

THE bitter tragedy of unemployment has at last reached the point where our politicians, editors, politicians and business men are beginning to talk about it. Governor Smith suggests a program of public works to relieve the situation. That is good as far as it goes. What we must have as a minimum program should be concerted action by cities, states and nation (a) to provide employment by pushing in this dull time necessary and valuable public works; (b) to set up a network of public employment bureaus covering the entire country, and (c) the provision of unemployment insurance. Beyond this, however, lies the need for relief. It is not merely the individual human being who suffers but society and its future when children cannot get enough bread. A nation which can discuss a \$740,000,000 naval program, supposedly for national defense but really to make war more likely, ought to have a few millions to spare to save the children of bankrupt farmers, unemployed workers and striking miners from hunger. This Congress promises to do pretty well on investigations but no investigation of the mine situation can feed or clothe or house the children whom I saw in desolate camps. This emergency relief in a humane society should properly be a matter of national governmental concern. I understand that some agitation along these lines is likely to be begun. That action ought to supplement a demand for the constructive minimum program which we have outlined.

In New York City and many other large industrial centers the "public works" which might give employment directly and indirectly to thousands of workers ought to include municipal housing. I am more than ever convinced of this, having begun to study with some care the proposed new tenement house law in New York State. That law is very definitely an advance on what we now have. Its regulatory features, especially for new housing, are good. But regulation won't build houses that the workers can afford. It is apparent from this law that it will not even condemn the shocking old law tenements in which something like a third of the population of New York City still live. These houses ought to be condemned as unfit for human habitation in the richest city in the world.

The Commission thinks that "the time is not ripe" for such a proposal. It never will be ripe unless some of us begin to demand this act of decency and justice now. Condemnation could not be carried out all at once. It might be made effective over a period of years beginning with those houses on which the most violations have accumulated. But a "practical people," we are told, which can calmly discuss an initial naval appropriation of \$740,000,000 must not talk about anything so "impractical" as providing decent housing for its children! Our New York Commission in regard to old law tenements has not even provided that there must be one toilet to each family.

In supporting the general provisions of this new regulatory law we should make it clearly understood that there are further demands that we have to make. Even from the standpoint of "practical politics," about which our social worker friends are so concerned, it ought to be evident that if all the amendments to the bill tend to weaken its provisions and none to strengthen them the law finally passed will be worse than the proposed measure.

Repeatedly in campaigns and out of them I have said that either deliberately or through laziness Tammany Hall was getting ready to sidestep the transit problem by procrastination and delay until such time as the subway companies would go into the courts following the example of the Consolidated Gas and Telephone companies and get a higher fare. That which I and other Socialists feared is now being attempted. I think Tammany Hall will be afraid not to make an honest fight against the 7-cent fare. But I am not sure; and the obvious divisions in official councils is ominous. I think that not even our courts with all their tenderness to property can find a way to upset the definite contract between the city as owner of the subways and the operating companies by which the five-cent fare is set. If the courts find a way to upset these contracts there will be an end of every half-way

(Continued on Page Two)

Secret Deal By U.S. Seen At Havana

Peace Group Says "A. B. C." Countries Have Agreed To Kill Ruling Against Intervention

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON.—A definite and secret understanding to sidetrack any real decision on "intervention" has been agreed upon by the United States and the A. B. C. powers at Havana, thus blocking the move by Central American states to place the Pan-American Conference on record against any further invasion of their territory by the United States.

This statement is made by the National Council for Prevention of War, following the receipt of dispatches from its American representative in Cuba, which stated that in addition to Cuba, Argentina, Brazil and Chile were giving tacit consent to shelving the embarrassing question of defining intervention.

"Intervention" has been for the United States, the sore thumb of the Conference. It is definitely on the agenda under Article 3 of Section 2 on "States," of the International Code of Public Law, which reads:

"No State may intervene in the internal affairs of another."

Cuban Acts as Lackey
Orestes Ferrara, Cuban Ambassador in the United States, who has been cooperating with the American delegation to save it any embarrassment at Havana, pulled the teeth of this provision during the first week of the Conference by suggesting that it, together with the first two sections of the International Law Code, be abandoned altogether. There was considerable objection to his proposal and a compromise was finally reached whereby the troublesome articles dealing with intervention, the recognition of states, and the fundamental bases of international law should take the form of "declarations" rather than "treaties."

Thus, they would not be binding upon the United States or any other country. However, it still remained to define "intervention." This is where the latest secret move came about, just reported by the Havana correspondent of the National Council.

Five countries had introduced definitions of "intervention," which were embarrassing to the United States. Mexico had proposed that intervention be illegal even when taken at the invitation of the government whose country was invaded. This would have been especially embarrassing to the United States because it had intervened in Nicaragua upon the request of President Diaz.

Paraguay had proposed that intervention be "intent to decide by force, material pressure or moral coercion, internal or external questions of another State." This would have been equally embarrassing to the United States because its refusal to grant loans to ship munitions and other supplies to various Latin American governments in the past, of which it did not approve, might be defined as intervention.

Argentina had proposed that intervention be meddling in the "external" affairs of a state as well as the internal affairs, while Haiti and the Dominican Republic had introduced somewhat similar definitions.

The American Federation of Labor will again "punish enemies" this year by approving Republican and Democratic candidates. As the Federation has been punishing the two capitalist parties by this action since 1906 we look forward to resolutions of protest in the Republican and Democratic conventions.

Shipbuilders Need Big Navy Program, Is Wilbur's Plea

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON.—Five thousand million dollars and more in taxes would be levied upon the people of the United States partly for the purpose of keeping the shipbuilding corporations in business, if Secretary Wilbur's naval building program should be carried out. This is the Secretary's own statement of what he terms a "very important phase of the proposed continuing building program." The House Committee on Naval Affairs is still in session from day to day, hearing Navy Department officials and navy officers give their reasons for enlarging the navy by building 25 new cruisers, 9 destroyer leaders, 33 submarines and 5 aircraft carriers within the next eight years, at a cost of nearly a billion dollars as a "starter" on a twenty-year program.

Bill To Pension Aged Introduced In N. Y. Assembly

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
ALBANY.—An Old Age Pension Bill sponsored by the American Association for Old Age Security and drafted by Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, head of the Legislative Drafting Bureau, Columbia University, has been introduced in the legislature by Frank A. Miller.

The main provisions of this bill are as follows: Old age assistance may be granted to an applicant: (a) who has attained the age of 70 and upwards; (b) has been a citizen of the United States for at least twenty years before making application for assistance; (c) has resided in the state for fifteen years immediately preceding the date of the application; (d) has no income in excess of \$1 a day.

The bill provides that the pension be fixed "with due regard to the condition in each case" but is not to exceed \$1 per day. Persons who have an income up to \$1 a day from savings, insurance, fraternal and trade union benefits, industrial pensions, etc., are not disqualified from such assistance. Assistance is given to persons who have property not to exceed \$3,000. The annual income of the property is computed at 5 per cent of its value. Provision is made for the return to the state of the total amount of the pensions paid from the estate of the pensioner upon the death of both pensioner and his wife.

The bill provides for the establishment of an old age assistance commission composed of three citizens of the state to be appointed by the governor for a term of four years. These commissioners receive no salaries except a \$10 per diem fee while actually engaged in the business of the commission. In addition to the State Old Age Assistance Commission, county boards consisting of seven members are appointed by the county judge. These boards serve without pay except for their necessary expenses. A state superintendent and local investigators to carry out the actual work are authorized under the bill.

The funds are derived from equal appropriations to be made by the legislature and the counties and cities of which the aged person is a resident at the time of making application. It is hoped that a hearing will be held on this bill at some later date.

Smith's Friends

A speaker at the Jackson Day banquet of the Democrats a few weeks ago unwittingly said that Governor Smith has the confidence of "Wall Street and Main Street." We do not doubt it, but as Wall Street is interested in something more than confidence in politics we know what Main Street will get if Smith is elected President. Do you?

Crisis Grips Ill. Workers; Jobs Scarce

Red Cross Called In To Relieve Suffering In Southern Part of State

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHERRY, Ill.—With the Red Cross mobilized, charitable organizations exhausting their resources to care for stark human misery, the poor houses overflowing with men, women and children facing starvation, this section of Illinois is facing the worst economic tragedy in its history. William R. Snow, State Secretary of the Socialist Party, has in the past few months travelled twelve hundred miles in the state and he sums up industrial conditions in one word. It is "Hell."

Unemployment has come to the state as a plague. Of course, the mining sections are worst hit and it is the strike piled on top of a bad unemployment situation which makes a mining community like Cherry a hell. It is no exaggeration to say that there are whole families of workers who have descended lower than the cave-man's standard of living. Some families have been found that have gone two and three days without obtaining anything to eat.

With no work to be had, no money coming in with which to buy food and other prime necessities of life, and their little savings eaten away for the purchase of necessities since the strike went into force last April, many families face hunger unless assistance is given.

Red Cross Aid Asked
So great is the need among some of the residents that an appeal has been made to relief organizations and a movement is now under way by the Bureau County Chapter of the American Red Cross for the collection of voluntary subscriptions with which the work may be carried on. It is expected that other chapters of the Red Cross through this section of the state will join in and help this community which has been the scene of tragedies in the past.

Food is the greatest need of the community or the funds with which to purchase it, according to Bureau county workers. The miners, their wives and their children have been trained to do without many of the comforts of life but it is necessary that they eat.

Assistance has been given the more needy by the county through the pauper aid fund and through the miners' union which has paid the miner five dollars a month during the past two months. Some aid has also been given by the more fortunate whose savings are not entirely gone or by those who have been able to find work. But all this assistance is as a drop in the bucket to the real need.

Families on Pauper List
The first concentrated effort to find how great a fund will be necessary to take care of the situation was made when a questionnaire was passed among the students at the public school on which they were asked to state what their families needed in the manner of food, clothing or other assistance.

Numbers of families of the village are on the Bureau county pauper list, receiving from five to \$15 a month, dependent on the number of children in the family. There is a limit to this aid, however, and it in no measure is sufficient. This aid and the \$5 union checks monthly are the sole income of many families consisting of husband, wife and five or six children.

IS TAMMANY BACKING THE I. R. T. STEAL?

"SEVEN-CENT FARE."

Before many more days, this will be the demand that will meet every subway and elevated train rider in New York City.

"Pay seven cents or walk!" That is the arrogant threat of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. And it dares to do this while the transit lines it holds are really THE PROPERTY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

MAYOR WALKER, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

The Interborough's demand for a seven cent fare is plainly a deliberate hold-up. The I.R.T. plans to surround its steal with all the trimmings of legal procedure. But it will be a steal nevertheless.

Six months ago before the N. Y. Transit Commission the Interborough was forced to admit that it had been operating on a five cent fare at a profit. And not merely a profit. So lucrative have been the earnings that the officials could boost their salaries sky-high, hundreds of thousands of dollars could be spent to break strikes and break unions of the transit employees; even bonuses for this anti-labor work could be afforded.

Now the Interborough is brazen enough to say that the five cent fare is confiscatory. Is the five-cent fare due to go the same way the "eighty-cent gas law" passed? The same procedure—even to hiring the same legal and statistical agencies—is being followed by the Interborough as was used by the gas corporation. William L. Ransom has been hired as special counsel to conduct the fight in the court. Francis K. Stevens has been retained as "expert" on evaluation of the Interborough's properties. Mr. Ransom is the fair-haired boy of corporate interests who put over the increased gas rate for the Consolidated Gas Company. And it was Mr. Stevens whose statistical "research" provided the gas company's economic alibi.

These I.R.T. lords are strong for injunctions against the people. First they ask the courts to enjoin 3,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor from speaking to I.R.T. employees about trade unionism. Now they plan to ask the courts to enjoin all city and state authorities from interfering with the seven-cent fare until the courts have finally ruled.

The Interborough is planning carefully. It is determined to put over its increased fare, and, in the mean time—

In the Meantime, WHAT IS MAYOR WALKER GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

The Mayor, Governor Smith and Tammany Hall have made profuse gestures about municipal ownership. They have sworn to keep the five cent fare intact. But words are not enough.

Months before the last election, there began to pass through authoritative channels definite rumors that Tammany had agreed to go through the gestures of "fighting for the five cent fare" while the Interborough, and later the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Company—were to go through the process of collecting seven cents a ride.

Tammany Hall's reported sellout to transit interests is more than rumor. More than six months ago Henry H. Pringle, the sympathetic biographer of Governor Smith, wrote:

"IT IS BEING WHISPERED THAT HE (GOVERNOR SMITH) IS IN CAHOOTS WITH THE TRACTION TRUST IN NEW YORK AND 'HAS SOLD OUT TO THE HIGHER FARE CROWD' IN RETURN FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN THE EVENT THAT HE RUNS FOR PRESIDENT."

There has been no denial from the numerous and vociferous camp-followers of scarlet Tammany's presidential white hope.

Why, Mr. Walker, are you so anxious to keep Mr. Untermyer and other non-Tammany persons and agencies out of the affair? Are you afraid they might throw a monkey wrench into your scheme?

A free hand to the traction highwaymen is the price Governor Smith appears to be paying for his presidential nomination. IS MAYOR WALKER PASSING THE COST ON TO THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF NEW YORK?

MAYOR WALKER, WHAT ARE YOU WAITING FOR? Your delays are suspicious, to say the least. Quick with the gab, fast with repartee, brilliant at midnight parties,—you (Continued on Page 7)

Railroads Aiding Fight On Miners

Union Reveals Hand of Rail Interests Behind Coal Operators in Pennsylvania

(By International Labor News Service)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Definite proof of charges that big railroads are backing the bituminous coal operators in their war on the organized miners is given by the United Mine Workers of America in a startling statement of facts submitted to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce in support of Senate Resolution No. 105, providing for investigation of the soft coal fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio.

The statement, signed by George W. Lewis legislative representative of the United Mine Workers, gives concrete facts to prove the following assertions:

1. Full responsibility for present conditions in the soft coal fields rests upon the shoulders of the coal companies that brazenly repudiated their contracts with the United Mine Workers and the great railroad companies that forced the operators to take such action.

2. The present chaotic situation in the soft coal industry is due solely to this railroad-coal company conspiracy against the miners and it is necessary that all the facts in relation to the situation be brought out before a proper remedy can be applied in the public interest.

After briefly pointing out how the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the largest producing company in America, began the assault on the miners' union by repudiating its contract with the union and how other large companies in Western Pennsylvania followed the lead of the Pittsburgh Company, the statement gives numerous instances of railroad cooperation with the operators in the drive to smash the union. The statement says:

Railroads Encourage Breaking of Contract
"It is well known that the Pennsylvania Railroad has been cooperating with the Pittsburgh Coal Company, the Hillman Coal and Coke Company, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company, the Inland Steel Company, the Bethlehem Mines Corporation and others in the policy of eliminating the union and sustaining the action of the Pittsburgh Coal Company in repudiating its contract with the United Mine Workers of America. It is public knowledge also that the Pittsburgh Terminal Coal Corporation, which refused to make an agreement with its employees after April 1, 1927, enjoyed the sustaining counsel and assistance of the Pennsylvania Railroad in this decision."

"All of this activity on the part of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in conjunction with the above named coal companies, has for its purpose the destruction of the United Mine Workers of America and the degradation of the wages of coal mine workers."

"John H. Jones, head of the Bertha Consumers Company, a large coal producing corporation with mines in Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia, operated his mines with union labor for thirty-seven years, under contract with the United Mine Workers of America. His company produces three and one-half million tons annually, and of this amount, according to his statement, six hundred thousand tons is sold to the General Motors Corporation."

Friendly Operator Menaced With Ruin
"Mr. Jones called at the office of the United Mine Workers of America in June, 1927, and said:

"I am prepared to sign the Jacksonville agreement with you boys; I can pay the wages provided in that agreement. I would like to open my mines and go ahead and pay that wage because I believe in harmonious relations between employer and employee. Yesterday I was told by the purchasing agent of General Motors that I can not sign the contract on any basis at all, and that I must conform myself to the policies of the Pittsburgh Coal Company or they propose to ruin me."

"At about the same time, bankers in Philadelphia who hold securities of the Bertha Consumers Company called Mr. Jones by telephone and said they understood he was going to sign the contract, and the banking company forbade him to do so under penalty of surrendering his company to the banks that hold his paper."

Mussolini Improves
The Fascist gang in Italy has abolished universal suffrage and now only Fascists can vote in elections. Isn't it a happy thought that Mussolini has remained in power and has been able to stabilize his despotism because of the favorable debt settlement the Coolidge Administration made with him?

Havana Diplomacy Makes Brailsford Feel At Home

(Mr. Brailsford, the distinguished British Socialist and journalist, is now visiting in the United States.)

By H. N. Brailsford

THIS exile from Europe has stumbled into the midst of a drama of the New World. The sixth conference of the Pan-American Union is meeting at Havana. One little war is being waged, and at least three disputes which diplomacy cannot heal divide the Latin-American States. But these divisions are trivial in comparison with the jealousy which separates Latin America from the overshadowing North. Of that state of mind the North has come, of late, to be painfully aware. To allay it, Mr. Coolidge took the decision, unparalleled in American history, to attend the Pan-American Congress in person. Again, with an eye to the Congress, the most romantic personality that North American manhood has produced in recent years, has been flying

on a mission of goodwill over Mexico and Central America.

Ambassadors of Peace

Unfortunately, Lindbergh has not been, in these days, the only North American aviator who has flown over the orchids and cactuses of the tropics. The high explosives of Northern battle-planes have been falling in Nicaragua. By a malicious dispensation of Providence, this little war blazed on the eve of the fraternal Congress with redoubled violence. It is questionable whether any delegate at Havana will be so rash or so ill-mannered as to speak of Nicaragua in the public debates. Here is one of the situations amid which, on this hospitable Continent, a European feels himself at home. It will be a success, one gathers, for Washington, if no one at this gathering talks of the one thing that really matters to the New World, precisely as it is a success for London or Paris at Geneva that no one should mention Shanghai or the Rhineland.

With regard to Nicaragua, I find opinion as sharply divided here as it

would be in a similar case at home, and in much the same proportions. For the overwhelming majority, this war is not a war, but an indispensable operation of police. No one, apparently, is disturbed by the verbal contradiction between Mr. Secretary Kellogg's stern insistence that not only shall France and the United States renounce by treaty all "aggressive war," but any war whatever. It seems to be overlooked (as in Europe we so often overlook it) that in these wars which are not wars, bullets are thought at times to find their mark.

The Havana Congress

What, beyond silence (where silence is prudent) and demonstrations of good will, will come out of the Havana Congress? Nothing, I imagine, that means a new departure. The Pan-American Union was started in its present form in 1889 by Mr. Secretary Blaine, who regarded it as an instrument for the promotion of the trade of the North with the South.

He had grandiose schemes for a transcontinental railway and a common decimal system. But the North spoiled its chance of leading the South by suggesting a Customs Union, which would have meant prohibitive duties on European imports. To this day it is obvious that the North is interested mainly in the promotion of purposes chiefly commercial, which doubtless are legitimate and salutary—a common law for patents and trademarks and the development of sanitation. The Latin South is uneasy over the predominance of the North. The Union (which is the permanent committee of the Congress) has its office in Washington; the delegates are the ambassadors accredited to Washington (who dare show little independence); its president is the Secretary of State, and its director a North American.

One would have thought, given its real predominance, the North might have been less exacting over offices and forms. From time to time the South has tried to convert the Union into something resembling the League of Nations, with a Covenant based on a mutual guarantee of independence and territorial integrity. That movement has the support of Mr. Wilson and Colonel House. But at the fifth Conference (in 1923) the attempt of Uruguay to revive it was vetoed by the conservatism of Washington. It cannot at this sixth Congress be repeated with better success.

The drama will come when Haiti and San Domingo (which have endured the occupation of the American marines) present (with some support from Argentina and Paraguay) their blunt resolutions, which declare that any intervention by one State in the affairs of another (or, as one motion defines it, "any action . . . by a State to force its will" upon another) is by the constitution of the Pan-American Union illegal. There is the direct challenge to the whole tendency which, in the last quarter of a century, has made the North the self-appointed policeman of the territories that border the Caribbean Sea. If it could be carried the Pan-American Union would break. But, unless it be adopted, can that Union possess effective life?

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Socialists of Russia Ask Free Election

Demand for Liquidation of Dictatorship Circulated by Social Democrats in Soviet Country

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BERLIN.—The Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party is circulating in Soviet Russia an appeal, excerpts from which follow:
"To All Workers in Soviet Russia,
"Comrades:
"Discord among the heads of the Communist Party rages ever stronger. To the thousands of Socialists, anarchists and non-party workers who for years have been languishing in the prisons of the Tchecha, in cells and places of banishment there are now being added their comrades in fate—communists of the Opposition.
"In the upper ranks scuffles are going on. Among the workers silence prevails. Crushed by the terror and by unemployment they were watching the fight with indifference and in part with mischievous curiosity; for is it not all the same who wins? Comrades! We cannot, we dare not be silent. It is not a question of the Communist Party. It is our own fundamental interests which are at stake. This raging strife is the death-struggle of the system of the Communist dictatorship—and at the same time the great problem of the new order, which is to take its place, and which will seal for a long time to come the fate of the country and therewith the fate of the working-class.
"Can we allow this problem to be solved without us, through the trade union and party bureaucracy, through the directors of the factories and workshops, through the social and finance officers, through the commanders of the Red Army, through the chiefs of the G. P. U., in short, through all those whom the Communist Party has drawn into its conflicts? Without us—that means against us. Without us that means that the red Communist sign-board of the dictatorship of the machine will be dispensed with, but that the dictatorship itself with its terrorist oppression will remain in existence. Without us—that means that those in authority, who get rights, but the workers and the dispossessed will continue without rights.
"There is only one way to ensure that the Bolshevik dictatorship will be replaced by the right of the working-class to fight for their interests, for their ultimate liberation from wage-slavery, and this way is—the intervention of the working-class itself!
"The way out of the blind alley is to be found not in the struggle for bread between the town-workers and the peasants, but rather in union between them. It is a fact that the interests of the two categories are in many respects opposed to one another, but alternatively there are many points where they converge. The workers have an interest in the quick development of agriculture, since the economic welfare of the whole country is connected with it. On their side the peasants have an interest in the rapid growth of industry, since this provides for them better openings for markets and cheaper commodities. Accordingly, the worker ought not to strive against the peasant but should endeavor to come to an understanding with him. This, however, can only be done on both sides if they secure the possibility of negotiating freely as organized classes. Such a possibility is put out of the question by the terrorist dictatorship which shuts the mouths of all. It will only be restored by a regime of freedom and democracy.
"Democracy! That is nothing but bourgeois invention, we read in the columns of the 'Isvestia' and 'Pravda'. Democracy for owners and capitalists! This is rubbish, comrades! The owners and capitalists can manage very well without democracy or freedom; you need only take a look at the Italy of Mussolini, the Hungary of Horty, and the Spain of Primo de Rivera. The owners and capitalists consider with envy the regime of terrorism and injustice which has been shaped by the Bolshevik dictatorship. They would be delighted to stamp out democracy in all other countries also if the working classes were not on the alert. The working class is fully conscious that democracy in itself does not exclude the possibility of the division of society into classes, of inequalities and of exploitation of the workers. But these evils are as little bettered by dictatorship. The working class is conscious that only democracy can give it the opportunity of organizing freely, of defending its interests with a view to securing power—and that means real power in the hands of millions of workers, and not in those of a clique of dictators.
"This fight is no easy one, comrades. The ways of terrorist dictatorship lead to one of two blind alleys, either that of war-communism or that of counter-revolutionary private interests. The counter-revolution is now approaching. It is time for the working class to have its say. It is time for it to recognize that the Bolshevik dictatorship has consumed itself. It is time for it to demand that the dictatorship should be succeeded not by a regime based on the fascism of private capitalists but on the democracy of the workers.
"It is to do battle for such a form of democracy that you are now summoned by the Russian Social Democratic Party; our party which fought with arms against the 'Whites' desires no fresh upheavals, no fresh instructions, no renewal of civil war. It is conscious that new catastrophes would only bring fresh sufferings to the workers and fresh opportunities to the counter-revolution. Our party seeks only to liquidate the dictatorship peacefully, to steer it into the track of democracy. It is convinced that such a transition is possible when all workers without distinction of party or group

Where the Injunction Judge Belongs



—From the New York World.

Lack of Labor Support Weakens Boston Pacifism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—The peace societies of Boston held an Emergency Meeting to protest against the Big Navy Bill (last Wednesday afternoon) with Frederick J. Libby and Rennie Smith, a Socialist-Labor M. P. from Great Britain, as the speakers. For a hastily gotten up meeting it was very well attended. The audience seemed quite determined to do all they could to prevent the passage of the bill and the speakers were vigorous and able in presenting the idea that we were now entering on just the same sort of naval race with Great Britain that Germany and Great Britain staged prior to 1914.

Yet to a Socialist, the meeting was a clear indication of why the peace movement in the United States is today a sort of wandering ghost, a more or less pathetic spirit without a body. The audience contained only one man from organized labor, and indeed no worker could very well have attended had he so desired for the meeting was held in the afternoon. The time chosen for holding the meeting was a fairly typical reflection of the total disregard of the labor movement and the working class here by the peace groups.

When Rennie Smith spoke he was able to talk of real achievements made in Great Britain, from the definite anti-war pledge signed by over 120,000 people, on up. And the difference largely is that the peace movements and the labor movement in the European countries are practically one and the same or at any rate march in the same line. Practically every British socialist who comes to this country is a member of the British Labor Party. The lead in the protest against the sending of British forces to China comes from the British Labor Party.

The parties opposed to armaments in other countries are the Socialist or Labor parties. The splendid lead given by the Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden and Denmark, is the result of the pressure when out of office and, sometimes the actual governmental acts when in office, of the Socialist Party in those countries. Where the peace movement is linked up definitely with the labor movement, in other words, it has power and mass behind it to a very large extent; whereas here it seems to live in constant fear of the attacks of so negligible an organization as the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Economics a Foreign Subject
The greatest force in favor of a large military establishment is the tendency toward imperialism that is an almost inevitable part of capitalism. The chief pressure toward imperialism is the desire of investors to go where they can buy labor more cheaply than in the United States or other advanced countries, and then, having found such a place, to keep

band themselves together to fight for the immediate requirements framed by our party which are a necessity for the entire working-class and which alone can assure to it the support of all workers from town and country:

1. Freedom of speech, of the press, of meeting, of association and of conscience.
2. New and free elections for the Soviets with equal franchise for workers, peasants, employees and unemployed.
3. Unconditional and absolute abolition of the death penalty.
4. Immediate cessation of the G. P. U. and of other organs of the terror.
5. Full amnesty for all political offenders in prison or banishment and cessation of every form of administrative procedure.
6. Abolition of the privileges of the communist party and of the Comintern and stoppage of subsidies to them out of public money.

7. Liberation of the trade union and cooperative movements, freedom to strike, free re-election of the committees in the factories and workshops.
"Comrades, close your ranks! Strive for these demands at every opportunity. Fight for freedom and organization of the workers! The moment is ripe!
"November, 1927."
For the Central Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Party.

down the nascent labor movements in those backward regions by force of arms if necessary. Since cheapness of labor in other countries is obviously a genuine danger to the higher pay of workers here, it is plain that the workers here have a definite reason in self-interest for being opposed to imperialism and in favor of peace and the progressive reduction of armaments. So it is natural that the labor and peace movements should march together just as it is natural for the "patriotic" societies to be financed in large part by the munitions-makers, as Norman Hapgood has so well shown in his book "Professional Patriots". Yet the peace and labor movements in Boston are totally separate, and the peace societies here at any rate make no effort to approach conservative labor and are apparently afraid to cooperate with the radical workers such as the Socialists.

An illustration of the reason for the failure of the peace groups to get cooperation with the trade unions may be found in the remark of Fred J. Libby at the Boston Emergency Meeting when he referred to the demand by the workers in the Navy Yards for a chance to work as one of the reasons for the sentiment back of the Big Navy Bill and cavalierly dismissed this demand as "un-economic". It is true, of course that the demand for work by workers in the Navy Yards and the munitions plants must not be allowed to stop our insistence on progressive disarmament. But we must then provide some other means of taking care of these workers, such as Unemployment Insurance or an alternative public works program, instead of merely dismissing their demands for a livelihood as "un-economic". Yet most of the prominent pacifists around Boston were asked for help on the Socialist Party's Unemployment Insurance Bill, and, with the honorable exception of the Socialist Justice Committee of the Communist Church, failed to give it.

An amusing illustration of how the peace groups, having supported the Democrats and Republicans in a majority of cases, are now left to reap the whirlwind, was the attitude of Mr. Libby toward the action of our Congressmen on the Big Navy Bill. He seemed to assume that very few of them, and practically none of those from Massachusetts would have any backbone or principles which would determine their vote on this bill, and that it was entirely a matter of swinging them one way or the other by bringing pressure on them in the form of letters. This calm and practically unconscious assumption that most Democratic and Republican Congressmen would have no principles or firm convictions on so vital a question as militarism was most enlightening.

N. Y. Socialists To Publish Souvenir Book for Convention

New York Socialists are arranging an ambitious program for the entertainment of the delegates to the Socialist Party national nomination convention which meets in New York City April 14. The program of the Arrangements Committee is unfolding and this week it announces that a Convention Souvenir Book of not less than 150 pages will be published.

This book will contain important articles on the Socialist and Labor movement here and abroad. These articles will be written by men and women in the Socialist movement and the trade unions, the idea being to have the best writers prepare contributions which will make the book one of permanent value as well as a document celebrating the return of the Socialist Party to its old vigor.

The committee has sent letters to organizations representing every phase of the progressive labor movement. It is planned to display their greetings and to obtain a sufficient number of advertisements to pay for the book. No effort will be spared to make the publication an attractive volume which will be treasured by every person who obtains a copy.

Socialist Party Scores Victory in Yugo-Slavia

Belgrade.—The municipal elections in Maribor, Yugo-Slavia, have brought an impressive victory to the Socialist Party. With 1713 votes, the Socialist list stands second. It occupies 12 seats. Compared with the last municipal elections the increase in the vote amounts to 750, while the increase of seats is 2.

French Party Fixes Tactics For Election

Finance Program Calls for Heavy Armaments Cut And Big Personal Tax

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PARIS.—The recent Extraordinary Congress of the French Socialist Party was faced with two primary tasks, namely those of framing the main outline of the election program and of deciding the electoral tactics of the Party. In addition the Congress took decisions about the Party's finances and adjusted the budget of the "Populaire" by the levy of a special tax of 50 centimes a month.

With regard to the election program the question of finance formed the decisive problem. A report made by Deputy Vincent Auriol. The program takes as its starting point the problems of reparations and the war debts, and proceeds to the claim for legal stabilization of the French currency. Such stabilization should be effective at a rate calculated to respect the economic relationships dependent on the existing stability. A necessary preliminary to currency stabilization is stabilization of the floating debt, in accordance with the proposals made by the French Socialist Party in 1925. In order to maintain the equilibrium of the budget, demand is made for reduction of such taxation as cripples the productive activity of the country, and it is necessary in particular to lighten the burden resting on consumption among the masses of the people. On the other hand the Party demands the levy of an extraordinary progressive personal tax on fortunes; and further stress is laid on the necessity of energetic retrenchment in the appropriations for military and naval expenditure. Finally, nationalization of the existing monopolies is demanded.

Six Election Proposals

In the question of electoral tactics the Congress had before it six resolutions which were introduced at length by their authors. Their unanimity that the Socialist Party in the first ballot should put forward its own candidates in all constituencies. The procedure in the second ballot formed a subject of controversy. A resolution was moved by Renaudel and his friends providing that in the second ballot, in order to avert any danger of victory for reaction, that a Socialist candidate not standing first amongst the candidates of the Left should withdraw in favor of a candidate from the former Left Bloc. Bracke and Zyromski urged that in such a case the electoral fight should be waged on the issue between bourgeoisie and working-class, that is to say, that there should be a withdrawal in favor of the Communist candidates. Leon Blum demanded withdrawal in favor of that candidate who would be most likely to insure the triumph of democracy over reaction.

The clash of views came to light most clearly in the discussion around the procedure when the candidate of reaction is already eliminated from the field in the first ballot, and the Socialist candidate is in one of the next positions against radical and Communist candidates. In such a case Renaudel demanded withdrawal on behalf of the candidate of the former Left bloc, Bracke and Zyromski on behalf of the Communist.

Program Adopted
On this question also a committee was appointed which submitted the following resolution to the Congress:

"First Ballot: The Socialist Party must go into the fight in all constituencies. Any branches considering that it is impossible for them—exclusively and strictly for material reasons—to do so, must consult the P.A.C. about it before the 15th of February, with a view to undertaking joint study as to the best method of ensuring the application of the principle laid down by the Party.

"Second Ballot: The Congress trusts the branches to ensure withdrawal in the second ballot in favor of that candidate—to whatever political camp he may belong—who has the greatest chance of defeating reaction; and generally speaking to take all requisite decisions for bringing about the overthrow of the latter."

After an address by Leon Blum, the resolution was unanimously adopted. With regard to the Communists' offer to form a united front at the elections, he said: "In the first place it goes without saying that we refuse the insolent offer contained in the Communist proposal. We shall not even honor it by a reply. In declining to form a united front with the Communists, we shall decline equally to lend ourselves to any kind of enlarged national union against them.

"What was not done in parliament is not going to be done in the country. Such hypocritical and ambiguous combinations would be dangerous to the working-class, for the only bond which unites them is that of opposition to capitalism."

St. Paul Laborites Name Candidates In City Election

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Labor-Progressive forces of St. Paul met in a city convention last week with representation from every ward club in the city and practically every trade union. The executive committee recommended a contest for the offices of mayor, comptroller and four councilmen. Last year there was no support of an independent candidate for mayor but experience with the man who was elected has convinced St. Paul workers that this office is vital to the success of a working class political movement.

Turner Heads British Trades Union Council



BEN TURNER recently elected chairman of the Trades Union Council of Great Britain, with its consequent presidency over the Trades Union Congress. Turner, now 44, has since youth been actively engaged in Socialist and labor matters. On three different occasions he was elected mayor of Batley, England, and has also served as a Labor member of Parliament.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

effective attempt to regulate rates on public utilities. The whole nation has an interest in the precedent that may be set by this appeal of the I. R. T. for a higher fare as well as the appeal of the same company against any attempt by the A. F. of L. to organize its workers.

Under no proper theory of law or the functions of the judiciary are the courts entitled to the power they now claim in the matter of injunctions and rate setting. To claim it is sheer usurpation. It is, moreover, usurpation by the least satisfactory branch of our government. And I say this with no particular love for the executive or legislative branches. Consider the facts. Justice for the poor is a tragedy. William H. Taft himself has admitted that criminal justice in America is a disgrace. Our courts are wellnigh hopelessly bound with precedent. The lower courts especially are subject to direct political and financial pressure. They are repeatedly used by clever lawyers to block and not further justice, as, for instance, by Max Steuer in blocking the investigation into the Queensborough sewer scandals in New York and by Sinclair's lawyers at the present time in the jury-tampering hearings in Washington. The best lawyers themselves admit the sad state of their profession and the courts. Yet it is these courts which cannot properly handle their own jobs which arrogate to themselves rights of rate regulation and injunction powers which no courts ought to have. Here is a political issue vital to democracy.

It would be incredible that a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor should appoint a committee of 53 to study injunctions and other problems vital to labor, which committee contains some of the most reactionary financiers and best known open shop employers in America. Yet that is precisely what Matthew Woll has done, acting, to be sure, in his wholly incongruous capacity as President of the National Civic Federation. How can a man who is president of this federation put strength, vigor and iron determination in the drive against injunctions to which he together with all labor leaders of every shade of opinion is committed? I confess that I have my doubts. Nevertheless, I hope I shall be happily surprised by the results of this new effort to get rid of injunctions. I hope, by the way, that some of our Socialist and labor lawyers will remove the doubts as to the efficacy of the Shipstead bill which so good a lawyer as Donald Richberg has raised. I should also like to see them prepare the model state law, for injunctions cannot be banished merely by federal action.

After all the intervention issue has come before the American Congress in Havana. And that is a good thing even if no definite action is taken. Practically we should favor the Argentine position which amounts to a flat declaration against intervention by one state in the affairs of another. As internationalists we can scarcely favor the Argentine reasons. The argument against intervention on this hemisphere does not rest primarily on some exalted notion of the absolute sovereignty of nations. That notion is dangerous, immoral, and wholly out of accord with the demands of an interdependent world order. Nations do have duties as well as rights. The trouble is that when Mr. Hughes makes this argument he assumes that a strong nation like the United States is the sole judge both of its own rights and the little nation's duties, which leads to tyranny. We do not intervene in Nicaragua and elsewhere to enforce some lofty code of duty but to collect extortionate profits for investors. The Argentine notion of absolute national sovereignty to which every strong nation adheres in its own affairs though they all deny it to weaker nations may be useful as a temporary bulwark against imperialism. The real case against intervention must be based on other grounds. In the long run not extreme nationalism but internationalism, above all, the internationalism of the workers is the alternative to imperialism. Temporarily we may have to use such defenses as we can get. Meanwhile, not by action at Havana but by pressure on Washington must we strive to stop the infamous Nicaraguan war and bring our boys back home.

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THE SUPER-POWER LOBBY SWINGS INTO ACTION

Thirty-seven State Headquarters Busy Poisoning Public Opinion On Muscles Shoals And Boulder Dam

By Judson King

EVENTS have proven that the warning of mobilization of an elaborate Super-Power Lobby was a conservative statement. The present power lobby is the largest, boldest and best organized lobby that has appeared in Washington since Roosevelt's day when the railroads mustered their forces in an attempt to defeat the Hepburn bill regulating railroad rates. Senator Walsh of Montana in a heated speech before the Interstate Commerce Committee declared that he had seen nothing like it in his seventeen years in Congress.

In addition to the material spread around Washington hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and news releases are going out from the country from New York and from the headquarters of the 37 state propaganda bureaus of the power interests to mold public opinion. Warning is given that no dependence can be put upon this literature even as to statements of plain fact, even when quoted from official authorities or supposedly disinterested college professors.

Four Storm Centers

The struggle centers around four concrete measures:

1. The Walsh resolution to investigate the financial and rate structure of the power companies.
2. Senator Norris's bill for public operation of Muscles Shoals.
3. The Swing-Johnson bill for a publicly owned dam and power site at Boulder Canyon in the Colorado River.
4. Efforts of the power interests to grab the power sites on Indian reservations.

The Muscles Shoals and Boulder Canyon issues are the most vital but all are important.

The chief objective of the power interests is to prevent the American people from learning the truth about the extortionate profits being made in this business. Public ownership and operation of Muscles Shoals and Boulder Canyon, by furnishing cheap electricity like Ontario, Seattle, Tacoma and Los Angeles, will give an absolute demonstration—a yardstick by which to measure rates—hence the power trust has decreed "they shall not pass."

The Walsh investigation tends in the same direction, hence many thousands of dollars—we do not know how much—are being poured out to stop the public advance. Hence the bitterness of the effort and the resort to every known means of monopolistic control of legislation and public opinion. Congressmen and Senators heretofore identified with the public interest in power legislation are silent, or wavering!

The Madden bill backed by the American Farm Bureau Federation to lease Muscles Shoals to the American Cyanamid Company for fifty years will probably pass the House which, as in previous sessions, is under the control of the power interests. The chief excuse being used for this bill is that it will furnish cheap fertilizer to the farmers of the nation.

Concerning the Madden Bill Senator Norris stated the following to your correspondent:

"The Madden bill will not give the farmers cheap electricity. The contract provided in the bill is full of jokers on this point. After they have produced 10,000 tons of nitrogen they need make no more until this is sold. At the most they would only be compelled to make 40,000 tons and under the conditions surrounding the matter this would not affect the market."

"It would only require 100,000 horsepower of electric energy to satisfy the contract but the bill provides for 1,000,000 horsepower at Muscles Shoals when fully developed. Hence all the rest of this energy can be used by the Cyanamid Company under no limitations or control by the government in any way it chooses. It could sell it to the power trust or use it for its own manufacturing purposes. At any rate if this bill passes the people of the South will get no benefit in the way of cheap electrical rates from Muscles Shoals."

Senator Norris' bill by continuing and extending public operation of the Shoals will afford a competitive factor with the power monopoly, force down rates and thus benefit every power-user in that section of the South. His bill is now before the Senate Agricultural Committee. He has made a strong plea to the com-

mittee for its submission; it will probably be reported out. Of course, the real fight over Muscles Shoals will come in the Senate and at the present it is a 50-50 chance either way just as it has been for the last three sessions.

A Significant Development

The new development in the Muscles Shoals situation is the apparent fact that the Cyanamid people and the power trust people have come to terms and are no longer fighting each other for possession of the Shoals. There is probably a gentlemen's agreement as to the division of the power.

The first move of the power interests was to secure the reference of the Walsh resolution to investigate "blue sky" securities to a committee which would either bury it or hamstring it. They won first honors. By a vote of 40 to 36 with 13 Democratic Senators deserting Walsh and voting with the power interests and 13 Republicans standing by Walsh, it was referred to the Interstate Commerce Committee, headed by the reactionary Senator James E. Watson of Indiana. While this vote does not absolutely identify the predilections of the Senate nor indicate their attitude upon the Boulder Canyon and Muscles Shoals issues, it is of tremendous importance and should be noticed for future reference.

Since Watson is a candidate for the Presidency, it is understood that he resented being made "the goat."

But he had to obey orders. Hearings have been going on concerning the Walsh resolution and scope of this resolution since January 16. Ex-Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin was retained by the power interests as counsel and led the fight. He was assisted by former Senator Thomas, Democrat, of Colorado.

George B. Courteyou, Secretary of the Treasury in Roosevelt's cabinet, now trust official and titular head of the power lobby, made a long speech. Representatives of the Amgrican Investment Bankers' Association and many other interests allied with the power crowd have appeared. Chairman Gottle of the Wisconsin State Utilities Commission and Chairman Alney of the Pennsylvania commission on behalf of the National Association of State Utility Commissioners—the gentlemen who regulate rates—testified for the power crowd on the grounds that they feared federal invasion of the state jurisdiction when every intelligent man knows that the resolution will do no such thing. But the exhibition was a demonstration of the control of the public utility commissioners by the political machines dominated by the power interests.

Senators Hawes of Missouri, Smith of South Carolina, Fess of Ohio, added the power crowd. Senators Wheeler, Couzens, Dill and Howell, members of the committee, helped Walsh. The activities of Hawes of Missouri against the resolution and his manifest pleasure at the smiles

of encouragement from the power trust lobbyists present was so evident that Walsh declared that he may as well have been an attorney for the power interests.

How the Lobby Acted

The power lobby filled the room. Their men were constantly sending up questions on printed slips to the friendly senators to be asked of the witnesses. Their chief newspaper "contact" man—Major Richardson, was constantly on the job, very busy, sat among the newspaper correspondents at the press table and was constantly prompting them and whispering his interpretations of things.

Having much money to spend, the power crowd secured as soon as written a typewritten copy of the official record of the hearing, and had it mimeographed and immediately sent to 38 press associations and newspaper syndicates in Washington. This was admitted by Richardson under direct cross-examination by Walsh of Richardson and Lenroot.

The hearings closed Jan. 27. There will be a long wrangle in the committee over the form which the resolution will take. Of course the power crowd wants to cut out any investigation of lobbies and their propaganda methods as provided by Walsh, also investigation of rates. What the committee will do remains to be seen.

When it comes to the floor of the Senate another crisis will be had.

Wheeler has threatened, if the resolution is robbed of its vitality, to introduce it straight to the floor of the Senate. If it passes and in whatever form it will then be up to Vice-President Dawes to appoint the investigating committee. Dawes is a public utility man, one of the power combine. It is probable that he will break all rules of precedence and refuse to appoint Walsh on the committee. Also it is rumored that he will refuse to appoint Couzens of Michigan who has wide knowledge of high finance methods, who is for the investigation and whose services will be invaluable.

Boulder Canyon

Hearings before committees of both houses on the Swing-Johnson bill have been going on. No new data of note has been produced. The new opposition developed shows how busy the power interests have been during the summer and fall. Bringing their local political pressure to bear they have gotten Utah to withdraw from the interstate compact as to the allocation of Colorado waters. This instance will show how things are being done.

Governor Dern of Utah, Democrat, appeared before the Senate Committee. Senator Johnson of California asked him why the Utah Legislature had voted to withdraw. He professed ignorance. Johnson then unexpectedly produced copies of telegrams sent by Senators Smoot and King, both of Utah, on January 19, 1927, to Dern virtually ordering this action. Also, he showed a copy of Dern's message to the legislature urging the withdrawal, the action following within a few hours. It was a highly dramatic and revealing incident, this Johnson-Dern clash. But it shows how absolutely Smoot and the power interests dominate Utah.

As matters now stand the fight is a draw—but it is to be hoped that when the battle comes to the floor of the Senate public opinion will force favorable action in the public interest.

Were I A Nicaraguan

WERE I A Nicaraguan, and sunbeam and color were singing from all my native hills, my land glowing with its plenty from sea to sea, how high were my hopes—how sweet were time!

Were I a Nicaraguan, and my Government's bank and its railways in control of a far-distant land; were my land's taxes, and revenues levied, collected and controlled entirely by that land—the strongest nation of the earth; were the bodies of a thousand of my countrymen rotting about my feet slain by servants of that far-away, powerful land—ah, the tramp of her soldiers were upon my hills, the sweet air throbbing with her motors bearing death for yet more of my countrymen, what faint hope were mine!—what faint hope when I plead—as I would—Give yet, oh brothers, of your blood, your flesh and bones to your native soil (soil already so rich); pour still more of your blood upon the hands and hearts of those who seem as demons from a long-dead century where nations were drunk with conquest, that your blood may become as a flame to point this enlightened century to the enormity of the crime that is here.

Were I a Nicaraguan, and school and press, rostrum and pulpit of that powerful land were with ears of marble for all that would not crush a way for Trade, how faint were my hope!—yet a hope, for Liberty is yet an ideal burning at hearts all around the earth.

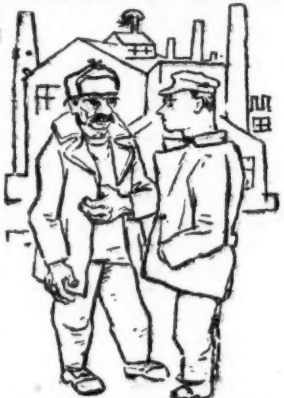
Geo F. Hibner.

Pick Your Grafters

If New York State is to supply the issues in the campaign this year Republicans can point to the big sewer graft of Tammany Hall and Tammany Hall can answer by advertising the Republican graft in the census taken by their former Secretary of State, Mrs. Knapp. The issue in November is, Which graft do you prefer?

In national politics, whether Coolidge and Smith or Hoover and Reed face each other, graft is the issue and you can endorse it no matter which way you vote. If for a Republican candidate you prefer oil graft; if for a Democratic candidate you can ratify steals, if you forget the war graft of the Wilsonian era.

FORDISM IN RUSSIA



"Bytch," a satirical Moscow paper of Jan. 1928, gives an insight into the regard with which the Russian workers have been led to consider Henry Ford and his industrial system.

The caption underneath the picture says:

"Russian Worker: With us, old fellow, we don't just simply work. We have the Ford system."

"Visitor: Then you work hard?"
"Russian: Oh, no, we had to stop, old boys, because we lack raw material."

Farmers' Union Cooperatives Its Greatest Achievements

By Murray E. King

STUDY of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America has convinced me that it has developed the largest and most significant group of cooperatives in the United States. Its cooperative business in 26 states stretching from Florida to the state of Washington now amounts to over a billion dollars. This enormous volume of business gains additional significance from the fact that it is conducted by the farmers and for the farmers as a class and that a single nation-wide parent organization functioning as educator and organizer in uniting this widespread collective enterprise into a great single system.

There are the great sectional cooperatives—the fruit growers of California—the tobacco growers and cotton growers of the South, the almost unbelievable cooperative creamery development in Minnesota and Wisconsin, but these vast sectional associations lack the nationwide binding and cohesive force, direction and class purpose that inheres in the Farmer Union movement.

Figures covering the business of the Farmers' Union cooperatives are hard to assemble, because there is no rule or law compelling these cooperatives to report to the national secretary of the Farmers' Union. For example, an amazing development of cooperative cotton gins has covered Oklahoma and is said to be growing at the rate of a million dollars in new equipment per year.

Ten Banks in Kansas
Nebraska Union members have developed so extensively the cooperative distribution of gas and oil that they are taking steps to establish a uniform gasoline purchase through a state agency. Nebraska's big union creameries are running up into the millions in volume of business.

Kansas has developed ten successful cooperative farmer banks with resources of nearly a million; a jobbing association buying and selling at wholesale prices to members through 500 stores and grain elevators.

But these are minor things. In the field of mutual property insurance eight states reported in 1926 insurance in force aggregating the tremendous sum of \$121,250,000. These same eight states this year reported insurance in force of \$156,300,000, a gain in one year of \$35,050,000. The nine big livestock commission houses of the Farmers' Union which handled in 1926 livestock to the value of \$112,149,469, have all made gains this year. The commission house at South St. Paul has doubled its stockyard space

during the year. In the last fifteen days of November this concern handled \$554,000. The Chicago house showed a proportional gain due to the rapid growth of the Farmers' Union in northern Illinois.

Five Terminal Markets

The Farmers' Union handles grain in five terminal markets and leads all other grain sales agencies. Between August 1 and December 15, 1927, its sales amounted to \$4,000,000.

These great marketing institutions, insurance companies and local cooperatives number thousands in more than half the states of the union. Their total business has passed the billion mark. They are saving the farmers many millions of dollars in the things they sell and buy. Buying groups of farmers in thousands of localities are purchasing goods in wholesale lots at wholesale prices. This vast group of cooperatives is steadily growing. It is estimated that a new Farmers' Union gas and oil station is born every hour. The national organization is engaged almost exclusively in welding these numerous local growths into a great national system by its persistent educational and organization work.

While there has been perhaps thousands of local failures, the movement has grown steadily for twenty-five years to a prominent leader of this organization its present proportions, and I have heard make this remarkable statement: that the Farmers' Union has not sustained a single failure of a major cooperative in the last ten years.

What will be the upshot of this development? Can this economic class movement of the farmers withstand the real attack when it comes from an enemy entrenched in monopoly and government? Do they understand the limitations of their movement in the face of capitalism organized industrially and politically?

That they do understand these limitations and that there is high hope that they will evolve toward the use of their political as well as their industrial arm is indicated by the following statement by A. C. Davis, national secretary of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union:

"No one remedy will cure the farmers' troubles. Could we envision a 100 per cent. organization of farmers who were 100 per cent. cooperators, that of itself would offer the most effective single agency. However, such a happy situation is so remote that additional agencies must be called upon to assist."

"The real solution hinges upon the ability and willingness of farmers to work of these three general lines: Legislation; cooperation; organization."

"Since legislation, superinduced by high

pressure methods of corporate industry, is responsible for an American standard of living which so vitally affects the farmers cost of production, legislation must be called upon to restore equality of opportunity."

"Cooperation may be ever so efficient, but so long as it goes no further than the saving of small commissions, it cannot hope to reach the root of the trouble."

"Organization is the most important of the three factors in the solution. Without organization, neither of the other two would be at all possible. Any movement that hopes to enlist the support of the farmers must offer first of all an organization."

Such dawning knowledge of the limitations of cooperatives under the present system, of the value of control of legislative processes, and of the basic value of economic organization, is one of the signs of the present agrarian evolution toward independent political action to save and complete cooperative development.

The next article will deal with the political phases of the Farmers' Union movement.

New Attempt to Steal Indian Land Betrays Hand of Super-Power Interests

THE Montana Power Company representatives in Washington are seeking a permit on the Flat Head Indian power site in Montana and also legislation which will enable them to divert a major portion of the revenue derived from the use of this site from its owners, the Flat Head Indians, to white settlers and the Power Commission. The site is as large or larger than Muscles Shoals—350,000 H.P. Needless to say, the Indian Bureau, Secretary Work and Congressmen Cramp-ton of Michigan are all for the deal.

Suddenly, there has also popped up a new raid on Indian property in the Appropriations bill. This time a 13,000 H.P. power site on the San Carlos Apache Reservation is to be developed for the benefit of the Nevada Consolidated Copper Company with no rates mentioned. But the Apache Indians, after seeing \$110,000 of their money taken to build transmission lines, and being permitted to buy power at ten times as much as it costs to produce it, will get nothing in the way of royalties. Yet the Power Act of 1920 provides "that all proceeds (of power sites) from any Indian reservation shall be placed to the credit of the Indians of such reservations." What's the Power Act between friends, anyhow? Have the Apache Indians been consulted? Oh! No!

Another amazing bill (S. 1313—lucky number) direct from the Bureau on Indian Affairs and introduced by Senator Smoot, under the guise of an allotment measure, transfers all power sites on Indian Reservations from their present owners—the Indians—and makes them ordinary public lands. What a picnic for the power crowd!

What friends of the Indians Burke and Merritt, commissioners of the Indian Bureau, continue to be! But thank Heaven that that valiant fighter, John Collier, Executive of the American Indian Defense Association, is here on the job and not much will get past his notice and opposition.

A GHOULISH BUSINESS

"American Womanhood" Enjoys a Paris Holiday

By Natalie Scott

IT is the phrase that does it, of course. Give us a phrase, and we rally round it, or cover before it, as the case may be.

"Make the country safe for democracy!" "Hurray! Pacifism: a bugaboo, a dragon, an ogre of which we are as fearful as in childhood of the ogre of a fairy-land, giving it about as much reasoned thought. No wonder we are the greatest advertising country in the world: we react so obligingly emotionally to the suggestion of a phrase, without allowing common sense to interfere, question, or modify. But we have not yet formulated a national phrase, "Dying for Dollars." Why not? It is our creed. We have done it often. We are doing it now in Nicaragua."

Probably, in ten years' time, there will be an American Legion Pilgrimage down there: Nicaragua is a picturesque country which we would all like to see. We shall be received by a government committed to making the dollar safe for our democracy; the ministry of Foreign Affairs will commend our generosity and national discernment; we shall take many wreaths and pluck the flowers of the country to heap on the graves of the Marines, while we make speeches with sweet, tender, sorrowful intensity, drop a few tears between luncheons and dinners, glean with proper expression of horror at the bloody harrowing, and gruesome details of the "unfortunate war." And go home with the virtuous conviction of having made a good show. Such cheerful ghoulies are we!

When the Legion Met

Much has been written about the meeting of the American Legion in Paris, but the exquisite irony of that great occasion has gone unchronicled. And yet, on an American Olympus, what Homeric laughter must rock the contemplative gods—unless there is an impotent Prometheus to weep!

The Auxiliary, American Womanhood, was there in force. There were innumerable speeches of welcome: the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Frenchwomen, Englishwomen, spoke. We accepted the tributes. Sentimentality, sweet as syrup, was the medium.

We converged to the Arc de Triomphe, to gaze solemnly at the grave of the Unknown Soldier. There were more speeches and many flowers.

The cemeteries were most popular. Again, speeches, flowers. Chosen emsaries brought prickly wreaths thousands of miles, much discommoded physically by the awkwardness of the charge, but gravely conscious of the implied personal importance. The bases of the cemetery flagpoles were heaped with flowers. There were ringing discourses. Bugle sounded taps; heads bowed; men looked to the rotary action of the water overhead which was constantly operating in the bed of the river. Leaks had been discovered from time to time, small tricklings and droppings of earth, which brought Cavanaugh and Henderson to the spot and caused the greatest tension until they had been done away with. The air had a tendency to bore holes upward through the mud. But these were invariably stanching with clay, or, if growing serious, bags of shavings or waste, the air pressure blowing outward from below being sufficient to hold these in place, provided the breach was not too wide. Even when "all hands" were working directly under a segment wide enough for a ring of plates, one man was told to "kape an eye on it."

On the evening in question, however, after twenty-eight men, including Cavanaugh and McGlathery, had entered at six and worked until midnight, pushing the work as vigorously as usual, seven of the men (they were told off in lots of seven to do this) were allowed to go up to the mouth of the tunnel to a nearby all-night saloon for a drink and a bite of food. A half hour to each was al-

lowed, and sad; the women wiped tears from their eyes, shook their heads in mournful sorrow. They wandered about among the graves, looking at the inscriptions.

"Here's one from Nebraska. Mrs. Smith's from Nebraska, isn't she? Oh, Mrs. Smith, look, here's one from Nebraska."

"Oh, here's one from my state. I know a family by that name. He must be related."

They hovered like butterflies. Or was it vultures? Events should decide.

"The Horrors of War"

There was a large, many-roomed frame building, that was headquarters. Among its amusements were stereopticon pictures. A series represented "The Horrors of War." There was a succession of views; one showed a section of men laughing at having their pictures taken, and then the same section half an hour later, after a shell had exploded, with the same men, wounded, mutilated, dead; another such collection of victims showed in the foreground a young boy of 17 or 18, his face turned toward the camera, both legs shot off at the hips; the trunk had a curiously unhuman look, an object rather than a person. The views were on sale for the benefit of the Paris Post.

"Do come and look at these, Mrs. Smith. They're terrible."

"Um! Um! Just shows you what war is. Aren't they too dreadful?"

"Too awful, enough to make you sick. Where are we going to have lunch?"

Then they tore themselves from all these things, from the cemeteries, from the contemplation of the Grave of the Unknown Soldier, and rushed to a meeting. There, a resolution was introduced, and passed at once, as a matter of course, without discussion, that the organization should "oppose pacifism in all its forms."

The beauty of consistency. The cemeteries, the Grave of the Unknown Soldier, the "Horrors of War," had given a sensation; therefore it seems quite logical that the women should rush from those centers and take sure steps to keep those cemeteries filled, to give the Soldier more comrades under the soil, to see that more young men might be photographed with arms and legs off, new variations in the "Horrors of War." Pacifism? Certainly not.

A child, with imagination, might have been a little hesitant, touched with some disengaging fancy, that showed the white crosses as so many accusing fingers, the dead boy's face of the stereopticon views reproachful, the flame of the Soldier's grave resentment; but these sublimely knew no doubt.

Sublime, and so ridiculous, such bland assurance! Should one laugh, or rave?

St. Colomba and the River — By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued From Last Week)

McGLATHERY gratefully eyed his old superior, then departed, only to return the next morning a little dubious but willing. St. Colomba had certainly indicated that all would be well with him—but still—A man is entitled to a few doubts even when under the protection of the best of saints. He went down with the rest of the men and began cleaning out that nearest section of the tunnel where first water and then earth had finally oozed and caked. That done he helped install the new pilot tunnel which was obviously a great improvement over the old system. It seemed decidedly safe. McGlathery attempted to explain its merits to his wife, who was greatly concerned for him, and incidentally each morning and evening on his way to and from his task he dropped in at St. Colomba's to offer up a short prayer. In spite of his novena and understanding with his saint he was still suspicious of his dread river above him, and of what might happen to him in

spite of St. Colomba. The good saint, due to some error on the part of McGlathery, might change his mind.

Nothing happened, of course, for days and weeks and months. Under Cavanaugh's direction the work progressed swiftly, and McGlathery and he, in due time, became once more good friends, and the former an ex-good bracer or timberer, one of the best, and worth seven a day really, which he did not get. Incidentally, they were all shifted from day to night work, which somehow was considered more important. There were long conversations now and again between Cavanaugh and Henderson, and Cavanaugh and other officials of the company who came down to see, which enlightened McGlathery considerably as to the nature and danger of the work. Just the same, overhead was still the heavy river—he could feel it pushing at him at times, pushing at the thick layer of mud and silt above him and below which with the aid of this new pilot shield they were burrowing.

Yet nothing happened for months and months. They cleared a thousand feet without a hitch. McGlathery began to feel rather comfort-

able about it all. It certainly seemed reasonably safe under the new system. Every night he went down and every morning came up, as hale and healthy as ever, and every second week, on a Tuesday, a pay envelope containing the handsome sum of seventy-two dollars was handed him. Think of it! Seventy-two dollars! Naturally, as a token of gratitude to St. Colomba, he contributed liberally to his Orphans' home, a dollar a month, say, lit a fresh candle before his shrine every Sunday morning after high mass, and bought two lots out on the Goose Creek waterfront—on time—on which some day, God willing, he proposed to build a model summer and winter cottage. And then—? Well, perhaps, as he thought afterward, it might have been due to the fact that his prosperity had made him a little more lax than he should have been, or proud, or not quite as thoughtful of the saint as was his due. At any rate, one night, in spite of St. Colomba—or could it have been with his aid and consent in order to show McGlathery his power?—the wretched sneaky river did him another bad turn, a terrible turn, really. It was this way. While they were

working at midnight under 'the new system of bracing, based on the pilot tunnel, and with an air pressure of two thousand pounds to the square inch which had so far sufficed to support the iron roof plates which were being put in place behind the pilot tunnel day after day, as fast as space permitted, and with the concrete men following to put in a form of arch which no river weight could break, the very worst happened. For it was just at this point where the iron roof and the mud of the river bottom came in contact behind the pilot tunnel that there was a jangle spot ever since the new work began. Cavanaugh had always been hovering about that, watching it, urging others to be careful—"taking no chances with it," as he said.

"Don't be long, men!" was his constant urge. "Up with it now! Up with it! In with the bolts! Quick, now, with yer riveter—quick! Quick!" And the men! How they worked there under the river whenever there was sufficient space to allow a new steel band to be segmentally set! For at that point it was, of course, that the river might break through. How they tugged, sweated, grunted, curs-

ed, in this dark muddy hole, lit by a few glittering electric arcs—the latest thing in tunnel work! Stripped to the waist, in mud-soaked trousers and boots, their arms and backs and breasts mud-smeared and wet, their hair tousled, their eyes blurry—an artist's dream of oedism, a heavenly inferno of toil—so they labored. And overhead was the great river, Atlantic liners resting upon it, thirty or fifty or ten feet of soil only, sometimes between them and this thin strip of mud sustained, supposedly, by two thousand pounds of air pressure to the square inch—all they had to keep the river from bleeding water down on them and drowning them like rats!

"Up with it! Up with it! Up with it! Now the bolts! Now the rivets! That's it! In with it, Johnny! Once more now!" Cavanaugh's voice urging them so was like music to them, their gift of energy, their labor song, their power to do, their El Uchman.

But there were times also, hours really, when the slow forward movement of the pilot tunnel, encountering difficult earth before it, left this small danger section unduly exposed

to the rotary action of the water overhead which was constantly operating in the bed of the river. Leaks had been discovered from time to time, small tricklings and droppings of earth, which brought Cavanaugh and Henderson to the spot and caused the greatest tension until they had been done away with. The air had a tendency to bore holes upward through the mud. But these were invariably stanching with clay, or, if growing serious, bags of shavings or waste, the air pressure blowing outward from below being sufficient to hold these in place, provided the breach was not too wide. Even when "all hands" were working directly under a segment wide enough for a ring of plates, one man was told to "kape an eye on it."

On the evening in question, however, after twenty-eight men, including Cavanaugh and McGlathery, had entered at six and worked until midnight, pushing the work as vigorously as usual, seven of the men (they were told off in lots of seven to do this) were allowed to go up to the mouth of the tunnel to a nearby all-night saloon for a drink and a bite of food. A half hour to each was al-

lowed, when another group would depart. There was always a disturbing transition period every half hour between twelve and two, during which one group was going and another coming, which resulted at times in a dangerous indifference which Cavanaugh had come to expect at just about this time and in consequence he was usually watching for it.

On the other hand, John Dowd, ditcher, told off to keep an eye on the breach at this time, was replaced on this particular night by Patrick Murtha, fresh from the corner saloon, a glass of beer and the free lunch counter still in his mind. He was supposed to watch closely, but having had four glasses in rapid succession and meditating on their excellence as well as that of the hot frankfurters, the while he was jesting with the men who were making ready to leave, he forgot about it. What now—was a man always to keep his eye on the blanked think! What was going to happen anyway? What could happen? Nothing, of course. What had ever happened in the last eight months?

(To Be Continued Next Week)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

"I JUST CAN'T MAKE MY GUTS BEHAVE"

Behaviorist Marching Song

EDUCATE your guts, my boys,
Train the unstriped viscera
That's the only way
We ever will be free.
Johnny Watson tells you
Just how you can do it,
How to tame the insides
That are plaguing you and me.
Now it can be told, boys and girls. The Behaviorist Pope, John B. Watson, has issued his bull. The trouble with everything and everybody comes down to one short, painfully Saxon word—guts.

Vulgar? Not a bit of it. It's the very latest scientific language. Listen to Mr. Watson, founding father of the Behaviorist School of Psychology, in an article in the February issue of Harper's Magazine: "The good old Anglo-Saxon word 'guts' is one of the simplest terms to designate that portion of our anatomy that moves—behaves—responds to emotional stimuli. The Latin word 'viscera' is a bit more polite but less forceful." And then he goes on and tells us that while we have been busy educating our striped muscles, (those in our arms, legs and trunk) the unstriped muscles of our stomachs and intestines, our lungs and their appendages such as the diaphragm and windpipe and our heart with its playmate, the arteries and veins, have been raising hob all the time, unbeknownst to us.

It is true that before Brother Watson began those famous experiments of his on the babies in the Johns Hopkins laboratory (and have there ever been experiments more widely advertised than those?) there were people who suspected that indigestion might have had something to do with the pessimism of Schopenhauer, and that Nietzsche's disease might have affected his attitude towards life. But then someone has always been nasty enough to suggest that ever so many people have had dyspepsia, and that nevertheless the world is not exactly cluttered up with Schopenhauers nor do we find a super-abundance of Nietzsches in hospitals devoted to the curing of venereal diseases.

However, Mr. Watson, from his vantage-point high up in the advertising agency of J. Walter Thompson, where he "psychologizes" potential advertising for cold creams, compacts, and soap-flakes, has a keen eye for the novel, and to admit that anything of much significance had happened in the line of studying the behaviors of men and women before the honest-to-God, kosher Behaviorism arrived on the scene would be fatal. Further to admit that reason, will, intellect, imagination, the stuff that dreams are made of (including Freudian dream) are anywhere in the picture would be equally as fatal. To be sure there was Spinoza who had somewhat broadly hinted at the relation between intellect and organic action and Nietzsche, himself had suggested that the greater part of thinking might be connected with instinctive functions. But neither Spinoza nor Nietzsche had gone the whole glorious, behavioristic hog and said flatly that we are "the creatures of steel-riveted emotional systems." To which *systems* the Behaviorist will now supply the blue-prints, sic, "Society must make up its mind what it wants its members to be and, to do—then it's up to the behaviorist to find the methods and technique that will bring up the child in the way it should grow." (Incidentally isn't Mr. Watson guilty of heresy when he uses so unbehavioristic a word as "should"?)

So that's that. We all get together on election day and say, "Goody, let's have a lot more capitalists," and then we send the little ones over to the Behaviorist Schools for gut training. We tell them first that Mr. Watson has discovered by hollering "boo" at babies and making other unpleasant noises that babies are frightened by loud noises. Another thing he found out is that if you hold a baby out of the third story window, for instance, and pretend to drop it, this tends to frighten the baby. So he concludes that, primarily, fear comes from two things, loud sounds and the loss of support. Also if you hold a baby's arms close to its sides it will get mad. So the "unconditioned stimulus," consisting of the hollering of bodily movement, causes fear. Finally the stroking of the skin of a baby, pleases the baby and we have the "unconditioned response" that old-fashioned people call "love."

Fear, rage and love. That's all there is to begin with; there isn't any more. And the trick is to "condition" these gut responses so that everyone will realize that the display of affection and the giving away of emotion is very bad form, indeed.

It gives one to think, or rather to set in action the particular ductless gland that "conditions" what we like to call thought. It was certainly good luck for those of us who love poetry that the guts of Algernon Charles Swinburne, for example, were in good shape when his viscera responded to the stimulus of Spring around 1865 and the first chorus in "Atlanta in Caledonia" was the result. We can't thank God, because He has been thrown out along with intellect, will, etc., so we'll have to thank the test-tubes in the Johns Hopkins laboratories that little Kevins had his unstriped muscles functioning when he wrote "Ode on a Grecian Urn." And how fortunate for us sentimentalists that when Whistler came to do the portrait he hadn't heard that mother-love is all hooey and is just the response to early petting.

It's going to be a rather curious world, boys and girls, when the Behaviorists have their way. Every day, in every way, we'll be getting gutter and gutter. Our nurseries will be filled with the bangings of machine-guns, the crash of broken China, the thunderings of riveters, the sudden droppings of elevators full of infants, whilst our young are being trained to "condition" their fear of sudden noises and loss of support.

If someone comes up and holds your arms by your side while his friend socks you in the jaw, you won't mind. You'll know that this is just a low-down attempt to upset your viscera. And when our young collegians go out on petting parties, in the pockets of their coon-skin coats they will carry charts showing the effect of stroking on the ductless glands. It will not exactly be what you would call a gay life but it will be scientific as anything.

The class will now come to order and we will take up the lesson of the day, to wit: "The relation of Michael Angelo's diaphragm to the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican."

McAlister Coleman.

For still the people are no more than slaves;
Each State a slave ship; and no matter which
The figurehead—a President or King—
The people are no more than common grass
To make a few choice cattle fat and rich.
—W. H. DAVIES, "The Song of Life."

THE WORLD IS PURSUING PEACE WITH ALL POSSIBLE SPEED



American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

The Imperial Revolution

THE RISE OF THE KINGS. The capital accumulated in the colonies period through land speculation, exploitation of white and black workers, through smuggling, the slave trade and commerce, and the French-British and American revolutionary wars, had been added to by post-revolutionary land speculation, the slave trade, the factory system and profiteering during the Civil War. These accumulations in turn had been enormously enhanced by the corruption of President Grant's two administrations. Moreover, investors and gamblers had received rich gifts of land and funds from national, state and local governments, especially for canals and railroads. The great magnates near the end of the nineteenth century felt the end of the nineteenth century had felt the end of the nineteenth century as masters of American life.

The turn of the century and the first decade of the new century brought a revolution as profound as the overthrow of the cotton magnates in the mid-nineteenth century. Private ownership of industry steadily gave way to corporate ownership as the business unit enlarged. Individualism was slowly supplanted by limited collective property. Competition came under the control of the kings. A revolution was effected in capitalist property and as the great magnates assumed control of production and distribution a war for mastery in certain fields followed. Out of this war came greater concentration of capital and alliances of the magnates for mastery of definite industries.

GROWTH OF TRUSTS. There were but two large combinations in 1869; in 1879, 4; in 1889, 18; in 1899, 157; and for the four decades, 181. The total capitalization increased from \$13,250,000 in 1869 to \$3,587,777,000 in 1899. Combinations first took the form of "pools" which were of six types. The first was a "gentlemen's agreement" of manufacturers to fix prices. The second was a speculative pool to control prices which disbanded when the object was obtained. The third type of pool attempted to regulate output, the fourth to divide the field among companies, the fifth—a selling pool—created a central agency to handle all sales, and the sixth was an agreement by which all parties to it shared its patents with each other.

Because of difficulty in enforcing pool agreements the trust form of organization succeeded the pool. Stockholders of separate companies assigned their stock to a certain number of trustees and received trust certificates upon which profits were divided. By the side of the trusts grew powerful banking systems like the house of Morgan while a trust like Standard Oil also became a gigantic banking concern financing its great business. Many companies had been overcapitalized by issuance of water stock. When gathered into a trust this "water" served as the basis for trust capitalization and often still more "water" was added. An example is the United States Steel Corporation which had a capitalization in excess of a billion dollars, a bonded debt of 300 millions, and including in its orbit the Morgan and Standard Oil financial powers. Seventy per cent of the iron and steel industry passed into the hands of a gigantic organization "linked with scores of banks of great power, with railroads, and with numerous other corporate undertakings." So rapid was the transformation in the old form of capitalist property in industry that the industrial age of the first decade of this century was as unlike the age of Lincoln as his age was unlike the age of Washington. A new class had appeared to rule the republic.

RISE OF A MILITARIST PHILOSOPHY. During this remarkable period of transformation an American Bernhardi appeared with a subtle philosophy of national greatness, expansion and conquest, fitting the needs of the new ruling class. Captain A. T. Mahan of the U. S. Navy expounded the "manifest destiny" of the imperial republic in terms of great armaments that were to cut their way through seas to facilitate trade.

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and the export of capital for overseas investment. Our territory had expanded to the Pacific and to the Gulf of Mexico. "Have we no right or no call to progress further in any direction?" he asked. Other Powers were "forging link by link, by open force or politic bargain, the control of other peoples. He desired 'predominance over the seas of the world' by the English-speaking world. Before the Spanish-American War (1898) he had urged American mastery of the Caribbean Sea as an approach to the isthmus of Panama to expand American sea power and commercial dominion.

In true Bernhardi style Mahan regarded European and American civilization as an "oasis set in the midst of barbarism" which must be civilized. Americans were getting soft and required the tonic of the barracks and the drill master.

The masses were to be taught "order, obedience and reverence" because these virtues were "fundamental conditions of military success." If the Constitution stands in the way, "as sentiment strengthens, it undermines obstacles, and they crumble before it." (A prophecy which was fulfilled in the court decisions mentioned below). Universal military training and conscription was a national good. Finally, this naval and military power provided Christianity an opportunity "to receive into its own bosom and raise to its own ideals those ancient and different civilizations by which it is surrounded and outnumbered—China, India and Japan. This philosophy became the creed of the ruling magnates and rapidly became the foreign policy of each administration at Washington.

Book Review

Walling on Mexico

THROUGH LINDBERGH and Will Rogers
Ambassador Morrow has caused so many printed words to be written about Mexico that anyone may be forgiven for wondering whether the subject has not been thoroughly explored. A glance at Mr. Walling's book (The Mexican Question by William English Walling, N. Y. Robins Press) will convince you that it has not. Between its covers you will find no descriptions of enthusiastic, flower-throwing crowds, no details of bull-fights or ham-and-egg breakfasts. Although Mr. Walling is also concerned in the spreading of good-will toward Mexico in the United States, he is apparently more certain of the efficacy of facts and figures than of emotions.

Personally, I am not so certain that a knowledge of the amount of capital in the hands of foreigners, the percentage of illiteracy and such like facts will help much in a real comprehension of The Mexican Question without some background of the land and its people, some vision of white-clad Indians jog-trotting under heavy burdens, of sombreroes lifted before a bloody image of Christ crucified, of desolate purple mountains and tropical orchid-dotted jungles.

"The Mexican Question" is an appreciative account of the political and economic aspirations and accomplishments of the Calles regime. The Constitution of 1917 is regarded as the basis for the social reconstruction undertaken by Obregon and Calles and is therefore presented in some detail as it affects the land situation, the church, and industry. But most of all, Mr. Walling is concerned with the government's "well-defined obligations to labor and the labor movement" as set forth in Article 123. He shows the origin and growth of the Mexican Federation of Labor (the CROM) and the Labor Party, under favoring governmental auspices. The program of the Labor Party Mr. Walling finds is "undoubtedly Socialist in a sense. But the Socialism it professes and looks forward to, in a more or less distant future, is of the moderate variety. . . . The CROM professes an equally moderate variety of syndicalism."

The first ten chapters of the book which give the program and accomplishments of the Calles regime have been formally approved by the Mexican president. The remaining section of the book dealing with Mexican-American relations and the Mexican laborer, would, I am sure, also have been approved by His Excellency if the author had seen fit to submit them.

Eva A. Frank.

Laski on Communism

MOST of the studies of Communism written by non-Communists betray a bias in presentation and interpretation that render them useless. It is possible to fundamentally disagree and yet present Communism for what it is and what its protagonists claim for it. One of the very few writers who has accomplished

this is Harold J. Laski (Communism; New York, Henry Holt and Co.). This is one of the small volumes in the Home University series and the author is Professor of Political Science in the University of London.

Rarely have we come across a writer with such a gift of popularization, condensation and fairness of presentation. He declares, what is obvious to all, that no book on Communism "can hope to be impartial" but it was his ambition "so to state the Communist 'theses' . . . that its own advocates would recognize that even an opponent can state them fairly." We think that he has accomplished his purpose. In fact, the presentation is more clear and more forceful than anything we have read from the hands of any English-speaking Communist. Laski considers the Materialist Conception of History, Communist Economics, the Communist Theory of the State, Communist Strategy and in a final chapter subjects the whole system of Communist thought and action to a critical examination.

Yet a work so obviously fair in its approach has been violently assailed in the daily organ of the Communist Party as have the books inspired by old Czarist sympathizers. We only wish that a book as forceful and clear in the presentation of Socialism would be written by another Laski. We would welcome it despite any critical chapter so long as it is also written in terms so fair and sympathetic as Laski has used.

James Oneal.

Labor's Dividends

Under this arresting headline The New Leader, the Socialist weekly in New York, prints regularly the casualties suffered by wage-earners in the pursuit of everyday labor—a great deal of which is perpetually fraught with physical danger.

Recalling from the horrible disaster of Provincetown, made doubly hideous because of the stupidity manifested by humanity in allowing submarines to exist at all, one's mind reverts to these labor disasters. But miners fighting for life against gradual approach of suffocation, deep in the blackness underground, do not receive pages in the press. At the very time when the forty unfortunate of the S-4 were dead beyond the most desperate hope, and the papers were still running columns on the story daily, the bodies of four miners were being removed from lethal caverns at Marion, Illinois, and a struggle on to save three still thought to be alive. The miners got a grudging inch or two. Not so many of them—in this instance—and a bit less dramatic in stark tragedy. But every year in this country some 2,300 miners are killed on the job. Since 1869 there have been 22 major coal-mine disasters. Not to mention other labor losses.

You recall the S-51; but do you know anything about the catastrophes at Benwood, West Virginia, and Castle Gate, Utah, in which 119 and 171 were killed, respectively, many after long-drawn-out agony?—The World Tomorrow.

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A WIDE OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS

DEAR Sirs and Brothers:

Last week I wrote a letter to Brother Cal. telling him to keep a weather eye on the admirals on account of the way they bungled the raising of S-4, in spite of the expert assistance of that garage man from Indiana. I had hoped he would bring my letter to your attention in a special message, but he doesn't seem to have done so yet. So I thought I'd better write you direct before you vote that 750,000,000 bucks for a bigger and bungler navy.

I'm saying this because after reading the testimony of Admiral Brumby before the naval court of inquiry into the sinking of Submarine S-4, I have come to the conclusion that what this country needs above all things is an intelligence test for admirals. Maybe a lunacy test would be better but I leave that to you to decide after you have read the following abstract from the testimony of Admiral Brumby:

Question: Why did it take so long for air to be started into the compartment?

Admiral Brumby: "I just can't be positive about such things. I just can't remember. Ask the technical people."

Q: At the time the first diver went down on Sunday, December 18, and heard tapings from the torpedo room, why did he not connect up the air-hose then?

Admiral B.: "I am not familiar with the details of the construction of submarines, but those who were there thought the steps being taken were the proper ones."

Q: Why was not the salvage compartment line, constructed to send breathing air into the torpedo chamber, connected?

Admiral B.: "Well, I don't really know. I can't answer that question. My impression is the divers did all they could do. As to details I can't tell you. You'll have to ask the technical men."

Q: When was the compartment air line connected?

Admiral B.: "I don't know that it was ever connected. I'm not sure."

The Admiral was asked whether he thought the Falcon well equipped for rescue work.

Admiral B.: "There is none better anywhere, but I don't know. I can't be positive about such things."

Now, brothers, the man who gave this brilliant demonstration of the limitations of the human mind is an admiral. He is in charge of all the submarines on the Atlantic ocean, a-float and a-sunk, and what he doesn't know about his job would make the Congressional Library look like a sale bill.

So, I say, let's have an intelligence test for admirals, like we have for miners in Illinois. And knowing how busy you all are, I made up one out of my own head. Here it is:

Question: Where was Moses when the light went out?

Correct answer: He was in Egypt looking for a match.

Question: Why do chickens cross the road?

Correct Answer: Oh, do they?

Question: Why don't wet stones float?

Correct Answer: Because they've got to be wet on both sides to do the work.

Question: Why does water run down hill?

Correct Answer: Because it has no wheels.

Question: What is the shortest distance between two given points.

Correct Answer: If you'll tell me the names of the two points, I'll ask the filling station man nearest to them. He knows.

Question: What is a naval escort?

Correct Answer: An able-bodied seaman taking his girl home.

Question: What happens when a hollow floating object hits a rock at the rate of thirty knots an hour?

Correct Answer: Ask the rock. He's been there before.

When an aspirant can give 80 per cent correct answers on a questionnaire, he is fit to be a 100 per cent admiral. But if he can answer no more than 33 1/3 per cent of them, he is only good enough for a rear admiral.

Well, Congress, mill it over and let me know what you think about my ideas. There's a heap more good ones like that in my head and if you need anything in that line, just let me know for there isn't anything I wouldn't do to make our navy safe from the admirals.

ADAM COALDIGGER

P. S.—If Sub 4 is still where it was the last time I heard of it, tell Brother Brumby to wire Dave Stuart. Dave never was on a ship, either, but he knows a lot about schooners and rescuing, being that he lives in Belleville and is captain of the mine rescue crew of that famous seaport.

Going Crazy!

I'm going crazy. The whole country is going crazy. Can you blame us? A sane man has no show anymore. The cards are all stacked against him. If the courts find him sane they hang him. If they find him crazy they apologize for having suspected his sanity.

Take this man Remus for instance. He makes five million dollars bootlegging, which is against the law. (Bootlegging is, not the five million), and Remus is jerked in court. Having made these millions he naturally can't plead insanity, because a man who makes more money than he possibly can spend, simply can't be insane. So Remus is sent to the pen for bootlegging.

At the graduating exercises, the government of the United States presents millionaire Remus with a new suit of clothes and a five-dollar bill and he is turned out in the cold world to start all over. Arriving in the bosom of his family, he discovers that during his enforced absence, the wife of his bosom had been spending some of his millions galavanting about with the prohibition officers who had sent him to the penitentiary. So he gets indignant and kills the prohibition officers, which would have been the natural thing to do (we all feel that way) but no. He kills his wife for the commendable act of loving her husband's enemy.

Fetched up in Court again, Remus, who knows lawyers, having been one himself, is sane enough to plead his own case and does it so successfully that the courts declare him crazy in spite of all that the son of a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States could do to prove him sane.

Found guilty of proving himself crazy, Remus is sentenced for killing his wife and the courts sentenced him to a long and deserved rest for being a menace to society. But Remus, who it might surmise, had bootlegged that million together to spend his declining years in peace, tranquility and rest, goes to court again and pleads release from something every sane person wants on the ground that he is not crazy and fails because the son of the Supreme Court judge who had fallen down on the job of proving Remus sane, succeeded at last in proving him crazy.

But Adam, isn't that Remus case awfully old stuff to write about? Sure. But I just now got it doped out. Besides, I'm seriously thinking of killing a prohibition officer before long and when the judge sees this piece, he'll find me crazy sure as — Well, there is nothing like preparedness, is there?

Adam Coldigger.

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- ... THE WAR MYTH IN U. S. HISTORY. C. H. Hamlin.
- ... IS CONSCIENCE A CRIME? Norman Thomas.
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The Week On Stage

"STRANGE INTERLUDE"

By Joseph T. Shipley

EUGENE O'NEILL's play in nine acts, "Strange Interlude," at the John Golden Theatre, is a unique experience, not to be missed by those interested in the drama and a profound study, which should be seen by all who enjoy the presentation of rounded character portraits. It is further—we mention here to be free to discuss the play—an excellent production, with Lynn Fontanne especially poignant in a part that moves through many years and many emotional crises.

The length of the play (which starts for evening performance at 5:30) affords advantages. There is room for fuller development of more characters; in "Strange Interlude" four persons are revealed with insight, sympathy, and a degree of completeness. Their story, furthermore, can be carried along to a brief play would not allow, more suggestive of the continuity and complexity of life.

The extent and treatment of the play suggest comparison with the novel; in several ways, indeed, the novel anticipates (and excels) the form O'Neill has ventured. From the veiled figures of "Overtones," given some years ago by The Washington Square Players, the attempt to display thoughts as well as words has continued, through such devices as setting the drama within the brain or employing shifting masks, to the novelist's modern technique of running conversation and thought in one continuous stream. The printed page of the novel (probably of the play, as well) employs italics to indicate the second sphere; on the stage, manner and tone mark this extended use of the "aside." The novelist's also, is the privilege of extending his study without limit of time; here the conventions of the arts are called in question. Manifestly, only the existence of such an organization as The Theatre Guild would permit the production of a play as lengthy as "Strange Interlude." Clearly, O'Neill is experimenting, not in terms of drama, but outside the convention of his day. He is seeking to wrest the form of his concept; he will sleep in no Procrustean bed.

To present life fully, in fiction, is of course impossible. Even if all the events, impulses, ideas, emotions, of a character's growth could fit into a volume or an evening, much of the conglomerate procession would burst through the harmonizing form we seek in art, or elude the stunted fingers of our phrasing. The seven senses of man outvie the evocative wealth of sight and sound, of printed or spoken word. Since all art involves selection, the degree is a matter of other considerations than merit; and that play which isolates a situation so as to bare a soul may be more poignant than that which moves through several episodes of varying revelation.

Eugene O'Neill often opens chambers of profound emotion, where one hopes to find the basic forces of man's living strain through simple, tremendous conflict; rarely does he choose the words, does he attain the poetic diction, to achieve the simple sublimity of elemental growth and pain. His ideas urge, his phrases fall behind. Perhaps it is this inability to capture the quietly momentous, the simply significant, that prompts O'Neill subtly to poison his themes with biased presentation, or darkly to pile complication on complexity, what he cannot win by purity seeking through sophistication. If not the grace of Rosalind, the wiles of Celine, or the wit of Cordelia's love, Medea's hate.

"Strange Interlude," to illustrate by the present instance, is the story of a girl who, her soldier sweetheart killed at the front, becomes in agony a general war bride, until her neurosis—we are assured—can be corrected only if she rear her own children. Loving her hero still, she marries his male idolater and by him becomes pregnant. Through the early years of that child lies the theme of a play, in the conflict within the wife, of the dream-father and the actual father. This does not content Eugene O'Neill; he reduces the drama from its universal aspect to a particular problem by giving the living husband insane forebears, so that the needed baby must not come. Nor is he content to study the wife in this situation; her mother-in-law bids her find a healthy man to give her a child. To restore her husband's self-confidence, the consoling, using for the cold purpose a friendly physician. The doctor is as scientific in his approach as Casanova's administrator the "arph," the woman becomes as amorous as Casanova's patient; but, unlike Casanova, the man stays by. Instead, therefore, of an interesting triangle with a real, a pretended, and a ghost father, we are offered the further spectacle of a doctor whose career is ruined, wrapped in bitter, fading amours his child shall spy, and unknowing hate this intruder in the family. None of this added material in inevitably bound with the initial theme; it is not essential; the play lengthens beyond usual limits because the author, not the story, wills it. There is, indeed, a fourth man, whose mother-complex has given him the feminine intuition which probably is the cause of his novels' succeeding, and which binds him in close ties with the woman of this all. Because of the real father's presence, the son is drawn close to his mother's husband, estranged from her; she is the more demanding in her love, opposing his engagement. The way this lad grows in the image of the dead hero works its curious effect upon the parents both: the study, granting each event, is psychologically profound; the strain

of granting all these fortitudes, which in a novel could be clothed in extended and extenuating atmosphere, reduces the drama to a tour de force, true in the details of its character-growth, yet essentially false. "Strange Interlude" is a play one should not miss, an example at once of the analytic power and the synthetic impotence of "the greatest American playwright."

WHO SHALL BE SAVED?

By all means, Pauline Lord, "Salvation," which Sidney Howard and Charles MacArthur have worked together, and Arthur Hopkins is presenting at the Empire, proves to be another of the season's shipment of evangelists. Scandal breaks, as in the tabloids, over the head of the simply sincere and sincerely simple Bethany; but more violently beats upon her the discovery that to her manager, her mother, her husband, she is not God's messenger, but Mammon's agent; more silently but with still greater power strikes upon these financiers the news of Bethany's conversion: her change from sinner to seeker, her wonder—no longer word—of Christ. Save for a few swift lunges of phrase, and some clever—if superficial—portents: "You know what God thinks of the Unitarians!" the play is little more than this outline.

But the actors are a deal more, and a treat. Helen Ware overacts a bit as the play progresses, but her early moments have just the right mixture of motherly and moneyed solicitude. Osgood Perkins and Pauline Lord both remind us of themselves in other parts; but he is so off-handedly natural as to be amusingly entertaining; and she carries as ever a suggestion of pathos that impregnates the part and lifts it beyond the individual role to a shadowing of universal beauty.

In Brief

The complete cast which will open in "Inheritors" by Susan Glaspell at the Civic Repertory Theatre tonight (Saturday) evening includes Josephine Hutchinson, who plays the leading role, Donald Cameron, Paul Leysack, Charles Hubert, Mary Ward, Ruth Wilson, Oahlee Hubbard, Robert F. Ross, Neil Cornell, Walter Beck, and John Eldridge. "Inheritors" opened this spring. Next October he will begin a long tour of the Pacific Coast in the Shakespearean play.

"Hoboken Blues," by Michael Gold, directed by Edward Massey, opened at the New Playwrights Theatre on Friday evening. The scene is laid in the Harlem of the nineties and of today. The cast includes: George Bratt, Lawrence Bolton, Jane Barry, Hazel Nason, Herbert Bergman, Sheba Strunsky, Mona Lewis and others. Settings are by William Gaskin.

"Hot Pan," a comedy by Michael Swift, a new play, opens on February 15th at the Provincetown Playhouse. The scene is laid in California of the Gold Rush days. The play is directed by James Light, with settings by Olen Johnson. The cast includes: Barbara Bulgakov, Eduard Franz, Harold Johnson, Ruth Chorpennig, James Kelly, William Challee, and about thirty others.

The casting for W. Somerset Maugham's "Our Betters," in which Ina Claire is being starred by Messrs. Kordell and in association with Gilbert Miller, is now completed, and rehearsals under the direction of Reginald Denny are well under way in the Rialto Theatre. Ina Claire, who is being featured as the Duchesse de Surenne, the role which she created in London and played with sensational success for over two years, the cast includes Lilian Kemble Cooper, Madge Evans, Frederick Truesdell, Ina Claire will make her first appearance in "Our Betters" in Wilmington, Delaware. She will play Baltimore the week of Feb. 13th and open in New York on Feb. 20th at Henry Miller Theatre. George M. Cohan's "The Baby Cyclone," now in its twenty-second week, will be moved to another theatre.

MUSIC

"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "Pagliacci" will be given as a holiday matinee Monday at the Metropolitan Opera House, the former with Mmes. Easton, Flexer and Falco and Messrs. Tokatyan and Basini; the latter with Mary Lewis (first appearance this season) and Messrs. Martinelli, Bohnen (first time this season, as Tonio), Tibbett and Tedesco. Mr. Belzoni will conduct both operas.

"Carmen" will be given Monday evening with Mmes. Jeritta, Morgana, Alcock and Ryan and Messrs. Johnson, Pinza (first time at the Met), Gabor, Tava, and Cehanovsky and Pico. Miss Galli and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

Other operas next week at the Metropolitan will be: "Tannhauser" as a matinee on Wednesday—first of the afternoon Wagner Cycle—with Mmes. Jeritta, Tava, and Fleischer and Messrs. Kirchhoff, Schorr, Bohnen, Allgass, Bloch, Gabor and Wolfe. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct. "The King's Henchman" on Wednesday evening with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Flexer, Bonetti, Ryan, Tegner and Parise and Messrs. Johnson, Tibbett, Meader, Bloch, Gustafson, Allgass, D'Angelo, Pico, Gabor, Valda, Marshall, Cehanovsky, Ananian and Wolfe. Mr. Serafini will conduct. "Pelléas et Melisande" on Friday evening with Mmes. Bori, Dalossy and Howard and Messrs. Johnson, Whitehill, Rothler and Ananian. Mr. Hasselmann will conduct. "Sigfried"—first time this season—

will be the "popular" Saturday night opera with Mmes. Easton, Wakefield, Bourskaya and Dalossy and Martinelli.

How George Arliss Prepares His Roles

The supposedly staid, sober and unromantic British Museum is directly responsible for some of the vivid, romantic stage impersonations of George Arliss, star in Winthrop Ames' production of William Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice," in the Broadhurst Theatre.

As a young man, Arliss worked in the printing and publishing shop of his father near the British Museum. He was more interested in the stage than in the shop. He haunted the Museum to observe the characteristics of the strange dross of humanity that hovered about the place, "ghosts" Arliss calls them.

Arliss goes to life rather than to books for his inspiration in studying his roles. He selects and combines characteristics of people he has seen, whether in the street, the shop or the personage of a book. His Uncle Brendel in Mr. Fiske's production of Ibsen's "Rosmersholm" was in outer appearance, manner, dress and action a picture of a man he had encountered in the British Museum.

This habit Arliss fostered when he first went on the stage and was an "extra man" at the Elephant and Castle Stock Exchange in London. Though he had no lines to speak, he would model his part on the same kind of a person he had found in life. Oftentimes this habit was annoying to the leading players of the company who found his minor player building up such a recumbent of intricate detail that the attention of the audience was attracted to him.

Though Arliss declines to discuss Shylock it is interesting as indicative of his thorough methods of preparing his characterizations that he visited the Ghetto in New York City several times, studying types of Jews, particularly the elder generation which is not much changed by contact with American life as is the younger generation.

Reading Socialists Open Fight to Win State Senate Seat

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—William C. Hoover, defeated at the election in November for city treasurer, was nominated by acclamation for state senator at a Socialist caucus last week in the Labor Lyceum. City Councilman James H. Maurer in urging Hoover to accept the nomination, said he considered it a strategic move, and said he believed the Socialists have a good chance of landing this office.

The full ticket nominated is: Legislature, District No. 1, comprising the city, Jesse George and Andrew P. Bower; District No. 2, Ellwood W. Lefler, Goughersville; District No. 3, David B. Kline, Centerville; District No. 4, Paul C. Horne, Laureldale.

Congressman from the Berks-Lehigh district, Howard MacDonald, Ninth ward, state committee, Edwin Yoe, Eighth ward, and Edgar Frost, Tenth ward.

All nominations were made by acclamation, and the caucus lasted only about 15 minutes. There was no contest for nomination. Maurer's short talk, the only one given, was made when he failed to hear Hoover declare that he would accept the nomination.

Fall and Doherty Thrive
Perhaps you haven't noticed it but the Fall-Doherty old thefts are now many years old and these gentlemen are still enjoying nice dinners out of jail while Sacco and Vanzetti have been in their graves since August.

The Transit Bill
The New York Interborough Rotten Transit Company is out for a grab of two cents on each fare which will bring in an annual rake-off of about \$200,000. Many voters do not stop to figure how much it costs to vote for capitalist parties but this big sum will help them to foot up the total.

Esther Friedman To Lecture On Marriage
Esther Friedman will give four lectures on "Evolution of Marriage and the Family" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road. These lectures will be given on consecutive Friday evenings, beginning February 17th. The subject of the first lecture will be, "Origin of the Family." These thoughts provoking topics should draw a large crowd to the Fellowship. They will begin promptly at 8:30 p. m. Admission 25 cents.

The Peoples Institute
The Peoples Institute announces that its series of lectures at Cooper Union will continue to commence at 8 p. m. on Saturdays, Tuesdays, and Fridays. However, the series conducted at the Muhlengier Branch Library on Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, have been moved forward in point of time and now commence at 8:30 p. m. sharp.

Pioneer Youth Forum Reveals Youngsters Who Know How to Think For Themselves

Youngsters in these jazz days seem to have emotional rather than mental, and personal rather than social, interests. Therefore it seemed an incident of importance when 55 of them, between the age of 16 and 20, met last Monday night at Pioneer Youth headquarters in heated discussion.

The subject, "Superior People," led them far afield into politics, medicine, science and the arts. Debs and Lenin were among their choices of humanitarian leaders. Their contributions showed an acute awareness of the working class struggle, but their best mental quality was open-mindedness. After all, industrial inequalities are glaring enough so that all your young people have to do is to think straight. These youngsters could think on their feet, and if they are a representative group of the children of labor union members, the labor unions are going to have workers that will win respect for their honesty of thinking.

WEVD Programs

45.8M—WEVD—New York City—1220KC

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12
12:30 Weismantle's Entertainers
1:00 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13
1:00 Scholl Hour
2:00 Georges Rael, bass
2:20 Dudley Bowers, cellist
2:40 Mary Segrist, "Poems of the New Humanity"

3:00 Morris E. Goldman, male quartette; and Rose Dance Orchestra
3:40 Merial Nelda, soprano, disease
4:00 Carlos Press, cellist
4:20 Dorothy Ballou, lyric soprano
4:40 Michel Ingberman, pianist
5:00 An Hour of India

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14
1:00 Margaret Fry, lyric soprano
1:20 James Hudson, tenor
1:40 Merial Sternfeld, coloratura soprano
2:00 Irving Cheyette, violin
2:20 Eda Tolson, contralto
2:40 Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano
3:00 Roland Weber, reading from Goethe's Faust
3:20 Abe Berg, violin
3:40 Lilian Duxbury, soprano, Liedersinger
4:00 Paul F. Wald, boy pianist
4:20 Marjorie Dell, popular soprano
4:40 Raymond Rogers, piano harmony
5:00 Ruth Morrow Pinder, contralto
5:20 Civic Repertory Theatre, reader
5:40 Robert J. McClelland, tenor
6:00 Debs Vocal Quartet
9:15 Negro Achievement in America, Robert W. Bagnole
9:30 Debs Trio
9:45 What the Co-operatives Doing in America, Cedric Long
10:00 Debs Vocal Quartette
10:15 Debs Trio
10:30 Rebel Poets, Charles Wagner
10:45 Debs Vocal Quartet
11:00 American Trio
11:30 Cardinal Dance Orchestra

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15
1:00 Joe Zimmerman, piano
1:30 Charles Moore, lecturer "Brahms—Artist and Creator"; Lydia Mason, piano; Norman Allen, baritone, Carlos Press, cello
2:00 Instrumental Trio
2:10 Helen Bierling, soprano
2:30 Debs Vocal Quartet
2:40 Paul Carver Tickling, contralto
3:30 Richard E. Parks, bass
3:50 Maude Tellefson, contralto
4:10 Conservatory of Musical Art, solo

4:45 Winifred Harper Cooley, "Problem Drama"
5:00 Borna, contralto and Michael Ingberman, piano
5:00 Woodhaven Studio

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16
1:00 Jennie Muhlschlegel, popular soprano and pianist
1:20 Roland Weber, reading
1:40 Kitty Creed, lyric soprano
2:00 Rolf Weil, baritone
2:20 Mera Rowland, coloratura soprano
2:40 Myra Norton, piano
3:00 Jennie Wallace, lyric soprano
3:20 Professor Pauline Taylor, (French Literature)
3:40 Florence Bowler, contralto
4:00 Adolf Osterstein, violinist and lecturer
4:20 Merial Schakman, dramatic soprano
4:40 Rosa Kovar, contralto
5:00 Hints from Suzanne
9:00 Debs String Quartette
9:15 Negro Literature and Music, James Weldon Johnson
9:30 Mary Arno, dramatic soprano
9:45 Kessler's Second Avenue Theatre

10:15 Debs String Quartet
10:30 Merial Nelda, soprano
10:45 Debs String Quartet
11:00 Debs Vocal Orchestra

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17
1:00 Joe Zimmerman, pianist
1:30 Jack Phillips, popular baritone
1:50 Elsie Duffield, dramatic soprano
2:10 Maude Kindred, piano
2:30 Rosalie Rescigno, violinist
3:10 Negro Art Group: Winifred Watson, Lydia Mason, R. D. Reid and C. G. Clark
4:00 Oscar Goldstein, popular tenor
4:30 Michael Engerman, pianist
4:45 Winifred Harper Cooley, problem drama in
5:00 Jewish Hour, Abe Berg, violinist; Rosalie Cohen, soprano; Harry Rothberg, recitations; Scholm Altsch Ensemble

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18
1:00 George Ebert, baritone
1:20 Rose Sherman, soprano
1:40 Merial Tolson, contralto
2:00 Michael Ingberman, pianist
2:20 Robert J. Urann, popular baritone
2:40 Pauline Spivack, popular soprano
3:00 Gullen Paige, baritone
3:20 Rebel Poets, Chas. Wagner
4:00 Gudrun Ekeland, lyric soprano
4:20 Norman Allen, Liedersinger
4:40 Milton Arno, pianist
5:00 Bernard Carp, baritone
5:20 Debs Chamber Ensemble
5:40 Debs Chamber Ensemble
6:00 The New Trio
9:15 McAlister Coleman, "Labor Looks at the Week"
9:30 Mary Morley, pianist
9:45 Segregation and Jim Crow, Robert W. Bagnole
10:15 Howard Gee, baritone
10:35 Herbert J. Seligman, "Disfranchisement of the Negro in the South"
10:50 The New Trio
11:00 Debs Variety Hour

THEATRE GUILD ACTING CO.
Week of Feb. 13
BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY
The Doctor's Dilemma
(EXTRA MAT. MON., FEB. 13)
Week of Feb. 20
EUGENE O'NEILL'S
MARCO MILLIONS
Guild Theatre
WEST 52nd STREET
Mats. Mon., Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

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The Doctor's Dilemma
(EXTRA MAT. MON., FEB. 13)
Week of Feb. 20
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Week of Feb. 13
BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

Schools • Lectures • Forums

The COMMUNITY CHURCH

PARK AVENUE AND 34th STREET

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12
11 A. M. — Morning Service
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"The Religion of Abraham Lincoln"
8 P. M. — Community Forum
Questions—Discussion
MORDECAI JOHNSON
President *Howard University*
"The Negro's Significance for American Religion"
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 8:15 P. M.
PARKER MOON
Assistant Professor of International Relations at Columbia University
"High Finance in European Politics"
Admission 75 Cents

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union At 8 O'Clock
SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 12
MR. HAREDRANATH MAITRA
"Hindu Art and Music"
TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14
DR. PAUL RADIN
"The Human Side of Primitive Culture"
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 17
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN
"Young Man go West." The Psychology of the American Frontier.
Davy Crockett as a Type.
Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion
At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23rd St. (nr. 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 O'Clock
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 13
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Shakespeare"
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15
DR. ROBERT CHAMBERS
"Living Protoplasm in its Relation to the Environment"
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"What is the meaning of 'a priori'?"
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"Fate and Freedom among the Ancients"
Admission Free

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP

1301 BOSTON ROAD AT 169TH STREET
Sunday, Feb. 12th (Admission Free)
8 P. M. — Fellowship Service
"Biology and Religion"
Arthur Dougherty Rees
9 P. M. — Open Forum
A Literary Evening with Sam A. De Witt
Friday, Feb. 17th (Admission 25 cents)
8:30 P. M. — Lecture by Esther Friedman on
"Origin of the Family"
(First in a series of four lectures on "Evolution of Marriage and the Family")

The Rand School of Social Science

7 E. 15th St. Alg. 3094

JOAN LONDON

(Daughter of Jack)

will lecture on

"The Last of the Frontier Writers"

Saturday Feb. 18 2 P. M.

ADMISSION 75c

BRONX OPEN FORUM

Every Friday 8:15 P. M.

at HOLLYWOOD GARDENS
890 Prospect Ave., Near 162nd St.
FRIDAY, FEB. 10
ARTURO GIOVANNETTI
will read from his poetry
Audience—Modern Culture Fellowship
Alex Field, Pres. Sec'y Founder.
ADMISSION FREE

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Office: 62 East 10th Street Telephone: Lehigh 3111
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 7 P. M.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 10th Street
ISADORE SILVERMAN, NATHAN ZUCOFF, Recording Secretary

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America

District Council No. 9, New York City.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. Clarence M. Barnes, Secretary

WHEN YOU BUY CLOTH HATS AND CAPS

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of N. Y.
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of
THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION of U. S. & C.
28 W. 31st Street
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.
EDW. F. McGRADY, Manager

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 100 East 52nd Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
JOHN A. HARRIS, President. J. A. SALTZ, Vice-President.
THOMAS SHEARLEY, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Sec. Agent.

Is Tammany Backing The I.R.T. Fare Grab?

(Continued from page 1)

are suddenly dumb as an ox while the five-cent fare—THE SYMBOL OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN NEW YORK CITY—hangs in the balance. You protest enough—too much, many people think—but fail to back up your protests with action.

Mayor Walker, WE DEMAND THAT THE FIVE CENT FARE BE KEPT INTACT. We demand that you KEEP YOUR PROMISES. There is only one course left.

The situation demands that you immediately exercise the right the city has TO RE-CAPTURE ITS TRANSIT LINES. The re-capture dates of the entire I.R.T. system, with the exception of the Eastern Parkway line, have expired.

MAYOR WALKER, you have delayed long enough. If your hands are not tied by the SMITH-TAMMANY-TRAC-TION DEAL you will at once serve notice of re-capture. You asked, in the last election, for removal of limitation on the city's debt. You got what you asked for. The avenue for re-capture by the city of its own transit lines is now wide open.

MAYOR WALKER, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Acknowledgement

Donations Made at the Fourth Annual New Leader Dinner January 27th, 1928

A. I. W. Joint Bd.	\$250.00
Albert Halpern	25.00
Morris Berman	25.00
"M."	25.00
Jack Blaustein	100.00
Morris Hillquit	100.00
Dr. J. Halpern	100.00
Solomon Hill	100.00
Millinery Workers No. 24	100.00
Pocketbook Makers	100.00
William Karlin	50.00
Adolph Warshaw	50.00
Norman Thomas	50.00
Louis Waldman	50.00
S. A. DeWitt	50.00
Alexander Kahn	50.00
Furriers Union	50.00
Jacob Panken	50.00
George Roewer	50.00
S. C. Viadock	25.00
I. Baskin	25.00
Kielson & Waxelbaum	25.00
Meyer Gillis	25.00
Seckman Makers Union	25.00
Benjamin Schlesinger	25.00
P. Pilot	25.00
I. Rogoff	25.00
A. Shipiloff	25.00
M. Zechowitz	25.00
N. Bernstein	25.00
I. Norkins	25.00
H. Rivkin	25.00
Henry Greenfield	25.00
I. Hillman	25.00
Adolph Held	25.00
Mrs. L. Goldberg	25.00
Dr. J. Rolnick	25.00
Suitcase & Bag Makers Union	25.00
J. Stein	25.00
S. L. Berman	25.00
Harry W. Laidler	25.00
Hebrew Butchers Union	25.00
Dr. S. Ingemann	25.00
Sigmund Halmon	25.00
Rh and 14th A. D. S. P.	25.00
M. Tulman	25.00
Charlotte Bohlin	25.00
Ex. Comm. Polish S. A.	25.00
W. Cannon	25.00
S. Rubinov	25.00
Dr. J. James	25.00
M. Isaacs	25.00
M. Robinson	25.00
S. Fineberg	25.00
23rd A. D. Kings Co. S. P.	25.00
Rosa Welch	25.00
Furriers Verband	25.00
Dr. Seldin	25.00
Goldsmith	25.00
P. J. Murphy	25.00
Harry Smith	25.00
Morris Finestone	25.00
M. Posse	25.00
Dr. M. Goldberg	25.00
Branch 7, Socialist Party	25.00
J. Corn	25.00
Herman Volk	25.00
David Granditter	25.00
M. Levy	25.00
M. Ansell	25.00
M. Rutes	25.00
Oscar Siot	25.00
Bertha M. Haley	25.00
Morris Novick	25.00
M. Tollins	25.00
A. Democrat	25.00
Louis Berger	25.00
McAlister Coleman	25.00
Dr. Lief	25.00
Felix Papowsky (Nowy. Swiat)	25.00
Nathan Fine	25.00
David Mikol	25.00
Helen Silverstone	25.00
S. Kowalczyk Nowy. Swiat	25.00
Henry Fruchter	25.00
Eddie Levinson	25.00
Lidor Korn	25.00
Fania Cohn	25.00
Oiga Long	25.00
I. Laderman	25.00

Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK
Sunday, Feb. 12, 11 a. m. Judge Jacob Panken, Charles Solomon. Subject: "Current Events." Henning Hall, 214 East 1st street. Auspices Socialist Party.
6-8-12 A. D.
Sunday, Feb. 12, 8:30 p. m. Esther Friedman. Subject: "Woman's Changing Status." East Side Socialist Center, 6-8-12 A. D.
Thursday, Feb. 16, 8:30 p. m. Fannie Berlin. Subject: "Companionate Marriage." 98 Avenue C. Auspices Socialist Party, 1-2nd A. D.
Friday, February 10, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Mortimer J. Adler. Subject: "How the Body Works—The Methods of Physiology." Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Branch Seven.
Friday, Feb. 17, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Mortimer J. Adler. Subject: "Mazes and Puzzle Boxes—the Animal Mind." Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue.
BROOKLYN
Friday, Feb. 10, 8:30 p. m. Marius Hansome. Subject: "Ignorance in Relation to Age, Sex, Race, Vocation." (Dumb-bells in every social group). Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.
Friday, Feb. 10, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Louis Sadoff. Subject: "The Socialist Attitude Towards Soviet Russia." 165 St. Marks avenue, Brooklyn. Auspices Socialist Party, 16th A. D.
Friday, Feb. 10, 8:30 p. m. G. Valenti. Subject: "Cross Currents and Disruptive Movements Affecting the Socialist Party in the U. S." Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd and 14th avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 9-16 A. D.
Sunday, Feb. 12, 4 p. m. William Morris Feigenbaum. Subject: "Abraham Lincoln." 7212 20th avenue. Auspices Socialist Party, 16th A. D.
Sunday, Feb. 12, 8:30 p. m. August Claessens. Subject: "The Measure of Social Progress." 2518 Mormal avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Coney Island Branch.
Monday, Feb. 13, 9 p. m. Louis P. Goldberg. Subject: "Socialism." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.
Tuesday, Feb. 14th, 9 p. m. August Claessens. Subject: "The Presidential Campaign." 218 Van Sicken avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 22nd A. D.
Friday, Feb. 17, 8:30 p. m. Marius Hansome. Subject: "Collective Ignorance; Its Relation to Politics, Economics Social Life, Crime. (Can men learn from history?)" Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone: Orchard 900-1-5
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.
J. HERSHKOWITZ, GILLIES, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

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

All Meetings are held in the Headgear Workers' Lyceum (Beethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street.

Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Boards Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
Phone: Orchard 900-1-5
NORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Rec. Sec'y.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS of America

LOCAL UNION No. 503
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Plaza 6414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HARKETT, President. ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec. Secretary. Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President. JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary. Business Agent

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Willoughby Ave. Phone 6811 Plaza
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGER, President. CHARLES PFLUM, Fin. Sec'y.
VALENTINE BURN, Vice-President. JOHN JENNINGS, Treasurer.
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y. ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 448
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 100th Street
OFFICE: 541 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 8876
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent.
HARRY F. ELBERT, Fin. Sec'y. CHARLES M. BLUM, Rec. Sec'y

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT

OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Rooms 720-16, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 543 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

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BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

175 E. 15th St.

Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday

AL. GRABEL, President

J. BELSKY, Secretary

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.

11 East 15th Street

Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union

Z. L. FREEDMAN, President

LEON HATTAH, NATHAN RIEBEL, Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th Street

Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 163 East 3rd Street

Fred Fandelshten, N. Gilman, President

A. Weinstein, Sec. Sec'y

Wm. R. Chisling, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTOR'S UNION

Office, 31 Seventh Street, 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 1-939

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.

M. GREENBERG, Sec. Treas.

PETER MONAT, Manager.

See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. U. of T.

908 W. 14th St., City

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at BEETHOVEN HALL

210 East 5th St.

Executive Board meets on 1st and 3rd Thursdays at

BEETHOVEN HALL

190 East 5th Street

JOE HOFFMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.

MAX LIEBER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.

Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 61 East 8th St. Phone Dry Dock 10174. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.

ABE LEONOWICZ, Pres.

PETE KOPP, Sec. Sec'y

BARRY DINGO, J. GREEN, Fin. Sec'y

Vice-Pres. J. ROSENBERG, Sec'y

JACOB RAPPAPORT, Bus. Agent

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 489, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve. at the Labor Temple, 543 East 84th St.

PETER BOYTHMAN, President.

ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary

AMROB BAAK, Fin. Sec'y

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 848 NINTH AVENUE

Telephone Langens 5239

Day Room Open Daily, 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.

JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GALL, President

Fin. Secretary

M. McDONALD, G. F. BREKKE, Vice-President

Sec. Secretary

Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

MEETING HALL TO RENT FOR LABOR UNIONS AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES, Seating Capacity 300.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.

Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St., Room 19

Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.

Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

Members Please Take Notice!
The assessment for 1928 is ten cents for each hundred dollars insurance due from all members since the first day of January.
It is advisable not to wait for the assessment notice but to make your payment now in order to avoid the rush in April and May.

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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NEW LEADER

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1928

Against "Barbarous Warfare"

NO person who understands the part that naval armament plays in the world struggle of the imperialist powers will for a moment consider Secretary of State Kellogg's suggestion to outlaw the submarine as anything but hypocritical. To the uninformed it presents the Coolidge Administration in the role of making a peace gesture but it is not even a gesture. One must also remember the naval-building program of the administration to understand this attack on submarines.

In Ottawa Kellogg described submarine warfare as "barbarous" and in London W. C. Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, declares that Great Britain will support the Kellogg proposal. It is the two big naval powers that want to abolish the submarine. It is well to stick a pin there as it is important. As for the barbarity of submarine warfare, what can be more hideous than the employment of poison gas and the use of airplanes for bombing of cities, including the civilian population?

If the two leading naval powers oppose the submarine it is also a fact that the smaller powers like France, Japan and Italy insist on retaining it. Why? Because the World War demonstrated that the submarine is a potent weapon in the hands of the weaker powers in countering the large ships of the greater powers. The submarine is a deadly wasp capable of effecting enormous destruction of merchant ships, dreadnaughts and cruisers.

Here is the explanation of Kellogg's "peace" gesture and its support by Great Britain. So long as the powers face each other in economic antagonism over trade, investments and loans, the smaller powers would be fools to surrender to the big power the most effective weapon they have. Kellogg knows this. So do British officials. The smaller powers also know it. For these reasons the declaration against "barbarous" warfare by two powers that seek to master the world is a piece of transparent hokum. The proposal is like that of a lightweight facing a heavyweight in the ring, with the big bruiser insisting on the little chap removing brass knuckles which his gloves conceal in order that the big fellow may pound the little one into jelly.

Our "Benevolent" Imperialism

WE ARE glad that WEVD, the Debs radio station, gave J. R. O'Brien of the American Legion the opportunity to present the case for American intervention in Latin-American countries. The station is living up to its claim that all opinions can be expressed through it and it is the only station in this country of which this can be said.

Mr. O'Brien seems to think that because he has accompanied American forces that have invaded a number of Latin-American countries his view of American intervention is final. He would not suppress criticism of American foreign policies, yet he left the impression that opposing opinions "undermine" the government. A number of times he paid almost religious homage to the institution of private property and left the impression that those who would alter this institution forfeit the right to be heard.

Lincoln's birthday is at hand and it might be well for Mr. O'Brien and others who think as he does to carefully read Lincoln's First Inaugural where the right to completely alter our form of government is not only affirmed but even the "revolutionary right of revolution."

Mr. O'Brien's defense of American policy in relation to Latin-America is based on the Monroe Doctrine and the fact that frequent revolutions have disturbed Latin-American countries. We challenge him to show where the Monroe Doctrine asserted the right and duty of American power to intervene. This aspect of the doctrine is not Monroe's but Roosevelt's, and it should be properly called the Roosevelt Doctrine. It is the doctrine of the "big stick."

On the other hand, Mr. O'Brien is right in declaring that the Latin-American countries have for hundreds of years been disturbed by revolutions, and frequently there have been revolts by adventurers seeking to fill their own pockets before other adventurers turned them out of office. But it is also true that the "benevolence" which Mr. O'Brien asserts inspires American intervention, was not displayed till American capitalists and bankers had stakes in these countries. Before the era of overseas investments and loans the Latin-American countries could have revolutions every year and the United States did not intervene. Not until our capitalists and bankers had interests in these countries did American policy become "benevolent." Then the Monroe Doctrine became the Big Stick Doctrine of Roosevelt.

Considering that for over a hundred years American officials permitted Latin-Americans to have all the revolutions they wanted without our interference, it will take something more than "benevolence" to explain our bullying since the export of American capital across our frontiers.

New England

BOSTON, the much vaunted "cradle of liberty," as well as New England in general, is rapidly becoming a medieval prison. The banning of Upton Sinclair's novel, "Oil," last year and now cancellation of the printing contract of *The Bookman* which is running Sinclair's new novel, "Boston," shows that the ruling classes are determined to protect New England from the seepage of outside culture.

After all, this does not depart from New England's past. Of all the frauds that have been committed on a gullible nation it is the myth of New England traditions of "freedom." That section imported the medieval policy of savage persecution of dissenting opinions. One who reads the original accounts of brutal whippings by order of Puritan priests is revolted at the shocking cruelties.

Even her revolutionary history is a fraud. The most extreme reactionaries came from New England. We do not mean the Tories, but the upper section of revolutionary leaders whose profits in smuggling and piracy were at stake. After the revolution the Federalist aristocracy was allied with the kept pastors of the Congregational Establishment and every citizen regardless of his religious views was taxed to pay the aristocratic clergy. The correspondence of leaders of the Federalist party is filled with views that differed little from the most reactionary British politicians in the days of the corrupt George III.

When power slipped from the New England aristocrats in 1800 they began to plot for reunion with England. Federalist writings and speeches seethed with contempt for the mechanics and laborers of their own towns and for the hunters, farmers and trappers in the West who were enduring the hardships that made civilization possible in later decades. "The wise and good and rich" is a phrase found over and over again in the literature of the Federalist oligarchy. Then the sons of these aristocratic upstarts in the forties and fifties became the allies of black bondage in the South, some having investments in southern plantations and others marrying into the families of southern aristocrats. The textile oligarchy of the modern period is an old story and need not be stressed here.

New England has always been ruled by an aristocracy and served by cowardly politicians in office. Its censorship of books and magazines is no departure from the past. It has not yet emerged from the Middle Ages.

Your Help is Needed

WE AGAIN return to a matter of vital importance to all Socialists who recognize the unusual situation that confronts the party organization this year. We ask them to turn to the party news page where the national office cites the states that need help. These include Washington, Oregon, Oklahoma, Nebraska, Minnesota, West Virginia and two states in New England among the most important.

There are Socialists willing to do work in these states and they are doing it, but they need our help, especially our financial contributions. There is no doubt of the return of the Socialist Party to its old vigor, no doubt of a large vote in November, no doubt of an increasing membership, and no likelihood of any other third party movement this year to compete with the Socialist appeal to all who are disgusted with the two parties of capitalism.

Then there is the fact of another prostration of capitalism throughout the country. Usually the collapse affects millions in the industrial centers while agriculture manages to function fairly satisfactorily to the farmers. Then it is the farmers who are skinned while the workers are kept content. The present industrial crisis catches the farmers still facing bankruptcy with millions of workers turned out of the industries wondering what this Coolidge "prosperity" is.

Now economic distress of itself does not create a Socialist movement, but it is also true that for a number of years the capitalist journals and politicians have broadcasted sermons on "prosperity" so that many have accepted it. It has drugged the minds of millions. Enormous dividends have been reaped by the masters of industry and the skilled workers on the whole have been satisfied, but even the skilled are now feeling the pinch of unemployment. The drug is no longer effective and it is possible for the Socialist message to get across this year.

But out in the interior are devoted comrades crying for help and the national office is anxious to give it. Socialists who can afford it will have to supply the funds and it is their solemn duty to make their contributions to the national office. The states that need help must have it for weeks to come. Neglect this and we will have it return to us in disappointment in November.

Again we urge you who can help to make a weekly or monthly contribution. Send it to the National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Do not put it off. DO IT NOW!

A Spiritual Performance

AN amazing and fantastic performance was put on by Bishop Manning recently at his New York trick cathedral up on Morningside Heights. A section of the Cathedral has been set aside for the glorification of American sports, and there are stained-glass windows showing Babe Ruth doing his stuff, Tunney knocking Dempsey for a loop, and other Christian-like activities. The Bishop got all dressed up and paraded around the cathedral, with an entourage of sportsmen.

We recall that in his book "The Man that Nobody Knows," Bruce Barton gave us a picture of Jesus as a crack golf-player and a good all-round he-man, who went to Rotary luncheons, liked his liquor, and on the whole was a knockout. But we had not realized that the Episcopal Church in this country was such a sporting proposition. Why not go the whole hog and have stained-glass windows showing Tex Rickard counting the gate, or a couple of baseball sellouts getting their bribe money in the back room of a Chicago speakeasy?

The Mockery of Art To-day

What is the wealthiest land on earth, if the millions suffer and cry, And all but the happy, selfish few would fain curse God and die?
What are the glorious arts as they sit and sing on their jeweled thrones, If their hands are wet with blood and their feet befouled with festering bones?
What are the splendid sciences, driving Nature with a bit of steel, If only the rich can mount the car and the poor are dragged at the wheel?
Wealth is a curse, and art a mock, and science worse than a lie, When they're but the gift of the greedy thieves, the leeches that suck men dry!

—FRANCIS ADAMS.

WEVD
Flashes

Picked Up Out of the Air From the Programs of Station WEVD, the Eugene V. Debs Memorial Station

New Chains for Labor
OUR judicial system has taken over for its capitalist bosses the job of oppressing the workers. Never in the history of the movement have the injunctions been handed out so freely, never have corporations had such servile henchmen as our present judges. Now comes Julius Henry Cohen, a well-meaning but somewhat economically illiterate New York lawyer, with a new scheme for befuddling the workers by having the court regulate the contracts between employers and employees.

This scheme, which has the official sanction of the Bar Association, and that noted liberal, Charles S. Whitman, at one time counsel for the Interborough, would make work contracts between unions and bosses binding by law and would set up provisions for the settlement of industrial disputes by compulsory arbitration. If any worker is in doubt as to what compulsory arbitration means, let him ask those who have had experience with this fatal thing in the United Mine Workers of America. Almost invariably it has worked out in this manner. The Board of Arbitrators has consisted of three parties: the representatives of the workers, the bosses, and the public. After a vast amount of bickering, the public's representatives and the spokesmen for the bosses get together and vote down the man for the workers. It's a great little system, and we don't wonder that the New York Times, the Bar Association, and Charlie Whitman are all for it, as well as some of the more reactionary elements in the American Federation of Labor.

Congressional Discovery
Now that the strike of the coal miners in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado has been discovered by a couple of our Congressmen, after nine months Congress is going to investigate, by gum. Senator Johnson of California, Senator Reed of Pennsylvania, and Senator Copeland of New York, are all urging an investigation of conditions in the coal fields, and they have a resolution for such a survey with the Interstate Commerce Committee. There is no indication, however, when it will come out of that committee. And if this investigation is like most Congressional investigations, it will end with a recommendation that something be done about it all, but will not state just what should be done. In the mean-

time, the miners are still in dire need of clothing and food.

Playful Cornaire

In the N. Y. political world, interest centers on the sending of the charges against Mrs. Florence Knapp, former Secretary of State to Charles A. Herrick, District Attorney of Albany County. Governor Smith turned over all the testimony in the case to Mr. Herrick but did not make any recommendations other than those concerning the forgery, grand larceny, and the removal and destruction of state records charged to Mrs. Knapp. Republicans, frightened by the revela-

tions of crookedness on the part of their high officials, tried to divert attention from the Knapp case by starting an investigation of the State Labor Bureau. This brilliant stunt was thought up by Assemblyman Cornaire, a representative of the upstate manufacturing interests. Now when Dr. Lindsey Rogers starts his investigation, and it is up to Cornaire to make good on his charges, that gentleman says in effect that he was only fooling, and that he really didn't think that anyone in the Labor Bureau had done wrong. Apparently it was all in the spirit of play.

THE CHATTER BOX

U. S. A. — 1928

A POEM in Numbered Paroxysms Called Cantos, which form is the only thing that might suggest Dante's Divine Comedy. His notion of Hell doesn't come within 1000 degrees centigrade of this one here below. . . . After which prologue, we come to

CANTO ONE.

S. Stanwood Schmencken, President of the Save-America League speaks at the Banquet of the Anti-Quated Parasite and Coupon Clippers Verein: . . . and we must preserve the ideals and institutions an traditions. . . of equality before the law. . . by our unwavering allegiance to the Constitution. . . as Americans one and all. . . and let no shadow of anarchy fall upon our beloved land. . . and no 'serpent of revolutionary propaganda rear its foul head. . . to steal from our possession our worldly goods and happiness. . . as our unhappy sisters and brothers in Russia were outraged. . . (and after ten more minutes of putting the fear of the guillotine into the hearts of these doddering Louis and Marie Antoinettes, the Star Spangled Banner is played, a hundred thousand dollars is pledged as a patriotic bane for Red Bacteria. . . Whereupon Mr. and Mrs. S. S. Schmencken go out shopping for \$7,00000 gowns and a Rolls Royce. . . .

CANTO TWO.

Extry! Extry! SIN WIFE TO SING SING. Latest Death House Dope. SEE THE JANE DO the ELECTRIC CHAIR SHIMMY. Exclusive Photo. Extry! Extry!! BOY WOLF TELLS. . . how he cut 12 year old Girl to PIECES. See diagram on page 96 showing limbs, rib, tongue and inners. . . . READ THE DAILY CUSPIDOR. A Brimful For Two Cents.

(Sixty million swarm out of pens and palaces. Each hand holds out two or three coppers. Each hand grabs up the latest editions. Did you ever see a hound dog lick his dripping chops after a messy feast? Just watch them, the millions of them, stenogs and lounge ladies, shipping clerks and ticker-gouls, porters and pimps, good wives, bad ones, love neckers and gold grabbers, all of them; watch them with noses down in the garbage pot of news, lifting their heads only to lick their mental chops, unctuously, there being much oozy dripping.)

CANTO THREE.

A timid working girl hides her New Leader behind the "Times" and reads . . . perhaps this very Column. Out of six hundred Subway souls on this Express train, five hundred and ninety nine are reading the World, American, Graphic, Mirror, News, Tribune. . . . (There is nothing much to this Canto except a timid girl and one New Leader.)

CANTO FOUR.

Senator High to Mr. Steward of the Goslon Oil Syndicate: And because you refuse to testify before our august body on how much boodle there was in the deal when Coffeepot Oil was sold to the Ganovim Group. . . we arrest you for contempt of the U. S. Senate.

Mr. Steward: But my dear Senator, that is quite impossible. I cannot be locked up. Senator: What nerve! What audacity! To say that the great Senate of these etc. United States cannot arrest you. If so, then why not. . . ? Mr. Steward: Oh, merely because I am a millionaire.

Senator, taken aback: Gosh, that's so. You are a millionaire. Excuse me for causing you all this trouble. I suppose you have your writ of habeas corpus with you. . . . Exit, Mr. Steward waving the well known writ.

Men Into Dividends



The artist "Flambo" depicts capitalism as an insatiable machine which uses the workers as grist for its mill and whose sole purpose is to produce profits for its masters.

New Leader
Mail Bag

Editor, The New Leader:

May we ask the help of your readers in getting information concerning the difficulties met by persons convicted during the war for their anti-war views? All of them are still without the rights of citizenship. These rights are fixed by the states, and therefore vary. In some they cannot legally vote or serve on juries. In others they cannot get licenses for certain professions or hold public office.

The Civil Liberties Union has tried through quiet work at Washington to secure restoration of the rights of citizenship to all the 1,500 persons convicted for their opinions during the war. We have not secured results by quiet methods and we are now about to engage in a public campaign. For that purpose, we want material directly from the persons affected, showing just what difficulties they have met. Will any of your readers who know any pertinent facts or who have the names and addresses of any persons so convicted be good enough to inform the American Civil Liberties Union, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City?

N. Y. C.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

Editor, The New Leader:

It is my opinion that the United States is carrying on war with Nicaragua.

Our marines are there shooting and killing natives of Nicaragua. Our army aviators are there bombing their people. Bombs have no way of selecting armed Nicaraguans to smash up. They are no respecters of persons. They are liable to fall on unprotected women and children as well as on armed soldiers. If that is not warfare, a new definition of it will have to be written and taught. All this has been, and is being, done in direct violation of our Constitution which grants only to Congress the power to declare war.

Congress has not declared war with Nicaragua, hence our Constitution is being violated. Who is, or are, responsible for this?

I consider that President Coolidge, Secretary of State Kellogg, Secretary of the Army Davis, and Secretary of the Navy Wilbur are responsible and that they should be impeached for violating the Constitution they have sworn to uphold. That is my personal and private opinion. I am only a very humble citizen. I am an American by birth. My ancestors were settled in Boston and New Hampshire before 1750. Some of them were active rebels in the Revolution.

As a citizen I claim the right of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution under which I have always lived. I have hereby expressed my conviction regarding the illegal and shameful proceedings of the United States in Nicaragua.

L. G. Wentworth.

BROOKLINE, MASS.

Oudegeest Heads Holland Party

An extraordinary congress of the Dutch Socialists met in Utrecht. The Executive of the Party has nominated three candidates for the election of the Party President: Jan Oudegeest, ex-Secretary of the I.F.T.U., Eduard Polak, who up to the last elections was town councillor in Amsterdam, and the previous president, enri Polak, the leader of the diamond workers federation. As Oudegeest declared himself willing to accept the post, the other two withdrew their candidatures. Comrade Oudegeest was elected almost unanimously to the presidency of the Party.

How long, Oh Lord, could one continue in this song and still retain some semblance of sanity . . . ?
S. A. de Witt.