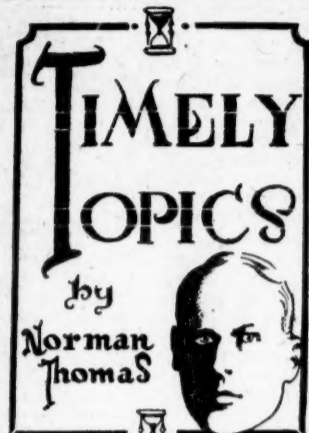


U. S. Guns Slaughter 2,000 Chinese



IN the serious Chinese situation a few things stand out clearly which must not be forgotten:

1. The Nanking incident was in itself tragic and disappointing to those who had high hopes of the discipline and restraint of the Nationalist army. Nevertheless the whole affair has been grossly exaggerated all over the world. In Russia apparently the exaggeration has to do with the damage wrought by the bombardment of the city in the effort to rescue the foreigners under attack. In England and America the exaggeration has had to do with the Chinese attack. Yet even so prejudiced and unscrupulous a correspondent as Frederick Moore of the New York Times has had to record that only one American life was lost and that many Chinese showed great friendship and helpfulness to the foreigners. Clearly the armies were the armies of undisciplined young troops, eager for loot and angry with foreigners.
2. There is clearly a moderate sentiment in the Chinese forces which regrets the Nanking incident and wants friendly relations. Foreign Minister Chen and a number of commercial bodies have already expressed regret for the Nanking incident. If we want to ruin this moderate party the surest way is to push a policy of intervention.
3. Under no circumstances can a policy of intervention in China be successful. At the most military forces can only help to evacuate foreigners. Chinese forces may now be rather weak in a military sense. Their immense numbers, their tremendous national spirit, and the supply of arms which they can get from Russia and Germany by ordinary commercial relations make them unconquerable in the long run by any force we can or will use.
4. Serious talk of intervention is born of the Bourbon stupidity of "old China hands," i. e., foreigners long resident in treaty ports, who cannot get over their racial arrogance and the interest of British imperialists who are doing everything possible to get our help in pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. Why should American boys die to protect British concessions? We have none ourselves. Why should American boys be offered up on the altar of imperialism, which in this case means predominantly British imperialism? The Chinese hate this imperialism with reason. The British nation has on its head the guilt of the opium wars, the steady exploitation of China and the recent massacre of Wanching. It is in no position to take the role of the aggrieved friend of China attacked by malicious agitators. Yet this is the role of British writers who frantically seek our support.
5. American newspapers once more have capitulated to the militarists. Most of the news sent over from Shanghai is obviously colored. Frederick Moore, whom the New York Times has put in place of the fair-minded Thomas Millard, is one of the chief sinners. He had an anti-Chinese complex before he was sent to Shanghai, he colors his despatches and his appointment is proof of how skin deep is the devotion of the New York Times to calm, uncolored truth.
6. Under these circumstances it is the business of Americans to evacuate China. The only justification of our military forces is to make that evacuation as easy and orderly as possible. It is none of our business to join a united front of foreign powers and we are glad that President Coolidge sees that fact. If our missionaries and business men have made friends in China and have filled a useful role in Chinese life the Chinese themselves will in time invite them back under conditions which guarantee their safety. Until that time a nation which has rigidly excluded Chinese from its own territory has no right at all to fight in order to force Americans upon a country distracted with its own civil war.

Although the serious news from China has driven Mexico off the front page of the papers by no means can we afford to relax our vigilance. The

(Continued on page 1)

N. Y. LEGISLATURE BARREN FOR LABOR

Democrats as Uninterested as G. O. P. in Legislation — Smith's Promise Unredeemed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

A friendless in the New York State Legislature, which has just completed its annual session. No group in the community received less consideration than the labor unions. What makes matters worse is that labor asked for so little. Democrats, Tammany men of the party of Governor Smith, joined with the Republicans in consigning labor's bills to the waste basket.

No labor legislation was enacted except that which was recommended by an Industrial Survey Commission appointed by the Legislature of 1926 against the opposition of the State Federation of Labor. The labor representative on this commission tendered a minority report. Instead of the 48-hour week demanded for women and employed minors, a 49½-hour week, with certain overtime provisions, was adopted by the Legislature. Other recommendations of the commission relating to minor improvement of the Compensation Law for the most part were enacted into law.

The hearing on labor's approved bill to abolish the use of injunctions in labor disputes, while attended by hundreds of representatives from every part of the State, was not even accorded the usual courtesy of an official stenographer, and Vice-President Woll of the American Federation of Labor, who made a speech that for eloquence surpassed anything heard in New York legislative chambers for years, talked for an hour and a half to a solitary member of a Joint Senate and Assembly committee having an aggregate membership of eleven Senators and thirteen Assemblymen. Governor Smith's pre-election promises were forgotten. He made no effort to pass the injunction bill.

The woman unanimously endorsed by the organized labor of the State for appointment as State Regent, and whose endorsement was conveyed to each member of the Legislature by a communication signed by both the president and the secretary of the New York State Federation of Labor, did not receive a single vote when the two houses of the Legislature assembled to elect a Regent. This woman, Mrs. Hilda S. Boyle of the Schenectady Board of Education, although enrolled as a Democrat, failed to receive a solitary Democratic vote.

The barbers' licensing bill, which not only was backed by the Barbers' International Union, but by the State Federation of Labor, went down to defeat in the Senate, with Senator Downing, Democratic leader, and all Tammany Democracy, with one exception, voting against it.

The barbers' licensing bill was backed by the State Federation of Labor. This bill, which was introduced by Senator Hickey of Buffalo and amended to meet the objections of beauty culturists, came up for final action in the Senate last week Thursday, and was kicked around by both sides of the house, Senator Downing, Democratic leader, treating it as a joke, and other senators, some of whom were alleged to be lined up for the bill, treating it with scant courtesy. As a result it was laid aside until the next day.

When the bill came up in order on Friday a Democratic senator hopped up and asked that it be laid aside until Senator Downing was in his seat, and finally, after Downing had put in an appearance, a slow rollcall was demanded and the bill defeated to the tune of 20 ayes and 24 nays.

Practically every Democrat voted against the bill. Senator Russell of the Ninth voted "aye," but deemed it necessary to explain that he had received no objections to its passage from his district. Obviously, objections filed by a few disgruntled beauty culturists, unwilling to accept the understanding that other and more numerous members of their trade had entered into with the barbers as to amendment of the bill, had far greater weight with Senator Downing and his Democratic associates than the organized labor movement of the State of New York.

Meeting to Protest U. S. Intervention in China, on April 9th

Workers and students are called upon to take part in a mass meeting to demand non-intervention in China and the recognition of the Chinese Nationalist movement to be held Saturday afternoon, April 9, in the Peoples House, 7 East Fifteenth street. The meeting has been arranged by the Greater New York Young Peoples Socialist League.

The speakers thus far announced are Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and Dr. Harry F. Ward, of the Union Theological Seminary. Dr. Ward has traveled in China during the last few years and, like Mr. Thomas, is considered authority on the Chinese Nationalist movement.

The Young Peoples Socialist League is making a special effort to get young workers, students and youth organizations to attend the meeting, since so great a part of the Chinese revolution against foreign imperialism is being carried on by the Chinese student movement. Several Chinese speakers will address the meeting.

LOVETT BACKS DEBS RADIO

Says It Is Needed to Break Monopoly in Broadcasting Facilities

THE erection of a high-powered radio broadcasting station to fight for free speech, such as that proposed by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, is needed to break the tyrannical monopoly now dominating the radio field. In this manner Robert Morris Lovett, President of the League for Industrial Democracy, gave his endorsement of the \$250,000 drive being conducted to erect a radio station as a memorial to Eugene V. Debs.

Professor Lovett referred to the experience of Norman Hapgood, liberal editor, who was refused permission to broadcast a speech consisting largely of quotations from Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. In accepting an invitation to become a trustee of the \$250,000 fund being raised among admirers of Debs Professor Lovett wrote:

"I am very glad to serve as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. It seems to me that no better memorial can be provided for one who fought all his life for freedom of speech than an enterprise which will make speech effective as a means of enlightenment through-

(Continued on page 2)

Three American Banks Wield Power in Despot-Ridden Cuba

Wall Street Combination Holds the Purse Strings for Three Corporations

By Chester M. Wright

WASHINGTON, D. C.—While President Machado and his Minister of Gobernacion continue their despotism as chief and first lieutenant, backed by a law giving the President dictatorial powers, three great American corporate powers and three equally great American houses of finance rule to an alarming extent the economic life of Cuba.

The three corporate powers are American Sugar Refining Company, American Tobacco Company and General Electric.

The three great houses of finance are the National City Bank, the Chase National Bank, the Guaranty Trust, all of New York, all a part of that great entity known as Wall Street.

Americans "Boss" Two Big Crops American Tobacco rules the tobacco crop and maintains Vice-President Sylvester in Cuba as its representative there.

American Sugar is all-powerful in sugar and is given full credit for having "induced"—some say ordered—President Machado to issue his famous edict, without benefit of Congress, limiting the amount of sugar per crop,

so that no man may raise more than a fixed amount.

The three banks named are "knee deep in sugar" and, with the American Sugar Refining Company, lay down the law in sugar in Cuba. In the sugar fields a man may, by terrific hard work, under a piecework system, earn \$1.50 per day, upon which, with high living costs, to feed and clothe himself and family. For this work there are in Cuba this year some 60,000 black Haitians and Jamaicans, in violation of law and against the desires of a majority of the Cuban people.

Utility Companies Fall Into "G. E." Lap

While American Sugar rules sugar

Cuba had a panic in 1922 and 1923. Banks fell like paper houses in a rain. They were loaded with utility securities. To save the country a Temporary Banking Liquidation Commission was formed, with absolute powers to liquidate. American Ambassador Crowder takes credit for writing the law creating this commission.

In the exercise of its powers the commission took over, administered and sold many utility corporations with an iron hand, while the banks exert their great influence in many directions, the story of General Electric is most dramatic of all, due to certain peculiar conditions.

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123,000 FARMS ARE FORECLOSED IN YEAR

170,000 Others Change Hands, Official Records Show

Washington, D. C.—Approximately 123,000 farms changed ownership by reason of forced sales or other defaults during the twelve months ended March 15, 1926, according to a report on the farm real estate situation by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture. This was at the rate of twenty-one farms per thousand when adjustment was made in the census total for the plantations of the South.

In addition, 170,000 farms, or thirty per thousand, changed owners through voluntary sale or trade, including also contracts for deed. About 41,000 properties, or a rate of seven per thousand, were estimated to have passed by inheritance and gift, and 13,000, or about two per thousand, through miscellaneous and unclassified methods.

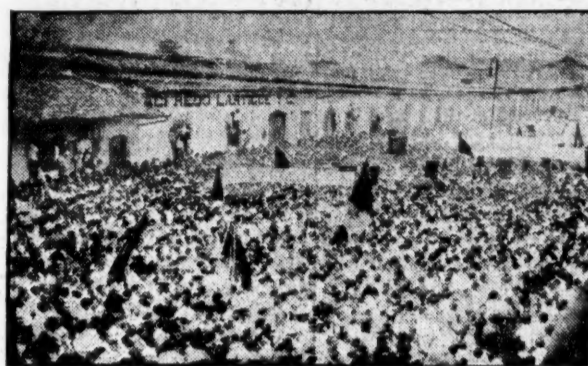
Of the twenty-one farms per thousand, which involved a more or less compulsory change of ownership, four were classified as forced sales on account of delinquent taxes, and seventeen were classified as caused by mortgage foreclosure, bankruptcy, default of contract or by sale, surrender of title or other transfer to avoid foreclosure. All of these forced changes, so called, did not necessarily represent final, outright losses of title, but are to be considered in varying degree as conditional and subject to redemption in accordance with varying State laws upon the subject.

Sectional averages for total forced sales and similar defaults showed the lowest rate in the Middle Atlantic division, where twelve farms per one thousand changed hands due to these causes, and the highest in the Mountain States, in which fifty farms per one thousand were estimated to have changed ownership outright or conditionally within the twelvemonth period on account of financial difficulties. Defaults in the Dakotas and in Montana were particularly high; running from 6 to 7 per cent of all farms. Among the Southern States, Georgia and South Carolina appeared to have been severely affected, also.

Minnesota Kills Evolution Bill

By a vote of 55 to 7 the State Senate of Minnesota has killed an anti-evolution bill on March 11. Of the nine States in which anti-evolution bills have been introduced in 1927, Arkansas, Missouri, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Minnesota, and New Hampshire have voted it down. Bills are still pending in California, Alabama and North Dakota.

Mexican Labor Hits Imperialism



Part of a great demonstration of Mexican workers near Orizaba, in the State of Vera Cruz. More than 20,000 workers from the textile mills and other industries of Orizaba, Santa Rosa, Nogales and Rio Blanco were in the gathering, which was held to show the loyalty of Mexico's workers to the CROM (Mexican Federation of Labor) and the government of President Calles.

A Mexicatechism---

An "Ask Me Another" Game on the Subject of Mexico, the United States, Oil and the "Reds"

Q. What is the purpose of the existence of Mexico and of its inhabitants?

A. In His infinite wisdom and foresight, the Creator planned Mexico for three supreme purposes: (1) That we, Americans, might readily see our superiority and be justly proud of it; (2) that rich legitimate outlet be available for our excess capital, under the protecting shadow of the Golden Eagle; (3) that our great statesmen, at times of internal difficulties and strife, might unite all brave and patriotic Americans, rich and poor alike, in insisting upon our legitimate rights and honor in Mexico, and thus make them forget their petty internal squabbles.

Q. How should a red-blooded one hundred percent American learn the truth about Mexico?

A. Since it is impossible for an average person to learn the truth by an individual investigation, and since the resourceful American corporations which have invested in Mexico have the permanent welfare of that country nearest their hearts, the facts should be taken from newspapers and magazines subsidized by such corporations.

Q. What attitude should a patriotic American maintain toward Mexico and its policies?

A. The United States Federal Government, in particular the Secretary of State, being fully informed about the facts, having full support of the public-spirited mining and industrial corporations doing business with Mexico, and inspired by the lofty united-fruit ideal of our prestige in the Caribbean—a patriotic citizen can do no better than to stand solidly behind.

(Continued on page 3)

MANVILLE WORKERS TO TAKE STRIKE VOTE ON JOINING OTHERS OUT

Woonsocket, R. I.—Organized workers in the big Manville Mill of the Manville-Jencks Co. at Manville, where about 2,000 operatives are employed in normal times, will take a secret ballot strike vote.

Ever since the Social Mill and Globe Mill workers of the same company, in Woonsocket, have been on strike, efforts have been made to induce the Manville workers to join the ranks. They adopted resolutions several weeks ago saying that they would strike when called upon to do so.

Thomas F. MacMahon, president, and other officials of the United Textile Workers, addressed two locals. A secret ballot was insisted upon before decision was reached to take such a vote. Ballots are now being printed.

PLANS BEING MADE FOR TYPOS' SESSION

Plans for entertaining the diamond jubilee convention of the International Typographical Union, which meets in Indianapolis, Ind., the second week in August, are under way. Indianapolis is the home of Typographical Union No. 1, and it is under the direction of this local that all entertainment will be directed. William J. Spires, known generally throughout the jurisdiction of the international union, is general chairman of activities. Although Indianapolis has been the national headquarters of the union for the last 35 years, this is the first time in the 75 years' history of the organization that Indianapolis has been selected as a convention city.

5,000 Brooklyn Painters Strike for Wage Increase

All Brooklyn building activities will be tied up beginning with April 1, as a result of the 5,000 union painters' walkout. The strike is called by District Council No. 29 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, to which all of the seven painters' local unions are affiliated.

The union demanded an increase of \$2 a day in wages, and the employers stubbornly refused to grant. A number of employers have recently formed an association whose object is to resist the present demands of the workers, as well as to combat the union's control of the industry. The union on the other hand is determined to gain its demands claiming that the employers' excessive profits permit of the paying the workers a decent living wage. The president of the District Council, Paul Kammerer, is chairman of the general strike committee.

LURID ATROCITY STORIES ARE FALSE

Foreign Powers Continue Acts of Aggression Against Chinese People — One American Killed

BRUTALITY and slaughter there were in Nanking, in far away China. But it was not the slaughter the American press luridly portrayed for its readers.

The only slaughter appears to have been that of upwards of 2,000 helpless and innocent Chinese men, women and children. Reports of "many Americans killed," "more Americans die in China," "Americans massacred by Chinese," have proven to be utterly and completely false. It was with reluctance that the newspapers finally admitted that but one American death occurred in China. For that the American and British warships poured shot and shell into Nanking, taking more than 2,000 lives.

From the columns of unconcealed propaganda which American newspapers are feeding their readers under the guise of news from China one can glean a more or less connected story of what took place at Nanking before and during the slaughter.

The Southern, or Canton, troops were advancing into the city of Nanking, driving the Northerners before them. The latter retreated to the north of the city, where Standard Oil Hill is located. At the Standard Oil plant some Americans had concentrated, fearing for their safety during the fighting between the Cantonese and the Northerners.

The bombardment of the city began this morning as Cantonese troops started to penetrate Nanking. The heavy Nationalist fire drove the Shantungese defenders to the river. Frenzied when they were unable to find sufficient boats to cross, the defeated Northerners commenced looting the city. The consulates, most of which had been evacuated during the night, were devastated. The tide of battle flowed around the foot of the Standard Oil hill, and shots and shells fell into the position.—N. Y. Post, March 26.

While the fighting between the opposing Chinese forces was going on another group of Americans were making their way up the hill in the midst of the fire. For some reason they had left the consulate and their homes in the city proper.

"They left afoot for the Standard Oil Company hill with a guard of 11 American sailors," says a dispatch to the New York Sun. "Between three and four hundred shots were fired and a sailor was wounded." This seems to indicate that the shots were aimed at the Northerners, since only one struck an American.

An American by the name of Davis, according to the same dispatch to the Sun, then gave a command to the Americans to fight.

"In the ensuing battle the American sailors killed twenty assailants, shooting for half an hour." Another dispatch to the Sun tells how Marine Plume, after being wounded, returned the fire, killing two Chinese. During all this time, apparently, the Cantonese made no attempt to return the fire, for no Americans were killed. In the New York Times of March 20 John D. Wilson boasts, "I know I picked off seven" Chinese.

When word of the killing of the Chinese had reached the city, then, it appears, if at all, unruly Cantonese troops began to fire on Socony Hill. The Americans concentrated there then signaled to the warships in the river. And the bombardment began. Reports that the bombardment was "a barrage laid down to protect a landing party of rescuers from the ships" are given the lie by other dispatches which tell how the interior of the city was bombarded for almost half an hour.

"Despatches from Nanking at midnight," says an Associated Press despatch of March 25, "indicates that the Anglo-American bombardment must have been most severe. The Noa, Preston and Emerald using their main batteries for nearly 20 minutes. A portion of the area around Standard Oil Hill is thickly populated."

And the New York Times of March 25 adds this: "The use of the destroyers Noa and Preston of their heaviest guns during the fighting marked the first time since the World War that American warships have used such large calibre guns except for practice purposes. Although no information was received as to the damage to the Chinese by the fire from the Yangtze, it is believed to have been considerable."

Immediately reports were cabled of the slaughter of Americans. Not one word about the Chinese. Each news-

(Continued on page 2)

SIGMAN ATTACKS CIVIL LIBERTIES OFFICIALS

Bailey Says They Act as Individuals in Aiding Communist Group

CHARGING that prominent officials of the American Civil Liberties Union are permitting their names to be used by a group of Communists and others who sent bona fide union cloakmakers to jail to save themselves from possible conviction for alleged crimes of violence, an outgrowth of the recent New York cloak strike, Morris Sigman, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has repudiated a so-called "Committee of 100 for the Defense of Imprisoned Needle Workers" and warned them not to solicit funds in the name of cloak and dressmakers affiliated with the International Union.

Among the officials of the Civil Liberties group whose names are being used are Forrest Bailey, director; Dr. Harry F. Ward, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Arthur Garfield Hays and Robert W. Dunn. Despite their efforts to assure the International Union that these men are acting as individuals, Mr. Sigman contended that "whatever standing these gentlemen have in the public eye, whatever usefulness they may have in raising funds for this questionable purpose, is due to an overwhelming degree to their public association with the American Civil Liberties Union."

In reply to a letter from President Sigman, Mr. Bailey wrote: "Our committee has instructed me to say that it cannot undertake to hold itself responsible for any action on the part of its members when they act as individuals. All persons connected with the American Civil Liberties Union who have accepted membership on the Committee of One Hundred for the Defense of Imprisoned Needle Workers did so in their independent capacities. They feel confident that due precautions will be taken to safeguard expenditures of funds collected in the name of the committee for the purpose for which the committee was organized. No one of them is officially concerned with any other issues than just those involved in defense and relief. No one of them is likely to wish to remain a member of the committee if it should develop that funds are being diverted to uses not comprehended in the original purpose of the committee. On this understanding each of them accepts full responsibility for his personal relation to the Committee of One Hundred."

To this, Mr. Sigman replied: "We have your astounding letter of March 28, 1927, signed by Mr. Forrest Bailey, one of your directors, in reply to our communication of March 25, in which we protested against the inclusion of prominent American Civil Liberties Union officials in a so-called 'Defense Fund Committee,' initiated and inspired by a group of Communists no longer official spokesmen of the New York cloak and dress unions and others affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union."

"Your assurance that none of them is officially concerned with any other issues than just those involved in defense and relief of prisoners coming under the general head of cloakmakers and dressmakers are not convincing, when the actions of your high officials must be inextricably bound up with the gangsterism, fraud and corruption employed by these former leaders, who themselves conspired to imprison certain cloakmakers and then invoked the humanitarianism of your members ostensibly to get them out of jail."

"To have the record clear, we must advise the individual Civil Liberties members participating in this so-called 'defense committee' to keep their hands off all cases of convicted cloak and dressmakers who were pleaded guilty by Communist-hired lawyers, despite their innocence, and who have appealed to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for legal aid. We must also advise them to keep their hands off all cases of cloak and dressmakers who pleaded not guilty and who have asked the International for aid. The International Union can take care of its own, and regards it as a sheer impertinence for anyone not responsibly connected with this organization to set up defense committees and defense funds for these International members, especially since the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was not consulted. We hope that this point is absolutely clear."

"For your information and for the record's sake, there remain only a handful of Communist adherents and high Communist officials, the latter out on bail, for whom this so-called defense committee may care to act. It is still inconceivable that prominent members of the American Civil Liberties who will care to defend ex-labor officials who prostituted their position by cowardly sending innocent cloakmakers to jail, for fear of being exposed in having advised or performed possible criminal acts."

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NEWARK FORUM TO HOLD ABSORBING DISCUSSION ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH

"How Free Should Speech Be?" This intriguing subject will be discussed at the closing meeting of the People's Institute of Newark, N. J. The meeting will take the form of a banquet, to be held Sunday evening, April 3, at 6:30 p. m., in Krueger's Auditorium, Newark. The speakers will be Arthur Garfield Hays, well known liberal attorney, Canon Rev. William Sheafe Chase, guardian of the nation's morals; Florence L. Haines, active New Jersey social worker, and Theresa Helburn, an executive director of the Theatre Guild. Julia Marlowe and E. H. Sothern will also attend, and, between them, will decide which one will speak. As it can be seen, the discussion will most likely turn to the question of censorship of the stage. Reservations can be made by calling Dr. Louis Reiss, 188 Springfield avenue, at Mar. 8350.

N. Y. Russian Socialists Celebrate Tenth Birthday Of Fall of Czarism

The 10th anniversary of the Russian February Revolution was celebrated by the Russian Branch of the Socialist Party of New York, at a meeting Monday, March 21, in the People's House. A large audience attended.

Dr. Sergius Ingberman, who presided, described the conditions under which the Revolution broke out. Though the most important historical event was the fall of czarism, and the birth of Russian freedom, Dr. Ingberman declared that the World War complicated the Revolutionary progress and Russia could not reach a social equilibrium. "Such a situation," he said, "gave the Bolsheviks their opportunity to seize power and kill Russian liberty." He predicted that the Bolshevik regime would not last long and that the advocates of Russian freedom would win.

Algermon Lee set forth the position of the Socialist Party towards the Russian revolution. J. Villatzer described the pressing situation in Russia and dwelt particularly on the efforts of Russian specialists, who have been jailed and sent into exile in Siberia. A. Litvak, of the Jewish Verband, A. B. Brilowsky, formerly a member of Plochanoff's group in Russia, also spoke.

Furniture Varnishers Wage Big Organization Drive

A huge drive to organize the unorganized workers in the varnishing branch of the furniture industry in New York is now under way, sponsored by The Furniture Varnishers and Finishers Union Local 697, affiliated with The Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators.

The workers in this industry suffer a number of evils that come with the "open shop." In the majority of the unorganized shops the hours in many cases are as high as 57 hours a week. The wages for skilled workers nowhere exceed 28 dollars a week with the majority working for as little as 15 dollars. The union which has already succeeded in unionizing a number of shops, has established for the union workers a 44 hour week and a minimum scale of wages of 40 dollars a week.

To help in organizing the workers of this craft as well as other workers in the furniture industry, a council was recently formed of all the various unions including the various locals of the Upholsterers Union, The Wood Carvers Union, Cabinet Makers Union, The Varnishers and the Teamsters Union.

Lovett Backs Debs Radio

(Continued from page 1)
out the length and breadth of the land. The control of broadcasting by vested interests is an outstanding menace to free institutions. We have already learned what tyranny a reactionary company can exercise. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company allowed William J. Burns, in broadcasting from its station, to denounce by name workers for the common good and believers in freedom of speech. The Civil Liberties Union requested permission for Mr. Norman Hapgood to broadcast in reply to Mr. Burns. Although Mr. Hapgood submitted his proposed speech, which consisted entirely of quotations from Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln, the A. T. & T. refused to allow him to speak on the ground that his subject was controversial. Anything that we can do in the name of Eugene V. Debs to break this tyrannical monopoly will be an honor to his memory."

Killing of Chinese By Americans in Nanking Started Local Disorders

LURID ATROCITY STORIES ARE FALSE

(Continued from page 1)

paper vied with the other in fantastic headlines and stories. Each new edition of the papers raised the number of killed. It remained for the Standard Oil Company to win the prize in this contest to determine which was the greatest liar.

The New York Times of March 25, after saying that the Standard Oil is usually very careful and conservative in such matters as that under consideration, prints the following statement issued from the oil company's New York office:

"Cable (from China) also indicates that the Japanese consul at Nanking and a number of American residents, ESTIMATED TO BE THIRTY, were killed, as well as six of the landing party."

Evidently the Standard Oil Company hoped to stamper the country into wholesale and formal war against the Chinese by circulating this false report, which, it claimed, was based on cables from China.

Finally, the newspapers were forced to resign themselves to the story that their "many" and "more" Americans killed really totaled only one. No explanation has been offered of the exaggerated reports.

Meanwhile, estimates of the casualties in the Chinese city have come in. The Nationalists place them at 20,000. The most conservative estimate is 2,000.

How unnecessary the bombarding of Nanking must have been is inadvertently revealed by the bitterly biased Times correspondent who remarks, in surprise, that "one woman (one of those 'saved' by the bombardment) being brought to Shanghai by the Preston protesting to the officers that they were killing the Chinese!" The exclamation mark is in the original despatch.

Then the atrocity stories began to fall down. The American naval officers must stick to their stories, of course. They must have some reason, though not necessarily a good one, for having slain so many thousands of innocent men, women and children. Whereas, these officers report to Washington that American women were threatened with rape, the Associated Press gives the whole thing away by reporting that "brutal treatment of American women was limited to insults and rough handling."

Other despatches by the Associated Press said, on March 25, "later despatches from Nanking left it vague whether yesterday's attacks on foreigners were by Nationalists, North-erners or guerrillas."

If any general anti-foreign sentiment has cropped up in a menacing manner in China, it has been since the Nanking massacre. But the Nanking affair is only one of the many atrocities which are making the foreigners hated in China.

In an inconspicuous corner, the Times of March 30, tells that "mass meetings and demonstrations are being planned to protest against the British naval raid on the Bias Bay pirate haunt." Just what is this "raid pirate haunt?" From the Nationalist News Agency in New York City, we get a shaft of light on this incident.

A cable received by this agency says: Canton, March 28.—Four British warships and the aircraft carrier Hermes, transporting a landing force of three hundred men, raided Chinese waters and territory in the vicinity of Bias Bay.

The expedition was a secret one. The landing force, co-operating with airplanes flying over Chinese territory, and under the protection of naval guns, destroyed several villages, raising one hundred and forty houses and fifty junks.

The expedition was planned by the Hongkong British government with the ostensible purpose of stopping piracy, but no pirates were captured. Official reports appearing in Hongkong newspapers do not mention the capture of pirates nor of the recovery of pilated goods. Only unoffensive Chinese people suffered.

The Canton government received a protest from the villagers whose homes were destroyed by the British bombardment, demanding that a strong protest be lodged against the continuation of Britain's gunboat policy.

The Canton government handed a note of protest to the British consul here, denouncing the violation of Chinese territory, and making a reservation for reparations, which will be demanded when the extent of the damage suffered by the villagers has been ascertained.

Public opinion here shows deep indignation against such a deliberate violation of China's sovereignty, a violation which is clearly opposed to all the principles of international law.

So there is Nanking and Bias Bay. But these are not all. The same despatch to The Times about Bias Bay continues:

"The same meetings will also mark a protest against the shooting by police at Singapore, Straits Settlement, of March 12, when six Chinese were killed and 12 wounded." Why this news was suppressed on March 12, is a question that should be answered. In Nanking, Bias Bay and Singa-

Hearst's Contribution to World Peace



The Front Page of William Randolph Hearst's "Daily Mirror" in New York on Saturday, March 26th.

por, the foreign powers are pressing their cold steel against the bodies of defenseless Chinese. And at Shanghai, the reckless provocations are added to. Says the N. Y. Times of March 25:

"Today detachments of the Coldstream Guards and policemen went into the Chinese city and entered three police stations which were taken over by the Communists after the North-erners were defeated. The Coldstream guards severely beat many, but did not kill any, and disarmed and dispersed all."

Thus the perpetration of atrocities against the Chinese people multiply. Their only crime is that they are asserting their right to exist as a sovereign nation, free from the economic exploitation and the military domination of the capitalist imperialist powers.

The powers' promises of friendship, in view of these incidents, appear to be only the usual buncombe of diplomats. If the United States and Britain care for peace in China, and for the safety of their nationals in that country, they can obtain it by immediately and honestly relinquishing all special privileges they have extorted from the Chinese in years past. This would immediately clear the air, and ease the tension.

Chinese Martyrs of 1910 Honored by 100,000 In Canton Demonstration

(By Nationalist News Bureau)

Canton, March 30.—The 17th anniversary of the martyrdom of 72 revolutionary heroes, who were killed in an abortive attempt, in 1910, to overthrow the Manchu imperial regime, was observed here yesterday. Inclement weather failed to dampen the ardor of more than 100,000 paraders who marched through the streets of this city to the monument which stands on Sunflower Mountain in memory of the fallen patriots.

The procession was orderly. Police and military forces provided to maintain order had little else to do than to witness the march of the pilgrims through the streets.

The ceremonies at the monument were participated in by government officials, Kuomintang members, students, workers, peasants, cadets, soldiers, members of various organizations and men and women of all classes.

Chinese Labor Delegates Welcomed in Amsterdam

The members of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions have recently received firsthand information about the situation in China from Chan Kuen, Secretary of the Chinese Seamen's Union, and H. Lian, a representative of the general headquarters of the Nationalist Chinese Army, who came to Amsterdam and had a lengthy interview with the members of the bureau.

According to a statement by Jan Oudegeest, one of the Secretaries of the I. F. T. U., printed in Het Volk of March 19, the Chinese delegation voiced great satisfaction at the firm anti-imperialist stand taken by the Interna-

tional in the Chinese question and inquired if the Amsterdam Bureau was prepared to organize demonstrations in Europe in favor of the Chinese Nationalist movement. The Bureau members answered that such a possibility was being considered, although the job of promoting really serious demonstrations all over Europe was not to be undertaken lightly.

In reply to an invitation to send a delegation to China to investigate the situation on the spot, the Bureau said that it did not regard such a move as opportune, as the task of organizing the workers into trade unions could not be fulfilled very well while the country was in the midst of civil war. Consequently, the International Federation of Trade Unions was not inclined to send a delegation to China until a certain degree of political peace had been restored. Oudegeest said he thought the Chinese delegates were favorably impressed with the attitude of the Bureau.

How Vandervelde Used King's Note on China

How Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Socialist Minister of Foreign Affairs, effectively used a letter from King Albert for the purpose of bringing his conferees in the Cabinet to his point of view during the recent negotiations between Peking and Brussels, that resulted in the giving up by Belgium of its concession at Tientsin in return for substantial advantages for Belgium granted by the government of Northern China, is told by the Courier European and vouched for by Het Volk, the leading Socialist daily of Holland.

It appears that King Albert wrote to Vandervelde at the beginning of the dispute with China over the unequal treaties, and expressed himself in favor of abandoning the Sino-Belgian Treaty, as the imperialistic policy pursued in China by the foreign powers had always been a source of trouble and was not in line with the spirit of the times.

A few days later, at a meeting of the Cabinet, the Foreign Minister, in defending his policy of a square deal for China, read King Albert's letter as a statement of the proper attitude to assume in the affair. He "forgot" to name the author of the letter, so when he had finished reading it most of the bourgeois Cabinet members remarked that this proposition sounded more like an editorial for Le Peuple, the Brussels Socialist daily, than a statement of Belgium's attitude toward China. Vandervelde waited until his bourgeois colleagues had finished their criticism, and then casually mentioned the name of the writer of the letter.

A few days afterward a deal was made with China along the lines suggested by the King and his Foreign Minister. Then, at Vandervelde's request, the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague revoked the special order protecting Belgium's interests in China that it had issued in January.

Chinese Women Back The Cantonese Forces

Recent cablegrams from China reporting the disgust of some of the male residents of Hankow and other cities in the control of the Cantonese forces at the active share taken by their women folks in the Nationalist movement indicate that the propaganda among women launched by the Kuomintang

leaders at the time of the convocation of the National Assembly in 1925 has had considerable success.

According to an account of the part played by the Chinese women in the Nationalist campaign found in a recent issue of the Paris Humanite, the women are especially active in revolutionary work in Honan, Hupei and Canton. A large percentage of the strikers in the textile mills in Shanghai and other cities are women and they are said to put up a better fight than their male comrades. Women also take part en masse in most of the big Nationalist and anti-foreign manifestations.

The woman section of the Kuomintang has organized the Nationalist armies' sanitary service and formed the Red Cross detachments. It is also busy in organizing propaganda groups that prepare and distribute leaflets among the rank and file of the Cantonese forces. A sample of the contents of most of these leaflets is given as follows:

"The people's expedition has a double objective: To free the people from the yoke and tyrannical control of the militarists and to extend the authority of the Kuomintang over the Northern part of China."

"The success of the expedition depends upon each one of you. You should be ready to sacrifice yourselves for the interest of the people."

"The revolution is never the work of a single man. Every man and every woman ought to do his or her share of the common task. We women, not being able to fight at the front, have assumed voluntarily the work of propaganda, of sanitary service and of supplying the army with food."

"May this help you in your common mission against the imperialists."

This leaflet was signed by the Women's Associations of Kwangtung and Honan.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE	
At COOPER UNION AT 8 O'CLOCK SUNDAY, APRIL 2nd PROF. WM. P. MONTAGUE "Materialism as a Philosophy"	At MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL AT 8 O'CLOCK MONDAY, APRIL 3rd MR. HUSTON PETERSON "The Sentimental Education"
TUESDAY, APRIL 4th DR. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS "The New Negro"	WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5th DR. IRWIN EDMAN William Wordsworth: The Mind of a Poet
FRIDAY, APRIL 7th EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "The Idea of the Emancipation of the Masses"	THURSDAY, APRIL 6th DR. E. G. SPAULDING Questions People Expect a Philosopher to Answer: "Is Conduct Different from Behavior?"
SATURDAY, APRIL 8th MORTIMER J. ADLER "The Life and Loves of Homoculus"	
ADMISSION FREE Open Forum Discussion	

FUR WORKERS

Members of Locals 1, 5, 10 and 15

Are called upon TO REGISTER at the offices established by THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and THE FUR WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION at 31 EAST 27TH STREET

Members can pay up all back dues at the rate of ten cents per week

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

Edward F. McGrady O. Schachtman H. Schissel

CLEANERS AND DYERS WIN NEW AGREEMENT

A new agreement has been secured by the workers in the cleaning and dyeing industry in New York. This agreement covers both locals in the industry, the inside shop workers and the drivers.

The new agreement includes all of the previous gains made by the union and in addition a new clause which provides that the employers are to give one per cent of their pay roll to an unemployment and sick fund of the workers.

I. L. G. W. U. Educational Department Will Reunite Teachers and Students

Tenth anniversary of the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U. will be held on Saturday, April 2, 8 p. m., in the dining-room of Washington Irving High School, Sixteenth street and Irving place. Invitations have been sent to those who attended all courses, lectures, entertainments and visits to museums. Instructors, friends, executive boards of the local unions and officers have also been invited. Dancing will begin at 8 p. m. and will continue all evening. The music will be by the Paul Whiteman Piccadilly Players. There will also be group singing.

Pioneer Youth Organizes A Parents' Conference

A parents and educators conference, called by Pioneer Youth of America, will be held at Labor Temple, 244 East we as parents do to help our children Fourteenth street, room 42, Wednesday, March 30, 8:15 p. m. "What can we as parents do to help our children become responsible and self-reliant individuals?" will be discussed by Dr. Leonard Blumgart and Mrs. Cecile Pilpel. All are urged to attend.

Boston & Maine R. R. Raises Workers' Wages

The Boston & Maine Railroad and its telegraphers, station agents and towermen have reached an agreement under which a wage increase averaging slightly less than 4 per cent and aggregating \$75,000 was granted. The telegraphers agreed to accept certain changes in the working rules. About 1,000 employees are affected.

Debate on Christianity's Value to the Negroes

The Messenger Forum, recently established by The Messenger Magazine, has arranged a debate, "Does Orthodox Christianity Handicap Negro Progress?" between Prof. Kelly Miller of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and Mr. V. F. Calverton, editor of The Modern Quarterly. Mr. Calverton holds that it does, and Prof. Miller contends that it does not. The sponsors have scheduled the debate for Sunday, April 24, at 2:30 p. m. The debate is to be held in Community Church, Thirty-fourth street and Park avenue, in New York City.

The East Side Open Forum

At the CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS
9 Second Ave., near Houston St.
Sunday, April 2nd, at 8:30 P. M.
NORMAN THOMAS
of the League for Industrial Democracy
"RACE, RELIGION and FRATERNITY"

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
THIS SUNDAY
5 P. M.—"The Pioneers of the Race"
G. F. BECK, Ph.D.
The Light of the East—Buddha
ADMISSION 25 CENTS
7:15 P. M.—
JOSEPH I. LAUFFER
Crime, Its Cause and Cure
ADMISSION FREE
8:30 P. M.—
DEXTER NEGRO MALE
QUARTET
ADMISSION FREE

PRIVATE OLD AGE PENSIONS ARE RAPPED

Labor Review Reports They Are Used as Club Over Workers

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Private old age pension systems are ineffective, financially unsafe and are agencies for compelling men to serve as strikebreakers and to accept unfair conditions generally, it is declared in an article in the March issue of the Monthly Labor Review, published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

The article, which is based on a report made by the research director of the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission, is unsparring in its condemnation of private old age pension plans. The Pennsylvania report holds that the pension systems maintained by private employers can not be relied upon to solve the problems of old age dependency, that they are inadequate in scope, that in a majority of instances their financial position is insecure, that their cost makes them almost impossible as a permanent policy for most employers and that they do not accomplish the results hoped for in the way of improving the relations between employers and employees.

The Pennsylvania report admits that as a "disciplinary measure" private old age pension plans may have some effect. Commenting on this aspect of private systems, the Monthly Labor Review says:

"As a disciplinary measure, the report admits the pension may have some effect. It may keep the older employee, especially in line when labor trouble threatens, or may be used to force them back into service as strikebreakers after they have left; it may even have some weight in preventing a strike, or discouraging demands for increased wages or better conditions. It is difficult, however, to say how far pensions are effective along these lines, while the social dangers of thus using them are apparent. As a means of freeing the worker from the dread of an unprotected old age, they are manifestly ineffective. Under most systems, the employee has no legal claim to the pension, and he realizes that the protection promised can not be counted upon with any assurance. Pensions may have some value as humanitarian measures, but the mixture of charity and business is hardly desirable."

The Monthly Labor Review goes on to declare that as a means of solving the problem of caring for old age, private industrial pension systems are utterly inadequate. They do not cover the field and they do not insure protection and care, says the Bulletin. As to their efficacy in solving the problem of taking care of the aged, the Review quotes the following from the Pennsylvania report:

"It has been pointed out that there are probably altogether less than 50,000 men and women now in the receipt of industrial pensions throughout the country. On the other hand, it is estimated that about 1,500,000 of the aged men and women of the United States are in need of some support. This fundamental fact should be sufficient to indicate how little these pension systems are capable of meeting the needs of this body of indigent aged."

Commenting on the financial status of private pension schemes, the Review says:

"Most plans specifically declare that the scheme entails no legal responsibility upon the employer, who is free to alter or amend or give up either the whole plan or any part of it at any time when he may choose to do so. The plans in general amount to little more than a promise that 'if everything goes right, and you do nothing wrong all your life, and stay with us till you get old, and if when the time comes we can afford to do it and still think you are deserving, we may grant you a pension such as we shall then consider proper.'"

Socialist Government Frees Finnish Politicals

Upon the recommendation of the Socialist government of Finland, the President of that Republic has set at liberty the 1,200 political prisoners in jail for having fought against the White Guard and the German troops of General Mannerheim in the civil war of 1918, according to a report by the Riga, Socialdemocrats.

As the Socialist Cabinet, headed by Valio Tanner, which took office on Dec. 11, 1926, is only certain of the support of its sixty deputies in a parliament of 200 members, it evidently resolved to free the politicals and thus confront Parliament with a "fait accompli" when it appeared before that body with a bill for general amnesty for all political prisoners, including the Communists jailed in 1923. If the minority Socialist Government is forced out by a vote of no confidence on the amnesty question, Socialist leaders feel sure that the indignation of the masses will be so great that the chances of the Socialist Party in the coming general elections will be materially improved.

Trade union organization is reported as gaining rapidly in Finland. The Dockers' Union has increased its membership from 4,705 on April 1, 1926, to 5,600 on Jan. 1, 1927, and its officers hope to organize the majority of the some 15,000 Finnish dockers with in short time.

Cuban Students Beaten In Anti-Machado Fight; Demand Elections

HAVANA.—A score of students were injured in a clash with police during a demonstration before the presidential palace against constitutional reform measures adopted by the House of Representatives yesterday. These measures, which have now come before the Senate, postpone all elections until 1932 and continue in office all government officials, including President Machado, until 1933.

The students, numbering about 300, clashed with the police after a long parade during which several efforts were made to disperse them. One was injured by a blow on the head from a policeman's club, while two others also were taken to the hospital. The students were dispersed after they had paraded to a part of the residential district shouting, "Down with Machado!"

Among the provisions of the constitutional measures, are penalization of all Cubans over twenty-one who fail to exercise the right of suffrage, and granting of the vote to all women over twenty-one.

AMERICAN BANKS RULERS IN CUBA

(Continued from page 1)

whose securities were held by the toppling banks. A great string of electric companies was taken over by General Electric, through the Electric Bond & Share Company, with Vice-President Henry W. Catlin on the ground to guide Cuban operations. Many of these companies were bought up during the liquidation period at a few cents on the dollar, until today General Electric is the public utility monarch of Cuba.

Before his election to the presidency General Machado was vice-president of one of the General Electric subsidiaries in Cuba. When Machado visited New York prior to his inauguration in 1925, Mr. Catlin accompanied him and gave every evidence of being a major domo of the trip. Machado lived at the palatial Plaza Hotel in New York, and was flattered by high and mighty commercial, financial and political chiefs. Dwight L. Morrow, of the House of Morgan, was chairman of one glittering banquet.

Meanwhile, affairs in Cuba have progressed to the point where the first strong public protest against the Machado dictatorship has been issued. Bold Challenge to Administration

Aurelio A. Alvarez, former railroad engineer, former leader of the Railroad Brotherhood, former president of the Cuban Senate, after having lived for months under the threats of the Machado administration, has taken the bold chance and issued a proclamation to the people of the island, setting forth the wrongs that exist. Alvarez looks not unlike Senator Borah. He is a powerful figure. His home town is Camaguey, sugar and railroad center. Popular as a railroad worker, he was sent to the Senate by that very popularity. There he rose to preside over that body. He didn't "play the game" with the reactionary powers. They warned him not to return to his home in Camaguey. I met and talked long to Aurelio Alvarez. I can say this, now that he has spoken. A copy of a proclamation which the newspapers refused to print and which he then had printed in circulars for broadcast distribution, contains these charges:

"All powers are relegated to the President; the republic has no other Mecca but the palace. Cuba is disguised as a republic, but at the bottom it is governed by an autocratic personal power.

Charges Machado Rules Elections

"Elections are made in the presidential palace; there conspiracy is being plotted against the political aspirations of the people; servility and fraud are being urged.

"But this theatrical farce does not obstruct tragedy. It makes one shudder to think about the dead in the electoral process, in spite of the oaths given before the altar of our country. The supreme tribunal has revealed in a recent decision the procedure of high civil authorities and members of the national army. In the province of Camaguey, there, all kinds of violence and humiliations were committed against the voters (in the election last fall). And what occurred in Moron, Ciego de Avila and Jibonico, was repeated in all the places where the conservatives and liberals, too—did not agree with the dictatorial machinations elaborated in the palace.

"The illegality of the past elections foretells the indignity of the ones to come. If in one election of spandary interest so much violence occurred, it is not an exaggeration to foretell for the future one—the presidential election—enormous catastrophes.

"Our Congress does not legislate. It asks the palace for the projects and approves them in accordance with the wishes of the executive. As you see, the basis of our republican constitution does not exist.

"Liberty of the press is a myth. The assassination of Armando Andre should be proof of that brutal reality. The balancing and advisable criticism, necessary in all the countries, particularly in Cuba on account of its being in a period of social ferment, scarcely can be manifested because of fear. Very recently we had an example in the 'Heraldo de Cuba,' suppressed

A Mexicatechism

(Continued from page 1)

hind his government, ready at all times to shed his blood lest our widows and orphans suffer from the cruel ravages of a greedy and bloodthirsty neighbor.

Q. Would you advocate similar unconditional support of the administration of all local affairs concerning your community?

A. In local politics, one's business interests, friendships, church affiliations, advantages offered by this or that party, and family traditions, definitely determine one's opinion, so that a wise man may always act or vote to his own best advantage, and at the same time not incur the displeasure of the party in power.

Q. Who spreads misinformation about Mexico?

A. Persons and organizations commonly known as "reds."

Q. Against what kinds of misinformation about Mexico should one be on one's guard?

A. The Reds pretend to love the common people of Mexico, and by twisting facts try to show that American corporations are enslaving Mexico by virtually controlling its natural resources. The Reds would make unimaginative persons believe that illiterate and degenerate half-breeds and their brigand chiefs could have a bright future like ourselves and could advance both materially and spiritually if left alone.

Q. What is the real purpose of this pernicious propaganda?

A. The radicals are using Mexico as a tool in spreading discontent against our wonderful present-day economic system. By discrediting our beloved leaders of industry and finance, who have reached their present positions by their Christian virtues, the agitators hope to become more influential with their blind followers, and to earn thus an easy living without working.

Q. How should the Red propaganda

about Mexico be combatted?

A. When a disloyal organization wilfully obstructs a profitable and successful war for national honor, and menaces to deprive hundreds of thousands of honest workers of their rightful wages in the manufacture of munitions of war, all means of suppression and violence are not only permissible, but sanctioned by the spirit of our highest laws, both human and divine.

Q. Do you, as an individual, pledge your unconditional support to our impending war against Mexico, and to the suppression of opposition within our own land?

A. Inspired by the wonderful success of the Great European War, which has brought peace, plenty and brotherly love to the world; obeying the sacred impulse to surrender my reason when even the richest men of the country clamor for war and are ready for supreme sacrifice; bowing my head humbly before the wisdom of our interred and cool-headed statesmen and army chiefs; hoping that this war will arouse the whole of Latin America against us, and thus ultimately give us wealth-bringing control over their great natural resources; inspired by the lofty thought that during the war every man, woman and child will be employed at high wages, and thousands of brilliant business men will become multi-millionaires; deeply satisfied with the forthcoming curbing of loose talk of irresponsible scatterbrains and their just severe discipline in military prisons; rejoicing at the wonderful manly experiences of our young soldiers in camps and in trenches, and at the unfolding of their full manhood through wounds and disease;—as a Christian and an American, I pledge my unconditional support. So help me Coolidge and Kellogg, and a gambler's chance.

VLADIMIR KARAPETOFF.

tion at issue is not the wisdom where- over our government exercises its overlordship in Central America, but the nature of that overlordship itself and the extent to which intervention should be used to support it.

It is high time that Americans opposed to our imperialist policy in Latin America should work out a constructive philosophy and program. Merely to oppose intervention in Haiti, Nicaragua, or Mexico is good. But it is not good enough. We are not likely to win even on the most constructive negotiation. The great task before us is to substitute a philosophy and politics of friendly cooperation with backward peoples in place of exploitation. Some of the elements of a sound anti-imperialist program with regard to Latin America are these:

1. An investigation of American concessions and investments abroad to furnish the necessary basis of factual knowledge.

2. A refusal to put national military force behind the collection of the claims of American citizens against foreign governments or corporations. Senator Shipstead is sponsor for an admirable resolution on this subject.

3. The development of the Pan-American Union into an agency of genuine cooperation for dealing with difficult situations on this hemisphere. Thus, if the situation in Nicaragua requires a new election it would be far better to have that election supervised under the direction of the Pan-American Union than under the sole direction of ourselves in our self assumed role of arbiters of American affairs.

A genuine Pan-Americanism, in short, should be worked out as a substitute for the power we have asserted under our present interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. In connection with this Pan-American Union it ought to be possible to arrange frequent and friendly conferences on the order of Locarno between our own officials and the officials of foreign countries.

4. Roosevelt's idea of a world conference on the wise use and proper preservation of raw materials should be revived and adapted to present conditions. Much dollar diplomacy, as Basil Manly has said, is delicious diplomacy. Our imperialism actually loses us trade among peoples angered by our arrogance. A great deal of our present imperialism is only profitable to small groups of investors who gain enormously out of such loans as have been made to Nicaragua. (Incidentally, in this connection it might be possible for the Pan-American Union to work out a code of international rules to protect little nations from usury.) But after the alleged gains of imperialism have been duly discounted it remains true that the nations of the earth are too thoroughly interdependent to permit one nation to adopt a dog-in-the-manger policy on natural resources. We all are somewhat concerned with the supply of oil, rubber or coal. When each strong nation grabs for natural resources for itself the inevitable result is war. Between isolation and imperialism a new way must be found. A conference on the subject of raw materials in a world still mad for profit and drunk with nationalism would not settle the question once and for all. It might be a genuine progress in promoting understanding of the question and in substituting co-operation for exploitation.

Commissioner McLaughlin may have resigned his job simply under lure of a \$75,000 salary with the Mackay interests. We suspect that the repercutting following his raids against gambling in certain Tammany clubs made him the more ready to go, and I am sure that his honor, the Mayor of New York, is doing more rejoicing over his resignation than his excellency, the Governor of New York, who originally dictated McLaughlin's appointment. The consensus of opinion is that McLaughlin was an honest and efficient Police Commissioner. Nevertheless, every man who knows anything about

FERD. LASSALLE'S "DOUBLE" APPEARS

Rao, Leader of Madras Labor, Inspires Comparison with Pioneer of Socialism

SHIVA RAO, the young leader of the trade unions of Madras, whose speech of welcome to the visiting members of the Textile Workers' International was recently summarized in The New Leader, has impressed F. J. Purtauwanger, a German labor writer who accompanied the visiting delegation, as an East Indian edition of Ferdinand Lassalle.

"Of course," writes Purtauwanger in the Berlin Vorwaerts, "the 33-year-old leader is not exactly like Lassalle, as then he would not be an Indian. While his somewhat Semitic features and his dark curly hair remind us of Lassalle, the expression of his eyes is of Indian softness and a little dreamy. His figure in the white Brahman garment with the gay silk sash is slight and hardy of medium height."

"Shiva Rao was born rich, like Lassalle. He receives no pay for his work as leader of the Madras general labor organization, and he makes long journeys to conventions at his own expense. Twice he visited Europe in that way. He was a Radical-Liberal Deputy in the Delhi Parliament for a time, but lost his district because of his activities for the workers. Shiva Rao takes an important part in the Indian trade union conventions. But, unlike Lassalle, he doesn't fill the public roles spectacularly. Such roles seem to come to him naturally and close to his heart is detail work. He is the chief and the agitator in a small way combined in one person."

Why He Is Disliked

"The reason," says he, "why the employers here don't like me is because I register every shop accident and take them to court. Ninety-nine percent of the workers here do not know at all that there is compensation for such cases."

"Every worker who has a complaint comes to Shiva Rao, who then drops his editorial, parliamentary convention work and handles the case with the greatest patience and as a matter of course. And he fights it through to the end, with real Lassallean ability and joy of legal battle. When we visited him the first time he had a whole group of complaining working men and women around him, and he gave us the details of their cases from memory, like a self-sacrificing physician who knows all his patients and their ailments. The 'untouchables,' these miserable victims of Indian society, more numerous in this most southern city of the country than elsewhere, depend upon him with a touching affection."

"When he speaks the sound of his voice is far from reminding one of Lassalle. It is the thin voice of a child, not unpleasant in the case of the mild Hindoo, because it fits in with his personality. And he speaks an English comparable now with the most beautiful of Shelley's poetry, now with the finest passages of Macaulay.

Assemblies Throng of 10,000

"It is a joy for the eye, an intoxication for the ear, to witness this child-like mouth, without any straining after oratorical effects, hurl charges, Lassalle-like, in the force of the accusation and the clarity of the evidence. He brought 10,000 persons—his organization numbers 7,000—to welcome us in a park. The child-like voice cut right through the crowd and set the people aflame with enthusiasm.

"The employers have furnished the

best proof of his success by, with great effort, organizing a much smaller, yellow union. Their favorite and cheap attack is the assertion that Shiva Rao is an intellectual outsider, who doesn't understand anything about manual labor. As if in this country, where 90 percent of the population cannot read or write, any other kind of leadership were imaginable at present. It is a joy to hear the little Brahman answer this attack when addressing the workers.

"Yes," he says, "they are right, the masters of your bread. I am an outsider who knows but little about your trade, but who, unfortunately, knows how to tell far too much about your sufferings and your complaints. I, myself, shall bless the day when leaders come from your workshops and tell me to go, as they can attend to their own affairs themselves. But just as long as your employers and the government deny you the most simple knowledge of life and the written word I shall defend your cause. And your thankfulness for the little I am able to do proves to me that I am doing the right thing."

"This Lassalle will also leave the imprint of his fingers upon the graven tablets of history."

the labor situation in New York knows that under this honest Commissioner the bidding for services of the police in time of strike was unusually keen and the price was forced to a new high level. Not for years has the power of the police been employed more ruthlessly or more corruptly in industrial warfare than under this same Commissioner McLaughlin.

Commissioner McLaughlin's resignation will probably have little effect upon the inquiry into the conduct of the police during the furriers' strike in New York City. What will become of the formal charges of bribery of the police, submitted by President Green, of the A. F. of L., against the left wing leaders of the furriers? I do not know. I guess that they will not go far under the present City Administration. At any rate, this whole question of the use of gangsters, the attempt to bribe the police, and the employment of "fixers" in the court involves far more than the guilt or innocence of one faction of the labor union. The employers are even more involved than the union. Low community standards of justice and the utter hypocrisy of legal ethics enter into the picture. A general house cleaning is emphatically in order.

The men who get caught are not always the guiltiest in this jungle warfare. It is a praiseworthy task to try to protect the rights of individuals who may be caught in the nasty mess which now exists in New York City. But certain liberals want to be on their guard lest they be used quite unscrupulously, not for the cause of civil liberties or "democracy" or fair play in the union, but for the advantage of a faction whose sole end is to win or hold power by any means whatsoever for the Communist Party.

162 Workers in Mines Killed in February, U. S. Reports Show

Accidents in the coal-mining industry of the United States in February caused loss of 162 lives among the employees, according to information received from State mine inspectors by the Bureau of Mines, Department of Commerce. Of these deaths, 129 were in the bituminous mines in various States and the remaining 33 in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania. The output of bituminous coal for the month was 52,904,000 tons, showing a fatality rate of 2.44 per million tons of coal produced. The fatality rate for anthracite mines was 5.64, based on a production of 5,852,000 tons. The combined rate for bituminous and anthracite mines was 2.76, based on 162 fatalities and a production of 58,756,000 tons of coal. The February fatality rates a year ago were 3.71 for bituminous, 4.32 for anthracite, and 3.74 for both classes of mines.

The "Blythebourne" Laundry of Boro Park Unfair to Union Labor

The Blythebourne Rainbow Laundry of Borough Park, Brooklyn, whose plant is located at 1570 61st street, has been declared on strike by the Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810. The strike has been called because of the firm having discharged a number of their drivers, because they joined the union. The public is urged to patronize union laundries whose drivers display the union button.

best proof of his success by, with great effort, organizing a much smaller, yellow union. Their favorite and cheap attack is the assertion that Shiva Rao is an intellectual outsider, who doesn't understand anything about manual labor. As if in this country, where 90 percent of the population cannot read or write, any other kind of leadership were imaginable at present. It is a joy to hear the little Brahman answer this attack when addressing the workers.

"Yes," he says, "they are right, the masters of your bread. I am an outsider who knows but little about your trade, but who, unfortunately, knows how to tell far too much about your sufferings and your complaints. I, myself, shall bless the day when leaders come from your workshops and tell me to go, as they can attend to their own affairs themselves. But just as long as your employers and the government deny you the most simple knowledge of life and the written word I shall defend your cause. And your thankfulness for the little I am able to do proves to me that I am doing the right thing."

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Editor, The New Leader



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KARL GOTTFRIED DIES; WAS ACTIVE SOCIALIST

When Socialists and personal friends of Dr. Karl Gottfried learned yesterday that he had died early this morning at Polyclinic Hospital, universal sorrow was expressed. The news, however, was not unexpected. Gottfried had been very low for a week and his friends had abandoned hope of his recovery.

Karl Gottfried was the most active party member in Harlem for the past twenty years. All his life he was devoted to the movement. Gottfried was always the most conspicuous and active man in every phase of Socialist activity in his section and his untiring work was an inspiration to all who knew him.

He also found time to serve on the City Executive and City Central committees many times. He was the leading spirit in the Harlem Socialist Center of which he was treasurer up to the time of his death. He took the lead in organizing an English-speaking branch of the Workers' Circle in Harlem and he was active in all Socialist work in the period when August Claessens was a Socialist representative of Harlem in the State Assembly.

Gottfried suffered a nervous collapse about two months ago and was immediately taken to the Polyclinic Hospital. Other complications set in and a week ago his condition became critical. It is probable that his long years of volunteer labor for his death contributed to his breakdown which led to his death.

The funeral will take place Sunday at 3 p. m. Services will be held at Harlem Socialist Center, 42 East 106th street.

Ladies Garment Cutters of N. Y. Hold Two Day Celebration; History Out

There are few local unions in the United States who have ever staged such an elaborate birthday party as that run off by Local 10, cutters of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union last Saturday and Sunday. The celebration opened Saturday afternoon at Mecca Temple with a concert and addressed by leaders in the labor movement, including Mathew Wolf, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Morris Sigman, David Dubinsky, manager of the local, presided. The musical program was a rare one indeed for it combined Toscha Seidel, Jas. Kremer and Rudolph Gorn, pianist.

The celebration continued the following evening with a dinner, entertainment and dance. The surprise affair of the dinner was the unexpected appearance of Alexandre Kerensky, the first president of the Russian republic. In a short speech which was vigorously applauded, Mr. Kerensky urged labor to steer clear of dictatorship of all kinds. "Hold fast to your liberty," he said, "for outside of freedom there can be no hope for progress by labor or by the world." Other speakers at the dinner were William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; James O'Neal, Editor of The New Leader; Raymond I. Ingersoll, Elmer Rosenberg, Joseph Baroness, and others.

As part of its 25th anniversary celebration, the union published a 500-page history, written by Mr. O'Neal.

The United Mine Workers Program in Soft Coal

By Thomas Kennedy
(Secretary, United Mine Workers of America)

THE agreement made in Jacksonville in 1924 for a period of three years carried as its basic provision the rates of wages then in effect in the Central Competitive Fields. This basic wage scale had been previously fixed by the United States Coal Commission in 1920 with the miners' representative dissenting on account of the inadequacy of the wages provided for in the award. In reality, therefore, the basic wages were originally fixed by the representative of the operators and the public on the United States Coal Commission. It should also be borne in mind that the increases in wages given to the mine workers during the war were considerably less than the wage increases given to other trades and callings.

Warfare Against Union

Immediately following the signing of the Jacksonville agreement certain companies which subscribed to the agreement, notably the Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Consolidation Coal Company in northern West Virginia, repudiated its provisions. This was likewise true of the Pittsburgh, Buffalo & Rochester Coal Company in central Pennsylvania. For the past three years these coal companies and others have been engaged in a warfare against the United Mine Workers of America. Every ill of the industry, the failure of the crops in certain states, as well as hurricanes and bad weather, have been blamed on the Jacksonville agreement by these conspirators who are fighting to destroy unionism and contractual relationship in the mining industry. The purpose of this conspiracy was to enforce a wage reduction in the union fields. In some sections where wage reductions were enforced the men received less work than when union wages were paid. Subsequent reductions were put into effect, but did not give any more steady working time than previously.

Certain tonnage reports made by an alleged government agent in the Bureau of Mines seek to convey the impression that a majority of present tonnage is from non-union mines. This statement is not true. The figures gathered by the Bureau of Mines are taken from the statements of coal operators—non-union, partially union, and otherwise. The sum total of such figures, however, represents the viewpoint of the non-union operators. The United Mine Workers of America have never been accorded the courtesy of even checking up on such figures or submitting figures of their own. It has been these non-union figures which have been quoted quite extensively in the press lately, and to the everlasting shame of so-called labor leaders and labor papers it has been used by them for purposes best known to themselves.

Jacksonville Agreement Stabilizing Influence

The United Mine Workers of America believe in the constructive force of the provisions of the Jacksonville agreement. They believe and know that if given the opportunity, and if the proper spirit of co-operation is shown, that the Jacksonville agreement with all of its provisions will be the real stabilizing influence in the bituminous industry. It is economically sound from every standpoint, and time will prove the contents of the United Mine Workers just the same as time has proved the constructive policy of the United Mine Workers enunciated by President Lewis in 1921, when, in the face of wage reductions in practically all other industries, speaking for the mine workers, he took the position that there should be no backward step and that stability and relative prosperity in American industry could only be secured and held by the payment of higher wages. Liberal-minded people everywhere and several captains of industry have since concurred in the program of the United Mine Workers. In Europe, and especially in Great Britain, wage reductions were agreed

Secretary Kennedy Declares Jacksonville Agreement Can Alone Stabilize the Bituminous Industry

to as forerunners of greater stability and continuity of employment. Instead of this stability and continuity of employment in Europe the situation has become worse and is almost tragic.

The mine workers have never been paid enough for their labor. Great skill is required in the mining of coal and the hazard alone, which is constantly increasing, merits the payment of wages in excess of the basic scale provided for in the Jacksonville agreement.

Destructive Policy of Operators
The United Mine Workers of America, at its last convention held in Indianapolis in January of this

year, having every confidence in the constructive ability of its program, instructed the officers, through the proper committees, to negotiate an agreement for a two-year period on the basis of no reduction in wages. Pursuant to this program adopted by the convention the joint conference of the Central Competitive Field met in Miami on February 14, in an effort to arrive at the consummation of a joint agreement.

At that conference a proposal was made by the operators, which was fathered and sponsored by the Ohio Operators, calling for a so-called continuing competitive scale with West

Virginia and Kentucky. In other words, they desired that the union miners go down to the level of non-union interests in West Virginia and Kentucky, and as wages would continue to go down in the non-union fields and conditions would become worse, the wages in the union fields would likewise go down and conditions become more burdensome.

The bituminous operators were unable to point out anything constructive in their proposal; there were none who could muster up sufficient courage to attempt to explain it in any constructive fashion. It does not take a keen mind to arrive at the con-

clusion that their proposal was positively destructive and would not solve any of the problems of the industry; and furthermore, it would not mean any more working time for the miners in the union fields.

The Miners' Proposals

President Lewis, upon behalf of the United Mine Workers' Negotiating Committee, submitted a proposal to the conference as a basis for settlement which in every particular would make for greater stability and progress in the industry. The basic provisions of the Mine Workers' proposal provide for the payment of present wage scales and continues the Inter-

state Joint Conference as an agency ever ready to meet in a joint effort to solve whatever problems may arise from time to time having to do with the progress and advancement of the industry. It further seeks to tackle the freight rate problem in an intelligent manner and compel the readjustment of freight rates on an equitable basis.

Freight Rates Discriminatory

Freight rates within the past several years have been regulated more or less in the interests of the non-union operators. The United Mine Workers believe that the time has arrived when the Interstate Commerce

Commission, instead of catering to the interests of the non-union fields, should establish freight rates that are fair, just, and equitable to all fields and to the consuming public. The non-union operators not only seek to gain competitive advantage by reduced wages and the control of government in the non-union states but they also seek and have secured the support of the Interstate Commerce Commission through the avenue of more favorable freight rates than their competitors in union fields are privileged to have.

Appropos of freight rates, it should not be amiss to point out that when a Pennsylvanian was recently suggested for appointment on the Interstate Commerce Commission many of the so-called progressive Senators, who are alleged to have a labor viewpoint, joined with the non-union senators from West Virginia and Kentucky in their effort to preclude the possibility of favorable non-union freight rates being interfered with. Some of these senators in the cloak rooms are reported to have made statements that they were opposed to union labor controlling the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It should be noted, however, that none of these senators have evidenced any disapproval of the non-union coal operators attempting to control the Interstate Commerce Commission; and when the facts are sifted to the bottom, it can be clearly demonstrated that the non-union operators and their representatives in the Senate have not only been able to secure the support of those high in Government positions, including the Interstate Commerce Commission, but they have likewise secured the support of those in the Senate who call themselves "progressives." A real progressive would naturally be against anything that the non-union operators of West Virginia stand for, and if they have permitted themselves to become blinded by the sophistry of the non-union fields and their representatives, in the language of the street they are far from being the progressives they are cracked up to be.

The hoped-for adjustment of the freight rate problem is provided for by the proposal submitted by the mine workers to the joint conference, and as with all other proposals submitted by the mine workers, we believe that it would help to bring about a more stable industry and a solution of the problems on a basis more constructive and more likely of favorable results than any heretofore suggested.

Union Will "Carry On"

The United Mine Workers of America will continue to fight for the improvement of wages and conditions of the mine workers in the mining industry. The United Mine Workers refuse to become parties to any arrangement that would bring about the lowering of the present standards of their people. Our organization has ever continued to fight for progress notwithstanding that, while we were holding our own and moving forward, others in the labor movement unfortunately were moving backward, which made our fight all the harder.

The real battle to stem the tide of reaction in this country was fought by the United Mine Workers of America in the strike of 1922. It may be that we will be required to battle again to hold our present standards and to make them better as time and opportunity presents. We hope that we will not have to resort to industrial warfare to force an agreement on the basis of our constructive program but if compelled to girdle ourselves for industrial war our people will take up the fight with that courage and self-sacrifice which is characteristic of the union mine workers of this country. Our organization will continue on in its great work; it faces the future with courage; it has faith in its principles, its ideals, and its program, and in its membership and those dependent upon them who have demonstrated their fighting ability in other momentous battles for industrial freedom. Our organization will continue to hold aloft the banner of progress and in our efforts we are entitled to the support of all those who love Justice and Humanity.

It is not enough to point to Socialism as a general remedy and to say that imperialism is responsible for everything. Recently the Mexican and Nicaraguan question arose; tomorrow we may be confronted by another problem of foreign relations. We have published thousands of pamphlets; we may publish twice as many. We naturally should protest against the policy of the American government and denounce imperialism, but that is not enough. We should know more about the economic conditions of those countries, of the material interests involved in their foreign relations.

The foreign policies of modern states are dictated purely by economic considerations. The Socialists cannot remain utopians and treat the foreign problems after a general pattern. Our ideas must be based on a knowledge of facts, and these facts should be studied before we appeal to the people.

In summing up I will say: There is absolutely no reason for being discouraged because at the moment we are weak. Every movement has its ups and downs. Socialism is bound to come in this country, because capitalistic development and history, these two mighty factors, are working hard for it. What the Socialist Party can and will do is to prepare the mind of the people for the coming transformation. In order to do it successfully we first of all have to make it clear to ourselves which way we have to go.

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:: Criticizing Our Critics and Ourselves ::

By Dr. S. Ingerman

EVERY intelligent Socialist will greet the appearance of Mr. Ghent's article with satisfaction, as it opened an interesting, timely and instructive discussion. No criticism, as long as it is open and sincere, can do any harm to our cause; on the contrary, it is wholesome and stimulating.

In the last few years our Socialist movement suffered a catastrophic crisis, which considerably reduced not only its numeric strength, but, what is still worse, also a great deal of its former prestige. What is the cause of this?

Comrade Ghent and some other critics enumerate some of the mistakes that were made by the party which, in their opinion, are responsible for the setback. They criticize the party for its attitude in the war. The writer disagreed with the party on the war, considered the St. Louis resolution, and especially the arguments in its favor as a mistake; but he does not agree with the reasoning of Ghent and Russell.

Ghent explains our anti-war attitude because "Jewish Russophobes, Kaiserites and a pro-German following from a dozen European nationalities" were influential in the party, and had no sympathy for America. This statement is not only erroneous and prejudiced, but extremely misleading. Although there were exceptional cases of this kind, the psychology of masses of our foreigners was undoubtedly a different one, based on a more idealistic principle than anti-nationalism or anti-Americanism.

It would be as absurd to assume that MacDonald and his Comrades in England, or Longuet in France, or all the thousands of anti-war Comrades all over the world, were enemies of their countries. With them it was a question of principle, and nothing else.

As a matter of fact, the question of war always caused a divergence of opinion among Socialists, and at international congresses the problem could not be easily solved to everybody's satisfaction. That anti-Americanism was not the reason for the anti-war attitude of "foreign" Comrades is seen by the fact that when a number of old foreign-born Socialists stood with Ghent, Russell, etc., the Socialist Party was supported by nearly every pure American radical. It is true that the foreign-born element was influential in our party; this is deplorable, because there cannot be a Socialist movement of importance in this country unless Socialist ideas take root in the American masses. How can we bring this about?

Russell underestimates the problem when he advises us: "Throw the old leaders overboard and put young Americans in their place." As the old Rabbi Ben Akiba said, "All this has happened before." In 35 years of activity in the American Socialist movement I witnessed many times the pathetic attempts of German, Jewish and other foreign-born Comrades to get their American brothers into the Socialist movement. No sacrifice was too big to attain this end, but with little results. And about the young American leaders! Whenever a young American intellectual appeared the party recoiled him with open arms and pushed him to the foremost ranks, sometimes not to the good of the movement. Did they bring us any nearer to the American people, make it easier for us to understand its psychology or the so-called American spirit?

Who understood these things better—Franz, the editor of the Brauer Zeitung, and Jonas, editor of the New York Volkszeitung, both old German Socialists and good Marxists, who insisted that the S. L. P. should not antagonize organized labor, should avoid sectarian politics and try to adjust itself to American conditions, or the American leader, De Leon, who injected narrow-minded sectarianism into the movement, who desperately fought organized labor, and who created the famous Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and the I. W. W.? By whom was this latter organization created? Not by our foreign-born elements, but by American leaders, headed by De Leon, Haywood and others.

I really would like to have some information about this famous American spirit. What is it, anyhow? At the dawn of the Socialist movement of nearly every country there are men who believe that the spirit of the people is different in their country and that the theories of social evolution worked out in foreign countries can, therefore, not be applied to their people. Germany had the so-called "True Socialists," Russia the "Narod-

niks," etc. And what happened? As time passed by, as the different countries were drawn into the process of capitalist production and world-wide economic intercourse, the illusion of specific national exclusiveness began to disappear. The Socialists learned that the evolution of capitalism is more or less the same everywhere, and that the so-called spirit of a people, i. e., its psychology and character, could best be understood in the light of the social relations which have arisen with capitalist development.

It is rather amusing to read other advice Russell offers: "Forget all about the economic interpretation of history and value, price and profit. . . . Drop all the names and abstract dogmas that you have learned at the feet of the long-winded prophets of the International. They will never go here." Evidently the only thing that will go here are votes. Well, votes, and many of them, are undoubtedly essential for any political party, but in the name of what can we appeal to the voters to support us if there is no fundamental principle of social transformation involved—if we forget all about Socialism? It is doubtful where Russell's advice would lead us.

The misfortune of the party was not that our leading elements knew too much of the economic interpretation of history; it rather seems to me that they knew too little of it, or of the way to apply it to the facts of American life. I have not the slightest doubt that if they had better understood the fundamental principles of modern Socialism or Marxism they would have seen the whole world situation in an entirely different light.

They would understand why Socialists of the Marxian school cannot consider war and their attitude toward it only from a purely sentimental point of view, or be satisfied with the general statement that wars are caused by the imperialistic tendencies of capitalist countries. No matter what the causes of a certain war may be, the possible results of it for the cause of labor, democracy and progress have to be taken into consideration.

War is certainly brutal, barbaric and the most undesirable way to settle conflicts among nations. Did not the workers of Germany, France, Italy and other European countries, when the war clouds accumulated, in every way protest against war and try to prevent it? But in spite of all this war was declared.

The Socialists of the different countries could not, once war was declared, remain indifferent, merely criticizing the brutality of capitalist society, and do nothing to help direct the terrible struggle toward a desirable end. They acted according to their best understanding of realistic policies and in the spirit of our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Jaures, Guesde and others.

The same cause, i. e., lack of understanding of the fundamental principles of the "economic interpretation of history," was at the bottom of our policy toward Bolshevism.

The constant use of big words taken from the vocabulary of Marx does not mean that one understands his spirit. Our policy toward Bolshevism was rather dictated by a spirit of primitive radicalism or sentimental revolutionism, which has nothing in common with Socialist philosophy.

The inspired enthusiasm for Bolshevism created a dense atmosphere in the party itself and in the ranks of labor close to us; the party was split, and in those labor organizations that have been more or less under our influence the Bolsheviki bacchanalia brought such confusion and demoralization that it may take years to improve conditions.

The masses are certainly not to blame. But did not our press draw tempting pictures of conditions in Russia? Did not our speakers assure the people that Russia is going toward a real Socialist transformation, that capitalism is gone there forever, and that the working class is ruling the country, and were not those treated as traitors who dared to express their doubts about this Socialist paradise? Then we humbly asked to be admitted to the sanctuary of the Third International, and all this because we could not recognize, under the cover of revolutionary phrases, the real reactionary and anti-Socialist character of Bolshevism.

As Marxians we should have known that a Socialist transformation cannot be forcibly imposed by any party or group in a country, especially like Russia, which was economically, politically and psychologically less ma-

ture for such a transformation than any other country.

Our praise of Bolshevism, which ruined Russia economically, starved and oppressed the people under a brutal despotism, had another result besides damaging our party itself. It gave our reactionaries a justifiable pretext to criticize and fight Socialism by demonstrating the effect of a "Socialist experiment" in Russia.

Speaking of the backwardness of our Socialist movement, we have to consider not only tactical mistakes and blame the leaders of the day; they also grew up in an atmosphere created by its history. The Socialist Labor Party was organized about half a century ago by a group of Socialists, mostly Germans of the Lassallean school, just at the time when the American labor movement was on a crossroad, trying to find better forms of organization.

The old Marxian members of the American section of the First International, especially Sorge, an old personal friend of Marx and Engels, repeatedly opposed such a step. They said that when a process of crystallization of certain forms of the American labor movement is going on, the Socialists had no right to eliminate themselves by forming a separate organization and thus losing the necessary contact with organized labor. And they were right. The trade union movement followed its own course, and the Socialists fully absorbed by their party activity, more and more lost connection with the masses. Moreover, in their zeal to inculcate their ideas into the labor movement they created only an atmosphere of animosity and mutual distrust.

With few and short exceptions, the

two wings of the American labor movement developed independently, never approaching near enough to better understand each other. But especially deplorable were the relations between the Socialists and organized labor during the twenty-year period of DeLeon's domination. It is true that after the split in the S. L. P. and the creation of the Socialist Party a more tolerant spirit entered our ranks, but the spectre of DeLeonism never left us entirely. We are still influenced by the old traditions of our party's history, and they, I believe, are to a certain extent responsible for our tactical blunders of the last decade.

It certainly cannot be denied that our party organization is in a bad state, but that is no reason why we should get discouraged. We have to keep in mind that the success of a certain social theory depends first of all on the general conditions of a country, its economic and political structure, its cultural, political and psychological character, and not so much on the individual features of the proponents of this theory. There can be no doubt that the conditions of capitalist development in America, just as well as in Europe, are preparing the ground for Socialism as well as creating the organized forces of workingmen who are its potential creators.

It does not matter so much that the working class of America is still marching under an apparently conservative flag, that it is not yet conscious of its historic mission and the revolutionary role it is called upon to

Parks and Playgrounds

—By Herman Kobbe

N the modern large city, with its towering buildings and congested streets, parks and playgrounds are a health necessity. They have aptly been called "the lungs of the city."

To be of any practical value they must be within easy reach of every part of the city. They are of greatest use to the over-worked mothers of the poor; and consequently every house in the poorest sections should be within short walking distance of a park or playground.

New York is glaringly remiss in bringing parks and playgrounds within reach of the poor. Central Park, a very fine park in itself, is so located as to be almost inaccessible to the sections having the greatest need of it. The same number of acres divided into ten smaller parks, at intervals of a few blocks, and strung along the East Side and the lower West Side, would be of much greater practical value. Better still would be a system

of playgrounds connected by parkways—broad avenues with earth or gravel sidewalks, bicycle paths, etc., lined by four- or more rows of trees, similar to, though not necessarily as wide as, Riverside Drive.

In summer cool air-currents can pass along such parkways bringing oxygen into the most densely populated parts. And the long narrow shape of such a park system makes it possible for many more people to live close to the edge of it—that is to say a short walk's distance. Comparatively few houses face Central Park owing to its compact shape, and even these houses are the dwelling places of the rich, who can and do leave the city in the summer months when the park is of greatest value. Thus, empty houses face the park, instead of full tenement houses, and the full tenement houses face the ash cans and garbage barrels of the narrow, dusty and treeless streets.

The Socialist Party and the Primary Law

By Andrew Lafin

THE great hue and cry against political bosses of the past generation finally resulted in the present primary law, in which our dear public was to be given a chance to nominate candidates on the old party tickets in the hope that more intelligent and better public officials would be elected, free from boss control and more amenable to public sentiment and progress.

This law, it is true, was opposed by the old line politicians, and as far as the writer knows, our party has never taken a stand on this question.

After a generation of trial the law is now in question. It is being opposed by the old parties and our more class-conscious capitalist papers, such as the Chicago Tribune, etc., and defended by our reformers and by the trade union movement.

The nation-wide scandals created by this law has shocked many good people, but the fundamental lesson taught by it seems to be entirely overlooked, viz., the anarchy created in political campaigns and official acts committed by elected officers. Whether we like it or not our government is conducted along party lines, and must be, if we are to have anything like order or responsibility for governmental action. Under this law the individual is held responsible, and not the party to which he belongs; this makes the individual seem greater than the party. This is undemocratic and

thwarting of representative government.

It is not often that we Socialists can meet the old line politician on common ground, but here is one issue that we do agree on and we also agree with our class-conscious Chicago Tribune for its repeal.

As for our trade union brothers, to us it seems like a dual policy, fighting for a closed shop on the economic field and for an open shop on the political field. No labor organization is possible if outsiders are to be given the power to say who shall be its spokesman, or what it shall stand for. Neither can a political party live long on such a policy. It is bound to breed anarchy wherever tried.

The farmer organizations and the trade unions were the result of conditions in our society that were intolerable. This compelled these groups to organize their forces for their own protection. These organizations have proven of some benefit, but experience has shown that the power of the government was in the hands of the old parties on the side of the interests that were responsible for their grievances.

Whatever great and good men the old parties have had in the past have always been in the minority. The mercenary interests that they fought have always had the majority; these mercenary interests compelled the toilers and farmers to unite into their respective organizations, to battle for a little more of the fruits their labor created.

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Our Society Column

TAKE off your hats, boys and girls, we have just gone through Newport, Rhode Island, the former hangout of our super-plutes and the most fantastic spot in all fantastic America.

We are a little faint from the experience. Newport is at once tragic, comic and altogether stunning. We went down past the high walls on one side of Bellevue Avenue, the millionaire row that is screened away from anything more than a casual glimpse from the row of one tremendous pile after another, fronting on an indifferent ocean. At the end we met a policeman who looked long and earnestly at us. Policemen always overawe us. We feel that somehow they can read our innermost thoughts and will lead us away to the cooler almost any moment on the charge of harboring illicit ideas. But even as we quailed before the gaze of this particular cop, he stopped us in the manner of the Ancient Mariner halting the wedding guest and, waving a gnarled hand in the direction of a Vanderbilt atrocity, said:

"This makes me sick."

We were taken aback but cautious. Who knows but that here might be an agent provocateur spreading his net before us? So we did not assure him that it made us sick as well—the high walls, the stone and marble colossi behind them; all the "conspicuous waste" huddled up there by the sea. Instead we let him go on.

"This here," he said gloomily, "is where the swells live and when I look at them places, sometimes it makes me sick. That house there belongs to a fellow who made his pile selling 'Old Peppercorn' whiskey. The big place down the road was built by a woman who went bugs and lived in it for years with a regular army of servants to take care of her. The guy that owns that next rock-pile is simple-minded and can't attend to his own affairs. The place at your left was built by a race track king, and they're pulling down that big house next door that was only put up a few years ago to build an even bigger one. But why should we kick about what nuts do with their jack, considering we are all nuts to let them have so much?"

We left him in the road meditating on man's imbecility and went away to find a real estate agent who told us that the majority of these sprawling replicas of French chateaux and Georgian mansions are rarely occupied six weeks in the year and that many of them are closed all season round, since Newport, like the Old Gray Mare, "ain't what she used to be."

It was a man with the same front name as ours (though no kin, god forbid) who started all this Newport schmeer: funny, pudgy, shrewd Ward McAllister, the ring-master of the Four Hundred, at the crack of whose whip New York debutantes jumped through hoops and Fifth Avenue dowagers swung desperately from giddy trapezes. What a story in that man, an unknown and by no means wealthy or famished Southerner coming up to the New York of the seventies and taking it by storm with his foppish airs and graces, all the while, I think, keeping his tongue in a cynical cheek! How quickly he came to power, how magnificently he lorded it over New York society until well into the nineties, issuing encyclicals as to what they should wear, the churches they should attend, the wines they should serve, the guests they should invite to their cotillions! It was this creator of the Four Hundred (the expression derives from a list of guests he drew up for a bewildered Vanderbilt) who hit upon a sleepy Rhode Island seaport as the summer Mecca for Manhattan's elite. So at the wave of his wand Newport came into being. Once the McAllister edict went forth, it was unthinkable that anyone who really "belonged" could summer elsewhere than at Newport.

But today the glory has to a large extent departed. Now that bootleggers' daughters do the Black Bottom with the lineal descendants of Peter Stuyvesant and the Van Rensselaers are playing contract bridge with the offspring of the cloak and suit business, the splendor of the old-time Society, with a capital S, fades away and inevitably Newport reflects the revolutionary sea-change.

They are still there, those titan dwellings with their empty halls and boarded windows peering blindly out to sea and if it were not for the fact that they had been built out of the hard-driven labor of countless working men and women, one might almost become sentimental over their present circumstance. As it is, one agrees with the policeman, "They make me sick."

What a refreshing contrast after going through Newport and Boston's Back Bay and Beacon Street to sit down to dinner with the big-hearted comrades at Boston Socialist headquarters on Essex Street where Alfred Baker Lewis is doing a grand job and to find that they had been following the doings of Isabel, our black cat, in The New Leader and to talk about real happenings in the real world that has never heard of Ward McAllister and his astonishing career. And then to go on to Salem Labor College, where young Reed, a Brookwood graduate has a live educational center.

But more of that next week. We are on our way now to do our Gallagher and Sheehan act with Morris Ernst at Wesleyan, Trinity and Yale.

McAllister Coleman.

Revolution

Lo, they come with hope abounding;
Their march is in the street;
Oppression's doom is sounding
In the tramping of their feet.

They, the toilers of the city:
They, the toilers of the field;
For whom Mercy had no pity,
And Justice had no shield.

They march, their hearts are glowing
With the fire of Freedom's breath;
Their hands have the bestowing
Of the gift of life or death.

The heroic dead arisen,
March exultant by their side;
And from exile and from prison
Come their comrades glorified.

Their hopes are as the morning,
As the quieting of the night—
As a clarion blast of warning,
As a sweet song of delight.

Yes, their hearts throb with a gladness
As if their blood were wine,
And their brains burn with a madness
Which shall yet be deemed divine.

For a vision shines before them,
Making all the daylight dim;
And its glory trembles o'er them
Like the flight of cherubim.

And within its bright unfolding
The "Glorious times to be"
Which long in dark beholding
Now in noontide light they see.

—J. BRUCE GLASIER.

The Socialist Left Wings Of 1904 and '08; The Labor Unions Attacked and Defended

Chapter IV

(Continued from Last Week)

THE difficulty that has faced all groups in Socialist history who have opposed immediate programs is understandable. They know and all others know that a demand for social revolution immediately and clearly marks off the organization making it from all other parties. Those who want revolution will vote for it; those who do not will not. It is not so clear in the case of reforms. If the Socialist stands for reform he is non-plussed by the fact that there are non-Socialists who also want reforms. What is the Socialist to do? M. Beer has in part given an answer above. The revolutionary character of a reform depends on "its direction and nature." There are reforms and reforms. Some lead in the direction of social transformation, others do not. Some may even help to perpetuate the present order. Still others may be of assistance to the working class if administered by working class representatives and harmful if administered by representatives of bourgeois parties. For example, Socialists desire municipal ownership of public utilities. So do some bourgeois reformers, but both differ widely as to the purpose and aim of their respective programs. Non-Socialist reformers generally favor municipal ownership to reduce taxes and often to release the grip of political rings on city affairs. Socialists consider taxes of minor consideration. They would reduce the hours of labor of the workers in municipal plants, encourage organization, use the dividends that went to private owners to increase wages, work out a system of labor participation in management, and in general give opportunity for training and experience by the masses that will fit

them for larger responsibilities in an industrial democracy. This is the "direction and nature" of their reforms and this social perspective differentiates their conception of reform from that of bourgeois reform.

This general point of view continued to be the attitude of the Socialist Party although it was questioned by small groups in succeeding conventions. In the convention of 1904 a decided Lassalle view regarding trade unions appeared and it provoked the most exciting debate of the convention. Curiously enough, its leaders came from the agricultural states of Kansas, Wyoming and Oregon, where trade unions were few in number. The earlier Lassalleans accepted the trade unions as a factor in the struggle for social transformation but gave party organization first consideration. The Lassalle group in the 1904 convention denied that the trade unions had any importance in the labor struggle and fought for a repeal of the party's expressed position regarding its relations with the trade unions and their struggles. It was held that trade unions contended merely for "petty reforms," such as wage increases and shortening of the hours of labor in industry. For a Socialist party to support unions and to aid them to obtain such concessions from the employing classes was to make their party "reformist."

The convention had before it a report of its Committee on Resolutions which offered a declaration that "in accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trades and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage earners

to affiliate with this movement." The declaration added that "political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement." The resolution was similar to the one adopted in 1901.

From Oregon came the opinion that Socialist parties should not concern themselves with these "temporary movements," because Socialism implies the "complete breaking down of the present system." Trade unions represent only a "slight reform," and every member of a union is leaning upon a "crutch." Not until it is broken under him will he come to the Socialist standard. Wyoming presented a point of view which forecast the Syndicalist program to be formulated by the I. W. W. the following year. The Wyoming delegate ventured the opinion that "the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructive force for the conduct of industries in a Socialist commonwealth." On the whole, his resolution was strikingly similar to the view expressed by Mr. De Leon, which we discussed in the preceding chapter. The Kansas delegate affirmed the belief that "unionism simply begs for more wages," while "Socialism proposes to abolish the wage system." Here the old error that the daily struggle of the masses is in conflict with ultimate aims and ideals, that one cannot work for one without sacrificing the other, is presented in a passionate address. The Kansas delegate went so far as to say that, by being pledged to the trade unions, he would be ranged against the "wage," and that was an insufferable position he desired to avoid. He was not supported in this extreme position by any speaker, yet the anti-social tendency involved in his neo-Lassalleism is evident. The trade

union resolution was adopted by a vote of 100 in favor and 51 against, 9 not voting. However, only a few of the minority were opposed to support of unionism, the remainder desiring a resolution emphasizing industrial unionism.

When the next "Left Wing" movement in the Socialist Party reached its finished stage its chief characteristics were suspicion of the efficacy of political action and emphasis on the greater importance of economic organizations of the working class. This tendency did not develop in the convention of 1908. There was little difference of opinion on this issue in that year, but in 1910 the convention revealed some change of opinions. A majority and a minority report as well as a substitute for both were submitted to the delegates. The majority report supported the established position of the Socialists regarding the trade unions, while the minority report was written and supported by two delegates from agricultural States. The minority recommended "the organization of labor along industrial lines based on the recognition of the irrepressible class conflict in society." The substitute recommended support of the "workers engaged in a struggle to improve their conditions, no matter how they are organized or whether they are organized at all," and indorsement of "industrial unionism as a principle and as an indispensable part of the class struggle without indorsing any particular organization." This resolution embodied much that all the delegates accepted, but it left out much which the majority wished to say. It received 23 votes in favor, 59 against and 25 absent. The minority report received 29 votes, 54 against and 25 absent. The majority report was then adopted without a roll call.

Scanning the New Books

High-Minded Snobbery

By Arthur Calhoun

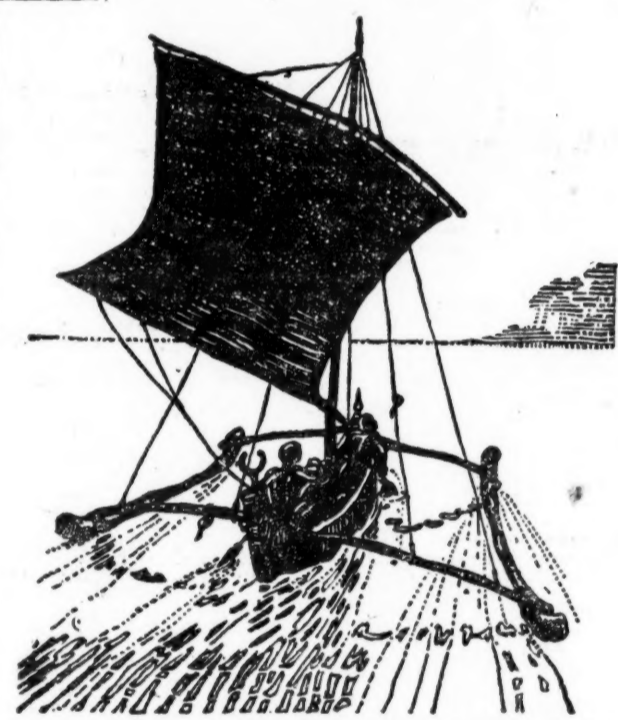
AS one reads into John Maynard Keynes's new book, "Laissez-Faire and Communism," he delights in the simple, clear and masterly way in which the author reviews the development of capitalist individualism in deed and thought. Perhaps the chief contribution at this point is the reminder that the extremes of the laissez-faire morality appear not in the professional economists, but in the popularizations of the philosophy. Pragmatic indoctrination is pretty sure to be less scrupulous than is the general run of even pedantic and obscurantist research.

The pleasure with which one reads Keynes's straightforward presentation of the traditional economic orthodoxy is well sustained as the story proceeds to a sane dismissal of the out-of-date gospel and a warmly honest approach to the frontiers of communism. The author very sincerely and honestly opens his soul to the radiations of Leninism and to the actualities of the Russian experiment. He cannot help feeling that Russia contains a spark of hope after which the wearied capitalist peoples might well grasp—a spark of religion rather than an economic revelation. The spirit of the commonwealth impresses even a bourgeois Englishman brought up in the shrine of capitalism.

In spite, however, of these admitted merits, Keynes unwittingly makes clear that he (as a symbol of the best that there is in intellectual liberalism) is constitutionally unfit to deal with the vast forces that are today shaking the world.

In the first place, he admits (without knowing it) that he has never lived in a real world. He was "brought up in a free air undarkened by the horrors of religion, with nothing to be afraid of. . . . What kind of a man can say that? Where was he during the war? If he had taken a manly stand against the Great Madness, how free would he have found the air of England? How distant would he have been from the horrors of insane fanaticism? Would there have been nothing for him to be afraid of? And what is true of the great emergency is just as true in the drabber oppressiveness of normalcy. If Mr. Keynes had chosen to pitch into the thick of the battle for a new social order in England—to devote himself absolutely to it, would he have found the air of drawing rooms free? Would he have encountered no terrors and taboos? Would he have found nothing to fear? If England is such an abode of blissful tolerance then it is a place not worth living in or worrying about in the generation of capitalism's senility, and a person that has seen fit to occupy himself with it is simply toying with realities. But we do not think England is such a lotus land. It must be Mr. Keynes that has chosen to live on the level of tea and cakes.

For Keynes has a severe case of liberal astigmatism that is just as extreme as communist astigmatism and far more inexcusable inasmuch as it is not coupled with any great cause. He has nothing but contempt for Karl



Drawn by Mahlon Blaine for the Jacket of "Loafing Through the Pacific." (Doubleday, Page.)

Marx. His contempt is so great that he does not even pause to explain it or account for it. It suffices that "Capital" is "not only scientifically erroneous but without interest or application for the modern world." His attitude on this point is precisely on a level with Ingalls's ridiculously superficial treatment of the Bible. Neither of these liberals had enough scientific insight to treat the book in question with more discernment than it experiences at the hands of its literalist and fanatical devotees. One would have supposed that so learned a man as Keynes would have escaped the shortcomings of the mere mountebank; but at this point he has not. He is utterly incapable, it would seem, of reading Marx in the light of social forces and social conflicts and with a realization of the Marxian principle of relativity. Like the most glib of the faithful, he goes to Capital as to a book of recipes and formulas and thus fails entirely to catch the real meaning of what it is all about. But what more could one expect of a liberal with the notion that the validity of things is determinable by mental processes, logical intellectualizations, on the part of people above the battle.

But our urbane author gives himself away absolutely when he does not intend to at all. He convicts himself of outright snobbery. He wonders about some possible element of "beastliness in the Russian nature—or in the Russian and Jewish natures when, as now, they are allied together." He rhapsodizes likewise thus: "How can I adopt a creed which, preferring the mud to the fish, exalts the boorish proletariat above the bourgeois and the intelligentsia who, with whatever faults, are the quality in life and surely carry the seeds of all human advancement." So the Scribes and the

Pharisees, the Intelligentsia and the Bourgeoisie of Palestine, sneered once at a certain small-town carpenter, whose rabble of boorish peasants and smelly artisans was about to turn the world upside down. "No doubt but we are the people, and knowledge will die with us"—such has always been the attitude of the intellectual snobs, but we had a right to expect better things of Keynes.

Nevertheless his book is worth reading. Its appraisal of the Russian economic situation is judicious, and there is point in the challenge to capitalism, that it can not beat communism if the capitalist economic system is only a little better than the communist—"it must be many times as efficient." He gives no light, however, as to how to make it so. Neither does he leave any ground for those Socialists who think it worth while to toy with liberal influences and bourgeois support. When one of the most promising of intellectual liberals can write one hundred and forty-four pages on a vast world transformation without betraying any apprehension of the fact that revolutions come from the rise of social classes and not from the ingenuity of the human intelligence—well, he writes the sort of book that ought to appear, as this one does, under the aegis of the "New Republic."

The Watch on the Rhine

HERE we have one of those dull official books (The Rhineland Occupation, by Henry T. Allen, Bobbs Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 45.) that politicians and military men think it their duty to write. Here we can read, if we are interested, the discussions that preceded the entry of American troops into the areas to be

occupied, comparisons of the policies pursued by the English, French, Belgians and the Americans in their respective zones, regulations drawn up for the administration of the German cities in the American zone, etc. Here we can read again, in language hardly different from that of the press dispatches in which we first received the information, that relations between the Germans and the soldiers of the American army were surprisingly cordial, that on the whole there were few unpleasant incidents. We are given pictures of occupied castles, and pictures of a museum of wholly unimportant military men. The story of the "black men on the Rhine" is warmed over for us, and due care is taken first to satisfy the color prejudices of those among us who do not like the Negro, and then to save the feelings of the French. In other words we are told that there were black troops, that there were outrages, but that on the whole conditions were not as bad as painted. You read and you take your choice.

One thing stands out with crystal clearness: to Major General Allen, and to his associates the Rhineland Occupation was most important in that it gave the American army valuable experience of a sort they had never had before. The beginning of the occupation found them unused to such delicate operations. The four years of their stay in Germany developed skill, and its inevitable concomitant, the desire to use it. The Rhineland occupation was a school, and now we have the nucleus of as fine an army of occupiers as Great Britain, although perhaps not so large nor quite so experienced. The non-military mind reading this book will have many an opportunity to smile at the naïveté of the military point of view, but will not be able to laugh off the impression that we have let ourselves in for more than we dreamed of when we sent our troops into the Rhineland.

General Allen's ignorance of politics and economics can be matched only by his fear of Bolshevism and his implicit approval of the reactionaries in German politics. The Bolshevism he fears is not the Moscow variety; he is one of those who sees Bolshevism in any proposal to nationalize land or industry. He spent eighteen months in fighting the German junkers, yet I do not believe I misrepresent him when I say that he would be glad to see those junkers back in the saddle. He does not say this in so many words. He implies it by his references to the unpatriotic radicalism of the Socialists. He admired Ebert. That was to be expected. It was also to be expected that the military man would admire patriotism in the abstract, even when in the concrete it means war and destruction. To the military mind war is a game, the purpose of war of utterly trivial purposes.

The historical researcher will perhaps find this work of some value. It contains documentary material of perhaps greater significance than I can judge. More important, it gives the substance of conversations that would otherwise be lost to history and which may have had a bearing on certain minor decisions. To the lay mind the book must remain unimportant, and the publishers realized this when they set the price at five dollars.

David P. Berenberg.

Funny World

TOO many miners. Too many mines. Too many shoemakers. Too many shoes. Too much wheat corn, cotton, and hogs. Too much everything. Ain't it hell?

Funny age. Folks used to starve to death because they had nothing to eat. Went barefooted because they had no shoes. Went naked because they had no clothes. Froze to death because they had no fuel.

All changed now. Progress did it. Men invented machines. Machines took the place of men. Machines make so many goods that men don't know what to do with them. Soon machines will do all the work. Great! Then we'll all be out of work. Only way to make a living then—buying on installment plan, nothing down and nothing ever after.

Funny age. Patriarchs of old used to pray for children. Called them blessing from heaven, and gave burned offerings of sheep and goats in return. First kid, still a blessing. Second, an accident. Third, a calamity. The bird with six looks like a sheep and feels like a goat.

Solomon had a thousand wives, six hundred concubines, and so many children that he had to count them on the fingers of his army. Imagine the old gent going shopping with his wives; buying a thousand pairs of shoes on pay day; feeding and housing the whole caboodle with not a single machine to help him. Not even an adding machine. Yet he got by, and had time enough to pen psalms.

How did he do it? Search me. Solomon Levinsky upstairs works in a clothing factory. Makes enough clothes in a week to clothe old Solomon's outfit for a month. Does it with machine, of course. Brr, brr, ratt-ti-tat, and another suit finished. Wonderful, but grows because he can't make enough to clothe his four kids decently. In fact, couldn't if Sweet Mama Sarah didn't revamp Solomon's old duds into new ones. Solomon I not singing psalms. Says they sound too much like alms.

Funny world. Hebrews of yore had neither steam nor electricity. Not even windmills and not enough water to drive water mills. Only help asses, oxen, and camels. Plowed with crooked sticks. Reaped with sickles. Threshed with oxen. Winnowed with wooden shovels. Ground wheat in stone mortars. Made every blessed thing by hand. No books to speak of. Newspapers either. Agriculture, trade, and correspondence schools totally lacking. No one to teach poor young Jews the art of salesmanship, high pressure selling, advertising, and all that sort of thing. But made and saved enough in every six years to loaf the seventh year. Think of it, not a blooming thing to do on that blessed sabbatical year, except eat, drink and make merry.

Would like to see you galoots try a stunt like that. You'd make a fine collection of walking skeletons. Bones sticking out at knees and elbows. Too weak to stand up and bones too sharp to sit down. Say, why don't you free and independent sovereigns of modern Canaan brace your bones for the sabbatical year? Eight-hour day all right. Five-day week still better, but every seventh year off with pay best yet. Get a hump on yourselves, fellows. Try to catch up with year 1927 B.C., heavy on the B.C., meaning before Christ.

Funny world. Editorial writer in "Greatest Newspaper in the World" (self admitted) accuses unions of restricting output. Financial writer on another page of same paper worries where to "put the output that's already put out. Says there is a great slump in the output of automobiles on account of sales falling in, but don't go behind the returns. If he did, he might find that pocketbooks are developing wrinkles for some reason. My private hunch is that purse wrinkles are caused by empty feelings. Stimulating installment sales would iron out wrinkles, says another wise man. Sure. Run fast enough and catch yourself coming back. Spend today what you hope to earn month after next and all will be hunkadora.

Don't know at times who's the craniest, we or our bosses. Anyhow, it seems awfully funny to see them spend good money to keep wages down and then borrow money from finance corporations to sell us on tick. Might have left that money in our pay envelopes and saved interest.

Talking of thinking, did it ever occur to you why tidal waves, earthquakes, and wars make good times? It's this way, brothers. Tidal wave washes cities in ocean. Cities are rebuilt. Work for everybody. Money circulates. Goods circulate. Good times. Earthquake shakes San Francisco in dust heap. Heap of work. Heap of money. Heap of prosperity. War takes millions out of production, puts them on side of consumption. Countries are devastated. Ships are sunk. Cities blown up. Goods flow in to fill vacuum created by T.N.T. Everybody busy. Everybody making money. Good times. The bigger the war, the better the times.

Well, what's the lesson? Look out. Deep stuff coming. Put on your thinking cap. When more goods are made than can be sold, result is constipation in the bowels of trade. Only way to relieve constipation in body of man is by eating less and moving the bowels. Apply same remedy to trade. First, produce less. Shorter hours, shorter weeks, plenty of holidays, and a sabbatical year every seventh year will prevent over-feeding. Higher wages will stimulate sales. Less coming in, more going out—presto, change—constipation of trade is knocked into a cocked hat.

Might even have a year of jubilee every fifty years. Don't know what that is? Oh, you dumbbells! Why don't you read the Bible? It's all there. Every fifty years, the Jews divided up every blooming thing they had—land, houses, jewelry, asses, oxen, goats, sheep, and chickens, so that at the beginning of each half century they started all over again. Had sense enough to know that there is more fun in making money than in sitting on it. Trick made them the smartest and richest people on earth.

Anyhow, the revelations I sprung on you in this here piece are the latest in political economy. Show it to your boss, banker, butcher, baker, and grocery keeper. They may not endorse every word at the first try. They will after these ideas sink in. And doing so, they will get up to the fact that the unions fighting for less work and more pay are crusaders in the holy cause of bigger and better biz. Seeing that may induce them to extend their hands and credit. Anyway, big miners strike coming and every bit helps.

Adam Coal digger.

Pension Prospects for Federal Employees Not On a Scientific Basis

The Field of Labor

GOVERNMENT employees thrive so well on pension prospects in the field of adequate compensation that it is interesting to review the findings of the Board of Actuaries of the United States Civil Service Retirement and Disability Fund as submitted to Congress in its Sixth Annual Report. The Board lists the active membership of the fund according to eligible retirement age as follows:

Employees eligible for retirement at 62	24,404
at 65	250,166
at 70	122,084

Total 396,654

It is seen that the bulk of the eligible employees fall within the upper age limit groups. For members who are already retired the report gives the following figures:

Railway postal clerks	1,049
Mechanics, letter carriers and other postal clerks	8,011
Other employees	3,464

Total 12,524

Before the passage of the recent retirement law discussed in the New Leader last July, the Board of Actuaries had made several suggestions to remove defects in the system. First, it pointed out that contributions to the fund were on the basis of percentage of full salary, while benefits were based on limited salaries irrespective of age, service, and, therefore, period of contributing. Thus, some pensioners had contributed very little of the cost of their allowance, while others had paid in practically the entire amount of their benefits. Second, the pensions were too low to allow persons to retire. Thirdly, there was no adequate system of records. Finally, liabilities were mounting because no systematic appropriations were made to the fund.

The new law increased the retirement allowance and provided for the establishment of a better system of records by the Comptroller General. Now, the Board of Actuaries re-emphasizes the need for annual appropriations by the government to take care of current liabilities and pay off past ones, instead of trusting to luck, and the immediate establishment of a system of records. Furthermore, the present law should be amended so that employees with longer periods of service and longer periods of contributions should receive greater benefits than those with less service who have contributed less so that the wide variation now existing in age of retirement be reduced to actual differences in the service requirements and the length of life of employees of the various occupational groups. What the Board of Actuaries is, therefore, demanding is the establishment of the retirement system for postal employees, mechanics and other employees on a scientific basis. It neglects for the present the amount of benefits but that too should be increased. The present arrangement is haphazard, unjust and smacking of charity.—L. S.

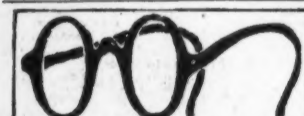
Wage Cut for Customs Inspectors

As if the salaries of inspectors at the New York custom office are not low enough already, last week saw

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another slashing in accordance with the well-known labor principle of Coolidge economy. The reduction is accomplished through a reclassification of the salary schedules, grades and allocations in the Field Service of the Treasury Department. Hitherto the entrance salaries of inspectors have been two thousand dollars per year. Now they are lowered to \$1,850. The crime against the men becomes even more reprehensible when we look into the history of the question. Back in 1909 Congress saw fit to increase the pay of customs inspectors from five dollars to six dollars per day, making an annual salary of \$2,190. Money was appropriated for this purpose. The customs officials, however, had other plans in view. Instead of complying with the law, they diverted the sums appropriated to other purposes. Then, they covered up their tracks by giving the required increases to fifty-two inspectors at the Port of New York and at the same time demoting a similar number of other inspectors from five dollars to four dollars per day. Among these unfortunate were many Civil War veterans. Thus, one man in every eight obtained the twenty per cent increase at the expense of a fellow worker. And now, eighteen years later, when the cost of living has gone up tremendously, another offensive against salaries of customs inspectors is undertaken. And these men consider themselves professionals, not workers.

Steam Shovelmen And Engineers Unite

The long jurisdictional dispute between the International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredge Men and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has at last come to an end. Both organizations were founded in 1896. In 1915 the former amalgamated with the Associated Union of Steam Shovelmen and under its present title affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. At the same time the International Union of Steam Engineers included in its title the word "operating," claimed jurisdiction over the shovel and dredge men and protested against the issuance of a charter to the rival organization. The upshot of the matter was that the Steam Shovel and Dredge Men refused to abide by a decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to merge with the Steam and Operating Engineers. The charter of the recalcitrant union was revoked and it continued independent from 1918 to the present day. By the new amalgamation the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers will issue district charters to the steam shovelmen and retain their old general officers to take care of their special interests. Thus, one more jurisdictional dispute comes to an end.

GRANITE CUTTERS CELEBRATE

Historical interest attaches this year to the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, which was founded exactly fifty years ago. The union is making an effort to collect all documents and other information that will throw light on its career. Local unions existed in the granite cutting trade as early as 1820. The constitution dated 1844 and that of a Washington, D. C. local of 1850 are extant. The international union had its inception at Clark's Island, Maine, January 2, 1877, when a meeting was called to consider the advisability of an association to protect the granite cutters of the country. A temporary organization was affected, a board of officers elected and communications transmitted to Carver's Harbor, Hurricane Island and Spruce Head. Finally, a convention was held at Rockland, Maine, and the Granite Cutters' National Union was launched. The name "international" was adopted in 1905, although jurisdiction over Canada was claimed at the very beginning. The union claims a membership today of eight and a half thousand distributed among one hundred odd locals. It is a factor in the monument and building industries. Recently it got into a tiff with General Pershing, chairman of the Battle Monuments Commission, for using headstones over the graves of Americans buried in France that had been cut in Fascist Italy. It was good patriotism and good economics, though the General seems to have had his way.—L. S.

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Unions In Laundry Industry Join in City-Wide Campaign To End Drudgery of Workers

Small Sum of \$2,000 Would Bring Gigantic Movement to Victorious End

By Louis S. Stanley

THOSE practical idealists who dream of every laundry in New York City unionized one hundred per cent will see their visions brought one step nearer to realization, when, on Saturday evening, April 2, 1927, the big mass meeting of laundry workers will get under way at the Peace House, 110th street and Fifth avenue. A musical program will grace the occasion. It will be the first time that such a joint enterprise will have been carried out. It will also be an indication of even closer co-operation to come.

To the outsider it may come as a surprise to learn that perhaps one of the chief obstacles to thorough organization work in the laundry industry has been the workers themselves. The various crafts have, up to recently, made no serious efforts to co-operate with one another. The drivers felt they had no interest in common with the inside workers. Among the drivers themselves cohesiveness existed between those engaged on wet wash and those employed in steam laundries. Among the inside workers there was estrangement among the men in the wash kitchen, the women in the ironing department and the engineers and firemen who kept the plants going. The shirt ironers in the hand laundries were in a class by themselves. But underneath the surface economic forces were at work bringing the crafts together. General strikes in 1912 and 1919 had perhaps created suspicions, but they had also demonstrated the folly of separatism. About three or four years ago a council for the Laundry and Allied Trades was organized. This was the outcome of conversations among former officers of the Laundry Workers' Union at a conference called by District Organizer Joseph Mackey for the purpose of discussing constructive work. The council soon collapsed because of personal disputes. Then, about two years ago, Rose Schneiderman, president of the local Women's Trade Union League, being interested in the organization of the women employed in laundries, broached the subject of united action again. Mackey, of course, was already committed favorably. Local union officers warmed up to the proposal. Thus, the present Joint Committee for Organizing Laundry Workers came into existence.

Affiliated Organizations
The following organizations:
1. Shirt Ironers' Local 289 of the Laundry Workers' International Union.
2. Laundry Workers' Local 290, of same.
3. Wet Wash Laundry Drivers' Local 810 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.
4. Engineers' Local 570 of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.
5. Engineers' Local 20 of same.
6. Stationary Firemen's Union Local 55 of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.
7. Women's Trade Union League.
The officers of the joint committee are: Rose Schneiderman, chairman; Joseph Mackey, secretary, and Benjamin Toland, treasurer.

It is obvious from a mere enumeration of the organizations participating in the drive to unionize the laundry workers that it is something of an achievement merely to bury jurisdictional claims long enough to form a common fighting machine. But even higher compensation is in order. The unions have been drawing closer and closer together and have co-operated in translating the plans on paper into splendid deeds. The joint committee has put an experienced and enthusiastic organizer into the field, Isadore Rothberg, veteran of many labor struggles in the laundry industry. He is responsible to the committee alone and, therefore, need not cater to any particular union. He gathers in the workers of all crafts into the recently organized Local 290 of the Laundry Workers' Union. Later on they will be allocated to their appropriate unions, but nobody is worrying about that bridge until it has to be crossed.

Problems Bring Unity
It is evident that it was the pressure of circumstances that compelled the unions to unite force as they have done. Three problems face the laundry workers before they can emancipate themselves:

1. They must create a consciousness of solidarity among the crafts.
2. They must build a fighting machine strong and rich enough to combat the employers' organizations.
3. They must gain the support of the consumers.

We shall take up each in turn: The craft separatism springs from the structure of the laundry industry. Broadly speaking, there are four divisions in the business—the hand, the steam, the family and the wet-wash laundries. The hand laundries are the little retail shops scattered throughout the city. Contrary to popular opinion, they send their work out to steam laundries to be washed and even ironed. Shirts are finished in the shop, as is frequently family work. More recent-

ly mangles have been installed in some places to take care of flat work. Only the shirt ironers are unionized, and rather thoroughly, so that they maintain the closed shop. However, they have organized only Manhattan and the Bronx. They are employed on a piece-work basis and their hours are irregular. The scale of wages they command is 13 cents and up on soft shirts and 15 cents and up on hard. On account of the minute shops in which they work they are often compelled to seek employment in one shop for two or three days a week and then in another one or two for the remainder of the time. Their earnings run to an average of \$25 to \$35 weekly. Persons engaged on family laundry receive about \$3 or \$4 a day in wages.

The Steam Laundries

The steam laundries present one of the most distressing problems. We have four groups of workers—the drivers, the men in the wash kitchen, the women who do the ironing, starching, shaking, mangling and packing, and, finally, the engineers and firemen. The drivers receive \$35 or \$40 a week, but tips for little favors they can do for hotels and hand laundries they serve may bring up their total. Their helpers earn about \$25 or \$30. The inside workers are less fortunate. The kitchen help, in a sense, occupy the strategic position. In an average-sized establishment of fifty employees may be found one washer, one puller, one or two wringers, one or two mangle men and sorters. Their work is strenuous and must be carried on under abominable conditions. The washer attends to from six to fifteen wash wheels. The laundry arrives in nets weighing about twenty-five pounds each. The clothes—yours, the other fellow's and mine—still in the net, are soaked, soaped, bleached, blued and rinsed. The washers' work requires a considerable amount of skill. The pullers lift the wet wash, now much increased in weight, from the wheels and bring it to extractors or wringers which the wringers operate. The sorters route the clothes to the proper hand laundries or hotels according to the prearranged identification mark or sign. Drying may be done in a dry-house, but a common method is to leave the clothes over the heads of the firemen and allowed to drip. The washers receive about \$45 to \$50 a week; the mangle men and sorters \$30 to \$35, and the other washroom men \$20 to \$25. The women and girls who iron the family wash—three-quarters of them today are colored—are paid from \$12 to \$16. The wages of the engineers are from \$40 up, while those of the firemen are about \$30 or \$35. The hours of work are indefinite, especially on "Blue Monday" and the first few days of the week, though the women are protected in a mild sort of way by the factory laws, which are supposed to fix the hours as between 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. Speeding up is common. The layoff of a girl on any pretext that might be devised, such as losing the rest of a week for coming ten minutes late, is simply the signal for the management to rush her fellow-workers to make up for the missing hand. The engineers and firemen have had unions to which they could turn for help, though in their isolation they have seldom done so. The other steam laundry employees have been practically uncared for until the present Local 290 was organized a short while ago.

Wet Wash Laundry

In the wet wash laundries an entirely different situation exists. There the drivers are semi-business men, or at least they think they are, which has the same effect. They build up customers' routes, buy and sell them. They work under contract. In non-union shops they agree to work for an employer from one to five years and not to engage in the business in a whole borough or in Greater New York for a period of eighteen months after the termination of the agreement, upon penalty or forfeiting a security amounting to as much as \$500. Compensation is either weekly at the rate of \$25 or \$30 or on a piece-work basis, such as 25 cents per bundle of wet wash, and somewhat more for flat, finished and semi-finished work. In this field, however, Local 810 has operated with much success. Started in Brooklyn about five years ago, it has succeeded in obtaining union contracts that are limited to one year which prohibit a man's participation in the laundry business after termination of contract only on the particular route or in the district over which he had operated and that make the maximum security \$100 refundable for two weeks only. In Brooklyn compensation is on the basis of a flat salary of \$23 per week and in addition a percentage commission of the business brought in, such as 15 per cent on wet wash. In the Bronx, where Local 510 started a branch only about a year ago, the union has not yet obtained a salary guarantee, but the percentage of commission is correspondingly higher, as, for example, 30 per cent on wet wash. In the future it is expected to obtain salary concessions. The earnings of a union wet wash driver are about \$50 or \$55 per week, and in some cases even higher. Non-union men fall considerably below this standard.

Craft Distinctions

From this analysis it is easy to understand how distrust and disinterest developed among the crafts. The higher paid looked down upon those with smaller earnings. The outside help disdained the inside workers. The men scorned the women. But now this is changing. Workers are taking a larger view of the situation. They realize that in the long run their fortunes all hang together, that in a crisis

Mass Meeting to Be Held Peace House, on April 10—Others to Follow

the scabbing of one can destroy the other. More than that, the idealistic factor has appeared. It is felt that the better situated can and should assist the less fortunate. The shirt ironers are contributing much time and effort. The wet wash drivers, though not directly affected by the present organization drive are increasing their interest in it. The engineers and firemen are throwing in their bit. The steam laundry drivers are standing by the inside workers. This is one of the happiest aspects of the present campaign, for it has given hope and courage to the down-trodden women and girls. Finally, the Women's Trade Union League has done much to raise money and agitate among the women. Its Women's Auxiliary, of which Mrs. Richard Childs is the head, was especially organized to assist in the laundry workers' campaign.

The laundry industry has had a miraculous growth. In the last sixteen years the extent of its business has increased five hundred per cent. Today the sales amount to five hundred million dollars. By 1930 they are expected to reach a billion. Another home occupation has become industrialized. Power has replaced hand. It has, therefore, been inevitable that the laundry industry take on the characteristics of modern business. Large corporations have sprung up and within the last five years or so mergers have become common. This has been especially marked in New York City. Three consolidations have attracted special attention, the Amalgamated, the Consolidated, and the United Power. Big corporations are building up trade names. Associations of employers are growing stronger. These developments are dangerous to labor. The combinations of capital and the associations are decidedly anti-labor and noted for the unscrupulous and ruthless employment of guerillas to destroy unionism. They use more subtle methods, too, however. The indispensability of drivers is being undermined by the introduction of the stencil system, whereby the record of each route is kept by the company, so that it can be transferred to newcomers with ease. Even the company union has lifted its head. We have instances of it in at least two wet wash laundries in the Bronx. In one of them the disguise is so thin that the employers are honorary officers and they and the managers hold offices in the court established under the rules to try and fine employees for violating a long list of exacting regulations. The benefit system established is forgotten in the shuffle. Furthermore, meetings are now held after working hours—to make them more fraternal, presumably—whereas previously the management met with the men on the employers' time. In the face of such developments workers must close ranks and meet the employers fully prepared. The joint committee must be made permanent and money, much more money, must be collected to maintain several organizers in the field and establish a central office. It is estimated that at least two thousand dollars are urgently needed at the present moment.

Enlightening Consumers

The consumers can be enlisted in the fight. Numerous reports of governmental and private agencies exist to show that conditions in the laundry industry are abhorrent. Not only is the worker affected, but the consumer is also the victim. Illnesses that spring from inhaling over-heated and humid air, carbon monoxide poisoning, lifting of heavy bundles of wash and running up and down stairs are common among employees. Improvements can easily be made with proper ventilation, heating, lighting and conveying systems and a decent amount of rest. The rush at the beginning of the week can be eliminated with the customers' co-operation. In working class neighborhoods the appeal of the union button and card can be exploited to an extent hitherto unrealized. Lastly, the consumer himself, or rather herself, must be shown that the careless methods employed in laundries, the indiscriminate mixing of wash of different families, the inadequate washing, the lack of toilet and restaurant facilities, the absence of elementary safety and sanitary protection for workers, are detrimental to his or her own self. To be sure, there has been an elaborate code for laundries since 1924 but it has largely been a dead letter. Adequate legislation, and still more important, sufficient means of enforcement, will benefit the consumer, the employer, the employee and the industry. But one fears that until the unions in the field take place until the unions in the field are first powerful enough in their combined strength to demand better conditions. For this reason the existing joint committee for the organization of Laundry Workers must be nourished and sustained as the sole hope of the morrow.

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South African Natives' Union Federation Expels Communist Elements

Labor Doings Abroad

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

LOEMFONTEIN, South Africa.—Since my last article in the New Leader significant changes have taken place in the only Negro trade union federation, the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa. The leader of the African native workers and the head of the Union, Clements Kadalie, has brought about the expulsion from the union of all Communists. Kadalie acted on instructions issued by the National Council at a meeting in Port Elizabeth in December of last year. With the expulsion of the Communists, the field is now clear for Socialist work.

It is expected that the conditions in the brick-making industry and of the municipal workers will, before long, result in the winning of a minimum wage.

The union expects that the African Labor Congress, for which it has issued the call, will meet in its annual session at Durban during the Easter holidays. The so-called native bill of the Pact Government will be dealt with. The Pact regime is so much afraid of Secretary Kadalie that it is introducing the notorious prevention of disorders bill, a sedition bill, in an effort to curb the growing native labor movement.

ANTI-LABOR REGIME CUTS WAGES IN LITHUANIA

As the result of the violent persecution of labor unions and Socialist organizations by the near-Fascist regime that came into power in Lithuania by a coup d'état last December, the employers of that unhappy country have already been able to cut wages almost in half, according to reports received by Arodeeks, the official organ of the trade union of Latvia.

As has been already reported, practically all trade union activities have ceased in Lithuania and the supporters of the Agrarian-Clerical reaction have things all their own way in dealing with their workers. Protests by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other organizations apparently have had no effect upon the dictatorship headed by Antanas Smetona. Thus far no action seems to have been taken by the League of Nations on the complaints against the Lithuanian rulers filed by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. in which it is pointed out that the suppression of organized labor is in violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

In addition to censoring and suppressing the Lithuanian labor papers, the Smetona Government bars most foreign Socialist papers. The latest one to be placed on the Lithuanian index is the Socialist Messenger of Berlin, the principal organ of the Russian Social Democrats. It appears that an article by R. Abramovitch blaming the Fascist regime in Lithuania and condemning the Soviet Government of Russia for its flirtations with the reactionaries in Lithuania and Germany got under the dictator's hide.

GERMAN TRAFFIC UNION HOLDING ITS GROUND

Despite the prolonged economic crisis in some lines of German industry that had a bad effect upon transportation in the first half of 1926, the German Traffic Union managed to

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keep its membership figure at a round 300,000, and in the special trade union propaganda week in September it registered a gain of 6,000.

Attempts by the employers to cut wages and lengthen working hours were defeated in all but a few cases, the net result of the union's defensive action being to save 86,722 workers from proposed reductions in pay amounting to about \$50,000 a week and to prevent 6,895 from having their weekly working hours increased. The union started 156 wage movements itself, which won substantial improvements in the national collective agreement for 55,350 persons and wage increases totaling about \$6,000 a week for 19,659 workers.

BULGARIAN SOCIALISTS DENOUNCE GOVERNMENT

Further evidence of the fighting spirit that has prevailed in the Social Democratic party of Bulgaria since the majority of the Deputies and the rank and file turned their backs on the reformist elements at the national convention of October, 1925, and started to "clean house" was furnished by a speech delivered by Yanko Sakasov in the Sobranie during the debate on the speech from the throne and reported in a Sofia dispatch of December 30 to the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung.

In demanding full amnesty for the thousands of political prisoners still in jail, some 1,500 of whom have been held for more than a year without trial, the veteran Socialist Deputy Sakasov damned the Government headed by Andre Lapatchev as little better than the bloody Tsankof Cabinet, which it displaced in January, 1926. Deputy Sakasov pointed out that the so-called Democratic Union (the Lapatchev party) was not able to run the kingdom along Liberal lines and that the communal elections of 1926 had been held under an unparalleled reign of terror. While the Government had been talking about modifying the iron regime, its unofficial allies, the "irregular bands" of ex-army officers and Fascists, had continued to terrorize the workers and peasants all over the land.

When Premier Lapatchev challenged Sakasov's assertion that every good Bulgarian was horror-stricken at the streams of blood that had been flowing for the last three years, the Socialist leader advised him to play the role of Harun al Rashid, mix with the people in disguise and thus find out what their real sentiments were.

The demands for complete amnesty had little effect upon King Boris and his advisers, however, as only a few political prisoners were included in the some 300 persons whose jail terms were reduced or ended by the royal ukase on New Year's Day.

DUTCH AND AUSTRIANS LEAD MATTEOTTI FUND

In renewing its appeal to the parties affiliated with the Socialist and Labor international for contributions, and a special drive on May Day for the Matteotti fund, the Zurich Bureau of the International notes that the Socialist parties of Holland and Austria are in the lead in the matter of donations.

The Dutch Socialists have already sent in \$2,400, and the Austrians \$5,000, and they are still taking up collections. A contribution of \$125 from the recently organized united Norwegian Labor party, the result of a collection taken up among the delegates to the union convention in Oslo, is especially welcomed in Zurich as a good omen for the speedy affiliation of the new party with the international.

The Matteotti fund was established to honor the memory of the Italian Socialist martyr by helping the fighters for freedom in countries suffering under tyrannical regimes.

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The New Leader Mail Bag

THE TEACHERS' UNION

Editor The New Leader:

The last week's issue of The New Leader contains an article signed by "L. S." which amounts to an inferential attack on the sincerity of the Teachers' Union. In some way your correspondent obtained a copy of referendum material that had been sent only to members as arguments for and against the proposed summer school. His quotations from the material, coupled with his own "bright" remarks, give the impression that he wrote the article for the purpose of "sniping" at the union. There are many who do this, but so far as we have observed they have never before done so in The New Leader. There can be no objection to the acceptance by "L. S." of the "Left Wing" arguments against the proposed summer school. That is the right of any one. But thus far the "Left Wing" itself has not "sniped" at the union.

Now that the Teachers' Union, on a referendum vote, has decided to hold a summer school on Manhattan from at Pawling, N. Y. it is fair to announce the fact.

Any one who is familiar with the low state of social understanding in the regular training schools for teachers and the ineffectiveness of the training itself must realize the need of beginning some enterprise for raising the standards of social thinking and of educational practice among public school teachers. The union has been engaged in this work for a long time. And we are not led by the thought of "labor capitalism," as your correspondent suggests. But we are in the position to know that there are some socially-minded principals in the New York school system and elsewhere who would be glad to give a chance to teachers trained in the new methods of creative education to try out new lines of work. There are also some intelligent young teachers who are anxious to be initiated in the new procedures. If we could introduce the new creative education into the public schools we believe the result would be very important and that the number of interested teachers would rapidly increase. It so happens that there is no place in the country where any attempt is made to train teachers in the new methods except in some of the private experimental schools that are supported by groups whose first interest is in solution of their own problems. The union proposes to put itself in a position to help carry over the new movement from the private schools where it is now becoming well established to the public schools, where the benefit to the great mass of teachers and children may begin to operate.

Those who understand the philosophy of the movement for experimental or creative education believe that through it we shall make substantial approach to a new social order. The Teachers' Union is profoundly interested in developing the social function of education in this direction.

HENRY R. LINVILLE,
President of the Teachers' Union,
New York City.

A REPLY

Editor The New Leader:

It is regrettable that Dr. Linville identifies critical comment with "sniping." The writer gave full publicity to the proposition of the Teachers' Union and followed it up in the issue of March 19 with the announcement that the membership had voted in favor of conducting a summer school this year. As for the material sent to members, it was summarized as authentic information in the issue of March 12. The referendum closed on the 10th, if that affects the situation any. Because "labor capitalism" appears in unexpected quarters it is no reason to dodge the evaluation of it in any concrete case, which, the writer maintains, is the only proper procedure. His attitude is summed up in his concluding paragraph:

"It seems that both sides to the controversy are spearing 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 Board of Education circles and the absence of a typically pressing need in the summer school idea. Neither is there much danger of expending pre-

cious time and effort that might be used in enlisting members to fight the bureaucrats 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 Manhattan 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."

LOUIS STANLEY,
New York City.

Editor The New Leader:

In your issue of Feb. 19 reference is made to information received over the radio from "a Christian Science broadcaster." This tends to mislead and misinform your reading audience. Mr. Coleman was probably listening in on Station WHAP, which has no connection whatever with The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass., nor with any of its local branches.

Authorized services and lectures on Christian Science in Greater New York are broadcast on Sunday morning at 11 o'clock and on Monday at 8 p. m. over Station WMCA, Hotel McAlpin. Faithfully yours,
EDGAR G. GYGER,
Christian Science Committee on Publication,
New York City.

Editor, The New Leader:

I have read your fine editorial entitled "Borah's Speech," in which you say (among other statements): "The American Revolution certainly played havoc with some solid 'vested interests,' and the same is true of the Civil War. The prohibition amendment, in our time, is an example of ignoring vested interests, and it certainly was a case of rendering large investments valueless without compensating the investors." The question of compensation is coming up in England, the specific question being: Shall landlords be compensated when they can no longer confiscate the ground rent of the people? Lloyd George, head of the Liberal Party, says: "Yes; issue bonds with interest for fifty years." Ramsay MacDonald says: "I am not afraid of compensation. The land is the common property of the people, and landlords have no moral right to the rent of the land." The question of compensation is splitting the Labor and Liberal parties from top to bottom.

GEORGE LLOYD,
1460 56th street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

SOCIALIST WOMEN FORM THEIR INTERNATIONAL

The organization of the permanent international women's committee of the Socialist and Labor International provided for in the resolution adopted by the Marseilles International Congress of August, 1925, was effected at a conference of some thirty representative Socialist women from eleven countries held in Brussels, Dec. 4 and 5.

Frederick Adler, secretary of the Socialist and Labor International, opened the conference, which was presided over by Mme. Spaak, a member of the Belgian Senate. After detailed discussions over the advisability of having the committee large or small, it was decided that it should consist of representatives of all the Socialist and Labor parties affiliated with the International, each party to elect from one to three members.

As the full committee will not meet very often (its next meeting is scheduled for 1928 in London in connection with the Congress of the International), a bureau of five composed of Adelheid Popp of Austria, Susan Lawrence of Great Britain, Marie Juchacz of Germany, E. Ribbins-Pelletier of Holland and Zyleka Budzinska of Poland was elected to carry on the work of advising and helping the Executive Committee of the International in all matters concerning women and children. Adelheid Popp was re-elected to the Executive Committee of the International.

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Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
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Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 248 East 54th Street
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Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4453 Main.
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.
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ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
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N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.
OFFICE: 815 EAST 84th STREET
Phone: ORchard 9880-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd
Wednesdays.
JACOB ROBERTS, Secy-Organizer.
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Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd
Saturday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday.
Executive Board meets every Monday.

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Execu-
tive Board same day, 8 P. M.
R. GUSKIN, Chairman
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
N. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
175 E. 12th St. Phone: ORchard 3259
Meet every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
AL. GRADEL, President
I. KORN, Secy. J. BELSKY, Secretary.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street. Tel. STuyvesant 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL,
Managers Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street. STuyvesant 7478
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Kasselband, N. Linnam,
President Secy.
A. Welter, J. Rosenzweig,
Vice-Pres. Fin. Secy & Treas.
Win. R. Chasing, Business Agent

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Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers
of America.
Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: ORchard 6839
Meetings every 1st and 3rd
Wednesday evening.
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Local 584, I. U. of T.
208 W. 14th St., City
Local 584 meets
on 3rd Thursday
of the month at
BEETHOVEN HALL
210 East Fifth St.
Executive Board meets
on the 1st and
4th Thursdays at
BEETHOVEN HALL
210 East Fifth Street.
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Secy-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 63 East
11th St. Phone Dry Dock 1073. Regular meetings
every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
ABE LEMONICK, PETE KOPP,
Pres. Secy.
GARRETT BRIDGE, J. GREEN, Rec. Secy.
Vice-Pres. Fin. Secy.
JACOB RAPPAPORT, AARON RAPPAPORT,
Bus. Agent Treasurer.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 489, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS,
DECORATORS & PAPEHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g.
at the Labor Temple, 248 East 54th St.
PETER ROTHMAN, President.
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary.
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Secy.

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Headquarters 306 EIGHTH AVENUE
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MORRIS SIGMAN, President. ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Ashland 2609
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.
Office, 231 E. 14th Street.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.
SECTION MEETINGS
Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.
Brooklyn—E. 14th St. & Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.
Harlem—1114 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 13 A. M.
Bklyn—186 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—78 Montgomery St.
SALVATORE NINPO, Secretary-Treasurer

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th
Tuesday, at the Office, 491 E. 14th St.
Manhattan 1499
CARL GRABNER, President.
M. WEISS, Secretary-Treasurer.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 85, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday
evening at the office 26 W. 23rd St. Phone:
Lackawanna 4644.
LUGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 83 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORchard 7104-7
A. SNYDER,
Manager

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11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR.
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SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President. JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Secy-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-613 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4-5
ABRAHAM BECKERMANN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Secy-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. STuyvesant 8588.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager. MARTIN SIEGL, Secy-Treas.

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORchard 1537
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
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Lapel Makers & Pairers'

Local 181, A. C. W. A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Dry Dock 3400
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
MRS. SCHNEIDER, Chairman
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary
ANTHONY F. FROST, Bus. Agent

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday
at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Pl., Bklyn, N. Y.
LOUIS CANTON, Secy-Treas.
M. TAYLOR, Rec. Secy. LEON DECEL, Fin. Secy

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3084
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer
A. I. SHIFALOFF, Manager

PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK Phone ORchard 1299
Office and headquarters, 701 Broadway.
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
AL GREENBERG, FRED CATOLA, SAM SCHNALL, FLORENCE GELLER,
President Treasurer Secy.
Organizers: GEORGE E. POWERS, THOMAS DINONNO, Delegates, JOSEPH DIMINO.

MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 440 Broadway. Phone Spring 4548
Uptown Office: 59 West 27th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1278
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening
HYMAN LEDEBAER, L. H. GOLDBERG, NATHAN SPECTOR, ALEX ROBB,
Chairman Ex. Bd. Secy. Manager
Organizers: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 325) Phone Spring 2248-2250
G. GOOZE, Manager
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 244—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 21st St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday
at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, A. WEINGART,
Manager Secy-Treas.

FUR DRESSERS' UNION,

Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union,
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby
Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: BRooklyn 9718
Regular Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. REISS, President.
STINE, Vice-President.
E. FRIEDMAN, Rec. Secy.
W. WEISS, Fin. Secy.
H. KALINIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: STerling 9135.
Regular Meetings every Monday evening at 182 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
THOMAS F. GATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

A May Day Appeal

The big May Day issue of the American Appeal can be made the biggest issue we have published if the comrades everywhere will act now. Bring the matter to the attention of your local and branch and order a bundle. Individuals should also send in their order at once.

We also suggest that locals and branches place an ad in this edition, giving place and date of meeting of their organizations. This will be a good way to reach readers in your community. The rate will be \$3 per inch, single column, and \$2 an inch above that. We would also urge our comrades to try to get their unions to place an ad. Individuals may also send a congratulatory in the way of an ad, and comrades who are in business should assist by placing a small ad.

A Plan of Organization

The national organization, in cooperation with the State and local organizations, is in hopes of a large amount of propaganda and organization work to be started early in the spring and carried throughout the summer. We would suggest that local and branch organizations try to prepare a fund for that purpose, so that when we are ready to start our work there will be some funds on hand to pay for, say, a week's work in each locality, and thereby give the proper time to the propaganda and organization work that should be carried on in each locality.

Raise a Fund

We would also suggest to individual comrades in places where there is no organization to get together and select one of your individuals as a treasurer and raise a fund for this purpose, so that we may assist you in getting an organization formed in your community.

With prompt co-operation and action all along the line in thousands of communities we will be able to organize many new locals and strengthen the ones that are now in existence. These matters are important and the comrades should not brush them aside and forget.

New England

Literature

Copies of the American Labor Year Book, James O'Connell's American Communism, and Hamlin's War Myths in American History, may be obtained from the district office. The price of the first two is \$1.50 each, and the War Myths is only 50 cents. All are well worth having.

The Massachusetts State Convention will be held Sunday, April 24, at 10.30, at 21 Essex street, Boston. We hope to get James H. Maurer to be our speaker then.

Debs Radio Committee

The local drive for the Debs Memorial Radio Fund will be launched at a banquet at the American House, 56 Hanover street, Boston, on Friday, May 6. Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas will be the speakers. Those who want to attend, please write at once to the district office.

Boston

The Speakers' Training Class had a good meeting March 27 on "Communism." On April 3 the subject will be "Explaining Socialism to the Henry Dubbs," and on April 10 "American Imperialism." The quality of the speeches has improved markedly in the last two months.

Comrade Lewis will speak at Norwood in Rumbarger Hall, on Wilson street, Sunday, April 10, at 8.30, on the subject, "Are Socialists Disloyal?" On the evening of April 10 he will speak at the Finnish Hall in Fitchburg for a joint meeting of the party and Yipsels.

Greenfield

The Greenfield local will have a public meeting at their hall Tuesday, April 11.

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EUGENE V. DEBS

Founder
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MURRAY E. KING
Published at 2653 Washington Blvd.,
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MORRIS WOLFMAN

Attorney and
Counselor-at-Law
(formerly of 19 Graham Avenue)
announces that he has removed his
law office to the new building at
Court and Remsen Streets,
No. 28 Court Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.,
where he will continue the General
Practice of the Law.

Telephone No. TRIANGLE 2166
Res. Phone: LAFAYETTE 6280

WE GIVE below additional contributions received for our Sustaining and Expansion Fund, created for the double purpose of providing The New Leader with the needed funds to cover the annual deficit and to establish a surplus for the continuance of the important campaign for new readers.

For the past three years only a small group have borne the heavy burden of keeping up The New Leader. Without their help the publication of The New Leader could not have been undertaken, nor would the paper have survived its difficulties even one year. That support made it possible to continue all these years, but little could be done besides keeping the paper alive.

The time has come when the constant worry of meeting the weekly deficit must be removed by a Sustaining Fund sufficient enough to take care of all our needs. When this is accomplished all the efforts of our staff will be directed entirely to the more useful and pleasant task of producing a better paper and a larger circulation.

Seven thousand dollars more is all that stands in the way of the fulfillment of our goal, and unless we are able to secure this amount The New Leader will be compelled to continue the same haphazard existence, constantly in a struggle with poverty, never certain how next week's difficulties will be overcome.

Keeping a paper going under such trying conditions has a demoralizing effect on all its undertakings and places the staff in the unenviable position of hustling to raise money to meet pressing bills instead of hustling for new readers.

The last three months have been the banner months in The New Leader's existence as far as getting new readers is concerned. That record can be maintained for the rest of the year if we are given the means to go after new readers.

If maintained it will mean that by the end of the year our present circulation will be doubled and The New Leader will be on the road of becoming self-supporting.

It cannot be done without your help. Help complete the balance still needed for our Sustaining and Expansion Fund by sending your contribution today.

Here are those who have responded since our last message to you. Help us make a better showing next week by forwarding your contribution.

International Pocket Book		
Workers' Union	\$200.00	
Brotherhood of Pullman Porters	5.00	
Louis and Emma Lawrence, New York	10.00	
Wm. H. Schiedge, South Manchester, Conn.	2.00	
Robert Ferrari, New York	1.00	
M. Choper, Woodridge N. Y.	3.00	
A. P. Barnes, Utica, N. Y.	2.00	
Gilbert Blair, Woodridge, N. J.	5.00	
B. M. Tarleton, Shepherds-town, W. Va.	3.00	
Chas. Bryson, Berkeley, Cal.	1.00	
Workmen's Circle (Branches)—		
615, Montreal, Canada	2.00	
509, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	
710, Brooklyn, Mass.	3.00	
200, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	
121, New York	2.00	
252, Chicago, Ill.	5.00	
3, Brooklyn	2.00	
Total	252.00	

12, with Alfred Baker Lewis as the chief speaker.

Yipsels

Comrade Harkins is expected to be the speaker at the Yipsel convention, which will be held in Maynard April 2 and 3.

The Junior Yipsel Circle at Norwood has gotten a good start.

Comrades Lewis, Syrjala and Rubinstein held a meeting in Quincy to get the Circle there started again. Another meeting will be held there Tuesday, April 5, for the election of officers of the Circle.

Connecticut

State Executive Committee

The State Executive Committee met Sunday, March 27, in New Haven. Martin F. Plunkett, State Secretary, made a report of the hearing on the unemployed insurance bill, which the Socialist Party had introduced in the legislature. The hearing was held before the Judiciary Committee, and about 300 people attended the hearing. Plunkett explained the bill. Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport and Governor Hull, a former Socialist, now a Republican, spoke for the bill.

The bill had wide publicity throughout the state, but there is no chance of the bill passing the present session of the legislature. The committee is planning an extended speaking campaign this summer to acquaint the people of the state with the merits of this bill.

Jasper McLevy made a report of the hearing on the Workmen's Compensation Act amendments. This hearing was also before the Judiciary Committee. Between 600 and 700 representatives of organized labor and the Socialist Party attended the hearing. It is expected that many changes favorable to labor will be put into the law.

Debs Radio Station

The State Committee appointed a committee to represent the Socialist Party of Connecticut. The committee to work with the National Debs Radio Station Committee to raise funds in the state. Those appointed were Albert Boardman of Norwich, Karl Jursk of Greenwich, Helen B. Gilman of New Haven and Wm. James Morgan of New London. It was voted to give this committee power to add three members to their number, the new members to be members of organized labor or some other progressive organizations who are interested in the Debs radio station project.

Hartford

An interesting meeting of Local Hartford was held recently at which \$16 worth of due stamps was sold. A number of old-time members attended the meeting and it is expected from

now on more interest will be taken in the party.

State Convention

Nomination of state officers of the Socialist Party will be held during April.

Plans were made to hold a state convention of the party Sunday, May 22, at Arbuter Mannerchor Park, Allington, New Haven.

New Jersey

Essex County

Organization work is now definitely under way. On March 22 the first meeting of the new county committee was held, sixteen members of the committee being present, representing the branches of the county including the Jewish and Finnish comrades. An executive committee was elected as follows: James M. Kelly, Andrew P. Witel, Arthur W. Newman, F. M. Reiner, A. Karhunen, A. Cass, S. W. Gordon, Morris Mandelbaum.

Organization Work

Milo C. Jones was elected delegate to the state committee to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of George H. Goebel. The report of the organizer showed that the resignation of S. H. Stille in February had not interrupted the work and that no need was apparent for any change of plans for organization. Report also showed that work has been started on party press circulation and bringing dues-paying members who had let their membership lapse, into good standing. The names of Milo C. Jones, A. Heck, A. Cass and Morris Klein have been added to the monthly contribution list of the organization fund during the week.

County Executive Committee

The County Executive Committee met Monday evening, March 28, at 329 Bergen street, Newark. Reports were received from the county organizer and county secretary-treasurer. It was voted to recommend to the next county meeting that a Socialist women's committee be formed to aid the work of the party in the county. It was decided to hold a county meeting on Monday evening, April 11. The county officers were given charge of details. Report of the hall committee was referred to the next county meeting.

Thriving Yipsels

Some good times are being planned by the Yipsels for the coming months. This organization has a membership of over forty and new ones are being steadily added. Robert Baker is circle director and delegate to the party. James M. Kelly will be the speaker at their meeting on Sunday, April 10, at 8 p. m.

The Finnish Branch, with forty members in good standing, are working out plans to aid the county organization in its drive for a sustaining fund. The Finnish comrades know how to do things, and good results are expected from them.

New York State

Kelly in Albany

The meeting for Joe Kelly, general delegate of the Mexican Federation of Labor, held under the auspices of Local Albany of the Socialist Party last Tuesday, was very well attended, and the talk of Kelly met a good reception. Questions asked by Communists and members of the S. L. P. were easily disposed of by Kelly. The collection was in the vicinity of \$25, an excellent showing for Albany for this season of the year. Herman Kobbé of Nassau presided.

In Other Cities

Kelly addressed the Schenectady Trades Assembly, central labor body,

on the following Wednesday evening. He is expected to broadcast from station WGR of Buffalo on March 31 from 6:10 to 6:20 p. m., and on the evening of April 1 he will address a meeting under the auspices of Local Buffalo in the Elmwood Music Hall. The co-operation of the state office of the party with Mr. Kelly in arranging meetings was inspired by the disposition to give the workers of our state first-hand information on the organized labor movement of Mexico and the present difficulty between the Mexican government and the United States State Department.

The state office is trying to make arrangements with the national office of the party and Emil Herman to make it possible for the latter to do organization work in New York State again this summer.

New York City

The City Convention

The convention of the Socialist Party of Greater New York will convene on Saturday afternoon, April 2, at 2 p. m., in room 508 People House, 7 East 15th street. Delegates representing some 47 branches will be present, and will participate in the work. The order of business will be as follows:

The opening of the convention by the secretary, roll call of delegates, election of chairman, vice-chairman, recording secretary; communications; report of the city executive committee; reports of the chairmen of the sub-committees. Morris Hillquit will report in behalf of the committee on public affairs, Algernon Lee in behalf of the committee on Y. P. S. L. and Abraham Beckerman, for the committee on trade unions.

A complete survey will be presented on the status, membership and activities of the city organization for the last eight months. As part of the report of the city executive committee will come the Agenda, which will contain suggestions relative to changes and improvements in our organization. Following this report will come new business, good and welfare and adjournment.

Membership Drive

The following organization meetings have been arranged for the month. Monday evening, April 4, enrolled Socialist voters of the Flatbush section of the 24th A. D. will be called to a meeting at the Kingsway Mansion, 1602 Avenue P, at 9 p. m. The speakers will be William M. Feigenbaum, August Claessens and Joseph Tuvin.

Tuesday evening, April 5, two meetings will be held. One in the territory of the 6th A. D., Brooklyn, at the club rooms of the branch of the 5-6th A. D., 167 Tompkins avenue at 9 o'clock. The speakers are Sam Pavloff and August Claessens. The other meeting held that same evening will be in the territory of the 4-5th A. D. of the Bronx. Speakers, Judge Jacob Panken and Samuel Orr.

Friday evening, April 8, one meeting will be held in the 8th A. D., Bronx, at the home of Samuel A. De Witt and another in the 18-23d A. D., Brooklyn, at the headquarters of the Jewish Branch, 1465 St. Marks avenue.

Sunday evening, April 10, the enrolled Socialist voters in Jamaica, L. I. and adjoining towns will be invited to a meeting to be addressed by James O'Connell, Barnett Wolf and August Claessens. Many more meetings will be held in the latter part of this month in various parts of New York City. Dates, speakers and halls will be announced later.

The Panken Forum

The forum conducted by the 6-5th-12 A. D. Branch every Sunday morning at Hennington Hall, held its 12th and last session last Sunday morning. An audience of some 400 persons was present, and a very fine program was enjoyed by them. Miss Anna Stromberg of the Workmen's Circle chorus rendered a number of soprano solos that were highly appreciated. Solomon Deutsch and two assisting artists gave a fine program, consisting of a number of violin, cello and piano trios. Samuel A. De Witt read some poems from his new book and Comrade Claessens acted as chairman of the meeting.

Comrade Panken gave his last address, which was followed by an interesting discussion during which quite a number of the people who have been present at these Sunday morning sessions expressed their appreciation of the fine work done by Comrade Panken and his co-workers.

This forum will open again some time in the fall, and for its second season some 20 sessions are contemplated. The first season just concluded was a gratifying one in every respect, and the members of the 6-5th-12 A. D. Branch are highly elated over their remarkable success.

City Central Committee

The City Central Committee will hold its monthly meeting in room 402, People House, 7 East 15th street, on Wednesday evening, April 6.

Manhattan

1st and 2d A. D. Branch

A huge bazaar, entertainment and dance will be held under the auspices of the East Side branches and the East Side Socialist Center Association at the Forward Hall on April 1, 2 and 3. A very fine entertainment has been arranged. A large number of booths offering all types of merchandise for sale and dancing and general merriment will be the principal features of this three-day bazaar. This affair is being arranged to raise funds for the maintenance of the building of the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

Yorksville

A very enjoyable evening was had by this branch last Sunday night, when the clubrooms were jammed to capacity with an audience of Social-

ists and sympathizers who turned out to hear Miss Jessie Stephen and to participate in the reception tendered her on her last address in New York City.

This Sunday evening Esther Friedman will speak on the subject, "The Wasting of Wealth."

Upper West Side

This branch will meet on Tuesday, April 5, at 245 West 74th street. Six new members will be adopted into the family. Plans will be made for intensive organization work in the Upper West Side districts. A discussion on current events will also be a feature of the program immediately following the short business meeting. All Socialists and their friends on the West Side are invited to this meeting.

Bronx

Central Branch

An Enrolled Socialist Voters' meeting will be held Tuesday evening, April 5, in conjunction with the branch meeting at the clubrooms, 1167 Boston road. The speakers will be Judge Jacob Panken and Samuel Orr. The next dance will be on Saturday evening April 9. Tickets are on sale now. Two prizes will be offered: A set of Omar Wilde's complete works in five volumes, and William Durant's "Story of Philosophy."

Branch Seven

Joseph Shaplen was the speaker at the last Friday evening Forum, and the symposium on the tactics of the Socialist Party that followed his address brought out a record crowd. This branch is continuing its activities and its Forum will also hold sessions until the end of April. The last entertainment and dance of the season is scheduled for Saturday evening, April 24.

Brooklyn

Second Assembly District

The concert of the 2d A. D. Branch will be given Friday evening, April 1, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. The program is as follows: Part One—(A) Melody, Guckelkreiser; (B) Rondo, Mozart, by Solomon Deutsch, violin; Samuel Morgenstern, accompanist. (A) Aria from "Traviata," Verdi; (B) "A Birthday," Woodman, by Molly Schnyder, soprano; Adele Shoen, accompanist. Sketches from Childhood and Youth, by August Claessens, pantomimist. Part Two—(A) Rondo "Capriccio," Saint-Saens; (B) Gypsy Airs, Sarasate, by Solomon Deutsch, violin; Samuel Morgenstern, accompanist. (A) "The Corn Field," Rachmaninoff; (B) Hebrew Lullaby, Jassinowsky; (C) "Dark Eyes," Kolyaneky, by Molly Schnyder, soprano; Adele Shoen, accompanist. Sketches from Adult Life, August Claessens, pantomimist.

The concert is being held for the benefit of the new building fund for the erection of a modern brick structure at 420 Hinesdale street.

5th and 6th Assembly Districts

A joint business meeting and an Enrolled Socialist Voters' meeting will be held Tuesday evening, April 5, at the headquarters, 167 Tompkins avenue. The speakers will be Sam Pavloff and August Claessens.

Yipseldom

New Circles

After three months of planning and hard work by the City Office and the splendid co-operation of Sam Frutcher, of Circle Eight, Manhattan, a new group will be added to the League.

At the last meeting of the Executive Committee a charter was issued to Circle One, Manhattan, meeting at the Eastside Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. A vote of thanks was given to Comrade Frutcher for his good work. On Saturday, April 2, at 8.30 p. m., the Circle will be presented with their charter by the Executive Secretary. A fine program has been arranged by the group, part of which will be a radio concert, singing, recitations, dancing, refreshments and, of course, speeches of congratulation on their entrance into the League. Members of all circles are invited to this gathering. No admission will be charged.

First Season Hike

Yipsel hikers, take notice. April 10 will mark the first League Hike of the season. Arrangements will surely meet with every comrade's approval. Those who were at last year's first season hike know what to expect. This year we go to Englewood, New Jersey. All Yipsels, Juniors and Seniors, will leave Dyckman Street Ferry at 10.30 a. m. sharp, so as to give the Brooklyn Yipsels a chance to meet us on time. The City Office asks all comrades to give themselves sufficient time to get to the ferry. A special surprise will be given to all at the hike.

The Socialist Party of Greater New York will meet in City Convention this Saturday at 2 p. m. Yipsels are invited to attend. The League delegates will be Morris Novik and Ben Goodman.

Circle Two

A. I. Shipiloff will address the members of Circle Two, Brooklyn, at their meeting this Sunday, at 8 p. m. The subject will be announced by the speaker. At the last meeting \$5 was donated to the Debs Memorial Radio Fund. Also in view of the present Chinese situation a committee was elected to arrange open air meetings and distribute the party literature on the situation. Jack Altman is chairman of this committee.

Bronx Lectures

On Sunday afternoon, March 27, at 1167 Boston road, one hundred young people gathered to hear Norman Thomas, who was unceremoniously called out of town the day before, by Paul Blanshard, Field Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, came in his stead and addressed the meeting on the subject, "Student Influence in China." The meeting was held at the Bronx Borough Committee.

Circle Four

Circle Four will have an important

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL MAKING RAPID PROGRESS

According to reports presented by the members of the Bureau of the Socialist Youth International to a meeting of that body held in Berlin on January 30, the inspiring effects of the great Youth Day in Amsterdam last spring have been of great benefit to the Socialist youth organizations of all the affiliated countries and the membership and activities of the national groups are increasing rapidly and steadily.

After considering the political situation all over the world, the meeting, which was attended by Karl Heinz, of Austria; Erich Ollenauer, of Germany; Ernst Paul, of Czechoslovakia; Kees Vorrink, of Holland, and Richard Lindstrom, of Sweden; as well as by Max Westphal, representing the German Youth Society, adopted the following resolution:

"The Bureau of the Socialist Youth International has noted, with the greatest indignation, the report that the Fascists, through unexampled violence, have destroyed the last remnants of the Socialist youth organization in Italy. The Bureau transmits to the Italian comrades the most hearty greetings of the international Socialist youth movement and thanks the affiliated societies and their members for the great spirit of self-sacrifice displayed by them in connection with the collection made by the Socialist Youth International for the Italian youth.

"The Bureau further draws the attention of the Socialist youth to the fact that now Fascism has also seized power in Lithuania by a coup de force. This development in Lithuania spells as great danger for peace as the union

of Italian-Hungarian Fascism, the Italian-Albanian treaty and the Rumanian-Italian alliance.

"The attitude of the Conservative British Government toward the revolutionary movement in China also constitutes a serious threat to peace.

"Therefore, the Bureau calls upon the Socialist Youth Societies to carry on an intensive campaign of education among the youth of all countries for the purpose of making them see the serious dangers to the peace of the world arising from reactionary Fascism and capitalist lust for profits.

"The Bureau calls upon the youth organizations to hold themselves prepared for the event of the Socialist and Labor International summoning the class conscious proletariat of all countries to international action in the fight against the threatening menace of war."

The Bureau worked out an agenda for the meeting of the Executive Committee in Denmark on June 12, next. It is planned to hold regular International Youth Days every year and also to issue a series of films showing the progress of the Socialist Youth movement in all countries. The details will be put up to the Executive Committee. It was decided that this year's Scandinavian Socialist Youth Day will be held in Stockholm, June 23 and 24, in connection with the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Swedish Socialist Youth organization.

The Society of Estonian Young Socialists was admitted to the International. It was decided to send a fraternal delegate to the congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Paris next August.

business meeting Sunday, April 3, 3 p. m., at their headquarters, at 4215 Third Avenue, Bronx. In addition to the election of officers plans will be laid for work during the coming months.

Circle One

Circle One, Bronx, believes in practice, so on Sunday, April 3, the members go on a hike to Valhalla so as to be all limbered up for the General League Hike the week after. They leave their circle headquarters at 1167 Boston Road at 9 a. m. sharp. Yipsels invited.

The next group meeting at 550 East 139th street will be held this Sunday at 3 p. m. All comrades wishing to see the group in action are invited to attend.

The Bronx Borough Committee in conjunction with the Socialist Party will hold the last dance of the season Saturday night, April 9, at 1167 Boston Road. Tickets are fifty cents.

JUNIOR YIPSELS

Circle Three

In keeping with April Fool Day Circle Three Juniors will produce a mock trial Friday night, April 1, at 1167 Boston Road. The trial was written by Harry Davis and Simon Schwartz, both members of the Bronx Yipsels. A splendid musical program has been arranged for the meeting. Everyone is invited to come and join in the fun.

Circle 12

Circle 12, Juniors, formerly Circle 9, Midglets, held elections last week. Organizer, Manny Brown, educational director, Milton Yudel; financial secretary, Melvin Greenberg; recording secretary, Henri Mister; athletic and social director, Hyman Greenberg. Executive committee will be composed of Comrades Drucker, Greenspan, and the circle officers. The circle will continue meeting every Saturday at 7.30 p. m. at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn. They have already organized baseball, punchball and debating teams.

Circle 9

Circle 9 wishes to announce their removal to new headquarters at 303 Albany avenue, Brooklyn, corner Lincoln place. They will continue meeting on Fridays at 7.30 p. m. The city office wishes to correct an error published in last week's New Leader. It was reported that at the Junior hike the circle had two Yipsels represented. There were really ten present.

Circle 2

Circle 2 has organized a dramatic group. All comrades interested may obtain further information by attending the circle's meetings, held every Saturday at 2.30 p. m. at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

Juniors are asked to make every effort to bring their friends to the first general league hike of the season. The hike will take place on Sunday, April 10. Further information will be published in next week's New Leader.



Amusements



The Fruit of The Planting

"Inheritors" a Profound Presentation of the American Tragedy—Why Royalty Rebels—Without an Excuse

THE greatest tragedy of American life is unquestionably our present state, after the high promise of our forefathers. The "Golden Day" of the pioneers has been set in vivid contrast with the shriveled night that followed, in several recent searching surveys of American life. Lewis Mumford in his essays traces it from the aspect of its intellectual offshoots and rationalizations; Gwendolen Haste catches moments of its personal growth in her verse; in "Inheritors," now revived at the Civic Repertory Theatre, Susan Glaspell has made the most rounded, and profound study of its course and implications.

The first act—and every line is so rich with illuminating flashes over American life that I wish I could print the whole play here—shows two families, about the first that have settled this section of the Middle West. It is 1879, Independence Day; the veterans of the Civil War are in reminiscent mood. But Silas Morton is moved beyond mere stories of the war; his neighbor, Felix Fejvary, is a Hungarian count fled for freedom after 1848; from him Silas, son of a pioneer, has glimpsed a world higher than that of daily toil for wealth; and Silas has gathered glimpses, has dreamed dreams of a better world. He feels that he owes a debt to the Red Men for having taken their land, even though his mother, the practical wife of the pioneer, sees facts, not their imaginative implications, and reminds her son: "You didn't do it. It was the government. And what a government does is nothing for a person to be ashamed of."

When Silas retorts that Felix is there now because he was ashamed of what his government was, she responds, "Well, that was a foreign government."

It is the dream of Silas to give the hill he owns for the realization of his hopes, that those who come after may be more than their fathers; to "climb a hill and plant a college," wherein the children of the pioneers may learn of better ways of living. His mother, for a moment even Felix, opposes him, and Silas breaks out: "God damn us if we sit here rich and fat and forget man in the making." The idea of evolution has just reached Silas, through the younger Felix back from Harvard, and the thought of man's upward struggle through the ages, of man's constant aspiration, has kindled him anew, so that his earnest sense of the high destiny and onward growth of man reawakens Felix, who takes over the deed to the hill, and the responsibility of securing co-operation to start the college. The practical nature of the pioneer mother, weakened to fear that the land she has suffered beyond-telling to obtain may now be gone from her children, by its own dauntless courage helps turn the tables for her son's ideals: Felix speaks of the college as a light shining from too far; this awakens memories in the old pioneer woman: "We used to do that. We never pulled the curtains. I used to want to—you like to be to yourself when night comes—but we always left a lighted window for the traveler who'd lost his way."

"I should think that would have exposed you to the Indians."

"Yes. Well, you can't put out a light just because it may light the wrong person."

Her words, directed toward purely practical helpfulness, show the spirit that, touched with imaginative power, moves through her son toward the ends that should be those of this country.

The second act carries us to the period after another war: it is 1920, the fortieth anniversary of the founding of Morton College. And the whole cataclysmic change bursts upon us. It is not merely that the boys are hundred percenters, in all the obnoxious meaning of the term; nor that the girls are flippant flappers. It is not merely that the son of the president has organized his classmates as strikebreakers, and that they are trying to oust the two Hindu students who are protesting the deportation of a comrade; the chief danger is their complete self-righteousness. Shaw has said of the English that when they have anything particularly selfish they wish to do they first convince themselves that the thing is very disagreeable, but that it is their bounden duty to do it. The American doesn't bother to feel that it is disagreeable; he draws instead a great satisfaction from thus "doing his duty." The Hindus dare to quote the great Emancipator and, Horace Fejvary (grandson of the founder's friend, son of the president) is horrified to find that Lincoln really said: "This country with its institutions belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it." "He was speaking in another age. An age of different values." "Terms change their significance from generation to generation." So the elderly tutor explains to the patriotic boy: discovering himself without other argument, Horace continues his policy of melting the students to kick the Hindus off the campus. The police of course are on the side of "Americanism."

In the Senator and in Felix 3rd are caught two types of full-blooded American. Both are self-made men; the Senator knows that his world, the successful world, is the only right world; he is blandly complacent. Felix is more troubled; he has had moments when he has been afraid to look too closely into himself; he has managed, however, to convince himself that one must move with the age—which means accept the age; whatever is, is right. "The war must have been a godsend to people who were in danger of getting on to themselves."

These words of cynical wisdom come from the granddaughter of Felix and Silas, from Madeline Fejvary Morton, in whom the ideals of her forefathers have somehow kept alive. When the Hindus were arrested, she broke her tennis racket over the officer's head; she answers mildly, when her uncle Felix the opportunist asks what these people are to her anyway. "They're people from the other side of the world who came here believing in us, drawn from the far side of the world by things we say about ourselves. Well, I'm going to pretend—just for fun—that the things we say about ourselves are true." Her uncle tries to reason with the girl; when she is foolish enough to say: "I thought America was a democracy," he reminds her: "We have just fought a great war for democracy," and she retorts: "Well, is that any reason for not having it?"

The growth of Madeline's idealism, from its early impulse of a sense of fairness, to its burning conviction that leads her to jail, is traced in searching and poetic fashion. The forces that draw her to conformity are no less searching analyzed; even the radical Professor Holden, who had been fighting for the imprisoned conscientious objector, succumbs to the insidious weapons of the powers that be, who need his silence for a larger appropriation. Love, fellowship; dear Aunt Isabel, who knows that "these are days when we have to stand together—all of us who are the same kind of people must stand together because the thing that makes us the same kind of people is threatened"; loyalty to associations, all these forces, fight against Madeline's growing conviction that there is something rotten in Denmark. Prof. Holden answers her question: "It got set too soon." Madeline seeks below this figure: prosperity came too quickly upon the promise of the land, and in its trail, fear for the new-found wealth, and justification of the means that produced and must preserve, increase it. The thoughtless child of this creed is also shown; Emil Johnson, son of the neighbor for whose life Madeline's mother had given hers; he advises Madeline, asking roughly, "Jesus—what's Hinduism?" Madeline stops him: "You aren't really asking Jesus, are you?"

"Once again the very ruin and anti-thesis of the dream gives the dream its power of survival. Madeline is almost beaten by the perseverance and strength of the forces that play upon her with every sort of emotional appeal. Then she sees her father, the broken-down son of the pioneer; in him is the pioneer spirit concentrated on a single search, corn; he has produced the best corn in the state—and concentrated in a single fear—lest the secret of his corn take wing on the winds and pollenate the fields of his neighbor. In quick grasp of the lesson of the crop, Madeline recognizes that nothing stays at home, that everything we are spread over the lives of our neighbors—and, determined that she shall have something for the wind to carry, this girl, the defiant and sole champion of that which was best in the pioneer, goes to meet the reward America has for its truest spirits, goes forth to jail. It is not an idle figure, however historians may claim it never happened, that Christ was crucified."

Few more searching studies, and more moving presentations of America's great tragedy, have been written than this play, "Inheritors," by Susan Glaspell, and the Civic Repertory Theatre is giving it a performance sympathetic enough to bring out all its power. Josephine Hutchinson is a revelation in the part of Madeline, rich in personal charm, yet reserving in the implications of her intelligence and sympathy a suggestion of great power. The other members of the cast, though not so outstanding, make genuine contributions to the drama. Susan Glaspell gives for their forming: Leona Roberts, as the pioneer mother, Sayre Crawley, as the radical—then subservient—professor whose dying wife needs the money his position brings, do good portraits; J. Edward Bromberg gives a good caricature of the self-satisfied senator. Performance and play combine, with the sympathetic direction and capable acting of Eva Le Gallienne, to make "Inheritors" one of the plays of the season most worth seeing and pondering over.

Why Royalty Rebels

At the Forest Theatre Basil Sydney and Mary Ellis are acting through a version of one of the long series of tragedies that befell the royal family of Franz-Joseph, Emperor of Austria-Hungary. The particular story is "The Crown Prince," by Ernest Vajda, prepared, and Zoe Atkins

adapted, for their effective handling. Is the death of the Crown Prince, only son of the Emperor, who was found dead beside the body of his mistress, in January, 1889. The mystery of this suicide has never been solved, and Vajda was therefore free to let his fancy play among possible causes. He chooses to make the drama hinge upon the conflict between the old order and the new; the Emperor believes in the divine rights of kings, that he may give such orders as he will and expect unquestioning obedience. The Crown Prince has become infected with the pernicious new doctrine that orders must be based upon justice; furthermore, he is audacious enough to imagine that love is a sufficient basis for his marriage. The Emperor knows better; he understands that marriages are arranged in heaven for the convenience of royal power. It is out of the imposed power of the Emperor on his rashly impetuous and independent son, that the uselessness of life crowds recognition upon the unfortunate young man, and leads him open-eyed into the grave his frightened mistress has dug for him.

The cast carries this presentation with high effectiveness. Ferdinand Gottschalk as the Chancellor wears his usual inimitable manner imposing himself upon our attention; Henry Stephenson as the Emperor not only looked like Franz-Joseph, but carried the part high-handedly. Basil Sydney combined the fury of the roused lover, with the philosophy of the hopeless observer of life, with intelligent moderation. Mary Ellis had perhaps the most difficult role; she had to win our sympathy as the wronged mistress of the Prince, yet show a combination of fear, ambition and desire for revenge that leads her at length to betray her royal lover; the alternate majesty and timidity of her bearing manage to convey these effects, with an added element of pure feminine charm that make us feel it natural for the Crown Prince to be willing to abandon his throne for such a woman. Yet such a monarch as this Prince would have made, is the best ruler the wrong side of democracy.

Without Excuse

The many plays that portray the actions of the conquering white race, the supreme Nordic blonds, in action in the Orient, seldom show any natives save those who are required for the role of villain and his devilish assistants. "Savages Under the Skin," perhaps still playing at the Greenwich Village, is an exception to this rule; with the High Hero on the island of Saba-Saba, somewhere in Borneo, is one honest Chinaman; but when a white man assures the Chinaman that he, too, is really "a native," the natives of Borneo vary with the hero's mood, from pale chrome through deep chocolate to unrelieved jet. In these days of stir and too emotional excitement about the Orient, it is unfortunate that a play with neither good writing nor good acting to relieve it should add its mite of prejudice. . . . and fortunate that it will move so few to any agreement. Note, too, before forgetting the whole matter, how the plural in the title suggests that the particular (if not unique) cases of this drama is the usual state of affairs.

Drama and Theatre

THE value of such a book as "The Theatre of George Jean Nathan" (Simon & Schuster, \$3) depends on the extent to which it vitalizes the limited stage of the title, and expands it to include the drama of our day. The gossip of Isaac Goldberg is, unfortunately, neither searching nor sustained enough to achieve the wider development, though the portrait of Mr. Nathan himself is enlivened with biographical anecdotes, indications of the great financial returns of syndicated dramatic reviewing (which Mr. Goldberg calls criticism!) and surveys of Mr. Nathan's writings. We learn, for instance, why Dreiser bought Nathan a set of the novels of Bertha M. Clay; we gather that the Smart Set of editors had many imitators; and we learn that "Nathan's chief discovery, of course, is Eugene Gladstone O'Neill." (In truth, the most valuable part of the present volume is that which contains letters of O'Neill and of Gordon Craig to Nathan. The calm directness of O'Neill, the brusque impetuosity of Craig, rise from their pages.)

The validity of Goldberg's criticism may be judged from the following quotations (pages 4-5): "It may well appear, once the numerous irrelevances of Journalism have been evaporated from his texts, that he has done for New York what Lessing did for Hamburg. Nathan, indeed, over a far longer period than the two years of Lessing's official connection with the theatre of that city, has written what amounts to a most unofficial, unacademic, indecorous Manhattan Drama-turgy." Page 30: "Nathan is no Aristotle, no Dryden, no Lessing . . . The man who can employ figures with such disregard of applicability or consistency has, furthermore, such faith in his victim as to give credence to Nathan's report that in London, when A. B. Walkley, William Archer, and a number of Oxford and Cambridge celebrities were gathered to hear Nathan speak on the American theatre 'there was but one thing in the American theatre that aroused their interest: the Ziegfeld Follies'." In an "Intermezzo" Goldberg returns to a subject that he had confused once before, to make it little clearer. The "Croce-Spinoza-Göthe-Carlyle" theory of art has had considerable comment; Pierre Lotting tried to straighten out Goldberg some time ago. There are two relevant aspects of the "theory." The first springs from a casual suggestion of Goethe, that the critic should ask of any creative work: "What has the author proposed to himself to do, and how well has he succeeded in carrying out his plan?" This, Spinoza indicates, is often im-



ANN MILBORN

In "Cherry Blossoms" at 44th Street Theatre

possible and always irrelevant. The second phase (with which Goldberg sets his old confusion, for present disentangling) seeks to meet the aesthetic complications involved in the existence of plays apart from productions. Goldberg fails to recognize that Nathan, "virtually holding the drama and the theatre as things apart," with a "remarkable devastation of the stage as betrayer of the drama," is speaking out of an urge to see the theatre harmoniously embody the printed play. The dramatist should not accept the conventions of the theatre (though Brander Matthews raise his hands in horror!) but should force the theatre to accommodate itself to his play—witness the triumph over "the fourth wall" in "Desire Under the Elms." The sincere playwright will always work out his intrinsic idea, and the stage will always struggle for means of presenting the resultant drama. Through his consideration of Nathan, Goldberg manages to touch upon important problems of the theatre of our day.

Joseph T. Shipley.

"Cherry Blossoms" Elaborate Operetta

In their usually pretentious manner, the Shuberts have put on at the 44th Street Theatre, a musical version of "The Willow Tree," nee Madame Butterfly. Much liberty has been taken with the play's plot, but essentially the ingredients for a Japanese-American play are retained. There is disappointed lover, an American artist and heart balm in the shape of a lovely Japanese maiden. She, however, is bound by the customs of her country to obey her father's wish and marry a man who looks like what we think a "war lord" must be. Every body knows that Japanese customs must never be broken. However, they are, for a time, in "Cherry Blossoms." Much happiness comes to the pair, who live together without being married. But it doesn't last. Through various misunderstandings, fortunate mistakes, etc., etc., handsome American comes back to Japan, 17 years after his affair with the native girl, in the nick of time to save his daughter—just the image of her mother, the dear—from some terrible fate. However, the old man turns her over to a go-getter American, which is the equivalent, we suppose, to a happy ending. Howard Marsh and Desires Ellinger do some lovely warbling. Mr. Marsh's bit loud at times. The chorus is well trained, but they haven't much to go on. The music is pretty thin material.

FRENCH SOCIALISTS VOTE DOWN ELECTION COMBINES

Further evidence of the determination of the majority of the French Socialists to avoid any more entangling alliances with the bourgeois parties was furnished on Feb. 27 when the National Council of the Socialist party vote 2,315 to 1,109 in favor of reforming the election laws so as to bring back the old system of electing deputies by districts, with a second ballot in case no candidate has a majority on the first vote.

Although at first view this action seems strange on the part of Socialists, who are nearly all in favor of proportional representation, it is explained by the fact that the present so-called proportional voting system in France is no true proportional at all. Its intricacies lend themselves to all sorts of confusion, favor the dominant groups and also encourage the formation of combination election lists, making it almost impossible for the voter to cast a straight Socialist ballot. While Leon Blum, Jean Longuet and the other proponents of a return to the district system, all voiced their belief in a "true" proportioned system of representation and hoped that the really progressive elements in the French Parliament would soon become strong enough to make it possible to establish such a system, they agreed in condemning the present fake system. Pierre Renaudel and his friends who defended retention of the present system pointed out the advantage, in their opinion, of making election combines with the radicals and other republicans, but they were in a decided minority. Of course, if the election reform likely to be put through Parliament, now that the 100 Socialist deputies will support it, provides for the second ballot, it will be possible for the parties of the left to work together in the final voting, but the first balloting will give the measure of the straight Socialist strength.

Notes of the Theatre

"The Mystery Ship" now at the Garrick Theatre, will remain there for the next two weeks and will move to the Comedy Theatre Monday, April 11, for an indefinite run.

Ernest Vajda, author of "The Crown Prince," is at work on an essay defending his version of the Meyerling tragedy as depicted in the play at the Forest Theatre.

Mr. Vajda's explanation of the famous incident of history has aroused considerable comment. He arrived at his original version after exhaustive study of Hungarian political archives.

Sophie Tucker, who now is being featured in the new Spring edition of "Gay Fanny" at the Winter Garden, yesterday signed contracts with representatives of Charles B. Cochran, English producer, to appear in a new musical revue at the London Pavilion, following her current engagement at the Broadway playhouse. Miss Tucker will be starred in the new piece, which is expected to feature ultra-modern American jazz.

Beginning with tomorrow's performance, "Countess Maritza" will play Thursday matinees instead of Wednesday, as hitherto. This change was made with the moving of the attraction to Johnson's Theatre.

"No, No, Nanette," is the attraction at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre week of April 4.

Ernest Vajda, author of "The Crown Prince," featuring Basil Sydney and Mary Ellis, announced that he will write an American drama for the two stars, which he hopes to have ready by next fall.

Before leaving for California to engage in moving picture work, Vajda intimated that the play would be based on an episode in American history.

The Theatre of the Dance, under the direction of Dorsha, will open a week's engagement at the Grove Street Theatre, 22 Grove street, Greenwich Village, off Sheridan Square, beginning Monday, May 2. The program will include the presentation for the first time of three new ballets: "The Phoenix," a new interpretation of Stravinsky's Firebird suite, "The Flame and the Flood," a ballet of revolution, and "The Essence of the Rose." A special part of the program will be devoted to a group of new Oriental dances.

Alain Locke to Talk At Tremont Forum

"The Negro of Today," by Alain Locke, Ph. D., is the subject of a lecture for this Friday evening, April 1, at the Tremont Educational Forum, 4214 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx. Mr. Locke is an eminent Negro scholar, a graduate of Harvard University and the author of "The New Negro," a new edition of which is now announced by the publishers. Lecture starts at 8:30 p. m. sharp, and is followed by questions and discussions.

"Crime" to Be Discussed at Brooklyn Jewish Center

The subject of crime from various points of view will be discussed at the forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667 Eastern Parkway, Monday evening, April 4.

The speakers will be Judge Franklin Taylor of Kings County Court, who figured prominently in the recent test of the validity of the Baumes laws for the punishment of criminals; Dr. Catherine B. Davis, formerly commissioner of corrections and now connected with the Rockefeller Foundation; Dr. Elias Lieberman, prominent educator and author, principal of the Thomas Jefferson High School; Dr. Jacob Katz, rabbi of Montefiore Congregation, Jewish chapel at Sing Sing prison, and Charles Solomon, Socialist leader and lecturer, candidate for Lieutenant Governor on the Socialist ticket in the recent gubernatorial election.

SHALL DEATH SILENCE AMERICA'S NOBLEST VOICE?

BROADCAST DEBS MESSAGE

To the Admirers of Eugene V. Debs:

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?

NORMAN THOMAS, Chairman.

Send All Contributions to
MORRIS HILLQUIT, Treasurer, Debs Memorial Radio Fund
31 UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

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Mon. Eve., April 4....."CRADLE SONG"
Tue. Eve., April 5....."LA LOCANDIERA"
Wed. Mat., April 6....."CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Eve., April 6....."INHERITORS"
Thurs. Eve., April 7....."CRADLE SONG"
Fri. Eve., April 8....."CRADLE SONG"
Sat. Mat., April 9....."INHERITORS"
Sat. Eve., April 9....."THREE SISTERS"

WEEK APRIL 11
Mon. Eve., April 11....."CRADLE SONG"
Tue. Eve., April 12....."INHERITORS"
Wed. Mat., April 13....."CRADLE SONG"
Wed. Eve., April 13....."MASTER BUILDER"
Thurs. Eve., April 14....."CRADLE SONG"
Fri. Eve., April 15....."INHERITORS"
Sat. Mat., April 16....."TWELFTH NIGHT"
Sat. Eve., April 16....."CRADLE SONG"

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

WEEK OF APRIL 4 ROCHESTER AMERICAN OPERA CO.

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway, Evens at 8:30
Matinees THURSDAY and SATURDAY at 2:30

Week of April 11, THE SECOND MAN

WEEK OF APRIL 4

NED McCOBB'S DAUGHTER

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

Week of April 11, THE SILVER CORD

To the Workers of Chicago

(A message from the Socialists of Chicago to the wage-earners of Chicago in the Spring election of 1927.)

THE Socialists of Chicago wish to call the attention of the wage-earners of Chicago to the following matters of first-class importance in the municipal campaign of 1927:

First: Dever, Thompson and Robertson and their campaign managers are grossly ignorant of the dominant purpose of the corrupt and corrupting practices, and of the degrading results of the capitalist system of industry; or, if these candidates and their managers do understand these things, then they are so indifferent to the matter of industrial justice for the workers that they scorn to pay any attention to such fundamental matters; or, they are so completely under the control of and in the profitable favor of the exploiting, plundering, corrupting capitalist class of this city that they dare not speak out clearly and defiantly in defense of the workers.

Second: In this campaign not one of those candidates has uttered even one correct fundamental truth or principle in municipal statesmanship involving such complete policies as would free the workers from exploitation and free the city from the outrageous robbery and corrupting influence of the industrial masters of Chicago. On the contrary, all three of these candidates shamelessly bid for the ballots of the workers by means of a filthy contest in mud-slinging and incrimination.

Third: Not till the workers of Chicago understand the largest fact in present capitalist society—which is the industrial class struggle in which the candidates named above are on the side of the capitalist class,

not till then will the workers of this great city be able to defend themselves intelligently and effectively through their vast strength united, as a class politically in a political party of the working class.

Under these circumstances, the Socialist Party of Chicago of course decline to give any political aid and comfort in any way whatever to any of these candidates; and, moreover, they urge the workers, all the workers of this city, to rouse to a realization of their political power when united politically as a class; and rouse to a clear realization also that as long as they divide their great political power among candidates who craftily praise them, secretly despise them and cunningly help the employer class to loot them—just so long the worker will find himself pathetically helpless on the political field in the matter of self-defense as a class.

The supreme need of the workers of Chicago in the present campaign—and in the great campaign of 1933—is a political party of the working class. Eventually the workers must meet this issue, this supreme issue of a political party of the working class in the working class. If eventually, why not now?

Number of Farm Tenants Increases in 5-Year Period, Agriculture Department Says

Washington, D. C.—Agricultural depression is taking its inevitable toll in the ranks of the independent American farmer, and farm tenancy is gaining, according to an analysis of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

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 do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purposes. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1927

OUR NEW CAPITALISM

DATA regarding the development of southern textile industry which appear in the Wall Street Journal are interesting. The south continues a fairly rapid industrial transformation which was arrested by slavery and the chaos that followed the Civil War. In many respects the south has already surpassed New England in textile development.

According to the figures there are now more spindles in the south than in New England, while last year southern mills consumed more than 70 per cent. of all the cotton manufactured into cotton goods in this country. In textile equipment the south has also surpassed New England. An estimate this month gives the south 184,738 more spindles than New England, the total number credited to the south being nearly 18,000,000.

Like water seeking the lowest level, northern textile capital is going to the south, where labor power is cheaper than in New England and the cotton supply is nearer. Last year the south gained a net increase of 189,140 spindles, while the net decrease in all other states was 656,604. The net loss of spindles for all states outside the south since 1922 is 1,512,965, while the increase in the south for the same period has been 1,971,883 spindles. In other words, the increase in the south is even more rapid than the decrease in the north.

All of this is significant of the development of capitalism in the southern states. With the expansion of the iron and steel industry of lower Alabama and the rise of superpower in the south, we get some idea of the industrial transformation going on in this backward region of the United States. Even the mountain people are being drawn out of their century-old isolation and are supplying the raw human material for this new and vigorous capitalism.

Trade union organization is still in its infancy in this region and something of the old New England factory feudalism clusters around the new textile empire, but labor organization will eventually follow. It must if the organized working class of the north is not to be undermined by the sweated labor of the new capitalism, and organization cannot begin too soon.

A COAL STRIKE

MINING coal is one of our sick industries, and by the time this is read the miners may be involved in another strike. Coal is a basic industry and life for the miners is not a rosy one. Since 1902 the industry has become involved in a periodic upheaval and numerous investigations have been made by Federal commissions. The result has been fat volumes recording information and recommendations of more or less value. Each struggle has dragged out to an inconclusive settlement, the fat volumes are forgotten, life for the miners remains uncertain, and so a great economic problem drifts from year to year.

If this were a matter of finding a market for steel or investments abroad prompt and efficient action would be obtained at Washington. But a coal strike is a desperate struggle of hundreds of thousands of miners to win a more human and a more assured status in the industry. The result is hesitation, investigation, negation and prostration so far as Washington is concerned. A Congress with a healthy representation of miners, steel workers, printers and other workers would do something more than talk and do nothing.

SCIENCE AND FARMING

SPEAKING before the American Institute of Chemists, Secretary of Agriculture Jardine emphasized the importance of Science applied to agriculture. He contended that if progress "is to be made in the solution of the problems of the farm, to the end that agriculture may be more prosperous, the facts developed by research must be intelligently co-related and co-ordinated.

The speaker assumes that research and the application of science to the farm will contribute to the solution of the farmer's problems. We doubt it. While agriculture has not made the advances that industry has in the past hundred years, it at least has witnessed sufficient changes to show that while application of science to the farm may improve production it does not follow that improved production brings more economic ease to the farmer.

A hundred years ago farmers were still plagued by soil exhaustion, little knowledge of soil values, insufficient mechanical aids, poor marketing facilities, a variety of crop pests, and insufficient knowledge of fertilizers.

In all these matters science and invention have brought rich discoveries to the farm. The technique of agriculture has been remarkably improved and even many of the parasites that formerly destroyed crops have been eliminated.

Yet in spite of all this progress the western farmers have for several years been passing through the worst economic crisis in a generation. It is apparent that while science is to be welcomed to the farm the welfare of the farmers is a question of economics and politics, not of technical or physical science. More discoveries might be made in soil fertility and improved production in general without the farmer necessarily sharing in the gains.

What is apparent in American agriculture is that while farming has improved and the productive value of farms per acre has steadily increased in the past one hundred years, the farmer's economic well being has not improved in the same proportion. Outside the farm a swarm of human parasites have absorbed the gains—railroad and steamship companies, banks, elevator companies, cotton and wheat gamblers and so on. The farmer has farmed for these corporations. He is the victim of modern capitalism. If he produces more they will get more.

When the farmer learns this he will turn to the serious problem of so changing the industrial system that he and the city worker will no longer be dependents of workless masters of American life.

FORDIZING DISTRIBUTION

MONDAY'S Morning World carried two news stories in adjoining columns which provide a text for a Socialist sermon. A young Russian inventor, said to be a Socialist, sold an invention for a million dollars which in turn "modified his Socialist convictions." This is probably true. A Socialist who by some stroke of fortune ascends to the class of millionaires might well modify his views; and when this occurs it merely verifies our contention that political and economic views tend to be shaped by the economic status of the class to which we belong.

The other item is a story of three huge stores opened by Henry Ford in Detroit, in which food, shoes, clothing, drugs and other commodities are sold at prices not only lower than corner merchants can sell them, but lower than department and chain stores can sell them. These great stores are marvels of organization and machine routine, which save labor and make possible mass sales to a continuous stream of customers.

This three-headed giant began to slay the little merchants right and left, and it is said that delegations of grocers, butchers, fruit and vegetable venders, and merchants in shoe leather and haberdashery called upon Ford to protest that his stores meant their ruin. Ford continued with his plans. Business is business, competition is the life of trade. Is it not written in the Book of Babbitt and the holy rituals of the Republican and Democratic parties?

Note the result. The stores of others within a radius of five miles of each of Ford's stores are being deserted. The experience of one shoe merchant is typical. His sales once averaged twenty pairs a day, but now he considers himself fortunate if he sells one pair a day and two on Saturday. Purchasing in small quantities, he pays \$4.50 a pair for a standard make, but Ford, purchasing in large quantities, buys the same shoes at \$4 per pair and retails them at less than what they cost the little merchant.

What's the answer? He and others like him must go out of business. Competition may be life, but it is life for Ford and death for the lesser merchants in many lines of business.

Observe, brethren, that one workman in New York by an unusual route becomes a millionaire and life looks rosy to him. In Detroit hundreds of merchants to whom life looked rosy are now plunged into gloom. If they have no "Socialistic convictions" they are now likely to get a few. Now let Ford expand his Fordized merchandising to all other cities and wipe out hundreds of thousands of other merchants who hope to ascend, but will be compelled to descend to lower levels in the social scale. What then?

Well, Socialism should look more reasonable to them. Ford is doing more than any other individual to give a collective character to production and distribution. All that remains to complete this process of evolution is to go on to collective ownership. That will eliminate the mastery of a single individual and give us all an equal standing in this collective ownership, including bankrupt merchants who today must become Ford's feudal servants or take their chances in the labor market.

Thanks for your work, Mr. Ford, in preparing the economic basis for a co-operative commonwealth.

A LEFT WAIL

A FUNERAL dirge is chanted by the Workers' (Communist) Party in a frantic appeal to the remaining faithful to revive the dying concern. It is couched in language that is typical of all its statements since it learned to imitate the bureaucrats who from abroad tell it what it must do. Its heaviest losses have been in New York City, where large numbers deserted the sinking ship because of the disaster it brought to thousands of cloakmakers.

In this very appeal to the faithful there is an admission of the fatal schism within it which it cannot shake off. It speaks of the "faction fights and inner party struggles" as "hangovers" of the bitter duel that has been waged for more than two years within its ranks and pleads for a cessation of the warfare, but this is not to be. Many "comrades" will each carry a meat ax for use upon erring members of the happy family.

Gentlemen, peace is not for you. You will be sorcerers, palmists, mystics and warring matriarchs so long as you have a few rubles tossed your way.

The News of the Week

Civilizing the Nicaraguans

Nicaragua has not yet been self-determined or made safe for democracy by our army forces, but Coolidge and Kellogg expect all this in good time. We note that American military planes are now active in that province of New York banks and some Liberal troops were so impolite as to fire at one aviator who returned the fire. It is reported that American marines were also fired upon by the natives. "President" Diaz has appointed a commission of three members to authorize the expenditure of the million dollar loan recently obtained in the United States. The commission consists of the Diaz's Finance Minister, the manager of the National Bank of Nicaragua, and the American High Commissioner. The bank is an outpost of American finance so that the commission is a poorly disguised body representing American capitalist interests. This body has decided to pay Diaz's soldiers \$2.50 each and 50 cents per day hereafter for their services. Despite this naked use of an American loan and the employment of American marines to impose a puppet on the Nicaraguan people, Senator Edge returns from Central America with the usual apologies for our bullying. He thinks the big problem there is "fair elections." If so, we suggest that we ship the experts messed up in the Illinois and Pennsylvania primaries to Central America and show the natives how we do it in this country.

Chamberlain For Mussolini

While the statesmen and music lovers of the world are solemnly and joyfully observing the centenary of the death of Beethoven and the agents of the members of the League of Nations are counselling in Geneva about how to reduce armaments without hurting the feelings and military strength of any of the big powers, comes a story from Paris furnishing more evidence of the love for Benito Mussolini entertained by Austin Chamberlain, the Tory Foreign Minister of Great Britain. Sir Austin is reported to have informed M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, that he was opposed to having a League of Nations commission investigate the domination of Italy and Yugoslavia over the Balkans and favored direct negotiations between Belgrade and Rome. This is just what the Fascist Dictator wants, while the Yugo-

slav Government is for action by the League of Nations. M. Briand is understood to be sore over the British Tory Government's support of Mussolini, who is trying to lure Rumania and Hungary up with Italy and take the lead in Balkan politics, to the detriment of France. At home the Big Black Shirt took great satisfaction in the formal enrollment of 80,000 young Fascist militia, bringing the total of these sworn slaves of Il duce up to 350,000. Another increase in the number of officially registered unemployed in Italy made the total 250,000 at the beginning of March, an unusually high figure. A recent tale about the complete pacification of Italian Northern Africa is contradicted by later dispatches from Rome telling of troop movements there and the hanging of two native leaders. A German court has sentenced four members of the "Black Reichswehr," the reactionary reserves of the regular army, to death for the murder of an alleged traitor, but none expects the sentence to be carried out. Pilsudski has closed the Sejm for a while, apparently just to show the Poles that he is boss. In Rumania Jew-baiting continues as usual, and protests by prominent Jews to Premier Averescu and the Minister of the Interior Goga are of no effect.

Forged Papers Against Mexico

Just what is the truth back of the alleged existence of forged documents purporting to be signed by Secretary of State Kellogg and other officers of the American Government may not be known for fifty years or more when some persons who know the truth begin to write their memoirs. It is asserted that official communications to Mexico were altered by some person or persons unknown which incited war against or support of a revolution in Mexico. President Calles came into possession of copies and George Barr Baker, former newspaper man, was shown these mysterious documents, returned to Washington, and the story was given to the New York Times. Calles was convinced that the United States through responsible officials intended war or revolution or both. Many questions will immediately occur for any outsider to get access to official documents that are sent under precautions of profound secrecy? Why was the story given to the Times and not all other papers? Is it possible

that some amateurs in the State Department, interested in American oil control of Mexico, took a chance by altering official documents? Is Assistant Secretary of State Olds' name in any way connected with this affair? It will be recalled that a few months ago Olds was charged with passing a story of "Bolshevism in Mexico" to newspaper correspondents but refused to permit his name to be used in connection with it. Is this Times version of the forged documents the truth or have some Washington officials been caught in a nasty mess which requires a little whitewashing of the guilty parties? In any event, if this thing happened in any country with responsible cabinet government the whole administration would be compelled to resign. Some day the truth may be known—after the present generation of Americans are all dead.

Inspired News From China

Our warning a few weeks ago to discount news from China as the Nationalists became victorious has been justified by events the past ten days. The headlines in last Sunday's papers and the text of the stories from China gave the impression that China had entered a period of chaos with thousands of lives at stake. "Red Flame Spreads," "Labor Army, Well Armed," "Prepares Drive at the Foreign Settlement," "Nanking Casualties Told," are a few of the headlines. Reading the text one discovered that three foreigners had been killed and a number of others wounded. New York City has frequently reported more casualties from violence in one week than have occurred among aliens in China in a few days, despite the civil war. On Tuesday came the report of a "Bolshevist Sweep," and from day to day these sensational items have appeared, and as we go to press there comes the warning that "New Outrages Are Feared." Hearst's Mirror also carried the atrocious cartoon which appears on another page of this issue. For our part we are much impressed by the discipline which the Nationalists have displayed as they marched from one victory to another. To be sure, there is danger of chaos in China, but we submit that nothing has yet occurred to justify the provocative headlines and cartoons that have appeared in the American press. Moreover, if war comes between the foreigners and the Chinese we may be sure that all foreigners are not inoffensive innocents.

THE CHATTER BOX

WE ALSO have a little Egg Story. Let us call it "A Romance in Fragility." It started one spring day last year on the poultry farm of one John Sanderson of R. F. D. No. 3 Cusseton, Iowa. His son, Steve, nineteen, and as full of repressions and emotional possibility as any Indiana lad in Sherwood Anderson's Middle Western tales, picked up one rather large egg, sat down on a feed bag and fountain-penned the following: "Whoever gets this egg for breakfast, female preferred, please correspond with Steve Anderson." The Iowa address followed. Late in February of this year, fully eleven months after the hen first saw the straw nest, we picked it up with eleven blank ones in our dairy store, from under a sign—"Absolutely Fresh Eggs From Our Own Jersey Farm, Guaranteed One Day Old—60 Cents per Dozen." Anna, our maid of yestermorn, Polish and fifty-five, looked up long enough from the jakesheet of the Journal to notice the inscription on the shell. She brought it in with quizzical grimace and placed it before our erudite gaze for translation. We grimaced, too, told her about the romantic purport and asked her permission to write the young man in her name. She giggled assent. A letter was written, and within the week, the young Iowa chicken grower had poured forth his treasure of longings in an envelope, wherefore we paid six cents in overdue postage. It still is a manuscript worth saving. Some day when we are through with all the worthwhile subjects for literary exploitation, we may sit down to write the Great Iowa Novel, using Steve's Confessions of a Young Egg Harvester as a basis and leit motif. To you curious ones we cannot offer here more than a suggestion of what he says in fourteen pages of scrawled script. He is lonely, he hungers for love, he is mad about the Big City, he wants to break away from the farm and go East. Something he cannot understand is stirring up strange dreams in his evening hours of rest, and even interferes with his chores, helping Dad on the farm. He could not go to college. Dad lost everything to the banks which foreclosed when the crops went begging in 1922, and even the poultry farm is a stepping stone to the poorhouse.

All in all it is a long tale in which sex, economics and just plain youth are crudely but logically intermixed. Only a Sherwood Anderson, with his proverbial lack of humor could tragedize this lad's state of being. We refuse to find deep currents of spiritual anguish in it at all. Give this lad a Chevrolet, a pretty co-ed in Dubuque for a sweetheart, and a thirty-dollar-a-week job, white-collaring in an auto accessory store in town, and all his great grief and maladjustment are settled pleasantly. All of which is within his reach just as soon as his urges get the better of his parental slavery.

Naturally, we wrote him a long letter advising him that bootlegging and the holdup racket were becoming played out, ever since the migration of he-men from the prairies overflowed the Eastern market, and opportunities for making a decent living at these games were slim and few indeed—And that in the tough starting-in-at-the-bottom jobs, at least two honest and well-recommended young men are waiting to take the place of any one who was fired. We also informed him that the night clubs are waning away because most of the bandits are giving up their trade and going in for politics, and that the hostesses are hardly patient enough to wait until streets are paved, bridges built, contracts awarded and appropriations voted by state and city authorities to pay the gang. That all the sex plays are being jaimed out of existence, and the Salvation Army had simply absorbed all the Magdalenes and made respectable trumpeters and collection agents out of them. Sinful women and houses of shame had just vanished out of Gomorrah-on-the-East River. That even the Bolsheviks and the Reds, the anarchists and the Socialists, had gone in for radio and pinch, and the streets of Manhattan after eight o'clock are as deserted as Cusseton's after nine. That even Greenwich Village had installed bath-tubs and electric lights, and the only artists living within its hallowed environs had their rent free from the still hopeful real estate agents—that in some way the old traditions might be preserved. The last resident poet, however, had written a novel and gone to Bermuda. That Broadway in the Forties is a development sponsored by the Edison Electric Light Trust as an experiment in how a stampered herd of cattle looks in artificial daylight—Edison Current.

Every night of the year this games goes on—and it seems that it will take a long time yet before the cattle get tired rushing and the Edison Company collecting for the Kleig Lights.

We also informed him quite fully how the city is full of doctors waiting and praying for him to fall sick with any of the expensive ailments, and lawyers just trailing him from crossing to crossing in the hope that a millionaire's car knocked him over. How, when he was poor and struggling at a fifteen dollar-a-week job, he'd be lonelier on Fifth avenue than on his chicken farm so far as necking and sweetheating were concerned. How, as soon as he got a living wage for himself, some wearied stenographer of thirty would mock-marriage him into a real certificate and a ring and a two-room Bronx flat and then..... Well we painted the picture brutally enough. And if Steve Sanderson does come east after all we said to keep him back on the farm, then he must have read Henry's "Invictus" and the Life of Andrew Carnegie, and so become immunized to any warning of ours..... We have yet to write the final chapter. In the meantime we are following the daily crime news closely.

Evening in Washington Square

To and fro, along the sidewalks,
Grind the rasping roller-skates
Of careless jaily-screaming childhood.
Across the way the rattling el
Slams back and forth atop
A dim and ghoulish street.
Up above an optimistic preacher
Minned a cross, electric-bright.
Upon the sky, where, higher yet
Some slim mischievous god has
Put his thumb through the dark blue ceiling.
Giving me a peep-hole glimpse
Of that incandescent land of dreams beyond,
And I see things I should not see.
And, as I sit, my thoughts,
Like forlorn and lonesome alley cats,
Come timidly and rub against me.
—WILLIAM CLOSSON EMORY.

Shawl of Counties

To be a meadow in the spring.
To wear a bluebird for a ring—
That is an easy, growing thing.

To be a mountain, proud and tall
And wear the counties for a shawl—
That is not wonderful at all.

To be a sunset is to be
Like every sunset that men see
And use the same trite simile.

No longer does a stately tree
Consign me trembling to my knee
When beauty such as yours walks free.

You stand across all nature's face,
In your dim world of parts I trace
Beauty that has a voice and race.

And I have been content to find
In the sweet regions of your mind
A passion that is humankind.

CHAS. A. WAGNER.

Spring has been a trifling rift this season. A week ago she peeked in through the window, winked and beckoned up all outside. Her smile even tickled the sun into a warm grin, and tamed the northwind into a breeze. We all went dancing after her, and the vixen led us into a frost and snowstorm. There should be a Society for the Prevention of Spring Flirtation.

We did consider it somewhat strange that the March Wind hasn't as yet been haunting the eaves and raising merry Gehenna with billboards. A year without our inditing at least one poem to him is a year lost. All of which is said in the nature of being polite. For columnists, like all true neighbors, when they have nothing much to say, just talk about the weather.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton
Radical Poetry

(Continued From Last Week)

TURNING from form to substance, there are certain definite things that can be said about poetry which aims to be radical and proletarian in character. In the first place, its themes will have to be dynamic instead of static. Within its structure, the luxurious, supine stanzas of the sentimentalist will be taboo. Its rhythms must express movement and action. Its resolutions must be spirited. In the second place, its attitude must be social instead of individualistic. This is a distinction that is hard to grasp for those who fail to observe the historical evolution of poetry and poetic criterion and concepts. Nevertheless it is a fundamental differentiation. In concrete form it means that radical poetry must be devoted not to the intricate melancholies of the individual poet, but to the wider realities of the social world. The distress of the individual poet is minor. Apoposies to a lock of hair, odes to a fading love, are part of an old motif. They express and interpret the emotion and spirit of the poet. They capture in phrase that elusive personal reaction which is peculiar to the individual. They exalt individualistic eccentricity. It is how the individual soul transmutes the earthly substance that is prized. The individual element, in simple, has been the thing that has been extolled. How did Baudelaire feel when his mistress deserted him for a young painter? How did Thomson feel when opium brought him to despair? What were Swinburne's emotions when in the throes of narcomania? It is these feelings, these emotions, these reactions which have been the source of poetic inspiration.

Before the development of the Renaissance and the outgrowth of individualism, poetic practice was different. The individual emotions of the individual poet were scorned. Critics such as Scaliger attacked poets who endeavored to exploit individual idiosyncrasy. Before Dante, love—a theme then considered too individual, personal and insignificant—was denied as a motif in poetry. Only with the individualism of recent centuries has love become the obsession of the poet. The attitude toward poetry before the Renaissance was social and abstract. Social themes and abstract conceptions predominated. War, national ambition, patriotism, valor, the struggle of the gods, justice, peace, honor—such is something of the miscellany of motifs that ran through ancient and medieval verse.

Today we are again in a period when the individual motif is beginning to weaken and decline. This is part of the weakening of the individualistic motif in social life. Radical poetry in opposing the individualistic and existing the social is performing an historical function. The radical poet does not sing of the melancholy of his heart but of the tragedy of the social world. He does not consider his individual emotions as significant as the realities of this social world. It is the idea of poverty, starvation, strike, protest, revolt, revolution that consumes his genius. It is not a question of whether these themes are less amenable to poetic construction than the themes of nineteenth century poetry—not that question at all. The themes are inevitable. They can and will be turned into poetic substance with the growth of experience and the development of subtler interpretations and restraints.

Michael Gold's poetry is an example of the vigor that can be acquired by radical verse. His poem "A Strange Funeral in Braddock" is illustrative. These lines:

Wake up, wake up! Jan Clepak, the
furnaces are roaring like tigers.
The flames are flinging themselves at
the high roof, like mad, yellow
tigers at their cage.

Wake up! It is ten o'clock, and next
batch of mad, flowing steel is to
be poured into your pudding
trough.

Wake up! wake up! for a flawed lever
is cracking in one of those fendish
cauldrons.

Wake up! and wake up! for now the
lever has cracked, and the steel is
raging and running down the floor
like an escaped madman.

Wake up! O, the dream is ended, and
the steel has swallowed you forever,
Jan Clepak!

Max Eastman's poetry, it is obvious, is entirely foreign to this radical spirit and motivation.

E. Merrill Root's recent volume "Lost Eden" is important because it adds subtlety to the radical genre. Without the vigor of Gold's verse, in many respects it is subtler. Root's poetry unites subtlety with protest. Poems of protest, from any of those of the famous Ukrainian Russian Mayakovsky, are ordinarily vigorous and strong but blunt and obvious. Mr. Root's poetry endeavors to transcend this limitation by a delicate fusion of the imaginative with the realistic.

Rail Workers Open Bank For Personal Loans

Marking the second step in the program of the Railway Brotherhoods designed for the assistance of the railroad worker, announcement has been made of the formal opening of the Continental Bank of Cleveland, the first of a chain of small personal loan institutions which the brotherhoods propose to establish throughout the country. The first step was taken on February 22, 1926, with the formation of the American Home Builders, Inc., an institution to assist the railroad worker in his housing problems and to launch these personal loan banks.