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to the Interests of the
Socialist and Labor Movement

THE NEW LEADER

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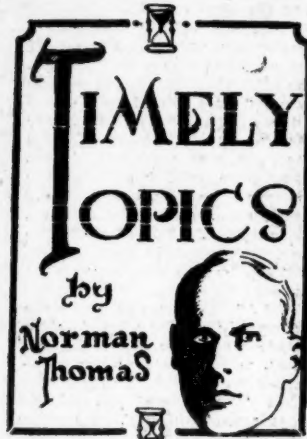
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U.S. to Concentrate Troops on Border; Kellogg Inspires Propaganda Reports



CLEVELAND, OHIO.

THIS business of rapid traveling and many speeches isn't the best background for writing timely paragraphs that may be untimely before they are published.

So far that Middle West which is the heart of America—it admits it—has made no special revelation to me. I do gather, however, that there is really some genuine discontent with the Senate filibuster and a tendency to blame not the Reeds but the rules of the Senate.

Well, it was an extraordinarily silly and selfish filibuster that the Pennsylvania Reed started. Its results are uncommonly annoying. But I still think that any great changes in the Senate rules would be likely to do more harm than good, and that belief is based on the history that Prof. Lindsay Rogers has set forth.

One thing that appears to be forgotten is that no such chaos as we have just seen would be possible save for the absurd existence of a short session which must end March 4—a session of a Congress dead by the votes of the citizens, who have already chosen its successors. Instead of changing the Senate rules, why not speed up constitutional amendments which would inaugurate a newly elected President in December instead of March, and end the obligatory short session? After all, we no longer live in a stage-coach age. But lame-duck Congressmen like things as they are, and Senator Norris's common-sense amendment languishes.

If the failure to pass certain appropriation bills should force an extra session of Congress or tie the Administration's hands in pushing an aggressive military policy against Mexico it would be a blessing in disguise. Already as I write I see a big headline in the Chicago Tribune proclaiming that a Mexican break is near. The Tribune may hope it rather than believe it. But we can't afford to be lulled into false security, nor can we trust Borah to save us single handed.

It eighteen jurors out of twenty-four had proclaimed their belief that I was guilty in two trials, in neither of which I had the nerve to take the stand, I would be less sure than ex-Attorney General Dougherty of my "vindication." Dougherty owes his final freedom from the indictment under which his associate, Miller, a man with a far better general reputation, was convicted, not to his innocence, but to the difficulty of the case, the death of Jess Smith, and the willingness of old subordinates to go a long way in taking guilt off his shoulders. At any rate, the two juries in the Dougherty trials did not discredit the jury system or make one suspect the current standards of morals under the profit system as thoroughly as did the Fall-Doheny jury.

The verdict against Miller, the unanimous Supreme Court decision voiding the Doheny lease, the approaching trials of Sinclair are all very gratifying vindications of the magnificent work of the elder La Follette and Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Thomas Walsh for stirring up investigation of, and sentiment against, the corruption of the Harding administration. Some editors who now complacently accept recent decisions as vindicating the integrity of our judicial processes ought to be ashamed if they remember how they pooh-poohed the investigations. But are editors ashamed?

Speaking of judicial processes a good work must be said for the decision of the New York Court of Appeals against the big insurance companies which tried to keep all the money they owed Russian policy holders on the ground that the present Russian government had practiced confiscation and was not recognized by the United States. They even got a law through the New York legislature to help them in this steal. And

MEETING IS CALLED TO PLAN UNIONIZATION OF MOTOR INDUSTRY

WASHINGTON, D. C.—By authority of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, a meeting has been called for March 24 at the A. F. of L. Building in Washington to consider plans for the organization of the automobile industry.

This is to be continuation of an adjourned meeting held last December, at which it was decided to convene representatives of the interested unions who should carry power from their respective organizations to waive jurisdictional barriers to a united drive.

A resolution passed at the last session of the executive council advocated that workers in the auto industry be organized into federal unions until such time as sufficient strength is developed to warrant separation into their respective crafts.

DRIVE OPENS TO BUILD DEBS RADIO

CHARGING that the radio broadcasting facilities of the country are "almost entirely in the hands of the dominating reactionary interests," the Debs Memorial Fund today opens its campaign to erect a broadcasting station as a memorial to the late Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader.

The fund, set in motion by the national executive committee of the Socialist Party, seeks to raise \$250,000 to erect a high-powered station to be known as WDEBS. According to the plans, WDEBS will "be operated in the interests of all progressive movements and ideas and in aid of all struggles for social justice in the tolerant and broad-minded spirit of Eugene Debs." The trustees of the fund include many non-Socialists as well as several national leaders of the party of which Mr. Debs was the standard bearer for almost three decades.

Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, has accepted the chairmanship of the board of trustees. It was announced yesterday, and Morris Hillquit, the treasurer. The other members of the board of trustees are James H. Maurer, Pa.; John Haynes Holmes, N. Y.; Albert F. Coyle, Ohio; A. M. Todd, Mich.; John Whitlock, Ill.; B. C. Vlaeck, N. Y.; Theodore Debs, Ind.; Victor L. Berger, Wis.; Harriot Stanton Blatch, N. Y.; Robert Morris Lovett, Ill.; Harry F. Ward, N. Y.; A. Philip Randolph, N. Y.; Elizabeth Gilman, Md.; William Mitchell, N. Y.; Joseph E. B. Kin, N. Y.; Sidney Hillman, N. Y.; Abraham Baroff, N. Y.; Upton Sinclair, Cal.; Abraham Cahan, N. Y.; Cameron King, Cal., and Roger Baldwin, N. Y. C. August Gerber of New York is secretary of the board and will be director of the drive. Offices have been opened at 31 Union Square.

In accepting the chairmanship of the fund, Mr. Thomas wrote: "The usefulness of a well established radio station open to full and frank discussion of great economic and social issues is beyond doubt. Past experience combines with common sense in assuring us that the commercial broadcasting stations cannot be expected to give much time or attention to the great vision for which Eugene Debs gave his life. I am glad to observe that you have invited and obtained the acceptance of men and women as trustees who are not members of the Socialist Party. Such names as John Haynes

(Continued on page 3)

SECRETARY TRIES TO IMPLICATE CONSUL

Socialist Pamphlet Used
as Pretext in Attempt
to Embarrass Mex-
ican Government

By Edward Levinson

A FIDGETY old man with a heavy cold. He is tired from loss of sleep. He is beset by critics on all sides, liberal Senators and "reds," the latter children of his own disturbed mind. On all sides he sees people trying to throw monkey wrenches into his faithful efforts. He is irritable, even with his advisers, especially with his subordinates. During one of the worst days of his cold he throws an inkwell at an humble aide. Unfounded reports that he is going to resign only add to his worry, he being very sensitive. "Nelle" grows more nervous every day. Considering he is Secretary of State of a nation of 110,000,000 people, it's a pretty serious matter.

That is an actual picture of Secretary of State Kellogg these days. Subordinates who contritely put up with his jumpiness between the hours of 9 and 5 might be forgiven if they get it off their chests after business hours. If they can't tell the old man to his face what they think of him, they can tell their friends. And they do.

A Socialist Party pamphlet, "Hands Off Mexico," is what has been troubling Mr. Kellogg particularly of late. It referred to him as "Nervous Nelle" and went on to say other unkind things about the State Department and its policy toward Mexico. The Espionage Act not being available as yet, he cannot directly proceed to raid Socialist headquarters, seize its property and jail its leaders. A less ingenious man might be stumped. Not so the guardian of our foreign office. For what does the Department of Justice keep a huge staff of secret agents if not to help a Secretary of State bursting with desire to stir up trouble with a country as stingy with its oil as Mexico is?

Stories Are Inspired

In telling this story, we cannot quote Mr. Kellogg directly, nor any other official of the State Department. The State Department has other ways of getting its stuff into print besides openly. Remember how Assistant Secretary Olds got the papers to carry his comic tale of the "Bolshevist hegemony" that is traveling northward from the banana plantations of Central America? The newspapers obligingly printed it, though they quoted nobody but "well informed circles" as their source of information.

In the fashion created by Mr. Olds and given its blessing by Mr. Kellogg, the State Department has secured circulation of fables about the Socialist leaflet and its alleged connection with the Mexican consulate in New York City. From this combination it is a short jump to picturing "a huge propaganda fund being expended in the United States by Mexico."

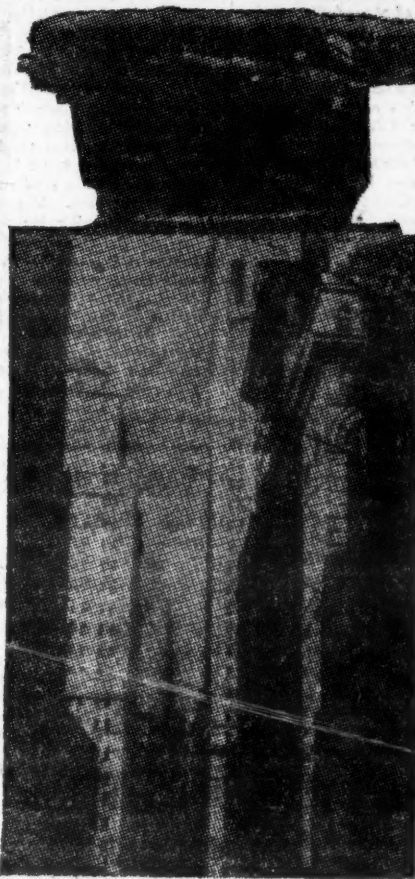
In order to see how well the State Department got its stuff across, let us take the stories on the leaflet that appeared in the New York Times, which enjoys the reputation of being quite a reliable newspaper.

The first inkling of Secretary Kellogg's startling discovery came on March 3, and appeared in the Times the next day. After referring to unconfirmed reports that the Mexican Ambassador, Teller, had been recalled, the Times continued (boldface ours):

"While officials declined to discuss the Ambassador, intimations persisted that his activities had

(Continued on page 2)

Wall Street Speaks to Latin America Shall It Be the Voice of the American People?



SACCO-VANZETTI CASE DECISION IS ATTACKED

An extended review of the Sacco-Vanzetti case by Felix Frankfurter, noted professor of law, in which the opinion of Judge Thayer in the latest decision, refusing a new trial to the alleged murderers, is characterized as "a farrago of misquotations, misrepresentations, suppressions and mutilations," is published in the current Atlantic Monthly. Professor Frankfurter, while he does not directly say so, strongly indicates that, in his opinion, a new trial should be granted.

British Labor Wins Sixth By-Election Victory

The Labor party candidate to Parliament from the Stourbridge Division of Worcestershire, Premier Baldwin's home county, was elected by a substantial plurality over the Conservative and Liberal candidates. This is the sixth Labor gain since the general election of 1924. The Labor candidate polled 16,561, the Conservative 13,462 and the Liberal 9,535. The Labor candidate declared he won on platform pledging antagonism to the government's attitude toward wages and China.

PLANES, ARMY TO ENTRAIN IN TEXAS

Maneuvers Seen as the
First Step Toward
Armed Intervention
in Mexico

By Frederick J. Libby
Secretary, National Council for Prevention of War

WASHINGTON.—The War Department on March 7th announced plans for a great military demonstration on the Mexican border to take place in May. A hundred scout and bombing planes are to be concentrated in the vicinity of San Antonio, Tex., for war maneuvers in conjunction with the infantry and artillery.

This provocative gesture on our part in the present state of strained relations between our countries should, it is clear, be prevented if possible. A general and continued protest by the independent press, the religious, farm and labor papers can either prevent the demonstration or deprive it of its dangerous significance.

Armed intervention in Mexico "for the protection of American lives, property and interests" and the seizure of the Tampico oil fields must logically be preceded by three steps:

1. Concentration of troops on the Mexican border.
2. Breaking off of diplomatic relations.
3. The lifting of the embargo on the export of arms, in order to foment revolution within Mexico.

The time to voice our protest against this substitution of force for arbitration is now. Our peace forces continue to hold an impregnable position, namely, that any dispute that can cause war can be settled by mediation, arbitration, or judicial procedure. More than 40 treaties accepting this principle and making such action compulsory have been signed by other nations. Belgium and Sweden have just concluded such an agreement outlawing war between them over any dispute that can arise, including questions affecting "their vital interests and national honor."

Why does our Government never make any such treaties? France has made three or more. Italy has made at least three. Great Britain has made one. And why should President Coolidge say that the property rights of American citizens "cannot be arbitrated?"

When Edward L. Doheny had an issue with the U. S. Government it went to the U. S. Supreme Court and Mr. Doheny lost his supposed "rights." When his issue is with the Mexican Government, why should it not go to some court for peaceful and final settlement? The President's position is untenable.

Unscrupulous misrepresentation of facts has begun in certain popular periodicals with incitement to conquest. "Conquest of Mexico is our destiny," says one periodical editorially. "Mexico must change her Constitution," is the position of another periodical—going beyond Secretary Kellogg's notes.

The question whether we are going to use our great might to make our nation the next world nuisance threatening the security of all and unlifting them progressively against us or whether we shall co-operate with the rest in substituting court procedure for battlefields can be and ought to be fought to a finish now.

4,000 CHICAGO MILLMEN OUT FOR FIVE-DAY WEEK

CHICAGO.—The 4,000 millmen affiliated with the Chicago Carpenters' District Council, Harry Jensen, president, and Charles H. Sand, secretary-treasurer, have voted overwhelmingly for the five-day work week and an increase of 5 cents an hour in the wage scale, which expires April 30. Business Agent Ben Wittmann is representing the millmen in the negotiations.

The Chicago millmen now have the 44-hour work week and receive \$1.29 an hour. They obtained an increase of 5 cents an hour through negotiation and without a strike a year ago. Negotiations are being carried on with the Chicago Millwork Association.

Leaders of Cuban Labor Slain; Plantation Workers Massacred; Exploitation Stirs Porto Rico

Federation Secretary, Real Union Head, Is Among Many Work- ers Done to Death

By Chester M. Wright

WASHINGTON, D. C.—When La Discussion, Havana daily newspaper, exclaimed "His Majesty, the Death, is ruling!" in the midst of Cuba's terror, it was no mere rhetorical outburst. "The blue sky of our country," this newspaper continued courageously, "has been transformed into a red tragedy, in which there is no struggle for ideals or ideas, but instead only hatred, cowardice, dishonor and crimes that are perpetrated in the darkness of night."

For its daring, La Discussion was suspended. Three of the outstanding cases of assassination in Cuba are those of Alfredo Lopez, then newly elected secretary of the newly formed Cuban Federation of Labor, in Havana; Enrique Varona, president of the Railroad Brotherhood of the North of Cuba, at Moron, and Major Armando Andre, editor of El Dia and hero of the Cuban revolution.

Lopez Disappears In Mysterious Manner

On the night of July 22, 1925, Alfredo Lopez left his home to go to the union hall in Havana. Mrs. Lopez told me when I saw her with her four children in her little two-room home. The next morning the newspapers said he had "disappeared in a mysterious manner." Mrs. Lopez, who does not know whether she is wife or widow, entered complaint with the police and judicial authorities to no avail. Herald de Cuba said on July 23, "Some people believe he was assassinated, but some others think that he is imprisoned in Atares Castle, together with many other workers."

No one has been found who can positively say Alfredo Lopez ever was seen after his wife bade him good-bye at their door that night of July 22. It must be remembered that Lopez was an important figure in the struggle of Cuban labor to redeem itself. He was

(Continued on page 2)

Murdered Unionist



Enrique Varona, president of the Railroad Brotherhood of the North of Cuba, who was murdered at Camaguey, by an assassin alleged to have been a captain in the rural guard.

MEETING TO WELCOME KERENSKY TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK SUNDAY

The Committee for the Reception of the Russian Federation to the United States, organized by the Russian Federation to the United States, which overthrew the Provisional Government, will hold a meeting for the purpose of welcoming Vladimir I. Lenin, president of the Russian Federation, on Sunday, March 13, at the Century Club, 41st Street and Seventh Avenue. This occasion will be the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Those invited to speak are Walter Lippman, editor of The New York World; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, and Alexandre Keren-sky. Tickets may be obtained at the Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway.

American Tobacco Co. Refuses to Deal with Striking Cigarmakers

S CORNING the efforts of the official Mediation and Conciliation Commission, and even of Governor Gen. Al Towner to end the strike of 2,275 cigarmakers, the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company is heap-ing insult on the fires of Porto Rica's island by American interest.

The Porto Rican American Tobacco Company is a New Jersey corporation, reputed to be a subsidiary of the United Cigar stores. In six cities on the island the cigarmakers have been on strike since the middle of last year. Low pay, made lower by supplying the workers with poor leaf, which materially cuts into their income, and recognition of the union are among the demands of the workers. Another important demand is the right to have "readers" in the shops. It seems that the cigarmakers have been accused for some time to have men paid by the workers, read to them while they work. On the assertion that "propaganda" has been read to the men, the American company is objecting to the readers.

A number of times since the strike began the Mediation and Conciliation Commission, through Chairman Jacinto Texidor, has offered its services to end the strike. Though the workers were willing, the company refused to be interested. Governor Towner intervened, first to attempt to get the workers to work with the company, and then, of course, to address the workers, proposing to the company to make a compromise agreement with the workers. This the company refused to do.

Company Takes Arbitrary Stand

"The only thing the company will do is to take back such number of cigarmakers as it may require for its business. No action can be taken on strike," the company cabled Towner from the United States.

Finding itself balked, the commission has abandoned its efforts for the

(Continued on page 7)

Socialist International Sees Four Danger Spots to Peace

SOCIALISTS WANT NOTES MADE PUBLIC

Claessens Ridicules Stories Linking Consulate with Party Leaflet

THE immediate publication of the notes recently exchanged between the United States and Mexican governments was demanded by the Socialist Party in a statement issued by its executive secretary, August Claessens. Mr. Claessens' statement dealt with the "Hands Off Mexico" booklet which has formed the basis of news despatches from Washington. He denied that the Mexican consulate here had anything to do with the publication or distribution of the booklet. Mr. Claessens said:

"What we Socialists have feared seems to be coming to pass. Congress has barely adjourned and the Coolidge Administration is already embarked on a course which threatens to bring about a rupture of our friendly relations with Mexico. It is almost unbelievable that our State Department should fix on such a flimsy pretext as it is now attempting to exploit. I refer to the despatches from Washington which suggest that the Socialist Party was connected with the Mexican consulate here. So flimsy is this charge that the State Department has not dared officially to sponsor it. It is plain, however, that the State Department has inspired the stories concerning the leaflet. Some officials of the State Department seem to be up to the same disgraceful practice which was so thoroughly exposed at the time Assistant Secretary Oids inspired the ridiculous story of 'Bolshevik' activities in Mexico. If there is any semblance of fact in the alleged connection of the consulate with the issuance of this leaflet, why does not the State Department produce it, instead of handing out stories for which it refuses to be quoted?"

Thomas Was Author

"When we learned weeks ago that the leaflet was being investigated, we immediately wrote to Secretary Kellogg informing him that it was a Socialist Party publication and that we were distributing it through our office. This we have continued to do. The leaflet was written by Norman Thomas at the request of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Greater New York. We have supplied copies to all who requested them. The Mexican consulate did not know of the publication of 'Hands Off Mexico' until we sent them a copy. They did not request copies. They have had nothing to do with distributing them. From the affidavit made by the unnamed person who asserts he secured a copy of the leaflet at the office of the consulate, it is plainly evident that it was not being distributed there. The signer of the affidavit had to ask for a copy. For what purpose he did so, we can now understand. The circumstances look suspiciously like a 'plant' to advance aims which are best known to those who desire trouble with Mexico and to their friends who, unfortunately, are in positions of great responsibility in Washington.

"Indications are that this meaningless incident will be used as evidence of 'Mexican propaganda' in this country. It is persistently reported that such 'propaganda' formed the subject of the notes recently exchanged between the United States and Mexico. If this is true, the sooner these notes are published the better it will be for the cause of peace. The State Department's policy in maintaining a wall of secrecy around these notes is a revival of the principle of secret diplomacy which has played such havoc with the peace of the world. We feel certain the Mexican Government is willing to have its note published. Why must Secretary Kellogg do his work in the dark?"

LABOR TEMPLE

16th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

5 P. M.—Contemporary Authors

PROF. H. W. L. DANA

"Pirandello" (Italian)

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—

EDMOND B. CHAFFEE

"The Search for an Answer—the Drama of Evolution"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—

JUDGE FLORENCE ALLEN

"Our Heritage"

ADMISSION FREE

DEBATE

IS MONOGAMY DESIRABLE?

FLOYD DELL vs. V. F. CALVERTON

Says Yes Says No

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Auspices PROLETARIAN WRITERS' AND AUTHORS' LEAGUE

30 West 15th Street—Telephone Watkins 3254

Workers and Socialists of all Countries!

The Imperialist Policy of the Powers Has Rendered Imminent the Danger of War in all Countries

The Far East

THE great imperialist powers, led by Great Britain, are sending to China additional warships and troops. Despite the opposition of the elected Indian members of the Legislative Assembly, Indian soldiers are being dispatched to China—one subject race pitted against another. On the other hand, while Great Britain has started negotiations for the revision of the unequal treaties, the other great powers, watching for their opportunity, are withholding any response to the demands of the Chinese revolution. International capitalism is supporting generals of the counter-revolution in China. Reactionary forces wish to use the Chinese revolution as a pretext for breaking off diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. The civil war in China threatens to bring forth events which may imperil the peace of the world.

Armies and navies are not needed for the protection of the lives or the commerce of foreigners in China. Foreigners will be safe as soon as foreign oppression ceases to arouse the hatred of the Chinese people.

Therefore, Workers and Socialists of all countries, unite your voices to the voice of the British labor movement, which is fighting to establish China among the fully self-governing nations of the world.

Support to the utmost of your power the national and democratic movement of emancipation of the

Chinese working class, which is the essential basis for the liberation of the Chinese masses. Demand in every country: The recall of the foreign troops and warships. Absolute sovereignty of the Chinese people.

Abrogation of all unequal treaties. Abolition of the concessions and of the privileges of extraterritoriality. Independence of the Chinese customs and postal service.

In Latin America

As in the Far East, so also in America, imperialism is forging a menace to peace.

In Mexico a government of workers and peasants is striving for the liberation from exploitation by foreign capitalists of the natural wealth of the country and for the transfer of the soil to the masses of the people. American capitalism, which only yesterday uttered phrases about the right of self-determination of the peoples, today, in its greed for the Mexican oil fields, is resisting the struggle for liberation of the Mexican people, and is organizing insurrectionary movements against the Mexican labor government. Simultaneously it is intervening with armed force in the internal conflicts of the Central American republics.

Workers and Socialists of all countries, raise your protest in common with all the Socialist and progressive forces of the United States against American imperialism, which intends to purchase at

the cost of rivers of blood its dominion over the oil fields. Demand in all countries a right of free self-determination for the Mexican people.

The Balkan Danger

But in Europe, too, fresh dangers to peace threaten. Italian Fascism, which has deprived the Italian working class of all means of resistance to capitalist exploitation, which has dealt with the best men of Italian democracy either by driving them into exile or by letting them perish miserably as deportees, whose regime of terror exceeds by far all the horrors of pre-war Russian czarism, is seeking to justify its tyranny at home by violent annexations abroad.

It has converted Albania into one of its colonies. It is endeavoring to unite Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria under its leadership against Yugoslavia. The last remaining feudal governments of Europe, those of the Albanian "Bey's," of the Magyar nobles and of the Roumanian "Boyers" are massing themselves around Italian Fascism, which itself is under the protection of the banks of London and New York. Yugoslavia is feverishly arming for defense. In the Balkans the situation of 1914 threatens to repeat itself.

Under the protection of the British Conservative Government and of Italian Fascism, Hungarian reaction has overthrown all the democratic forces in the country, and has been allowed to defy insolently the disarmament clauses

of the Treaty of Trianon, and to disregard cynically international obligations, assumed in 1921, which block the road to the restoration of the Hapsburgs. It is now offering to Italian Fascism the life-blood and possessions of the Hungarian peasants as its price for consent to the restoration of the Hapsburgs.

But the enthronement of the Hapsburgs in Hungary would put Hungarian bayonets at the service of monarchist counter-revolution in the neighboring republics, and threaten all the states bordering on Hungary with the peril of a Hungarian war of revenge and restoration.

In view of these dangers to the peace and freedom of nations it is the duty of the workers and Socialists of all countries to concentrate all forces against Italian Fascism and its vassals, against reaction in Hungary, in Roumania and in Bulgaria.

Denounce in all countries the crimes of Italian Fascism!

Make war upon the policy of the imperialist governments, which, in the interest of their selfish schemes, now in Arabia, now in Abyssinia, to secure the support of the Italian Government for their imperialist policy in China, are betraying democracy to Fascism, droned as it is already in the blood of the Italian working class, and devoting fresh bloodshed throughout the whole of Southeastern Europe.

Insist in all countries that the governments, in conformity with the obligations assumed by Hun-

gary in 1921, shall not permit the restoration of the Hapsburgs. Insist that the governments based on democracy shall urge the League of Nations to act against the new dangers of war.

Germany and Poland

Fascism is spreading through Europe like a contagious disease. The events in Lithuania demonstrate the danger. The perils for the young states lying between Germany and Russia are yet further increased by the recent breakdown of the Polish-German negotiations for a trade agreement. In this region of Europe also perils to peace and freedom protest against the White Terror in Lithuania. Unite your voices to those of German Socialism and of Polish Socialism for the restoration of peaceful economic and political relations between Germany and Poland.

Imperialism and Fascism, closely linked, are threatening everywhere the peace of the world. The fight for freedom is everywhere bound up with the fight for peace. As the planner of humanity, the working class must secure freedom for the peoples, and peace for humanity.

AWAY WITH THE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.

AWAY WITH IMPERIALISM AND ITS GREED FOR LOOT.

AWAY WITH FASCIST TYRANNY.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

The Executive of the Labor and Socialist International

CUBAN TERROR TAKES TOLL IN LIVES OF UNION LEADERS

(Continued from page 1)

described to me as "the soul" of the national federation movement, which was promoted to bring about affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

From a source that I must credit with responsibility and knowledge the information came to me that Alfredo Lopez did not walk away and forget to come back. He was arrested, taken to a military prison and shot, and one day his grave will be opened in proof.

Varona Murdered After Big Welcome

The case of Enrique Varona was more complicated. He was arrested, as it was told to me by railroad men in Camaguey, and thrown into prison in Camaguey, heart of the railroad and sugar district, as well as geographical heart of the island. After three months in prison, orders came from Havana to set him free. Enrique Varona went home at once. The motion picture theatre in Moron immediately staged a welcome. There was a great crowd. Varona went, with his wife and child. As he emerged from the theatre, joyous at the welcome of his fellow workers, his child in his arms, he was shot. His friends said to me, "His assassin was followed to the headquarters of the rural guard." Heroldo de Cuba did not quite agree, but his reporter wrote, "The rural police did not pay any attention and let the murderer escape."

The rural guard is a part of the army. Colonel Rangel, in command at Camaguey, lives at the fine Camaguey Hotel, owned by the railroad. He has a private car for his own use. He is more resented in Cuba than any of the other Varona assassins. I found it common talk that Varona's assassin was a captain who has since been made a major. Armando Andre was not a labor man. But he had the courage to criticize the terror in his newspaper, El Dia. When he wrote of "the tragic fortnight" late in 1925, his paper was suspended, as was La Discusion.

These are daily newspapers. They are not labor papers. There are no labor papers in Cuba today. Major Andre was found shot on his own doorstep, following the criticisms of the government. His assassins, witnesses said, were concealed in a house across the street. There were fourteen bullet holes in his body. El Dia was suspended, but later revived, its editors demanding the right of free press. El Dia was suspended again, this time to stay suspended, along with El Triunfo and La Tarde.

No one will ever know how many workmen in the industrial unions have been slain nor will anyone ever know how many plantation workers have been removed to the interior

repe. One case stands out as a monument to greed, brutality and ignorance: Sixty Men Slain Following Kidnapping.

Enrique Pina was a wealthy Cuban plantation owner at Ciego de Avila. He was kidnapped and held for \$50,000 ransom. This was paid and Pina was released. Then the Guardia Rural went into action. It was suspected that the kidnapping had been done by Canary Islanders, who are white Spanish subjects. Many of them formerly came to Cuba each year for the cane season.

A plantation was raided and over a period of about three weeks 60 of these men were shot or hanged. Newspapers printed a list of 27 identified slain. This is the way these killings proceeded: Juan Barranca Basulto, hanged, March 31, 1926; Crescencio Valderama, hanged, March 31; Ramon J. Gonzalez, shot, April 3; Cleto Nivies, hanged, April 6; Enrique Alvarez, hanged, April 6; Francisco Vera Diaz, shot, April 10; Ezequiel Garcia, shot, April 11; Jose Diaz, shot, April 21; Manuel Mesa, hanged, May 1; Juan Diaz, hanged, July 28.

And after the orgy was finished the guilty man was caught and confessed. He said that he and four others, none of them among the 60 dead, had committed the crime. He committed suicide before sentence could be passed upon him.

"The fear of God" and of the rural guard is in the hearts of the plantation workers, and because the Canary Island and Spanish mainland workers, who fear Cuba as they fear a plague, have come to Cuba this year to take their places and to reduce the already low standard of living of plantation workers.

I cannot tell with whom I talked in Camaguey. The only man I met there who was willing to be seen with me was not a labor man. But from the books of the railroad brotherhood there was copied a list of names of union men dead and missing. I was given also a copy of the court presentment under which 17 brotherhood officials were arrested when the order went out to smash the strike.

One of the officials then arrested and later released on bond, upon being warned that he was marked for death, fled from Cuba. He has not gone back and only a half dozen of his friends know where he is. The former president of the brotherhood would not come to see me, pleading illness. I cannot blame him for that. He may live longer because of that little illness.

Workers Murdered in Railroad Centers

At Cienfuegos and at Ciego de Avila the terror was active—and still is. In the railroad centers. At Cienfuegos Dumanigo, treasurer of the brotherhood lodge, was arrested through the head of the drug store with which he was working. So it was with Salvador Torres, union brakeman at Camaguey. He was discharged when he reported back to work after the strike had collapsed from military weight. He was refused a reason. He told friends he was "going to find out why," but he was shot before he could make the inquiry. His father is a high Mason and this killing stirred up uncomfortable hours for the authorities.

Porto Rico Strike Of Cigarmakers Cuts Into Company's Profits

The 12,000 cigar makers of Porto Rico on strike for many months against the Porto Rican-American Tobacco Company and subsidiaries have made a dent in the company's finances. Due to the strike the consolidated net profit for 1926 was only \$162,820 after taxes and charges. This was equal to \$2.58 a share earned on 63,155 outstanding shares of capital stock, against \$5.02 a share earned in 1925. The sales of the Rico brand of cigar made by the concern have fallen off as a result of the strike which is a fight for life by the island cigar makers to preserve their union from a union-crushing corporation that is now a trust, controlling an immense output of popular price cigars from Porto Rico.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

they hired those eminent defenders of the sanctity of contract, John W. Davis and Charles Evans Hughes, to argue for them. Well, they lost. But what hypocrites, conscious or unconscious, the lust for gain makes out of business leaders and lawyers who deliberately violate binding contracts for personal advantage while denouncing Russia or Mexico for conflagration for the public good.

This Pollock's second victory on the right side in recent months. The other was the decision in favor of the Long Island Park Commission.

One more word on judicial decisions. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts is on trial before the bar of the decent opinion of the world. If it refuses a new trial to Sacco and Vanzetti it will publish abroad its guilt in sacrificing justice to judicial pride. How overwhelming is the case for Sacco and Vanzetti is made clear in convenient form by Felix Frankfurter's masterly article in the current Atlantic Monthly.

Alexander Kerenky is entitled to a fair hearing and to help for bona fide political prisoners whose continued confinement is a blot on the Russian record. But his opinion on Russian matters needs to be taken with many grains of salt. Even he prefers the Soviet to the Czar. It must be remembered that he has not been in Russia since the end of his not too glorious attempt at government in the terrible days of 1917. I cannot see that his opinions are supported by the best testimony of more recent observers, and I mean non-Communist observers at that. Assuredly he is not a final authority on things Russian and on the lesson of the great Russian experiment.

Labor unions which rightly object to Communist tactics and to the undemocratic notion of nuclei in the unions responsible to the party are under considerable obligation in de-

KELLOGG INSPIRES STORIES OF MEXICAN PROPAGANDA

(Continued from page 1)

been traced to a point where serious question has been raised concerning some of his moves in the controversy over the Mexican Oil Land Laws. (Who was it that persisted in making intimations?) "Whether these activities included his making public statements alleged to have given misleading reports on the status of the oil and land questions, constituting abuse of his office in the direction of propaganda, and possibly lobbying, was not definitely stated. (Evidently these things were indefinitely stated. By whom?)

There is reason to believe that the government has been engaged in an investigation to ascertain who financed the distribution of propaganda documents designed to deflect the Administration's course with regard to the Mexican laws, especially a pamphlet entitled "Hands Off Mexico." (Now it comes out.)

"The latter was a reprint from a Socialist newspaper. In it Secretary Kellogg was referred to as 'Nervous Nellie,' and he was alleged to have been the attorney of American interests who were accused of seeking war with Mexico. The pamphlet requested those who received it to write to the Senators and Representatives, urging them to oppose the trouble between the United States and Mexico. President Coolidge was also referred to in the pamphlet in an uncompromising way.

"There has been no suggestion, so far as is known, that the Mexican embassy had anything to do with the circulation of this pamphlet. It was understood, however, that a Mexican source was suggested, and recently there have been hints that interesting developments might be expected. (On whose say so, is it understood? Where did the hints come from?)

"According to one report, a large amount of money is being spent in Mexican propaganda in this country." (In this sentence we see what the State Department was striving to get across.)

Here are all the easily recognizable ear-marks of a well-laid publicity campaign. The story is evidently intended to lead up to some "interesting developments." Accordingly, we sit back and wait breathlessly to see what those terrible Mexicans are up to now. We do not have long to wait. The Times again obliges, again accepting the State Department's droll without insisting on quoting the source of the information.

"Mystery Deepens On Mexican Notes" is the heading over a Washington story dated March 4th and printed in the Times of March 8th. After telling how hard it is to get any information about the notes exchanged

between Mexico and the State Department, the correspondent continues:

"There is no denial, however, from any source of what appeared to be well-founded reports that this government had complained of the Ambassador for alleged unwarranted activity in disseminating propaganda. (Since the State Department is the only source interested, it is evident that it had no objection to circulating the above statement.)

"Other reports linked with the Ambassador's name in this connection that of Arturo Elias, Consul-General at New York, but there was no admission in official circles that this government had complained of Senor Elias. (Again the question, whose reports?)

"A photostatic copy was obtained today of an affidavit by an unnamed maker, saying that early in February he went to the Mexican Consulate in New York to ask questions about consular fees, and while there he asked if he could obtain a copy of a pamphlet entitled 'Hands Off Mexico.' A copy of this pamphlet, he stated, was given him by a young man attached to the Consulate."

The story then continues for a half a column to outline the contents of the pamphlet, quoting from a photostatic copy of the pamphlet which "was obtained today at the same time as that of the affidavit."

Where and from whom was this affidavit obtained? Who was so kind as to supply newspaper correspondents with photostatic copies of the pamphlet? That it was the State Department cannot be doubted. This, we suppose, is the first instalment of the "interesting developments" promised. That the Mexican consulate was not distributing the pamphlet appears evident from the mysterious affidavit from an "unnamed" person. He had to ask for a copy. For what purpose we can now see.

In "The Times" of the next day we get another instalment of the "interesting developments" in the shape of another affidavit. By this time the correspondent of "The Times," who

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AT 8 O'CLOCK

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FRIDAY, MARCH 15

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

"The Biological Point of View in Modern Thought"

ADMISSION FREE

Open Forum Discussion

has been doing so well by the State Department, seems to be growing a bit tired of the business himself. He writes:

"An affidavit by D. D. Lambert, of Washington, that on February 8 he had written the Mexican Consul General asking for a copy of the pamphlet 'Hands Off Mexico' was made public today. (Who made it public is again a mystery, but a rather thin one by this time.)

"According to the affidavit, he was informed by the Consul General's office that he should apply to the headquarters of the Socialist Party, 7 East 15th street, New York, for the pamphlet, which attacked the Mexican policy of this government. (What is the State Department trying to prove? One day it circulates a report, though an unconvincing one, that the Consulate is distributing the pamphlet. The next day the Department makes public a statement which says that the Consulate refused to supply a copy when one was requested.)

"This he did." "The Times" continues, "and received a copy of the pamphlet with a letter, which, the affidavit says, read in part as follows: 'You could hardly obtain more useful information on the Mexican situation than that which the Mexican Consulate issues. They have printed a great variety of pamphlets and would gladly send you samples of same. Then again the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth avenue, will also be glad to send you what material they have, should you desire it.' (This seems to be the climax of the interesting developments which the State Department, with the aid of the newspapers, so hopefully promised.) Even "The Times" correspondent cannot restrain himself. He continues:

"Just what might be incriminating in this close observers of the Mexican situation could not see."

The readers of "The Times" account may be puzzled as to who Mr. Lambert is that he takes such interest in Mexican affairs. As our readers may have guessed, he is a government agent. How strangely he went about getting a copy of the pamphlet. He knows it is a Socialist Party publication, but he writes to the Mexican Consulate for it first. We suppose he knew what he was after. The State Department will have to try again, however, if it wants to manufacture evidence against the consulate.

That is the story of a week in our State Department's attempts to get us into trouble with Mexico. The incident is not closed yet, puerile as it is on its face. Notes on the subject have been exchanged. The Mexican ambassador is back home, for reasons still unclear. "Through these 'interesting developments' have made no impression on the American people, through no fault of the State Department, it nevertheless is another sore spot between us and the Mexicans, opened wantonly by the United States.

Socialist Party

Upper West Side Branch

Meets every first Tuesday in the month,

at 8:30 P. M., at

245 West 74th Street

All Socialists and friends in the 7th, 9th, 11th and 13th Assembly Districts are invited to attend.

A. REGALDI, Organizer.

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COMMUNISTS OUT, FURRIERS FLOCK TO ENROLL

A. F. of L. Takes Lead in Reorganizing N. Y. Union Wrecked by "Lefts"

WITH the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, the International Furriers' Union has finally taken steps to reorganize the Communist-dominated New York Joint Board for the last few years. Headquarters have been opened at 31 East 27th street, where thousands of fur workers have registered with reorganized local unions during the last few days.

The International Union dissolved the Communist-led Joint Board, suspended its constituent local unions and expelled thirty members of the union. Among the charges were that Benjamin Gold, manager of the Joint Board, had permitted the Communist Party to shape the policies of the last furriers' strike, that certain members had misappropriated funds and that the Joint Board had issued its own union books, thus in effect establishing a dual union.

Announcement of the action was made by Oskar Schachtman, president of the International Union, following a meeting of the subcommittee which investigate the charges. The International Union ordered the Joint Board and Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15 to deliver at once all funds and properties to the special committee of the American Federation of Labor—Matthew Woll, Hugh Frayne and Edward F. McGrady—who would hold such property in trust.

The action was the outcome of the recent investigation by the A. F. of L. special committee of the conduct of the last strike of furriers led by Mr. Gold and his associates. The announcement indicated that the A. F. of L. had virtually established a temporary superiority over the furriers' organization and would lead in reorganizing the local furriers under the banner of the federation. The furriers' unions in New York are the last Communist-controlled stronghold of the needle trades in the A. F. of L., which has declared its intention of eliminating every vestige of communism in its ranks.

Members of the local unions were directed to pay no dues or make any financial contribution to any organization other than the provisional one set up by the International Union. Dues are to be paid to the International Union.

"We will support the International Union," said Matthew Woll, chairman of the A. F. of L. committee. "We will not be rushed into action by the Communists now that they are out. The suspension of the locals will not nullify the agreements of the employers and the International Union, and we expect the employers to maintain their contracts with the International Union."

"Likewise, the way is open for all loyal trade unionists to keep their affiliations with the A. F. of L. by paying dues to the International Union. Difficulties are going to follow, but if the workers are going to be insecure in their positions the blame will rest on the Communist leadership and nobody else."

The members who were expelled were the leaders of the strike, business agents and heads of committees. They were I. Shapiro, W. Wolner, M. Polinsky, B. Frieman, M. Altrator, H. Cohen, J. Herskowitz, E. Polansky, Lena Greenberg, Esther Gumbert, B. Gold, M. H. Cohen, J. Skolnick, F. Warehasky, M. Pinchefskey, S. Mench, J. Schneider, S. Kass, H. Kravitz, E. Schiller, M. Gursky, M. Suroff, S. Resnick, Lena Rabinowitz, I. Horn, S. Leibowitz, A. Gross, L. Winogradsky, B. Garff and M. Spivack.

Jessie Stephen in Syracuse

Local Syracuse, in conjunction with Workmen's Circle Branch 19, has arranged for a public lecture to be delivered by Jessie Stephen at the City Hall on Tuesday, March 22. All Socialists and sympathizers are urged to attend.

Five-Day Week Works

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, which was the first to adopt the five-day workweek, has again taken the lead by establishing the five-day week for its office force in the international office. It is working well, according to President George F. Hedrick of the Brotherhood.

N. Y. Housing Situation Worse As Mayor Dodges Responsibility; Thomas Raps "Mustard Plasters"

Plans for \$12.50 Rooms Won't Aid Most Rent Payers, Socialist Says

MAYOR WALKER is pointedly taken to task for alleged negligence in handling the housing problem, in a letter sent him by Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy and a leader of the Socialist Party. Mr. Thomas accused the Mayor of attempting to shelve action on the housing situation by referring it "to that huge and somnolent City Committee which you apparently created as a receptacle for inconvenient problems." The Socialist leader asserted that half of the people of the city are "improperly housed." The new State housing law has been a failure, he said, declaring that under it only one limited dividend corporation has been formed. The State Housing Board also came in for criticism, Mr. Thomas asserting its plan for houses to rent at \$12.50 per room will not benefit the majority of those who suffer from inadequate housing.

Mr. Thomas' letter to the Mayor follows:

Hon. James J. Walker, City Hall, New York.

Dear Mr. Mayor: Some months ago I wrote you with regard to housing, a problem which you and I discussed in the last municipal campaign. You did not reply directly, but through the newspapers you said that the matter was properly cared for by reference to that huge and somnolent City Committee which you apparently created as a receptacle for inconvenient problems. I need not remind you that that committee has made no proposals and held no hearings. Everything that has been done about housing has been done by the State Board, apparently without co-operation from the city.

May I respectfully suggest that the Mayor of New York can no more shelve the housing problem in this fashion than the transit problem. Conditions such as your Commissioner of Health revealed in his testimony before the State Housing Commission are, in the long run, more intolerable and far more dangerous to the moral and physical health of the community than overcrowding in the subways. Commissioner Harris in effect argued far more loudly for building new houses than even for extending the emergency rent laws.

Meanwhile all plans of the State Housing Board, by the admission of its chairman, are tied up pending that municipal exemption of new building from taxation without which the Housing Board's plans cannot work at all. I want to argue that they cannot work satisfactorily even if this exemption is granted.

On this point I do not need to theorize. Report after report has called attention to the fact that half the people of the richest city in the world are improperly housed, some of them under worse conditions than exist in European cities where housing reform has been vigorously carried on. In spite of these reports; in spite of the much-heralded new law; in spite of appeals from the Governor and the Housing Board, one only limited dividend corporation under the law has yet been planned. Private capital which could not or would not provide housing for the poor under restricted profits refuse to do it on limited dividends. The most useful approaches to a solution of the housing problems are being carried on outside the housing law. And they do not and cannot touch our deepest need.

But there is more to be said, and worse. The State Housing Board has planned for houses at \$12.50 per room per month in Manhattan which by common consent is far above what the people who most need this housing can afford to pay. This mustard-plaster plan will not cure our civic cancer of bad housing. Yet Chairman James, and the politicians generally, dogmatically refuse to face the obvious way out. That way is municipal housing. Even taking the Housing Board's own figures rather than Mr. Hecksher's, one obvious saving of great importance could be made if the city were to finance housing at cost by selling bonds at 4 1/2 per cent—like the Port of New York Authority—in-

stead of financing housing by an average payment on dividends and mortgages of at least 5-13 per cent. Each 1 per cent in interest means approximately a dollar a month saving in rent on the class of housing we have in mind.

In other words, time has given weight and point to the Socialist demand for a non-political municipal housing agency charged with the business of abolishing slums. Only a city agency co-operating with the city government can deal with problems of zoning, wider streets, playgrounds, etc., bound up in a war against slums. A municipal housing commission would have two immediate tasks: (1) To push for slum clearance and better housing in congested areas. (2) To create on as large a scale as possible decent and attractive garden-city homes to compete with, and ultimately to replace, the dangerous, unsuitable, ugly packing-box houses in the newer parts of the city where it is quite likely that ultimately the larger number of the workers from the present congested areas will move.

I believe that it will be possible for the city to provide housing at cost without a direct subsidy to it. A continued increase in the New York wage scale, thanks to trade union activities and the general prosperity and the fall in rental of the older tenements, may make it possible to provide even for the thousands who cannot reach a \$9 per month per room standard under conditions greatly superior to those which now prevail. I should not hesitate, if necessary, to make the removal of the slums in part a charge upon the prosperous owners of New York real estate, the values of which are socially created. But we do not need to begin with the subsidy idea.

It is particularly important to begin promptly, for the slump in the building boom will have material and labor available for this

most useful building. Thereby our present "prosperity"—such as it is—may be maintained.

Mr. Hecksher has quoted eminent legal authority in support of the power of the city to go ahead. I think that the city might welcome State legislative aid and to remove all shadow of doubt agitation should immediately be begun for a constitutional amendment.

Do not the people of New York, Mr. Mayor, have the right to know where you stand on this matter without waiting longer on that silent committee of yours?

Respectfully yours,
NORMAN THOMAS.

N. Y. NEGRO PAINTERS TO ORGANIZE IN UNION

The Negro painter of New York City have decided to organize in a union to win as high standards of wages and hours as are enjoyed by the other painters in the city. Organization work has been going on quietly for some weeks and the outlook is very promising. V. C. Gaspar, organizer, reports.

To further the organization drive a mass meeting is to be held Sunday, March 27, at 149 West 138th street. All colored painters interested in bettering their own conditions are urged to attend and hear the message of trade unionism.

Prof. Montague to Be Lecturer for L. D.

Professor William P. Montague, of the Philosophy Department of Columbia University, will speak on "The Skeptic's View of Democracy" for the New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy, on Friday evening, March 11, at 8:30 p. m. The meeting will be held at the Civic Club, 18 East Tenth street.

DRIVE OPENS TO BUILD DEBS RADIO

(Continued from page 1)

Holmes, Elizabeth Gilman, Harry F. Ward and others guarantee that the Debs Memorial Radio Fund will be free from a narrow and intolerant partisanship.

Mr. Thomas and Mr. Hillquit joined in issuing the following statement explanatory of the aims of the drive:

"The friends and admirers of the late Eugene V. Debs are raising funds for a memorial worthy of the great departed American champion of liberty and justice."

"The planned monument will not be a cold and pompous structure of stone or bronze, but a living instrument of social service, a high-powered radio station, to be known as WDEBS, and to be operated in the interests of all progressive movements and ideas and in aid of all struggles for social justice in the tolerant and broad-minded spirit of Gene Debs."

"The proposed radio station will be acquired and operated by a board of trustees whose personal characters and standing in the different fields of progressive communal activities offer ample guarantee for the fair and proper administration of the big enterprise."

"No better or fitter monument to the memory of Eugene V. Debs could be conceived. The radio is fast becoming one of the most powerful and effective channels of information, education—and propaganda. It is almost entirely in the hands of the dominating reactionary interests."

"The country needs at least one powerful voice of criticism and warning, peace and progress. That voice will be the voice of WDEBS."

"The project is as costly as it is vital. It calls for at least \$250,000. It can be realized only through the whole-hearted and generous support of all liberty-loving persons and organizations. You are one of these. Will you help?"

Labor Demands It Be Heard Before Injunctions Are Issued

Right to a Jury Trial Would Eliminate the Worst Features of the Present Arbitrary System

By Charles Solomon

(Concluded from Last Week)

UNDER the present procedure, there are ordinarily three major steps in a labor injunction suit.

The employer may submit his petition to a Justice of the Supreme Court in what is technically called an order to show cause. This order directs the defendant workers to show cause at a certain early return day why the injunctive relief sought should not be granted. The principal evil in this practice consists in the fact that this procedure is entirely ex parte, that is, by one side without notice to the other. This order, when signed, contains what is technically known as a "stay"—a small word which affords practically all the so-called relief of a temporary or final injunction. Without having had an opportunity to be heard, therefore, the striking or locked out workers, are restrained from, in every effective way, carrying on their struggle. The employer, quite naturally, is in no hurry under these circumstances, as he already has what he seeks. Moreover, before the Court decides to continue this "relief" or not the strike may be over, crushed.

On the other hand, the employer may initiate his application through the medium of what is technically known as a notice of motion, without the aforesaid "stay." Under these circumstances, on the return day, there is argument pro and con before the court and the affidavits of the contending parties are submitted. The granting or the denial of the temporary injunction follows.

What Labor Wants

Both of these steps are severely criticized by the opponents of the present methods. Summed up, their position is: No injunctions on affidavits, whether upon orders to show cause or upon notice of motion. No adjudications in these controversies until after the taking of testimony in open court with the opportunity for cross examination. This represents what might be called the minimum demand, although there might be coupled with it the demand for jury trials in this class of cases and the removal of the power to punish for contempt for alleged violation of injunction orders without similar hearing by the court and a jury.

When one considers that a litigant in our municipal courts is entitled to a jury trial as a matter of right in matters involving a few dollars, the reasonableness of these demands will be apparent; especially, when the livelihoods and the liberties of thousands of workers and their families, as well as the integrity of their organizations, is bound up in the disposition of these disputes.

As one who has appeared for trades unions in many injunction suits, the writer is strongly of the opinion that

the system of deciding these cases, at any stage, on the allegations contained in affidavits—is I want to be conservative in my statements—only too often, to repeat the words of Governor Smith, a means "calculated to defeat substantial justice in these difficult cases."

Gov. Smith's Program

Governor Smith is on record for an amendment of the law "to prevent the issuing of injunctions in labor disputes so that no temporary injunctions could be issued solely on affidavits without the taking of testimony to ascertain the facts."

But, even with these changes effected, it is doubtful if the heart of the situation will have been reached, for the fact will still remain that try as one may to see things objectively, "we can never see with any eyes except our own." To put it another way, judges are human, with all the frailties, prejudices, preconceptions and predispositions of humans. When the lawyer is elevated to the bench he necessarily takes his background with him, and background is a comprehensive term. Employers would probably prefer to see defeated a candidate for the bench with a labor background. And by the same token, employees would probably want him elected. William James says every one of us has an underlying philosophy of life, even those to whom the names and notions of philosophy are unknown.

I cannot refrain from again quoting Judge Cardozo on this point:

"We like to figure to ourselves the processes of justice as coldly objective and impersonal. The law, conceived of as a real existence, dwelling apart and alone, speaks, through the voices of priests and ministers, the words which they have no choice except to utter. That is an ideal of objective truth toward which every system of jurisprudence tends. It is an ideal of which great publicists and judges have spoken as something possible to attain. . . . It has a lofty sound; it is well and finely said, but it can never be more than partly true. Marshall's own career is a conspicuous illustration of the fact that the ideal is beyond the reach of human faculties to attain."

And: "In the present state of our knowledge, the estimate of the comparative value of one social interest and another, when they come, two or more of them, into collision, will be shaped for the judge, as it is for the legislator, in accordance with an act of judgment in which many elements co-operate. It will be shaped by his experience of life; his understanding of the prevailing canons of justice and morality; his study of the social science; at times, in the end, by his intuitions, his guesses, even his ignorance or prejudice."

With All Due Respect

It is simple enough to speak abstractly of what the duty of a judge is, but between abstract generalization and concrete realization there is a wide gulf of human factors and considerations. If the truth must be told, this is something that lawyers whose practice takes them into the courts appreciate. Not infrequently judges are classified according to their probable reactions in certain cases by the practitioner, wiser perhaps, in his conduct than in his philosophy. This is

said with all due respect for the judiciary and with the full appreciation that our judges are men of integrity and do the best they can, or better, the best "they know how."

If this background of the judge makes itself felt in one class of civil litigation more than any other, it is in labor disputes, where injunctive relief is sought.

The writer recently tried one of these cases for several days. At the end of the trial, in which, according to the judge's declaration from the bench the only question was whether the strike had been conducted peacefully, the Justice unbundled himself as follows: ". . . why peaceful picketing is a good deal of a dream. It can be done. There can be some angels come down from Heaven who can peacefully picket. I had only one strike case where there has been real peaceful picketing. It is more than human beings can stand. . . . when you have men going up and down in front of a place like that it is impossible."

Needless to say how the decision went; but this judge, honest and well meaning, no doubt, sat for days to objectively decide an issue of fact which for him was predetermined.

A Fighting Chance

What chance would the defendants stand with this Justice on a motion for an injunction pendente lite, based on affidavits reciting allegations of disorderly conduct and violence, be the denials by the defendants as vigorous as they might?

And it is not at all improbable this Justice thinks himself entirely exempt of objectivity, dispassionate and utter impartiality.

Let it be thought the foregoing quotation is unique, note the following from the case of Schwarz and Jaffe, Inc., v. Hillman in 115 Misc. page 69, Justice Van Sice writing:

"So far as the question of picketing is concerned, defendant does not deny that violence has followed as the result of the strike or lockout, and that there has been picketing. The dispute is as to the sort and extent of the so-called picketing. In cases of this kind 'peaceful picketing' or 'mental picketing' or what not are usually only figures of speech or exist in the imagination, mostly mentioned, seldom met with. That there ever in reality existed, or was practised 'peaceful picketing' is a question."

The more one considers the whole problem of injunctions in labor disputes the more he is impressed with the personal factor, the human equation. Just how much difference procedural changes will make in this respect is, to put it hopefully, problematical.

Therefore, the demand already grown old in American politics for the abolition of injunction in labor disputes altogether. However, failing of this, there should at least be such procedural changes in our law as will end the practice of granting injunctive relief, if any, except after a trial by jury. If embattled labor must be judged by "intuitions, guesses, ignorance or prejudice," it should have that fighting chance that goes with a panel of twelve rather than to be committed to the all too frequent certainty of judgment of a single person—the Judge in Equity.

Brookwood Scholarship Established in Honor Of James H. Maurer

Katonah, N. Y.—Trade unionists of Reading, Pa., are establishing a "Jim Maurer Scholarship" for Brookwood Labor College in honor of the veteran labor leader who was born in Reading 63 years ago. The scholarship will provide tuition and maintenance each year for a worker from Reading to study at the school. The Federated Trades Council authorized funds to be raised for the scholarship following a recent address by Clinton S. Golden, business manager of the school, setting forth Brookwood's program.

James H. Maurer, for 15 years president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, was one of the group of labor-men and women who were instrumental in establishing Brookwood six years ago. He is chairman of the Brookwood Board of Directors and also president of the Workers Education Bureau of America. Brookwood is entering on a building and endowment campaign for \$2,000,000 to enlarge the capacity of the school to 100 trade union students and to provide an income from invested funds sufficient to meet half the annual budget and allow for summer schools, extension courses and research.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS IN N. Y. MAKE GAINS

A general strike of 7,000 white goods workers, affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, was averted when a mass meeting of workers in the trade, held at Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth street, voted to approve the settlement obtained by officials of the union.

A notable gain for the workers was seen in bargaining, without recourse to a strike, of the 42-hour five-day week, instead of the present six-day week of 44 hours. It was voted to keep the questions of increases in wages and the 40-hour week in abeyance, a clause in the agreement with the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association providing that on 30 days' written notice both these questions can be reopened on either side.

Ladies' Society, Lodge 316, Firemen and Enginemen, To Give Ball March 26

The Ladies' Society of Lodge No. 316 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen will hold an entertainment and ball on Saturday evening, March 26, at Bronx Central Palace, Cortland Avenue near 154th Street.

Admission is only 75 cents and a very elaborate program is being planned. The entertainment will begin at 8:30 p. m. and the dancing will start at 10:30. A great turnout is expected, and from all indications the event promises to be a great success.

Solomon to Lecture On "Causes of Crime"

Charles Solomon, formerly Assemblyman from the Brownsville district, will speak at the forum of the Huron Club, at No. 1700 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, on Tuesday night, March 15, at 9 p. m., on "What Shall We Do to Eliminate Crime?"

Mr. Solomon has made a close study of the problem. Recently he engaged in a public debate in which his opponent was Joseph Gallagher, first assistant District Attorney of Kings County. The lecture will be followed by discussion and questions.

Ellen Murphy Passes

Members of Branch 7, Socialist Party, of the Bronx, as well as comrades in all parts of the city, will be grieved to hear the sad news of the death of Comrade Ellen Murphy. The late Comrade Murphy was the devoted wife of our county organizer, Patrick J. Murphy. She was a member of Branch 7 since 1914, and before her illness (she was ailing for some years) took considerable interest in the activities of the party and helped at many of our party functions. Comrade Ellen Murphy died on Wednesday, March 7. The funeral will take place on Saturday, March 12.

\$18 WEEKLY IS TEXTILE WAGE

Bureau of Labor Gives Testimony on Prosperity Among the Masses

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Men at work in the cotton mills made an average of \$18.67 a week last year, which is \$3.11 a day, or about \$81 a month. This is about \$2.20 a week less than in 1924. Women made an average of \$15.89 a week, which is \$2.65 a day, or \$68.85 a month. This is \$2.25 a week less than in 1924.

These figures are taken from the summary of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics study of wages and hours of labor in the cotton goods industry.

The only occupation in the factory that pays an average of over \$30 a week requires an average of only 25 men. Two other occupations requiring together an average of about 28 to a factory pays \$26 a week. Three other occupations requiring together an average of 75 men pay between \$20.50 and \$22.25 a week. These are all men. The others, both men and women, get an average of under \$20 a week and as low as \$11 and \$12. Workers in cotton factories are about 35 per cent. males and 45 per cent. females.

These are average wages the country over and are higher than the wages of the southern mill workers and lower than the wages of northern mill workers. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has collected figures for the southern mill states and for New England, New York and Pennsylvania. The wages in the north are low. The wages in the south are very low.

The largest class of the better paid among them are the weavers. In Alabama and Georgia the men made about \$17 a week. In North and South Carolina they made \$19.63 and \$17.23 a week. In Virginia they made \$21.50. In the north they made from \$22 to \$28 a week, an average of from \$23.65 to \$4.65 a day. In the north the highest wage is paid in New Hampshire, the lowest in Connecticut, and the next to the lowest in Massachusetts.

The women weavers make an average of less than \$20 a week, the lowest being a little over \$15 a week in Alabama and South Carolina and the highest, \$26 in New Hampshire.

The usual wage for male workers is from \$12 to \$16 and \$17 a week in the Southern mills and from \$18 to \$24 a week in the Northern mills. A few men in the southern mills make around \$21 a week and a few in the North make around \$30 a week.

For women the usual wage in the South is between \$10 and \$15 a week and in the North \$15 and \$25.

Manumit Children To Give Concert

On Saturday afternoon, March 12, at 4 p. m., the children of Manumit School will give a demonstration of "How Children Create Music at Manumit," at the Civic Club, 18 East Tenth Street.

Members of the orchestra of the school will play some original and other compositions; one of the children will sing, and the children will themselves explain how they manufacture their own instruments. The demonstration will be under direction of Loureide Biddle, teacher of music at Manumit School. Manumit School is a modern experimental school for the children of trade unionists, at Pawling, N. Y., a demonstration school of the organized labor movement.

10th Anniversary Celebration Of I. L. G. W. U. Students

The Tenth Anniversary Reunion of the students and instructors of the I. L. G. W. U. classes and their friends will take place on Saturday evening, April 2. This marks the tenth year of the existence of the Educational Department, which was organized in 1917.

Students and other members interested in the activities are planning to make this year's reunion different from all the rest and are determined that this shall be a memorable affair.

AMERICAN COMMUNISM BY JAMES ONEAL

Author, "The Workers in American History"

Editor, The New Leader



history of the origin and development of the American Communist movement, its numerous organizations formed since 1919, their programs, their relations to the Communist International, the Trade Union Educational League, their work in the trade unions, their policies and methods.

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

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A Program of Gradual Socialization of Industry

This is the second and concluding section of Mr. Raushenbush's article on "Ways and Means of Control." The first section appeared in The New Leader last week under the heading, "Cataclysmic Socialism, or Enforcing Control?" In it, Mr. Raushenbush advanced the belief that American capitalism faces no immediate breakdown, but, on the contrary, that it is strongly entrenched and efficiently organized. The aim of Socialists and others who seek the abolition of the profit system, he urged, should be to show some results by attacking the existing vulnerable spots of capitalism. The article below outlines a suggested plan of procedure in the matters of trust control, railroads, power and coal.

By H. S. Raushenbush

II. A Program of Gradual Socialization.

THE moral of this agreement, then, is that it is better in this pragmatic age to show some results than no results, than what some gain others lose, which, as Carl Sandburg has pointed out, was even in the wisdom of the Chaldeans.

With this in mind, let me make a few suggestions concerning our immediate attitude toward trust control generally, the railroads, the power and coal industries.

1. Trust Control

Our immediate aim is to declare ourselves in on the great consolidations that are going on. In return for the still startling privilege of monopoly to get something, some share of control. The country as a whole has been going on the theory that competition was the desirable state for industry, and on that theory has frequently interfered in industry. This has been especially true where it was concluded that competition was falling because certain individuals were intent upon destroying it for their own gain. Here it was thought that if the restrictive practices could be eliminated nothing more would be necessary. Along this line we had the Sherman and Clayton acts and the Federal Trade Commission Act. They set the Federal government up as a policeman with a club. It is not generally understood that we have also gone some distance toward building up additional controls.

Yet where it was found that the peculiar characteristics of an industry was not to be depended upon to organize it efficiently we have found a need for setting up new mechanism of control and regulation to replace the supposedly automatic safeguards of competition. Regulation by public service commissions, North Dakota's governmental competition in grain elevating, banking and insurance, the Federal government's participation in a formulation of banking policy in the Federal reserve system are cases in point.

Very moderate control under the press of social need often developed rapidly. The Interstate Commerce Commission, starting with the duty of eliminating rebates, has gradually switched to affirmative controls and

now has some measure of supervision over the activities of the railroads individually and also over their group activities and the distribution of their group earnings.

The Reserve Bank

In the Federal Reserve Bank Act we brought under national jurisdiction the banking organizations in which we previously had no say at all. All national banks were required to join this system. The situation is created where many state banks found it advisable to join. On each Federal Reserve Bank we have three directors appointed by the Federal Reserve Board representing the banking policy of the Federal government. The Federal Reserve Board, composed of government officials has been given considerable power not only in appointment and supervision, but in control of the rediscount rate and in its open market activities by which it can exercise a considerable influence over the business cycle.

May and Keizer in their "Legal Control of Competition" say that it is significant that in a long line of judicial decisions there is nothing which could prevent a control analogous to that which is exerted by the Federal government over banks from being applied by a legislature to any industry which was held to be comparatively effected with the public interest.

These things are important because they define the limits within which we must operate until we are in power politically, or, still further, until such operations seem generally reasonable. The 36 States which must ratify the Constitutional amendment.

Child Labor Decisions

The two child labor laws decisions fixed a limit to the use of the taxation power for regulatory purposes. The Supreme Court, in a way, set itself up as the judge of the sincerity of Congress. In 1922 it held that the Federal Government could not apply the taxing power in cases where the intent was clearly to reach, through that power, jurisdictions which would otherwise be denied it. This blasted also the hope of destroying great fortunes by taxing them completely out of existence.

Congress, however, tried another attack. In 1922 it passed the Grain Futures Act to regulate trading in the future market, but declared grain trading effected with the public interest. This act was upheld, although a similar act of 1921, without that declaration, had been declared unconstitutional. The result has been to impose

The Vulnerable Spots in Trust Control, Railroads Power and Coal--How They May Be Attacked

a positive Federal control, not only over the business of grain trading, but also with the business of cotton trading on a future market.

Indirect regulation is often more effective and possible than direct regulation, and also frequently establishes controls where none would be otherwise possible. In the act licensing warehouses, the only pressure upon warehouse owners to secure a license came from the stores of grain, who could use warehouse receipts to borrow money. This indirect control was coupled with the direct control of the Grain Standards Act of 1923, providing that only inspected and classified grain could be shipped in interstate commerce.

Government in Business

In fact, the court has held it easier for the government to go into business itself than to regulate business. North Dakota's attempts to go into all sorts of business were attacked, but upheld. Meanwhile the regulatory attempts involved in the Kansas Industrial Court Act were not upheld. There are some absurdities and contradictions in the decisions of the court, but on the whole the right of a State to regulate any business it cares to decide and declare is affected with the public interest and its right to go into any private business and run it for the public welfare have been upheld.

Our immediate aim is to declare ourselves in on these great consolidations that are going on and that still seem to large parts of the country as important politically as anything else on the American scene. In return for giving up our much touted system of competition for monopoly, it is not impossible to exact the price, to get some share of control, which can then be extended as the need for it becomes evident. The same ignorance of judicial ruling which characterized Attorney General Sargent's opinion on the McNary-Haughen Bill is held by most of our legislators. Once an industry is declared effected with a public interest, it is reasonable to have the books opened then to go on with a clamping down on excess profits, stock dividends, inflated mergers, and so forth, and to have a positive hand in stabilization of employment, uniform working conditions, a minimum wage, supervision of all mergers, the establishment of the principle of recapturing excess earnings as in the railroads, to go into a fund, to buy out the industry on Hamilton's annuity plan. We must start small, as we did in the Interstate Commerce Commission; make a business of public business,

and prove to the workers and the middle class that it works.

2. RAILROADS

The experience of the Interstate Commerce Commission has been indicated above. It is a competent and experienced body which started with repression and has gone far toward control. It can go further. The manifest unreasonableness of fixing rates on reproduction cost which will add 11 billion dollars to the valuation now used by the Commission may in itself generate enough indignation on the part of the shippers generally, and the farmers and miners particularly, to lead to further control.

The present weakness in the financial organization of the railroads, as in business generally, is the split between ownership and management. Professor Ripley has pointed this out and made a suggestion that Federal Trade Commission publicity on accounting, security issues, and so forth, would remedy the defect. The railroads already have this, and prove him wrong. Yet it seems unreasonable to the man on the street that, if we are asked to keep our hands off capital because it is widely distributed and the owners control the business, the actual control should be divested from the owners. If they are not protecting the public, why? Here is a chance to propose the very reasonable proposition that, where ownership is left without control, or where voting stocks are not voted by the stockholders, the Interstate Commerce Commission step in as a representative of the public, for whom all this elaborate mechanism of ownership and control was established, and vote those stocks.

Senator Norris has put in a bill for a government railroad corporation to own and operate a whole system with steamship lines and all other agencies. I think his idea is to afford the public a contrast in rates and management. While the government would have to buy such lines as it might want to take over at a capitalization of the expected income, which would be a heavy price, it could at least provide that all new investments in the railroads be held down by contract with the Federal government to the actual cost of money invested. We should keep in mind the general danger of getting stuck with a lot of bad business propositions.

3. POWER

Here is an industry in which 8 billion dollars are invested already and another billion is added every two years. We have made three attempts at control. We have set up municipal

plants. Their status is changing and we should face that fact. Outside of the large cities they can no longer compete in rates and efficiency with the new plants being established by companies having the benefit of the connected load of wide interconnection.

That many small municipal plants are selling out to private industry is no unfavorable criticism of the efficiency of public ownership. The technical changes in the industry have made isolated plants built years ago less efficient. We have tried regulation by state commissions. It has gotten out of hand. With holding companies controlling the finances, making untouchable contracts with the operating companies, with revaluations in which the consumers lose both ways, with the growth of the industry beyond the power and finances available to State commissions and with the political power and influence and money of the men connected with the industry, regulation is a good deal of a failure.

Our third attempt to control at least a part of the industry was in the Federal Water Power Act of 1920. This applies to power on navigable streams only and its more stringent provisions apply only where these State commissions have not even a pretense of adequate authority. In those cases it sets down that rates shall not exceed a return on the net cost of the money actually invested, that excess earnings shall be recaptured and that the project may be bought at the end of fifty years by the government at the net cost. This is a step forward.

A fourth attempt which I look upon as much more hopeful is the one which seeks to set up through government ownership at Muscle Shoals, at Boulder Dam and on the St. Lawrence yardsticks by which the efficiency of private ownership under regulation may be measured. Muscle Shoals offers a situation of a government built plant similar to the Vag in Germany which was formerly the power plants supplying the munition plants of Germany. After the war instead of spending seven years debating about leaving it or giving it away for a song and dance they constituted it into a national power corporation and it serves as a contrast with private power corporations and could be the nucleus of a whole power system in case the people wanted to take over the whole industry.

We cannot hope to take over the whole eight billion dollar industry successfully, even if it were generally thought advisable to do so at the moment. There is a great danger of

sabotage on the part of the present owners. In Germany after the revolution the whole civil service was monarchial and nationalist and pretty well held up and frustrated many of the Socialist plants until the personnel was replaced. But a scattering series of great generating plants selling their power within 300-mile radiuses might be expected to have a very considerable influence upon the extension of public ownership to the transmission lines and the whole industry. There is no longer any argument about the popularity of the publicly-owned hydro-electric commission in Ontario.

(I will omit the discussion of giant power.)

We have three things to go on: 1. The State not only has the power to cancel charters but the companies must constantly come to it for new grants of privilege, power to condemn land, to merge, to build, and so forth. Here is a leverage. 2. The weakness of regulation as a protection to the people. 3. The desire of the people to keep their natural resources. If we don't bite off more than we can chew we may have a good deal to chew on in the coming years.

4. COAL

The situation is well known. With a billion tons of possible capacity the industry has a demand of 500,000 tons. Competition has meant confiscation of the value of many properties. The overproduction, the mechanization, the new technique have meant unemployed workers. It is a \$5,000,000,000 industry. The interest charge on it is \$300,000,000. There is some similarity with Great Britain's situation where nationalization of the coal mines apparently means that the State assumes the deficit. In the bituminous industry it must also be remembered that the consumers' interests seem directly opposed to those of the workers and only indirectly seem the same. Until the distillation of coal for internal combustion engines is on a profitable basis (when our petroleum is nearer exhaustion than it is now) will the industry be entirely free from bankruptcy, and perhaps even not then.

The Brophy-Gleason plan for nationalization was offered in 1922. It was to have a Secretary of Mines to pay the market price for the industry and to establish a democratic control. Its value lay in its stabilization of its production and employment. It met with the popular objections of bureaucracy, of being too big for the government to handle, of soaking the taxpayers not only in the form of additional federal taxes, but by removing the main source of taxation in the small

coal towns from the jurisdiction of the townships. The workers were also afraid of the government in the matter of wages, for neither Harding nor Coolidge gave them any idea that they would be fairly treated.

The Anthracite Problem

In 1923 the anthracite miners proposed to the Coal Commission a plan for liquidation of ownership which, simply stated, was a plan for buying out the industry out of its excess earnings. In 1926 Senator Wheeler introduced his bill for a federal anthracite corporation to be owned by the government and controlled by the miners and citizens from the coal-consuming States. Bonds were to be issued for the present securities. It was to purchase and operate any part or all of the industry. There was no limitation on open market operations. The adaptation of the corporate form of doing business, which has been so successful in this country, is noteworthy. It has been followed in the Port Authority of New York and in Governor Smith's plan for Power Authority. Germany's experience with the same form of organization has been successful. The Prussian Fiscus, which was a government owned coal company, had a great effect on prices, was a threat of public ownership of the whole industry, and during the war was the immediate alternative in case the industry as a whole refused to join the Kartell.

Until reversal of the court in holding that anthracite only enters into interstate commerce when the wheels of the railroad trains start to move, any ownership of the anthracite industry will probably have to be undertaken by Pennsylvania. Or else the problem must be started from the distributive end, involving the loaning of governmental funds to groups of producers or consumers. Many constitutional experts believe this procedure, which is the same as the one in the McNary-Haughen bill, the most likely to be upheld by the court. It must be remembered that without the push of the workers the program of nationalization is hopeless, and at the moment they prefer not to change. The fear of the government under its present domination, the fear of losing some of their non-wage income in the form of higher town taxes, the inability of many of their officers to fulfill more than their present job, all play a part. They have their own immediate problems of trying to get a mortgage on the improvements and changes that are now being made in the industry.

Our long-time aim is the abolition of the profit system for private use. Our strategy is to make and take every opportunity to prove that it works. We must force our experts on agriculture, trusts, coal, power, highways, housing, milk, etc., to tell us correctly which the next steps are, and then take them and identify ourselves with their success. I know that this pragmatic approach depends upon those who have the leadership as to whether it will make the movement conservative or keep it radical. It is the same situation as in labor battles. It is our permanent gamble. There is no way of avoiding it. A certain number of men will always swing over to the other side. Our immediate job is to know our own business so well that we will not go wrong, will not back the wrong horses, will establish a working arrangement with labor throughout the country (not simply in New York), and emphasize in workers' education the importance of non-wage income and the necessity for political action, to secure it.

The effect of analysis is always gloomy. I think there are several possibilities of operating now with good hope of success. I have not tried to put this suggested program into moral terms, terms that carry steam. It must be remembered that there is no visible steam anywhere in the American scene this side of the thick-ankled Almes McPherson. There is none behind capitalism. It is simply here because it is here. And when we start getting there we will have the advantage of developing a momentum.

Foreign and Domestic Influences in China

The Composition of the Kuo-Min-Tang; The Line-Up of the Powers

(From an address delivered before the Socialist-Labor International executive in Paris, Feb. 12th. Mr. Yang spoke on behalf of the Chinese Socialist-Democratic Party, which is affiliated with the International.)

By Yang Kan Tao

THE relations of China with the outside world are still founded on ancient treaties devoid of equity, imposed by force and dating

from an epoch when the oppressive and exploiting influence of the old East India Company was still in being. From the moment the Chinese Revolution broke out as the result of a struggle, which raged from 1901 to 1911, a radical change occurred in the evolution of the country; henceforth, one must expect to find the Chinese people resisting all endeavors contrary to their national interests and to the interests of the working class. There are ample instances of this fact. What constitutes the strength of foreign capitalism, and what enables it to exploit the working class by taking advantage of the immense natural wealth to be found in China?

First and foremost the obsolete treaties concluded as a result of the wars of 1842 and 1858, which treaties involved:

First, foreign control of the customs and compulsory limitation of custom tariffs.

Second, the concessions and the privileges of extraterritoriality.

The Customs Control

The control of the customs blocks the way to the development of the productive forces of 400 million people, reducing the population to penury and misery. Labor is naturally abundant in a country so thickly populated, but notwithstanding, the Chinese people are unable to transform its raw material by means of industrial production. Indeed foreign capitalists bar the way, by their control of the customs and by the limitation of tariffs, against the extension of Chinese trade abroad.

Thus they injure, not only the interests of the Chinese people, but those of their own subjects, since under normal conditions commercial exchange between two countries is profitable to both. But what they are aiming at is a limited trade which they may monopolize with super-profits, in place of extensive trade which would bring moderate profit.

Extraterritoriality places foreigners outside Chinese law and outside the control of the Chinese authorities. Whenever the concessions granted on a strip of territory to certain foreigners to live and carry on trade there have kept their old character, as at Tientsin, Hankow, Canton and other towns, there at least the Chinese laws remain applicable to the Chinese resident in the concessions.

It is not the same thing in the International Concession of Shanghai. As a result of the revolution of 1911, the foreign consuls themselves appointed, in direct violation of the provisions of the treaties, the judges in the mixed court set up to deal with cases in which foreigners are the plaintiffs

against Chinese, and with those arising between Chinese themselves.

The Shanghai Concession

Thus the Concession of Shanghai has become a sovereign state ruled over by an oligarchy in the interests of foreign powers, by means of an official bureaucracy grouped around the person of the Secretary of the Municipal Council.

Thus Chinese law applies no longer to the Chinese. It will be understood what advantage is derived therefrom by the possessing class to oppress the workers.

The factories established by foreigners, not to develop Chinese industry, but to compete with the industry of their respective countries, reproduce the most terrible conditions of labor, which existed in Europe a century ago. On this point reference can be made to the report of the "Shanghai Child Labor Commission" of 1924, which showed, for example, the enormous proportion of children under twelve employed in the factories managed by Englishmen, Americans, French and Italians.

The Powers' Line-Up

The struggle going on in Central and Northern China may be viewed as a struggle for influence of America and England against Japan, the offensive being conducted by Anglo-American capital.

The details are supplied every day by the newspapers. They are compelled to inform you, often in spite of themselves, that the Army of Canton is only effecting the progress which you know of over a great portion of the territory of China through the sympathy it arouses among the population. It stands for the determination now born in the Chinese people to demand popular liberties, together with national independence.

Following the painful events of Shanghai in 1925 the confederation of the workers' trade unions was built up solidly, while associations of peasants also became organized. That represents a source of strength for the Canton government.

The Canton government is neither an anti-foreign nor a Bolshevik government; it is a democratic government dominated by the Kuo-Min-Tan.

The Kuo-Min-Tan

What is the Kuo-Min-Tan? In reality it is built up out of three groups:

1. The nationalist group, which is the Kuo-Min-Tan of the Right. 2. The democratic group (Left Kuo-Min-Tan), which, at this moment, exercises the strongest influ-

ence on politics, because it acts as a center for all the claims at once against the Peking government and against foreign imperialism.

3. The Bolshevik group, which, since the Russians not only are foreigners also, but the most numerous of all foreigners on Chinese territory, cannot and does not possess the confidence of the Chinese people, so that the influence it exerts, apart from certain partisan and instruments, is practically nothing. Bolshevism serves first and foremost as a pretext to the foreigners for justifying their attitude.

The Kuo-Min-Tan embodied first of all the resistance to the claims of the foreign powers, which, under the pretence of restoring the order they had themselves helped to disturb by supporting one warring chief against another, were demanding an extension of the neutral zone—in other words, an extension of the concessions, and also the institution of special supervision over the railways, and therefore foreign control over the whole railroad system.

Today it embodies the claims of independence with which internal liberties are always more or less linked. That is why it now holds together such divergent tendencies.

Schisms Inevitable

Undoubtedly, within a short time or a long period, we shall see arise in the Kuo-Min-Tan serious schisms, because it is a "multiple party" in the ideas and plans of action frequently collide. Agreement has only been reached for the purposes of the immediate struggle.

Of course, we Socialists are giving our whole support to the common effort to win the independence and freedom of the people, and our comrades are sharing in the struggle with all their might in all the provinces of China. But even in this struggle we do not wish to be confounded with those who, whether from self-interest or from illusion, cannot or will not see that the elements working in China for oppression by foreigners, exist also in the heart of China itself, and would only grant self-government on the surface in return for the enslavement of a great proportion of the people to other forms of exploitation.

In the face of all these difficulties we are trying to uphold our true Marxist attitude. We are trying to struggle openly for the spread of the doctrine of Marx and to organize the working class forces in conformity with the tactics of our Socialist international. This is the only means we

have of resisting all that may cause our need for independence abroad and freedom at home to degenerate into a "race struggle," which would only disguise dangerously the class struggle which in all countries the working class will be more and more called upon to grasp, in order to conduct it at home and side by side with the international working class.

Such is what we are doing and what we wish to do. The comrades in all countries may rely upon our good faith, our devotion and our perseverance in the conditions which we have just briefly sketched.

Workers' Aid Asked

Progress is only possible to us if the international working class helps us to deserve the confidence of the Chinese people and workers.

We believe we are entitled to the right belonging to all the proletariats and Socialist parties organized in the International, namely, that of expecting accordingly from it an active and constant support of the immediate demands of the Chinese people, which are the following:

1. Immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops and prohibition of the dispatch of military force to China. 2. Complete autonomy of the Chinese customs. 3. Abolition of the concessions and of the privileges of extraterritoriality. 4. Repeal of the treaties which have alienated the independence of China and the substitution for them of new treaties based on equality between China and all the other powers.

We are convinced in advance that by all the means at the disposal of the parties which you represent here—parliamentary action, press campaigns, public demonstrations—the international working class also will lend its help to the Chinese people, will compel imperialism everywhere to yield to pressure, and will thus do its share towards placing fresh resources at the service of the cause of the Social Revolution and of the peace of the world.

Accordingly, we beg you to accept today and to transmit to the comrades in your various countries an expression of our heartfelt gratitude, together with our fraternal greetings.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Press: Breeder of Crime

A SLIP of a Texas girl holds up a bank. Nothing like it had happened before, therefore it is interesting news, and the story is told in every daily of the country with whatever embellishment and addition the newsmen could invent. A week or so later a bank is held up by another girl in a State far from Texas. Did the suggestion come from the press?

A St. Louis gangster shoots and kills a doctor who refuses to visit the sick mother of the murderer. Something new under the sun and therefore good news, until a New York man shoots and kills a doctor presumably in revenge for the death of his child. What's the connection?

My private hunch is that the press specializing in scandals and crime is largely responsible for the fact that we are the most criminal people in the so-called civilized world.

Even if we grant that economic causes are the basis for many crimes, we still are confronted with the question, how does it come that the most prosperous country on earth also has the highest crime rate? Granted, too, that the war is responsible for the increase of homicides, why is it that in countries like England, which was much more affected by the war, the homicide rate actually decreased after the war?

Neither will it do to lay the extraordinary degree of crime in the United States at the door of our foreign-born population as even such a judicial-minded gentleman as Chief Justice Taft did lately. For all data show that crime is most prevalent in localities where the percentage of foreign-born is the lowest. Compare, for instance, the homicide rate of such a foreign community as Haverhill, Mass., 3.4 per 100,000 of the population, with such a purely American center as Jacksonville, Miss., with 58.8 homicides per 100,000. Or Milwaukee, so largely Polish and German, with a homicide rate of 2.2, as compared with Memphis, Tenn., a nearly 100 per cent. native stronghold, with a homicide rate of 60 per 100,000.

Even Chicago, with all its "foreign" gangsters, beer runners and sluggers, is not half as criminally inclined as Nashville, Tenn., another native bulwark, for the homicide rate of Chicago is only 17.5, while that of Nashville is 36.

And New York, with its teeming millions of foreign-born, this much advertised Sodom and Gomorrah of all the right-minded, is actually a heaven of virtue and saintliness as compared with almost any county seat in the American belt. The homicide rate of New York is 6.4, that of Savannah, Ga., 24; New Orleans, 32.

So it seems to me our reformers would do well to investigate what effect our crime and scandal peddling newspapers produce on the English reading public among which crime is most prevalent. For myself, I cannot refrain from believing that the daily display of criminal acts and the exploitation to the very limit of every smutty scandal has degrading and demoralizing influences which hardly can be overestimated.

I would not go so far as censoring the press, but why can't we treat crime like any other disease of body and mind? We do not broadcast the misery of cancer sufferers nor describe in harrowing detail the progress of the disease of the afflicted persons. We do not recount in screaming headlines and untold columns of eight point the ravings of unfortunate maniacs.

These things are properly left in the hands of specialists, working in the seclusion of the sick chamber and asylum. So why squeeze the last ounce of pus and slime out of every murder or scandal and parade it before the public as was done in the Hall murder case and the Peaches scandal, to mention only a few. Innocent foreigners come over here from countries like Sicily, Turkey and Armenia, where murders are so rare that they still erect shrines on the spots where one occurred, asking the passerby to say a prayer for the victim's soul, a practice which if followed over here would stop traffic and cause such a rise of land values as to bankrupt the nation.

All these people want is good, steady jobs, three squares a day, a little for the family box and a modicum of hoot for old time's sake and stomach's sake. But after a while the young folks of these foreigners get hep to English. Reading in the papers, they see nothing but murders, scandals and dirty family wash. So they get the notion that something of this nature is required of them before they can regard themselves as "up to date" Americans and completely emancipated from the old fogies at home with their dumpy old country ways.

The "foreign" gangsters and hoodlums we read so much about are graduates of the Americanization school of our newspapers. A few of them come over here as children, but the bulk of them can proudly display the label "made in America."

If this statement sounds too harsh to my sensitive compatriots, let them study the crime statistics compiled by our own government and learn that in cities where the foreign born still predominate, there is practically no crime and that the crime rate increases in the exact ratio of the increase of native born.

Unpleasant as truth may seem in this case, I shall proclaim it, nevertheless, for, like George Washington, I cannot tell a lie unless it be in defense of a friend, to extol virtue or to prove my own veracity. Anyway, anyone inclined to doubt my statement is welcome to go ahead and disprove it. Meanwhile, I shall stick to my conviction that the average American capitalist newspaper is a public nuisance, an enemy of society and a preparation school of crime. In short, the Fagan of literature.

Our Kind of Americanism

I am a patriot.
I trade at home.
I spend American made dollars in America.
I refuse to invest American money in foreign lands.
I refuse to take the profits derived from American workers to start factories in China, India, or any other blooming country and thereby force Americans to compete with foreign pauper labor in the employ of renegade Americans.

This country is good enough for me.
If I knew of a better one I'd go there.
And if I went there I wouldn't ask the country I turned my back on to protect me against the country of my free choice.

If I went to Mexico, for instance, in the hope that my American pile would grow into a Mexican mountain, I would become a Mexican citizen and obey the laws of Mexico.

I resent that my flag is employed for the protection of adventurers, free looters and hijackers, who use my country only as a base of operation, a means of escape and a temporary hiding place for their loot.
I object to paying taxes for the maintenance of armed forces, whose principal duty it is to shield deserted dollars against the law of the countries to which they fled.

In short, I'm a 100 per cent. red-blooded, double-fisted he-American, and I defy any expatriated buccancer to make a sucker out of me and my country by spending our blood and kale to line his greasy pockets.

Adam Coaldigger.

Revolt Against Political Action Disturbs Socialist Labor Party

CHAPTER III
(Continued From Last Week)

WITHIN two years after the founding of the I. W. W., that organization, as well as the Socialist Labor Party, were discussing the question whether political organization was necessary. This was a repetition of the history of the early Lassalleans. Considering the minor importance assigned to political organization and action by the masses, it was certain that this question would be eventually raised. The Socialist Labor Party has preserved the history of this controversy in a publication that enables us to trace its progressive development within the organization. It began as early as November, 1908, seventeen months after Mr. DeLeon delivered his significant Minneapolis address. The first attack on political organization was by a member of the party and was followed by others in "The People" for several months. Editor DeLeon was required to meet a variety of arguments which he considered with much skill, but our own impression is that he had conceded too much in his Minneapolis address and that this address had opened the door to the controversy.

The first critic affirmed his conviction that all references to politics in the I. W. W. preamble should be stricken out because "political activity may justly be considered of little or no value for the overthrow of the capitalist system." One reason for this conclusion is that his study of the census reports had convinced him that the working class does not constitute a majority of the voters. The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this alleged fact, although not mentioned by the critic, is that the working class, although a minority, should impose its will on society.

After Elections, What?
But assuming, he continues, that the workers have a majority, can one

"Whence This Communism?" By James O'neal

hope to gather them under "one revolutionary banner"? It is very doubtful because of bourgeois control of bread and butter, of schools, press and pulpit. But even granting a national electoral victory, what hope is there that a ruling class would acquiesce in it? The workers would be considered rebels anyway if they used the power of an industrial organization to enforce the will of the voters. Assume further that, following an electoral victory, the masses are permitted to take control of the government and organize an administration, what then? The critic answers that "the new form of society, which we are preparing for, does not recognize private ownership; it proposes to recognize production and distribution on collective lines, a function which cannot possibly be filled by politicians." (DeLeon had himself said that "It does not lie in a political organization, that is, a party, to take and hold the necessary machinery of production. Both the reason for a political party and its 'structure' under it for such work.") The critics concluded that political organization and government control were therefore unnecessary. By a process of reasoning, step by step, this critic has come to the conclusion that although he believed that workingmen were a minority of the population, they could in some manner acquire control of industry by ignoring city councils, state legislatures, Congress, courts, police and the army.

The Discussion Continues

The discussion in the following months did not vary much from the summary we have given above. Mr. DeLeon in his answers to each critic repeatedly emphasized the conviction that in order for a class striving for

public power to make any progress in its educational work it must, time after time, submit its claims to the judgment of the voters. Where public agitation and peaceful submission to the counting of ballots are the normal processes of political life "the man or organization that rejects them does so at his or its peril." We are no longer "barbarians," he insisted, who settle these questions with fists. The ballot is a "civilized" substitute for the barbarian code of action. Those who talk of "revolutionary means" or "methods" he brushed aside as absurd. They confuse aim and method. "Means and methods may be good or bad, wise or unwise, timely or premature—'revolutionary' never."

How many members of the Socialist Labor party became convinced that political organization is useless is a matter of conjecture, but a number of those who participated in the controversy which we have just considered and a number of others who had been conspicuous as party propagandists later gave their time to the I. W. W. when the latter struck out all references to political action in its constitution.

"The Socialist Labor party had also prepared for this episode in its history because of its approach to another problem. It is doubtful whether there has been a Socialist party in any country that has not earnestly discussed this problem and in the course of the discussion certain dissenters have been led to accept some phase of the philosophy of force. Wage workers find themselves in a society where governing power had been exclusively possessed by the property-owning classes. As industry developed and trade unions were organized workmen became conscious of their subordinate

position in society and demanded the franchise. By piecemeal concessions the representatives of the possessing classes conceded the franchise. In the evolution of ideas and a growing sense of solidarity it was certain that the workers would eventually establish their own political parties and contest with other parties for the administration of governing power.

However, the organization of Labor and Socialist parties implies the formulation of programs. The program inevitably has a two-fold character, its affirmation of a fundamental and final goal and its attitude toward immediate questions related to the time and place and circumstances in which the party functions. In the minds of many the question immediately arises, shall we pause to give attention to problems intimately related to the system which we seek to fundamentally alter and reorganize on another basis, or shall we ignore these questions and emphasize the necessity of the complete reorganization of capitalism? To some this question has always appeared as a conflict between the present and the future, between moderate reform and revolution, and that a reconciliation of the two is impossible. If the decision is in favor of ignoring current problems the party will decline to reserve a place for them in its program and will base its educational work on the need of fundamental change in the social order. Immediate problems and reforms are considered petty, unworthy of a really earnest working class, tending to reconcile it to the present order, leading to stultifying compromises with bourgeois parties, and eventually incorporating the party as a permanent prop of the bourgeois order.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Scanning the New Books

Sinclair Lewis' Story Of A Successful Rotter

By Norman Thomas

TO his gallery of portraits Sinclair Lewis adds the Rev. Elmer Gantry (Elmer Gantry, by Sinclair Lewis, Harcourt, Brace & Co.) a successful cad and rotter, with occasional moments of religious sincerity to save him from being the complete hypocrite, and enough native force to make his success plausible. He is a big, sensual brawler, who really lives in his enjoyment of women, but, as this modern, sophisticated generation might suspect, he is an ardent anti-vice crusader. This story of Gantry's deeds is set against the background of Mid-Western American religion, and more especially Protestantism, as Sinclair Lewis sees it.

Gantry begins life in Kansas, the son of a decent, capable, devoutly Baptist mother. He goes to a third-grade denominational college, achieves fame in football, lives up to his college name of Hell-cat, rooms with a free thinker—the only man he was ever to love—but in his senior year gets converted and "called"—with the aid of a little liquor—to the Baptist ministry. Certain indiscretions put him to selling farm machinery. He comes back as assistant and lover to the remarkable woman evangelist, Sharon Falconer, who adopted him, whom he serves with reasonable fidelity until her melodramatic death and his own escape. Then he falls at New Thought, but begins over again in the pastorate, and succeeds as a Methodist. We take leave of him scared into temporary penitence by a narrow escape from exposure in one of his least savory affairs and on the verge of new worlds to conquer in New York both as pastor and Napoleon of a great amalgamation of moral reform movements.

It is fair to suppose that Sinclair Lewis wants his latest book judged primarily as a novel and not as a social study done into fiction. As a novel, at least to an amateur of literary criticism, the book falls a long way short of greatness. Even in interest this lengthy tale of a successful brawler falls on one who already knows Mr. Lewis' literary style and his American scene. To be sure, there are pages of remarkably true and vivid description of places, things and people. Sinclair Lewis has not lost his art of seeing and hearing, and making his readers see and hear. Certain dramatic or melodramatic incidents, plenty of sex, and the creation of that vivid character, Sharon Falconer, will probably satisfy most of Mr. Lewis' large army of readers. But by and large, the book differs from a truly great novel as the best phonograph record differs from living music. Most of Mr. Lewis' characters, for all his care with them, miss living. They are types rather than men. And all his women, with the exception of the here's mother and, in part, Sharon Falconer, are but embodiments of various sorts of reactions to the lusty appeal of the amorous Mr. Gantry or the lesser appeals of other males. Even a Freudian age ought to ask one

of its favorite authors to do better than that by its women!

But whether Mr. Lewis intends it or not, his book will be discussed less as a novel than as a study of religion. Witness the fact that I, an ex-pastor, am asked to review it! It is a devastating account of all organized religions that Mr. Lewis gives us. Protestants, especially Baptists and Methodists, come in for chief consideration, but Catholics, Jews, Christian Scientists and New Thoughters do not escape. Yet Mr. Lewis has obviously tried to be fair. Paragraph after paragraph could be quoted to show that he does not consider that the ministry is made up predominantly of Gantries. He knows that there is sincerity and power even in some humble and unthoughtful expressions of religion. He may even suspect that his hero would have been a brawler, and perhaps a successful brawler, had there never been a Baptist or Methodist Church. He has labored—not too successfully, I think—to show us the more admirable and more enlightened clerical types. From a fairly extensive knowledge of churches and their ministers I should be obliged to admit that most of his churchmen, lay and clerical, are all too credible if not typical. The author has meant to give us a picture and not a caricature of American religion.

But that is a very difficult job and

Mr. Lewis' success is only partial.

For one thing, he rather neglects the interactions between economics and religion. Then, again, the case for and against both the church and the ministry is different and stronger than the casual reader of this book may guess. Looking back on my boyhood as the son and grandson of ministers, remembering my own years of service in the active ministry, I can only affirm that in sum total the book does not adequately describe the church as I knew it. The conversations of Mr. Lewis' modernist types, Philip McGarry and Frank Shallard, give in every imperfect form the reasons why earnest young men get in, stay in, or get out of the modern ministry. I am critical of the church and its philosophy. I believe that to break the hold of the more unenlightened and bigoted sections of the church is essential to social progress and individual emancipation. But when we look for help in the struggle for social ideals and for liberty we do not find it wholesale anywhere, but we do find at least a few Elmer Gantries and as many outspoken friends of liberty and justice in theological seminaries and pulpits as in any group, not excepting labor leaders. Maybe Sinclair Lewis would be the first to admit it—he makes one of his characters think as much—and still urge that his description of the churches is true and much needed in America. Well, if Elmer Gantry helps in the genuine enlightenment of America, I shall be among the loudest in rejoicing.

Some Recent Verse

By William Lea

THE extent to which excellence of form in poetry may balance paucity or shallowness of matter is a question that rises frequently in discussion, and is brought forward again by some recent volumes of verse. Universal things, if not shallow, are at least likely to be simple, and what impresses one as simple beauty in a poem or two may often become monotonous strumming of a single string—sign of a naive or shallow mind—when it pours through a volume. This is a danger such competent craftsmen as Sara Teasdale and Lucia Trent may avoid, but when the art is unequal there are likely to be stretches of barrenness amid fertile soil. Orrick Johns, for instance, among the many pleasant lyrics of his "Wild Plum" (Macmillan, \$1.25) tumbles into:

"A dog goes with you down to a pond
And he sticks his very nose in the dirtiest of ground,
Where you wouldn't even sit in the oldest of clothes,
But a dog will do it, and why, God knows!"

This is on a par with the recent musical comedy jingle, that after reciting the exploits of a fly "That sits for an hour in a blackberry pie," continues by asking:

"But: could Coolidge do it,
Could Lloyd George do it,
Could Al Smith do it? Ah, no!"
From such lines we need several pages, for redemption, of poems like

the well-known Little Things, the title poem, or The Melody; beginning:

"Death is a melody,
I love to sing,
Death is a gray bird
With a bright wing!"

Amy Lowell, in her second posthumous volume, "East Wind" (Houghton, Mifflin, \$2.25) raises the question in another way. Her verse technique does not fail, but in the thirteen stories she attempts to tell she displays little skill as a narrator. This is due, perhaps, to no inability, but to an unfortunate indirection of aim; she is striving to make her effects by suggestion, by nuances, by roundabout, and the tales seem all pallid—as they are all eerie. More curious, if not more grim, distortions of life Amy Lowell finds in her New England folk than Edith Wharton or Eugene O'Neill; while she holds a tenuous interest by the movement of her verse, it is that rather than the movement of her story which will maintain readers for the volume.

A type of poetry that is least open to the discussion, apparently, yet that displays the most ingenious elements of form, together with the most complete lack of intelligent matter, is the Poetry of Nonsense, ably discussed under that title of Emile Cammaerts (Dutton, \$1.75). Perhaps the most interesting sections of Mr. Cammaerts' essays are those devoted to quotations of nonsense verse, but that is as it should be; and the comments he wraps around them are sound and well presented. Save for the curious claim that England—he doesn't even bother

to consider whether the United States should be included—that England alone not merely has produced, but only England can produce genuine nonsense, the book is a valid discussion of "the meaning of nonsense," and of the domain of nonsense in the kingdom of the child. There is a careful distinction between nonsense and fairy-tales, on the one hand, and satire or parody on the other, admitting (of course) Lear and Carroll, but banning Leacock. The technique of nonsense poetry is almost invariably deft and delightfully distorted; the rhythm may be regular as the olden ballads, but somewhere—in the deliberate use of expected rhymes, or in the break for a rhyme in the middle of a word, or in some bit of mentally somersaulted poetry—there will be the swing of a fool's bladder, the court jester will wield his blown bag, and all will be true nonsense—unless the balloon be pricked by the needle of wit, which is the opposite and the enemy of nonsense. And while we all live in the country where

"There was an old woman
Lived under a hill,
And if she's not gone
She lives there still,"
there is hardly one but would often like to be transported to those places far and few
Are the lands where the Jumbies live;
Their heads are green, and their hands are blue,
And they went to sea in a sieve.

RAND SCHOOL NOTES

Chase and Montague Lectures

The third lecture on "The Challenge of Waste" will be given by Stuart Chase, Thursday, March 17 at 8:30 p. m. "Gutting a Continent and Some Conclusions," will be Mr. Chase's subject. On that evening he will give a review of the waste of natural resources—coal, oil, water power, minerals, forests, soils and the losses of the by-products. He will give a general summary of all channels and an indictment of the present industrial system and also some possibilities for a way out.

Last Monday night over 200 students listened to Prof. William P. Montague of Columbia University give the first of a series of four lectures on the "Four Great Systems of Philosophy." Next Monday night, March 14, "Plato and the Idealistic Conception of Nature and Life" will be his subject. On March 21, the subject will be "Descartes and Dualism of Mind and Body" and on March 28, "Bergson and the Conception of Vitalistic Evolution."

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The Commune And Kittens

THERE will be a commemoration of the Paris Commune held by the Socialist Party, the Rand School and The New Leader on Friday evening, March 18, in New York City at the Central Opera House on 67th Street, near Third Avenue, and if you will take our advice, before you go to the affair, you will buy "Out of the Past," by R. W. Postgate. Mr. Postgate's book is one of the admirable collections of full size, well printed, cloth-bound books selling for only fifty cents and published by the Vanguard Press. "Out of the Past" tells you about the history of the Commune of 1871 and tells you in unforgettable manner. It is a brilliant study not only of the characters in the Commune, but of other neglected revolutionary figures. For the veterans in the Socialist Party it serves to renew the memory of those thrilling days of '71 and for the youngsters it is a fascinating introduction to a colorful and inspiring period of history.

To the many friends of Isabel, our black cat, we beg to announce the birth of four kittens on Sunday last named, respectively, Immaculata, Concepcion, Hilario, and Chilita. They are very fine kittens indeed, and at this writing are flourishing mightily. In explanation of the Spanish nomenclature adopted for Isabel's latest, it must be stated that Isabel prior to her confinement evinced a decided interest in the Mexican situation. Isabel gets about a good deal and some weeks ago she met a tiger cat who had recently returned from a trip to Mexico. Her friend told Isabel many interesting stories of the habits and customs of the Mexicans, and naturally being liberal, as most cats are, Isabel has taken a firm anti-interventionist stand. Isabel's informant said that both humans and cats in Mexico spend most of their time lying in the sun eating chill con carne and hot tamales. This is the sort of life that appeals to any sensible being. Why any one should break their backs and their nervous systems hustling about in offices, factories and work shops for the accumulation of inedible pieces of gold and silver is beyond Isabel and her friend. There has been a great deal of talk of late about the theory of leisure, and what people are to do when production gets to the point where everyone will have a lot of time on his or her hands. The raging of this debate in no way affects the feline tribe. The thing to do if you find time on your hands is to curl up alongside a radiator if you are in a New York apartment, or alongside a goat or a somnolent mule if you are lucky enough to be in sunlit Mexico, but go blissfully to sleep. Sleeping, provided you have the easy conscience of the cat family, is the most diverting of non-profitable occupations. Sleep a lot, eat when you are hungry, have four or five charming kittens from time to time—there is a philosophy of life far removed from the sordid pragmatism of a world of pompous marines and nervous Secretaries of State.

By the time this reaches you we shall have invaded New England together with Morris Ernst in order to express what feeble views we have on current affairs to appreciative natives of those parts. From our standpoint we figure that we have shown unusual discrimination in our choice of a subject. We are to discuss "The Industrial Struggle" and leave Morris to inform his audiences as to "The Way Out." After a description of some such black and bloody mess as is the Coal Industry today, for example, we bow politely and sit down explaining that Brother Ernst will continue the discussion with a solution for all the difficulties we have depicted. For anyone of a critical disposition this strikes us as an ideal arrangement. It is so much more fun, as many of the contributors to The New Leader's symposium on Socialist tactics and strategy have discovered, to point out with eloquence and profundity just what is wrong with everything than to sit down and try to figure out some sort of sane solution.

Our heart leaped up when we beheld an item in the papers to the effect that owing to the fact that Congress had forgotten to appropriate any jack the standing army was to be left flat on its back, if not entirely eliminated. Here at last, we thought, was a simple solution to the problems of war and peace. Just let Congress forget to pay all the generals and captains and lieutenants and the hired men of the ranks and then What Price Militarism? But, of course, we were all wrong, and there was no such luck. That noted patron of tennis, Secretary of War Davis, and the famous shooter of squirrels, our only Cal, had a conference and decided to keep the army going on a deficiency basis. Mr. Davis did some figuring and discovered it would cost all of us more to discharge about 31,000 privates for whom no pay is in sight than to keep them in the army, and anyone who had the misfortune to be a buck private in the late war, can perfectly well understand what Mr. Davis was driving at. "All we do is sign the pay roll, but we never get a goddam cent," was one of the favorite songs of the rank and file—a song not included in the lists of patriotic ballads that were supposed to send our brave boys singing and cheering over the top.

Speaking of matters martial, we understand that there is now being organized throughout our colleges a secret society rejoicing in some such blood-curdling title as "Scabbard and Blade" or "Bayonet and Guts." The youthful members of which under the tutelage of more elderly warriors are to devote their energies to ousting from the university all those brash enough to suggest that peace is in some respects preferable to war. These juvenile scabs and blades will undoubtedly get a great kick out of their organization. They will have high larks pursuing those lone and lonely speakers who may venture to suggest that huge standing armies and great big enormous navies are not exactly in the American tradition. But what's American tradition to modern youth? If the college youth does not like the tradition that he finds, he can always write home to papa and dig a check out of the old man that will enable him to buy a brand new six-cylinder air-cooled tradition that will be the "offest thing on the campus. The ideas of old fogies like Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Wendell Phillips and the others will soon be as out-of-date as a 1904 Panhard.

McAlister Coleman.

N. Y. Teachers Union Votes on Starting School; "Labor Capitalism" Issue

The Field of Labor

WHEN the members of the New York Teachers' Union complete their balloting on March 10, the question of whether the organization should conduct a summer school at Manumit this year will be decided. The executive board approved the proposition by a vote of 11 to 9, but the scantily attended general membership meeting on February 25 reversed this decision and more importantly to the union's placing at the disposal of any group interested in the proposed experiment an advisory committee on educational policy. To settle the matter definitely, both proposals are being submitted to a referendum vote.

The prospectus of the summer school under discussion does not lack fascination. For eight weeks during the coming July and August the equipment of the regular Manumit School at Pawling, New York, will be utilized by the Teachers' Union for its experimental feature. There will, of course, be a model school for children, but an additional feature will consist of a school for student-teachers. Thus, not only will the pupils have the benefit of the new education but public school instructors will breathe in along with the fresh air of Westchester County a little of the spirit of the experimental movement.

The lower school, as the children's department will be called, will be comprised of sixty boys and girls, divided into five groups, each under the care of a competent instructor borrowed from the existing experimental schools. There will be instruction—or is that a bad pedagogical term?—in the crafts, music, rhythmic, folk dances and dramatics, while one of the sly educational aims will be "the incidental development of academic by-products." The price will not be within the reach of all—for there can be no flirtations with a deficit—but trade unionists will be able to expose their kiddies to the beneficial influences so carefully arranged at one hundred and twenty-five dollars per head, which is cheap enough if one's youngsters are despatched to the country at all. And, of course, justly enough, parents who are not members of trade unions will be required to pay two hundred dollars.

The Upper School, the province of the student-teachers, will be limited to twenty-five vacationists. Their purpose, however, will be serious. Characteristically enough, there will be no formal set of lectures to regale them despite the temptation offered by four specialists on the ground. These experts will guide the daily analyses of the school's activities. Joseph K. Hart, formerly educational editor of the "Survey" will cover the philosophy of the new education movement; C. Elizabeth Goldsmith, associate director of the Walden School, New York City, will devote herself to the psychology and practical technique of group thinking; Henry R. Linville, president of the Teachers' Union, who has been giving half of his time to the directorship of the Manumit Summer School proposal because of its craft or professional interest in education, but at the same time found itself unavoidably confronting the same issue that has vexed

other unions, namely, labor capitalism. The pros and cons both concede the importance of experimental schools, as indeed, the union has frequently and exuberantly committed itself to the furtherance of the new education. Then, too, there is no objection to President Linville's devoting his time to the Manumit summer experiment. Where the disputatious points arise is in the matters of finance and fundamental functions of a trade union. Calculations show that, if plans do not go awry, there will be, in fact, a surplus of three or four thousand dollars, which would be a windfall for the money constricted union. The danger of a "crippling deficit" seems to be put into the opponents' arguments for the sake of completeness.

The most telling and thought-disturbing point is raised on the score of underlying theory. Shall the Teachers' Union undertake "production"? Shall it go into the private business, albeit temporary, of running a summer school? Those whose answer is affirmative assert that the union cannot shirk this responsibility. It has been preaching experimental education; at one time it offered to take over a New York city high school (which, by the way, is not a private enterprise); the spirit of the summer school will permeate the public school system through the resident pupils and teachers returned to their normal cubby-holes. In short, the Teachers' Union has gone so far that it cannot stop now.

Those who want to limit the union's participation in the experiment to the lending of an advisory committee on educational policy to any group that may undertake to sponsor the summer school argue that "the major task of the union still remains that of organizing the 25,000 teachers in the New York school system, of which only about 700 are organized." These opponents of the new policy fear the diversion of the union's energy into "utopian schemes" that provide escape from the real battle of increasing the membership of the union and establishing creative education inside the school system.

It seems that both sides to the controversy are speaking windmills. Realistically speaking, we do not see why the union must establish an experimental school as an earnest of its sincerity or how the proposed institution will lend much weight to the old arguments, considering the universal lip-service to the new education even in the absence of a typically pressing need in the summer school idea. Neither is there much danger of expending precious time and effort that might be used in enlisting members of fighting the bureaucracy within the school system. With or without this summer school—under the present circumstances—the same energy, quantitatively and qualitatively, will be employed as heretofore. Rather, may we say, that the Manumit venture will give the Teachers' Union the kind of favorable publicity that may touch some conscientious instructor or soften some hard-boiled supervisor. Further than that there is little to hope—or fear.

FIRE INSURANCE FOR WORKERS

APPROPOS labor insurance, a word may be said about the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, which this year reaches its fifty-fifth birthday. It was organized among the New York members of the International Workmen's Association, the so-called first international. The great Chicago fire of October, 1871, burned deep into the hearts and minds of the German Socialists of New York City. Within a few months their co-operative insurance venture was started amid bourgeois misgivings. As events turned out, the international died in 1876, but the fire insurance project continued to expand. It is now country-wide in its scope, though hostile legislation in some States has hampered its activities. In 1879 there were 547 members; today there are 47,000. The plan of operation is simple. Each new member contributes to the society one dollar for each one hundred dollars of insurance he carries. The interest on this Guarantee Fund, invested in mortgages, municipal or Liberty bonds, takes care of almost all of the overhead expenses. There is also a Reserve Fund of \$100,000. As a result of the low running expenses the annual assessment is only one dollar per thousand of insurance. Private companies charge from \$1.66 to \$2.22, depending upon the fire protection available in different communities. The co-operative system places the dwellers in the slums and the residential districts on the same footing. It is a method which provides a necessary protection against an evil present in any society and yet entails a minimum of compromise with the established order. It is worth further investigation.

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THE MACHINISTS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

Baltimore and Ohio Plan Installed; Practical Origin of the First Labor Bank

IT is frequently charged that the union-management co-operation on the railroad known as the "B. & O. Plan" is a defeatist program to which the seven Federated Shop Crafts, led by the machinists, rallied after the unfortunate experiences of the 1922 strike. Whatever else may be said against the scheme either on the ground of "class collaboration" or of futility, the record shows that it had its genesis before the walkout and was, in fact, delayed by the suspension of work.

When the Armistice was signed the War Department responded to the sudden cessation of hostilities by curtailing operations at the arsenals and, in fact, dismissing half the force at some locations. The machinists felt it necessary to work out some arrangement satisfactory to the managements which would curb this development. Accordingly President Alfias of District Lodge No. 44, consisting of Federal employees, supported by Chairman Cornick of the Rock Island Arsenal Federation and other representatives of the trades employed in the arsenal appeared before the War Department with a concrete proposal to stabilize and improve employment. An Arsenal Orders Section of the Ordnance Department, U. S. Army, was created for the purpose of securing work from all government departments. Capt. Otto S. Beyer, Jr., a mechanical engineer and a member of the I. A. M., was put in charge of this section. Two representatives of the standards unions were permitted in this Arsenal Orders Branch to co-operate in the management of the scheme. At local arsenals similar machinery was set up. The result was that about three million dollars' worth of orders was obtained by this means, supplying work, it is estimated, to more than two thousand machinists for one year. The union's representatives were paid by the men themselves, about five thousand dollars coming from the treasury of District Lodge No. 44, the other ten thousand from the groups of arsenal employees. On October 15, 1920, the direct representation of the men in the Arsenal Orders Section was discontinued on account of a change of policy in the Ordnance Department.

Birth of B. & O. Plan
This was the germ of the idea for the B. & O. Plan. During the period of participation by the unions in the Arsenal Orders Branch activities, Captain Beyer was introduced to President Johnston by Harry J. Carr, a third I. A. M. member. In the ensuing conference it developed that Beyer and Johnston had been thinking along the same lines. This was the period when the intellectual's shibboleths about technique and workers' control were really making an impression on the rank and file and even on some of the old opportunist labor leaders. Johnston was keenly aware of the developments and in Beyer he found the practical technician to execute the details of any workable scheme.

President Jewell of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L. and other railroad labor leaders were invited in and eventually a union-management co-operation program for the railroads was elaborated and presented to the Director-General of Railroads. The latter was favorably inclined but the termination of Federal control on March 31, 1920, put an end to the conversation.

The idea was not dropped. Railroad executives were sounded in vain until Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, lent a willing ear. He agreed with Captain Beyer and President Johnston that an experiment along the co-operative lines suggested should be tried. These intermittent negotiations continued during 1921 and the first half of 1922. Then the Shop Crafts struck on July 1, and all discussion was halted. It is significant in this connection that it was President Willard who led the minority in the Association of Railroad Executives to make a separate settlement, as we saw last week. When the Jewell-Willard-Warfield agreement went into effect September 14, 1922, the way became clear once more for the union-management co-operation scheme. In addition, some union officials felt that the co-operative plan would help to preserve and restore the unions after the 1922 strike.

Establishing the Plan
It was agreed at a conference between the union representatives of the Baltimore and Ohio System Federation No. 36 and the management of that Glenwood Shop in the Pittsburgh district should be selected for the momentous experiment. Glenwood was noted for its high labor costs, due to a friction that had developed there. Yet the men in mass meeting signified their willingness to undertake a trial of the new order of things, and in February, 1923, the B. & O. plan got under way. Considering the tendency of the railroads to contract out their work, it was little wonder that the men jumped at this opportunity to do "B. & O. work in B. & O. shops."

Five principles are fundamental to the railroad union-management scheme:

1. Full and cordial recognition of the shopmen's bona fide unions as the properly accredited agents of the employees.
2. Accord to the unions and their representatives of constructive as well as protective functions in industry.
3. Agreements between the unions and management to co-operate for improved service to the public.
4. Agreement to share fairly the consequent benefits in steadier and

more employment, better working conditions and larger yearly wage incomes.

Grievance Committees Unaffected
The B. & O. plan has nothing to do with the adjustment of grievances established between the men and the management lubricates the machinery of adjustment. Grievances are handled in the usual manner. The committees take up the complaints immediately, as formerly, and do not wait for the joint meetings that operate under the B. & O. plan for the purpose of co-operating with management. The unions look upon the new scheme merely as an extension of collective bargaining.

What, then, does the B. & O. plan endeavor to cover? Beyer has drawn up a list of subjects ordinarily discussed by the union representatives and the management:

1. Job analysis and standardization.
2. Better tools and equipment.
3. Proper storage, care and delivery of material.
4. Economical use of supplies and material.
5. Proper balancing of forces and work in shops.
6. Co-ordinating and scheduling of work through shops.
7. Improving quality of work.
8. Conditions of shops and shop grounds, especially in respect to heating, lighting, ventilation, safety, etc.
9. Securing new business for the railroad.
10. Securing new business for the shops.
11. Stabilization of employment.

The machinery created under the plan is very simple. First, there are the bi-weekly meetings between the local federation committee of the shopmen and the local officers of the railroad. Secondly—and that is all—there are the quarterly joint system co-operative conferences between the president and secretary of the system federation and the general chairman of each craft, meeting with the heads of the mechanical equipment department of the railroad. Ideas suggested by the men are generally first threshed out in the regular union meeting, the local craft committees, the lodges and the local shop federation meetings. Thus, the chaff is separated from the wheat. It must be remembered, however, that it is the management exclusively that makes all decisions. It is the contention, also, critics that the plan does not function because of the disinterestedness of members.

Achievements Claimed
The unions have claimed numerous advantages for themselves in the B. & O. plan. The 1926 convention of the Railway Employees' Department commended it very highly. Specifically claims were made for reduction in grievances, improvements in apprentice training, better conditions of employment, better tools and methods of doing work, better standards of workmanship, recruiting of new employees through union channels, stabilization of employment and financial participation in the gains of co-operation. Since its inception the plan has been extended to the entire Baltimore & Ohio system, the Canadian National, the Grand Trunk Western and the Chesapeake & Ohio. The International Association of Machinists takes official pride in the success of union-management co-operation because it was responsible for its inauguration. The left wing has attacked it bitterly as "class collaboration."

The First Labor Bank
The International Association of Machinists took the initiative in another activity of the "new unionism." It established the first labor bank in May, 1920. Several wealthy unions, even before the war, had been considering the possibility of co-operative banking for the purely practical purpose of providing better investment for their funds. When the I. A. M. established its institution no thought was taken of such reasons as later came to characterize the labor banking movement and which are now pretty much discounted. There was no intention of buying into the industrial system or even of affecting capitalist policies through financial pressure. The causes were rooted in the same kind of business shrewdness that led the General Executive Board of the I. A. M. to authorize the construction of a General Headquarters Building at Washington, D. C., and a printing plant therein. Good investment and saving of money were the incentives. The increase of membership due to the war and the resultant growth of the union treasury led the I. A. M. to invest a part of its funds, a quarter of a million dollars, in the capital stock of the Commercial National Bank at Washington, D. C., with resources of seventeen million dollars. Because of this investment General Secretary-Treasurer E. C. Davison and later President William H. Johnston were elected to the board of directors of the bank. This gave them an insight into banking operations. Meanwhile, the headquarters building, begun April 3, 1919, was nearing completion and after a half year's delay in the schedule was opened on April 1, 1920. It had been planned to have the building financed by voluntary contributions. In fact, the funds had to be taken chiefly from the union's treasury. The building was a profitable real estate venture. It was completely rented from the start. And now appeared additional reasons for establishing a bank, besides that of earning more on the ordinary investments of the union. The bank would lend prestige to the headquarters

building and thus increase the rental value of the latter, while the bank itself could pay a higher rental than other businesses. Consequently, on May 15, 1920, the Mt. Vernon Bank was opened with authorized capital of \$200,000 and that day received deposits of \$379,982.35. Today the total deposits amount to four and a quarter million dollars.

The chairman of the Board of Directors was also chairman of the Commercial National Bank. He was R. Golden Donaldson, for many years general counsel for the Knights of Labor. The board of directors consisted of the president, secretary, treasurer and editor of the I. A. M., a local member of the union and the secretary of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. None of the union officials received any additional pay for their services.

The theory of the wider usefulness of labor banks through control of credit facilities originated when the Mt. Vernon Bank came to the aid of a friendly manufacturer at Norfolk, Va., when the open shop drive against the marine workers, members of the I. A. M., was in full swing. The distressed firm was granted credits and was thus able to supply a sufficient amount of employment to the strikers to enable the union to suspend strike benefits at Norfolk. The strike was lost and the company finally fell into the hands of the bank through bankruptcy proceedings but the possible usefulness of labor banks in industrial disputes was discovered.

Other Recent Items
It has been hinted from time to time in these articles that the loss of membership of the I. A. M. after the war was due to the demobilization and deflation of the country's industries. With the signing of the armistice the war business suddenly stopped. Ship construction took a heavy slump, contract and manufacturing establishments closed down, the government arsenals stopped short in their break-neck pace, the railroads lost business. As governmental agencies released their hold upon private enterprise, the employers sought to regain their former power. In 1920-21 occurred a severe business depression and the open-shoppers laced into the unions while the opportunity was so favorable. The lack of employment, the return of temporary machinists to former positions, the removal of federal supervision, the anti-union drive and above all the railroad shop crafts strike, all struck the I. A. M. damaging blows. The per capita tax paid to the A. F. of L. shows that the membership declined from the peak in 1920 as follows: 1920, 330,800; 1921, 273,000; 1922, 180,900; 1923, 97,300; 1924, 77,900; 1925, 71,400, and 1926, 71,400.

The war experience of the I. A. M. led it to join with the railroad unions and progressive organizations in the formation of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1922. So prominent was the part played by the Machinists that William H. Johnston, their president, was elected chairman of the C. P. P. A. and Arthur E. Holder, another prominent I. A. M. member, secretary. In 1925 and the early part of 1926 severe factional strife between Johnston on the one hand and John F. Anderson, progressive, on the other, rent the union and consumed energy that it could little spare. Charges of corruption in the elections were rife and Anderson was suspended. Later, the breach was healed and A. O. Wharton was chosen acting president. A new election is approaching. The communists though outlawed are a factor in some districts, particularly Chicago. With the ending of the internal strife last year the union began to show signs of revival. Its militant past calls upon the International Association of Machinists to close up its ranks and achieve an equally militant future.

The End.

Minnesota Students Ousted For Evasion of Drill

Thirty-eight students of the University of Minnesota were expelled for evading compulsory military drill under a new faculty ruling. The ruling states that students who refuse to take drill may be dismissed without getting credit for their work or refund of fees. Twenty-two of the students have been reinstated. Opponents of the rule are organizing for action against it.

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Bulgarian Labor Still In a Dreadful State; Railmen Strike in India Labor Doings Abroad

THAT the so-called mild regime promised by Andre Laptcheff when he became Premier of Bulgaria in January, 1926, has failed to materialize and that the condition of Bulgarian labor is as bad as it was under the bloody Tsankoff dictatorship seems proved by a summary of the present situation in King Boris' little kingdom submitted to Premier Laptcheff by a committee of the Independent Council of Bulgarian Labor Unions last month.

The fact that these "Independent" Bulgarian unions are in opposition to the regular trade unions affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions does not militate against their indictment of the horrible conditions prevailing in their country.

In the union report it is pointed out that the general economic situation is critical and that the social welfare laws, including the eight-hour day, enacted by Bulgaria during the last few years, following its ratification of practically all the recommendations of the conferences of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, are already dead in practice. There is no control over employers and the workers are forced to labor under the most insanitary conditions. Shops, offices and factories are filled with children and women, and the eight-hour day has become a joke. Textile workers, miners and sugar factory hands have forgotten they ever had an eight-hour day. Bakers and waiters work 14 hours a day; printers more than nine hours. In the sweat shops of the shoemakers and tailors there is no limit to the hours at all, and even carpenters and iron workers put in more than 10 hours a day. Farm hands and lumbermen toil from 13 to 15 hours daily. In general there is no rest on holidays or Sundays.

Unemployment Still Rife
And there is wholesale unemployment. Thousands of tobacco workers in Sofia, Philippopolis, Dimitritz, Haskovo and Stanimaka are perishing from lack of work. The same thing holds good for thousands of miners and factory workers, and thousands of building trades workers are wandering from town to town vainly trying to sell their labor. The number of unemployed is estimated at 300,000, out of a total population of about 5,200,000. Subsidies are increasing at a fearful rate. And when workers are employed, most of them receive only about 30 cents a day.

Organization of the workers is handicapped by open opposition on the part of the authorities, from the local sheriffs to the Ministry of the Interior. In the state-owned mines at Pernik every attempt to organize a union is brutally suppressed. In scores of cities and towns the organization of unions has been forbidden and requests for the approval of the constitutions of certain unions by the Ministry of the Interior, which is necessary under Bulgarian law, have gone unanswered for months, and even years.

Strikers Are Criminals
And when the workers, driven to desperation, strike to force observance of the existing labor laws, they are treated like common criminals. The police crushed the strikes of the car shop men in Drenovo, of the tobacco workers at Vratsa, and of the shoe makers in Sofia last year, and a few days ago some of the printers locked out from the biggest printing plant in Sofia in January, and now fighting to get their jobs back at the old working conditions, were arrested. Union officers are threatened with death by secret "patriotic" organizations and are frequently beaten up by the police. Local authorities in several towns have forbidden workers to receive the legal organ of the Independent unions, Yednava.

The unions' report concluded as follows: "In view of all this, the Independent Council of Labor Unions asks the Bulgarian Government to secure to the worker his right to create and develop his labor union freely and without hindrance. We also ask that we be allowed to form unions without waiting for a ratification of our constitutions by the Ministry of the Interior. We request the Government to give material aid to the people without work, to enforce the social welfare laws, to limit speculation in food products by fixing maximum prices and to give its attention to the housing crisis."

In his reply to the unions' petition, Premier Laptcheff handed out the usual platitudes about the Government being desirous of defending the weaker

side in social conflict and of enforcing the welfare laws, but he flatly denied that there was a dangerous economic crisis in Bulgaria and refused to do anything to lower the high cost of living or to build houses. He admitted that there were many laborers out of work, but he hoped to remedy this condition by giving concessions to foreign capital. Laptcheff tried to excuse the anti-labor attitude of his police by saying that they were afraid that the union leaders, as ex-Communists, would become the tools of political organizations "with alien ideals," although he did not share this fear. He concluded by saying he would try to give freedom of action to every union that acted "within the limits of the law."

Transport International Welcomes East Indians

Great satisfaction was voiced by members of the Executive Committee of the International Transport Workers' Federation at a meeting held in Utrecht, Holland, Jan. 31 and Feb. 1, at the recent affiliation of the British Indian Seamen's Union, 30,000 strong, and the Bengal Mariners' Union, with 20,000 members. Admission of the Polish Motor Drivers' Union, with 1,800 members, was also welcomed, as was the news that the affiliation of the Australian Railwaymen's Union, about 50,000 strong, might be expected within a short time.

The Executive Committee authorized President C. T. Cramp, who is coming to North America soon for a visit, to get in touch with the transportation unions of the United States and try to induce them to consider affiliation with the International Federation.

The Executive Committee passed a resolution on the Chinese situation in which it lauded the action of the British labor movement in protesting against the provocative military measures of the British Government, welcomed the struggle of the Chinese workers for better life, cautioned their leaders against giving the foreign powers an excuse for military intervention and called upon the affiliated transport workers' unions to stand ready to do anything within their power to prevent war.

20,000 Railroad Workers On Strike in India

The railroad strike called on the Bengal-Nagpur line on Feb. 11 for the purpose of forcing recognition of the union, better housing conditions and decent treatment by the railroad officials, is spreading fast, according to reports received by the Secretariat of the International Transport Workers' Federation in Amsterdam, and more than 20,000 workers are out.

Seven big railroad centers are practically tied up and workers in all branches of the service are joining the strike. The railroad officials have used troops and police to break up strike meetings. Several strikers have been wounded and many arrested, but this has not lowered the strikers' morale in the least, says the report from the British-Indian Railroad Men's Federation to Amsterdam.

The Transport Workers' Federation, with which the Indian railroaders are affiliated, has already sent a substantial contribution to the strikers and has urged its affiliated unions to do likewise. It has also called a protest to the British Viceroy in India against the violence being used against the strikers and has asked the British Transport Workers' officials to draw the attention of the British Government to the situation.

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PORTO RICANS AROUSED

(Continued from page 1)

time being. It has written a report which clearly indicates its sympathies are with the workers. After referring to the fact that 2,275 workers are on strike, the report continues:

"It is therefore evident a large number of persons are affected by the strike, and with them their families. As to the conduct of the strikers in general, this commission may say that it has been peaceful. It can also affirm that the cigarmakers have always been ready to accept the services of this commission, and that the company has always rejected our intervention, judging for itself as to the necessity or not of said intervention, though in our opinion such judgment had not been requested.

"Regarding the questions at issue, the commission cannot reach the conclusion that the readers were political propagandists, since only novels and some popular scientific books were read by them. Neither can this commission affirm that shop committees encroached upon the authority of the owner or directors of the factory, because it refuses to believe that the latter lacked power to resist impositions on the part of the laborers, and further, because the firm and steady attitude of the company, in rejecting the services of a commission of a public character, such as this, does not allow us to believe that the company lacked resolution to oppose an imposition of a private committee from its own shops. The commission must also declare that when new 'vitola' are introduced by the company it would seem fair that their prices should be established by both employers and employee since, if they are fixed by one party only, it might happen that said party would forget the other party's interests and consider only its own. This commission thinks, moreover, that a little effort on the part of the company would have obviated a conflict whose results cannot be determined now, but which is seriously affecting the company itself and also causes terrible anguish to the laborers.

"In all conflicts between capital and labor, mutual concessions based on a spirit of unselfishness and a desire to harmonize, bring about the desired solution. Such has been the case of the strippers' strikes at Caguan, Gurabo, San Lorenzo, Aguas Buenas, Vega Alta, Juncos and the strikes of Cayey and other places, in which both employers and employees, having requested and accepted the impartial intervention of this commission, reached satisfactory settlements.

"This commission feels that it should recommend that police assistance be not granted to any of the parties in this conflict, until there is an alteration of the public peace, or when the commission of a crime is involved.

"This commission regrets that in a year when it has had complete success in the solution of other industrial conflicts, it should have been unsuccessful in the case of the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company.

"However, the obstinate opposition of the corporation, 'The Porto Rican American Tobacco Corporation of Porto Rico,' has rendered useless all efforts on the part of this commission."

KARLIN WINS \$30,000 FOR WIDOW OF MAN WHO WAS KILLED AT WORK

A young widow and her two children, impoverished by the death of their breadwinner, came into a fortune of \$30,000 this week.

Following the death of her husband, Nicholas Dydykiewicz, 25, a window cleaner, in June, 1924, Mrs. Justyna Dydykiewicz, 22, became a janitress to support her children. A jury's verdict in the New York Supreme Court, awarding the young widow \$30,000 for the death of her husband, has banished penury. The widow said she would lay aside a substantial part of the award for the education of her babes, Pauline, 4, and Nicholas, 2.

Almost three years ago Nicholas fell to death from the sixteenth story of a building at 25th street and Fourth avenue. Suit was brought by William Karlin, attorney, at 291 Broadway, against the Unterberg Realty Corporation, owners of the building. The blame for the window cleaner's death was laid to a defective bolt which gave way when Nicholas attached his samet belt. Mr. Karlin is an active and veteran member of the Socialist Party.

TAXI DRIVERS FIGHT STARVATION WAGES

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Violence, with the arrest of numerous strikers and non-strikers, has marked the walkout of taxicab drivers which began here February 7. The alleged violence has taken many forms, including shootings, beatings, hurling of bricks from bridges through the top of passing cabs and the theft of cabs. The Yellow Cab Company, against which the strike is directed, disclaims responsibility for the trouble in which non-striking drivers are concerned, and Chauffeurs' Local No. 113, newly organized as a result of the strike, has consistently urged its men to conduct themselves in an orderly manner.

All of the taxicab companies of the city except the Yellow Cab Company has agreed to the terms of the men. The Yellow employs about half of the total. Starvation wages, running as low as \$4 for a week's work, is given as the cause of the strike, in which the men are demanding a maximum of \$27.50 a week for men of two years' experience, and a minimum of \$22.50 for men of less than one year's experience.

The Central Trades and Labor Council has endorsed the strike and voted to give the members of the new local moral and financial assistance. The strike was organized by the Labor Conference Board of the A. E. of L., an organization which supplements the activities of the central body.

Lecture by Howell

Clarence V. Howell will be the speaker at the Free Center Forum, 219 Second avenue, New York, this Sunday evening. He will speak on "Group Salvation from the Socialist Standpoint." Admission is free, and a very interesting discussion follows always the lecture.

Pioneer Youth to Hold Bazaar

A unique Bazaar is being planned by the boys and girls who are members of Pioneer Youth clubs in New York City. This Bazaar which will begin on Friday, March 18th and will last throughout the day and evening of Saturday, March 19, will be held at the Walden School, 34 West 68th Street, New York City.

Goods of every description will be sold and exhibited, many of the articles to be sold having been made by the children of the various clubs. The children's articles will include: wooden toys, painted pottery, statuary and paintings, home-made candy, dolls in international costumes, etc., etc. There will also be exhibits of the children's work, a particularly interesting booth being the "Nature" booth.

It is planned as well to have many types of merchandise for adults who are interested in purchasing. Among the exhibits that will in-

terest parents mostly, will be an exhibit of the books that the literature committee of Pioneer Youth has found most desirable to include in the children's library.

The entertainment during the Bazaar will be furnished entirely by the children. The program includes a musical entertainment Friday evening by the orchestra of Pioneer Youth children, and solos. Saturday morning it is intended to have a circus and side-show. A play by Dunsany, "The Compromise of the King of the Golden Isles," will be presented Saturday afternoon.

A lunch and tea room will be operated by a joint committee of children and mothers throughout the period of the Bazaar. Educators and artists are co-operating with the children to make the Bazaar a success, and quite a number of labor unions have helped by contributing materials.

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TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925.....\$2,530,781.9



Amusements



Laugh at America Lest You Weep

The New Playwrights' First Production—When Will the Regulation Drama End?—Horror Diluted for American Consumption

IN "Loud Speaker," the first play of the repertory season of the New Playwrights Theatre on 52d street, John Howard Lawson sees again that America cannot be looked at with unchanged eyes. Chesterton says that this misty world of ours may be thought of from two aspects: we may hope it is the twilight before the dawn, or fear it is the twilight before dark. Lawson has given us "Loud Speaker" after "Processional," to show that the tragedy of contemporary life may be looked at as a farce. And surely a land whose richest citizen is culturally an ignoramus; a state whose chosen representatives salmly eject their legally chosen fellows whose opinions they do not like; a city whose mayor reports a prizefight for a yellow sheet; surely a country where prominent citizens openly mock the basic constitution, where—to approach the theatre—self-appointed censors permit the vulgar sincerity of the burlesque and howl upon the delicate sincerity of "The Captive," affords ample and excellent material for farce!

"Look well to the hearthstone; therein all hope for America lies." These words from the least effective of our Presidents grace the program of what is less a farce than a satirical burlesque. The question of domestic tranquility, as Nicaragua and "Bunny" Browning have learned, is one in which the neighbors will have even the first ladies of the land been wholly free from the smudge of whispering scandal—either directly active, or passively suffering as a result of husband's speculations. (Strange how close, in this commercial world, this word for sin—speculation—is to speculation!) What wonder, with many homes preserved "for the children's sake," with so many men still comfortably sure that it is quite correct for them to sow their seed abroad, virtuous wife waiting innocently home, what wonder that in "Loud Speaker" the family of Harry U. Collins, candidate for governor of New York, is torn by internal dissension! And that Collins has sought sympathy on the sands of Atlantic City! And that his wife has likewise turned for consolation—she, to a stranger with a beard" whose hypnotic spell works weird effects upon the company, and brings to Mrs. Collins a pleasant aura of soul-sympathy.

Proceeding in topey-turvydom, the play shows Collins drunk at broadcasting time, in a sudden intoxicated bravado telling the public what he really thinks of it; that the newspapers are blab, that the promises of the candidates are blab, but that he will be elected because the public has been fed on blab until it can digest no other food. If X=bunk, and Y= money, X+Y=the American public. Naturally, Collins is rewarded for his

unexpected honesty by being made governor.

Along the route of his campaign, in addition to details of his domestic felicity, we have most effective views of other phases of American life. The exploits of newspapers in securing "beats," in developing "personal interest" stories—that is, in prying into and exposing private affairs for public gaping; the general demoralization that has come over our social life from the black bottom to the white-wash sap; the broken rhythm of life today is excellently recorded. The word rhythm is often loosely used in regard to the drama; in O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones" the mood of the superstitious savage is clearly beaten out on the tom-tom; in "Loud Speaker" there is, less obvious, but no less unmistakable, the jerky syncopation of this penitential age of ours.

The play rises to a closing curtain of sardonic emphasis. Floradora Finigan, the fair stranger who has entertained Collins at Atlantic City, takes it on her head to visit the candidate at his home, election night. When, in his confusion, Collins speaks of this disorderly world, Floradora ventures, "I was born in a disorderly house." "Shake, sister," replies the next governor, "we've both servants of the public." Thereafter, the hopeful prostitute begins to undress, to show Collins that she is as desirable as ever; the embarrassed man chases her away. Meanwhile, word of his election has spread; a delegation comes with banners and cheers to greet Governor Collins; his campaign manager carries a great American flag. Into the midst of this celebration the gay Floradora dances, dressed only in nerpink chemise—how save the situation? Quick-witted Peterson drapes the great flag around the hopeful prostitute, announcing, "Miss America!" America, the land of prostitution! On this abrupt summoning of a vision of body and soul, throughout the land, sold for sordid uses, the curtain falls upon a drama that most powerfully, by farcical topey-turvydom, reflects the disorganized, intense existence of our day.

The presentation of "Loud Speaker" is an effective application of what Eton knows as "constructivism." A modification of this method was employed earlier this season in McEvoy's "God Loves Us"; this first application of the method to American farce takes full advantage of the possibilities afforded. The sweeping planes of the framework, the many twining stairs, the rapidly shifting levels of action, and the chutes often used for entrance and exit, all help maintain the pace of the action, the sense of feverish, meaningless activity that pervades our social organization. To Seth Kendall, as the governor, and Romney Brent, as the reporter, go chief acting honors in a well-chosen



S. L. ROTHAFEL

Director of the magnificent new Roxy Theatre at Seventh Avenue and 50th Street.

cast. To the New Playwrights Theatre congratulations on so searching and stimulating a drama as the first of their series of plays of social vision.

The Regulation Drama

There are certain formulas that dramatists keep on repeating with the assurance of the French playwright who, when asked if he thought a certain bit of humor would get across, replied, "It always has!" These old standbys of theatrical construction date often from the Latin classics, which copied them from no longer extant Greek originals—if we may venture to assign a specific origin. Others are more recent, being traceable no farther than the Arabian Nights, or Boccaccio, or Molière—though he and Shakespeare rather prove the widespread borrowing of favorite dramatic subjects. Nor is the antiquity of a theme an argument against its present use; merely, the playwright, having well tried material to his hand, ought to make good use of it.

In "We All Do," which Knud Wiberg and Marcel Strauss have written, and which is now running at the Bijou Theatre, an old theme received rather unskillful handling. The name of the play is much less justified to the somewhat similar title, "Aren't We All?"—unless, as the response of the critic on hearing the mechanical asst, in rope knows as "constructivism." A modification of this method was employed earlier this season in McEvoy's "God Loves Us"; this first application of the method to American farce takes full advantage of the possibilities afforded. The sweeping planes of the framework, the many twining stairs, the rapidly shifting levels of action, and the chutes often used for entrance and exit, all help maintain the pace of the action, the sense of feverish, meaningless activity that pervades our social organization. To Seth Kendall, as the governor, and Romney Brent, as the reporter, go chief acting honors in a well-chosen

Horror Diluted

Down on Grove street, in Greenwich Village, where anything unusual may be rather more than expected to happen, the American Grand Guignol is attempting to bring to this country the spirit of the French theatre of the name.

The American Grand Guignol commendably departs from the program announcement that it will reproduce the French plays, and offers what seems an entirely native group of pieces. "We're All in the Gutter," the first play of the evening, is set in Limehouse, London. It is in story an effective bit of the irony of circumstance, but the development is too bald for even the good acting of the two drunkards to make it deeply moving. The other plays on the bill are more effective. Immediately following the London scene is a snared moment of romance in the artificial lives of two French nobles, while awaiting the guillotine. Louis N. Parker in this piece, "A Minute," has caught the atmosphere of France as it is seen through the spectacles of Booth Tarkington in "Monsieur Beaucaire," but in this mood he has created a delicate satire. The moment of the cruel, sneering jailer makes a strong contrast to the deliberate detachment of the nobleman and the pretense of polite address through which he and his wife express their deep love as they await their call, he wondering whether there really is a heaven, she, taking his hand to walk to the guillotine, responding, "We shall see."

Joseph T. Shipley.

BRAHMS QUARTETTE IN SONG RECITAL

In the presentation of a song recital the personality of the individual singer enters much more into the interpretation of the piece than does that of an instrumentalist. Even good instrumental quartettes are rare, however, because the problem of merging the individual in the organization is ever present, and is accomplished only after many years of serious attempts at concordance. With quartettes of singers, the problem is still more serious. The personality that in the solo singer is emphasized must be subdued in the quartette, because the singing quartette virtually assumes an instrumental aspect.

Although the Brahms Quartette, which presented a varied program of songs at Town Hall last Wednesday night, because of its youth failed to attain the effects only long concordant study can produce, it nevertheless succeeded in some of the numbers in conveying convincingly the mood of the composer. It was very impressive in Brahms' "Die Nonne," and its interpretation of "Je suis trop jeune," a fourteenth-century song arranged by Deems Taylor, was appropriately delicate and piquant. Yet they failed in the more subtle "Chaque chose a son temps," for while they seem capable in the two extremes of church-like music and the syncopated "Swing Along, Children," the four singers—Claribel Banks and Nadine Cox, sopranos, and Nancy Hitch and Elinor Markley, contraltos—are astray in the realm between. With the exception of "Die Nonne," the Brahms group was given an indifferent performance. The French and English groups, chiefly folksongs, they sang in an animated, if not rounded, style. Byron Hughes at the piano assisted ably. The obvious sincerity of these young women augurs well for the future of the quartette.

H. S.

NOTES OF THE THEATRE

A center of working class art and drama is being developed at the 52nd St. Theatre, 52nd street and Eighth avenue, where five insurgent playwrights, including Michael Gold, John Dos Passos, John Howard Lawson, Em Jo Bashe, and Francis E. Faragoh, are staging a series of radical plays for working class audiences.

Paintings and designs by well known working class artists and modernist painters, as well as models of the new stagecraft, drawn from the Russian proletarian theatre, will be exhibited in the hallways and galleries of the theatre beginning this week.

The Playwrights Theatre opened last Wednesday with John Howard Lawson's "Loud Speaker." It will be followed by Em Jo Bashe's "Earth," which opens next Wednesday. The two plays will then alternate, each



EVA LE GALLIENNE

Whose repertoire company is presenting Susan Glaspell's "Inheritors" at the 14th Street Theatre.

playing a week. Toward the end of the month Michael Gold's revolutionary Mexican play, "La Fiesta," will be added to the repertory.

Special rates are offered to workers, and still lower rates to labor unions or labor groups who buy blocks of seats.

"The Adventurer," the English version of Brian Marlow of Captain Raffaele Calzini's satirical comedy, in which Lionel Atwill is being starred by the Messrs. Shubert, has its out of town premiere this week at the Shubert-Belasco in Washington. This is a part of the short tour preliminary to its New York premiere. "The Adventurer" was produced in Milan in 1921 and immediately won popularity throughout Europe. It is hailed there as the first play to treat classical episode in a spirit of modern satire. It deals with the episodes of Homer, which show the return of Ulysses to his home after the siege of Troy. Helen of Troy, Sir Galahad and other notables of old will probably follow.

Reginald Owen, who plays Almaydy, the actor, who causes all the trouble and much of the fun in "The Play's the Thing," in which Holbrook Blinn is starring at Henry Miller's Theatre, is himself a playwright. In collaboration with Bertha Hope he has just completed a new comedy, which is to be produced by the Concord Players of Concord, Mass., on March 31. The Concord Players are one of the oldest Little Theatre groups in America, being founded in 1850 by Louisa M. Alcott. Its present director is Samuel Mervin, the author, who will direct Reginald Owen's play. It will be produced without a title, and a prize is to be given to the member of the first night audience who suggests the best title for it.

THE WEEK IN MUSIC

- | | |
|---|---|
| March— | 14—Allied Concert Artists, afternoon, Town Hall. |
| 12—Boston Symphony Orchestra, afternoon, Caarngit Hall. | 14—Manuel Miller, baritone, evening, Carnegie Hall. |
| 12—London String Quartet, afternoon, Aeolian Hall. | 14—Curtis Quartet, evening, Aeolian Hall. |
| 12—Dmitri Tiomkin, piano, afternoon, Town Hall. | 14—Dudley Buck Singers, evening, Town Hall. |
| 12—Intercollegiate Glee Clubs, evening, Carnegie Hall. | 15—Philharmonic and New York Symphony, evening, Metropolitan. |
| 12—Solomon Golub, composer, evening, Town Hall. | 15—Elizabeth Rethberg, soprano, evening, Carnegie Hall. |
| 12—Emily Haberland, songs evening, Aeolian Hall. | 15—Edwin Hughes, piano, evening, Aeolian Hall. |
| 12—Free Orchestra concert, evening, Metropolitan Art Museum. | 16—Doris Madden, piano, evening, Town Hall. |
| 13—New York Symphony Orchestra, afternoon, Mecca Temple. | 16—Stefan Sopkin, violin, evening, Aeolian Hall. |
| 13—Philharmonic Orchestra, afternoon, Metropolitan Opera House. | 17—Philharmonic Orchestra, evening, Carnegie Hall. |
| 13—Maria Kurenko, songs, afternoon, Carnegie Hall. | 17—Youry Blitkin, cello, evening, Aeolian Hall. |
| 13—Moriz Rosenthal, piano, afternoon, Aeolian Hall. | 17—Della Baker, songs, evening, Town Hall. |
| 13—Harold Bauer, piano, afternoon, Town Hall. | 18—Philharmonic Orchestra, afternoon, Carnegie Hall. |
| 13—Alba Nardone, violin, evening, Aeolian Hall. | 18—New York Symphony Orchestra, evening, Carnegie Hall. |
| 14—Mildred Lurie, piano, afternoon, Aeolian Hall. | 18—Bernard Ocko, violin, evening, Aeolian Hall. |

5th MONTH

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WEEK OF MARCH 14:	WEEK OF MARCH 21:
Mon. Eve., March 14 "CRADLE SONG"	Mon. Eve., March 21 "CRADLE SONG"
Tue. Eve., March 15 "INHERITORS"	Tue. Eve., March 22 "JOHN GABRIEL BORKMAN"
Wed. Mat., March 16 "CRADLE SONG"	Wed. Mat., March 23 "CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Ev., March 16 "THREE SISTERS"	Wed. Eve., March 23 "INHERITORS"
Spec. Thu. Mat., March 17 "CRADLE SONG"	Spec. Thu. Mat., March 24 "CRADLE SONG"
Thu. Ev., March 17 "INHERITORS"	Thu. Eve., March 24 "CRADLE SONG"
Fri. Eve., March 18 "CRADLE SONG"	Fri. Eve., March 25 "INHERITORS"
Sat. Mat., March 19 "INHERITORS"	Sat. Mat., March 26 "CRADLE SONG"
Sat. Eve., March 19 "Master Builder"	Sat. Eve., March 26 "INHERITORS"

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Week of March 21—PYGMALION

WEEK OF MARCH 14

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THE NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1927

A COMMUNIST TRAGEDY

ONE of the most moving documents in the labor literature of any country is the series of articles contributed to the Jewish Daily Forward by Joseph Levinson and which are now appearing in English in Justice, the weekly publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Levinson had been active in the revolutionary movement of Czarist Russia, had been sentenced to life imprisonment in Siberia and escaped to the United States.

Here he was an active Socialist and a member of the garment workers. Sincerely believing in the professions of the Communist movement, he joined it, but soon became tortured by the amazing actions of the party. He was reluctant to believe that what he observed could continue to be the methods and policies of Communists and hoped against hope that there would be a change, but the disastrous strike in the industry led by Communists, their shocking incompetency, their ignorance of strike management and willingness to even wreck the union and sacrifice the living standards of the cloakmakers in order to gain prestige for the Communist movement, induced him to leave the movement and reveal its inner history.

Levinson presents details of Communist actions and decisions that range from the support of known crooks for office to supplying Communist scabs in the strike. He tells the story of Communist strategy in the recent strike. The plan was to insist on maximum demands which they knew could not be realized and to load the "right" leadership with these demands with the expectation that the strike would fail and then to attack the leaders. Upon the ruins of the strike the Communists were to rise to power.

Unfortunately for this plan, the "rights" gave way to the Communists and the latter found themselves entrusted with responsibility when the strike began. Equipped only with Communist "slogans," ignorant of the problems of the industry, of the union and of strike management, the messiahs led the unions almost to the brink of ruin. A revolt followed not only by the membership in general, but by honest Communists who had become disheartened and disillusioned.

Levinson's story is enlightening on another score. He reveals the spiritual tragedy in the lives of many who have deserted the sinking Communist ship. Remorse because of the part which these honest men had played in the tragedy, knowledge of the fact that they had been misled by unscrupulous charlatans, observing the collapse of their ideals and the suffering of thousands of their class because of the abortive strike, these ex-Communists have disappeared. Bewildered and heart-broken, they are lost in a sea of doubts.

Not so with Levinson. To these men, he writes, "the bankruptcy of Communism has become the bankruptcy of the Socialist ideal," but Levinson declares that for him the Labor and Socialist movement is Life itself. It is his first duty to tell what he knows, then forget the spiritual hell through which he has passed, and turn to the joyous task of again serving his fellows. "There is no squealing in my case at all, former comrades of mine," he writes. "It is a cry from the depths of a wounded Socialist soul."

Certainly nothing more poignant has appeared in the Labor literature of this or any other country than these letters of Joseph Levinson. We hope that they will help others who have gone through his experience to return to where they belong and help to wipe out what remains of the dirty thing that has smirched everything it has touched.

THE CUBAN TERROR

NOT since the days when peons were whipped to death and strikers murdered in batches in the Mexico of Porfirio Diaz have we had such a brutal reign of terror as that which rages in Cuba today. Our story of the Cuban atrocities last week and in this issue by Chester M. Wright surpasses in horror anything that has happened in the Latin-American countries in a century.

In short, we have a savage Fascism off our coast in the Caribbean. In Cuba there is a despotism that rules by murder. These are harsh words, but they are warranted by what is now known. Labor unionists disappear in the night. Active union men are shot or hanged without any accusation being made against them, without trial, without an opportunity to defend themselves. There are cases of murder of men in batches, as in the old Mexico. Newspapers are suppressed and editors are imprisoned. To hold a union

meeting is dangerous and a public meeting is impossible.

The reader instinctively recoils from this savage and bloody rule. We are not only interested in this Cuban terror because of its victims, but because of the large investments of American capital in the railroad, sugar and other industries of the island. The American investors and their agents certainly have knowledge of what is happening and they share responsibility for the appalling conditions. The masters of Cuba, political and economic, seem determined to wipe out trade unionism in the island.

Since the A. F. of L. has taken the initiative in exposing this hell at our very doors, it seems to us that it should arrange for protest meetings throughout the country. No murder regime likes to have the spotlight thrown upon it. We can help the Cuban labor organizations by a nation-wide protest. The New Leader will be glad to co-operate in such a campaign.

WAR AND PEACE IDEALS

FRANCE is likely to follow the course of the big Powers in "preparing for peace." A bill is pending in the Chamber of Deputies that is as sweeping in transforming the whole nation into a war machine as our own preparations. It provides for incorporation of every citizen without distinction of age or sex into the national defense forces. All the resources of the country, its industries and transportation services, and all the workers of the nation will be immediately conscripted on the outbreak of war. All inventions must be immediately surrendered to the Government. Regional organization of the nation under commanders for each region is provided.

France is not to blame for this. The United States has already planned the same program. Great Britain and the other big Powers must follow the same course. In the competition for power the most extensive preparations by any single nation sets a standard for all others which they must follow or hazard extinction. All the forces and powers of society come under collective control for the purpose of destruction, and this is the law of the modern imperialist era.

It is a phase of the insanity of modern nations that they prepare for collective mastery of all their economic powers and resources for the purpose of destruction, but fight to the last ditch such collective mastery for construction, human welfare, and economic equity. What we have is peace-time ownership and control of industry by anarchists for private enrichment, and collective control for making war and destroying other nations.

A Socialist society would reverse all this. It would establish collective ownership and control of industry, abolish workless incomes, wipe out the leading economic conflicts between nations which lead to war, and thus reduce the danger of war itself to a minimum. The price of this ideal is intelligent thinking and action and acceptance of the Socialist program.

A FASCIST SCENARIO

A FASCIST through the columns of the Times answers some pointed criticisms by H. G. Wells of the black-shirt ruffians who rule Italy. It is a beautiful picture that Paul Mercuro paints of the march of Mussolini's morons on Rome. It would make a thrilling scenario. There is this scene: "The blood of 500,000 heroes trickled down from the green slopes of the grappa to the Pieve. The voice of the dead came out from the earth like a mighty thunder: 'What have we died for?'" Fadeout to the solemn melody of a funeral march.

Scene two represents Mussolini and his morons seizing the government. Evidently this is what the Italian workers and peasants died for. Those who opposed "Italy's reconstruction" were "dealt with in that severely summary manner that Fascist law imposed." In the background observe the Fascist heroes, a hundred or more, seizing one man. He is beaten, thrown to the ground, and castor oil is forced down his throat. Fadeout to the melody of a thrilling military march.

Another scene: A general election is held. "It must be admitted," says Mercuro, "that in a few cases voters were compelled to vote for the Fascist Government, but be it remembered that it was no fault of Mussolini himself." At the voting booth the heroes are gathered. Voters appear, ballots are scanned. One ballot does not register the will of Fascism. The holder is seized, beaten, castor oil is poured down his throat. Fadeout to the melody of the Fascist anthem.

Matteotti rises in Parliament and says unpleasant things. His mutilated body is found later, and Mussolini personally receives evidence of the murder. Glorious Italy of Fascism, glorious Mussolini! It is for all this that the Italian workers and peasants died in the World War. It is a scenario of holy idealism, this Fascist picture of Fascist Italy.

What Have You Done?

What have you done with the old men
You've broken by toll and time?
Once they were brave and bold men;
Now they are past their prime.
Now they are aged and juiceless,
Now that their race is run,
Now that they're weak and useless,
Tell us—what have you done?
Have you made their hard lives rougher
By turning them out, in truth,
To shiver and starve and suffer
In the world that was meant for youth?
Now that they cannot add you
Nor earn their tollers' wage,
For all that their work has paid you
How have you dealt with age?
Once they were young and gay men,
Toiling to make your wealth;
Now they are bent and gray men,
Broken in strength and health.
Have you fostered these one-time bold men,
Or starved them as some men do?
As you have dealt with the old men
May destiny deal with you!

—Berton Braley.

The News of the Week

Our Colonial Subjects Quiet

We are still providing "self-determination" for Nicaragua by establishing more "neutral zones" in that country. The latest one is in the mountains about seventy miles north of the railroad line. Vaca, representative of Somoza in Washington, declares that this new zone keeps the Liberal forces "from any desired military position" and releases forces of Diaz so that they may outnumber the opposition. The Liberal commander, General Moncada, has declined the offer of a Liberal Peace Mission of \$200,000 to end his campaign against Diaz. The money was intended to buy the Liberal arms and give extra pay to the army. In short, the "peace" offer was a bribe. Meanwhile Nervous Nell is said to be opposed to a protectorate for Nicaragua. Mexico figures little in the news this week. Late last week the Socialist Party's leaflet against intervention in Mexico gave Nervous Nell's subordinates another opportunity to blunder. In this matter they appear to be the most inspired type that has ever drifted into Washington. The Mexican ambassador, Tellez, now in Mexico City, asserts that the Knights of Columbus inspired the story of propaganda in the United States conducted by Mexican officials. On Wednesday the New York World carried a two-column editorial which surveyed the personnel of the State Department. It showed that practically all the men handling Mexico affairs are unfitted by knowledge and experience to deal with these problems and yet the fate of Mexico is in the keeping of these amateurs. Let us hope that each of them will eventually be promoted to the presidency of a Rotary club.

Business Peace Moves in Europe

In the midst of stories of discord between Hungary, between Germany and Poland and between Russia and Great Britain, and revelations of Mussolini's latest scheme to annex Albania under the pretext of supporting the "government" of Ahmed Zogu against "revolutionists" or Yugoslav aggression, come reports of real peace moves on the part of European big business. At a meeting in Dusseldorf the International Steel Trust directors, agreed to allow the Germans to exceed their production quota of 1,500,000 tons for three months for another quarter without paying the prescribed fines on the excess tonnage, thus preserving harmony in the new organization. In London French and British industrialists met and agreed upon certain basic

The New China On the March

The decisive contest between the North and the South in China is still in the future, but the Nationalists are slowly approaching Shanghai. Chang, the northern warlord, is badly in need of funds and has issued paper to the amount of \$10,000,000, which is being forced upon Chinese bankers and business men. This transaction is a hold-up and is certain to make more enemies for Chang and friends for the Nationalist cause. Because of his severe methods, Chang is regarded as a brigand, and the New China is tired of bandits. Foreign companies like Standard Oil are making terms with the Nationalists and are even paying taxes beyond the terms fixed by treaties, which appears to be a recognition that the New China is inevitable. Aside from some military struggling in Shanghai, the foreign forces have not yet done anything to mess affairs, but anything is possible in the surcharged atmosphere. Last Saturday the Soviet ship Pamiat Lenina was seized by Shantung troops, and a report from Peking this week states that the Manchurian warlord, Chang Tso-lin, has ordered the execution of the Russians who were seized, except Madame Borodin. Moscow has sent a note to the Peking Government demanding that the vessel, its crew and passengers be released, and declaring that Peking would be held responsible for their safety. It is claimed that Communist literature was also seized. As we go to press, we do not know the outcome of this incident. Fears are being expressed in China of a Russian domination with the triumph of the Nationalists. We are inclined to think that China has had so much foreign domination that she will not welcome any more.

Ibanez Plays Mussolini Role

General Ibanez, the Chilean dictator, who is "cleaning up" that so-called republic by exiling labor men and his other political opponents by the wholesale, and even refusing the pleas of the Supreme Court in behalf of Felipe Urrutia, one of its members deported late in February, evidently is copying the tactics so successfully employed by his prototype, Benito Mussolini. Ibanez, former War Minister and a genuine militarist, now announces that he is saving the country from the "Reds" on the one hand and a gang of arrogant capitalists on the other. In supporting the dictator, the Chilean Democratic Party attacks the former governing groups as having turned the country's industries over to foreigners and as having promoted the misery and ignorance among the workers that gave the Communists a chance to win followers. And the Minister of the Interior, in refusing to lower the export tax on nitrate, denounces the nitrate kings for having voluntarily cut down production and provoked an economic crisis in the hope of forcing the Government to accede to their demands. He avers that the nitrate companies could well afford to reduce the price of their product, keep their plants in full operation and still make plenty of profit. Last January nitrate production was only 795,510 metric hundredweight, against 2,342,534 in January, 1926, and exports amounted to 1,233,236, compared with 2,477,995 in the same month last year. When one remembers that Mussolini opened his drive for power by proclaiming his Fascist defenders of the down-trodden workers of Italy against both capitalists and labor "agitators," the reason for his Chilean emulor's pronouncements is apparent. In Ecuador a military revolt was quickly quelled after the "revolutionists" had held President Ayora and his Minister of the Interior prisoners for several hours. In Colombia the strikes of the employees of the Tropical Oil Company, an American concern, is still on, but seems to be waning, as martial law has been repealed at all points along the Magdalena River, except at Barranca Bermeja.

THE CHATTER BOX

Two Lyrics

Three hates I have, the total sum
Against my love for everything.
I hate the lords, I hate the crows,
I hate hard men who try to sing.
Three loves I have, above the rest:
The rest is plentiful and strong.
I love the poor, I love the larks,
I love the gentlefolk of song.
I will find love wherever I can,
Upon the sea, within the earth,
Even in man.
Withhold your love, deny it to me.
After the ache, after the tears,
I will put to sea.
Or walk the world's ways wide and afar,
To court the storms,
Or woo the woods, or marry a star.
I must find love, if I am to give
Out of my seed, or out of my song:
If I am to live.

We do not hesitate to aver that Messrs. Sinclair, Daugherty, Doherty, Fall, Denby, et al., are unalterably opposed to Soviet Russia on general principles of self preservation. Had these worthies performed their little oil deal under the "Hammer and the Sickle," we daresay that they would by now be a head shorter—each and every one of them. The appalling ethics of the Bolsheviks in government honestly would send the shivers down the back of any of the Old Guard or a Tammany Tribe. Small wonder, then, that Big Business and the Bandit thereof have no use for even the recognition of Russia. "This method of shooting down officials who plunder the people is too cruel for expression. Our method of trying the gentlemen and acquitting them by hung jury trial, although the Supreme Court of the land puts the criminal brand upon their doings, is much more civilized. It at least gives these tried and true pirates an opportunity to perfect their technique so that in their next marauding expeditions on the public treasures, they will be beyond suspicion and reproach."

So much like the old story of the judge who fined a pickpocket brought to his court the sum of \$20: "I ain't got but \$15, your honor," whined the culprit.

"Well," said the judge, after a moment's pondering, "officer turn this fellow loose in the crowd until he collects the other \$5 he's short."

The way the metropolitan Big Business press has been wheedling about the millions of dollars Doherty and Sinclair have lost in having their crooked leases annulled by the Supreme Court only leads us to suspect that these footpads have been allowed to remain free, so that they can in some more legitimate form of thievery make up quite soon the losses they claim to have sustained.

Again, we can understand why such Americans are opposed to Russia's form of government. Dead thieves cannot make up their losses among the living. Now, don't you Left Wingers put us down as one of your own just because we took a little for Moscow. We haven't forgotten by a long shot the actual count of how many Socialists are rotting this day in Soviet prisons for political ideals. Nor what you are trying to do to the labor movement in this country. You and your nation are as beyond understanding in reason—as even the U. S. A.

If He'll Be True

Damn me to hell, oh, God, if he'll be true!
I know you'll greet me there. Not Satan. He
Will surely find some pious way to be with you;
But the map who climbed to Godhood up Mount
Calvary.

—E. Ralph Cheney.

The Poetry Group we spoke about several weeks ago has come and seen and is happily on its way to the conquest of many fruitful evenings in verse. The first two meetings were held at our home in the Bronx, and neither sleep, nor storm, nor subway drags stayed Pegasus on his ecstatic rounds. A score or so of New York's most promising junior bards have already read forth their newest offerings to the mutual benefit of their co-working auditors. Personally, we feel much gratified with the undertakings, and have great hopes that at last we in America are on the right track toward a proper self-association for self help in literary development. Miss Goldine Hillson, care of Hebrew Institute of University Heights, New York City, is the executive secretary of this group, and the next meetings will be held at her home the last Thursday of each week. Mr. E. Ralph Cheney, Associate Editor of Contemporary Verse, very graciously visited with us, and his comment and criticism of what was read by the numerous poets helped materially in making the evening intrinsic in value for all of us. Miss Margery Sweet Mansfield, last year's winner of the \$100.00 Chatterbox Poetry Prize, is a most enthusiastic member, and the poems she read were a distinct contribution. Syd Siegel held forth in modernistic imagery. Norma Keating uncovered to our ears some astonishingly fine lyrics. Sol Portnow delivered three real reels of song, and Rupert Cuthbert gave us something to ponder over. Kate Herman bubbled out some of her brooklike quatrains, and of the others—more later. The informal free and easy approvals and criticisms found everybody friendly and fair. May our little venture prosper beyond our home meetings into an institution all its own. It is needed.

We might as well continue from here and inform you that Contemporary Verse is in its second issue under the direction of Lucia and Ralph Cheney, and for content it is right up to the level of the first. It is a magazine of poetry that we earnestly recommend to all those who wish to keep up with the work of the finest poets in the land. And which we say without even apologizing for the reprint of one of our own poems which appears in the current issue, entitled:

Sonnet for Minor Poets

Because your music did not startle suns
Out of their toughened orbits you retire
To lowly plains, like huddled myrmidons
Around the glow of ordinary fire.
And for a low consoling you attune
Your torpid instruments to banished themes;
Reecho all the couplets to the moon,
And thrum old patterns out of ancient dreams.
Companionable plaudits stir again
Your drugged divinities; a wrenching throb
Stings the soft surface to sympathetic pain,
Only to fade into a beaten sob.

If only you would go your separate ways,
Singing to stolid suns, instead of praise.

Eli Siegel, the immortal winner of one of the Nation's Poetry Prizes in years gone back, informs us that he has usurped the throne of Henry Harrison as King of the Troubadours, meeting at Troubadour Tavern, West Eighth Street, every Tuesday evening. We understand that only the stentorian throat of Mr. Siegel can surmount the din of Poet's Platters and Saxophones during sessions. All poets who intend reading there had better practice the Demosthenian stunt of pebbles in the mouth and shouting at Fifth Avenue noon hour traffic.

And for the nonce, that will be all.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

The Golden Day

THE social approach to literature inevitably betrays one's economic inclinations as well as literary taste and philosophic predilection. The personal approach of the impressionist can disguise one's deeper affiliations. Of course, in a fundamental sense, the impressionistic approach in itself is an indication of economic attitude. Literature, however, because of its enigmatically nebulous substance, has encouraged the impressionistic attitude and nurtured an impressionistic criticism. Anatole France, for example, although he confessed he was forced to write for the ladies of the bourgeoisie, avowed himself a Communist; in criticism, nevertheless, he adhered to the personal attitude and impressionistic criticism. Such contradictions are not uncommon. Mr. Mumford, who in "The Golden Day" (Boni and Liveright) presents a social criticism of American literature, at least has escaped this contradiction.

Let us analyze Mr. Mumford's approach, and note its social direction. In the first place, the question: "Has there ever been a Golden Day in American literature?" immediately suggests itself. The question is thoroughly defensible. American literature has been such a misinterpreted phenomena that the attribute golden is bound to arouse both enthusiasm and protest. "The Golden Day" for Mr. Mumford is the day of Emerson, Thoreau, Fuller and Whitman. Unquestionably it was an important period in American literature. That its literature was a great literature can easily be disputed. In that it expressed the height of the individualistic trend, however, it may be called golden, yet not without an enthusiasm that is anachronistic in essence.

It is Thoreau's dream—"of what it means to live a whole human life" that enchants Mr. Mumford. These men and women of the mid-nineteenth century, in the opinion of Mr. Mumford, inspired that "complete culture (which) leads to the nurture of the good life, (that) permits the fullest use, or sublimation, of man's natural functions and activities." These men, these leaders of the Golden Day—

"They left no labor-saving machines, no discoveries, and no wealthy bequests to found a library or a hospital; what they left was something much less and much more than that—an heroic conception of life. They peopled the landscape with their own shapes. This period nourished men, as no other has done in America before or since."

The American scene was a challenge, and men rose to it. The writers of this period were not alone; if they were outcasts in the company of the usual run of merchants, manufacturers and politicians, they were at all events attended by a company of people who had shared their experiences and moved on eagerly with it.

What do we find in all of this that is illuminating and instructive? To begin our observations, Mr. Mumford's attitude, at least in its glorification of this period, is unconsciously individualistic. Emerson's cry:

Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of our own mind. . . . What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within. . . . No law can be sacred to me but that of my own nature.

and then his later assertion:

Is not a man better than a town? Ask nothing of men, and in the endless mutation, though only firm column must presently appear the upholder of all that surrounds them.

are both excellently illustrative of the individualistic attitude that dominated this period of American life and literature. The whole Transcendentalist movement, the entire sweep of mysticism that pervaded the philosophy of Emerson and intruded into the early pages of the Dial, the concept of the Over-soul, derivative of Novalis and Swedenborg, the feminism of Margaret Fuller, the hermitage of Thoreau, all were expressive of this vast movement of individualism that had overtaken the modern world and was consuming America. The inspiration of the frontier still remained. The attitude was ubiquitous. At Brook Farm it was manifest, and even into the little colony of the Fruitlands, famous for the Alcotts, the spirit swept. For with his morbid eccentricities and aloofness from the political scene, no more escaped it than Thoreau. In Emerson's words, which we quoted before: "A man is greater than a city," its philosophy is crystallized. It was a philosophy that denied co-operation and collectivism. It was philosophy that fastened its faith in the individual. Thoreau's hegira to Walden is a concrete example of one form of its defiance.

The vision of that period is not our vision. Our direction is social. Our ambition is co-operative. That there were courage and fervor, spirit and defiance in the attitude of these nineteenth century leaders, is undeniable. We do not begrudge, but rather admire their challenge. Yet it is a challenge that today is obsolete. Our criticism of Mr. Mumford's striking analysis is not that he has failed to portray the individualism of the epoch, but that he maintains that "from their example, we can more readily find our own foundations, and make our own particular point of departure." "For us who share their vision"—they dream Thoreau's dream!

Mr. Mumford, in this argument, is muddled and unadvised. We cannot see in Emerson's vision an incentive to our new world. The two are in inevitable an irreconcilable conflict. The one is a vision of a world based upon individualism, the other of a world based upon the decay of individualism and the rise of a co-operative ethic.

Notwithstanding these animadversions, the Golden Day is an important book in the history of American criticism of literature that is steadily growing up as part of the critical expression of our era.