 20, and although the weather man provided a bad rain storm, it did not dampen the spirit of friendship and fraternity of those that attended.

The number present was double what we expected. The incentive for more such gatherings was given a big boost, and plans are under way for the next social gathering next month. Quite a few of the members of the English branches have in the past expressed their sentiments against having language federations in the party on the ground that they do not co-operate with the English branches. There may be cause to complain, but the Finnish branch of New Jersey City must be given the honor of going a long way to make this social affair the success it was. Without them it would have been a very poor showing.

The Yipsels were on the job and furnished the music and entertainment. Besides the musical numbers, dancing was enjoyed by all. Coffee and cake was served. All without an admission fee and no collection.

Connecticut

Bridgeport

Jessie Stephen of the British Labor Party will deliver a lecture at Carpenters' Hall, 170 Elm street, Sunday evening, Jan. 30. The admission will be 15 cents. The subject will be "Ramsay MacDonald, His Life and Work." It is expected that Socialists from many nearby towns will attend this meeting.

New Haven

The January forum meeting of the Trades Council, which was addressed by Norman Thomas, was very successful. The largest audience of the season was present. Mr. Thomas' subject was "Trade Unions, Company Unions and Unorganized Workers."

Thomas was asked if he believed in industrial unions. He answered by saying that if the auto industry was to be organized it would have to be organized as an industrial union, such as the United Mine Workers and the United Garment Workers. A quartet from the Yale Glee Club sang before the lecture. It was mainly through the efforts of Prof. Jerome Davis of Yale that the council was able to secure such high class speakers as we have had this winter. The speaker Feb. 13 will be Harry Dana of Cambridge, Mass.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., will speak at the Bijou Theatre Sunday, Feb. 6, at 2:30 p.m., under the auspices of the New Haven Trades Council.

The American and Jewish branches of the Socialist Party of New Haven, starting in February, will hold one meeting a month in conjunction with each other, at the new Workmen's Circle on Oak street.

A conference for the protection of

New York State

The meeting of the State Executive Committee, originally scheduled for Jan. 30, has been postponed until Sunday morning, Feb. 6. This postponement was made on account of the Bronx entertainment and ball and the anti-war meeting at the Lyric Theatre.

Debs Bonds
State Secretary Merrill reports that a number of subscriptions have been received for 1937 Debs Liberty Bonds. Each subscriber for a bond of the denomination of \$5 and upward is receiving a photograph of Eugene V. Debs, 8x12 inches in size. Locals have been offered 30 per cent. commission on all Debs Bonds sold to members by them. Individuals may make arrangements to sell Debs Liberty Bonds on commission by communicating with the State Office on the subject.

New York City

General Party Meeting

The general party meeting, held Wednesday, Jan. 19, in the Debs Auditorium, was one of the most successful meetings in recent years. The emergency call relative to the Mexican and Nicaraguan situation impressed itself upon the members and a spirited discussion followed. The leaflet written by Norman Thomas entitled, "Hands Off Mexico," had just come from the press and since then 20,000 have been distributed. A committee of three members was elected—Karl, Thomas and McAllister Coleman—to prepare a statement for the press voicing the position of the Socialist Party. A motion was carried that we request the national executive committee to make public a statement on this critical situation.

Secretary Claessens reported that the party organization and the branches would be ready for any emergency in the calling of mass meetings should war with Mexico be threatened. He stated that upon 24 hours notice some 40 or 50 street meetings could be arranged and that the leaflets would be speedily distributed. The Socialist Party has been invited to participate in the protest meeting to be held at the Lyric Theatre on Jan. 30, Sunday afternoon.

Central Committee

The Central Committee will hold its next session Wednesday, Feb. 2. Important business will be the election of officers for the local for 1937 and of an Executive Committee. Branches that have not elected delegates are urged to do so before Wednesday night. The Central Committee will meet in room 402, Peoples House, 7 East 15th Street, at 8:30 p.m.

Manhattan

The 6-8-13 district Branch Forum held its third session Sunday morning. The attendance is growing, with every indication that it will be one of the most successful in the Greater City. The speaker and director is Judge Panken. His talks on "Events of the Week" are instructive and inspiring. This Sunday a musical program will be offered with Solomon Deutsch, noted young violinist, and assisting artists. Judge Panken starts his talk at 11 o'clock promptly and a one-half hour is devoted to questions and discussion. It is worth the time of any Socialist in the city to visit this forum some morning.

Intensive work will be done on the lower East Side to rebuild party branches in the 1st, 2d and 4th A. D. Enrolled voters' meetings will be called as soon as the new enrollment lists are received from the Board of Elections or about February 15.

6-8-12 A. D. Branch will be compelled to find new headquarters after May 1. A committee has been elected to find new rooms and the branch is seriously discussing the possibility of leasing or purchasing a building in their territory.

Enrolled voters' meetings will be held in the Yorkville, Harlem, Upper West Side and Washington Heights districts in the near future.

Bronx

Sunday afternoon and evening, Jan. 30, will be the occasion for the event of the season in the Bronx County, when the annual Bronx ball and entertainment will take place. Socialists and sympathizers from all parts of the city will be present and participate in the merriment. The doors will open at 2 p.m. and at 4 p.m. the concert will begin. A remarkably fine array of talent has been engaged, including the following artists: James Phillips, formerly leading basso of the Chicago "Student Prince" company and chief entertainer at Camp Tammany, summer of 1925, also bass soloist of the Goodrich Zippor Co., broadcasting on WEAF, will render a number of solo selections. Miss Edna Furst-Hoffman, pianist, and Miss Genevieve Kaufman, the noted lyric soprano; Miss Minna Donn, Miss Pearl Donn, Miss Lenore Viertel, of the dancing group of the Baird Larsen School, will each in their own artistic fashion present a number of dances. The dance program will begin at 7 p.m. with music by Dan Barnett's Radio Orchestra. Tickets are \$1, including admission for afternoon and evening. An Essex 6, 1927 model sedan, is offered as a prize.

Comrades having tickets in their possession must report before or on January 29. This report is imperative in all fairness to those who have purchased tickets and who expect to

obtain the prize. It is expected that every Socialist and sympathizer from miles around will be present at this enjoyable affair and help our Bronx organization to accumulate a fund which will be used in the organization of a stronger Socialist Party in Bronx county as a preparation for bigger things to come. Remember, this Sunday, January 30, Hunts Point Palace, corner 163d street and Southern Boulevard, afternoon and evening.

Branch No. 7.—The Friday Night Forum, known as the Tremont Forum, has completed a successful series of six meetings, with August Claessens as lecturer. This forum will continue its work every Friday evening up to the spring. Arthur Garfield Hays will speak this Friday evening on "Russia of Today."

Central Branch.—A series of Monday night lectures will begin February 7. Jessie Stephen, of Great Britain, will speak as follows: Feb. 7, "Labor's Bid for Power in Britain"; Feb. 14, "The Nine Days That Shook Britain"; Feb. 21, "Epic Struggle of the British Miners." Following this course, Esther Friedman will deliver a series of five lectures. Dates and topics to be announced. Tickets for both series will be sold.

Lower Bronx Branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband, in conjunction with the Workmen's Circle branches, has obtained building in their territory. The formal opening of their new clubrooms will be held on Saturday evening, Feb. 5.

Brooklyn

2d A. D.—This branch is one of the rapidly growing organizations in our Kings county territory. New members are being admitted weekly and, together with the Y. P. S. L. Circle 13 and the Workmen's Circle Branch, a drive has been effected for a new building. The premises now occupied by them is a dilapidated shack at 420 Hindsdale street. A banquet and reunion was held at this place last Saturday night. About seventy comrades crowded every inch of space. It was in every sense a gala occasion and every active old and new member of the 2d A. D. and the Yipsels of Circle No. 13 were present. A number of speeches were made by Comrades Frank Rosenfarb, Mallis, Gelpi, August Claessens and others. About \$500 was pledged and donated towards a building fund. From the spirit prevailing at this reunion and banquet it seems quite possible that the drive for \$7,000 for the new building fund will be successfully completed before spring.

6th A. D.—This branch held a memorial meeting in the honor of their late comrade, Joseph A. Whitehorn, at the Amalgamated Temple on Sunday. A fine crowd turned out to do honor to the memory of our late beloved comrade. Comrades Oneal and Vlaseck were the principal speakers of the occasion. The Friday night lectures held by this branch, with Esther Friedman as speaker, are attracting earnest and attentive audiences, but the hall could accommodate lots more. Every effort must be made by the members of this branch to get their friends and sympathizers to attend these lectures. Beginning Feb. 4, Jessie Stephen of the British Independent Labor Party will begin a series of lectures on "Socialism and the Sex Question."

4th-14th A. D.—The Tuesday night lectures conducted by this branch with Esther Friedman as lecturer are progressing fairly well. However, a larger attendance is required and every Socialist and sympathizer in the Williamsburg section is called upon to help make this educational work the success that it should be. Comrade Friedman's topics are highly appreciated and she deserves a crowded house.

22d A. D.—The newly-established forum held by this branch at the Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken avenue, is increasing its attendance from week to week. This is the first time in several years that so successful a forum has been established in this territory. It is expected that if the attendance keeps on growing it may be necessary to obtain a larger hall. The branches in this district are in better shape than ever and their membership is growing.

23d A. D.—This branch is actively engaged in a number of undertakings. Its Friday evening forum at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, although fairly successful, could stand a larger audience. Ways and means are planned to increase the attendance. A theatre party has been arranged in one of the Brownsville theatres for March. Enrolled voters' meetings will be held in this territory in the very near future.

17th-18th A. D.—Comrade S. Kantor has volunteered to assist in the reorganization of our branch in this territory. The first meeting will be held on Monday, Jan. 31. The former membership of this branch will be invited to attend by mail and every effort will be made to increase its membership by new additions.

Yipseldom

On Saturday at 2 p.m., Jan. 29, William Werfel will lead a discussion on the Mexican and Nicaraguan situation. This will follow the regular meeting of Circle 7 at 204 East Broadway. All comrades are invited to attend and take part.

Thomas Rogers, former teacher of the Labor College of Glasgow, Scotland, will conduct a class in Economics and Social Movements for Circle 1, Bronx, 1167 Boston road. The first session will take place Sunday, Feb. 6, at 3 p.m. All Yipsels and friends are welcome to join it. Rogers has volunteered his services during February

and March. Members of the Y. P. S. L. are expected to co-operate.

JUNIOR YIPSELS

Circle 11
Circle 11, of 1465 St. Marks avenue, Brooklyn, are not only increasing in membership and developing good educational programs, but have launched a mimeographed paper and have done it quite successfully. This Circle meets on Sunday at 3 p.m. All welcome.

Circle 9
Circle 9, of 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, have some stormy educational programs. Anyone present would think himself at a session of Congress with the Nicaragua-Mexico-China-U. S. question being debated. Circle 9 was merely deciding the foreign policy for the Administration of the United States. The "Hands Off" policy was decided upon and the present Administration policy was severely condemned. To make their decision more effective, the two Circles meeting at this headquarters will distribute a few thousand of the "Hands Off Mexico" pamphlets. Circle 9 meets every Friday evening at 7:30 p.m., at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn. Comrades are invited to attend.

Entertainment
On Saturday, Feb. 12, (Lincoln's Birthday) the juniors of Brooklyn will hold an entertainment in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The affair will commence at 2:30 p.m. Many anecdotes, sketches, and other entertaining things will be on the program. The main feature will be a surprise to the comrades. Music will be furnished by the Memphis Boys Orchestra. Comrades of all senior and junior circles are urged to come. The admission is 15 cents. The proceeds will go for a good cause.

Circle 13
Circle 13 held a fine meeting last Sunday in its headquarters at 420 Hindsdale street, Brooklyn. Three new members were admitted, making a total of 15 since its recent organization. Henry Sapkowski, director, gave a short talk on the Yipsel movement. The meeting closed with a very fine musical program.

On Jan. 21 a joint meeting of the juniors and seniors will be held in the headquarters. All comrades are invited.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, January 30, 11th A. D. Judge Jacob Panken. Subject: "The Events of the Week." Hennington Hall, 214 E. Second street, auspices Socialist Party, 6-8-12 A. D.

Sunday, January 30, 8:30 p.m., Samuel J. Schneider. Subject: "Magic and Spiritualism." East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1-2 A. D.

BROOKLYN

Friday, January 28, 8:30 p.m., Arthur Garfield Hays. Subject: "Russia of Today." 4215 Third avenue. Auspices Tremont Forum. On Friday, February 4th, G. H. Harrold will lecture on "Present Situation in Mexico."

Monday, Feb. 7, 8:30 p.m., Jessie Stephen of Great Britain. Subject: "The Nine Days That Shook Britain." (First of a series of lectures on the British Labor and Socialist movement.) 1167 Boston Road.

BROOKLYN

Friday, January 28, 8:30 p.m., Esther Friedman. Subject: "The Trend Towards Equitable Distribution." 167 Tompkins avenue, auspices Socialist Party, 6-8 A. D. On Friday, February 4, Jessie Stephen will begin a series of lectures on "Socialism and the Sex Question."

Friday, January 28, 8:30 p.m., Frank Crosswath. Subject: "The New Negro and the New Day." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. On Friday, Feb. 4, V. F. Calverton will lecture on "Immigration and the Race Myth."

Friday, January 28, 8:30 p.m., Norman Thomas. Subject: "Who Wants War in Mexico?" Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken avenue, auspices, 22nd A. D. On February 4, Ethelred Brown will lecture on "Debs, the Apostle of Socialism."

Tuesday, February 1, 8:30 p.m., Esther Friedman. Subject: "The Next War." 345 South Third street, auspices Socialist Party, 4-14 A. D.

Wednesday, February 2, 8 p.m., Morris Wolfman. Subject: "Socialism and Individual Liberty." Women's Auxiliary, Educational Alliance, 74 Throop avenue.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

A group of Philadelphia Socialists successfully launched a study course in the "Cardinal Principles of Socialism" at the Labor Institute, 808 Locust street, last Monday evening. The second session of the class, which is planned to serve the newer members of the party and others interested to gain a thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of Socialism, will be held at Labor Institute, Monday, Jan. 31, 8:15 p.m. The subject for consideration will be "The Class Struggle." Comrade Thompson will present the subject, and the presentation will be followed by questions and discussion. Admission to the class is free. All are welcome.

Theatre Benefit

The North and West Philadelphia Branches will combine their efforts in holding a theatre benefit on March 7, 8 and 9 at the Walnut Theatre. A stage adaptation of Dickens' "Pickwick" will be presented by an exceptionally talented company. Readers of The New Leader in Philadelphia and vicinity are urged to make reservations at once and help the movement financially as well as enjoying a fine

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)
ist policy which brings about these recurring crises.

On China the Administration's attitude is somewhat more assuring than on Mexico. If, in addition to declaring against any intervention, the President will now go to work on the basis of the Porter resolution to negotiate new treaties and warn our military representatives in Chinese waters to use the utmost discretion in the methods employed to protect American lives and property a Chinese tragedy may be averted. It is a pity that America has been so slow in doing what the Porter resolution urges. We have lost valuable time and valuable prestige by delay. It has seemed as if we were futilely trying to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. Anyway we have followed the lead of those Bourbons—American and British—who will not learn anything about the New China that is arising. These Bourbons still menace peace. In Britain, they have apparently proved strong enough to check the pacific policy of the Foreign Office and to rush quite an expedition to Chinese waters. Under these circumstances we cannot relax our vigilance with regard to China any more than Mexico.

I am eager that Socialists should turn out to make the non-partisan mass meeting in which we are co-operating a great success next Sunday afternoon at the Lyric Theatre. Big meetings make an impression on politicians and they give an opportunity to do some sound educational work. Tell your friends and turn out next Sunday afternoon at 3:30.

Lewis Corey has done us all a great service by exploding that particular prosperity lie which insists that under the new capitalism income in the United States is becoming more and more equally distributed. For a very few years it did seem that something of the sort was the case. It is not true today. On the contrary, the share of the national income going into the hands of income receivers of \$5,000 and over is steadily rising. The largest incomes score the largest gains. From 1923 to 1924 the percentage of the total national income possessed by the comparatively small number who receive more than \$5,000 went up from 14.5 percent to 17.7 percent. Speaking by classes, the farmer lost definitely. Wage earners probably lost slightly. These are only a few of the facts to be culled from Mr. Corey's unusually important article in the New Republic for January 26, 1927. I urgently recommend it to those Socialists and trade unionists who argue that we can't do anything while we are or think we are so prosperous.

Every now and then the profit worshippers do something which leaves me stunned and breathless by its sheer nerve, hardened as I think I am to their effrontery. The latest example is at Boulder Dam. Boulder Dam is an immense engineering project in the Colorado river, intended primarily to control disastrous alternations between water shortage and floods on the lower Colorado. Incidentally, however, a great deal of hydroelectric power can be developed, and this can be sold by the government at a price which, in addition to the charge of irrigation waters, would retire the capital cost of the dam in about twenty-five years.

The original bill in Congress, as a matter of course, authorized the government to produce and sell this electric power to municipalities and to distributing companies. The power interests were strong enough to get the bill amended so as to provide that the government should either lease the power rights or produce and sell its own hydroelectricity. Now they have gone farther and persuaded Representative Leatherwood—somehow the name sounds appropriate—to bring in an amendment and a report favoring the amendment which would compel the government to lease the power rights to the highest bidder. Already the process of monopolization has gone so far that there would be no genuine competitive bidding. The government would build the dam and the power companies would get the profit.

It is, of course, hypocritical nonsense for Representative Leatherwood or anyone else to say that this proposal is in the interest of efficiency. It is because the private companies are afraid the companies will be too efficient that they protest. This proposal at Boulder Dam is a worse steal than Muscle Shoals. The Federal government should keep Muscle Shoals and Boulder Dam as nuclei of a great publicly owned super-power system. Pending the formation of such a system government operation of these enterprises will serve both as a measure of the efficiency of private operation and a check on private robbery. The same argument applies, of course, to the development of water power in the State of New York. The real criticism of the government plans at Boulder Dam and of Governor Smith's plan in New York is that they do not go far enough because they leave the individual consumers too much at the mercy of the distributing companies.

A Message of Hope and Encouragement for All Men and Women Who Suffer the Pains, Discomforts and Agonies Caused by

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Are you ailing? Have you doctored in vain? Would you like to get well? If so, one visit to Dr. Ward's office will teach you more about your actual condition than you may have been able to learn in years of suffering. Guided by the fact that most modern ailments originate in the stomach, he has acquired the most intimate knowledge of this vital organ and its functions.

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Symptoms That Need Watching

Stomach sufferers are subject to headache, distended palpitation of the heart, lack of energy, drowsiness after meals, a coated tongue, offensive breath, changes in appetite, heartburn, gas, pains in the stomach and various parts of the body; rheumatism is often present; bronchial cough and other symptoms follow, showing deterioration of tissue. Don't ignore these warnings and don't rely on the time-worn, inferior treatments, with their useless drugs and temporary stimulants.

Dr. Ward will be glad to welcome you in person and explain his methods to you. You are under no obligation to take treatment, but it is well to know and not to trust to guesswork.

I Consider Your Work Just Wonderful

You Gave Me Back My Health After All Other Treatments and Two Operations Had Failed

Dear Doctor Ward: In writing you this letter I feel almost unable to express my fullest gratitude to you for the help you have given me in regaining my health after I had suffered for more than fifteen years. My stomach had bothered me all during this time with pains, headaches, dizziness, shortness of breath and palpitation. For the last six years I had almost constant pain in the left side of my abdomen. I went to at least ten different doctors and went through two severe operations, but all in vain. My faith in doctors was gone, and even when my brother, whom you had cured from what other doctors had told him was "ulcers of the stomach," advised me to consult you, I was still skeptical. But I was persuaded to try once more, and you may be sure, Doctor, that I will never regret that step. I am feeling in the very best of health, no pains or other complaints, and consider your work just wonderful. You are at liberty to publish this letter if you wish, and I hope it will be the means of encouraging others to seek good health where I found mine. Sincerely yours, Mrs. J. R. WALTON, 79 Rutgers Street, Belleville, N. J.

Dr. F. R. WARD 241 West 72nd Street, N. Y.

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Men and women will receive their treatment on separate floors, and individual treatment rooms are provided for every patient. There are men attendants for men and women attendants for women, thereby assuring privacy and careful personal attention for every body. The treatments are so arranged that patients may come and go as their time permits.

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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
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City

Telephone Stuyvesant 6885

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

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

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1927

A NEW CHINA

THE Powers are not facing a Boxer rebellion in China. That rebellion was a spontaneous uprising of disorganized Chinese without a program. What the Powers face today is an organized nationalist movement, considerably disciplined, determined to recover control of the nation, abolish the "rights" seized by the Powers by force many years ago, and to resume the sovereignty of the Chinese people. That movement has a powerful army led by a competent general whose march from the South to the gates of Shanghai is a remarkable achievement.

The Peking Government months ago crumbled and its shadow is maintained only by the influence of Japan. It never was anything else than a tool of Japanese imperialism. The Nationalists now control half or more than half of China. Despite bandits hovering about the fringe of the Nationalist army the latter has been able on the whole to maintain discipline and order. A new generation of Chinese has grown up since the Boxer Rebellion. They have informed and intelligent leaders who for years have been inspiring the Chinese people with the desire to be masters in their own house.

Great Britain appears to be the first Power to understand the new order in China by having announced its intention of reconsidering the unfair treaties that have made a mockery of Chinese sovereignty and that have contributed to the present disorder. At Washington Coolidge and Kellogg have proved to be the two most incompetent politicians that have ever handled American foreign affairs. China has all the possibilities of a war that may involve many nations, and yet Washington has done nothing to avert this calamity. Chairman Porter of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs has introduced a resolution to revise the treaties with China and to abandon extraterritorial rights in China. This has been adopted. It is high time that we got out of China and that the other Powers get out. A new China faces the world and the Powers now have to face this new China.

MORE INNOCENTS' CLUBS

THE largest industry promoted by American Communists is the founding of what in Europe they call "innocents' clubs." These consist of disguised organizations to support some special issue that may appeal to "innocents" outside the Communist movement. These are drawn into the "innocents' club" and a drive is made for funds. The Communists always manage to get one of their number at the head of each organization who receives any money that is contributed. Out of these funds Communist speakers are paid and papers or a press service is maintained which gives more jobs to Communists. It is impossible to keep track of all these "innocents' clubs." One is maintained ostensibly for the benefit of Filipino independence and another for the special welfare of western farmers. Then there is the American Negro Congress with its official organ, "Negro Champion," established in Chicago. How much money these "clubs" have brought in we do not know.

Recently another "innocents' club" was founded in Chicago, the "Labor Sports Union," which maintains a regular press service. This follows instructions outlined in Moscow last February showing the need of the sovieters planting "nuclei" in sport organizations. Thus far it is an experiment and whether the business will be continued depends upon how much it pays the gentlemen in charge. January witnessed the launching of still another business in Chicago, "The Labor Unity Publishing Association," with its official organ, "Labor Unity." This is intended to draw "innocents" of the trade unions into a disguised "progressive" movement and bring Communists closer to trade union treasuries.

Then there is the "All-American Anti-Imperialist League," another "innocents' club" floated in Chicago, and which gave Calculating Cal and Nervous Nell a fainting spell two weeks ago. Its main output has been wind, but it has done excellent service for our reactionary imperialist classes. To this must be added the "International Labor Defense," which has specialized in raising funds for Sacco and Vanzetti. A few weeks ago The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston issued a statement declaring that despite repeated efforts it could obtain no reports from this "innocents' club" or an accurate account of funds received or disbursed by it.

This club has been the most profitable business for the Communists. The International

Press Correspondence, a press agency of the Communist International maintained in Vienna, in its issue of January 6, claims that the Sacco-Vanzetti "innocents' club" raised a half-million dollars. The Boston committee declares that it received no reports of this fund. We are justified in drawing the conclusion that the Communists are equal to collecting funds for two men within the shadow of the electric chair and spending the money for their own propaganda.

The importance of this matter justifies the space we have given to it. The organized working class should be on their guard against these swindles.

JUDICIAL DIVIDENDS

IT IS a dogma of President Coolidge that legislation or control of government by any group will not enhance the fortunes of individuals. He has asserted time after time that success of the individual is determined by individual initiative and reliance on individual capacities.

Like most dogmas this one is contradicted by the facts. Even the ruling classes who help to market this belief do not act upon it. The dogma is intended for the classes below. The American oil oligarchs with investments in Mexico, for example, know very well that it is profitable to them to have the powers of government on their side. If they relied on their "individual initiative" to skin the Mexicans a few hundred of them would march across the Rio Grande, but it is certain that they will never enjoy that spectacle. Their march would do no harm. It is when thousands of citizens with no investments in Mexico are sent on a holy crusade for these investors that harm is done.

Another instance of the importance of having the powers of government on your side rather than the abstraction of "individual initiative" was shown by Rev. John A. Ryan of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Relations in a recent address in Illinois. He calls attention to a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which "gives the owners of a public utility, though they possess a monopoly of a necessary commodity and though their money is practically guaranteed, a return of not less than 30 per cent. on their actual investment." He adds that if this increase is granted the railroads, "it will lift the probable Interstate Commerce valuation from twenty-two billion to between thirty-three and thirty-four billion dollars."

What a fine installment of prosperity. Observe that the owners of public utilities not only invest in them, but also invest in politics. They get good returns on both investments, the Supreme Court generously awarding the dividends for investment in politics. It is now in order for President Coolidge to give us another address on the importance of "individual initiative" and to emphasize the need of avoiding the blight of Socialism.

A FEW FACTS FOR COOLIDGE AND KELLOGG

SINCE Coolidge and Kellogg insist that Mexico shall not take over any American properties in Mexico, and this may be the pretext for war, it is well to call their attention to the fact that the American Government rests on the confiscation of the property of British Loyalists. Mexico had a revolution. So did we. Our revolution was followed by confiscating property of Loyalists who had become aliens. If Mexico confiscates the property of any aliens she will merely follow our own example.

We suggest that Coolidge and Kellogg consult Van Tyne's "The Loyalists in the American Revolution" and Flick's "Loyalism in New York." Both works are standard authorities, one dealing with the subject in general and the other with New York in particular.

The fifth article of the Treaty of 1783 provided for the restitution of confiscated property of British subjects, but that other "persons"—the Loyalists—should be given twelve months in an effort to recover their estates from the States. Congress recommended a conciliatory policy toward the Loyalists, but the States proceeded with further confiscations. Washington heartily approved the policy of confiscating Loyalist property.

If Coolidge and Kellogg will turn to the long table in the Appendix of Flick's study they will get some details of the confiscations in this one State alone, especially the large estates of the Philipse, Morris, DeLancey, Bayard and Wickham families. The confiscations in all the States were so large that Parliament appointed a commission of five members to consider the losses of the Loyalists and the latter presented a total of \$50,411,000 claims. This was an enormous amount for that period. These claims were scaled down by the commission and the British Government ultimately paid to Loyalists in food, clothing, shelter, annuities and money compensation at least \$30,000,000.

Now Mexico does not propose to follow the American example of confiscation. She proposes to investigate all titles held by Americans. Those that are valid will be granted liberal leases. Those that are not will not get such leases. The Coolidge-Kellogg policy attempts to support all American claims regardless of their character.

We submit, therefore, that Mexico does not propose confiscation, and that even if she did she would have an American example to justify her. Coolidge and Kellogg have no ground in American history or in international equity for doing what they propose to do. It is well to keep these facts in mind. The danger is not over.

We cannot too often emphasize the fact that danger of war with Mexico is not over. Anything may happen after Congress adjourns in March. In most European nations if an administration had been so thoroughly repudiated as the Coolidge firm has been it would have been compelled to resign. Here we have to put up with the danger of more bungling. We suggest that every opponent of war attend the protest mass meeting at the Lyric Theatre Sunday afternoon. Do your bit to avert war!

Massachusetts Law on Trial

Richard Washburn Child has done the courageous thing by joining those who urge a new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti and also in making the point that the law itself is on trial in this case. Certainly Child cannot be considered an "undesirable citizen." Two years ago he wrote articles for the Saturday Evening Post which were favorable to Mussolini. One who is capable of that must certainly be profoundly impressed with the injustice done to Sacco and Vanzetti to raise his voice for the condemned men. He declares that the issue now is to make the law "a living force rather than a mummified majesty" and adds that "the vast accumulation of passion and prejudice, smugness and technicality, which has piled up to obscure that issue" must be abandoned or the law itself will become a farce. He insists that Massachusetts is not alone concerned in this affair. It has become not only a national but an international case as protests abroad demonstrate. For the Massachusetts court to ignore the sworn statements of former Federal agents whose remorse compelled them to make these statements is to confirm suspicions that the cards are stacked against workingmen. Criticism from this source cannot be very well ignored by Massachusetts officials and we hope that it will contribute something to aiding Sacco and Vanzetti.

Front Position For Mussolini

With the Pope ordering the disbanding of the Catholic Boy Scouts in towns of under 20,000 inhabitants in compliance with a Fascist edict that all boys must be incorporated in the Balillas, where Black Shirt "patriotism" takes the place of religion; with Ricciotti Garibaldi found guilty by a French court of plotting on French soil against Spain; with G. E. Shaw's remarks to the effect that he preferred an open and above board dictatorship like that in Italy to the hypocritical rule of the Tories in Britain being exploited in his favor, Benito Mussolini is very much in the limelight again. Other more or less veracious news items from abroad report Il duce negotiating with Albert Thomas, director of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, in the hope of making the Fascist union delegates to that body persons grate in Geneva; tell of Mussolini's plans for making his air forces second only to those of France this year; and describe the big business being done by fishermen along the

The News of the Week

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Class War in South America

The class struggle flares up again in South America, especially in Colombia and Argentina. In the former country, where the Government seems to be at the service of foreign concession holders, 10,000 workers are involved in a strike by the dreadfully exploited "hands" of the Tropical Oil Company in Barranca Bermeja. The transport workers along the Magdalena River are out in sympathy and the company is in a difficult position. Changing violent agitation by Communist leaders, the nation by the scene and according to one Bogota dispatch, fifteen strikers have been shot. In the past the transport men of Colombia have shown themselves to be resolute strikers and their help is expected to turn the scales for the oil workers, unless the American company's State support proves too strong. In Tucuman, Argentina, the local unions have gone out against the high taxes imposed by the local city council. Associated Press dispatches report the strike movement growing fast. In the midst of these reports of the dark side of the class war comes an A. P. message from Buenos Aires describing the great enthusiasm that prevailed at the formal opening of the People's House built by the Socialist Party in the capital. In this fine, big building on one of the main streets, will be housed the national office of the party and also its leading publication, La Vanguardia, the big, fighting Argentine Socialist tenacious robbery," "reveals himself as daily.

Wise Thinking On Mexico

Organized workers of Mexico in a large mass meeting this week declared their solidarity with the Calles Government in its dispute with the United States. With William Green's declaration against intervention the organized workers of the two republics are united in opinion. Meantime the U. S. Senate has staged an interesting performance in the debate on the Robinson resolution favoring arbitration of the Mexican questions. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 73 to 0, but it should also be remembered that it embodies the dangerous declaration that the American Government should protect "the lives and property of its nationals" abroad. That word "property" may prove a joker. In the debate Senator Heflin proved the demagogue, claiming that his life had been threatened because of his criticism of the Knights of Columbus, that he might be murdered, etc. On the other hand, the Knights have engaged in a type of propaganda that serves the demagogue. Peter Collins has been on the lecture platform for the Knights. He has distributed folders declaring Calles "spreads the doctrine of free love," that he "instigates murder," "counsels robbery," "reveals himself as daily.

THE CHATTER BOX

AT LAST we have found leisure and space enough to tell the expectant constellations our mite of an opinion on the poetry of Lucia Trent, and Ralph Cheney. These two have done the Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning stunt only the day before this writing. They are now married, in fact as well as in rhyme, and so may they live happily ever afterward, despite all we say here regarding their work.

Miss Trent's "Dawn Stars" and Mr. Cheney's "Touch and Go" are first books of verse published by Henry Harrison of New York City. The young poets presents us lyrics in limpid clarity to a music of unstrained notes. Nor do they betray a finish from too much forced fussing and polishing to attain palpable perfection. There is a ringing social conscience in "Lavender Dusters," "Two Women" and "From Beyond." She even reaches a glittering register of beauty in "Drink Deep of Beauty." The only slightly irritating fault in her work comes from an all too frequent use of "lovely," "loveliness," and "lonely," "loneliness." One might also complain with some self-comfort that at times she employs the obvious phrase for the more elusive one. But these are the common flaws found in all first volumes from young singers. But even in her plainest moments, she has something worthy of expression. And not infrequently does she say it in an enchanting music.

Her book is a promissory note we would not hesitate to endorse, so certain are we of the maker's ability to honor it in due time.

Of Ralph Cheney's "Touch and Go," we refuse to believe that it is a first effort. There is a maturity and surefootedness about his work that compels the reader to view it with intellectual respect. True, the book suffers somewhat from a too liberal inclusion of his "Pagan" and "Kreymborgian" days. True, the apigram is sometimes burlesqued up to outdazzle the song. But, a close reading of his verse is an invigorating experience. His "Lover for Death," which we once republished here, heads the group and lends its healthily decadent perfection to banner the parade. "Dark Encounter" has elements of greatness in motif and treatment that one rarely meets in modern verse, and "Behind New Masks" for all of its deliberate breaks into the vernacular braces the intellect with its whip-lash philosophy and incisive skill. There are some quite obvious flaws in technique and treatment. There are also quite a few crimes here and there committed against the ordained laws of rhyme and reason. But we will always remain content to consider that poetry is purely human and all too prone to fall into facile error. We know of no crime more heinous than that committed by a reviewer who presents an occasional faulty rhyme or measure, or even an inept metaphor as sufficient reason to besmirch the name and genius behind the artistry as a whole. Such reviewers are just smart alecks who have a greater regard for the sound of their own self-puffery. Some day we intend to tell a little inside story of modern book reviewers. It will neither be pleasant nor inspiring to hear.

Ralph Cheney's "Touch and Go" is to our mind a distinct and valuable contribution to modern American verse. As the days go on, we prophesy his growing significance.

Skyscrapers

So straight and lean above the city's squalor,
Like phallic symbols thrusting to the sky,
The buildings rise, each one a shoulder taller,
To dwarf the tiny structure that is I.

Aloft they mount in granite and in marble,
The citadels and temples of our day,
Rising like larks that used to soar and warble
Above green fields where children were at play.

O mighty monuments to gain and greed
How high shall your unbending columns run
Ere time shall tear you down and all your breed
Shall lie in fallow meadows 'neath the sun!

Henry Reich, Jr.

Portrait of a Poet

That little mite whose purpose is to dig
Its tunnels through the bark, is never lost
Upon the growing leaf, however tossed;
It knows the veins converging towards the twig.
But that stray bug who fell down through the air
To find itself bewildered on a heap
Of fallen autumn leaves, to crawl and creep
On ways that lead to nowhere and despair!

She raised a shock of hair and shell-rimmed eyes
And told her syllables. But in her mind
That little imp was wriggling to emerge—
Who always took her reason by surprise.
She stopped her rhymes and told herself, instead,
She was a bug upon a heap of words.

ISRAEL NEWMAN.

In reply to Kate Herman's "Sing Me a Melody"

Fairest of Katherine,
List to my tune,
Born not of the canteens
Nor a bassoon.
The grey is in my hair,
My heart is young
But the trees are all bare—
Is your heart won?

I. A. M.

Someday a Christ will arise in the Labor movement of America who will drive the job-hounds and power-mongers out of the temple, establish a creed of service and idealism, and fill the wage-drugged hordes with a cleansing faith and spiritual vision. He will probably be crucified for his love and labor. But he will go to his glory with all the legendary splendor and self-justification.

Until that day of days, we are confronted with a situation that spells despair and even horror to those of us who have given so unsparringly and with such sacrifice to make a world safe for the worker. Always, in the old days we were preyed upon by a low parasite, the half-baked intellectual who saw a salary in a job among working class organizations, and who plotted and planned and manoeuvred until he found himself with a swivel chair and a weekly income. From that position he pulled and poked and pleaded until he gained some influence with the higher ups. The money that the organized workers paid in dues and taxes to the unions and societies, mounted into an unmanageable sum. He found a way to have voice in its disposal, whether in investments, or in disbursements. Strikes came. He found the employers using police and gunmen to break the strike. He and his ilk advised the unions to fight the enemy with his own weapons. Police and gunmen were apparently for hire like the Hessians of old. The act in itself was illegal. Money did not have to be accounted for when spent in such a manner.

He and his ilk, now grown to legion, aided and abetted the crime in hiring police and gangsters with the two-fold purpose of helping to win the strike, and covertly stealing from the union funds for themselves. These charges will never be proved, perhaps. But all the laws of logic, reason, and experience are for these declarations. The result is that all the sides in the civil warfare among the unions throughout the country are caught in the mesh of their own devious weaving. This gunmen business is something more dangerous to themselves now than it ever was against their industrial opponents. The unions are and will be subjected to a cruel blackmail from these lawless and godless elements, until treasuries are drained and organizations built on the blood earned struggles of earlier years are smashed. The open shop movement in this country is undergoing a slack season right now. Why spend money to break up unions, reason the bosses, when the unions left to their own vices and diseases, their blind, power-hungry leadership and blinder and hungrier rivals will batter themselves into chaos and ruin . . . ?

These are indeed ugly days for dreamers and idealists. Surely they are disillusioning hours for those who gave so much for so little.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Negro Poetry

THE poetry of the Negro is a curious contribution to contemporary American literature. It possesses a uniqueness that is captivating as a caress. Without achieving the sublime or the great, it seldom descends to the ordinary or the commonplace. It is as representative of the ideas and reactions, or what once would have been called the soul and the spirit, of a people as any literature that we have today.

The history of the Negro is written in the history of his poetry. His sufferings, his passions, his joys, his dreams are all interwoven into the songs of his people. The other worldly attitude of the old Negro is reflected in his Spirituals with their appeals to Jesus and their fever for angelic choirs and heaven-bound L's. Slavery bred despair. Life then could offer neither palliative nor aspiration. The Negro turned to another world with the gesture of a falling warrior. It was his only escape. His religion fed upon the promise of a paradise, an other-worldly utopia. A spiritual mania was created. With the passing of slavery, however, this consuming spirituality did not completely disappear. It still remains, a vestige that scarcely has begun to wither. In the Negro Spirituals this earthly-despair and heavenly-aspiration, this tragedy of race-sacrifice, have been distilled into moving and poignant songs.

In the Negro Labor Songs and the Negro Blues another phase of Negro poetry is picturesquely revealed. The Labor Songs, writes Clarence Cameron White in the current issue of The Modern Quarterly, "are products of the Southern Turpentine Camps, railroad gangs and workers in tobacco factories; they are also to be found in the mining camps of Alabama, Florida and West Virginia." "Water Boy" and "Me an' My Baby" are examples of this type. These songs have grown out of the Negro's daily toil, out of the rhythm of his work, and they constitute an element that is communal rather than individualistic. The collectivism of his labor is immediately transparent in the nature of these songs. The words to the songs vary with the nature of the labor. From these songs, through a kind of switching and cross-crossing evolution, have developed the famous Negro Blues. These Blues, now popular on Columbia records, and familiar through the interpretations of Bessie and Clara Smith, Ethel Waters and others, have received recent development in the poetry of Langston Hughes. In Hughes' latest volume, "Fine Clothes to the Jew" (A. Knopf, \$2.00), it is the Blues motif that prevails. The first eight and the last nine poems in the book are patterned precisely after the manner and form of the original folk-song Blues. The poetic pattern of the Blues is interesting because of its distant resemblance to the form of some of the old English ballads. The diction is simple, almost primitive; the metaphors, though few, are unpedantic and uninvolved; incremental repetition, one long line repeating itself in each stanza, is also an arresting element in the technique. The habit of having the third line to rhyme with the first also adds charm to the form. As to their spirit Hughes' own comment is instructive: while "the mood of the Blues is almost always despondency, when they are sung people laugh."

"The Weary Blues," Hughes' first book of poems, had attracted interest by its oddness rather than simplicity. "The Weary Blues" was a much more ambitious and pretentious volume than is "Fine Clothes to the Jew." With its far-flung and often fantastic metaphors, the former collection failed to attain the striking simplicity of the latter. In "Fine Clothes to the Jew," Hughes, in places, has almost approximated the directness and intimacy of sentiment, the unpracticed phrase and rhythm, of such Blues as "The Awful Meanness Blues," "The Chicago-Bound Blues," or "The Mason-Dixie Blues." This is a distinct achievement. Although not equal in beauty, it is well-nigh equal in degree of approximation to the Coleridge and Longfellow imitations of the old ballads.

Hughes is still an unfinished poet. He is still young, still stumbling for forms that will give stability and vigor to his verse. In the "Blues" he has found an interesting medium. The scope is small, unfortunately, and what he will do when he starts off on a new tangent still remains problematical. In "Fine Clothes to the Jew," however, he has undoubtedly made an advance—and in a genre in which he is competent.

These fragments from his poem "Mulatto" are illustrative not of the Blues, but of a spirit that at times gives his poetry something of the verve and defiance that may ultimately be transmitted into that exultant challenge of revolutionary art:

I am your son, white man.
And the turpentine woods.
One of the pillars of the temple fell.
You are my son!
Like hell!
The moon over the turpentine woods.
The Southern night
Full of stars.
Great big yellow stars,
Juicy bodies
Of nigger wenches
Blue black
Against black fences.
O, you little bastard boy,
What's a body but a toy?
The scent of pine wood stings the soft night air.
What's the body of your mother?
Silver moonlight everywhere.
What's the body of your mother?
Sharp pine scent in the evening air.
A nigger night.
A nigger joy.
A little yellow
Bastard boy.