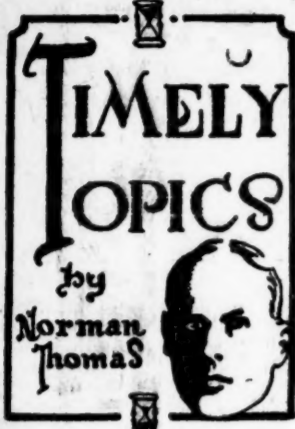


## Socialists Take Over City of Reading



IN THE wild and extravagant revelry of New Year's Eve, up and down crowded Broadway in New York, marched a brave little group of 100 of the unemployed, men to whom the cost of one night's party along the great White Way would have meant a decent living for a year.

This little group which dared to advertise what the dying of another year of Coolidge prosperity had meant to them was only a tiny fraction of the great army of the unemployed in the United States. To meet their desperate needs something more is required than the professional optimism of Herbert Hoover and all the economists and corporation heads who in the midst of comfort and plenty seek to banish poverty by mumbling over their version of Coue's formula: "Year by year America is getting more and more prosperous in every way."

It is not so. The papers are shouting as proof of prosperity in 1927 that the money value of last year's farm crops was \$625,000,000 above 1926. They forget to add that it was \$520,000,000 below 1925 and more than \$900,000,000 below 1924. As for the rest of the usual indications of prosperity they were adverse. Railway traffic shrunk by 13 per cent. To the lowest level for the autumn season in six years. Steel is down 16 per cent. Building has fallen off. Unemployment is a tragic problem in every industrial center. The situation in the coal fields and the textile mills everybody knows. The famous Hoover report which was meant to show such unprecedented prosperity for the workers proved that in 1925, the last year for which we have definite figures, even those people fortunate enough to have jobs received an average wage of only \$1,250 each! And this is what they call prosperity in the richest country on earth where there are plenty of natural resources and technical skill to provide for us all. No wonder the canny Calvin does not choose to run in 1928.

The old year which did not bring prosperity did not bring peace. The six American boys who lie dead under the tropical sun of Nicaragua doubtless enlisted to "see the world," to escape the rigors of the frozen North and for all the other reasons dangled before their eyes by enlistment posters. Did they enlist to kill and be killed under that tropical sun in a fight which is none of theirs and which they do not understand?

Even before these words are printed it is entirely possible that some Nicaraguan bandits or patriots—it depends pretty much on the point of view—may take a pot shot at that very genuine and effective Ambassador of Good Will, Colonel Lindbergh, not for any hate of him but because they mistake the Spirit of St. Louis for one of the planes that has been bombing them.

Who ordered this war in Nicaragua for which Americans are paying in money and in blood? Not Congress, save in so far as silence gives consent, and certainly not the people. The makers of that Constitution which President Coolidge holds in sacred awe never intended to give any President such power of war as this. Professor Putney, after studying all the evidence, has concluded that such acts of military intervention in Nicaragua as this would have been held illegal clear down to the time of the Roosevelt administration. Such unauthorized war should rightly be a ground for impeachment of the President. It is not—and why? Simply because Congress and the people by their difference have abdicated some of their rights to protest.

At no point have our alleged progressives in Congress failed us more utterly. Senator Borah is silent. Senator Wheeler speaks with uncertain tones. Few men have made a more disappointing record than Senator Borah. With all his power and influence, personality and as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, in spite of some excellent speeches he usually fails us at the

### Insurance Men Wrote Pension Data

Civic Federation Lends Itself To Boost Business of Metropolitan

By Edward Levinson

GOVERNORS, members of State legislatures, welfare agencies and organizations of the Rotary genus are being supplied, free and unsolicited, hand-somely printed reports on old age pensions. The generous donor of these broadsides is the National Civic Federation.

For some years the Pennsylvania State Commission on old age pensions and other official agencies have been gathering a mass of data revealing the destitution of America's aged workers. The fact of the suffering established is beyond argument, the American Association for Old Age Security came into being. It sought to translate into effective legislation some measure of corrective of the system that turns broken men and women of advanced years into objects of uncertain charity.

At this point, the National Civic Federation appeared in the picture. It requested that action be delayed until it had an opportunity to gather the true facts on old age dependency and make recommendations accordingly. The report has now been made public. The New Leader last week commented on the more salient features. Abraham Epstein, secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, replied through The New Leader and the daily press.

Mr. Kimball Replies

Mr. Epstein made a particularly telling point in commenting on the National Civic Federation suggestion that employ pension schemes operated by employers of labor should be sufficient to cover the need for old age security. He pointed out that, as shown by U. S. Department of Labor, only 5 per cent. of the workers are ever employed by a single employer for a period as long as 20 years. In order to reap the measure of relief offered by the employ pension schemes continuous employment for a term usually 20 years or longer is generally required.

Reply to Mr. Epstein was not long in coming. A Mr. Ingals Kimball blossomed out in a column letter to The New York Times. Mr. Kimball politely and firmly ventured to express the view that the National Civic Federation report might be taken as the last word on old age pensions. Employ pension schemes, said Mr. Kimball, in purely disinterested fashion, was the solution of the problem, not state legislation.

Who is Mr. Kimball? Surely he must be keenly interested to write such a well-informed and persuasive letter. It may be recalled that Mr. Kimball some time ago contributed an article to "The Annalist" setting forth his preference for employ pension plans. In fact, Mr. Kimball's name has unfailingly appeared as the protagonist of employ pension schemes and the critic of old age security legislation.

Who is Mr. Kimball? The friend of the aged, via employ pension schemes, happens to be a high salaried employee of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Employ pension schemes are financed with the aid of insurance companies, notably the Metropolitan and the Equitable Life Insurance Companies. It is Mr. Kimball's job to sell these schemes. In fact, he is in charge of the employ pension bureau of the Metropolitan.

It might seem crude to say that Mr. Kimball is in any way responsible for the report of the National Civic Federation, though a better report for the purpose of boosting Mr. Kimball's business would have been hard to get. The connection between Mr. Kimball and the report is not so tenuous, however, as to quiet all suspicion. There were five members of the Civic Federation committee which conducted the investigation and presented the report.

These are the committee members, with their connections outside of the Civic Federation.

James B. Kavanaugh, vice-president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company; William J. Graham, vice-president of the Equitable Life Insurance Company; Arthur Williams, vice president of the New York Edison Company; Frank V. Whiting, general claims attorney of the New York Central Railroad; and James W. Sullivan, a "labor leader". Two of the five members are officials of life insurance companies—the two companies which are selling employ pension schemes most vigorously.

Would it not be germane to inquire how much does the Metropolitan Life and the Equitable contribute, directly and indirectly, to the upkeep of the National Civic Federation? Might it not be illuminating to go a step further and find out to what extent these contributions

### Party Organization Made Victory Possible Is Mayor Stump's Word to the Comrades

By J. Henry Stump  
(Socialist Mayor of Reading)

Asked by a representative of The New Leader and American Appeal whether he had any message to send to Socialists and sympathizers throughout the country, J. Henry Stump, Socialist Mayor of Reading, Pa., issued the following statement.

One word explains the Socialist victory in Reading. It is not "work" nor "popular dissatisfaction". The important factor in Reading's success was "organization".

Without a compact and coherent organization to give direction to the campaign, all efforts would have been wasted; without organization popular dissatisfaction, caused by careless or corrupt officials, would leave the masses easy prey to political fakery.

The people of Reading who elected Socialists to office did not do so in blind protest against burdens and injustices. They knew what they wanted and they voted for it rather than against what they did not want. They trusted the Socialists because the Socialists had constantly maintained an organization which not only taught our theories of government but demonstrated, in practical ways, that the Socialist Party is composed of realists capable of coping with modern problems.

To Socialists everywhere I would sound the message of organization. The failure of capitalist politicians gave us our opportunity, but it was organized effort which awakened the voters to action and enabled the Socialists to grasp the opportunity when it came.

As sure as Socialism is the remedy for capitalism, so sure will the people eventually be forced to turn from capitalist political parties and seek justice in a political party of their own.

Let us build the party now in every city and hamlet. In so doing, we will perfect the political power with which the workers of America can work out their own salvation.

### Families of 800 Miners Are Evicted

(International Labor News Service)

Pittsburgh.—For the miners of this district, the new year dawned with a court order compelling 800 families to vacate company-owned houses of the Vesta Coal Company, a subsidiary of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, by the Pittsburgh Terminal Company, a Mellon corporation, and by a number of other companies in Washington county.

This action makes it necessary for the United Mine Workers of America to erect immediately housing capacity of 1,700 to 1,800 rooms to care for the evicted families.

"In the meantime," said Vice-President Phillip Murray, "we have completed the erection of about 2,300 rooms in the last five weeks to house 1,100 families and have moved from 1,800 to 1,900 families into private dwelling, abandoned churches and other buildings. This gives an idea of the magnitude of the work and shows the urgent necessity for a continuation of the drive on the part of labor and all right-thinking people to help the mine workers in the maintenance of decent standards."

### No Struggle There

Of course it is a terrible offense to even hint that there is such a thing as a class struggle in the United States, but even the most hardened reactionary will hardly contend that the bitter struggle between the miners and mine owners is an example of human affection in the industry.

## Farmers of Southwest Want A Labor Party For 1928 Race

By Murray E. King

ROSWELL, New Mexico. ONE of the gravest problems confronting the farmer and wage-earner is the increasing uncertainty of employment and existence. Just as the Progress Builders were their organized power to compel a more economical and cheaper handling of articles of consumption, they are using this same power to obtain for the members life, sickness, accident and even employment insurance at the lowest cost and least risk obtainable under present conditions.

In looking about for such protection the organization heads followed the same principle they followed in dealing with the problem of obtaining cheaper goods: they searched the nation for the best existing co-operative insurance companies with the idea of using the organized power of the Progress Builders to obtain the best possible contracts with them.

They found in Illinois a co-operative life and casualty company that is absolutely co-operative, is protected and guaranteed by the best co-operative law in the United States, is firmly established and operates at actual cost of service. From this co-operative they obtained a contract that abolishes the initiation fee paid by it to its own field organizers. Under the workings of this

### Economists Hit Federation Pension Report

WASHINGTON.—The difference between a disinterested approach to social problem and that of the National Civic Federation was well shown at the joint meeting of the American Economic Association and the American Association for Labor Legislation.

Dr. John A. Lapp pointed out the absurdity of some of the statements made by the Civic Federation in regard to old-age pensions and dismissed as foolish the attempt to meet the problem by private pensions, especially contributory pensions. Leifur Magnusson of the International Labor Office reviewed the progress of social insurance in all its forms and pointed to the increase in the number of plans put into effect in all countries.

The most significant remarks at the meeting of the association were heard in the ante-rooms when the news of the Federation's attempt to forestall action on old-age pensions reached Washington. A belief that this was simply a well-timed attempt to discourage any effective action on the part of groups now studying and advocating old-age pensions was expressed by a great many of the economists attending the conferences.

### Votes and Results

The Socialist movement never proposed anything more than that those who produce values should have what they produce. The great majority of mankind get less than they produce and they produce a majority of the votes that produce this inequity.

### U. S. Spends 82% of Funds On Its Wars

Mellon Admits Heavy Cost of Past and Future Military Conflicts

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—In a report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927, submitted last month to Congress, Secretary Mellon attributes 82 per cent. of the Federal expenditures for 1927 to past and future wars. With this statement he ranges himself squarely on the side of the peace organizations in their controversy with the War Department—of several years' standing—over the question of what proportion of the tax dollar is due to war.

The public first became interested in this inquiry in 1920, when the late Doctor Rosa of the United States Bureau of Standards published his tables and charts of Federal expenditures which brought out the startling fact that out of every dollar, 93.7 cents was being spent for past and future wars, while only one cent was going for research, education and development. The figures were immediately taken up by organizations interested in education and other constructive projects and were published from one end of the country to the other. They played a large part in the general demand for reduction of armaments which culminated in the Washington Conference.

Three years later, in response to a request from one of the Senators, the United States Bureau of Efficiency brought the Rosa figures up to date, and prepared by the same method a chart of estimated net expenditures for the fiscal year 1924, which was published by the National Council for Prevention of War. By this time military expenditures had returned to somewhat more normal proportions and the percentage due to wars had been reduced from 93.7 to 85.5. Nevertheless, the figures were bitterly attacked by the War Department, which issued a statement in the name of Secretary Weeks, completely ignoring the fact that two Government bureaus had been responsible for this method of calculation of expenditures, and characterizing the Bureau of Efficiency chart as "a carefully conceived effort to deceive."

One of the main points of the War Department's contention was that the interest and retirement of the public debt should not be included among war expenditures. However, since the debt, except for the negligible proportion of a fraction of one per cent, was incurred for past wars, the Treasury Department has consistently so classified it. In his report for 1925, Secretary Mellon attributed over 80 per cent. of Federal expenditures to war and issued the warning:

"This will be the inevitable situation as long as war is the method of settling international disputes."

In the corridor, as the Socialist officials were receiving congratulations, one workman was overheard to say: "This is the first time in fifteen years that I have been in the City Hall. I now feel at home."

That is the feeling in Reading among workmen. Faces that had not been seen in Socialist circles for years began to be familiar. They came to the inaugural ceremonies and later to the Socialist headquarters on Walnut street where the party owns

ever it exceeds the surplus required by the Illinois law it skips a month's assessment. Progress Builders here tell me that their insurance is costing them around \$8 per year per \$1,000, which is considerably less than half of what private insurance companies charge, who operate on the principle of charging all the profits the business will stand.

It is a common saying down here among Progress Builders that they are getting their insurance free. What they mean by that is that they are saving more than enough on their purchases as a buying organization to pay for their co-operative insurance. On groceries, dry goods, furniture, fuel and gasoline, members here tell me they are saving from \$5 to better than \$20 per month. These savings amount to much more than all their co-operative insurance.

But the Progress Builders have no intention of stopping at the point here described. These achievements are regarded only as the opening wedge to bigger things attained through well-defined stages. In the field of organized buying the first step planned is the best utilization possible of existing privately owned agencies of distribution. The next step contemplated is the use of private dealers as their direct purchasing agents or bulk orders at wholesale prices, such

Insurance Featured  
The member gets life, accident and sickness insurance at the cost of service under the following plan: Insurance statistics show that the cost of maintaining \$1,000 worth of these classes of insurance is a little less than \$1 per month. The co-operative assesses the

## WORKERS HOLD CELEBRATION AT INAUGURATION

Old Party Tax Assessor Fired as Mayor Stump's Act—Socialists From Nearby States Join in Festivities—More Victories Are Planned For

By James Oneal

READING, PA.—Promptly at 10 o'clock Monday morning the city of Reading passed into the hands of a Socialist administration when J. Henry Stump took the oath of office as Mayor. The oath was administered by retiring Mayor Shamon, a Democrat.

The first official act of Mayor Stump was to administer the oath of office to the two Socialist Councilmen, James H. Maurer and George Snyder. By virtue of their respective offices, Maurer comes the head of the Department of Finance and Snyder over the Department of Public Property.

All day Sunday straggling delegations of Socialists arrived from Pennsylvania cities and nearby states to attend the inauguration in City Hall and the all-day celebration to follow. Beginning early Monday morning other visitors began to arrive and before the hour for the change of administration the City Hall was packed with Socialists and their friends.

### Workers Flock to City Hall to Celebrate Inauguration of Their New Public Office

The council chamber in which the ceremonies took place is small, and only about fifty people could be accommodated with seats. Twice this number packed into the chamber and the long corridor leading to the entrance was filled with others. There were a few minutes delay as "Jim" Maurer was found to be among the missing. He had been in the chamber a few minutes of ten and a call was sent down the corridor for the missing councilman. A fair "I'm coming" from "Jim," followed by his entrance, caused a ripple of laughter as Maurer took his seat at the table where he will serve four years.

Upon the long council table were six large clusters of red roses sent by various Socialist organizations. These included the Women's Socialist League of Reading, the 6th ward branch of the Socialist Party, the 19th-11th-12th wards, the Labor Advocate, the People's Printing Company, Inc., and the Socialist Party of Allegheny County.

The ceremonies were completed within fifteen minutes. They were simple and differed from others in only one respect. This was the overwhelming preponderance of workingmen and women who attended. It was evident that they believed that this was not merely a transfer of office, but a transfer of power. There had been other changes of administration in Reading, but there had been no change of power. Working people now had their own representatives in office.

### First Time in City Hall

In the corridor, as the Socialist officials were receiving congratulations, one workman was overheard to say: "This is the first time in fifteen years that I have been in the City Hall. I now feel at home."

That is the feeling in Reading among workmen. Faces that had not been seen in Socialist circles for years began to be familiar. They came to the inaugural ceremonies and later to the Socialist headquarters on Walnut street where the party owns

### Faithful Handful Carried Party Through Own Paper and Cooperatives Great As

There is a story back of this Socialist triumph that is as inspiring and dramatic as anything that has happened in the history of the American movement. The black war years brought with it a trial that tested the stamina of the members. Then came the internal quarrel in the party with the "left wing." Reading was not much affected by this, but the long internal struggle in other states and decline in membership brought with it a similar decline. Members lost interest and the work fell to a faithful handful. The vote remained promising through these years of trial but the party workers were few.

Despite this falling off of activity, Reading Socialists through 25 years of hard work had founded a substantial basis for their local movement. Nearly 25 years ago, they founded the Labor Lyceum and restricted membership to members of the Socialist Party. Dues were fixed at one dollar per year. A co-operative cigar factory was also organized and out

Stump Heads Labor Co-ops  
The Labor Advocate is a self-sustaining and its store by the Labor Lyceum. Mayor Stump has for years been president of the Federal Council. His work and that of other Socialists in the trade unions have brought them many victories. This co-operative cigar factory was also organized and out

## Reading Socialists Take Office



From left to right: 1. J. Henry Stump, Mayor; 2 and 3, Democratic Councilmen; 4. George W. Snyder, Socialist Councilman; 5. James H. Maurer, Socialist Councilman. The boy in front of Comrade Maurer is the latter's grand-child.

unions in a number of activities for a movement that not be destroyed, however much work might be hampered temporarily by patriots and terrorists. When the United States entered World War, the membership of Reading had reached its peak. About 1,500 members were enrolled in the city. "Jim" Maurer had been elected to the Legislature on the Socialist ticket in 1928. In the war mania their opportunity to crush the rising Labor and Socialist movement. They decided to capitalize the mania and hurl it at the local movement.

However, the storm did not break all shortly after the armistice, when the soldiers were returning home from Europe. Anxious politicians and jingoes of the Manufacturers' Association began a subtle propaganda in fraternal lodges and even the trade unions to turn sentiment against the Socialists as "traitors to their country." This crusade, as might be expected, obtained plenty of publicity in the newspapers and the feeling became intense in Reading.

**Maurer Made a Target**  
"Jim" Maurer became a conspicuous target for this propaganda and threats were made that he would be run out of town. A large auditorium was obtained for a mass meeting and announcement was made that Maurer would answer his accusers. The professional "patriots" prepared to be on hand, but they did not count on one factor. There were Reading Socialists who had been conscripted and who had seen fighting overseas. These soldiers did not intend to be idle while a batch of politicians and capitalists proposed to crush the movement these soldiers held dear.

The result was a Socialist guard of soldiers at the Maurer meeting and "Jim" spoke without being molested. He exposed the mercenary character of the "patriotism" hawked by the politicians and tools of the manufacturers and this first round in a duel between Socialism and reaction was won by the Socialists.

Another round was fought shortly which resulted in a draw, but a moral victory for the Socialists. Moreover, the second round de-

### Reading Party Prepared by Businessmen For Socialist Leader Brought Near Riot

Due to pressure brought by them, the auditorium was closed to Tucker and the meeting was announced for Labor Lyceum. The afternoon of the meeting the politicians and some capitalist held a meeting at a court house steps two blocks from the Lyceum. The Rev. Blackman, who had been a spiritual brother of George F. Baer, the coal magnate, and who, in the anthracite strike of 1902 had said that God had put the property of the nation in the hands of the Christian gentlemen, was one of the speakers. Another was J. Keim Stauffer, then mayor-elect of Reading.

This precious collection of patriots gathered an audience of about a thousand with the assistance of a brass band and much publicity in the daily press. Having exhausted their invectives against the local Socialists some of the gathering formed a parade with Stauffer at the head and marched to the Lyceum as a demonstration against "disloyalists." Tucker had gone to the court house meeting and requested that he be heard, but this was denied.

Another worthy of this meeting was Wilbur Wright, whose occupation in Reading and other cities appeared to be bitter and unscrupulous propaganda against radicals in general. The Labor Advocate obtained an important document from the city of Cleveland which revealed Wilbur's connection with some shady financial transactions. This document was displayed in the Advocate and this professional made a hasty exit from the Lyceum. I believe that he later ended up in New York City playing similar role.

**Violence is Averted**  
Wild rumors were current the night of the Tucker meeting. Wright had urged members of the Legion to meet three blocks from the Labor Lyceum at 7:30 p. m. to prevent the Socialist meeting. Shortly before 8 p. m., the night of the meeting, the chief of police and Mayor Filbert entered the Lyceum. At least 5,000 people were gathered in the streets below to hear the speaker, while the Legion members already assembled three blocks away. The mayor was profoundly disappointed. He informed the Socialists that he was not going to the Lyceum.

### Reading of Old Party Assessor of Taxes Is First Official Action by Mayor Stump

Immediately following the installation of the Socialist officials, Mayor Stump and his comrades in office were surrounded by friends who extended greetings and good wishes. One of the first acts of the new administration was to lop off the head of the assessor Thomas Duval and put Milton J. Bortz in his place. The office of assessor is important as it is the unfair assessment of work-class homes that contributed to the Socialist victory.

During his office, Mayor Stump had sworn in L. Birch Wilson as his private secretary. Comrade Wilson has been a member of the Socialist Party for many years and served the party as State Secretary during the trying war years. A well-informed Socialist with judgment and will be of considerable help to Mayor Stump.

The Socialists trusted with heavy responsibilities were not neglected by their friends. The Comrades James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder and Walter Hollinger, controller, received flowers and congratulations from hundreds of

destroyed the prospects of any large Legion organization that could be used by the reactionaries. The second round developed out of the announcement that St. John Tucker of Chicago would speak under Socialist auspices in the auditorium. Tucker had been indicted by the Federal authorities because of his authorship of a leaflet on the war entitled, "The Price We Pay." The professional patriots snapped at the opportunity to smash the hated Socialist organization.

### Food for Regiment Needed to Appease Inaugural Appetite

It took just about food enough to feed a regiment to appease the appetites of the 1,000 guests who gathered around the festive board at the inaugural banquet Monday night in the Rajah Temple.

The meal was cooked and served by Mrs. Charles Hoover, sister-in-law of William C. Hoover, who lost out in the race for city treasurer. Here are the statistics on the big feed: 500 pounds of roast beef; 10 bushels of potatoes; 50 pounds of corn; 70 pounds of lima beans; 2 large crates of cranberries; 50 gallons of tomato soup; 125 loaves of bread; 1,000 rolls; 1,000 cup cakes; 115 quarts of ice cream; 28 pounds of coffee; 40 gallons of fruit cup.

It took a staff of 60 assistants to prepare and serve the meal.

message I have for you sent by the people of Reading, Pennsylvania."

As the little girl started to leave, Mayor Stump detained her momentarily and replied:

"While the flowers in this basket are beautiful, they are not half so beautiful as the little human flowers we are trying to raise in this city of ours."

Mayor and Mrs. Stump were the cynosure of hundreds of spectators who sat on the mezzanine floor while the banquet was in progress, and his admirers there loudly applauded when he walked across the banquet floor during the course of the meal. His ovation lasted nearly five minutes.

### Maurer Attacks Outgoing Administration, Pledge Work They Neglected to Perform

"We are like a lot of children taking orders from an outgoing administration," Maurer said. "The outgoing mayor said we can't run things unless we borrow money. God bless his dear soul. He pointed out that we must build sewers and disposal plants and that we must do it, or the state will make us do it."

"The state has been 25 years trying to make the other crowd do it. When we asked to have it done, did he do it? No he built us a lame duck bridge. He tells us now that we must build a dam and that we must finish it. He was going to build a boulevard, and tells us we must finish it."

"I say that the outgoing administration did things that they had no right to do in the face of the incoming administration."

**Says Administration Had Nerve**  
"What did we fall heir to in this corporation? A treasury with nothing in it, to pay bills and obligations amounting to millions of dollars. And he nerve of the outgoing administration to tell us our business and what we will have to do. We were telling them their business long ago, and they didn't listen to us."

"We know what we want to do, and we are going to do it. With us, the health of the community will absolutely be the first question of this administration. All I am asking you citizens is to understand that we are not going into a well-greased, smooth, well-working government. We are going to take hold of a government that has collapsed—absolutely collapsed."

"This administration was rotten from years. Everyone closely connected with affairs in this city knows that this is not an exaggeration. What I said before election, I will say after election."

Other speakers included L. Griswold Williams, pastor of the Universalist Church of Our Father; Mary Windsor, of Haverford, Socialist lecturer; Dr. William Van Essen, Pittsburgh; George W. Snyder, city councilman; Raymond S. Hofes, school director; Walter R. Hollinger, city controller; Rev. Ernest Davis, pastor of the Colored Presbyterian Church; Lilith M. Wilson, August Claessens, New York City; Jesse George, chair-

when he arose to speak.

"It would seem fitting on an occasion of this kind," he said, "that the new executive of the city should outline the policies of the administration. I was informed this evening that I was to have only three minutes, and that there would be 16 speakers, so that it would be foolhardy to try to outline any phases of a program."

**Will Make Good, He Says**

"I know that this administration will have the eyes not only of its friends, but the eyes of its enemies as well. Not only in this city, but in the state and the nation, but we are going to make good."

"It is hardly necessary to say that we do not believe we could bring about our great ideal, a co-operative commonwealth. So you say, well, what are the Socialists going to do? We are going to do this: We are going to apply good old Pennsylvania German horse sense to our administration. We are going to give the people of Reading practical Socialism, or in other words, honesty and economy and the elimination of special privilege."

Dr. William J. Van Essen, of Pittsburgh, a member of the National Executive Committee, presented Maurer with a black brief case with his name stamped in letters of gold, in behalf of the Socialists of Western Pennsylvania.

There were 16 speakers, including the newly inducted office holders, local workers in the party and members of the New York delegation. While most of the addresses were of a general nature, Stump and Maurer's remarks were the most pertinent to the new administration.

**Many Visitors Present**  
New York City—Julius Gerber, Herman Volk, Philip Hansel, August Claessens, James Oneal and wife, Harry Lang of the Jewish Daily Forward, Isaac Weitz, Samuel Grossman, I. M. Chatcuff, Benjamin Goodman, Carl Cummings, Celia Rotter, Joseph Geckerman, Herman Silverberg, Raquel Goldstein, William Werfel, Esther Friedman and H. Hershfield.

George H. Goebel and Dr. Louis Reese of Newark, were among those from New Jersey.

Philadelphia—Fred Hodgson, International Pocketbook Workers; Marie W. Hodgson, secretary of Local Philadelphia; Mr. and Mrs. Frank Weiss; Nellie Lithrow, member of the executive board, Hosiery Workers; Beck Stein, International Ladies Garment Workers; Frederick Kreckman; John L. Campbell, West Philadelphia; Morris Rosen, Shoe Workers' union; Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey R. Reeder, executive committee, Socialist party; Isaac B. Lindset, Abe Bloomfield and Harry Lesky.

Pittsburgh—Dr. and Mrs. William J. Van Essen, national executive committee of the Socialist party; Miss Jane Tate, member of the state executive committee; Daniel M. Schacter, Easton's delegation included Mr. and Mrs. William Imderheld, Robert Hartzel and John Wilson.

**Stamp Insists on Union Label on His Stationery**

Reading, Pa., Jan. 4.—(A.P.)—The new Socialist Mayor of Reading, J. Henry Stump, refused to use official stationery without the union label. William E. Sherman, who retired as Mayor this week, pointed out that the office stationery did not need changing, as it bore no name. The new Mayor, however, noticed that it did not bear the union imprint and although it was printed in a union shop he discarded it.

## TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

even an investigation of our Latin-American policy. At Syracuse University last Spring he gave away his own case by protesting not against our intervention in Nicaragua, but our choice of side in intervention. This failure of Senator Borah and other progressives is more than personal. It is a natural consequence of their free lance tactics and of the refusal of the American workers to build up a strong party with a definite program of international cooperation in place of intervention.

But, it will be said, these Nicaraguans are only bandits. I hold no brief for them. Bandits or patriots act pretty much alike in guerrilla warfare. I doubt, however, if Sandino's men are strong simply as bandits or as a result of aid from some mysterious foreign source. Evidently they have a real hold in their own country, for the most recent fighting is only a few miles distant from the place where supposedly they were decisively defeated last summer. Still more significant is the report that the dock workers at the port of Managua have struck nominally for higher wages but really in sympathy with these bandits.

Bandits or patriots, what business is this war of ours? It is ridiculous nonsense to say that we are merely protecting our rights to a canal which some day we may want to build in Nicaragua. Nobody was menacing those rights. Nor did the American boys who fell in the jungles of Central America die for some future canal. They died for the profits of investors who sit safe at home. They died for the prestige of the bungling Secretary Kellogg. They died as a sacrifice to the apathy of Americans who want no big wars but don't mind little ones.

Some of the mischief of the Administration's policy is already part cure. We cannot raise the dead. It is easier to stay out of countries like Nicaragua than to get out. At the very least we should announce our intention of withdrawing all troops following an election and we should ask the Pan-American Conference at Havana to arrange for the supervision of that election. It is worth trying to find out whether the moral influence of united action by the Pan-American people will not have a more pacific effect than the whole Marine Corps. If it will not, let them do their own fighting and learn like other peoples out of their own folly a better way of life. Their political quarrels are not our business and American marines in Central America destroy such moral leadership as the Administration seems to be seeking by its tentative proposal to France for a general treaty outlawing war.

Governor's Smith voluminous report and recommendations on the government of the State of New York will enhance his reputation as an able administrator. With much of what he has brought to pass and which he recommends, Socialists are in hearty agreement. Nevertheless, a necessarily hasty examination of the document reveals some notable weaknesses from a genuinely progressive standpoint. This is true in what the Governor says and what he fails to say on such significant matters as housing, injunctions, water power and social insurance. On the last subject, except for certain recommendations on workmen's compensation, he says nothing at all. He relegates the tremendously important matter of distribution of electric power, if and when it is generated by State-owned plants, to "study and research" by the power authority which he wants created. On the injunction evil he repeats his old and wholly inadequate suggestion of a hearing before a temporary injunction can be granted. Courts would be left still with the right to punish for contempt in injunction cases without any trial by jury. That is to say, he has not even come up to the conservative demands of the New York Federation of Labor. On housing he says that he may have later recommendations to submit, but he gives no indication that those recommendations will lead to municipal housing with State aid—the one way out of the menacing misery of our slums. He repeats fine sentiments about the sanctity of the ballot and recommends publicity of campaign funds before election. He says nothing about the way to correct such abuses as his Tammany friends flagrantly practiced in the last election. In other words, the Al Smith socialist must still support the Governor on his personality, his administrative ability, his tolerance, his attitude on prohibition rather than the extent of his progressivism.



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# Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

## National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

**National Executive to Meet**  
The National Executive Committee will meet Saturday and Sunday, Jan. 14 and 15, in Philadelphia. The sessions will be held in the Labor Institute, 810 Locust street. The committee has many important matters regarding organization and the coming national convention. A mass meeting and concert will be held Sunday evening and a banquet will be held Saturday night.

**Make The New Year a Success**  
As announced last week a call for organization funds is being sent out. Funds are beginning to arrive. The first big contribution comes from Comrade Morris Hillquit—a \$100.00 check. It is followed by a number of smaller contributions. We believe that our comrades and friends are going to back us up in our effort to put the Socialist Party where it should be and where it must be for the big campaign. We hope every individual who reads this and everyone who reads or hears the call of the N. E. C. read in local and branch meetings will not forget to make his or her contribution right away and just as large as it can be.

**Organizing Begins**  
Organization work has already begun. The National Office has confidence in the members and has gone right ahead developing the organization work. A small contribution has been sent to the State Secretary of Kansas to assist him, and he is preparing to go into the field, organize the party, and place a full ticket in the field. In the last state election Kansas cast an unusually large Socialist vote, and this year they expect to elect some men. We should therefore be glad to help in a poverty-stricken state, where the farmers are unable to finance a campaign. The State Secretary, Ross Magill, is willing to work for reasonable wages and will do the very best he can with the aid of his own car.

**Ohio**  
State Secretary Willert has issued the official call for the state convention which will be held in Cleveland. The name of the hall will be announced later. Every reader in Ohio should get in touch with the State Secretary and cooperate fully so that the campaign will be a great success and the campaign given a boost.

## Idaho

Idaho Socialists intend placing a complete state ticket in the field and organizing the party. Comrade Cammams, the State Secretary, is not only a live wire but a man who understands the policy. The National Office sent a small contribution to Comrade Cammams to assist him, and more is to follow as soon as it can be spared.

## Tennessee

Comrade Braun, an old-timer in Tennessee and acting State Secretary, writes the National organization as well as the Socialists in his own state that he is beginning his work in preparation for the state ticket. There are a number of other live Socialists in that state who are anxious to get busy. They should get in touch with Comrade Braun and co-operate with him fully.

## California

**Los Angeles**  
The Socialists of Los Angeles will hold a mass meeting in Symphony Hall, 232 So. Hill street on Sunday, Jan. 15, at 8 p. m. The speaker will be Comrade "Why I Became a Socialist." Comrade Head has been a newspaper man all his life. He was editor of the Pasadena Star-News for ten years and was discharged a year ago because of radical speeches. Comrade Head is a very forceful speaker and is considered a very valuable acquisition to Socialist ranks.

## Kansas

**Call for Nominations**  
Acting State Secretary Ross Magill has issued a call for nominations for the following party offices: State Secretary, one year; Chairman, two years; one committeeman in each of eight Congressional districts, two years.

**For the State Ticket**  
For United States Senator, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer, Auditor, Printer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Attorney-General and the Presidential electors. Send all nominations to the State Secretary at Garnett. Nominees should accept or decline without delay.

**Appeal for Help**  
By the time this appears, Comrade Magill may be in the field organizing the party. Contributions are essential to this work. Send from 50 cents up, according to your means. If you want to become a party member, write the State Secretary. Send in names or other Socialists and sympathizers. If you have contributed once, do it again. Let us make the revival of the Socialist Party in Kansas something to be talked about. Above all, contribute—DO IT NOW!

## Missouri

**St. Louis**  
A conspicuous front-page editorial in St. Louis Labor, weekly organ of the trade unions and Socialist Party, reviews the political action of workers and notes that the independent movement of 1924 has disappeared. Labor draws the following conclusion:  
"The only representative of political independence is the Socialist Party. Whether an American Labor Party or the Socialist Party, for the 1928 November elections we must have a national working-class party ticket in the field! If the trades union leaders are determined to return to the capitalist despots of the Republican and Democratic parties—that's their business. But we refuse to be with them. Indications are that the Socialist Party will have to nominate its own Presidential ticket. At any rate, on the first Tuesday in November, 1928, we shall vote an independent working-class party ticket."

## Wisconsin

**Milwaukee**  
William Coleman, Socialist member of the State Legislature and State Secretary of the Socialist Party, has resigned to accept the management of the Buttery, Consolidated Mining & Milling Co., at Oshkosh, Colo. This is a Milwaukee company of 600 stockholders, most of them workingmen. Coleman was a Socialist laborer ten years and attended four national Socialist conventions. He is a member of the executive board of the Federated Trades Council and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. He

consists State Federation of Labor. He continues the City and County Employees Union and the Farmers Union which is rapidly attaining a 100 per cent. membership.

As an alderman he sponsored legislation that resulted in the creation of the eight-hour day for city employees and men employed by contractors doing city work. He has been a member of the assembly four years and for six months served as secretary to Mayor Daniel W. Hoan.

The Socialist Party is making arrangements for his successor in the local office while County Organizer E. T. Melms is confined to his home from his recent breakdown.

## Pennsylvania

**New Locals Organized**  
New branches of the party in this State are a certainty and with the Presidential campaign in prospect plenty of charters will be issued. Branch Whitsett, Fayette County, has been organized with eight charter members and more to come. This branch was organized by James Garner, who is secretary. Easton has enough signers to obtain a charter but more signers will be obtained before applying for one.

**Reading**  
The election of J. Henry Stump as mayor made it necessary to obtain a new manager for the Labor Advocate. George M. Rhodes has been elected to succeed Stump. He is vice-president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and is a member of the Federated Trades Council. The Socialist and Labor Movement in Reading looks forward to a greater future for the Labor Advocate in the capable hands of Rhodes.

**Women's Socialist League**  
The Women's Socialist League will hold another mass meeting for the benefit of the campaign committee at Labor Lyceum on Saturday night, Jan. 7. These events are open to the general public and all Socialists are invited to bring their friends. The contribution of beautiful gifts for prizes made the last card party held by the women comrades a very satisfactory affair to winning players.

**Pittsburgh**  
A class in Sociology has been organized under the instruction of Dr. Nathan Miller of the Carnegie School of Technology. The class meets the first Sunday each month at 237 Fifth avenue at 3 p. m. and the third Sunday morning at 10:15, in conjunction with the Social Science Sunday School in International Hall, 1015 North Street, North Side. Come and bring a friend.

## New Jersey

**Hudson County**  
State Secretary Schwarting has mailed a letter to each member of Hudson County announcing a general membership meeting at 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, Sunday, Jan. 8, 2:30 p. m. Plans for the coming year will be discussed, and local officers will be elected. Refreshments will be served.

**Thomas to Speak**  
Norman Thomas has been engaged to speak at the evening session and members should acquaint their friends with the lecture which is given under the joint auspices of the party, the Workers' Circle and the Socialist Educational Club. Thomas will speak on "Democracy and its Enemies."

## New York State

**Record Sale of Stamps**  
Greater New York American branches have broken the record of recent years, declares State Secretary Merrill, in the sale of dues stamps purchased from the State Office during December. The Greater City branch sold 3,000 stamps last month, including 200 dual stamps. In December, 1927, it purchased 1,540 stamps; in December, 1928, it bought 6,000. In the corresponding months of 1924 and 1925, the purchases were 550 and 370, respectively; while for December of last year only 600 stamps were taken.

Language branches obtain stamps through the national Language Federation, which in turn buy directly from the National Office of the Party. States receive only 75 cents on each stamp sold to the Federation, and this rebate is in turn split between the State Office and the locals with which Language Federation branches are affiliated.

**Troy and Cohoes**  
The reorganization meeting of Local Cohoes, scheduled for Jan. 8, has been postponed until the 15th. It is proposed to have a joint meeting at that time with Local Troy.

**Jamestown**  
Local Jamestown has elected the following officers: Organizer and corresponding secretary, George W. Ostrander, 210 Jefferson street; recording and financial secretary, Carl A. Johnson, 100 Main street; treasurer, Swan Peterson; literature agent, Falke Broden. The Local contributed ten dollars to the State Office in appreciation of its assistance.

**Schenectady Forum**  
Schenectady's Labor Forum, organized by the central labor body, will be opened by Clarence S. Darrow on Feb. 5. State Secretary Merrill has made the point that Party locals unable to conduct forums should induce organized labor to start educational work, thereby giving occasional Socialist speakers a chance to be heard by clients and an most need our message. Incidentally, declares the State Secretary, subscriptions to the New Leader or New Leader-Appeal are good things to give New York State at least two speeches on his next trip East.

## New York City

**City Executive Committee**  
The City Executive Committee will meet Wednesday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. in Room 505, Peoples House, 7 East 15th st.

**Good News**  
Socialist Party branches in Greater New York, inclusive of the language Federation branches, have made the record for several years in the purchase of dues. (See Secretary Merrill's report above.) Organization work, the establishment of forums, drive for new members and building of new branches are going on at a lively pace. A revival in party interest and organization is evidently better than a year ago. A steady stream of applications for membership are coming into the city office.

**MANHATTAN**  
1st—2nd A. D.  
The Sunday Forum by this branch will begin its work on Sunday evening, Jan. 15. Esther Friedman will deliver a series of four lectures. Her subject is "Love's Coming of Age" and the titles of the other lectures are: "Jan. 15, 'Origin of Family'"; Jan. 22, "Woman's Changing Status as Mother, Wife, Citizen"; Jan. 29, "Sex Education"; Feb. 5, "This Complicated Marriage. Monogamy on Trial." The membership and the efficient work of Secretary Samuel Whitehorn broke all records for the purchase of dues stamps during December.

3rd—5th—18th A. D.  
The branch will meet Monday evening, Jan. 9, in Room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th street.

6th—8th—12th A. D.  
The Sunday Forum by this branch will begin its work on Sunday evening, Jan. 15. Esther Friedman will deliver a series of four lectures. Her subject is "Love's Coming of Age" and the titles of the other lectures are: "Jan. 15, 'Origin of Family'"; Jan. 22, "Woman's Changing Status as Mother, Wife, Citizen"; Jan. 29, "Sex Education"; Feb. 5, "This Complicated Marriage. Monogamy on Trial." The membership and the efficient work of Secretary Samuel Whitehorn broke all records for the purchase of dues stamps during December.

9th—11th—14th A. D.  
The branch will meet Monday evening, Jan. 9, in Room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th street.

12th—15th—18th A. D.  
The Sunday Forum by this branch will begin its work on Sunday evening, Jan. 15. Esther Friedman will deliver a series of four lectures. Her subject is "Love's Coming of Age" and the titles of the other lectures are: "Jan. 15, 'Origin of Family'"; Jan. 22, "Woman's Changing Status as Mother, Wife, Citizen"; Jan. 29, "Sex Education"; Feb. 5, "This Complicated Marriage. Monogamy on Trial." The membership and the efficient work of Secretary Samuel Whitehorn broke all records for the purchase of dues stamps during December.

Judge Jacob Panken as speaker shows continued attendance and interest. Thanks to the co-operation of the Hebrew Actors Union, a fine musical and dramatic program is offered.

The Thursday night lectures at branch headquarters are a remarkable success. Both in attendance and interest shown by the younger element. The series of lectures delivered by August Claessens are concluded. On Thursday evening, Jan. 12, A. I. Shipiloff will lecture on "Ten Years of Soviet Russia."

**Theatre Benefit**  
The Provincetown Theatre has been engaged for a benefit performance for Sunday evening, Jan. 6. A new play, "The Prisoner," by Emil Bernhard will be given with the expert cast of the Provincetown Playhouse. Tickets are on sale at the branch and at the City Office. All those who want to take in this Theatre Party should get tickets now. There is every indication that the house will be sold out before the evening of the performance.

**BRONX**  
**Annual Ball**  
The annual affair of Bronx Socialists, their entertainment and ball, will be held Sunday afternoon and evening, Jan. 29, at Hunts Point Palace. A fine concert is being given at 4 p. m. The quality of the program will exceed that of former years.

Tickets are on sale in the various branch headquarters and at the County Office, 1167 Boston Road. Tickets are \$1.00 each. Ten valuable prizes will be distributed. Dan Barnett's famous radio orchestra will again play. A good time is in store for all who come.

**Branch Seven**  
This branch will meet Tuesday, Jan. 10, at the clubrooms, 4215 3rd avenue.

**7th A. D., East**  
This branch will meet Sunday morning, Jan. 8, at 10 a. m. sharp at the Workmen's Circle Center, 2095 Daly avenue, near 180th street. August Claessens, executive secretary, will speak on the coming national convention and the prospects of the Socialist Party in the coming Presidential campaign.

**5th A. D.**  
Another effort to organize the branch in the 5th A. D. will be made Friday evening, 8:30 p. m., Jan. 6, at the Freeman Mansion, 1246 Southern boulevard. August Claessens will speak on the "Socialist Movement in the United States." Admission is free.

**BROOKLYN**  
**5th—6th A. D.**  
The executive committee of the branch has decided to hold business meetings twice a month. Each second meeting will be devoted to a lecture and discussion. Next meeting is Tuesday, Jan. 10, at 8:30 p. m. I. M. Chaitoff will report on Reading, Pa., inauguration.

**10th—19th A. D.**  
All Brooklyn members are requested to arrive Friday, Jan. 20, at this branch will tender a reception and dinner in honor of the 60th birthday of William Shaprio. Comrade Shaprio is one of the veterans of the Kings County movement and in the greater portion of his 60 years he has been one of the most active and devoted members of the Socialist Party. The dinner will take place at the Philip Morris Mansion, 927 Broadway. Reservations can now be made through Chas. Dann, ex-Cadogan Press, 207 Broadway, Brooklyn, and at the City Office.

**Boro Park**  
Under the auspices of the Boro Park Jewish and English Speaking Branches, a series of lectures will be given during the next three months dealing with various phases of the Socialist philosophy and movement. A schedule of dates and topics are as follows: Jan. 13, 9 p. m., James O'Neal, Subject: "Development of the Labor Movement in the United States"; Jan. 27, Ethelred Brown, Subject: "Principles of Socialism in Theory and Practice"; Feb. 10, Girolamo Valenti, Subject: "Cross Currents and Disruptive Movements Affecting the Socialist Movement in the United States"; Feb. 24, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Subject: "Influence of the Socialist Party in the Labor Movement of Great Britain"; Mar. 9, Samuel A. DeWitt, Subject: "The Necessity of the Socialist Press to the Labor Movement"; Mar. 23, Jos. A. Well, Subject: "Fusion—When and With Whom." Course ticket, 75 cents. Single admission, 15 cents—at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd st.

**16th A. D.**  
This Sunday afternoon, Jan. 8, at 4 p. m., a new forum will be opened in the Bensonhurst section of the 16th A. D. A series of lectures will be given every Sunday afternoon in the W. C. Center, 7316 20th avenue. Speakers and topics are as follows: Jan. 8, 4 p. m., August Claessens, Subject: "The Measure of Social Progress"; Jan. 15, 4 p. m., August Claessens, Subject: "Distribution of Wealth"; Jan. 22, Ethelred Brown, Subject: "Debs, the Apostle of Socialism"; Jan. 29, 4 p. m., Samuel J. Schneider, Subject: "Enemies of Society." Admission is free. Auspices 16th A. D. Br. Socialist Party.

**Branch 1, 18th A. D.**  
Branch 1, 18th A. D., held the most successful meeting of its short existence on Friday evening, Dec. 30, at its headquarters, 1465 St. Marks avenue. The piece de resistance was an address by Simon We, the Branch organizer, on "The Present Trend in England" and an exceedingly interesting discussion followed the address. Two new applications were presented, one by Comrade Wolfe and one by Harry Trostner, who is himself a recent acquisition.

On Friday, Jan. 13, a special meeting will be held at headquarters, at which time the Agenda for the coming National Convention will be discussed with the evening given over to a discussion on disarmament. All comrades and friends are invited. The evening promises to be one well spent.

On Friday evening, Jan. 6, J. N. Cohen will address the Branch on "Democracy—Failure or Success?"

**23rd A. D.**  
The banquet tendered to Comrade Shipiloff in celebration of his fiftieth birthday was a most successful one.

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birthday was one of the most successful and inspiring events held in Broomsville. More than 500 guests were present, representing all phases of the Socialist, Labor and Co-operative Movement. Comrade Vindeck acted as toastmaster. Numerous speakers paid tribute to the services of Comrade Shipiloff during his eventful life. The tributes that poured in by telegrams as well as those made from the floor contributed to this great demonstration of affection and esteem.

**Friday Lectures**  
Friday evening lectures at the Labor Lyceum by this branch are attracting good audiences. Beginning in January, Dr. Joseph Osman, noted lecturer, instructor and authority on psychology, will deliver a series of four lectures on Modern Psychological Problems, as follows: Friday evening, Jan. 5, "Psychology and Social Adjustment"; Jan. 13, "Psychology and Sex Adjustment"; Jan. 20, "Psychology and Crime"; Jan. 27, "The Psychology of Influencing Human Actions." Subject: "Ten Years of Soviet Russia." Admission is 15 cents. Questions and discussion.

**Yipseldom**  
**Cleveland**  
Cleveland Yipsels have reorganized and are starting a series of meetings to discuss the social sciences. Ten lectures by a student of the social sciences begin Jan. 13, covering elementary economics, sociology and social psychology. They will be given at Socialist headquarters, 105th street and Somerset avenue. The members agree that the Yipsels will be a better understanding of the bases of Socialism.

The past two meetings considered the Mexican situation. Three weeks ago, the group held a dance for the young people of the neighborhood and drew about sixty persons who promised to return. A group of songs that carry the message of the fight against the world are to be mimeographed and sung at the meetings of the group.

**Lecture Calendar**  
**NEW YORK**  
Sunday, Jan. 8, 11 a. m. Speaker, Judge Jacob Panken, Subject: "Current Events." Also musical program. Huntington Hall, 214 East 2nd st. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th—8th—12th A. D.  
Thursday, Jan. 12, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, A. I. Shipiloff, Subject: "Ten Years of Soviet Russia." 96 Avenue C. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th—8th—12th A. D.

**BRONX**  
Friday, Jan. 6, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Alexander Goldenweiser, Subject: "Evolution, Biological and Social." First of a series of four lectures on "The Doctrine of Social Evolution." 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont avenue. Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum.  
Friday, Jan. 6, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens, Subject: "The Socialist Movement Here and Abroad." Freeman Mansion, 1246 Southern boulevard, near Freeman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th—8th—12th A. D.

**5th A. D., East**  
Sunday, Sept. 8, 11 a. m. Speaker, August Claessens, Subject: "The Coming National Campaign." Workmen's Circle Center, 2095 Daly avenue, near 180th street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 7th A. D., East.  
Friday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Dr. A. Goldenweiser, Subject: "Evolution of Industry and Science." 4215 Third avenue. Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum.

**BROOKLYN**  
Friday, Jan. 6, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Joseph M. Osman, Subject: "Psychology and Social Adjustment." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.  
Sunday, Jan. 8, 4 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens, Subject: "The Measure of Social Progress." 16th A. D.

**Question To Smith**  
Governor Smith of New York declares, "I subscribe to no tenet of the Socialist Party." Excellent and fearless statement. Now then, Mr. Governor, let's have your view on another important question. Do you subscribe to the thieves who steal elections from the Socialist Party? They subscribe to you.

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NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Five three branches throughout the United States. Membership on Jan. 30, 1927—49,000. Assets \$550,000. Insurance in force, \$31,000,000.  
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of Social Progress." 7316 20th A. D. Auspices, Socialist Party, 16th A. D. sonhurst Branch.

Tuesday, Jan. 10, 9 p. m. Speaker, M. Chatouff. Subject: "The Social Administration of Reading, Pa." Tompkins avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th—8th A. D.  
Friday, Jan. 13, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, James O'Neal, Subject: "Development of the Labor Movement in the United States." Boro Park Labor Lyceum, avenue and 42nd street. Auspices, Socialist Party, Boro Park Branches.

Friday, Jan. 13, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Jos. M. Osman, Subject: "Psychology and Sex Adjustment." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

Monday, Jan. 9, 9 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens, Subject: "The Average Mind and the Roots of Prejudice." Auspices, Rockaway Park Forum.  
Tuesday, Jan. 10, 8:45 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens, Subject: "The Psychological Factors in Race Prejudice." Auspices, Forum Club, Workmen's Circle Lakewood.

**Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Co. Doing Great Work**  
In the past few years fire losses have mounted into the millions of dollars. The City of New York with all its remarkable fire-fighting efficiency was tragically rocked into bedeviling several times in the past years when huge conflagrations caused the loss of many lives and much property.

Losses of fire usually takes its heavy toll among the many workmen residing in congested territory. Many an negligent and unconcerned regarding fire-insurance many fail to insure their homes because of supposedly excessive rates charged by large fire-insurance companies.

It is because of this that the New Leader desires to call attention to one of the most vital institutions in the city organized and devoted to the welfare of the workmen, The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society with offices at 227 East 84th street. This organization was organized 55 years ago by working men, and at present has a capital of \$650,000, with insurance amounting to about 51 million dollars. The Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society has no connection whatever with any other insurance factor and naturally is not in the field for profit and dividends. It is primarily for workmen of modest means. Every \$100 insurance costs ten cents a year.

The executives of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society are men experienced in the field and their desire has always been the improvement of workmen's conditions in the city.

**Question To Smith**  
Governor Smith of New York declares, "I subscribe to no tenet of the Socialist Party." Excellent and fearless statement. Now then, Mr. Governor, let's have your view on another important question. Do you subscribe to the thieves who steal elections from the Socialist Party? They subscribe to you.

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Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

**EX-LAX**  
The Sweet Chocolate Laxative  
EX-LAX is as delicious as the choicest confection, and cleanses the bowels in a most natural, pleasant and painless manner. It is absolutely harmless, and children love it.

10, 25 and 50c a box, at all drug stores.

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The Largest Radical Workingmen's Fraternal Order in Existence  
85,000 MEMBERS  
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750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada  
Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000  
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$1 per week. Many branches also offer death benefit from \$2 to \$5 per week. Compensation benefit, \$100, or nine months in our own hospital, or the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—before the weekly benefit.

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Workingmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

## FRATERNALLY YOURS

WE have said it before. But we rise to say it again, very loud and clear, too.  
**THE NEW LEADER IS YOUR PAPER**

This means a lot more than the usual old-line newspaper promotion apple-sauce. For in a very real and fine sense of the word, a Socialist and Labor weekly such as The New Leader is a cooperative enterprise. Those of us who write and publish it are bound to you, the reader, with exceptionally strong ties. The New Leader has no other purpose than to serve the labor and Socialist movement and this means serving you and those you love. We are mouth-piece for no cliques, no little groups within the Party. The readers' interests and ours are the same, namely to do all in our power to hasten the coming of a better order of society, here and abroad.

There was practical evidence of how The New Leader serves the movement in an instance that occurred at a branch meeting the other night. The attendance was slim and although a speaker had been invited to talk on a matter of pressing interest to everyone in the hall, the size of his audience put such a damper on the proceedings that the speech fell flat. In apologizing, the chairman explained that he had arranged the meeting at the last moment and had had no time to put an advance announcement in The New Leader. "If The New Leader had carried our notice," said he, "the crowd would have been twice as large."

Sure, The New Leader is your best medium for bringing out the folks to meetings, for keeping them in touch with the latest doings, for creating interest among every working-class group in your community. It pays you to use it.

If you feel that in any way we are falling short of the goal we have set in the above paragraphs, don't just knock the paper to your friends. Tell us frankly what's the trouble and we'll do all we can to straighten it out. If, on the other hand, you feel that we are making progress, take a minute off and write us. Nothing bucks up a hard-working newspaper crew more than to know that comrades from coast to coast are with their heart and soul.

Here, for example is a letter that made everyone on the staff do his task with renewed determination:—  
"This is the last day of the old

year. I wonder what the younger 1928 will bring us. My wish is that the clergy would act as did the prophets of old when they rebuked the rulers for exploiting the people, also that the labor leaders would wake up to a sense of their duty and inform their following as to the true cause of their poverty and distress and the way out of the wilderness of conflict and persecution. You were good enough to send me your paper gratis this last year. I wrote twice that I was not able to pay for it, but you kept on sending it. I appreciate your kindness very much. I am interested to read in The New Leader of the strike of the miners in our State. It makes me feel badly that I am not in a position to help them. I know what striking means to them as I have been through that experience more than once. I spent twenty-nine years of my life in the mines and am suffering now from working in bad air and powder smoke. I am now well along in years and living on a pension out here in the mountains, for I could not afford to pay the high rent charged in the cities. I blue-pencil my articles in My Paper, The New Leader and pass them along to my friends."

The above is signed by a comrade living at Mountain Top, Pa. A real human document isn't it?

And here as a contrast to the age of the writer above is the following from Dauno Wisti of Fitchburg, Mass., "Although I am only twelve years old I know that your paper is the

# WHERE SHALL PROGRESSIVE VOTERS TURN IN 1928?

*A Progressive Republican, A Socialist, A Liberal Democrat and a Communist  
On the Political Prospects of the Presidential Contest*

## SENATOR NYE DENOUNCES BOTH THE OLD PARTIES

By U.S. Senator Gerald P. Nye

POLITICAL Prospects for 1928, ought to be an easy subject for discussion. Wherever politics are discussed the major portion of that talk is devoted to the 1928 prospect. To me only one thing is certain insofar as 1928 is concerned. That is that I will not be a candidate myself. In other words, I do not choose to run. However, that eliminates only one of about twenty million from consideration in that connection, and to attempt to review the field of would-presidents in 15 or 20 minutes of time would be folly.

And after all is said and done, are we or should we be, first concerned with who shall be the candidates of the parties? Had we not rather be concerned with issues?

What might those issues of 1928 be? Again can consideration lead us around in a circle and get us definitely nowhere.

There are those who will insist that the issues are already in mind by party leaders and that what they have in mind will be done by this convention. If that be the case then we can well afford to adjourn now and save words. I do not know that such is not the case. Indeed, I question very seriously whether the people will be heard by either party in their conventions. I have before me the statement of one of our Senators, who is a leader in his party, in which he says:

"I am quite sure prohibition will not be a troublesome issue in the resolutions committee nor on the floor of the convention. When the party platform is read it will be adopted."

### Everything Cut and Dried

No "ifs" or "ands" about it! Everything cooked and dried and merely waiting for the big election, which will afford several thousand politically minded folks a trip to Kansas City, or wherever else the convention may be held, and a chance for these thousands to feel that they've had a hand in the making of a president and the construction of a great party platform, in the form of a platform, made to look at, but not to use!

The facts are that a few same minds under the present order of our political life and determining the course of each party. Such proceedings give the people a Hobson's choice when they mark their presidential ballot. They might as well close their eyes when they do the marking. Such method would at least make the game a bit interesting for the average player. It would be interesting to open the eyes and see just where the cross on the ballot had landed.

"When the party platform is read it will be adopted." Then again: "Sharp political distinctions without radical difference!"

I sincerely hope that even though there must be sharp distinctions in the platforms of the two parties, that both will incorporate in their platform planks absent since we have all become so accustomed to seeing them there in past years.

It will not always be as it is now. The time will come, and I hope soon, when what is left of our democracy will be salvaged and government caused to respond to the interests of the many rather than the few. That time will come when, and only when, the people of the United States are awakened to what is happening to their greatest heritage as Americans.

For too long have we as a people been content with being repeatedly told that we were well, while predatory interests grasped for everything within reach. These our governments, mainly an institution to guarantee the investments of financiers abroad while small though respectable investments at home can be the damnation bow-wows.

**Asleep Too Long**  
For too long have we permitted the customary lullabys to keep us off our guard while the very government we helped to create gives away, or sells for paltry fees, the nations great resources of privileges which stack still further odds against the masses of people.

Too easily have we been persuaded to believe that the use of great sums of money in the election of public officials was quite essential to the carrying of the issues to the people, while those elected with the aid of such money have gone along and been continually good to men for those men and those interests which put up the campaign stake.

Too long now have we let a jolly slap on the back and a job that afforded a living blind us to the fact that men who have paid the price in a campaign, and as often as not to both parties in the same campaign, expect returns and get them in one way or another. They get their returns in tax reduction bills, or in subsidies, or through some corrupt agent of the government, in whose hands for safe keeping is entrusted the care of the property and interests of all the people.

Perhaps they get caught in the act. When then, in which event Congress expects to hush things up. If successful in winning such cooperation there is plenty of money, stolen from the people, available to hire Burns and his cronies to start a back-fire by "framing" honest officials or to shadow jurors. It is not need revert to ancient history and examples of thieves who use their art to buy favors from the administrative branch, spend barrels more of it to win a white-wash from the legislative branch, and then engage an army of detectives to keep the "business" in the judicial branch from being exposed.

## Four Political Leaders in "Prospects of 1928"

"The Political Prospects of 1928" was the subject of discussion at the annual dinner of the League for Industrial Democracy held in New York City last week.

In arranging the discussion, the League secured the best representatives of four different viewpoints. In the case of the Republican and Democratic parties, speakers representative of the progressive sections of these parties were called upon. This made the discussion of particular value to voters and organizations of progressive views.

The New Leader is obligated to the League for Industrial Democracy for their cooperation in making it possible for us to reprint the four speeches as articles.

ened itself upon our country and the very life of its people. When they do awaken, just as surely as day follows night, there will be a positive response and conventions and successful candidates for public office and government generally will become again instruments for use in the promotion of the general welfare.

**Those Terrible Foes**  
Oh, I hear my good friend Norman Hapgood, who is here to speak for the Democrats of the prospects for 1928, say: "But this all happens under Republican administrations, take on Al Smith and a Democratic administration next year and then watch the rebuilding of confidence in government!"

It does not all happen under Republican administration. And in two sessions of Congress I have watched Democrats play hand in hand with their terrible foes, the Republicans, on virtually every major issue which has come before that body. For a time they fought the Mellon scheme of tax reduction, but they got into line in time and are as deserving of the rewards in the form of campaign contributions, which that plan unquestionably wins, as are the Republicans. But now, as if to win a more deserving place in the estimation of the big boys, the Democrats are actually out-Melloning Mellon himself.

There is one thing in prospect in 1928 which commands my interest. We find today that both parties are influenced by the same men. Senator Lodge in 1923 on the floor of the Senate declared that 90 per cent of the campaign funds of both parties came from New York City. Is anyone foolish enough to ask to whom the government elected by such aid would respond first and last? If the East insists upon monopolizing both parties, there must follow a new alignment, and a new alignment is certain to follow if this condition continues. It will follow when the people in the great West, the North and the South rise up in defense of their own interests.

But when will they so rise? What is holding them down and away from such action? Is it hope that reform will come within the parties, or one of them? Possibly that is a contributing factor. Is it because we don't care? That cannot be true! Is it because we do not know the truth about things? In part, yes, but in the main the cause lies in the willingness and readiness of people to swallow course after course of Couleism—this mythical thing known in the present day as prosperity but in other days known as hard times.

### What Is This Prosperity?

Where is this thing called Prosperity? The farmer would like to find it. He knows that while 29 per cent of the people live upon our American farms that they are enjoying only 9 per cent of the current national income that the exchange value of farm lands has decreased four billion dollars since 1920; that farm indebtedness has increased from four to twelve billion dollars in the last fifteen years; that the American consumer in 1926 paid thirty billion dollars for products for which he, the farmer who produced it, received only ten billion dollars; that the prices for farm products has increased 26 per cent since before the war; that farm living costs have increased 68 per cent, farm taxes 112 per cent, grain freight rates have doubled, that the freight bill on a car load of hogs has jumped from \$45 to \$130, that gang plows have jumped from \$50 to \$125 in price and that the binder which before the war cost him \$120 now costs \$245.

### Are the Cities Prosperous?

Where is this prosperity? In the last fifteen years farm tenantry has increased 100,000, and in the same period the number of farm owners was decreased by 80,000. The value of live stock in the United States is less for 1925 than it was in 1910 and very near to being only one-half what it was in 1920.

In my own state of North Dakota see what has happened! In fifteen years the number of full farm owners dropped from 44,000 to 26,000 while tenants grew from 10,000 to 26,000. In the last five years the value of all farm property in my state has fallen from \$1,759,000,000 to \$1,191,000,000. We had more live stock and better live stock in our state in 1925 than we did in 1910, but it was worth less money. Those who still own their farms in North Dakota have mortgages amounting to 41 per cent of the value plastered upon them.

Where is this prosperity? It must be in the factories. The corporations must be prosperous.

October 25th declared that "Outside the few gigantic corporations which don't have of bother about competition and by whose large profits the public is misled, the common run of manufacturers in America today are in about as unhappy a condition as their fellow producers, the farmers and I challenge the statisticians to overturn that statement." Statistics bear out his statement.

An analysis of income tax returns discloses that about 40 per cent or 200,000 of the manufacturing corporations of the country lost money last year. According to these internal revenue figures ninety per cent of American business is done by corporations. Corporations are 430,072 in number. Of this number less than one-twentieth of one per cent gathered in 40 per cent of the total profit of corporations. Of a secondary group of 917 corporations winning profits of one to five million dollars, less than one-fourth of 1 per cent of this number made 25 per cent of the whole profit of the group.

We find one-fourth of 1 per cent of all the corporations in the country enjoying 66 per cent of all the profits of corporations. Does this spell general prosperity?

The net profits of all the corporations, 430,072 in number, are listed at 7½ billion dollars. About 1,000 of this number got 66 per cent of that profit or 5 billion dollars of it. It is just as interesting to note in passing, a comparison of this profit of one thousand corporations with the profit of agriculturists, constituting one-third of our whole population, whose net income, say nothing of profit, is only about twice the profit of the thousand choice prosperity recipients.

### The Bank's Figures

The bank reports breathe prosperity. We are told. It is pointed out that the banks of the United States have total deposits of more than 63 billion dollars, and that the banking business has increased more than 40 per cent since 1919. Study

## EASTMAN FINDS GLOOM APPROPRIATE ATTITUDE

By Max Eastman

I DON'T know why I should be asked to speak on Political Prospects for 1928, except because I am the one man in the radical movement who most certainly hasn't any such prospects. I couldn't get elected Socialist dogcatcher in Greenwich Village. I'm a lost sheep on the political horizon and I don't know where to go home.

I used to belong to the Socialist Party, but they fired me out for adhering to the Bolshevik program before Lenin died. Then I belonged to the Communist Party, and they fired me out for adhering to the Bolshevik program after Lenin died.

I can't be a Republican because the Republicans haven't any program except to oppose the Democrats. And I can't be a Democrat because the Democrats haven't any program except to oppose the Republicans. I think these two parties are both entirely right in opposing the other, but that doesn't help me when it comes to choosing between them.

I concede that Al Smith might very likely succeed in abolishing grade-crossings and restoring to this country its early colonial conception of what it means to be "intoxicated." As Norman Hapgood dwells on these blessings, I only want to urge him to recommend to the Governor that he fix up the grade-crossings before restoring the early colonial conception of what it means to be intoxicated. There is certainly a profound sociological connection between these two programs. I also concede that Al Smith did a big thing when he pardoned Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow. But I don't see any indication that Al Smith or any other candidate put forward by the old parties is going to turn his attention to the two real and fundamental problems of social life in America—the problem of the growing injustice and impracticability of our economic system, and the problem of military imperialism.

I don't mean to say that these old parties haven't any economic program. They have. The economic program of the Democrats is to put Democrats in office, and the economic program of the Republicans is to put Republicans in office.

## NORMAN HAPGOOD BOOSTS GOVERNOR SMITH AS LIBERAL

By Norman Hapgood

MY part of the discussion is to explain why I think independent liberal voters should be enthusiastically behind the movement to nominate and to elect to the Presidency Governor Alfred E. Smith.

It is a dismal mistake to suppose that his power of winning elections, and his still more amazing power of persuading the voters on complicated matters and political theory, is the whole story of his power. The attribute in which he is equalled by no American now living is his technical mastery of making over the government of a great state from a condition in which its ramshackle backwardness was a natural prey of politicians to a condition in which it is a model of effective simplicity for the other states of the Union. In addition to leading this reconstruction from the point of view of business effectiveness, the Governor has also been the state leader in the determination that the improved state machinery shall be used for enlightened services to the whole people of the State.

There is some talk of his not knowing as much about national and international conditions as he should. But I think

of this seeming prosperity is interesting. Assuming that the newspaper reports are correct, and that we do have 63 billion on deposit in the banks, we wonder how it can be. We have less than five billion in circulation and of this less than one billion is in the hands of the banks. The balance is out among the people, pocket money. Take the one billion actually in the banks, subtract it from the 63 billion claimed to be on deposit in the banks, and we have a balance of 62 billion. This represents what? Can it represent anything other than debts, loans made the public which simply represent figures on bank books upon which handsome rates of interest are paid? Instead of deposits the 63 billion had better be called credit.

We know of the 10 per cent wage reduction in the textile industry effective December 1st. You are aware of the unwholesome condition existing in the mining industry, and of criminal increases and of the continued increasing record of bankruptcies and foreclosures which are virtually choking the courts.

To some people this orgy of stocks and bonds sales may spell prosperity but to those who will admit the truth this prosperity banter is only a myth. Yet Americans, when considering politics at least, feed upon it. How long can such substantial food serve to maintain life? I ask you, how long? How much longer can America be kept under the anaesthetic? How much longer will we slumber while our very blood is being taken from us?

Let us seek to win that measure of protest from all the people that will force parties to respond to the interests of the people and our country. As one writer has so well expressed it: Let us tear the blinds from before our eyes and place that which is human, something more divine, far above the worship of property and wealth, and power, and Big Business as we have come to know it in America.

### "Appropriate For Gloom"

The gloomy thing is that an intelligent person could stand up here and say, without any consciousness of the irony of it, that he "has heard some talk of the formation of a third party." There are three "third parties" already in existence, all of them having programs that touch the fundamental social problems of the United States, and which correspond to parties in Europe that roll up millions of votes at every election. But these parties play so weak and inconspicuous a part in the mad whirl of mere instinctive life in this country, that most eminent publicists are normally quite unconscious of their existence. The impression I have, after a five years absence from the United States, is that the country has got to spinning so fast it has gone to sleep.

I think it is just the appropriate time for gloom. I also think it is important we should recognize what kind of a time it is. For those who understand the science of politics in the deeper manner of Marx and Lenin, each period has its own appropriate or primary task. And the primary task for American radicals in a period of depression and inaction like this is thinking.

I would like to see a small group of serious people who believe in the science of revolutionary engineering with class forces, and who are not scared out of their wits when some labor politician calls them "intellectuals" gather together and begin to do a little honest and conscientious mental work on the American problem. This would be a radical departure in the American movement, but the time for a radical departure has come. Our Socialist movement is so weak and ineffectual, thirty or so years after its birth, that there's nothing for it to do but to be born again. So puny an infant has only one choice—either to die or become great. And the first step towards becoming great, starting where we are now, is to investigate patiently the peculiar terms of our problem and make a great plan.

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## THOMAS SEES PROGRESS THROUGH SOCIALIST PARTY

By Norman Thomas

I SPEAK as a Socialist. I was going to begin by agreeing rather substantially with Max Eastman though not completely. He and I on occasion might have something of a discussion about Marx and Lenin though I should be properly fearful of tackling such an antagonist. Nevertheless, on many points I agree with him. I certainly agree with him as to the need of that kind of study which he proposed, a proposal which I most heartily welcome.

I was going to agree with him as to the hope "which creates out of its own wreck the thing it contemplates." But such hope is not in order for the Republican party. Nevertheless, I think our gloom is somewhat lightened by the frankness of analysis with which Senator Nye has spoken to us tonight. I am most emphatically for the kind of constructive thinking which Mr. Eastman recommends. You will remember, however, that he told us quite frankly that he recommended it because he was cast out into outer darkness where only thought might create something out of chaos. If Mr. Eastman hadn't been expelled or excommunicated by the Workers' Party I am not sure he would have had quite so much time for pure thought, and I am not so sure that pure thought is all that we need in this emergency.

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### Socialist Party Activity

I am not going to say that the state of the Socialist Party internally or externally, in numbers or in spirit, is what I desire or what we must have if Socialism is to win. But I doubt whether its life is quite so precarious as Mr. Eastman assumed. His five years of absence have obscured certain American happenings such as a triumphant Socialist campaign in Reading, Pennsylvania, which is no mean city, or the continued effective administration of the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee. Even here in New York we have managed to create something of a stir and are still decidedly alive.

Let me tell my friend, Mr. Hapgood, this: that degree of progressivism which he finds, if not in the Democratic party, then in Al Smith, is largely proportional to the intensity of Socialist campaigns and that by keeping going we have at least reminded the Democratic Party of some things they were likely to forget. And assuming that Mr. Smith's heart bleeds for the slums and for everything else, it must have helped him a lot to have some of us keep on saying that a bleeding heart isn't enough and that there is more planning necessary at this juncture.

You see, Mr. Eastman, what I am afraid of in your plan of pure thought is this, that the march of life goes on and that while we are thinking a great many things may happen to us to stop our thinking and that, moreover, we shall think more effectively if we do our part in that march.

### Sees Socialism Growing

The Socialist Party does need to be born again. I may not be as good an authority as Mr. Eastman upon the methods of spiritual rebirth, but I doubt if suicide is preparatory to it. And for the Socialist Party or its members to retire into profound contemplation and discussion along the four lines which Mr. Eastman mentioned, would mean in the year 1928 suicide for that party. I think the day will come when we shall have a bigger and better Socialist Party. It may call itself a Labor Party. It will be built on the interests of the working class and must have its alliance with the farmers. But I am not anxious to kill the Socialist Party because some time I think bigger and better

hysteria caused a group of Socialist Assemblymen to be thrown out of their offices, the Governor insisted upon a special election in order that the districts which wished to be represented by Socialists should not remain without representation. In cases like the Jim Larkin pardon and the Gitlow pardon, he has shown precisely the same attitude on freedom of opinion that is being so nobly upheld in the Supreme Court of the United States by Justice Holmes and Justice Brandeis.

There is some question about a third party. Such demonstrations have their value. If the Republicans and the Democrats next summer should each nominate a representative of the rule of concentrated wealth, such a demonstration might again be of value. But when one of the two great parties nominates a man who is not only progressive beyond the ideas of most Americans, but equipped with all the qualities to make progress popular and successful, then to insist on a side show is to throw away the substance for the shadow, and also to throw grave doubt on the usefulness and ability in this country at the present time of those groups which are most pleased to describe themselves as liberals.

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By Norman Thomas

I SPEAK as a Socialist. I was going to begin by agreeing rather substantially with Max Eastman though not completely. He and I on occasion might have something of a discussion about Marx and Lenin though I should be properly fearful of tackling such an antagonist. Nevertheless, on many points I agree with him. I certainly agree with him as to the need of that kind of study which he proposed, a proposal which I most heartily welcome.

I was going to agree with him as to the hope "which creates out of its own wreck the thing it contemplates." But such hope is not in order for the Republican party. Nevertheless, I think our gloom is somewhat lightened by the frankness of analysis with which Senator Nye has spoken to us tonight. I am most emphatically for the kind of constructive thinking which Mr. Eastman recommends. You will remember, however, that he told us quite frankly that he recommended it because he was cast out into outer darkness where only thought might create something out of chaos. If Mr. Eastman hadn't been expelled or excommunicated by the Workers' Party I am not sure he would have had quite so much time for pure thought, and I am not so sure that pure thought is all that we need in this emergency.

### Our Unreal Prosperity

Let us look for a minute at the background of things. Perhaps background is a bad name for it, for I agree with Mr. Eastman that things in America move with great rapidity and spin so fast that perhaps we are asleep. I agree in general with Senator Nye's description of the unreality of the prosperity that has dragged us. Nevertheless it is well to recognize the fact that here in America we still hold fast to the religion of capitalism. We hold fast to that religion in spite of the fact that many of its articles of faith have already proved wanting. We have already come to a point where the general issue is a choice between industrial anarchy and planned control of economic processes. In many industries already the issue is between public monopoly for the general good and private monopoly prevailing for profit. It is a demonstrated fact that the old doctrines of the efficacy of competition to right all wrongs, of the sanctity of the law of supply and demand, of the automatic control of markets—I say it is a demonstrated fact that these things don't work and aren't working. If you want to see the blessings of Adam Smith's type of competition, look at the bituminous coal situation where you have got it and see what it has brought. Look at the textile situation. You have in other words a living refutation of this creed to which somehow we still hold and one whose propaganda we are still dragged.

### The March of Empire

It is quite true that this blessed Capitalism of ours does not provide in the measure it ought bread or security for the workers or peace or freedom or brotherhood. And yet men by the millions are dragged, dragged in part by coercion and in part by cajolery. Their minds are regimented in schools and by newspapers. We have the most effective machinery of propaganda the world has ever seen.

It is true that we have not prospered as we ought; it is true that the farmers and the coal miners and textile workers and many others in this most prosperous of countries, in this country where a decent life is the rightful heritage of every child—haven't got it and that tonight on whole hillsides and bleak mountains in Pennsylvania and Colorado the children of the nation are starving in an industrial warfare that is due to the stupidity, and the cupidity not merely of a few individual coal operators, but to the whole system under which we live.

It is also true that steadily we march along the road of empire, that imperialism born of the union between capitalism and nationalism threatens not only other countries, but ourselves with the inevitable ruin that imperialism brings. The fact that Mr. Dwight Morrow has discovered a relatively painless way of administering imperialism, that he has found it is easier to jolly President Calles into concessions than to try to scare him into them, doesn't prove that we are not imperialistic. It proves mainly an improvement in technique. I am glad that we are saying it with flowers rather than with brickbats, but I wish we weren't

## Who the Four Debators Are

GERALD P. NYE—United States Senator from North Dakota, elected through the efforts of the Non-Partisan League.  
MAX EASTMAN—former editor of "The Masses," a Communist of the Trotsky persuasion; he is not a member of the Communist Party.  
NORMAN HAPGOOD—former U. S. Ambassador to Denmark; an editor and publicist of pronounced liberal views.  
NORMAN THOMAS—Socialist candidate for Governor of New York and Mayor of New York City; a director of the League for Industrial Democracy.

saying it at all in Mexico or elsewhere throughout the world. Thus the march of empire goes on. That march is a march to war. And I for one have not such an assurance in the certain and sure happiness to follow violent revolution which in turn is supposed to follow world war, that I want to see imperialism march on without a mightier effort than has yet been made to check it and substitute for it international cooperation.

From the standpoint of the individual American it is a question whether we can keep such partial liberties as we have won or whether a ruling class by coercion and cajolery, by injunctions, militarism and control of the courts, by standardized education and recreation can continuously exploit a fairly well fed lot of Robots.

### What IS To Be Done?

I am not arguing that a party alone can solve these questions and solve them right. I am arguing that political action affords a possible way of real constructive progress. It is a way that is almost altogether blocked for Americans by the simple fact that by and large both the old parties belong to the same interests, that there is no difference between them nationally except a desire for office and that political struggle tends primarily simply to divert the electorate. We have a Senator from New York who began his political career as a Republican, Mayor of Ann Arbor and is today a Democratic Senator, having changed nothing but his address. This situation is ideal not only for the professional politician but for the grafter and the more "responsible" seeker after special privilege. It gives to our owning and possessing class insurance in two companies, two machines for alternative use. Still better it gives them the setting for an infinitely amusing puppet show to divert the electorate with sham battles while the insiders reap the profits. For the farmer and worker it makes political democracy a rather bad joke. They should demand a pure food and drug act so that the labels on political bottles may mean something.

In this situation what's to be done? My progressive friends from the West say "utilize existing political machinery, especially the Republican Party as best you can." Some of them have made a gallant struggle and have won something but nothing like enough. The consolidation of capitalist control and the march of American imperialism have gone on almost contemptuously of such little reforms as they have brought about. Progressivism of this sort lacks both philosophy and method. It is as outworn, if we did but realize it, as the attempt to fight modern battles after the fashion of Indian skirmishes.

A great deal of so-called progressivism is really retrogressive. It consists in sighing for the dear, dead days of the small business man and owner. Witness the enthusiasm many progressives still feel for that cumbersome and dangerous law, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act—a law that has done more harm to labor than it has done good to the small business man. Indeed as I followed Senator Nye's figures I could not but feel that some of them proved not so much a decline in prosperity as a growth in concentration of control.

### Hapgood's Messiahs

My friend Norman Hapgood won't bother about parties. He has, once more, found a Man. As he spoke I remembered how once in the tense war days I went to Mr. Hapgood with a problem of liberty in which I, and I thought he, too, was intensely interested. Even now I can hear his exhortation to trust President Wilson—an exhortation that was mocked in the result. Tonight he still holds his beautiful faith. Only this time the Messiah's name isn't Woodrow Wilson but Al Smith. The trouble is, Mr. Hapgood, that your Messiahs don't assay at 100 per cent. If they did you ask the impossible of them.

Gov. Smith has many virtues. He is less of a progressive than some of his friends claim even in state affairs. He has no national program at all. His anti-imperialism is only the vague, pious sentimentalism in which all politicians indulge. He has offered no plan for curbing our march to empire. On the two progressive issues of national scope on which he has recently spoken or acted he has gone wrong. I refer to his clever side-stepping of the Child Labor amendment to which he was pledged and his declaration against the federal inheritance tax. But supposing that he were as progressive as Mr. Hapgood thinks. How absurd it is to think that one progressive candidate for President can remake a party.

Whatever else you think of Tammany's gross election frauds repeated year after year as needed, and Tammany's degradation of the city judiciary they prove this: Gov. Smith, Tammany's favorite son and acknowledged leader, can't or won't make his organization give us such an elemental right as an honest count.

Mr. Hapgood, if your Messiah can't

(Continued on Page 5)

# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## A VERY GLOOMY INTERLUDE

NOW we are writing a very gloomy book indeed about how rotten life is in the Scandinavian. It is called, "The Tragedy of Ulf". Ulf went around with a hare lip and could not pronounce her name very well so that folks got her all mixed up with the nit-wit who cried, "Wolf, wolf", in the fable and would have little to do with her which shows you that it doesn't always pay to keep your name before the public.

Besides having a hare lip, Ulf lived near Ostro-Formalac. About fifteen miles near Ostro-Formalac and she had to go in and out every day to have her herrings kippered there. This was done by the Head Kipper, a Scandinavian named Adolph S. Sjello. Sometimes Ulf wondered if it was really worth while to walk fifteen miles in and fifteen miles back every day and if it wouldn't be better to move nearer Ostro-Formalac. But then the air out where Ulf lived was so good for the children. Ulf lived on a fjord, an old Model T fjord, and she was not happy there.

You see her father was ill most of the time. Nothing really serious for Scandinavia, just small-pox, complicated with leprosy, her mother named Bjorskjivok, had drowned herself just before the story opened so you won't need to worry about pronouncing her name; and her brother Svensk is shooting himself in a corner here and there as the story opens. No one pays much attention to Svensk, however as he is known throughout the community as One Whom the Little Men have Visited, meaning that he has been bunning around with a lot of Scandinavian folk lores and is sort of nutty.

In the first chapter Ulf is worrying about the rent. It has been overdue for seven or eight nights and when you figure the length of a night in those northern countries, you can see for yourself that an eviction is just around the corner. Ulf worries for quite a while, and then presently there comes in the pastor of the Second Moravian Church of Ostro-Formalac, who is an authority on the history of the Scandinavian countries, and knows all about the goings on of the Norse Gods. Brushing aside the body of Dvorejkkp-ping, which had been hanging from the rafters, Pastor Haarfrag (or Fair-hair) sits down and tells Ulf all about what it was like in her country before they had prosperity such as they were now enjoying, and the times were really hard. It seemed that under the Republican administration of Ostro-Formalac the mean temperature had been raised from 40 deg. below zero to around 38 deg. The fried smelt industry had showed a net profit of 227.3 gulden, and the total assets of the Kongeriget Norges Hypothekbank were tremendous as anything. Burgemeister Kolida had told Pastor Haarfrag that he saw nothing but prosperity ahead for his people, and that if a deaf ear were turned to all sorts of agitators the country would flourish mightily.

Encouraged by these predictions of those in a position to know, Ulf starts out with her herrings for Ostro-Formalac. On the way, she meets a workman who is about to commit suicide because he can't think of anything to do with all the spare time that is on his hands. He has been reading a book by a professor in the Royal Frederick University in Christiania, called "Carmina Sealdica: udvalgt af norske og islandske Skjaldekavd matt-woll". Translated, this means "The Threat of Leisure to the Working Classes of Norway", and it is a decidedly depressing book.

Addressing the workman, Ulf says: "Til det gamle?" She meant to say "What's the big idea of killing yourself? Haven't you heard what Burgemeister Kolida has told Pastor Haarfrag?" but on account of her hare lip she had some difficulty in making herself understood, and the workman thought that she was proposing marriage to him in order to share her prosperity with one who was not quite so well off. Exclaiming "Til det du os pjart!" he threw away his Lofoten, or long knife, which he used in the hair-splitting industry for which the Norwegians are famous, and embraced Ulf so strenuously that all the fjords roundabout ran to cover.

So began the romance between Ulf of the Harelip and Tony Morelli, bravest of all the brave fishermen who went down to the sea in Bjorsjons.

The next chapter gets a bit rough, because Ulf is here disclosed in her jaegers, singing songs out of the Norsk Forfatterlexikon. Ulf's father coughing a bit, for by this time his smallpox has grown larger, asks how come that his daughter is so suddenly happy? By way of answer, she tells him the saga of Eric Erstenbiast, Royal Frederick University '22, who fell in love with a beowulf on a night of bitter rain and was never seen again around the campus. This saga takes up some thirteen or fourteen chapters, and apparently has nothing to do with the rest of the story, but there is an inner symbolism, which Ernest Boyd will discover, but which will go way over the head of Harry Hansen. In order to assure acceptance by Horace Liveright, in the thirteenth chapter a baby is born to Ulf out of wedlock by Tony Morelli. There will be a great to-do when John S. Sumner hears about this, and there is every chance in the world that the book will be suppressed by Superintendent Crowley of the Boston Police.

Our only regret is that we did not have this done in time to enter the Woodrow Wilson Prize Essay Contest, as we could have used the ten thousand dollars far more constructively than the members of the committee, to whom it apparently reverts.

We are thinking of asking Wanda Gag to do the design for the jacket. The chance to mix herrings, hare lips and the decomposed faces of suicides by drowning is one which any modern artist should snap at. We are offering the serial rights to "College Humor" as rumors have reached us that they are going in for pretty highbrow fiction. If he likes, Donald Ogden Stewart, who for years has nourished a secret passion to do something big and constructive and get away from the frivolities he is forced to deal with, may write the preface. The book, of course, will be dedicated to Max D. Steuer. Although it has not yet been completed, advance orders will be received at any time up to noon of Stjorskrivgrissen Day, the Norwegian Fourth of July, when the Stjorsing goes on a Diet.

McAlister Coleman.

### Bush Analogy

What are the swift hours told  
Each day with a ceaseless chime  
But swagmen bold with their blankets rolled  
On the Wallaby tracks of Time?

What's man, when all is said,  
But a drover to and fro,  
Whose years are fed with a three-score spread  
On the stock reserves of Woe?

What is Death but a sheerer canoe?  
A ringer, with lives for sheep;  
His sheer blades keen have an ebon sheen,  
And his tally the graveyards keep.

—Will H. Ogilvie.

## American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

### Conflicting Philosophies

THE NORTHERN ANSWER. Northern politicians and editors denied this indictment of capitalism, but they generally ignored official records regarding wages, long hours of labor, unsanitary conditions of employment, insecurity of employment, strikes, and the desperate poverty in urban centers of the North. Moreover, the trade union indictment of northern industry agreed with the southern indictment.

The northern answer equally indicted the planter system and an intellectual duel was waged across the border. The West had frequently voted in elections with the South but in the last decade of the old order the economic ties between the South and the Mississippi Valley began to weaken. Senator Douglas as a representative of railroad interests had been instrumental in obtaining the charter for the Illinois Central Railroad which linked the Valley with southern cotton fields, but railroad building between the Valley and the Industrial East more than outstripped the Douglas project. The planter social system was be-

ing isolated by the loss of its western ally in politics.

The two social orders could not live in peace under the same government. In the Senate Calhoun proposed to amend the Constitution to give the planter South a perpetual half share control of the executive branch of the Government. He proposed the election of two presidents, each with a veto on the acts of Congress. In this way he hoped to preserve a balance between planter and capitalist property.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT. In the campaign of 1858 William L. Seward, later Lincoln's Secretary of State, declared that the two social systems "are incompatible. \* \* \* Increase of population, which is filling the states out to their very borders, together with a new and extended network of railroads and other avenues, is rapidly bringing the states into a higher and more perfect social unity or consolidation. Thus, these antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. \* \* \* It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces." As for the Supreme Court de-

cision in the Dred Scott case he later appealed to the "higher law." This was a revolutionary declaration that property in capital would not accept any judicial decision that gave property in slaves an ascendancy in the Government.

Carl Schurz expanded this view of the class conflict in the campaign of 1860. He declared that the southern ruling class kept blacks and whites ignorant. The poor whites "interests are not identical with those of the slave holder." To allow them education would be "dangerous to the rule of an exclusive class" and men "must be kept stupid to be kept obedient." The ruling class, however, could not help itself. "It cannot exist unless it rules, and it cannot rule unless it keeps down its opponents. \* \* \* It is a conflict of principles underlying interests, always the same, whether appearing as a moral, economical, or political question." Even the abstract constitutional questions merely concealed "the conflict of interests. \* \* \* Decide the contest of principles underlying interests, and the conflict of constitutional construction will settle itself." Schurz added that "in modern times the most

active and enterprising class of society, as soon as it becomes numerous, will inevitably become the ruling class." Northern manufacturers, bankers and merchants had certainly become active and numerous. This speech had the official approval of the Republican national committee. Two ruling classes were talking frankly to each other but the workers in the two sections did not understand its significance.

Some years after the Civil War Thurlow Weed, one of the cleverest of politicians and a "sage" of the Republican Party, highly approved capitalist organization, disapproval of trade unions and eight-hour laws and declared: "There has been, as there ever must be, between the thousands who labor and the hundreds who enjoy the fruits of such labor, an 'irrepressible conflict.' But it is the duty of governments to see that the faces of those who labor are not held too closely to the grindstone." Weed feared that "poor people might unite together, elect men to office among themselves, who would then pass laws which, while benefiting their class, would impoverish and ruin those who were large possessors of property." He was reassured, however, because "regular political parties, managed by talented, educated men, have always used these ignorant classes, and for that reason the danger I first had in mind has been averted." Weed's views, shared by other professional leaders, was the flowering of the philosophy of capital which issued out of the irrepressible conflict.

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Dodd, "The Social Philosophy of the Old South," American Journal of Sociology, May, 1918.  
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Russell, "Economic Aspects of Southern Sectionalism, 1840-1861."  
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**QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT**  
1. What were the economic ties between the northern and southern ruling groups?  
2. What was the effect of restriction of the slave trade and soil exhaustion in the South?  
3. What caused the lack of diversified industry in the South?  
4. Into what subordinate groups were the poor whites of the South divided?  
5. What was the ideal social order of the southern ruling class?  
6. Outline the fundamentals of the southern philosophy as it affected politics, journalism, religion, literature, economics, history, and law?  
7. What was the character of the reply to the southern criticism of northern industry? Was the answer a valid one?  
8. Explain the factors and issues involved in the conflict between the two social systems.

### FOR DISCUSSION

Is there any difference between the social philosophy of Republicans as expressed by Thurlow Weed and the social philosophy represented by southerners like Thomas Roderick Dew?

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## Book Review

### Money Writes!

THE easiest way to react to a buffet is to pretend it's by a buffet. At least for cowards. When Bernard Shaw began his attack on conditions in England, he was considered less a Socialist than a seeker for publicity. And the correct attitude toward Upton Sinclair is a polite smile: the dear fellow is well-meaning enough, but monomania is no novelty, don't you know; he's merely extended the "persecution complex" to include all his pet bogies. This method of reference—he conveyed in a shrug of the shoulders or a deft phrase—permits I. M. P. of the Herald-Tribune "Books" wholly to misinterpret Sinclair's thesis, and allows those who dare not face them to dodge for (the moment) the blows of the surest satirist of our age.

Sinclair has—if I may use the word—sweetened in his last two books. He seemed at one time over-bitter in his attacks, as though he considered every pedant, every penny politician, deliberately guilty of mayhem on intelligence and freedom. In "Oil," however, the chief capitalist is observed through the eyes of his admiring son, and the sympathy of the portraitist makes the book more interesting—and doubly damning. And in "Money Writes" (A. & C. Boni \$2.50), the pen once dipped in vinegar and gall, profits by the admixture of oil.

The facts Upton Sinclair invariably assembles press upon the reader, roar in his mind, like air in a train rushing through an under-river tube, imminent, insistent, undeniable. We have, it is true, found errors of detail in Sinclair's statements, but never a vital failure of fact—nor in all his years of direct attack has a libel suit been won against him.

What does he say in "Money Writes"? His fellow-writers. For they, or most of them, are led as Mark Twain in the guided age, to sell their birthright for a mess of porridge. It is not that they are really radical, and deliberately daily with the foliage-tips of life. But they find that social favor, fame, wealth—what they will—are the pleasurable consequences of saying to the public: "As You Like It." Giving the public what it wants has, as you see, early and noted instances, nor are all the successful sycophants writers. But Sinclair limits himself to authors of our time; he has permitted his sense of humor to play its bright flame across the pages; he has ceased being savage, but is ever sincere.

The magazine groups, especially "Curtis" Lorimer's like, are exhibited as chief purchasers of what passes with so many for reading matter; but the knife is driven home on Hergesheimer, Cabell, and Van Vechten, then turned for the eminent Mencken. The poets are by no means overlooked. If Sinclair seems kinder to some, it is not their "aesthetic worth" but their straight shooting at life that he admires, and it is the same unflinching insistence upon meeting life as it is, that is the basis of our own admiration of Upton Sinclair and the mainspring of his power.

Joseph T. Shipley

### A Guide to Health

"What a splendid thing it would be had God made good health catching instead of disease," remarks Dr. Joseph H. Greer; but since whatever gods may be ordained otherwise, all of us need the information contained in his book, "The Drugless Road to Perfect Health" 4114 3. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. \$2.00. This is a splendid debunking of the drug

GOOD CHEER COMRADES! Want to buy, sell, or swap books, bromes, old china, clocks, curios, etchings, lamps, paintings, prints, oriental rugs, Buz, or strolls to Dacca, 3 Washington Sq., 8th N. Y. C. Books all ways 20 to 80% off. Open even.

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business, although few would be willing to go quite as far as the learned doctor. It is also a highly helpful manual of facts we should know when disease gets us in its clutches and would do well to know before we are attacked by disease. It is cram-full of prescriptions and suggestions for exercise and health regimen—all presented in a clear, to-the-point, eminently readable style.

Nowadays when doctors' bills are usually so high, such a volume as this which provides most of the information that is most essential to health is a real service to the workers. Allowing for the inevitable difference of opinion between doctors, we believe that almost all would acknowledge that this is a sound, reliable treatise worth many times its cost if properly followed. Advice to the too fat and too thin, the expectant mother and the mother whom the stork has recently visited, those afflicted with constipation, influenza, tuberculosis, appendicitis, diabetes, cancer and the common infectious disease—all this and much more that will increase energy and efficiency, health and happiness are given in this admirably practical book.

Ralph Cheyne

### Farmers Want A New Party

(Continued from Page 1)

agent to perform this function for a stipulated wage or salary. The next stage is the purchase of goods en bulk by the organization's own trained employees.

Interesting Politics In the insurance field the Progress Builders are now entering the second stage of development. They are organizing a co-operative insurance concern of their own covering homes and farm property on the basis of service at cost. Later they will launch a co-operative hall insurance project. The farmers and home-owners will get these policies on the mutual cost plan without paying any fee other than the Progress Builders' initiation fee.

In order to make such co-operative enterprises possible the Progress Builders had to enter the political field and get through a favorable law.

This brings us to the political and ultimate aims of the Progress Builders. The political aim of the Progress Builders is a party of the real producers—the wage-workers and farmers—for the purpose of gaining possession of the government and using the powers of government to assist in the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth.

They are moving toward this objective cautiously in view of the individualistic and conservative mind of the average American farmer and wage-worker, on the theory that collective group action has become a necessity with all existing classes and that if it is properly directed it will develop a collective mind and a co-operative society.

Endorsed Socialist Party At this stage the political activities of the Progress Builders are opportunistic. They are operating largely like the late Non-partisan League of North Dakota.

In the last New Mexico state election the task they set out to accomplish was to oust the Democratic party from power. This party had entrenched itself in power by means of conceivable, corrupt, vicious and tyrannical methods. Its leaders had sunk to the criminal level of grafters and gangsters of the worst stripe. The Progress Builders' leaders recommended that the members use their ballots to oust the Democrats and urged them to do it by voting the Socialist ticket. The Socialist vote, as a result, showed a considerable increase, but the majority of the members of the organization voted Republican as the surest way to throw the Democrats out of power. The result was that the Democrats were defeated and driven from office and the Republicans put in their place. It is generally admitted throughout the state that the Progress Builders were responsible for this change.

While outwardly non-partisan at the present stage of political growth, the Progress Builders, as represented by their

leaders and outstanding members are ready to join hands with the class organization headed toward industrial democracy which seems most promising. They are anxious to see a great unification of the farmer-labor-Socialist forces of the nation and are ready to do everything in their power to bring about such a unification, and sincerely hope that something along this line can be achieved in 1928.

### Where Shall Progressives Turn

(Continued from Page 1)

even reform Tammany how can he reform the whole Democratic Party?

### Some Immediate Tasks

What we need is organized, disciplined, intelligent action in cities, states and nation through a party based consciously on the interests of the great producing masses as against the owning and controlling classes. Such a party will bring no immediate panacea. It will make its own mistakes. It will have to develop its own philosophy. Certain immediate issues are ready to its hand.

1. It will stand resolutely against imperialism and for international cooperation. It will oppose the collection of private debts in weaker nations by public force. It will consciously seek peace.

2. It will stand for a wider and fuller measure of civil liberty, for the right to organize, for reform of our judicial procedure and especially for the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes.

3. It will stand for using our system of taxation to promote social justice. It will increase not diminish inheritance taxes and super taxes on income. It will, I trust, advocate lower tariffs for international as well as national reasons.

Meanwhile it will doubtless advocate that so long as our tariff system lasts some way will be found to admit farmers to a seat at the tariff table or, in other words, to afford them equivalent protection—a prospect for which I have, I confess little enthusiasm.

4. Such a party must advocate a progressive system for the acquisition and democratic control of natural monopolies beginning, I should think, with coal and super power.

5. It will urge social insurance not only for humanitarian reasons but as a condition of effective labor organization. These are things that to true progressives matter more than the three R's of current American politics: rum, race and religion.

I have not attempted to work out these general propositions into a political platform. To my mind any party will fail that does not develop a philosophy as well as an immediate program. It is not true that opportunism is enough. We need to oppose the religion of Babbitt and the Rotary Clubs with a higher religion of ordered and intelligent cooperation of the world's stores of natural resources and machinery for the abolition of poverty and war and the realization of freedom and brotherhood. So great a task outruns the life of one generation or the functions of any political party. But in so far as political action may be effective at all—and that, in my judgment is a long ways—I am sure that we shall be saved not by a Messiah, not by the guerilla warfare of the progressives, but by the organization of a loyal party of those who toil by hand and brain to keep our complex life going on this little planet which is our home. To preach this belief is the great political opportunity of 1928. It is an opportunity which the Socialist Party affords us and invites us to share.

### On Thrift

Always remember that the capitalist system stimulates thrift, enterprise and initiative and guarantees rewards to all who follow these virtues. Bankrupt farmers and unemployed workers should try these remedies. Also try to cure small-pox by whitewashing a pimple.

## MY HORRORSCOPE FOR 1928

DURING the coming year there will be a tremendous increase in bank deposits, burglaries, stock dividends, strikes, holiness, homicide, prosperity, poverty, prohibition agents and booze runners.

The special committee appointed by the president to investigate the coal industry will hold 59 sessions during 1928 and publish its findings in 32 volumes in 1943. Coal miners who cannot break themselves of the habit of eating will do well to hunt other jobs in the interim. If they find other jobs they will do well.

Among the 9,365 injunctions to be issued during 1928 there will be 69 prohibiting cross-eyed persons from looking at strikebreakers through telescopes.

The satisfactory increase in rapes, murders and divorce scandals will have a beneficial effect on the circulation and advertising of American family journals, which in turn will reflect itself in the growing prosperity of the paper, pulp and lumbering industries.

Birth control being taboo, the threatened menace of over-population will find a partial solution through the increased activities of gangsters, state police, hi-jackers, and quick-on-the-trigger prohibition agents, aided by the sale of legally poisoned hooch.

If Herb Hoover and Al Smith are nominated for the presidency, either one or the other will be elected. In either case the election will not change anything one way or another.

The election of Al Obregon to the presidency of Mexico, however, is a dead certainty. Any dark horse that may pop up in the closing days of the campaign is certain to be popped off and depart in a dark hearse.

A grave situation indeed. The widespread opposition to short skirts, one-piece bathing suits and cigaret smoking will spread wider during the coming year, and result in a marked shortening of near garments coupled with longer profits to the cigaret trust.

Fashions in women's clothes will change but slightly in 1928. Women who now wear bear skin in July are expected to go in bare skin in January. Bathing beauty contests and ice carnivals may also be reversed in order to comply with the exchange of seasons.

There will, however, be a revolutionary departure in men's fashions. Powdering, rouging and lip painting will become the smart thing in public places. I predict that smart men about town will soon shave and trim their corns in smart restaurants.

Movements for disarmament and the outlawing of war will make satisfactory progress during 1928. So will preparedness in the manufacture of munitions and war.

The great question between the dominant political parties in 1928 will be how to avoid the wet and dry question in such a manner as not to disturb the pleasant relationship between dry voting and wet drinking. Victory will go to the party which combines the greatest supply of pre-war Scotch with the largest measure of Scotch piety and the total absence of Scottish predictions on the part of its campaign fund contributors. The best men will win the next congressional investigation, as always.

Otherwise all is lovely.

HAPPY NEW YEAR!

### The Worst Yet

Of all the people I dislike, the worst are the hypocrites and when they combine hypocrisy with ungratefulness I simply grow furious all over.

Take this man Kresge the five and ten cent philanthropist, philanthropist, for instance. Ever since the country was catapulted into prohibition I have been one of his best customers. No matter where I happened to be when thirst attacked me, I always could find bottles, caps, cappers, sypsons and other requirements of the home brewing industry in Kresge's stores.

This man Kresge got hundreds of my hard-earned dollars just as he got millions from my fellow inmates of this great democracy. We made him rich—that's what we did. And now what does he do? He goes and gives a half million dollars to the Anti-Saloon League to propagate some more prohibition on us poor devils. Then not enough of that—this cap and capper merchant caps the climax by getting pinched for operating a love nest and when the bird and his birdie were chased out of the nest they found a quart of whiskey among the nest feathers.

I ain't one of those long-faced guys who thinks that Providence can't get along without me acting as a brother's keeper. If my brother wants to keep a love nest, or if he seeks Dutch courage for loving his house-keeper in a bottle of rum it's all right with me. Heaven may be crowded, and the more sinners that go to Hell the more elbow room there will be in Paradise for good men like myself. See?

But I do protest against this Kresge man using my money to deprive me of the spiritual consolation contained in the bottles and crowned with the caps and cappers I bought from him. I hate like the devil to be purified by a fellow who sells me the filter with which I'm trying to purify my home brew and to be siphoned into salvation through a five-cent rubber tube acquired at the same stand.

However there may be a sound economic basis beneath the moral uplifting of Brother Kresge. If, for instance, beer came back it would be brewed in breweries and as these soul and body destroying institutions don't purchase their supplies in five and ten-cent stores, what would become of one of the most lucrative branches of the Kresge stores? And, if Kresge is in the uplift business by reason of boosting the home brew industry and thereby maintain the prosperity of his stores he's got my forgiveness, for I believe ever he American citizen has a sacred and inalienable right to make money any way he can outside of counterfeiting and the love nest and the bottle of rum under the nest are, of course, another matter. However, if I had the 500,000 bucks Brother Kresge presented to the Anti-Saloon League I think I could explain the incident satisfactorily all around. For the present I will only say that Brother Kresge, being a very pious man, naturally subscribes to the doctrine of loving our enemy and our neighbors, and what greater enemy is there than rum and what can be more neighborly than two birds in one nest?

Adam Coaldigger.

### The Vanguard

They say, in all kindness, I'm out of the hunt—Too old and too deaf to be sent to the Front. A scribbler of stories, a maker of songs, To the fireside and armchair my valor belongs. Yet in hopeless campaigns and in bitterest strife I have been at the Front all the days of my life.

Oh, your girl feels a princess, your people are proud, As you march down the street to the cheers of the crowd; And the Nations' behind you, and cloudless your sky; And you come back to Honor, or gloriously die; But for each thing that brightens, and each thing that cheers, I have starved in the trenches these forty long years.

—Henry Lawson, had

## The Week On Stage

### Save Our Souls

By Joseph T. Shipley

At the Provincetown Playhouse, Tolstol has been brought to the theatre by way of the spirit of "The Prisoner," Alexander Berkman's translation of Emil Bernhard's play. The drama is well known abroad, and should prove popular if presented in India, for it builds up the theory of the triumph of passive resistance, which Gandhi is making more effective there than ever anywhere before.

Tversky, prisoner in Siberia, makes his points with too frequent an appeal to God, but if you can overlook that—and Pauline Moore's efforts to behave like a vamp when she makes her belated attempt to seduce Tversky—you are held by a struggle that is unique and powerful.

The real prisoner is not Tversky, bound in a cell though he be, but Abrastov, the warden of the prison. This man, tormented by a wife who wants the pleasure of the capital, instead of the loneliness of the prison town, oppressed with a sense of failure in having been assigned to that dismal post, has developed a streak of cruelty, finding in his contempt and his sternness toward the convicts a vicarious revenge upon himself for his own failure. This mood comes in contact with the meek but persisting love of Tversky, whose influence has led the Russian soldiers and sailors to throw down their arms by the thousands; in the prison the drama of their souls is played along, until the cruelty of the warden takes the life of the prisoner—and the love of the convict awakens the warden to open all the doors of the goal. To one whose philosophy of life is in accord with that of the drama, "The Prisoner" seems a soundly studied and powerfully developed struggle of two souls, and two attitudes toward life. One need not accept the Tolstolite delirious point of view to understand and to accept his philosophy; one—whether accepting or not—cannot but be moved by its dramatic presentation in "The Prisoner."

**LOVELY PRESENTATION**

"Lovely Lady," the latest musical comedy, at the Sam H. Harris, deserves the first name of its title, for in costume and in general stage decoration its outward aspect is of the most beautiful in years. Whether it be the Chester Hale girls, in their harmonious steps and blending costumes, or the individual and becoming gowns of the ladies that lead the show, or even the general garb of the extra-large chorus, the combinations and variations are synchronized with genuine taste, mainly in the pastel shades, but running the gamut of colors.

The plot of the story is drawn from the French farce, "Breakfast in the Sun," without distinction of lyric, and fair melody; but the incidental comedy lifts the play out of the usual garland of its kind into Parisian flowering. Edna Leedom makes excellent use of the saucy freshness (as of field daisies flaunting in the wind) that does her instead of song and dance; Wesley Pierce can dance with a tall female turned around his neck, while with careful indifference he lights a cigarette, or waves to a friend in the audience, with a smile that makes you join in his smiling, not because there is anything funny, but just because with him you share in the bounteous freshness of the world. And Guy Robertson has all that a matinee idol (are such things still?) seldom could desire. Nor must mention be missing of Jack Sheehan, whose antics, especially when he smells the per-

### Typographical Union Arranges Performance With Cantor Glantz

Cantor Leib Glantz, a newcomer of Russia, who has been acclaimed here as one of the greatest creative artists of Synagogue music both as composer and interpreter has been selected by the "Schrittmeyer" (Jewish Typographical Union Local No. 83) as one of the featured artists to participate in their concert for the Emergency Relief Fund to be given at the Kessler's Second Avenue Theatre and Jewish Art Theatre. There will be given a complete performance of "The Little Star," with Molly Picon in the title role and "Shabbat Ziv" at the Jewish Art with Maurice Schwartz in the title role. In the concert following the performances there will appear Miss Eva Le Gallienne of the Civic Repertory Theatre, George Jessell of the Jazz Singer, and Wiesentfreund now playing in the "Four Walls," Jacob Lukin of the Moscow Art Theatre, Solma Andrea of the Astor Theatre, Samuel Goldenberg and von Lebedeff of the National Theatre and many others of prominence as Russian Odelette, and Cantor Abraham Shandro.

**BRONX OPEN FORUM**  
Every Friday 8:15 P.M.  
at HOLLYWOOD GARDENS  
896 Prospect Ave., Near 162nd St.  
THIS FRIDAY, JAN. 6  
SAM DE WET and RALPH CHEVENEY  
Amplified-Motion Culture Fellowship,  
Alex Field, pres. and Founder.  
ADMISSION FREE

**Proletarian Party**  
CHARLES M. O'BRIEN  
will speak on  
"The Origin and Achievements  
of the Labor Movement."  
Labor Temple, 14th St. and 2d Ave.  
Wednesday, January 11, 8:30 p.m.

**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14th Street and Second Avenue  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 14, 1928  
5:00 p.m. "The Return of the Soldier," by Rebecca West. Lecture—Dr. O. F. Beck, 739 p.m. "Can We Achieve an Ethical Society by Unethical Methods?" Amer. Inter. Church, Dr. Edmund E. Claiborne.  
8 p.m. "Art and the Common Man," Forum—Edgar Wood.

### In Brief

On Monday evening, January 9th, the Theatre Guild will present the third production of its tenth subscription season, "Marco Millions" by Eugene O'Neill at the Guild Theatre. "Marco Millions" will play alternate weeks with "The Doctor's Dilemma."

George Arliss is opening at the Broadhurst Theatre on West 44th street on January 11th in William Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice." In the cast is also Peggy Wood, and others. Production by Winthrop Ames.

An afternoon of Dance as given in the Reinhardt Salzburg Festival in the Summer of 1927 will be presented at the Cosmopolitan Theatre, Sunday afternoon, Jan. 8th, at 3:30 o'clock by Tilly Losch and Harald Kreutzberg, leading dancers of the Max Reinhardt company. Since the arrival of Max Reinhardt in New York for his present repertory season, numerous requests have been made for the re-representation in New York of this program, which was one of the outstanding successes of the Salzburg Festival. Among the numbers which will be given will be "The Dance of the Masters of Ceremonies" from the Reinhardt production of Gozzi's "Turandot," a spectacle which it was impossible to include in the New York Season, but which caused much comment abroad.

The Theatre Guild, it now seems certain, will open O'Neill's "Strange Interlude" at the John Gould Theatre on Monday night, Jan. 22. Perhaps, as a matter of fact, one should say Monday afternoon, for it is certain that the performance will begin some time before the dinner hour. (The play, it will be recalled, has nine acts.) The present plan, it is understood, is to start performances at 5:30 o'clock, and to continue, with an interval for dinner, until 11 or thereabouts. The Guild, of course, will not provide the dinner.

Not unnaturally, there will be no matinees. Reason totters at the labor entailed in acting this play twice in one day—the matinee in that event, would begin about 7:30 A.M.

### In Movies

The series of popular symphonic concerts given by the Romy Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Erno Romy at the Romy Theatre will resume Sunday, Jan. 8th, at 11:30 A.M. For the tenth of the series will take place. For this concert, S. L. Rothafel has engaged the eminent concert pianist, Carl Friedberg, as soloist with this splendid symphonic organization of 110 musicians. Mr. Friedberg heads the new season's list of nationally known concert and operatic stars which Mr. Rothafel plans to present to motion picture audiences in conjunction with interesting musical novelties of traditional symphonic standards.

Reginald Renny, Universal comedy star returns to the screen in a film called "On Your Toes" which opens at the Colony Theatre beginning Saturday, January 7th. Denny made his first screen success in a series of short light films which were the forerunner of his rise to stardom. Here again he is seen as a fighter in a comedy with dramatic moments and a fight sequence.

In response to many requests, Alfred Blumstein, the Viennese pianist, has played his sailing to Europe, in order to give another recital at Town Hall on Wednesday evening, February 2nd.

### Austrian-American-German CONCERT

ANGELUS ALLIED ARTS CLUB WILL HOLD

BENEFIT CONCERT

For Scholarships Given by Club in Vocal and Piano Instruction

Monday, Jan. 9th, 8:30 P. M.

Presenting

Miss Anna Fried.....Violinist

Miss Erna Konrad.....Concellito

Mr. Albert Schreier.....Tenor

Miss Claire Hughes.....At the Piano

At

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"New Trends in the Guidance of Childhood and Youth"  
Wed., 8:30, Jan. 11—Feb. 15

**HARRY W. LAIDLOR**  
of the League for Industrial Democracy  
"Socialism and Related Movements"  
Thurs., 8:30, Jan. 12—Feb. 16

**At Cooper Union**  
At 8 O'Clock  
SUNDAY, JANUARY 8  
MR. EARL BARNES  
"The New Turkey Transforming a Civilization by Decrees."

TUESDAY, JANUARY 10  
MR. W. B. CUREY  
"Michael Faraday"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13  
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN  
"Andrew Jacksonism" and the Agrarian Mind."

Admission Free  
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**ELIAS L. TARAK**  
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"Four Russian Writers: Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Piskunov"  
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MR. W. B. CUREY  
"Michael Faraday"

Admission Free  
Open Forum Discussion

**At Muhlenberg Branch Library**  
309 West 23rd St. (nr. 7th Ave.)  
At 8 O'Clock

MONDAY, JANUARY 9  
DR. HELEN D. LOCKWOOD  
"The Utopia of Crutemmen: William Morris."

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11  
DR. SCOTT BUCHANAN  
"Arithmetic: From Things to Numbers."

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12  
DR. E. G. SPALDING  
"Can Nature Repeat?"

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14  
DR. RICHARD P. MCKEON  
"The World of Perfection and the World of Imperfection: What are They and How do They Come to Be?"

### Dorsha To Re-Open "Theatre of The Dance"



Dorsha, who will present a series of new dances at the "Theatre of the Dance," 116 West 65th St., January 8th and 15th.

### MUSIC

The Angelus Allied Arts Club will present an Austrian-American-German concert on Monday, January 9th, at 8:30 P.M. at the Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal street, Greenwich Village, New York, for the benefit of scholarships given by the club for vocal, piano and elocution instruction. The impresario is Madam Minnie Hoffman, Musical Manager of the Greenwich Village Social Club. Julius Recker, chairman, which meets at her studio, 139 MacDougal St., every Sunday night and is doing a notable work in developing latent talents, handling all the contests for Angelus Allied Arts Club.

The next of Hurok's Century Afternoons of Music tomorrow, Sunday afternoon, January 8th, at 3:00, Century Theatre, will be devoted to the presentation of Richard Wagner's "Tannhauser." Mme. Johanna Gadski is returning from Europe, especially for this occasion. She will sing the part of Elizabeth for which she was famous during her entire career.

### Schools - Lectures - Forums

### H. N. BRAILSFORD

will give a course of twelve lectures on  
**PROGRESS AND REACTION IN POST-WAR EUROPE**  
Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8:20 P. M.  
JANUARY 3—MARCH 9

- 1) The Early Post-War Years. 2) The Period of Recovery. 3) England Adjusts Herself. 4) Labour Under the Reaction. 5) The Movement of English Political Thought. 6) The Evolution of Political Forms. 7) The Dictatorship of the Single Party—Fascism. 8) The Dictatorship of the Single Party—Communism. 9) The Nationalist Dictatorship—Turkey and China. 10) Europe and the League of Nations. 11) Militarism and Armaments. 12) The Struggle of the League Idea for Survival.

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Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

(Make Reservations Now at The New Leader, 7 East 15th St., or by Telephone, ALGonquin 4622. Tickets \$2.50.)

SUNDAY, JANUARY 8

11 A.M.—MORNING SERVICE

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"What is the Matter with Marriage Today?"

8 P.M.—COMMUNITY FORUM

RENNIE SMITH, M.P.

"General Disarmament or General Warfare?"

Questions, Discussion—Admission Free

THURSDAY, JANUARY 12, 8:15 P.M.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Modern Comedy"

Admission 75c

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 8:15 P.M.

COUNT HERMAN KEYSERLING

"Is the Institution of Monogamous Marriage Destined to Endure?"

John Haynes Holmes Chairman Reserved Sections \$1.00, \$2.00

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292 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, (near De Kalb Ave.)

Public Lecture — Sunday, January 8th, 8:15 p. m.

MDLLE. RELVA VAN MESSEL

will give a lecture recital on "The Hidden Side of Music"

Illustrated by pieces of Beethoven, Chopin, Medelzohn and Schubert-Liszt

General Discussion ADMISSION FREE Questions and Answers EVERYONE INVITED

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Gilbert Miller presents  
**MAX REINHARDT'S**  
FIRST PERFORMANCE TOMORROW NIGHT AT 8 SHARP  
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A Comedy from the Italian of Carlo Goldoni which will be preceded by A One Act Comedy by LEO M. TOSTOY  
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Theatre Guild Productions

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By Emil Bernhard, one of the most prominent of contemporary German playwrights.

Translated by ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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WED. EVE.—"The Master Builder"

THURS. EVE.—"La Locandiera"

FRI. EVE.—"The First Stone"

SAT. MAT.—"The Cradle Song"

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7th Ave. & 50th St. CARL FRIEDBERG, Concert Pianist

Friday evening, January 13th. Tickets may be secured from Comrade Rosen at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman street, Brooklyn, or from Mrs. Sadie Rivkin at 1626 Pitkin avenue, Brooklyn.

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MEN AND WOMEN interested in little theatres are invited to join a self-supporting little theatre now forming. Write to Frank Kleinholz, 291 Broadway, New York.

PHILHARMONIC MENSELBERG, Conductor Carnegie Hall, Sun. Jan. 8, at 5:00 (Mr. Menselberg's last appearance this season.) WEBER—STRAVINSKY—LAVEL—STRAUS Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve. Jan. 12 at 8:30 Friday Afternoon, Jan. 13, at 2:30 SIR THOMAS BEECHAM Guest Conductor (First Appearance in America) Soloist: VLADIMIR BOROWITZ, Pianist Heineke—Belius—Tchaikovsky—Mozart—Liszt. ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Societyway)

## Laidler Added To Rand Staff Of Lecturers

THE second term of the Workers' Training Course given by the Rand School of Social Science, 7 East 18th street, New York City, begins the week of January 9. There is still room for a few registrations for free scholarships for union members who wish to take this course. This is a balanced course of instruction in English, public speaking, history, economics, trade unionism, labor problems and related subjects, occupying two evenings a week or more if the student can arrange the time. Unionists who are interested should see Algernon Lee, Educational Director of the school any evening between six and seven P. M. On Wednesday evening, January 11, at 8:30 P. M. Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, of the Child Study Ass'n. of America, will begin her course on "New Trends in the Guidance of Childhood and Youth." On Jan. 11 her subject will be, "New Theories and Factors of Discipline." Jan. 12, "The Factors that Influence Personality." Jan. 25, "Fantasy and Reality in the Life of the Young." Feb. 1, "Sex Education for Children and for Adolescents." Feb. 8, "Special Problems of Adolescence." Feb. 15, "The Changing Status of Woman and What It Means to Family Life." Dr. Harry W. Laidler, of the League for Industrial, will give a six-lecture course on Socialism and Related Movements on Thursdays at 8:30 P. M., beginning Jan. 12. His subjects will be as follows: Jan. 12, "Utopian Socialism." Jan. 19, "Marxian Socialism." Jan. 26, "Fabianism and Revisionism." Feb. 2, "Syndicalism, Consumers' Co-operation, and Guild Socialism." Feb. 9, "Bolshevism or Neo-Communism." Feb. 16, "Post-War Developments and Present Prospects."

**Saturday Lectures on Literature**  
The success attending the short course given by Prof. Fagin in the fall term has encouraged us to plan a series of lectures on various literary subjects, to be held at two o'clock on Saturday afternoons, from January 14 till March 31, and probably till the middle of April. The series is to begin with four lectures on Russian Literature by Elias L. Tartak, of the Russian Collegiate Institute and formerly of McGill University. On January 14, Mr. Tartak will discuss Dostoevsky and his Philosophy; on January 21, Leo Tolstoy as Artist and Thinker; on January 28, Anton Chekhov, The Man and his Work; and on February 4, G. G. Plekhanov; A Marxist's Theory of Art and Literature. Next will come a lecture on Mark Twain and his America, on February 11, by Clement Wood, who needs no introduction to the Rand School public. On February 18, Miss Joan London, daughter of Jack London, will lecture on "The Last of the Frontier Writers," discussing her father's work as closing a period in American literature, and will read two of his ghost stories. This will be followed by six lectures on earlier American writers, by J. Bryllion Fagin, of the University of Baltimore, as follows: On February 25, Emerson, March 3, Thoreau, March 10, Hawthorne, March 17, Poe, March 24, Whitman, March 31, Melville.

## Workers University Opens This Saturday

Saturday, Jan. 7, 1:30 P. M.—A. J. Muste of Brookwood, will start the second part of his course on "The Worker in Modern Civilization," at Washington Irving High School, Room 530, under auspices of the I. S. G. W. Workers University.

Those who have attended the first few lectures of A. J. Muste's course know its value. Other members can join now. Three weeks remain to the annual celebration of the Educational Department, which takes place Saturday evening, January 28, in the auditorium of Washington Irving High School, 16th street and Irving Place.

This affair will be a unique combination of art and socialability. The program will consist of a fine concert performed by prominent artists. Songs will be sung in English, Yiddish, Russian and Italian. An excellent orchestra has been engaged for the dance after the program. The big feature of the evening is a pageant called "The Mystic Trumpeter," a dramatization of Walt Whitman's poem, staged by James E. Phillips, with music arranged by Max Persin. Sixty men and women will participate. In addition to members of the union there will be many professional artists, singers, dancers, etc.

## B'klyn Organizations Giving Aid To Miners

Two organizations in Brooklyn, the Young Ladies Auxiliary Progressive Literary Aid Society of Brownsville and the United Progressive Women of Coney Island are doing fine work in aiding to relieve the struggling miners in the strike fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado. They are collecting money and clothing. The Brownsville organization sent \$25.00 and the Coney Island group of women sent \$22.00. This money

## WEVD Programs

245.8 M. — New York City — 1220 Kyc.  
**SUNDAY, JANUARY 8th**  
12:30—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox.  
1:30—String Quartet.  
1:50—"Flamingo" Mills.  
2:05—Avis Phillips, dramatic soprano.  
2:25—Prof. Jeannette Marks, The Polson Tree of Poetry.  
2:45—Debs String Quartet.  
3:00—Lydia Mason, piano.  
3:15—Charles Pulp, "The Mine Strike".  
3:30—Paul Haskell, tenor.  
3:45—Debs String Quartet.

**MONDAY, JANUARY 9th**  
1:00—School Hour.  
2:00—George Rael, bass.  
2:20—Dudley Powers, cello.  
2:40—Mary Siegert, Poems of the New Humanity.  
3:00—Debs Trio.  
3:30—Merial Nelda, diseuse, soprano.  
3:50—Lydia Mason, piano.  
4:10—Blanca de Bineles, Spanish soprano.  
4:30—Helen Janke, contralto.  
4:50—Michel Ingberman, popular pianist.  
5:10—Master Institute of United Arts, soloist.  
5:30—Wilfred Gilman, novelist; book review.  
5:40—Robert J. McClelland, tenor.

**TUESDAY, JANUARY 10th**  
1:00—Speech Hour.  
2:00—Loving Cheyette, violin.  
2:20—American Laboratory Theatre, reader.  
2:40—Marjorie Delf, soprano and piano.  
3:00—Prof. Charlotte Pokary, N. Y. U., German literature.  
3:40—Debs Books Club, reading.  
4:00—Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger.  
4:20—Raymond Burrows, piano from analysis.  
4:40—Winifred Harper Cooley, problem drama.  
4:50—Alois Moze, tenor.  
5:00—Florence Nats, piano.  
5:10—Alois Moze, tenor.  
5:15—Civic Repertory Theatre, reader.  
5:30—Variety Boys.  
5:40—Debs Trio.  
5:50—Elsie Gluck, Popular Problems.  
6:10—Rebel Poets.  
6:30—Jack Phillips, popular baritone.  
6:45—Jack Phillips, popular baritone.  
6:55—Cardinal Dance Orchestra.

**WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11th**  
1:00—Speech Hour.  
2:00—Joe Zimmerman, piano.  
2:30—Dorothy Brundelle, contralto.  
2:50—Richard E. Parks, bass.  
3:10—Dr. Pedro Fernandez, Spanish literature.  
3:40—Helen Bierling, lyric soprano.  
4:00—Tristan Wolf, tenor.  
4:15—Paul F. Wald, piano.  
4:30—Conservatory of Musical Art, soloists.  
4:45—Michel Ingberman, piano.  
5:00—Maud A. Tolleson, mezzo-contralto.  
5:15—Rosalie Cohen, Jewish songs.  
5:30—Wolf Sisters Trio.

**THURSDAY, JANUARY 12**  
1:00—Speech Hour.  
2:00—Avis Phillips, dramatic soprano.  
2:20—Cry of Justice, readings.  
2:30—Jennet Walsh, lyric soprano.  
2:50—Myra Norton, piano.  
3:10—Professor Johnson, dramatic soprano.  
3:50—Adolf Otterstein, violin, form analysis.  
4:10—Paul Haskell, tenor.  
4:30—Vivienne de Marmon, 15 year old soprano.  
4:50—Rosa Kovar, contralto.  
5:10—Norman Allen, songs by American composers.  
5:30—Wolf Sisters String Quartet and piano.  
5:40—Vocal Quartet from the Debs Opera Company.  
5:50—James O'Neal, Backgrounds of American History.  
6:10—Speaker to be announced.  
6:30—Vocal Quartet.  
6:45—Speaker to be announced.  
6:55—Speaker to be announced.  
7:10—Speaker to be announced.  
7:20—Speaker to be announced.  
7:30—Speaker to be announced.  
7:40—Speaker to be announced.  
7:50—Speaker to be announced.  
8:00—Speaker to be announced.

**FRIDAY, JANUARY 13**  
1:00—Speech Hour.  
2:00—Joe Zimmerman, piano.  
2:30—E. Sheffield Marsh, tenor.  
2:50—Rocco Rescigno, violin.  
3:10—Elsie Duffield, soprano.  
3:30—Lydia Mason, piano.  
3:50—C. Carroll Clark, baritone, Negro Spirituals.  
4:00—Mata Tilman, popular tenor.  
4:20—Michel Ingberman, popular pianist.  
4:40—Dorothy Brundelle, soprano.  
4:50—Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama.  
5:10—Norman Allen, baritone.  
5:20—Michel Ingberman, popular pianist.  
5:40—Katherine Wolf, violinist; Michel Ingberman, pianist.  
5:50—Caroline Himmel, popular soprano.  
6:10—Nunzi Chistino, Occultisms.  
6:20—Michel Ingberman, classical selections.  
6:30—Leon Schwartz, baritone.  
6:40—Louise Laudenberger, piano.  
6:50—Debs Book Club, reading.  
7:00—Betty Goodman, lyric soprano.  
7:10—Milton Shrednik, piano.  
7:20—Walter Warren Plock, baritone.  
7:30—Debs String Quartet.  
7:40—Justine Roberts and her group Impersonations.  
7:50—McAllister Coleman, Labor Look at the Week.  
8:00—Loving Cheyette and Rocco Rescigno, violin and viola solos and duets.  
8:15—Speaker to be announced.  
8:30—Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano.  
8:45—Speaker to be announced.  
9:00—Speaker to be announced.  
9:15—Speaker to be announced.  
9:30—Cheyette and Rescigno, violin and viola solos and duets.  
9:45—Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano.  
10:00—Speaker to be announced.  
10:15—Speaker to be announced.  
10:30—Cheyette and Rescigno, violin and viola solos and duets.  
10:45—Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano.  
11:00—Debs Variety Hour.

was forwarded to the Colorado miners through the Socialist Party of New York City. Other organizations are cooperating and almost every day there is a shipment of clothing and food going to the Pennsylvania miners, and money is being sent, collected by various organizations, through the agency of the Socialist Party.

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## Winter Program Is Announced to The New School

The entire panorama of modern life will fall under the searchlight of scientific and psychological investigation during the spring series of lecture courses at the New School for Social Research, which began Tuesday, January 3rd, and will continue for twelve weeks until March 26th. Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, director of the new school at 465 West 23rd street, has just released the complete announcement of these lectures, open to registration for all adults, and held after business hours so that employed men and women may take advantage of the opportunity to hear the world's leaders of thought.

These lectures and their subjects follow:

**WINTER TERM — JAN. 3 — MAR. 26**  
The Problem of Freedom in the Modern World—H. M. Kallen, John Dewey, John A. Ryan, Zechariah Chafee, Walton H. Hamilton, Joseph Jastrow, Dr. F. J. Poakes-Jackson, Robert M. Lovett, Walter Lippmann and Clarence Darrow—Wednesdays, 8:20 P. M.

H. N. Brailsford (of London)—Progress and Reaction in Post-War Europe—Tuesday and Thursday, 8:20 P. M. (Jan. 3—Feb. 8)  
H. M. Kallen—Dominant Ideals of Western Civilization—Fridays, 8:20 P. M. Beauty and Use—Thursdays, 8:20 P. M. Religion and Its Philosophies—Thursdays, 8:20 P. M.  
Harry E. Barnes—The Historical Background of Modern Intellectual Life—Mondays, 5:20 P. M. Development of American Society since the Civil War—Mondays, 5:20 P. M.  
Dr. Alfred Adler (of Vienna)—Individual Psychology—Tuesdays and Thursdays, 8:20 P. M. (Feb. 14—Mar. 22)  
Joseph Jastrow—Mentality: Normal and Abnormal—Mondays, 8:20 P. M.

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Edwin B. Holt.—The Psychology of Response.—Fridays, 8:20 P. M.  
Everett D. Martin.—Some Applications of Social Psychology.—Wed., 8:20 P. M.  
Frankwood E. Williams.—The Possible Significance of Psycholysis for Certain Social Relationships.—Mon., 8:20 P. M.  
Ira S. Wile.—Conduct Disorders of Childhood and Adolescence.—Tuesdays, 8:20 P. M.  
Arthur F. Payne.—The Organization of Systems of Vocational Guidance.—Mon., 8:20 P. M.  
Recent Developments of the New Psychology in the Analysis and Adjustment of Individuals.—Fri., 8:20 P. M.  
Carl Snyder.—Present Day Banking and Investment.—Thurs., 8:20 P. M.  
Leo Wolman.—Newer Phases of Trade Union Policy.—Wed., 8:20 P. M.  
Charles M. Joseph and others.—Capital, Labor and the Law.—Fri., 8:20 P. M.  
Alfred Kreyberg.—Modern American Poetry.—Wed., 8:20 P. M.  
Gorham B. Munson.—American Literature and Human Experience.—Thurs., 8:20 P. M.

## Latin-American Problems To Be Lunch Subject

A luncheon-conference on the subject of "United States and Latin-American Problems Before the Pan-American Conference: Causes of Friction and How to Remove Them" will be held this Saturday, January 7th, at 12:45 at Hotel Astor by the Foreign Policy Association, 18 East 41st street, New York. The speakers will be Wallace Thompson and Frederick R. Kellogg, experts on this topic; and the chairman will be James G. MacDonald. Admission to non-members will be \$2.50.

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Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 245—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
Local 247—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.  
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

**FUR DRESSERS' UNION**  
Local 2, Int'l'l Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. Pulaski 0

# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association  
People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City  
Telephone ALgonquin 4622-3

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Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

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Three Months	.75

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1928

## The Reading Celebration

THE celebration of the Socialist and Labor victory in Reading, Monday, was an inspiring event. The general sentiment among the working people of the city is that for the first time in the history of Reading an administration which represents them had been installed. The thousands who attended the reception, the banquet and the ball, were representative of the various trades and occupations of a typical industrial city.

The victory itself was representative of the Socialist and Labor movement which maintains intimate contact and cooperation. The Labor Party of Berks County, largely representative of the building trades, participated in the campaign. The trade unions are very friendly and this friendship has developed out of long and earnest service of Socialists in the trade unions. No attempt has ever been made to "capture" the unions. What responsibility that has come to Socialist members has fallen to them by voluntary choice of the unions. This is the only worth-while cooperation and it is the only kind that can be enduring.

Those who attended the celebration from other cities and states must have been impressed with the fact that this event in any country across the Atlantic would be regarded as a normal and usual event in the labor struggle. Here the acquisition of public power by workmen in a large city has been so rare that it becomes a unique affair. Instead of Milwaukee and Reading there should be thousands of large cities administered direct by workmen and women through their own party. Instead of this the average municipality is ruled by political rings representative of the banks, industries and utility corporations. Here and there a labor man is "recognized" by an appointment and he is expected to use his influence to keep the members of the unions from having a party of their own.

Let us hope that Reading will inspire the workers of other cities to follow the example of the workers of that city.

## Four Points of View

WE direct the attention of our readers to the discussion of the political prospects this year which appears on page 4 of this issue. Four approaches are presented in the addresses of Senator Gerald P. Nye, Max Eastman, Norman Hapgood and Norman Thomas, each representing a particular point of view. Perhaps this statement must be modified in the case of Eastman. His is not a point of view but the opinions of a man who is perplexed. Senator Nye's address is of special value in presenting certain aspects of economic conditions in the United States. This is especially true of the data presented regarding agriculture. The figures regarding the change in farm ownership in his own state of North Dakota are simply amazing. Within fifteen years, he declares, the number of full farm owners in North Dakota declined nearly one-half while the number of tenant farmers more than doubled in this period. This is a frightful change, but it shows the tendency of capitalist development to reduce the American farmers to the status of European peasants.

Senator Nye is frankly worried, but he clings to an uncertain hope that the two parties of capitalism and their leaders will rise to the occasion and do something to relieve the distress of urban and rural workers. Norman Hapgood does not differ from this point of view except that he is certain that he has found a Messiah in "Al" Smith. He is so certain of this that he does not want the Socialist Party to run a "side show" to Tammany Hall's prize exhibit. For us to run our own candidates if Smith is nominated is, according to Hapgood, to "throw away the substance for the shadow."

We recall that Mr. Hapgood found a messiah in Woodrow Wilson who was to "keep us out of war." It is unnecessary to review what happened. Smith is now the Messiah and who will play that role four years later remains to be seen. Liberals of this type have little to offer of value to the masses. They are the innocents of politics. Out of nothing through nothing to nothing is their course with usually a large installment of harm.

Eastman's counsel reads like a disappointed man who has decided to retire to a monastery. "I think it is just the appropriate time for gloom," he said. "I also think it is important we should recognize what kind of a time it is." He would have a little "group of serious people" study "revolutionary engineering with class forces." It is a piece of tragic humor. How long it will take that little group to emerge from its retreat to give its message to the world we are left to guess.

The one positive note sounded in this discussion is the address by Norman Thomas. There is no hesitating hope that two capitalist parties as alike as twins might do something, no search for a Messiah, no retreat from a sinful world with a little group of serious thinkers. The Socialist has a program of education and action. He is confident of his position and determined to go ahead. It is the

spirit that conquers obstacles and that eventually wins.

The discussion is educational and we are sure that our readers will enjoy the four points of view presented in this symposium.

## The Nicaraguan "Rebels"

THE war waged in the interior of Nicaragua by American forces without the consent of Congress continues with six American dead, 28 wounded, and the number of "enemy" dead unknown as this is written. The casualties are reported while President Coolidge is putting the finishing touches on his speech to be delivered at Havana where delegates from Latin-American countries will assemble to listen to assurances of the profound affection American imperialism feels for those peoples.

One would think from press accounts that American troops are fighting those who are seceding from the American Union or engaged in insurrection against the United States Government. The Nicaraguans are referred to as "rebels" in all the American newspapers. An American rebel can only be one who is in revolt against the United States Government and this terminology shows that the imperial guardians at Washington regard Nicaragua as a territory of the United States.

Those who follow the trade of diplomacy, a profession that has become soiled with foul deeds against weaker peoples, are very careful in choosing their words. That the word "rebel" has become to be associated with armed men in Nicaragua who object to armed Americans on their soil is an unconscious admission of imperial rule over that little nation. Just how Coolidge will meet the situation with soft words at Havana remains to be seen.

It might be well for the delegates from these suffering nations to bring a complete list of those who have been killed in their respective countries within the past thirty years. That death toll would be a complete answer to the Coolidge speech which is intended to smother protest and continue an intolerable situation in the interest of American bankers and no one else.

## Our Sacred Cow

THOSE droll humorists known as political economists have for decades been drumming into the heads of aspiring youth what they call "economic laws." The science long ago became a professorial defense of the social order. Its assumptions are the creed of the ruling business and financial classes and these classes in turn provide the endowments which enable the economists to teach.

Life somehow has a habit of refuting the theories of the economists. The transit system of New York City is an instance. Plundered through private interests in accord with the "initiative" of economic theory, this transit system is about the worst to be found anywhere in the world. Its masters maintain an oligarchy of control over the workers on the lines and there are even instances of them paying themselves extras for this "service." In spite of the "company union" the lines witness an upheaval every year or two.

Then there is the "service" provided for the millions who must use the lines. It is a notorious fact that at rush hours the packing of human beings is disgraceful. What this means for women, children and the aged may be imagined. It is especially humiliating for women and girls whose daily experience is one too often of shocking insult. Working girls provide the most victims of this treatment as workers are generally caught during the rush hours.

To all this may be added the testimony of Health Commissioner Harris who declared to the Transit Commission that the increasing crowded conditions constitute a serious menace to health. "It is axiomatic in health circles," he declared, "that crowding is ordinarily conducive to the spreading of respiratory diseases, a grave potential source of danger." The contagion has been increasing for years.

All this we put up with as a tribute to the sacred cow of private enterprise. We deserve what we get. One might as well expect a human being to be healthy by permitting a parasite to attach itself to a blood vessel as to expect reasonable and decent transportation with private parasites sucking its substance.

## Our Imperialism

ALTHOUGH the New York World cites the record of thirty-one armed interventions by the United States in Latin-American countries within thirty years it believes that we "will do well to drop the hackneyed phrases of imperialism or anti-imperialism." As a substitute we must try to understand the elements "which produce conflict."

Well, if an average of one military invasion each year for thirty years does not constitute imperialism we do not know what does. Such invasions mean waging war. Congress alone has the power to declare war and it has voted no such declaration in any instance. This frequent use of executive power is the development of imperial power. It is not only a menace to the peoples against whom it is used but it is a challenge by one department of the government to another.

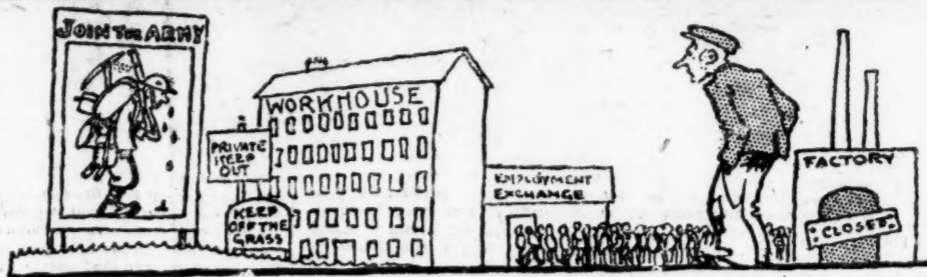
The World admits that "Imperialism of a financial and political kind has played a part" but that "real causes are of a much more far-reaching nature." It cites the "political immaturity and weakness of many of the peoples" of Latin-America as a cause. But their weakness is also an effect of American domination. China has remained helpless for many years because of her domination by the powers. To be sure, China and Latin-American nations were weak before intervention, but they cannot become strong so long as big bullies sit astride their necks. This weakness is not another factor but largely a result of financial and political imperialism.

We turn to the third factor mentioned by the World and this, also, is merely the first one again in disguise. This consists of "the export of capital" of many of the Latin-American nations. Owners of this American capital turn to the United States and "demand legitimate security for their investment." But this is not another cause of "far reaching" nature but the first cause mentioned by the World.

The writer of the editorial tried hard to find some "real causes" in addition to the first cause but on analysis all prove to be one. Then he tries to muddy the waters with advice not to use the word "imperialism" on the ground that it is "hackneyed." The only thing hackneyed in this performance is the old attempt to run away from facts.

The United States is an imperialistic power and we have been guilty of imperialist offenses against weaker nations. To obscure this fact is to give comfort to the imperialists themselves.

## Under Capitalism There is Equal Opportunity



## WEVD Flashes

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

### "OUR" NAVY

WE are throwing hundreds of millions of dollars away every year on navy appropriations, and now the jingoes have the brass to ask for still larger appropriations. Secretary Wilbur, who prior to accepting the position of Secretary of the Navy was chiefly distinguished for his proficiency in writing bedtime stories for children in California, has proved himself as unfitted for his post as the late unlamented Secretary Denby.

### GENEROUS CAL

The Coolidge outfit at Washington has been making great outcries about economy. For them, economy apparently means returning taxes paid by such thrifty institutions as the Standard Oil of Indiana, which was done last week by Secretary Mellon, blowing in huge sums of the taxpayers' money for submarine deathtraps, and handing out fat contracts to the Duponts, the Remington Arms, and other manufacturers of sudden death.

### IN DARKEST TENNESSEE

The American Association for the Advancement of Science has been meeting in the anti-evolution state of Tennessee, where many of the inhabitants believe that the Bible was originally written in English, that God is a Presbyterian, and that the world began in the year 5000 B. C. on October 24th, at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon, Central Standard Time. At any event, this was the testimony of some of the followers of Bryan at the famous Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee. Ironically enough, the Association elected for their president for the coming year Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History, one of Bryan's chief opponents, and a prominent popularizer of the theories of evolution. The scientists assembled in darkest Tennessee discussed almost everything under the scientific sun, from the age of the earth and the movements of electrons to the cure for rickets.

### DECENT HOUSING

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers celebrated the commencement of a most interesting housing project. Near Jerome Park Reservoir, in the Bronx, the union has completed the building of six apartment houses, containing some three hundred apartments of from three to five rooms each, at a cost of \$1,825,000. This cooperative plan is being financed by members of the union themselves, and by loans from Jewish Daily Forward, the union bank and an insurance company. The rents will be eleven dollars a room a month. The apartments have all modern conveniences. Only 48 per cent of the ground owned by the union is occupied by the buildings, so that there will be plenty of space for parks and playgrounds. The share-owners will receive three per cent on the money paid in, and as the capital burden of the mortgages decreases, rents will be scaled down. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, always a pioneer, is again to be congratulated by all friends of labor.

### CHEER FROM ITALY!

Over in Italy, to grant the request of his wife, who had given birth to a male child, Mussolini announced the liberation of three hundred political prisoners who had been living in terrible exile on the waste of volcanic islands. Among these exiles were seven Socialist deputies and other men of culture and breeding who had been thrown in with common criminals. Let us hope that a precedent is hereby established, and that Mrs. Mussolini, at any rate, never hears about Margaret Sanger.

### A BOTTLE A DAY

Count Hermann Keyserling, the travelling philosopher, arrives here for a lecture tour, and very adroitly announces his discovery that the ladies rule America. The count evidently has a flair for publicity, in view of the fact that he is to lecture before women's clubs at one thousand dollars per lecture, with a stipulation that he shall have a bottle of champagne a day. The stipulation will undoubtedly be complied with in New York, but just what will happen when the Count hits the corn belt is not for us to prophesy.

### HELP IS NEEDED

Out in Colorado, the hall of the striking miners was broken into by the police and a free fight followed, with the result that a hundred strikers are now in jail. In Pennsylvania and Ohio, where evictions from company-owned houses still go on in this bitter weather, the miners stubbornly refuse to be driven back to work under compulsion of hunger and exposure to the elements. They still need our help.

## Colorado's Governor

Editor, The New Leader:

By means of news articles sent out from Denver and given general circulation through the liberal and labor press, a very cunning effort has been made to exonerate from blame and shield from criticism Governor Adams of Colorado for the part he has played in the brutal and outrageous treatment accorded the striking coal miners of the state.

The public outside of Colorado is entitled to know the truth about this new chapter in Colorado's disgraceful labor record. And the truth is: that Governor Adams, elected largely by the votes of misguided labor, has from the beginning of the strike played the role of the Artful Dodger, blowing first hot and then cold, flitting with the miners, while secretly conniving with the coal corporations on the most effective plan to break the strike and drive the miners back to work.

Governor Adams for many years has been a willing and dependable tool of the great corporations of the State, and especially of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., the leading factor in the present disturbance. For nearly forty years prior to his election as Governor, he was a member of the State Senate, and during all of these years the records will show that he never cast a single vote in opposition to the interests of the corporations or in defiance of their wishes.

For several years past it has been the policy of certain labor leaders, officials of the A. F. of L., to deliver the votes of Colorado's organized labor over to the Democratic party at each election. For rendering this service, these labor leaders have been rewarded with petty jobs whenever Democrats were in position to compensate them. Several of these labor officials are now holding appointments under Governor Adams. They are attempting to shield Governor Adams from the righteous wrath of the workers whom he has betrayed. Hence the whitewashing stories sent out to the labor press.

At the beginning of the strike, the

Governor sent an open letter to the strikers denouncing them as "lawbreakers and un-Americans," and their strike as "illegal." A little later he appointed private companies of gunmen, armed them and sent them out authorized to stop the peaceful picketing of the strikers and break up the strike. Acting under the Governor's orders and with his knowledge, a company of these gunmen precipitated the massacre of strikers at the Columbine mine, where six miners were slaughtered and a large number wounded. Acting under the Governor's orders and with his knowledge and approval, these state gunmen have gone from camp to camp in the strike zone, arresting strike leaders and throwing them into jails, refusing to bring charges against them or bring them to trial, and when efforts were made to secure their release they would be immediately and secretly spirited away to some other jail in some other locality and in this way deprived of their right to their day in court.

This outrage upon the strike leaders has been going on for weeks with the approval and connivance of Governor Adams. The brazen attempt of unfaithful labor "leaders" to cover up the guilt and shield from criticism the oily corporation-owned Governor is as stupid as it is despicable.

The Colorado situation is another vivid illustration of the disaster and disappointment that will continue to confront the labor movement everywhere so long as it listens to the advice of leaders who dicker and traffic with the corrupt politicians of the two old capitalist parties.

MORTON ALEXANDER.

Arvada, Colo.

### Giving Until It Hurts

Remember the days when the three-minute orators during the great war were urging us to "give till it hurts"? There are several millions now who gave their votes to the two parties of capitalism who may be reminded that they also gave. Does it hurt?

## THE CHATTER BOX

### New Year's Night On The Bowery

Oh, short and yet interminable year,  
Wherein you span this drab inconsequence,  
How you must titter at their sudden cheer,  
The vain abandon that they evidence.

Ah, good, they say, to loosen from the grip  
Of costive thought, and madly to forget  
What may be lost within this giddy trip  
When all their sloven senses prouette.

Ah, good, they say, to ape the fattened few.  
The poor always low enough to please.  
Ah, good, they say, . . . a moment . . . then renew  
To-morrow's burden, and no sight of ease;  
To-morrow's hunger and to-morrow's due,  
An endless round of old stupidities.

WHEN Lindbergh gets to Nicaragua on his Good-Will, Lone Eagle, We, Spirit of St. Louis, Viking, Air Ambassador hop, I trust he will bring the customary Unknown Soldier wreath. This he will have occasion to drop with due solemnity over the field where six of our Marine Boys fell in glorious battle, and hundreds of the "rebel, bandit, outlaw Sandino greasers" bit the gory dust, never to rise again.

Such gesture might off-set in measure the little episode of last week's Christmas present to his little brown step-nephews in the hills of Nicaragua. Uncles always send their nephews sets of tin soldiers, toy guns, toy bombing planes, toy sabres, pistols and little frivolities, to sort of brighten up the Peace-on-Earth holiday for them. Only this time the Uncle became careless and by some queer error sent real soldiers with real guns, and real bombs and real bullets, and the result is read into the news . . . dozens killed on both sides and hundreds bleeding from wounds.

Having dropped the afore-mentioned wreath, Lindy can then stride through the streets of Managua over a layer of roses, bannered with Stars and Stripes, and anthem by the "Star-Spangled Banner." Poor Lindy! I have ceased to envy him his seat on top of the world. I could not walk to-day through the streets of the sad Nicaraguan capital as an Ambassador of Good Will from these United States, while our Marines stand embattled against a little band of patriots, a hundred miles away. The ugly hypocrisy of the thing would choke me to death.

History has an ironic way of twisting her past episodes into the present. A little over six score years ago, a little band of patriots stood out in bleak New England against the mightiest nation in Europe—the British Empire. Blood flowed then because a foreign tyrant sought to impress his imperial will upon a small nation who loved liberty greater than life itself. In our text-books, since childhood every one of us Americans is taught to gloat and glory over the story. I find it too late now, at my thirty-seven years of being bred and brought up as an American, to call Washington, Gates, and the rest of the Revolutionary heroes, a lot of dirty outlaws, bandits, and the rest of the epithets that are fed to the newspapers to-day by our State Department, anent the implacable Revolutionists of our tiny Sister Republic to the South. I see in Sandino another Marion—"Fox of the Swamps," as we boys lovingly read about our own American rebel, in our own history. I cannot for the world of me reason out what we, with our glorious Revolutionary tradition are doing in a foreign land that is trying to set itself free from its own tyranny.

I cannot understand why we have constituted ourselves as the abettor of the existing tyranny. If it be because we have allowed money interest in our own land to invest its gold down there for gain, and that money is threatened with loss through a successful revolution, then let us admit quite frankly to the

world, that where George the Third failed in his dream of imperialism, we intend to succeed.

Let us then proceed to tear up every existing record of our own past, appoint Morgan or John D. Jr., Emperor of the Americans, set up court in Washington, run through the Social Register from Park Avenue down to Palm Beach, set up the proper number of dukes, earls, counts, lords, ladies, pages, retinues, and the like, and give up this indecent pretense at Democracy and Republicanism. There are still enough Kiwanis and Rotarian boosters and Daughters of the American Revolution left to build up a fine Imperial Army, and what with our industrial productivity, we ought to sweep through the continent from Hudson Bay to the Straits of Magellan within a year.

The sooner this is done the better for our National Honor and Conscience. But if we still retain one solitary vestige of honesty in our pose as a land of the free, we ought to just tell our home talent investors to go down there and fight it out for themselves. In my own peculiar mathematics, I reason that all the millions invested by the United Fruit Company in Nicaragua isn't enough value to offset the life of one of our Marines.

Wall Street, I understand has a different standard of valuation. The big thing we could do right now before this matter spreads into another Riffan adventure for us, with thousands of lives lost and millions expended in public treasury, is to just quietly recall our soldiers, tell the Central Americans that they will have to straighten the matter out among themselves, and go home with the glory of having realized our error by trying to be an unwelcome peacemaker. The greatest honor is due only to those who are civilized enough to admit an obvious mistake. If I were Lindy, the first thing I would blurt out to the American General of the Marine Corps stationed at Managua would be—"Hello, General, what's all the shooting for?" And after the same military man had given me his devious explanation, I would retort in no uncertain tone—"What right have Americans fighting men who want to be free?"

### Monasterique

Little flowers creeping  
Round the hallowed hall  
Stars are fondly peeping  
Thru its ivy wall.

Waters darkly surging  
Lilies in the stream  
Trees are always urging  
Man to live and dream.

—G. H. S.

Celia Rotter is back from Reading, Pa., aglow with the wonder of the inauguration of a Socialist regime there. And it was a joy to see Esther Friedman's face, what with the memory of the reception in the Pennsylvania Dutch city, and the ride from there in an open car. It was all done so quietly, they said, so assuredly. No bombast, no red flag parading, no balaikas, no piroskys, no sad songs. The speeches tore down neither heaven nor dynasty. Comrades spoke of the duties that an electorate had entrusted them with for four years in terms of hope and promise that they would be equal to the task of administering a city within the law of the land, and to the interest of the largest number. Official honesty for the people! An old dusty motto, brought back, cleaned and shining with promise to a group of citizens who need just that to help lighten the burden placed on their backs by a generation of capitalist robbery. Reading, the eyes of a world is centered on you and your newly elected Socialist administration. We here know what an educational inspiration your next four years will be to the oppressed of this land. Soldiers of the Co-operative Commonwealth, we salute you!

S. A. de Witt.

## OUT OF A JOB

This is how you make a red:  
Take his job and take his bread,  
Take the roof from above his head,  
Take his hope and leave him dread.

One stake the worker has: his job.  
Take this away from him, you straight-way rob  
All that may hold him safe and quiet.  
You sow revolt. You nourish riot.

What specious plea will the worker heed  
When his babies cry from hunger and need?  
What mercy will risen workers show  
To those who tortured their families so?

Come stand in line at the job exchange  
Where hope flares briefly. Note the strange,  
Cold light that is kindled in these men's eyes.  
Red tempest's warning is in their sighs.

Oh, masters of men, no need to fear  
You won't have soldiers and sailors this year  
Enough to fight for your empire of greed.  
But, masters of men, take heed, take heed!

This is how you make a red:  
Take his job and take his bread,  
Take the roof from above his head,  
Take his hope and leave him dread.  
RALPH CHEYNEY.

## Union Gives Strikers Christmas Gifts

Members of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers expressed a spirit of solidarity for members on strike this past Xmas in a most practical manner. In Philadelphia, where the Federal Knitting Mill employees are fighting to maintain a 48 hour work-week, all strikers received double strike-pay which brought the married men's allowance up to 60 for the Xmas week. Another increased pay was distributed among the Federal strikers at New Years.

### Blaming God

During the strike of the anthracite miners in 1902 George F. Baer, mining magnate of Reading, Pa., said that "Good in his infinite wisdom" had given certain Christian gentlemen control of the property interests of the country. We are glad that Baer did not include the city government of Reading because the Socialists of that city would be guilty of sin in taking control.