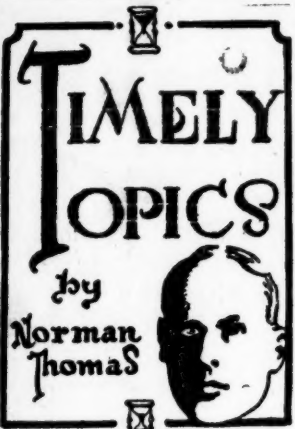


An International Puppet Show? Will The United States Change Its Imperialist Course?



IT is somewhat surprising to see the Coolidge Administration taking a definite lead for peace by proposing to France a treaty which other nations also can sign outlawing war. This proposal is definitely better than Briand's original proposal for a treaty only with France. Given present conditions in Europe the moral effect of a treaty pledging us never to fight France, a treaty having no duplicate with any other nation, would be almost that of an alliance with France. It would at least mean a very benevolent attitude toward France as against her possible enemies in Europe. We have no reason to play favorites in this fashion. Moreover Secretary Kellogg's declaration against war is to be preferred to M. Briand's counter suggestion that the "multilateral treaty" shall outlaw aggressive wars. He does not suggest the definition of aggressive war. And until such a definition is suggested and carefully examined it will be a very dangerous thing to try to distinguish between aggressive and non-aggressive war. No one knows what is an aggressive war until long after it is over. Meanwhile even if further negotiations with France come to a temporary halt Senator Capper's reputation in the American Senate covers the main points necessary for a beginning at the outlawry of war.

However no declaration for the outlawry of war will seem to the world anything but hypocrisy so long as we go on with our little wars in Nicaragua and elsewhere when it suits our convenience. The outlawry of war is a meaningless phrase unless it is accompanied by a vigorous fight against imperialism. Senator Nye and others have introduced good resolutions in the Senate on this subject. I hope they will fight for them. Our marines should be ordered immediately to stop any offensive against Sandino and arrangements should be made for their withdrawal, at least as soon as the new elections have been held. It would be better that these elections should be under Pan-American supervision than under our own exclusive control.

How much we can hope from Pan-Americanism as a substitute in this hemisphere for imperialism, it is difficult to say. It will be interesting to see what happens at the Havana conference to which President Coolidge and his imposing lot of American notables are going. My guess is that Dwight Morrow and the rest with the aid of a little sentimentalism about Lindbergh and some more practical considerations have managed to forestall or at any rate weaken the sharp attack on American overlordship which at one time seemed probable at the Havana conference. We shall see what we shall see.

To go back to the outlawry of war: that, if it means anything, is scarcely consistent with a big navy program such as the solemn and inefficient Secretary Wilbur is pushing. It is easy to see why naval officers want a bigger navy. It means more jobs and more chances for promotion. According to Admiral Magruder they have already over offered the navy we've got and to have more jobs there must be more ships. The metal industries also would like the fat contracts that come from ship building. Everybody knows that we don't need a bigger navy to protect our own shores but only to challenge Britain's control of the commerce routes of the world. Now British control of these routes in time of war is a high handed and imperialistic affair. We are not likely to make matters better by being in a position to dispute with her for the mastery. The way out is not a new naval race but international agreement on the rights and duties of neutrals in the event of war. Still better would be the abolition of war! Here is a subject in which labor claims to have some international vision and sense of brotherhood can speak, and speak vigorously.

(Continued on page 1)

Hoan Again Candidate For Mayor

Socialist Party Expects to
Retain Hold on City in
April Election

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee, will be a candidate to succeed himself in the election next April and urges support of the Socialist aldermen in the coming contest. Hoan has issued a statement in which he says:

"Since 1910 Milwaukee has developed from one of the worst governed cities to one of the best governed large cities in our country. This fact is unquestioned.

"We have a tax rate far below the average of both large and small cities. We may justly pride ourselves that not even a suspicion of graft or corruption is attached to our endeavors.

Lauds Socialist Party

"While many public spirited citizens, as well as department heads, have contributed greatly to this end, there can be no doubt that the leadership in this fight for better government and decency in civic affairs was taken by the Socialist party. To this party, therefore, is due the greater share of credit.

"The entire history of this country does not afford an instance of such bitter and inexcusable political opposition to a mayor's appointments as has been practiced by most of the so-called non-partisan aldermen.

"In spite of this opposition, I have cleaned out rottenness in municipal departments, beginning with the police and finishing two weeks ago with that bulwark of iniquity, the building inspector's office.

"This good work could never have been accomplished except for the loyal support of Socialist aldermen. In addition to this some public-spirited citizens and civic clubs have caused an occasional insurgency of just enough votes among old party politicians to the council to obtain confirmation of department heads.

Raps Cheap Politics

"Scores of good citizens of Milwaukee refuse an appointment rather than run the risk of a rejected confirmation of this type of cheap politics. I have fought and beaten the whole phalanx and in spite of a threatened recall have emerged with the most efficient heads of departments who ever served the city.

"I believe the citizens of Milwaukee appreciate this situation. They will give me the support to which I am justly entitled, namely, a majority of aldermen indorsed by the Socialist party. With such support I can assure this city that the good work of the past will be continued and even greater things can be accomplished to make Milwaukee a better, bigger, brighter and more decent place in which to live."

PARTY LEADERS TO DISCUSS RUSSIA AT NEW LEADER DINNER, JAN. 27TH

ABRAHAM CAHAN, editor of Forward, who spent six months in Russia, will make his first public address, giving his impressions of the Soviet country.

James H. Maurer, co-author of a report recently published on conditions in Russia, will state his views on the Soviet experiment.

Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas and Sergius Ingberman will talk on the significance of Russia to the Socialist movement.

Benjamin Stolberg, one of the best known of American journalists, will give a non-party Socialist's view of Socialism and Soviet Russia.

B. C. Vlodek will be chairman (need more be said?)

Where?
At the New Leader Dinner.

When?
Friday evening, January 27th, at six-thirty promptly.

Where?
Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th st., New York City.

The price?
\$2.50 a plate, if reserved in advance.

All other questions, in the event the above information is not sufficient,

Jacksonville Mayor Bars Randolph From Speaking In the City

When several citizens called on the mayor of Jacksonville to inform him of a proposed visit of A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Editor of The Messenger Magazine, he answered sharply, saying:

"I know all about it, but he isn't coming here to Jacksonville. I'll put in jail and anybody else who has anything to do with his meeting."

With this prejudicial attitude on the part of the mayor of Jacksonville, the citizens informed Mr. Randolph of this attitude of the city administration toward him and advised that he should not visit Jacksonville at this time.

It is believed that the local superintendent of the Pullman Company in Jacksonville, Mr. Cooper, was responsible for creating this attitude of the mayor toward Randolph who is a native of Florida.

Mills Seek Return to Long Hours

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—Textile workers of Massachusetts are facing a tragedy which threatens a reversion back to the factory servitude of the early nineteenth century and this prospect is likely to have the co-operation of the State Legislature. Proposals to strike down certain labor laws to "remedy" conditions in the textile industry by permitting longer hours of work on seasonal demands have been recommended to the Legislature, by State members of the New England Council.

Basing their proposals on parts of Governor Fuller's message at the opening of the Legislature last week, the council members quote from the message as follows:

"We cannot have our industries operated so that employees work fewer hours and earn more money and the employers pay more taxes and at the same time have the products compete in price with those of other States where the women and children work longer hours, where wages are low and where taxes are much less."

Specific Proposals for Changes
They ask for consideration of the following specific items:

"1. Establishment of a special commission to study municipal finance and expenditure.

"2. Revision of laws governing industry to allow some elasticity in operation relative to the hours of labor in our textile industry and permitting limitation of discrimination against that industry as compared to other industries in Massachusetts.

"3. Better equipment and facilities for the Massachusetts Art School, formed to aid industries of the State

(Continued on page 2)

will cheerfully be given at The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, or by telephone, ALGonquin 4622.

Reservations should be mailed to the above address or made by telephone immediately.

The dinner will be the fourth annual dinner and will mark the fourth anniversary of the founding of America's leading Socialist organ. The New Leader dinners are the occasion for the men and women who make the New Leader, the editors, the special writers, the boosters, and the men and women who read the paper, to get together. Here is a chance to get acquainted.

In addition, as will be seen from the list of speakers—Abraham Cahan, James H. Maurer, Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, Benjamin Stolberg and Dr. Sergius Ingberman—and from the subject—"Socialism and Soviet Russia"—the affair will be a real intellectual treat. No flowery speeches, but an earnest discussion of a vital question.

Only two weeks remain, and reservations are coming in at a rapid rate. To make sure you are not left out in the cold, make your reservation at once.

HAVANA PARLEY PUTS U. S. HONOR IN THE BALANCE

INTO the very lair of the imperialism of the United States will come the delegates from Latin America to the Sixth Pan American Conference. Havana: capital of the protectorate of Cuba, hub of the American Mediterranean whose shores are coveted by the giant of the north.

The United States enters the fray fully armed, aware of the hostility of many delegates, confident of the subservience of others, certain of its overbearing strength.

A most impressive delegation from this country will be present. Charles Evans Hughes, former secretary of state; Henry P. Fletcher, American ambassador to Italy with diplomatic experience in Cuba, Chile and Mexico; Oscar W. Underwood, ex-senator; Dwight W. Morrow, American ambassador to Mexico; Morgan J. O'Brien, former judge; James Brown Scott, secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Ray Lyman Wilbur, president of Leland Stanford University; Leo S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, and Noble B. Judah, ambassador to Cuba.

For fear that even such a galaxy of stars might not dazzle the Latin Americans our shining president, Calvin Coolidge himself, will speed to Havana aboard the peace-loving, gun-bristling "Texas" to deliver an address on the opening day of the Congress, January 16, 1928. Finally, that shimmering light, Secretary of State Kellogg will add to the brilliance of the American group.

American Imperialism at the Cross-roads; Eyes of World on Gathering in Havana

Why all this hubbub? The five preceding Pan-American Conferences required no such special attention. Europeans hardly concerned themselves with these innocuous conferences. To-day, however, interest is world-wide. It is recognized that the Havana meeting will be more than perfunctory. It will clarify the relationship between the rebellious countries to the south and the dominating United States.

At Havana American imperialism stands at the cross-roads. Will it relax its tightening grip upon the nations that border the Caribbean Sea and leave them free to live out their destinies, or will it crush them completely?

Heretofore the United States has steered the Pan-American Conference, technically known as International Conferences of American States, into safe channels. The Latin Americans have been hankering for a political union, a kind of American League of

Technicalities of Agenda Are Cloak For Vital Problems of Small Nations

To many persons of the best intentions the questions championed so warmly by the Latin Americans seem academic, immaterial. Compulsory arbitration, an American League of Nations, treaties instead of resolutions seem insignificant considerations, divorced from the important economic forces at work in the world. Let us remember, however, that these are political cloaks. The attire is legalistic, diplomatic. Beneath is the warm flesh of life.

Take as an example, the first item on the agenda: It runs dryly enough: "Organization of the Pan-American Union on the basis of a convention prepared by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Fifth International Conference of American States on May 1, 1923."

What is behind this maze of technicalities? The Pan-American Union was established in 1890 as the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. The name was changed in 1910. Originally the function of the Bureau or as it has come to be called, the Pan-American Union, was to compile and publish pertinent commercial information. At the Third Conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 the scope of the Bureau was enlarged so that it became a permanent committee to arrange for future conferences and a cooperative medium in scientific, sanitary, highway and other harmless matters. At first the United States Secretary of State was the sole administrator. In 1902 a Governing Board was substituted to consist of the American Secretary of State as chairman and the representatives of the affiliated countries accredited at Washington. This left the Bureau entirely at the mercy of the United States since the chairman was American and the composition of the Governing Board depended upon the United States saw fit to recognize as diplomatic emissaries.

Equality Demanded

At the fifth conference in 1923 it was definitely settled that governments are represented "as of right," that in the absence of an accredited representative at Washington a country may appoint a

special representative on the Governing Board and the chairmanship shall be elective instead of being vested in the secretary of state of the United States. All this may be empty forms to some but to the Latin Americans it means their halting the encroachment of the United States. Now at the Havana Conference the plan is to free the Pan-American Union from the precarious position it occupies from being given life anew at every conference by a formal resolution and to place it on a permanent footing through a treaty or convention. It would be but a preliminary step to the establishment of an American League of Nations, which to the Latin American countries with their participation in the Geneva League seems a useful handle in international affairs.

The United States has thus far managed to keep the Latin American countries from assuming a position of equality with herself. It would endanger the Monroe Doctrine. It would prove embarrassing to the carrying out of imperialistic policies. The United States, if it cannot have its way, may very well abandon the role of decency that the Pan-American Union has enabled it to

(Continued on Page 2)

Stacked Cards

Capitalist politics is a crooked poker game with the best hands held by sharks who play with marked cards. Others who play are food for the sharks.

TO HELP NICARAGUA

Perhaps those Nicaraguans do not realize it but the American machine guns and bombing planes in their country are solely intended to prove American friendship for them. Of course the dead will not learn this till they wake up in another world.

A QUESTION IN ECONOMICS

The Socialist movement proposes that all modern industry as rapidly as possible shall pass into public ownership, control and operation. You would be a fool to support this program if you are a banker, capitalist or trust magnate. They own the industries and want to continue to own them. Is it possible for you to make up your mind about this as easily as they do theirs?

Station WEVD Gets Support From Across The Atlantic Ocean

Support for Station WEVD, the radio station established by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund as a memorial to the great Socialist leader, has been received from all parts of the country and now contributions and expressions of appreciation are beginning to come in from across the waters.

The Office of the Debs Fund, at 31 Union Square, has received the following letter from the War Resisters International in Middlesex, England: It was forwarded to the Debs office by Elinor Byrns, a leader of the American pacifist movement. The letter follows:

"The council of the War Resisters International very much appreciates the work which the Debs Radio Station is doing. I believe it is the only station in the world which invites or even allows itself to be used by the friends of world peace.

"I am sending you through Hambros Bank the sum of one pound which I should be glad if you would forward to them as a gesture of good will. I wish that we were in a position to make it a more substantial sum."

Socialist NEC In Session in Philadelphia

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—When the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party meets in Philadelphia Saturday and Sunday it will take up important questions of organization in the states, consider the agenda for the national convention in New York City next April, and pass upon applications of a number of members who wish to do field work of organization.

There has been a slow but decided increase in party membership since the November elections. There are a number of reasons for this and correspondence received by the national office verify them. In the first place the independent LaFollette movement has completely disappeared. A certain percentage of the voters who supported the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket in 1924 will not return to either of the old parties. They cannot register a protest against the servility of these parties to capitalism without voting for Socialist candidates.

Then the substantial increase in the Socialist vote last November, coupled with the Socialist sweep in Reading, Pa., has awakened many inactive party members and former members of the party. An election in Milwaukee in April is also expected to result in another Socialist victory and this will further inspire Socialists to continue work of party building and prepare for the presidential campaign.

"Prosperity" Is Passing

Another factor is the widespread increase in unemployment which is reported from all parts of the country. Coolidge "prosperity," never substantial at its best, is being punctured by the creeping industrial paralysis that is setting in. A widespread sense of economic grievance is being felt and some of it is certain to be registered in a Socialist vote next November. Not that the unemployed man will in all cases vote against the capitalist parties. A certain proportion will, as usual, jump out of the Republican frying pan into the Democratic fire, while others will refrain from voting out of sheer disgust with the turn of affairs.

Of course, finances for the work ahead is an important problem. The funds of the party come chiefly from workingmen and women and when unemployed their contributions are necessarily smaller than they otherwise would be. Realizing the importance of funds the National Executive Committee has not waited for the Philadelphia meeting before facing this problem. The committee has broadcast an appeal to party members and friends for funds and contribution lists are in circulation in all the states to gather funds for the work ahead.

The National Office has already sent two small financial contributions to two states where work of organization is being pushed. It has been able to extend this aid out of contributions it has received during the first two weeks after the committee appealed for funds. Members everywhere are urged to circulate their contribution lists and gather funds as rapidly as possible. The campaign does not begin with the convention next April. It has already begun and it will continue with increasing activity till the votes are counted next November.

19 Yale Men Defy Police In Tie Strike

Arrest of 19 Draws the
Lines on New Haven Civil
Liberties Issue

By Edward Levinson

NEW HAVEN.—Across the Yale campus and through the arched arcade under Vanderbilt Hall, donated to the college by two Vanderbilts as a memorial to a third, sixty Yale students trudged late Tuesday afternoon each with eight inches of labor leaflets tucked under his arm.

A few hours later they returned to the campus, nineteen of them having had their names entered on police blotters much like criminals. The others had had a somewhat less arduous introduction to the industrial scheme of things, standing on street corners of tight little New Haven town and passing out labor literature to passers-by.

The next morning, 5,000 collegians awoke to banter about something new in college heroes—19 young students who had braved the wrath of the local manufacturers association and its accommodating police department.

The students had started out to do two things. One was accomplished—a stone wall of silence erected by the local press around the neckwear makers' strike had been demolished to show wide open gaps.

The Fat Is Sizzling

The other purpose—a somewhat larger one—was to establish the right of freedom of expression by testing the validity of the police department's refusal to permit the distribution of literature about the labor movement. This question now rests with the courts of Connecticut.

"Well the fat's in the fire," Philip Troup, counsel for the arrested students retained by the American Civil Liberties Union, told an experience meeting of the students after the excitement Wednesday evening.

"And sizzling damn hot," added "Whitey"—J. B. Whitelaw, president of the Yale Liberal Club, co-leader with Frederick C. Hyde of the student brigade. There seemed to be a trace of disappointment in Whitelaw. The police had not arrested him and had prevented his sharing responsibility with the 19 who were caught.

Thomas Started It

The respectable ivied walls of Yale first heard about the neckwear strike two months ago from Norman Thomas, director of the League for Industrial Democracy. In response to a request from the United Neckwear Makers' Union, Thomas journeyed to New Haven and engaged the Yale Liberal Club in a discussion of the strike. He told how Stern & Merritt and Berkman & Adler, two New York neckwear manufacturers, had refused to sign an agreement with the union because the workers insisted on the abolition of home-work. The students grew indignant as they heard of the firms' pilgrimage to New Haven in search of docile, non-union workers. News that the New Haven Chamber of Commerce had invited the firms to settle in the Elm City only added fire to their resentment.

The suppression of news by the New Haven papers, the antagonistic attitude of the police raised new and deeper issues. The culminating affront was the seizure by the police of three students, Hyde and Whitelaw among them, for passing out union literature at the factory gate. That Whitelaw and Hyde were released without any charges being pressed against them convinced the students that the police were acting in a high-minded manner.

On this occasion Chief of Police Smith, in a self-appointed capacity of student guardian, informed the three students that he could have them "kicked out of college" if he wanted to.

Investigation Is Made

After the release of Hyde and Whitelaw, the Liberal Club set to work in earnest fashion. Joined by George Brooks, another student, Hyde and Whitelaw started an investigation of the strike and the attitude of the press and police.

The report was completed. Before it was printed it was shown to Dean Clarence Mendell, who pronounced it a fair and justifiable statement of the facts. The League for Industrial Democracy in New York City had

20,000 of the 8 page leaflet run off the press, and by Monday last they were safely tucked away in Dwight Hall, awaiting distribution. Before handing them out, the students had given the newspapers another chance to redeem their badly battered reputations. Copies were mailed to every daily paper in Connecticut. It saw the light of day only in the notable exception of the Hartford Courant.

"Is This Fair Play?" is the heading on the well-written, temperately expressed leaflet. It recited the background of the neckwear strike, how Stern & Merritt and Berkman & Adler had refused to abolish home-work, how they had moved to New Haven to escape meeting decent standards, the subservience of the press and the police department to the Chamber of Commerce. The two manufacturers were offered an opportunity to present their side of the case in the leaflet but had not even given the courtesy of a reply.

"Pep" Meetings Held

The students felt their course was clear. In businesslike manner the city was zoned up, two students to an appointed district. Three "pep" meetings were held, one of the night before distribution. Instead of practicing football yells, the amendments to the constitution and the bill of rights were memorized. For these were to be the defense of the students in the event they were arrested.

Shortly after four o'clock Tuesday the students came together in Dwight Hall. There were more than fifty of them. They came direct from classes and lecture halls. One took advantage of a lantern slide-illustrated botany lecture to sleep—in anticipation of a possible sleepless night in jail. The leaflets were laid out in piles eight inches high, carefully measured by the star mathematics student in the college.

"30 Days Per Inch"

"Thirty days for each inch" was the prediction ventured by one under-graduate.

"So this is the revolution," murmured another.

"Fellow agitators," began another.

They were the cream of the 5,000 collegians. The Divinity school was best represented, while sociology and "econ" were not among the missing. One of the distributors was John Crocker, of Harvard, Oxford and Yale, head of the Berkeley Association, the Episcopal church organization of New Haven. Another was John Drake, whose wealthy father runs and owns the Drake Hotel of Chicago. James T. Patterson, Jr., one of the heroic nineteen who saw the inside of a prison cell, is the son of one of the biggest manufacturers in Bridgeport. They came from Peking, China, California, and points East. A Davidson scholar from Cambridge was among them.

Attorney Troup gave his instructions and benedictions in a final word to the distributors. Troup is the leading Democrat in town. He was narrowly defeated for Mayor last November. A peculiar Democrat, he is intensely interested in free speech. A boyhood reading of John Stuart Mill "On Liberty" has never been forgotten.

"Hand out the leaflet; don't argue with the policemen; don't fight; if they insist on making you stop the distribution, insist on going ahead until they arrest you," said Troup.

Police Tipped Off

In a few minutes, the 50 or more young men were out of the college grounds, carrying their protest and their message of civil liberty and decent treatment for workers. Almost a score covered the two plants.

The police had been tipped off. A sergeant who looked as though he had stepped out of Mack Sennett's feature flickers was on hand at Stern & Merritt, assisted by another officer and some plain-clothesmen. After venting some pointed ill-nature on reporters who insisted on hanging around to see what would happen, he turned his attention to the college men who had started the distribution of literature.

The police had their orders. That afternoon, City Attorney Sam Persky, evidently acting in his dual capacity as counsel for the Chamber of Commerce and for the city, had decreed that it would be illegal to hand out the leaflets.

Impolite Language

Thus Sergeant McTear spoke to Walter F. Meyers, the first of the students to

Paste This in Your Hat

The suffering of miners and their families in shacks and tents this bleak winter is a shocking cruelty considering that without the miners the rest of us would not be warm. Then there is this fact. In 1925 the average production of coal by each miner in the anthracite and bituminous fields has doubled since 1874! Another fact. According to the British Coal Commission of 1926, the British miner in 1924 dug an average of 155 tons; in France, 167; in Germany, 234; in Great Britain, 246; and in the United States 550 tons of anthracite, 751 of soft coal, or an average of 734 for both! American miners, their wives and children are driven to destitution, hunger and cold despite their service to mankind. Help the miners, but smash the capitalist parties under whose rule this tragedy is possible.

approach the entrance to Stern & Merritt "Get the hell out of here," he said. Unaccustomed to such un-college-like greeting, Mr. Meyers blithely ignored the invitation. The Sergeant then decided to use some arm power. He propelled the student out into the gutter. The latter thought the gutter not a desirable place. It would be no use handing the bills to horses and cows. He returned to the sidewalk. Three times he returned to his post, three times he was shoved out into the gutter.

The fourth time Meyers resumed his stand in front of the factory door, Sergeant McTear began to realize that his friend was there to stay.

"If you don't beat it I'll place you under arrest."

"I won't beat it and I am doing nothing for which you can arrest me."

"Well, hand out one more of those things and we'll see."

"You're Arrested"

Meyers proceeded to hand out another of those unmentionable things and he did so.

"You're under arrest," says the Sergeant. Suddenly it seemed that the whole college was handing out terrible pieces of white paper which made the representatives of the majestic law tremble and swear.

"You're under arrest, too. See?"

"You too." "You too." "You too."

"You too." Fortunately there were only six to be arrested or the Sergeant's limited vocabulary might have begun to be a bit boring.

Up on the main street of New Haven the scene was being repeated with variations depending on the supply of humor of the arresting officers. In the enthusiasm of the chase, the owner of the building which houses the Stern & Merritt plant also did a little arresting. He will probably face a charge and a suit for damages for impersonating an officer.

Criminology Meets

Criminology class met, for the six arrested at Stern & Merritt, in station house number three. Prisoners were lined up at the bar, their names entered on the blotter, charged with illegal distribution of advertising matter on the streets. Names and addresses were duly noted, although with a bit of difficulty. The dignity of the god behind the desk was ruffled at times, while Sergeant McTear, something or other inter-politely wise cracks he had heard at the burlesque show in Bridgeport the other night.

"And you're name?" sneered the captain.

"William F. Sayre."

"Say-er, heh."

"It's pronounced 'say,' if you please."

"Hell, this ain't no school. It's Say-er. See!"

"Let's See a Knife"

The New Haven police were evidently out to make the Yale boys see something. They succeeded more than passing well.

And while frisking the dangerous prisoners, the desk captain fervently hoped for a gun, a knife or a Billy of some kind.

"Just let me find a knife or something on one of you," the captain pleaded. His dear heart was disappointed. There were some notes in Greek and other extinct languages. These comprised all the deadly weapons in the crowd. One discovery gave great satisfaction, however. It was a chart of the city, indicating the distribution zones and the names of the men assigned to cover them with the leaflet.

"The college authorities will be interested in this," the captain mused. It remains to be seen whether they will be.

Troup was on the job and soon produced \$100 bail for each of the nineteen who had been arrested. Originally \$500 had been demanded. In court on Wednesday, the case was postponed until January 22nd.

But the case does not rest there. New Haven has been reminded of its duty—that it is part of the United States where civil liberties are reputed to be the heritage of all individuals and organizations, including workmen and trade unions.

The fat is in the fire. When the three were arrested weeks ago, the Connecticut Open Shop Conference wanted the students and a liberal professor fired out of college. They are certain to renew their demand with great vigor. How far will they get?

Judge Panken Resumes Practice of the Law

Jacob Panken, who was a Socialist Justice of the Municipal Court of the City of New York for ten years, and who had the distinction of being the only Socialist judge in America, is resuming the practice of law at No. 225 Broadway, New York City, in association with Matthew M. Levy, who did very fine work as Special Deputy Assistant Attorney General in connection with the election frauds in 1927.

Judge Panken, for many years prior to his elevation to the Bench, was attorney for many of the trade unions in the City of New York and elsewhere. During his many years at the Bar he appeared as attorney in important injunction cases and acted as counsel for trades unions in negotiating collective agreements.

Coal Miner Answers Mail Order House Attack On Strikers

THE following letter was inspired by the letter written by the Elmer Richards Company, mail order firm of Chicago, to Robert Fulton, a coal striker of Gillespie, Illinois, which appeared in our last issue. It will be remembered that the representative of the firm wrote the Gillespie striker a lecture on his "laziness" and denounced strikers in general as "a bunch of loafers."

The letter which follows is the reply of a plain workingman to the insolence of this mail order firm.

Dear Fellow Worker Robert: I noticed in the New Leader the letter sent to you by an installment concern which is almost word for word similar to the one I got from my credit house a few days ago when I could no longer make my payments as promptly as heretofore. My answer to them was as follows:

"Dear Sir:

"The letter I received from you seems to contain the very same argument I heard from my employer when I told him that I could not get along on the wages I was getting and it was impossible for me to continue to work unless my income was sufficient to make ends meet. I also heard the same expression made by the Judge when he issued an injunction against us. Similar language, perhaps only a little more polished, was used by our minister last Sunday.

"You know very well that us fellows do not want to strike. We would rather continue working. We certainly tried our damndest to make the boss meet our just demand, but he seems to think that because their mines are now worth so many more millions than they were before the war, their profit must be so much greater.

"I understand you are buying coal yourself for which you are paying \$15.75 in place of \$5.75, the price you used to pay for coal before the war. Of course, I know that you have raised the rent considerable on account of that and that in place of \$7.00 per room you are now getting \$18.00 from your tenants.

"You'd of course know that the \$65 suit I bought from you is no better than the suits I used to buy for \$25 before the war and the \$10 shoes you sold me are the same brand I bought before the war for \$3.50 and if you had to buy groceries for a fam-

ily of nine and pay the meat bills I pay, you would realize what it means to keep up a family now with the wages I was making, although I had been working every day the boss would let me into the mine.

"You perhaps remember that I hesitated to go into debt, but you insisted that the clothes worn by my wife and children were not fit for any person in a civilized community and I agreed with you that they would be looked upon differently in school and by the neighbors if they could dress at least half way decent. You may also recollect that my faithful wife decided to go without a winter coat because the bill for the children's clothing seems to come so high.

"We are poor but honest people and if it was not for us fellows you could not own such high priced automobiles and live in such grand style. We have always paid you and paid you well and now because we refuse to work for starvation wages you get angry and abusive and call us all sorts of names. I suppose you do not care what conditions we work under so long as you get your installment payments.

"Do you know that all the fellows now on strike and whom you call loafers are all your best customers? That surely is not the name you used to call us when we bought the things. You used to say many times that people who take their lives in their own hands every day as we do are entitled to the very best of everything and nothing is too good for such hard working people and their families.

"You want to know what would happen if all creditors sued us and we would be compelled to buy for cash. My opinion is that the workers would be far better off if they stopped buying on the installment plan. But did you stop to think what would become of you and thousands like you and others of your class who consider themselves gentlemen and who do not produce a single useful thing and perform no useful function whatsoever?

"Honest hard working people who are victimized and insulted by such sharks as you should learn a lesson and ought to remember to profit by it and I sincerely hope they will.

"Yours,

"HERMAN BROWN."

HAVANA PARLEY PUTS U. S. HONOR IN THE BALANCE

(Continued from page 1) play, ditch the Union and embark upon a frank policy of aggression. After all the satisfaction of the commercial, manufacturing and financial interests that are at stake are more important to American capitalists than polite or generous appearances.

An Explosive Point

The next matter which appears upon the program for the Havana conference seems innocent:

"Consideration of the results of the Commission of Jurists which assembled at Rio de Janeiro."

In fact this item is chock full of explosive material. The commission referred to met last spring at the initiative of the Fifth Conference, which had convened at Santiago, Chile, in 1923. The Jurists were to codify international law for this hemisphere. Several countries had the bad grace to propose that the intervention of one country in the affairs of another should be declared a violation of international law. Various statements to this effect were submitted by Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Argentine Republic and Paraguay. That of the Dominican Republic and Mexico, jointly submitted, is the most comprehensive:

"No State may in the future directly or indirectly, nor by reason of any motive, occupy even temporarily any portion of the territory of another State. The consent given to the occupying State by the state occupied will not legitimize the occupation and the occupant will be responsible for all occurrences resulting from the occupation not only with respect to the State occupied but to the third parties as well."

The Commission of Jurists judiciously failed to incorporate these suggestions in its code but it decided to submit them to the consideration of the Havana conference.

Without Intervention

Now, what would happen to American imperialism without intervention. We are assuming that the United States is still keeping up the pretense of fair play as a sop to public opinion here and abroad.

What would happen to the capitalists who own our various protectorates: the National City Bank in Cuba, Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Lee, Higginson & Co., the Equitable Trust Co., Speyer & Co. and the National City Bank in Santo Domingo; the National City Bank in Haiti; Brown Brothers & Co. and J. and W. Seligman & Co. in Nicaragua; and the smaller fry of importers, exporters and manufacturers who profit by the American strangle-hold on these and other helpless countries of the Caribbean? The present intervention in Nicaragua is an object lesson.

The questions of a permanent status for the Pan American Union, intervention and compulsory arbitration will be crucial for the Sixth International Conference of the American States. The other matters for discussion dealing with cultural, humanitarian, traffic and commercial cooperation are what the United

States should like to see emphasized. They need not occupy our attention here. The Latin American countries are interested in them but not to the exclusion of political considerations affecting their very existence.

The United States, of course, will in all probability be able to ward off any open attack upon its policies. Its very control of the governmental puppets in countries like Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua and Panama will save it much pointed criticism. The other Latin American countries are not by any means united. There is a strong sentiment for a Latin American Union excluding the United States. The desire for compulsory arbitration is not universal. The trip of Lindbergh, symbolically enough now in the employ of the Guggenheim interests who are the largest single owners of mineral deposits in Latin America, has done much to create favorable sentiment. The important American delegation at Havana is helpful publicity. Economic ties, as revealed by the statistics of exports and imports are close, though the loss of trade since 1920 to the pre-war competitors supplies an urgent reason for creating at Havana good will among the Latin Americans for the United States.

A Mexican Surrender

Finally, the rapprochement between Mexico and the United States, smacking so much of surrender by our feeble though proud neighbor to the south, will go a long way towards setting the other nations on example of good conduct. The Mexican Supreme Court has declared the oil laws unconstitutional, the legislature and executive have practically submitted to the oil men's demands and in return the American bankers will be gentle with the enormous Mexican foreign debt. After all the United States government speaks for the capitalists who profit from imperialism. We may elaborate on the hypocrisy of the American position, we may place obstructions in the way of imperialists but fundamentally our task is to show that the exploitation of foreign peoples is a product of capitalism.

American imperialism is at the crossroads at Havana. Will it call a halt or even retreat? The increasing restiveness of the Latin Americans, their growth in stature, the threatening competition of European merchants, the necessities of the American internal political situation, particularly in a presidential year, may dictate a policy of pacification. On the other hand the pressing demands of the American traders and manufacturers, the gold grip of the bankers, the supposed need of protecting the Panama Canal, the rise of the militaristic spirit in this country, the indifference to and even relishing of imperialistic ventures and the absence of any differences between the Republicans and the Democrats seem to point in the direction of the greater domination of weaker peoples, more subtly perhaps, but more intensively.

The Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana, beginning January 16, will indicate which path the United States will follow. Imperialism seems to have the clearer roadways.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

That little episode of the sale of Tammany Hall to one of its own members who promptly resold it to the Consolidated Gas Company at \$700,000 profit is instructive as well as amusing. Tammany Hall took care of itself and got the extra profit back to its own coffers. The sale proved that the property had been appraised at only about 53 per cent of its selling cost whereas property is supposed to be appraised at its full value. And some small parcels are thus appraised. As a rule the big fellows fare better.

However, the interesting thing is to inquire why the Consolidated Gas Co. paid such a big profit. If a city enterprise had done likewise there would have been a tremendous outcry about the wastefulness of public enterprises. But the efficient privately owned Consolidated Gas Co. can throw away \$70,000 and none of its meters will ever miss a beat. In the long run it can charge it up to the people.

All of which leads me to remark that there is a lot of bunk in this talk of the superiority of private to public enterprise in terms of economy and efficiency. There is plenty of favoritism, graft and inefficiency in private corporations. For inefficiency take this little story of the New York Telephone Co. for example. It took I don't know how many letters and telephone calls to get out of that famous concern a final bill for service at my campaign headquarters. It sent one wrong bill which it corrected the next day. The corrected bill was promptly paid by the treasurer of my campaign committee. In the course of the next few weeks he got two letters inquiring why he sent them a check and at the end of about six weeks I got a very disagreeable dunning letter from them! Later on the company had the courtesy to apologize. But as an illustration of the perfection of private ownership and efficiency I pass on this tale to you.

The Senate has once more passed Senator Norris' bill for a Constitutional amendment which would seat the President and more especially members of Congress more promptly after their election. It would cut out the ridiculous and indefensible lame duck session of every Congress. Everybody knows that as matters stand today unless there is a special session of Congress newly elected members do not get into action until a year after their election. That was all right perhaps in the year of stage coaches. It is not all right today. Yet so common sense a change as Senator Norris' proposed amendment has repeatedly been blocked by the house for no reason at all unless it is that our representatives don't want to give up the chance of consulting themselves for defeat in reelection by some little bargaining for jobs during the lame duck session which they as defeated members of Congress can attend. Great business this politics!

Mills Seeking Longer Hours

(Continued from Page 1)

in designing and styling their products."

The letter says that the Massachusetts law prohibiting the employment of women in any capacity for the purpose of manufacturing in the evening, "or in the manufacture of textile goods after 6 o'clock in the evening, is an absolute discrimination against the textile industry and has operated to the marked disadvantage of Massachusetts."

Labor Not in Legislature

The tendency of southern textile production is to drag New England working standards of a hundred years ago. What makes this situation all the more tragic and brutal is the fact that Governor Fuller, one of the most servile agents of the textile oligarchy that ever held the office, went out of his way to coolly recommend to the Legislature a change in the labor code that would permit a drift back to the old sad days of factory feudalism.

But the recommendation of the council also shows a complete unity of politics and economics in this state. Capitalists are to be relieved of some of their tax burdens while the women and children are also to pay tribute to the textile masters in longer hours of labor. The council in considering southern competition regards it as "discrimination against the textile industry." The council members apparently regard the industry as a tender flower which must be nursed with the sweat of women and children driven to longer hours of labor.

What makes this dominion of textile capital so revolting is the fact that the labor organizations have not in fifty years acquired a fighting labor group in the Legislature, a group that would be of measureless service now to fight the hideous proposals made by a crowd of contented capitalists with the approval of Governor Fuller. Nearly thirty years ago James F. Carey, a fighting Irish shoemaker, was sent to the State Legislature for several years. Twice he was accompanied by Frederic MacCartney and Louis Scates.

No group of profiteers would have dared in those days to have made the proposal now made and no Governor would have dared to recommend it. That this is possible now simply measures the opportunities which for thirty years labor has literally thrown away. And the women and children of the working class are the living sacrifice for a barren policy which leads back to the old sad days of factory feudalism.



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Searing Children

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ST. COLUMBA AND THE RIVER — BY THEODORE DREISER

THE first morning that McGlathery saw the great river stretching westward from the point where the initial shaft had been sunk he was not impressed by it—or, rather, he was, but not favorably. It looked too gray and sullen, seeing that he was viewing it through a driving, sleety rain. There were many ferry boats and craft of all kinds, large and small, steaming across its choppy bosom, giant steamers, and long projecting piers, great and mysterious, and clouds of gulls, and the shriek of whistles, and the clang of fog-bells, but he did not like water. It took him back to eleven wretched sick days in which he had crossed on a steamer from Ireland. But then, glory be, once freed from the mysteries of Ellis Island, he had marched out on dry land at the Battery, clothed in hand, and exclaimed, "Thanks be, I'm shut av it!"

And he thought he was, for he was mortally afraid of water. But fate, alas! had not decreed it as a permanent thing. As a matter of fact, water in one form or another had persistently seemed to pursue him since. In Ireland, County Clare, from whence he hailed, he had been a ditch-

er—something remotely connected with water. Here in America, and once safely settled in Brooklyn, he had no sooner sought work than the best he could seemingly get was a job in connection with a marsh which was being drained, a very boggy and pooly one—water again, you see. Then there was a conduit being dug, a great open sewer which once when he and other members of the construction gang were working on it, was flooded by a cloudburst, a tremendous afternoon rain-storm which drove them from it with a volume of water which threatened to drown them all. Still later, he and thirty others were engaged in cleaning out a two-compartment reservoir, old and stone-rotten, when, one-half being empty and the other full, the old dividing wall broke, and once more he barely escaped with his life by scrambling up a steep bank. It was then that the thought first took root in his mind that water—any kind of water, sea or fresh—was not favorable to him. Yet here he was, facing this great river on a gray rainy November morning, and with the avowed object of going to work in the tunnel which was about to be dug under it.

\$12 A Day!—Think of it! In spite of his prejudices and fears, here he was, and all due to one Thomas Cavanaugh, a fellow churman and his foreman these last three years, who had happened to take a fancy to him and had told him that if he came to work in the tunnel and prosecuted his new work thoroughly, and showed himself sufficiently industrious and courageous, it might lead to higher things—viz., bricklaying, or plastering, in the guise of cement moulding, down in this very tunnel, or timbering, or better yet, the steel-plate joining trade, which was a branch of the ironworkers' guild and was rewarded by no less a sum than twelve dollars a day. Think of it—twelve dollars a day! Men of this class and skill were scarce in tunnel work and in great demand in America. This same Cavanaugh was to be one of the foremen in this tunnel, his foreman, and would look after him. Of course it required time and patience. One had to begin at the bottom—the same being seventy-five feet under the Hudson River, where some very careful preliminary digging had to be done. McGlathery had surveyed

his superior and benefactor at the time with uncertainty and yet ambitious eyes. "Is it as ye tell me now?" he commented at one place. "Yis. Av course. What d'ye think I'm talkin' to ye about?" "Ye say, do ye?" "Certainly." "Well! Well! Belike it's a fine job. I dunno. Five dollars a day, ye say to begin with?" "Yis, five a day." "Well, a man in my line could get no more than that, eh? It wouldn't hurt me for once, fer a little while anyway, hey?" "It would be the makin' av ye." "Well, I'll be with ye, Yis, I'll be with ye. It's not five I can get everywhere. When is it ye'll be wantin' me?"

The First Day at Work

The foreman, a gargantuan figure in yellow jeans and high-top boots smeared to the buttocks with mud, eyed him genially and amiably, the while McGlathery surveyed his superior with a kind of reverence and awe, a reverence which he scarcely felt for any other man, unless perchance it might be his parish priest, for he

was a good Catholic, or the political backer of his district, through whom he had secured his job. What great men they all were, to be sure, leading figures in his life.

So here he was on this particular morning shortly after the work had begun, and here was the river, and down below in this new shaft, somewhere, was Thomas Cavanaugh, to whom he had to report before he could go to work.

"Sure, it's no colleen's job," he observed to a fellow worker who had arrived at the mouth of the shaft about the same time as himself, and was beginning to let himself down the ladder which sank darkly to an intermediate platform, below which again was another ladder and platform, and below that a yellow light. "Ye say Mr. Cavanaugh is below there?"

"He is," replied the stranger without looking up. "Ye'll find him inside the second lock. Arr ye workin' here?"

"Yis." "Come along, then." With a bundle which consisted of his rubber boots, a worn suit of overalls, and with his pack and shovel

over his shoulder, he followed. He reached the bottom of the pit, boarded as to the sides with huge oak planks sustained by cross beams, and there, with several others who were waiting until the air pressure should be adjusted, entered the lock. The comparatively small and yet massive chamber, with its heavy iron door at either end, responding so slowly to pressure, impressed him. There was only a flickering light made by a gasoline torch here. There was a whistling sound from somewhere.

"Ever work under air pressure before, Paddy?" inquired a great hulking ironworker, surveying him with a genial leer.

"Air what?" asked McGlathery without the slightest comprehension of what was meant, but not to be outdone by mere words. "No, I never did."

"Yuh May Get the Bends" "Well, ye're under it now, two thousand pounds to the square inch. Don't ye feel it?"

Dennis, who had been feeling an odd sensation about his ear-drums and throat, but had no knowledge that it was related to this, acknowledged that he did. "Tis air, is it?"

he inquired. "Tis a quare feeling I have." The hissing ceased. "Yuh want to look out fer that new man," volunteered another, a skimpier, slithery, genial American. "Don't let 'em rush that stuff on yuh too fast. Yuh may git the 'bends.'"

Dennis, ignorant as to the meaning of "bends," made no reply.

"D'Yuh know what the 'bends' is, new man?" persisted the other provocatively.

"Naw," replied Dennis awkwardly after a time, feeling himself the centre of a fire of curious observations and solicitation.

"Well, yuh will if yuh ever git 'em—haw! haw!" this from a waggish lout, a bricklayer who had previously not spoken. The group in the lock was large. "It comes from them lettin' the pressure be put on or took off too fast. It twists yer muscles all up an' does sumpin' to yer nerves. Yuh'll know it if yuh ever git it."

"Member Eddie Slawder?" called another gaily. "He died of it over here in Bellevue, after they started the Fourteenth Street end. Gee, oughta heard him holler! I went over to see him."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

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 on speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Stamp Reports Urgent

It is time that all locals and branches of the party get their report squared up on the voluntary assessment stamps. The reports are to be sent to the State or District secretaries. This matter should be attended to at once for there are very important matters coming up and we should get rid of them as fast as possible.

1928 Organization Fund

Comrades from different parts of the country are responding already to the call for the 1928 Organization Fund, and we are in hopes that every individual will contribute generously. Such contributions should measure up to the ability of each member. We would like to see every list returned to the national headquarters with names and contributions listed.

Marx Lewis in South

Marx Lewis, secretary to Congressman Berger, will gladly give co-operation in the work of arranging for party tickets in North Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia. Lewis filed this position for the Progressive movement in 1924.

National Secretary Henry has completed his report to the National Executive Committee, which shows that in all probability the party will cover at least 33 States with electoral tickets. If we get the funds to place workers in the field soon, Lewis offers his cooperation in two other states not on this list. We may be able to line up all States for our Presidential ticket! We will if our members back us up.

California

Opening the Campaign
The Labor World of San Francisco will announce in its issue of Jan. 14 the beginning of California's 1928 campaign. The start will be made at Los Angeles in a large mass meeting. The principal speaker will be Lew Head, one of the leaders in the Progressive Party in southern California in the La Follette campaign. Mr. Head is now a member of the Socialist Party and is said to be a very effective speaker and writer. His coming into the Socialist Party will doubtless cause other progressive voters to follow him, for in California, as in other States, it is either the Socialist Party or one of the old parties. Lew Head, State Secretary, will be one of the speakers.

Kansas

Ross Magill, State secretary, sends a good order for dues stamps and writes that if the weather permits he will start organizing within a week or ten days. From several parts of the State, letters have been sent to National headquarters for supplies and literature. If the National Office is assisted, States like Kansas can be given support until the movement is in good shape.

Oklahoma

Letters from Oklahoma during the last week ask for definite action in regard to the reorganization of the party and the preparation for the 1928 Socialist ticket. The National organization has in mind sending some one to Oklahoma for organization work. Comrade Slawder, a faithful member, sends dues to the National Office, saying that this is the eighteenth year "I have kept my faith in the cause and I want to continue it."

Texas

W. M. Kennedy of Brady writes that he is anxious to organize a Socialist local and nominate a county ticket. Other Socialists of the county should write him at Box 772, Brady.

Missouri

St. Louis
A general reorganization meeting of St. Louis Socialists has been called to meet at Labor Hall, 949 Chouteau avenue, on Tuesday evening, Jan. 17. The announcement in St. Louis Labor in part declares: "While fully realizing the present reaction in the American Labor and Socialist movement and are aware of the great obstacles that will confront the reorganization work, we owe it to ourselves and to the movement to get the local Socialist Party reorganized immediately and prepare for action, in co-operation with our national organization."

Illinois

Norman Thomas in Chicago
Norman Thomas, contributing editor to The New Leader and executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, will speak on "Youth and the Socialist Cause" at the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues, Monday, Jan. 16, at 8 p. m.

Comrade Thomas is one of the outstanding figures in the Socialist and liberal movement. He is chairman of the Debs Radio Station WEVD. In the recent New York election he was the Party's choice for Alderman. The Lyceum are working to make this the biggest meeting in the Circle's history.

Wisconsin

Milwaukee Mask Carnival
Five tickets have been obtained for the annual prize mask carnival of the Socialist Party in the Auditorium, Saturday night, Jan. 28. Dancing will take place in three, 25-piece saxophone orchestra will furnish the music in the main hall. Three hundred dollars in cash prizes will be awarded to 16 groups and 23 individuals, ranging from \$40 down. The grand carnival revue will take place at 9:30 p. m. Popular admission prices; advance sale tickets, 35 cents each.

Work's Book in Libraries

The kind reception given the placing of Joan M. Work's book, "What's So and What Isn't," in libraries, has encouraged Work to send another list of 100 names to the National Office for the placing of this book. He sends \$10 to pay for mailing them as he did in the first instance.

Indiana

Former Socialist Mayor Dies
John G. Lewis, elected mayor of Elwood on the Socialist ticket in 1919, recently died in California where he had been living for a number of years. Lewis was a candidate for re-election two years later, but reaction had become so strong that he was defeated. Lewis had been a plate-glass worker and several sons also worked at the trade. He has a host of friends and his administration was generally approved by the working class voters.

Pennsylvania

Reading
George M. Rhodes, who became business manager of the Labor Advocate in Reading in 1924, has been elected to the position of mayor of the city. Rhodes last week, Stump had served in this office for 12 years.

Stump Greets Police

Mayor Stump broke all precedents in Reading in an address to the police with the salutation, "Fellow Workers." He spoke to the policemen in three shifts. Stump reassured his force against rumors affecting the security of their jobs, and told them that no man who does his duty will be in danger of losing it. He said anything to say to any of you I will say to myself, and I want you to tell directly with me and with your superiors when conditions are not to your liking," the mayor admonished.

Lecture on Russia

Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, will address a meeting of women only at Labor Lyceum on Wednesday evening, Jan. 25, on "Women's Status in Russia." Miss Winsor is a member of the Socialist Party and was an active worker for equal suffrage before women were given the vote. She will speak under the auspices of the Women's Socialist League and admission to the lecture will be free.

New England

State Office Notes
The State Office has circulated every trade union in Massachusetts against the vicious anti-labor criminal syndicalism bill and in favor of anti-syndicalism bill and anti-unemployment insurance bill. Quite a number of favorable responses have been received.

Lewis Speaking Dates

Alfred Baker Lewis has spoken recently at the Workmen's Circle in Pawtucket, the Workmen's Circle in Lowell, the Lynn Lesters Union, the Roxbury Brewery Workers Union, the John Fred Branch, of the Workmen's Circle in Roxbury, Local 1 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Congregational Ministers Association of Greater Boston, and the Congregational Ministers of Labor arranged by the Fullman Porters Union.

Future dates are Sunday, Jan. 15, Mt. Vernon Church Men's Club at 7:30 p. m., on "Socialism." Tuesday, Jan. 17, Paterson Y. M. C. A., 3 Egleston Place, on "Unemployment Insurance." Wednesday, Jan. 18, Chelsea Barbers Union, Chelsea Labor Lyceum, on "Unemployment Insurance." Thursday, Jan. 19, Upholsters Union, Local 37, at 92 Everett st., on "Unemployment Insurance." Sunday, Jan. 22, Branch 110, Workmen's Circle, at 184 Prairie ave., Providence, 7:30 p. m., on "De We Need a Labor Party." Sunday, Jan. 29, Gardner Yipsel Circle on "Socialism and Americanism."

Boston Central Branch

Boston Central Branch has an attractive educational program for its meetings on the second and fourth Thursdays at 21 Essex street. On Jan. 12, the subject is "Democracy and the American Form of Government." On Jan. 26, "The Sources of Craft."

Yipsels

Gardner Yipsels are arranging an educational program. Boston Yipsel Class will have a talk on "Imperialism" Sunday, Jan. 15, by I. Spiegelman, and a talk on Jan. 22 by Joseph Gonzalez, subject to be announced. Meetings are held every Sunday at 5:00 p. m.

Louis Rabinovitch of the Boston Circle will be one of the speakers at the Anti-Fascist meeting at the Scenic Auditorium on Jan. 22 at 8:00 p. m.

Vincent G. Burns' Tour

Vincent G. Burns is touring the Massachusetts colleges for the League for Industrial Democracy. He has established contacts in places where there has not been an L. I. D. speaker for years. He spoke at Simmons' College to the Deans' Class in Ethics, and at the Harvard Library Club at the Phillips Brooks House in Harvard, at an industrial group in the Y. W. C. A. of Cambridge, composed of college girls and factory girls; at Prof.

Vaughan's class at the Boston School of Theology, and at the Chapel of the Theology School at Boston Union. On Tuesday, Jan. 17, Burns will speak to the combined Economics and Philosophy Clubs at Tufts. He expects soon to go to Wheaton College and Brown University, and will go to colleges in the Western half of the State the last two weeks in January.

New Jersey

New Branch Organized
A new branch has been organized in Paterson with nine members. Among those that filed application for a charter were a few old timers who drifted away from the party. They now see that it is their duty to be in the fold. At the next meeting it is expected that a few more will join.

An active committee of five will get after all sympathizers and induce them to join.

This branch is known as the Paterson City Branch, English. Next meeting will be on Friday evening, Jan. 20, at the "Workmen's Circle" Building, 64 River street, near Main.

Classens in Newark
August Classens, of New York, lectures at headquarters, 53 S. Orange avenue, Thursday evening, Jan. 19. Admission free. Refreshments served. Come and bring your friends.

New York State

Reading's Example
State Secretary Merrill has called the attention of the locals and party members to the statement of Mayor Stump of Reading in regard to the success of the movement in that city being due primarily to organization. Also to the fact that Stump, as president of a city central labor body, had emphasized the importance of the Socialist Party in relation to the necessity of organization on both the economic and political fields.

Increased Stamp Sales

State Committee reports that Greater New York bought 400 more dues stamps during the fourth quarter of 1927 than the corresponding quarter of 1926, and 700 more than during the third quarter of 1927.

New York City

City Central Committee
The first meeting of the new City Central Committee was held Wednesday, Jan. 4. Twenty-seven delegates were present. Many branches had failed to elect delegates. Joseph A. Weil was elected temporary secretary. The following were elected: Joseph Tuvin, recording secretary. Delegates reported considerable increase in activity; that an intensive membership drive was on; new branches were being organized; that the party was holding courses, Sunday schools and other activities were good. The spirit of the meeting was excellent and there was every evidence of increased growth and progress in the branches.

Nominations were made for permanent officers for Local New York City for the year 1928. At the next meeting, Wednesday, Jan. 12, elections will be held for permanent chairman, auditor, recording secretary and 17 members of the City Executive Committee.

Good News

The record of dues stamp sales, new members and general activity during December exceeded the record of several years. It appears that the same will be true of January. The Executive Committee meeting Wednesday, Jan. 18, two more branches will be chartered; 53 applications for membership will be acted upon and reports will be made of intensive organization work in progress.

MANHATTAN

1st—2nd A. D.
Esther Friedman has been engaged for a series of lectures. They will begin Sunday, Feb. 5, at 8:30 p. m., at 122 Pierpont st. It's been some time since this branch had a well-attended meeting. The members are requested to invite their friends as August Classens will speak on the "Socialist Party and the Coming Presidential Campaign."

2nd A. D.
This Saturday evening a luncheon and entertainment will be given at the clubrooms, 420 Hindsdale street. This will be one of the many affairs run by this branch known as a Vesperlinka. A good program has been provided and the funds from this and other affairs will be applied to funds for building a new club-house.

13th—19th A. D.
Brooklyn members are requested to reserve Friday, Jan. 20, as this branch will tender a reception and dinner in honor of the 60th birthday of William Shapiro. Comrade Shapiro 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. The dinner will take place at the Philip Morris Restaurant, 227 Broadway. Reservations can be made through Chas. Dann, care of Caslo Press, 797 Broadway, Brooklyn, and at the City Office.

Upper West Side

This branch will meet Thursday evening, Jan. 19, in the office of Dr. Simon Berlin, 245 West 74th street. The last meeting was well attended. There has been an excellent response in payment of dues and the record for January was one of the best for several years. A discussion on Maurer and the Russian situation will be given by Anna Ingemann at the next meeting.

Harlem

A mass meeting will be held by Harlem

branches on Wednesday evening, Jan. 18, at the East Harlem Education Center, 52 East 106th street. The number of fire-traps in Harlem and their menace to the inhabitants will be discussed. The first last week on Madison avenue and the loss of life was one more chapter in the horrible history of dilapidated housing which Harlem is particularly infested. Important matters will come up. New Officers will be elected.

German Branch

The annual general meeting of the German-speaking Branch of New York County will be held Friday, Jan. 13, at 8 p. m., at Room 14 of the Labor Temple, 233 East 84th street. Bruno Wagner, organizer of the German-language Group, expects all members to be present. Important matters will come up. New Officers will be elected.

German Lecture

The German-speaking members and sympathizers in Bronx County will hold an open meeting and lecture on Tuesday, Jan. 24, at 1 p. m., at the Bronx Socialist Party headquarters, 1167 Boston road, between 167th and 168th streets. Bela Low and Bruno Wagner will make short addresses. Refreshments will be served. Admission free. All are invited.

On Sunday, Jan. 29, beginning at 3 p. m., all comrades and friends will meet at the annual concert and ball of the Bronx County Socialists at Hunts Point Palace, Southern boulevard and 163rd st.

BRONX

Membership Meeting
A general party membership meeting of the Bronx County Socialists will be held Monday evening, Jan. 16. The principal business will be final preparations for the huge affair on Jan. 29, at Hunts Point Palace. This is the annual concert and ball. Another important item is the report of the organization committee and welcoming two new branches in the 7th and 8th A. D. Every Bronx Socialist should be present. Tickets, 1167 Boston road, at 8:30 p. m.

Central Branch

The branch will meet Tuesday, Jan. 17, at the clubrooms, 1167 Boston road. There will be a short business meeting and at about 8:15, Ethel Browne, one of our ablest propagandists, will speak on the subject: "Capital Punishment in the Light of Recent Executions." All members are urged to bring a friend or two. An interesting evening is promised.

Branch Seven East

Another Sunday morning lecture was held Jan. 8 at 11 a. m., with August Classens as speaker. Ordinarily, there would be no reason to complain for this new-born branch of the 7th A. D., but the talk by the speaker was so informative and of such pressing interest, that it is regretted that more people were not present. This branch meets every second and fourth Sunday, at 10 a. m., at its headquarters, 2095 41st avenue near 180th street. At 11 a. m., our forum starts. No admission charge and no collections. All comrades and friends are invited.

5th A. D.

Another organization meeting was held in the territory of the 5th A. D. last Friday evening, at the Freeman Mansion. Comrade Classens spoke on the Socialist Movement. About 25 persons were present and 10 more applications for membership were accepted. There are now 15 applications on hand and the City Executive Committee will issue a charter at its next meeting. Another meeting is called for Friday evening, Jan. 19, at the Freeman Mansion, 1245 Southern boulevard, where the branch will be installed and officers elected. As soon as enrollment lists are printed a mass meeting will be held in an effort to obtain still more members.

BROOKLYN

1st—3rd A. D.
A branch meeting will be held Wednesday evening, Feb. 15, at 8:30 p. m., at 122 Pierpont st. It's been some time since this branch had a well-attended meeting. The members are requested to invite their friends as August Classens will speak on the "Socialist Party and the Coming Presidential Campaign."

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Boro Park

An entertainment and social gathering was held under the joint auspices of the Boro Park branches last Saturday evening. Plans were made for a forum commencing every other Friday evening during the next three months. On Friday, Jan. 13, at 9 p. m., James Oneal will lecture on the "Development of the Labor Movement in the United States." Admission is 15 cents. Tickets for the entire series of eight lectures is 75 cents. Lectures will be given at the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 14th avenue and 42nd street.

16th A. D.

The new forum held its first session last Sunday afternoon. The room was fairly well filled and much interest was shown in this new venture in the Bensonhurst district. These lectures will continue every Sunday afternoon at 4 p. m. sharp. Next Sunday, Jan. 15, August Classens will speak on "The Distribution of Wealth—Can Equity Be Achieved?" Admission is free. Socialists and sympathizers in Bensonhurst are invited to spend their Sunday afternoon at this forum.

18th A. D.

200 Members by May Day
At the meeting of Branch 1, 18th A. D., at 1465 St. Marks avenue, on Friday evening last, one member modestly suggested that the slogan for this "infant terrible" be "100 members by May Day!" In a corner of the room sat Frank Brodsky, and he gave the modest comrade a withering look. "Why 100 members?" inquired Comrade Frank. "With an enrollment of 937 and a vote of 3,500, are you satisfied with 100 members?" There was a graveyard stillness as the voice of Frank bounced across the crowded room. Comrade Chairman, I move to amend the slogan to read "200 members by May 1st," and to get this proposition started right, here are 10 new applications, all properly signed and initiation fees paid. There being no objections, the slogan stands as amended—200 MEMBERS BY MAY FIRST.

An interesting lecture and discussion was held by J. N. Cohen spoke on "Democracy—Failure or Success?" and a general discussion following was a revelation. If the present membership is any criterion, the 18th A. D. will soon furnish a good part of the intellectual leadership of the Brooklyn Socialist movement.

At the next meeting, Jan. 13, the Agenda for the forthcoming National Convention will be discussed. Everybody is welcome.

East New York

Branches Nos. 2 and 3, 22nd A. D. (East New York) are showing excellent progress. The meetings of both branches are held jointly and are well attended. As soon as enrollment lists are obtained a serious attempt will be made to canvass Socialist enrolled voters in an effort to double the membership within the next few months. On Saturday evening, February 25, a reunion and dance will be held at the W. C. Center, 218 Van Sledken avenue. Admission 50 cents. The YIPSEL League, subject: "Capital Punishment in the Light of Recent Executions." 1167 Boston Road (near 167th St.), Auspices, Socialist Party, Central Branch.

Friday, Jan. 19, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser. Subject: "Evolution of Society and Government." 4215 Third Avenue, Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum.

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Yipseldom

A Debate
Members and their friends are invited to attend the debate in the Debs Auditorium of the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Sunday, Jan. 15, at 2:30 p. m. Julius Umanasky will uphold the affirmative side of the subject, "Should Youth Affiliates With a Political Party?" Ellis Chadbourne of the World Youth Alliance will take the negative side. Both debaters have had considerable experience in youth organization and are interesting speakers. There will be no admission charge.

Help the Miners

Here's an opportunity for every Yipsel to contribute valuable service to the cause of the striking miners. Comrades are

For Sale

TEN ADJOINING LOTS RESTRICTED—LAKEWOOD, N. J. Inquire A. B. The New Leader.

For Sale

TWO LOTS RESTRICTED—WATCHUNG ESTATE—BOROUGH MIDDLESEX, N. J. Inquire A. B. The New Leader.

UNIONS BY THE GRACE OF THE COURTS

By Louis Stanley

ALL the judges smash the unions? That is the question that concerns labor movement today. It is a matter of life and death. The Inter-union case in New York City was to determine the right of the trade unions to carry on organization work despite "yellow dog" contract and a company on. The Bedford Out Stone Company decision by the United States Supreme Court last year compels unions to use non-union material that is imported from one state to another. Numerous decisions in Federal courts, shading the highest in the land, have many localities practically suspended a striking activities of the United Mine workers of America, the largest organization in the American Federation of Labor, on the ground that interstate commerce has been restrained. Also we must overlook the brutal injunction granted by a county judge, J. N. Langham, against the Rosstet, Pa., local of the miners in which he forbids the dispensing of relief money to the starving striking and their families and prohibits their presence at church for fear that nearness may be touched by the hymns.

The present judicial offensive is the culmination of many years of skirmishing. Let us not forget that justice in any meaningful sense means the recognized adjustment of conflicting economic interests. Manifestly there can be no inherent justice as between capital and labor; there can only be a balance of power.

The Unions Persist

At the start unions were not given any legal recognition whatsoever. Their existence was forbidden. Unions, however, persisted in being born and insisted upon living. The courts took official cognizance of them but only to manacle them with emasculating regulations. Picketing was legal if it failed to be picketing, boycotting was legitimate until the general public joined, and organizing was unobjectionable unless the employer objected. Injunctions, imprisonment, fines and damage suits played havoc with the most legal of unions.

Workers demanded legislative protection. In England the various Trade Disputes acts were passed and the unions to a considerable extent received legal standing. In the United States the legislatures have been reluctant to interfere and it has remained for the courts to modify their own previous positions without the prodding of law-makers. In those few instances where laws have been enacted the judges have declared them unconstitutional or made them ineffectual through interpretation. Thus, the various federal and state statutes aimed at the "yellow dog" contract have been invalidated, while the Clayton Act which was supposed to exempt the trade unions from the operation of the Federal anti-trust legislation has proved to be a dead letter.

Justice Follows Power

It is deducible from this that the legislators and the judges—no omit the executives in this discussion—have snapped their fingers at the trade unions. The courts have measured the power of labor and meted out the justice accordingly. In order to do this they had to work within the existing

A Program to Break the Shackles of the Judiciary

- 1—A Powerful Union Movement;
- 2—An Independent Labor Party as its Political Expression; and
- 3—A Program of Socialization to Engender a Favorable Atmosphere.

legal frame-work. They had had to resort to certain legal doctrines. These they have employed as instruments of warfare, fashioning them upon the anvil of working class resistance in the white heat of their prejudice with the blows of their logic.

Taking for granted the right of private property, we find that these fighting machines of fundamental legal concepts are four in number:

- 1) The doctrine of criminal conspiracy;
- 2) The doctrine of restraint of trade;
- 3) The doctrine of the right of contract; and
- 4) The doctrine of good will.

Every system of law has its ridiculous propensities but the English common law probably surpasses in the degree of absurdity it can create. Having come down from ancient times and developed through the middle ages, the common law is often hopelessly antiquated. Then, being unwritten, it was frequently the subject of judicial speculation. The United States retained the common law of the mother-country in spite of the Declaration of Independence. The quartet of doctrines enumerated above is a part of our legacy from England.

The doctrine of criminal conspiracy has been the most dangerous to organized labor. It makes the trade unions conspiracies and as such to be suppressed

for the sake of public welfare. Moreover, the punishment for conspiracy, unless the legislature has interceded, has been more severe than for the carrying out of a criminal aim or the utilization of criminal means by a union, admitting that the object or the method has been criminal. Worse than that even is the breadth of the doctrine. It goes further than criminality. It speaks of unlawfulness, and therefore, leaves room for condemnation on the wider basis of morals and convention. Finally, once the court decides with all due solemnity that the purpose of a union or strike is unlawful, then no lawful means may be employed. Thus, freedom of speech and going to church may become illegal.

Therefore, what the doctrine of criminal conspiracy amounts to is this:

A criminal conspiracy exists when two or more persons combine to carry out an unlawful object or a lawful act by unlawful means.

Judges Are the Law

What a leeway for judges! If they miss on one count, they try another. The interpretation of "unlawfulness" is their own sweet prerogative. Is it any wonder that injunctions and indictments against trade unions are full of expressions like "conspire," "combine," "willful" and "malicious." And the irony of the whole is that the best of research seems to establish the fact that the doctrine of

criminal conspiracy was not common law at all but was mistakenly incorporated in it at a later date.

In order to prove the unlawfulness of object or means, lawyers for employers have seldom had to turn to violations of specific statutes. The three other specified doctrines of the common law have been generous enough to serve the purpose. If you, as an employer, can prove that the aim or the measures employed restrain trade, injure good will or violate the right of contract, then the judge does not have to be too sympathetic with you in order to be horrified by the flagrant conspiracy of the union and grant you an injunction.

Now, these concepts are broad enough

to meet the needs of any employer and any judge. Restraint of trade is not limited merely to commercial transactions. It also refers to the unrestricted pursuit of one's calling—impartially, either of employer or employee. If the "boss" cannot carry on his occupation or a "scab" encounters inconvenience in getting to work because of the "malicious" or "willful" acts of a "conspiring" union this is restraint of trade and judicial relief is in order.

Labor Gets Its Due

Similarly in the case of the other doctrines. An employer is said to be entitled to the good will of his business. By good will is meant the expectations. He looks forward to the arrival of customers and orders, to profits and to the loyalty of his workers. If a union conspires to hamper these expectations, it is unlawful and must take the punishment.

Then, too, the right of contract is inviolate. It is fundamental to our system of private property. An employer and employee who agree to certain terms of employment have the equal privilege of appealing to the courts for the maintenance of the contract. It is nothing that the agreement keeps one party in virtual bondage. If the worker is forced by economic necessity to acquiesce in an arrangement whereby he pledges himself to obtain from union participation, a legal bond exists nevertheless. Therefore, a union conspiracy to disregard the existence of a "yellow dog" contract will invite the penalty of the law.

It is obviously from this discussion that the scope of the doctrines of criminal conspiracy, restraint of trade, good will and contract is determined by the individual judges on the bench. There may be liberals like Justices Holmes and Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court or Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals who acknowledge the necessary function of trade unionism in modern industrial society and clip capitalistic rights, if ever so little, in order that organized labor may have strength enough to live. But isolated judges like these are in the vanguard. In the main the courts sense the power or feebleness of the workers and give them their just due.

The conclusion is plain. Trade unions must battle their way through judicial barriers. Whining will accomplish nothing. Three things are imperative for a victorious struggle:

- (1) A powerful trade union movement;
- (2) An independent labor party as its political expression; and
- (3) A program of socialization, —if for no other reason than to engender a favorable philosophical atmosphere.

Each of these items deserves more elaborate treatment than the space here affords but a few observations are compelling. It may well be that the American Federation of Labor can no longer lumber up to make the fight. It adheres, if anything, more than ever to craft jurisdictions and craft autonomy. It still largely neglects the unskilled worker. Its non-partisan political policy was built in part upon an enmity of the radicals of old and is maintained by the vested interests of trade union officers in the political machines of their localities. Its belief in "pure and simple trade unionism" is firmly entrenched and precludes a wider approach towards social problems. Lastly, the A. F. of L. is entrusted with officials who believe they have everything to lose and nothing to gain by change. Can the American Federation of Labor undertake a revolution within itself or must it be replaced like the Knights of Labor before? What ever the answer to that question is we must remember that upon the power of organized labor depends the change of slogan from "unions by the grace of the courts" to "courts by the grace of unions."

Prospects For Social Legislation in 1928

Southern States Lag in Protection of Workers, While Others Are Not Far Ahead of Them

By John B. Andrews

Secretary, American Association for Labor Legislation

A NEW Congress has assembled. Nine state legislatures are in regular session. What are the outstanding measures for the protection of labor that call for action by these law-making bodies?

In the field of social insurance adoption of several well considered proposals is urgently needed. These include the extension of workmen's compensation to workers still without this modern protection; the inclusion of all occupational diseases in accident compensation laws, and the creation of exclusive state funds for compensation insurance.

Once more it is squarely up to Congress to end its shameful neglect of years, and provide accident compensation for wage-earners in private employments in the District of Columbia. The District and the five Southern states of Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina are the six black spots still remaining on the workmen's compensation map. Congress is responsible for the conditions in the District. Its failure to provide compensation protection for the large and growing body of workers engaged in hazardous occupations in the District has justly been called a "national disgrace."

Recent investigations in the District have shown that of over one hundred accident cases, not one worker who was seriously injured received

adequate recompense. Insurance adjusters offered them \$25 for a broken leg or \$50 for a life; more often nothing at all. The District of Columbia is the most benighted spot in the United States in the treatment afforded to the victims of industrial accidents. Congress has never given them even an employers' liability law; not even so little as an accident reversioning law. It has left them without any legal recourse except a lawsuit subject to those relics of the dark age of industry—the common law defenses of assumption of risk, contributory negligence, and fellow servant's fault.

For the past six years a well-considered compensation bill for the District has been before Congress. This bill provides the required insurance through a publicly managed fund, embodying the principle of the exclusive state fund that has rendered such conspicuously successful service to the workers, to industry and to the whole community in Ohio and other states. Congressional committees in three favorable reports, following extended hearings, have declared this to be "a just and adequate and reasonable compensation provision especially well adapted to meet the unique conditions existing in the District of Columbia."

Bill In Six Years

Opposition to the bill is inspired by self-serving commercial casualty insurance companies and agents who have enlisted the aid of national and local chambers of commerce. They will continue to bring pressure to bear upon members of Congress.

pressure that has in the past proved stiff enough to prevent a favorable vote. This bill, with its state-fund plan of insurance, has the approval of the American Federation of Labor which voted at its Los Angeles convention in October to continue the legislative campaign for its adoption.

The issue here sharply presented to Congress is this: Is workmen's compensation legislation to be regarded primarily as protection for injured workers and their families or as a publicly created source of private profit for commercial insurance interests?

Congress is also called upon to provide adequate appropriations for administering the new federal longshoremen's compensation act. The United States Employees Compensation has been doing the best it can in administering the law since it became effective on July 1 with the aid of inadequate emergency funds. The appropriation should be adequate to provide, among other things, accident prevention, studies, proper medical supervision and a hearing in every case where experience indicates that it is needed.

Another immediate duty of Congress is the enactment of legislation to provide vocational rehabilitation for industrial cripples in the District of Columbia.

Some State Needs

An outstanding need among the states that hold legislative sessions this year is the adoption of compensation for all occupational diseases. Recent developments in New York and New Jersey, particularly, have emphasized anew the unfairness and futility of attempting to meet this problem by compensating only a limited list of diseases—the "specific schedule" plan—rather than equality of treatment by covering all occupational diseases.

In New York the state has made a study of chronic benzol poisoning among women. This study makes the shocking revelation that "benzol as used in the industries investigated produced chronic poisoning in virtually one out of every three women." Benzol fumes poison not only the worker who is directly using this substance but also the person who is working nearby. Yet under New York's subterfuge "limited list" plan of occupational disease compensation only the workers affected by direct use of the poison have received compensation. The others similarly—and just as seriously—affected remain unprotected.

In New Jersey those unfortunate women workers who fell victims to aflatoxin poisoning as a result of using radium in painting the hands of watches a few years ago were not included in the "limited list" of occupational diseases covered by the compensation law.

It is a denial of justice to compensate a worker who is disabled by losing an arm as a result of his employment and to refuse to compensate a worker who is disabled by disease contracted as a result of his employment. It is no less a denial of justice to compensate a worker who happens to be disabled by industrial lead poisoning, for instance, and to deny compensation to a worker who is disabled by industrial benzol poisoning.

The legislatures of New York and New Jersey should be impressed with the need of adopting the all-inclusive occupational disease compensation which insures equal treatment. Until all compensation laws protect all victims of occupational disease, a fundamental purpose of workmen's compensation will remain unfulfilled.

The South Still Lags

Two of the five Southern states that have not yet adopted workmen's compensation—South Carolina and Mississippi—will have an opportunity this year to remove the stigma of their unenlightened treatment of injured workers. There are indications that interest is being aroused in these states. The rapidly increasing industrial development of the South is focusing attention upon her backwardness in social legislation. The present need is to stir these states to a realization that ever increasing occupational hazards increase the public responsibility for adequate protections of safety and health.

Failure of the Manufacturers' Liability Company of New Jersey in

1927 comes as a pointed reminder to 1928 legislatures that the state fund, as in Ohio, is the most secure and economical for the employer; makes possible liberal benefits to employees, and is most advantageous to the whole community. In New York the state Federation of Labor is strongly in favor of the exclusive state fund plan. Dr. James A. Hamilton, the New York state commissioner of labor out of his practical experience as an administrator in one of the greatest industrial states, is unreservedly in favor of making the state fund exclusive. Here again it is necessary to combat the misleading propaganda and self-serving tactics of powerfully entrenched and heavily financed commercial insurance lobbies.

Old age pensions are an important feature of the legislative program for 1928. Five years ago in 1922 the American Association for Labor Legislation, with a view to securing improved draftsmanship and more uniform legislation, proposed a representative conference from which emerged what is known as the "standard bill" for statewide old age pensions. This bill has been ably supported by many social service organizations, church bodies, fraternal societies and labor unions, notably the Fraternal Order of Eagles and the United Mine Workers.

For Safety in Mines

With the adoption of old age pension laws in 1927 in Maryland and Colorado, this legislation is already in effect in six states. The Association for Labor Legislation continues to urge adoption of statewide pensions rather than the county-option plan found in several pioneering laws. The standard bill for old age pensions embodies the same principle as that underlying mothers' pension laws



Deathless Death, Warless War

Unique warless war in Nicaragua raging around "fundamental obligations" which our Lord Calvin fearlessly fulfills with deathless devotion. Broadcasted by the mighty editor of the New York Herald Tribune to loyal subjects on January 7:

"The United States is not making war on Nicaragua or in Nicaragua. . . . The Coolidge Administration . . . could not do less without running away from historic American policy and the most fundamental obligations of a sovereign nation."

Erudite Editor Approves Kellogg With Frank Kellogg, lame duck Secretary of State, explaining the war against Nicaragua first as a "neutral" move between two factions, then to protect a prospective canal, then to protect American life and property and now more troops on the way, the venerable Frederick Boyd Stevenson rises to remark in the Brooklyn Eagle:

"Kellogg was put on the job here to please and serve the United States. And, up to date, he has done so pretty well."

Back Numbers Wanted

READERS of The New Leader who May have any or all of the following back numbers will confer a great favor on The New Leader if they will forward them to the office:

April 23, 1927 Sept. 1, 1927
July 2, 1927 Sept. 17, 1927
Aug. 13, 1927 Sept. 24, 1927

These issues are needed to complete the files of a large library where they will be preserved for future reference.

THE NEW LEADER

7 East 15th Street, N.Y.C.

The Working Farmers Organizations New Spirit of Class Solidarity Growing

By Murray E. King

THE widespread notion that the progressive and radical farmer and farmer-labor organizations "have shot their bolt" and are through is refuted by information that has been given to the representative of the New Leader and American Appeal by leaders and officials of these organizations all over the southwest and middle west. I have communicated with most of these leaders and the information I have received contains the important and encouraging facts connected with present developments. I try to give some of these facts in this article.

The organizations from which I have gathered data have these common characteristics. They represent efforts of the farmers and allied wage workers to form movements of their own—movements offered and controlled by themselves and devoted exclusively to the interests of these two producing groups. Their movements stand out in striking contrast to the so-called "farmer" organizations fostered by the old party politicians and big business interests—organizations that are universally praised by the organs of capitalism, and that meet periodically with bankers and big business men to discuss mutual plans "to save agriculture."

The farmers and other workers in the independent organizations I am studying are men and women who are sufficiently disillusioned and informed to realize that they alone can save themselves, and that nothing of permanent value can come from cooperation with interests that are riding on their backs and fattening from wealth extorted from these farmers and wage workers. Their cooperatives are, without exception, cooperatives owned and operated by the actual producers in their own interests, and their political movements, whether of the "non-partisan" or partisan variety, are movements separated from the Republican and Democratic parties and are undoubtedly now moving toward some future great class political alignment in America.

The Farm Labor Party Among these organizations is the Farm Labor party, which has a strong grip in Texas, Oklahoma and Arkansas and radiates from these strongholds into more than half the states of the old South. It is the movement that was described by panic stricken capitalist papers a few years after the war as "a radical and dangerous uprising of farmers which should be put down." Its strength lies in the appalling state of farm tenancy in the South and Southwest combined with the wretched condition of farm workers. It is purely and simply a class

This is the fourth of a series Mr. King is writing for the New Leader and American Appeal on progressive and radical tendencies among the farmers. The next article will deal with the Farmers Union.

olently wrecked and snuffed out. It was at one time practically driven underground, but is now back at its old stand doing business in the old way—and growing. If it succeeds in uniting only the revolt of political character. It arose rapidly to the control of whole blocks of counties and was then subjected to a murderous attack during which many of its cooperative enterprises were vi-farm tenants and farm laborers of the South, to say nothing of the small farm owners who are joining, it will upset the South.

The Farmers' Union

There is the Farmers' Union pretty thoroughly covering Kansas and all the states that touch Kansas and extending into other states. It is basically a cooperative movement that is being forced more and more every year toward political action as a matter of sheer self-defense. It has reached the lobbyist stage and is plunged deeply in efforts to obtain constructive laws that will enable cooperatives to function under capitalism and to clear unjust and obstructive laws from the statute books. It is giving rise right in its own territory and among its own members to political movements that have reached the nonpartisan stage and that see beyond this to the next stage of independent political action. Any one who thinks the Farmers Union is dead, dying or inactive, has a distinct shock coming to him in the near future.

"The Progressive Farmers"

There are the Progressive Farmers centering in Colorado with their bright, idealistic and distinctly socialistic organ—Humanity. The Progressive Farmers are working in close cooperation with the Farm Labor party. They are probably as radical in every way. They are a cementing element in the farmer and farmer-labor movements of the United States. They are directing their efforts strongly at present toward unity of all the farmer, farmer-labor, Socialist, progressive labor and liberal forces in the nation for the 1928 campaign. And they are not dying or lapsing into inactivity just now, as their enemies would have us believe.

The Minnesota Party

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the one distinct state-wide party

of farmers and industrial workers in the United States, proved in the election in that state in 1926 that "reports of its death were premature," by casting a quarter of a million votes for its ticket. Coolidge prosperity, Republican and Democratic trickery, the half-baked slipshod methods of some of its opportunistic elements; internal treachery and treacherous action by reactionary leaders of organized labor have done their utmost, but the movement still stands and is planning for the capture of the state in 1928.

The Non-Partisan League

The Non-Partisan League of North Dakota has passed through some of the hottest battles and strangest vicissitudes of any class or semi-class organization in recent years. As far as actual organization of dues-paying members goes, it passed out of existence several years ago. But the battle still goes on and is now centered around the control of the so-called Republican Party of North Dakota.

In 1926 the farmer and labor element, or former Non-Partisan League element, controlled this party, and the election was fought to a finish around the issue of whether or not the state-owned industries established by the Non-Partisan League should be retained. The reactionary old party elements were all together in the Independent Voters Association and fully believed their promise to smash public ownership in North Dakota would win to their standard the majority of voters. Instead, it caused the greatest rallying of farmers and wage workers since the days when the Non-Partisan League was at its height and resulted in a great victory of these elements and the retention of all the state-owned industries. This election showed that the substance of the old Non-Partisan League movement of North Dakota was still there, although the form was gone. The people were as radical and socialistic as ever. Only the leaders had become to an extent politicians and had remained in the shell of a corrupt capitalist party.

What will be the outcome of all these more or less class and independent producers' movements? Are they converging toward a real political party of the workers in America? Can they attain any sort of working unity for the 1928 campaign? These questions are agitating thousands who never thought of them before. They can be answered best when some of the facts about these movements and other similar movements are known. The next article will be about the Farmers' Union.

Boulder Dam—What Is It?

Support of Project Is Divided

By Chester Wright

THE proponents of the Boulder Canyon Dam project set down this proposition to govern their conduct in the present Congress: Nobody is for the project unless he is for all of it.

Various interests and groups are for parts of the proposed development.

For example, Speaker Longworth, of the House, was quoted not long ago as being in favor of Boulder Canyon Dam. One headline read "Boulder Dam Project Receives Support of Speaker of House."

But there was in Mr. Longworth's interview this sentence: "I am in favor of the Boulder Dam project, if it does not involve the question of the Government going into the power business."

Supporters of the Swing-Johnson bill rule that the Speaker is not in favor of the project, because he is not in favor of the power development, which they regard as an essential part of the project.

Similarly, they hold that Harry Chandler, owner of the Los Angeles Times, is an opponent of the project because he is willing to see the dam built, but he is opposed to the All American Canal.

Likewise they hold the power interests opposed to the project because they take the position of Speaker Longworth, opposing the hydro electric power plant, but making no objection to the dam as a flood control and irrigation project.

Opponents of the power feature advocate what is called a low dam—a dam high enough for flood control, but not high enough for power generation. But at this point friends of the project point out that the high dam is needed in any event, because it is necessary to store all possible waters as a safeguard against vagaries of the Colorado River in dry years. The proposed dam would

fill a reservoir solding a supply sufficient to cover a year and a half—absolute insurance against water failure for the immense territory, including country and cities, that would depend upon its infallibility.

A feature little mentioned is that the high dam will create a reservoir 100 miles long, with deep water on which commercial navigation will be an important possibility.

Several other sites for a flood control dam, and even for a power dam, have been suggested at various times. Most of these have been suggested by groups or interests opposed to one or another feature of the project as it stands.

One proposal is for a dam near Needles, Cal. It is pointed out that a dam at this point would mean, for one thing, a shallow reservoir, from which much water would evaporate under the torrid sun; and for another thing that it would mean moving the town of Needles, with its homes, its railroad shops and its railroad icing plant—a costly business.

To all opponents the Boulder Dam proponents point to one fact that seems important. It is that Boulder Canyon is an ideal site from an engineering point of view, from a water conservation point of view and from a power distributing point of view. They declare that no other site combines all advantages. The Boulder Canyon site—which is to say, Black Canyon, at the lower end of Boulder Canyon—has been thoroughly diamond drilled, and this is not true of any other site. This means that the engineers know all about the rock formation and what can be done with it and upon it. They have sent their inquisitive and discovering diamond drills into every part of that huge black split in a mountain of volcanic rock and they know all of its secrets.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

FOR THE EMPIRE'S GLORY

Dear Comrade Coleman:

Now that you have been inspired to give the readers of *The Leader* the best in Continental literature, you may also decide to enlarge your territory and give us a masterpiece from the "mother country", something along the line of the enclosed.

To date I haven't read any of the Spring book blurbs, but I will say that if "The Tragedy of Ulf" is not the best novel of all time, it is easily the best of our generation. It marks an epoch in literature and will revolutionize the form of the novel. It is a moving piece of work, sown with symbolism and searing psychological analysis. Its humor and wit is truly cerebral. Those who keep abreast of the times, those who are keen to sense the best in modern literature—the readers of Harold Bell Wright and Spengler, to say nothing of those who write the advertising copy for the book clubs, are already acclaiming you—"Master".

One phase of the story is not clear to me. You write of symbols going over the head of Harry Hansen but that Ernest Boyd will discover them. How do you get a character by the name of Boyd in a Scandinavian novel? Now as to the refusal of Ulf to accept the novel unless the child is brought to fully licensed parents, why not give it the benefit of clergy, (the child of Ulf), and have it taken over, (the book), by Harpers? Or why not call the book "The President's Grandchild"? You should worry about the names the publishers would call one another if you followed this suggestion. At any rate, I hope that your royalties will provide Isabel and her families with champagne and good living during their individual and collective lives.

—BEN BLUMENBERG.

For the Empire's Glory, Or Georgiana Goes Post-War

By Ben Blumenberg

GEORGIANA-SNOGGLES took no care to disguise the fact that she was post-war. In her rough tweeds, bowler headgear, plaid waistcoat, knitted cravat and stout boots, she looked the part. And yet at times, there seemed to be a suggestion of the feminine about her—the occasional failure to inhale a puff from her cigarette, the suggestion of a wry face as she sipped her whiskey and soda, the lack at times of fluency in her profanity—yes, an indefinable suggestion of femininity clung to her still. Always a sports-woman or rather sportsperson, Georgiana had cycled from London to ride to hounds with the Wickwickshire, Hants, Lower Tooting Hunt.

The hounds were soon in full cry and within two hours had brought a field mouse to bay at the wicket of the Chelmsford, Crabtree, Lane, Twickenham Cricket Club. The fifty baggies had little difficulty in tearing the field mouse to pieces and the interrupted cricket game was finished in a fortnight. An untoward incident of the game was the remark of one of the spectators, "Hey, pipe the whiskers on the bozo swinging the willow." He, the spectator, who was said to be an American, was requested to leave the grounds. The gravity of the case was indicated by the fact that Scotland Yard promised to look into the affair after Candlemas. Had it not been for the fact that the offense was committed a day previous to Frank Holiday, the accused would have been compelled to appear before the assizes before Whitsun—Sunday. Following the cricket match came a frightfully exciting game of croquet which was brought to a close after only five hours of play.

Evening found our heroine, or shall we say the main character of the story, attending a dance of Chumley, Banbury, Gigglesford Dance and Squash Club. The latest jazz dance records from the states, which had been in possession of the club for several generations, were played and the guests polkaed and schottisched until ten o'clock. It was a mad night of merriment.

Georgiana had booked passage on the underground and arrived in the city in the midst of merry-making such as had not been witnessed since Guy Fawkes Day. The heart of every true Londoner was gladdened by the green-gray fog, a veritable pea-souler, which mantled the city. A mist, then a steady rain accompanied by high winds, added to the glory of the evening. The last leaves of Autumn eerily gambled in an authorial manner down Cockpit Steps onto Birdcage Walk. Within the pubs, where many found port, emphasizing the schoolgirl complexion of the fair ones, moisture trickled down the walls. The fog penetrated everywhere and everything. Even the pettiwinkles, pickled eels, pork pies and crumpets looked more English than usual.

At this point we must digress long enough to tell an amusing incident. It is really funny. A visitor from Yankee land whom the weather evidently displeased, rushed into a draper's on Regent Street, no, it was on Oxford Street, near Regent Street or at any rate it was the first turning to the left after leaving Oxford Circus, W. C. 1. At any rate, he asked to be shown some sweaters and raincoats. After his request had been looked into by the enquiry office, it was found that he meant pullovers and mackintoshes. It was really good enough for Punch. Of course it is hardly necessary to point out, that the articles desired are not sold by a draper. This is a mistake so many visitors from the provinces and the states are guilty of.

Nature was indeed indulgent to London. The soggy darkness continued a fortnight but in the height of the festive season, Georgiana found herself in an awkward situation. Under her patronage, the Gorse Gatherers' Guild were to give a bazaar, the takings, if any, to be used for the purpose of purchasing spats for all English gardeners answering to the name of Giles. Not satisfied with this herculean undertaking, the energetic Georgiana proposed that every butler having the name of Hawkins, should be given burr-side clippers. Then the storm broke. The question was raised in Parliament. From the Conservative benches there rang out, "For I've a Jolly Good Fellow" (meaning of course, Hawkins), and "Britons Never Will Be Slaves". The speaker put his mace in his portmanteau and the House arose in time for a rubber or two of bridge before tea. The Times was flooded with communications upon the radical proposal.

The fog lifted. Grief-stricken and murmuring "Life is just like that", Georgiana in the best English tradition is now on her way to where there is work to be done for the glory of the Empire. She will never rest until her life's work of providing a gramophone for every canoe on the Zambesi, is as we used to say at dear old Eton, a fait accompli.

Comrade Blumenberg's exhilarating, epic comes during a week of strenuous activity. He has filled my column to overflowing. Our own proud offerings will have to wait until next week.

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

Rise of the New Capitalism

RECONSTRUCTION. In 1864 the election occurred with the Civil War in progress and the Slave States did not participate. The Republicans nominated Lincoln and the Democrats nominated George B. McClellan of New Jersey. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes and was elected. McClellan received 21. The popular vote, including the soldiers in the field, was Lincoln, 2,330,552; McClellan, 1,835,985.

In the same month that Lee surrendered Lincoln was killed by an assassin and Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, Vice-President, succeeded him as President. Johnson was a Union Democrat and aside from his opposition to secession he had few ideas in common with Republicans. Expediency had dictated his nomination and it proved to be a disaster like the Whig nomination of Tyler in 1840. Johnson on the whole endeavored to follow the moderate and humane policy of Lincoln in reconstructing and admitting the former Slave States to the Union, but a new school of capitalist politicians were in control of the Republican Party. They adopted a merciless military policy of dealing with the former Slave States, came into conflict with President Johnson, tried to impeach him but failed. Nevertheless, the new school was strong enough to enforce their policy of reconstruction through military rule and the use of the emancipated Negroes as voters to entrench capitalism in the rebel States. The white population retaliated, organized the Ku Klux Klan, terrorized and often murdered freed Negroes. Anarchy, poverty and desolation afflicted the stricken people of the South and the hates of this black period survived for twenty years. Important and dramatic as this period is in human and historical interest we cannot consider it further.

The Republicans nominated Ulysses S. Grant, the most conspicuous Union general in the Civil War, for President in 1868. The Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour of New York. All but three of the rebel States participated in the election. Grant received 214 electoral votes and was elected. Seymour received 80. The popular vote was Grant, 3,012,833; Seymour, 2,703,249. Grant was re-nominated in 1872. Horace Greeley, the famous editor of the New York Tribune, was nominated by the Democrats and a Liberal Republican group dissatisfied with the corrupt administration of Grant. Charles O'Connor of New York received the nomination of a faction of Democrats who would not support Greeley. The Prohibitionists appeared for the first time, nominating James Black of Pennsylvania. Grant received 272 electoral votes and was elected. Greeley died shortly after the election and the opposition electoral vote was distributed as follows: Thomas A. Hendricks, 42; B. Gratz Brown, 18; Charles J. Jenkins, 2; David Davis, 1. The popular vote was Grant, 3,597,132; Greeley, 2,834,125; O'Connor, 29,489; Black, 5,608.

THE NEW CAPITALISM. Even before Grant's first election the professional politicians of victorious capitalism had displaced the anti-slavery idealists of the pre-war era. The empire of territory for which blood had been spilled and billions spent to preserve from slavery, now became the booty of a mercenary host of gamblers, speculators, grafters and thieves. With their agents in Congress and even in the Cabinet, they inaugurated a regime which one historian has called "the nadir of national disgrace."

This rapid transformation of the Republican Party is one of the most remarkable in the history of the United States.

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Why growl about taxes? Why not do something about it? Investigate a little

If the tax money is well spent and there is no waste nor abuse of privilege, pay the taxes joyfully and be glad to live in such a well run country.

If there is wrong expenditure, correct it.

Read

"THE NEXT QUESTION"

by

EDITH HAMILTON MacFADDEN

Here is a policy innocent enough in Colonial Days but mischievous now, it needs attention from the taxpayers.

MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN REAL ESTATE, PRIVATELY OWNED, IS NOT PAYING ITS TAXES. THOSE TAXES MUST BE PAID BY THE STATE, THEREFORE THE PERSONS ALREADY PAYING THEIR OWN TAXES, ARE CHARGED, BESIDES, WITH THE AMOUNTS THAT ARE BEING EVADED. THIS NEEDS CORRECTION.

Tax exempt property is increasing in Massachusetts at the rate of \$60,000,000 a year. New York is four times worse. Every State has this problem.

"THE NEXT QUESTION"

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markable episodes in party history. Whiskey distillers defrauded the Government of millions in taxes with the connivance of revenue officials and some of the money went into the Republican campaign fund. The President's private secretary was on intimate terms with the thieves. Grant's Secretary of War was one of the Treasury Bristow displeased Grant by exposing the whiskey thieves and Bristow resigned. The Postal, Navy and Interior departments revealed extravagance, inefficiency, favoritism and disregard of law and a brother of Grant was involved. The amazing Credit Mobilier scandal tainted the Republican leader of the House, James G. Blaine, and many members of Congress. The President himself, writes one authority, "was accepting pecuniary assistance calculated to put him under obligations from which a president of the United States ought always to be entirely clear."

This was also the period of the looting of New York City of millions of dollars by the Tweed Ring. Congress voted enormous grants of land to railroad corporations, followed by "dummy" constructions companies, "watering" of stock, and a maze of financial wizardry characteristic of this freebooting period. All of American life was tainted with the low morality of the new ruling class. The methods by which wealth was obtained, "no matter how abominable, shocked nobody."

LAND COURTS AND JOURNALISM. Oberholzer, the latest authority on this period, writes that "law was prostituted and the judicial ermine was soiled to serve sordid ends." There came a "steady demoralization of the bar" and a "debasing of its tone" under the influence of money newspaper writers "with itching palms stood by like servants at a Saratoga hotel from which you were about to take your leave."

Just Cook, the banker, "carried speculative accounts for reporters and editors." The new rich included illiterate men conspicuous for their vulgarity and lavish expenditure. Some spawn of the new capitalism flaunted their diamonds and kept women with vulgar ostentation. "Votes had their prices as clearly as shares on the stock exchange." Business "was changed into gambling and gambling became a business." In fact, "the wild extravagance evidenced in the decorations of the apartments, in the luxurious viands spread upon tables, in the dress of the men and women who were present suggested national degeneracy." All this accompanied the rosy dawn of the new capitalism and their effect upon American character and American institutions survives to this day.

THE DISPUTED ELECTION. The Republicans nominated Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President in 1876. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York and the Greenback Party nominated Peter Cooper of New York. The latter was a paper money candidate. Hayes received 185 electoral votes and was elected. Tilden received 184. The popular vote was Hayes, 4,033,768; Tilden, 4,285,992; Cooper, 81,737.

The day following the popular election newspapers of both parties announced the election of Tilden. The latter was sure of 184 electoral votes upon the face of the returns and one more would elect. Arbitrary Republican military rule still survived in some former Slave States and returns of three of these States, South Carolina, Florida and Louisiana, were disputed. Fraud, corruption and force were the normal methods employed by Republicans to retain power in these States.

In South Carolina the returns gave the Republicans a safe majority but in Florida the Republicans claimed a majority of 45 for Hayes and the Democrats 113 for Tilden. The final canvassing board consisted of two Republicans and one Democrat and by a strict partisan vote the State's electoral vote was awarded to Hayes. In Louisiana, where a fair count appeared to clearly favor the Democrats, shameful manipulation of returns gave the electoral vote to Hayes. Conflicting returns of the electoral vote from three States were thus before Congress in December, 1876. If one of the disputed electoral votes were given to Tilden he

would be elected. Millions of people were excited. Threats were heard. Fears of civil war possessed many.

Oregon, a northern State, also became subject to dispute. One of the three Republican electors was found to be a postmaster and under the Constitution he was ineligible. The Democratic Governor certified the election of the Tilden elector who had received the highest vote. Oregon made the fourth State with two sets of electoral returns.

The outcome was the election of an electoral Commission consisting of five Senators, five Representatives, four Associate Justices of the Supreme Court and another Justice to be selected by these four. As finally constituted the Republicans had a majority of one in the commission and its members decided every important question by a strict party vote. Thus giving the election to Hayes by a majority of one. President Hayes withdrew troops from the southern States and Republican power immediately collapsed in that section and has never since been regained.

With the "stolen election" of 1876 the political revolution carried out by the Republicans was complete. By 1872 northern speculators had received from the Federal Government in the region over which the war had been fought 155,000,000 acres of land, an area estimated at "almost equal to the New England States, New York and Pennsylvania combined." One redeeming feature was the Homestead Act which enabled workers to obtain a few acres on easy terms. The Negroes were abandoned to the tender mercies of their former masters in the South and some Republican States in the North has even refused Negroes the suffrage. The new capitalist class began to contest with the old slave aristocracy for supremacy in the South. Many former planters turned to manufacturing, and a new union was formed between North and South, a cash nexus if invested capital being the tie.

MERCENARY POLITICS. The Republicans nominated James A. Garfield of Ohio for President in 1880. The Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock of Pennsylvania, the Greenback Party James B. Weaver of Iowa, and the Prohibitionists Neal Dow of Maine. Garfield received 214 electoral votes and was elected. Hancock received 155. The popular vote was Garfield, 4,454,416; Hancock, 4,444,952; Weaver, 308,578; Dow, 10,305.

The Greenback Party was mainly representative of farmers who opposed banking corporations, desired that all money should be issued by the Government, that the public domain should be held for settlers, and that Congress should

Bondsmen of Two Eras

In the days of slavery church bells in southern cities tolled each evening at 6 o'clock as a warning for all slaves to be indoors. In Charleston, S. C., after the warning of the bells, a band of Negro slaves in the military guard houses played the air of "Scots' wha hae wi' Wallace bled."

Unable to read, these Negroes knew nothing of the stirring lines of this air which continues:

"Who would be a traitor knave?
"Who would fill a coward's grave?
"Who so base as be a slave?"

Strange and startling drama, isn't it? But did you ever hear in this glorious land of injunctions, old thieves, stolen elections, Sacco-Vanzetti cases, freezing and starving miners, bankrupt farmers and rule of corporate capital the stirring lines of—

"My country 'tis of thee,
"Sweet land of liberty."

What is the difference between the bondman of the Old South without education and the workman throughout the republic with education? What's the answer?

Trusted Heaven

We hope that capitalism does not extend beyond the grave for in that case the golden streets will be trustified and harps will not be safe if Doheny, Fall and Burns happen to stroll around.

The Socialist Party may not be as good as it claims but it is certainly not as bad as its enemies assert. In that case its enemies would urge it to merge with the Republican or Democratic Party on the ground that Socialists would feel at home.

AMERICA ARRAIGNED!

Edited by **LUCIA TRENT and RALPH CHEYNE**
With an introduction by **JOHN HAYNES HOLMES**
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FREEMAN AND YELLOW DOG

WHAT'S a freeman?

Well, that's a hard question to answer but since you pepped it, I'd say: A freeman is one who is master of his own time and body.

The pioneer farmer who raised his own grub, made his own tools, built his own home and who with the assistance of his better half made his own clothes, came very near being a freeman. And so did the trapper or hunter, savage or near civilized.

But alas, we are living in a very complicated society where the existence of each is determined by many factors over which he has no control. So few of us, outside of the leisure class, are really free. However, there still remains the blessed freedom of contract under which a person may dispose of his own time and body under conditions freely agreed upon by the two parties occupying positions of equality.

All right, Tom Murphy, white, native born protestant, hundred per cent American with one adult wife and seven minor children is out of a job. Having been in that condition for some months, the Murphys are down on the heels and out of grub.

Scene shift please shift the scene. Thanks.

We have here now the New York Interborough Rapid Transit Corporation, an institution organized for the laudable purpose of pocketing the difference of what the patrons of the Interborough, etc., pay for the service and what it cost in dollars and cents to supply this service.

The stockholders of the Interborough, etc., don't know Tom Murphy any more than they know the New Yorkers who daily herd into the trains of the Interborough, etc. However, they hold the whip handle for their patrons must either work or starve.

So then, Tom Murphy enters the employment office of the Interborough, etc., and with the humility due every jobless American freeman, asks for a job.

"Welcome Mr. Murphy," says the hire and fire boss with the ingratiating smile of a laughing hyena, "you look middling husky and seem to possess the required intelligence to start and stop a subway or upway train. Here, sign this contract."

To tell the truth, Tom Murphy is not interested in contracts. What he wants is contacts with pork and beans and so he signs and what he signed is this:

"The Interborough, etc., party of the first part solemnly agrees to employ Tom Murphy, party of the second part for the period of two years more or less on the following terms and specifications:

"Tom Murphy must join the Brotherhood of Interborough Rapid Transit Company Employees, organized, officered, constituted, operated and manipulated, of and for the benefit of the stockholders of said company.

"Object of organization, dividends to absentee owners.

"Constitution of Brotherhood written and adopted by the legal staff of the Interborough, etc., Corporation constitutes contact between Brotherhood and each of its members and the Interborough, etc.

"Constitution of Brotherhood may be amended, amended or annulled only with the consent or by the order of the Legal Department of the Interborough, etc.

"Members of Brotherhood elect General Executive Board for term of two years unless previously bounced for the good and welfare of the Interborough, etc.

"The General Executive Board may also bounce members of the Executive Board and such members of the Brotherhood as the Executive Board thinks ought to be bounced. But the members of the Brotherhood cannot bounce Executive Board members. Appeals from the decision of the Executive Board may be referred to the naval forces of the U. S. A. (Tell it to the Marines).

Murphy, agreeable or otherwise, agrees not to join the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees or any other labor organization not recognized by the open shop committee of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

"In return, Murphy cannot be discharged for two years except by special order of the management of the Interborough, etc. And then only for reason satisfactory to said management.

"Among the constitutional reasons for discharge without notice are:

1. Inefficiency.
2. Carelessness first or second offense.
3. Getting drunk.
4. Drinking without getting drunk.
5. Dishonesty.
6. Disobeying orders.
7. Refusal to perform any duty assigned.
8. Physical inability.
9. To make room for new labor-saving devices or any efficiency and economic measure.
10. Slack times.

"Other causes for discharge not enumerated above may be constructed by combinations of words found in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary."

In defense of the sacred contract entered into by Interborough, etc. and starving Tom Murphy, the party of the first part is now asking for an injunction to prevent the American Federation of Labor and each of its affiliated members, from trying in any way to organize its employees on the ground that such attempt might induce breach of contract on part of Tom Murphy and associate "Interborough Brotherhooders."

Well, a contract is a contract and all contracts are sacred and it is the duty of the courts to see that they remain sacred. If, therefore, the courts should, as they well may, if judged from past experience, view the yellow dog contract of the Interborough in the light of holiness, then all an employer has to do to get rid of an obnoxious union is to yellow dog, organize his employees into a company union and then appeal to the police to protect his contract.

The formula for the re-inauguration of involuntary servitude in the land of the free and the home of the brave is laughably simple: Starve or work. Sign this contract or starve. Break it and to the house-gow you go.

Freedom of contract. Sacredness of contract. O. I. O. I. Sam Schwefelstecken wanders homeward in the wee small hours of the night. He is confronted by a burly hold-up man armed with lead pipe and pistol. Does burly hold-up man say gruffly "Your money or your life?" He does not. He presents contract to Schwefelstecken.

Schwefelstecken reads: In consideration of not having my block knocked off or my interior perforated or both and other valuable considerations, I, Sam Schwefelstecken, part of the first part, give, donate, bequeath and transfer to Mug Sluggo, party of the second part, my watch, chain, money and all other valuables and belongings contained in my clothes.

Thereupon Schwefelstecken, a free, independent American, quickly, quakingly and voluntarily signs on the dotted line and two weeks later when Mug Sluggo is honorably discharged because in looking up the authorities, his honor found that in the case of the Interborough versus Tom Murphy, the Supreme Court held that a contract is a contract and that's that.

Adam Coalidigger.



Amusements



The Week On Stage

"Babbitt Billions"

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE expense to which the Theatre Guild has gone in its present production of Eugene O'Neill's "Marco Millions," indicates that the organization has accumulated some of the coin once Marco sought. The settings and costumes, designed by Lee Simonson, are clear indication as to why Broadway producers turned from the drama. Unfortunately, there is further cause.

"Marco Millions," even in the reading, weakens its dramatic intensity by the ravelous method of the first act—which in the performance seems little more than scenery studded with "wise-cracks"—by the emphasis on philosophy instead of growth (contemplation instead of physical or mental stress), and by a tipping of the scales which the sly finger of the dramatist arranges.

As in "All God's Chillun Got Wings" O'Neill does not present a clear character problem, but gives each main character a different conflict; so in "Marco Millions" he does not honestly balance the Oriental with the Westerner, but pictures the Great Khan and his adviser as all that man should be, and the three Polos as all that man should rise from. It is difficult to believe that traders who could venture as far as Marco and his father and uncle can have been so devoid of it of poetry, at least of imagination; it is impossible to conceive of men so unable to recognize when they are the butts of a boon-fellow, as rising to any desert of financial success. The salesman is quick to see when he is being laughed at, and he knows that his dignity is essential to his sales. Finally, it is most unlikely that an author will make theatrically true the picture of an Oriental Princess falling to acquit a Westerner of her love.

All these objections rise more sharply in the presentation, for to balance them there is little save the philosophy of the Chinese, enunciated most effectively by Ballo Halloway, and especially by Dudley Digges, who raises his role of adviser to the Khan to pre-eminence. Alfred Lunt seems to feel the basic illogic of his role, for he infuses into his portrayal of Marco Polo a measure of imaginative swagger and of poetic hesitancy that rings true to the man as we conceive him, though counter to (and curiously jarring with) every word the author gives to him or about him.

The Prologue, it should be mentioned, is very well done, as indeed, from the point of view of picture and philosophy, is the entire play. But Eugene O'Neill, despite his desire to "do justice" to the Polo legend, is apparently too indignant at the commercial concerns of our day to be fair to "Marco Millions."

At the Cosmopolitan the current Reinhardt performances reveal the power of the director turned to work of more intimate scope and smaller canvas. "Periphere" displayed him as a master of the close and realistic, as well as the remote, the fantastic, the ideal. Also, it inaugurates a series that run rather to action than to wide display.

Langer's "Periphere" is a most interesting conception of a man who, having successfully avoided arrest for a murder he did not intend, becomes burdened with an overwhelming desire to talk, a need of confession. His comrades think first that he is joking, then that he is running humor into a bore; the police-sergeant reads him the record of the case to prove he is crazy; finally a lunatic, drunken "judge" hears the case, in a lonely slum-dwelling under a rumbling El, and sentences him to be true to the prostitute whom he had killed.

The final scene, changed to give America its happy ending, disturbs the balance of the story, but is more than justified by the superb work of Sokoloff, who reveals an ability to capture the essence of the part, and makes us feel that the

first part of the play should have been the story of the drunken old judge, explaining and rising to the climax of his fantastic trial-scene.

This week the drama and the (still masterly) settings and direction are subordinate, in Goldoni's "A Servant of Two Masters," to the acting. Hermann Thimig, the Jolly Friar of "Periphere," becomes the irrepressible servant in the complicated love comedy of Eighteenth Century Italy. The various intricacies of the old-style comedy of plot and subplot give him many opportunities, in which he reveals as pantomimist (with a glorious pudding scene) as dancer, acrobat, and general buffoon. Dagny Servaes, who gives a splendid performance in "Periphere," is here with equal grace, but less prominence than the merry maid Blanche Solovey. In Tolstol's "It Is to Blame for Everything," the somewhat neglected Moliere is given opportunity. The play sorts oddly with the main show of the bill, what with Tolstol's sense of the importance of morals; but Moliere as the tramp gives more power to the play than its author, with a sensitive and highly responsive performance.

THE WAR AGAIN

They are fighting the war over again at the Astor Theatre where the screen version of Channing Plack's play "The Enemy," is being run. "I'm sick of these war pictures," said one embryo Quin Martin as the theatre let out.

Perhaps—but the realistic presentation of the misery of civilians makes this picture worth seeing even if you have had your fill of war pictures. It shows realistically the misery suffered by those left behind in war time. With painful detail—all excellently directed—one is shown the ration line, a group of undernourished women all frantically fighting for one vacancy as washerwoman. One sees the faithful family servant of Professor Arndt and his daughter stirring a soup that looks like mud, saying "there's no strength in this soup." There's a sadistic thrill of joy when a parrot who has been shouting "Hurray for the glory of War" is seized by this mild servant in a fit of temper and put into the soup to make it strong. You know one couldn't help feeling it would be an excellent thing to do to some loud-mouthed stay-at-home patriots.

Profiteers, exemplified by the hero's father, come in for a caustic tongue-lashing.

There is a poignant moment when the hero, although bred in the Austrian military tradition, is in a blue funk at the thought of killing men he doesn't know. There is a humorous scene in the trenches between Austrian and Russian soldiers about ten feet away from each other in which the men, exchanging cigarettes for bully beef, realize they are fellow human beings despite the barrier of language. That feeling is something on which to build a hope of future peace.

Fritz Rideway, as Mitzel Wikelman, the wife left behind who was forced to go on the streets so that her child wouldn't starve, gave a realistic performance. Polly Moran as Baruska, the faithful servant, a good comedienne. Frank Currier, as Professor Arndt, stood in his classroom for talking of internationalism during the war, gives a typical absent-minded professor characterization. George Fawcett makes a crusty profiteer with sentimental moments.

Ralph Forbes, the hero, is wooden—as why are all American heroes? As for the Gish—if she ever gets another stirring moment in any photoplay she'll just chew her knuckle right off. So let us hope she maintains her customary calm that is, one suspects, the calm of Shakespeare's still lake that has nothing in it.

Decidedly a worth while moving picture.

—ANN ELIAS.

In Brief

The Civic Repertory Theatre has presented its first American play of the season, a first play by an unknown author, Walter Ferris, adapted it from a Saturday Evening Post story by Mary Heaton Vorse.

Eva Le Gallienne directed the play in which she also plays the leading part. Egon Brecher plays the role of her husband, while Josephine Hutchinson and Charles McCarthy are cast as her children. Donald Cameron is her lover. Alma Kruger and Harry Sothorn have minor roles. Sets are by Aline Bernstein.

"Excess Baggage," the backstage vaudeville show written by Jack McGowan, current at the Ritz, New York, has been bought by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, with Nick Schenck reported to have made the purchase personally.

The sale price is understood to have been \$40,000, with a contract clause waiving the necessity of any definite length of run.

Walter Hampden has decided to withdraw Henrik Ibsen's comedy "An Enemy of the People" from the stage of his theatre on Saturday night of next week at which time it will have been played by him and his company 120 performances—as Ibsen records in this city. Friday and Saturday nights and Saturday matinee of this week will be devoted to "Hamlet." The Shakespeare revival has attracted so much attention that Mr. Hampden will present it four times next week, beginning with the Wednesday matinee. The Ibsen play will be given next week on Monday, Tuesday and Saturday evenings and Saturday matinee.

Henry Baron will present John Galsworthy's play "The Silver Box" at the Morosco Theatre beginning Tuesday, Jan. 17, with a cast headed by James Dale, Isabel Elsb and Halliwell Hobbes.

Crystal Heme is to be featured in a play by Lawrence Langner called "These Modern Women," which goes into rehearsal this week. Mr. Mamoulian, who has staged "Porgy" and "Marco Millions" for the Theatre Guild, will direct the play. "These Modern Women" will bring together three men who have been extensively associated with the independent producing theatres of New York. Kenneth Mackowan, formerly Director of the Provincetown Playhouse, and the author of "The Sisters" and "Actors' Theatre" has joined with Robert Rockmore, who was associated with James Light and Cleo Throckmorton in the production of "The Sisters" and "Actors' Theatre" with the Provincetown Playhouse in the revival of "In Abraham's Bosom," in a theatrical partnership for the production of "These Modern Women" and other plays. The author of the play, Lawrence Langner, was one of the founders of the Washington Square Players and is now a member of the Board of Managers of the Theatre Guild. By a vote of the Guild, no play by any of the Board of Managers can be produced by that organization. "These Modern Women" will open in New York early in February.

So many admirers of Laurette Taylor will no doubt be surprised to learn that she has a daughter old enough to make her debut on the stage in a group-part. Her name is Marguerite and she is scheduled to make her Broadway debut during the week of January 23 when she will be seen in Robert Emmet Sherwood's new play "On Queen's Husband" which is now in rehearsal with Roland Young in the leading role.

Helene Thimig, who is generally ranked abroad as the leading actress of Europe, sailed today for New York on the Mauretania, to join the Reinhardt company. In the preliminary forecast of the Max Reinhardt New York Season she was among the stars announced, but she has been unavoidably detained in Berlin by the success of Gerhard Hauptmann's "Dorothea Anversiana" in which she portrays the leading role. Because of this delay in her arrival, the plays in the Reinhardt repertory in which she plays important roles have been reserved until the end of the season.

She will make her first New York appearance at the Cosmopolitan Theatre on Jan. 16 in Schiller's "Kabale Und Liebe" in one of the roles for which she is famous. On Jan. 23, she and Alexander Moissi will play in Tolstol's "Der Lebende Leichnam" (The Living Corpse), in which John Barrymore starred in an English version called "Redemption" in 1918.

MUSIC

Anna Robenne, the Russian dancer, assisted by Anatole Villzak of the Diaghilev Ballet and with Nicolas Kopelkine at the piano, will give a varied dance program at the 48th Street Theatre on Sunday evening, January 22. Her program will range from Liszt and Tchaikowsky to the Spanish dances of de Falla.

The Stringwood Ensemble at Town Hall on Jan. 24 will introduce a new version of Eugene Coopers Suite Op. 6. Although originally written for flute, violin and piano, it has been made available by the composer also for two violins and piano and this version will have its first performance by the Stringwoods.

Ernest Hutcheson will join Guy Maier and Lee Patison at their Carnegie Hall recital on Jan. 27 in a performance of the Bach triple concerto in D minor.

Stefan Sopkin, head of the violin department, will give a recital at the Carnegie Hall on Jan. 27 in a performance of the Bach triple concerto in D minor.

LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
Sunday, January 15th, 1928
8:00 p.m. Lecture
"Thais," by Anatole France"

7:15 p.m. American International Church
"The Limitations of Physical Science"
Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee
8:30 p.m. "Our Government"
Senator Burton K. Wheeler

LENIN MEMORIAL MEETING
Sunday Afternoon, Jan. 22nd, 2:30
IRVING PLAZA, 15th St. and IRVING PL.
Auspices PROLETARIAN PARTY
Speakers: CHARLES MCANAWA O'BRIEN
National Organizer Proletarian Party
and Others. ADMISSION 25c.
(Tickets on Sale at Bookshop,
127 University at Bookshop.)

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL
ANNUAL DINNER at Midway Club, Room 200 Fifth Ave.
Friday Evening, January 20, 1928
At 7:00 o'clock
SPEAKERS:—Hoywood Brown, G. P. Beck, John Cowper Powys, Edmund B. Chaffee,
John Haynes Holmes
SUBJECT:—"The Lecture and the Future of America." Tickets at \$2.50 per cover
may be obtained at the Labor Temple Office, 242 E. 14th St.

BROOKLYN LODGE—THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
Public Lecture—Sun., Jan. 15, 8:15 p.m.
MR. CLIFFORD W. CHEASLEY
Will lecture on
Numbers—Their Relation to Character and Experience
Do you know the hidden meaning of your name?
Do you realize how numbers affect your life?
General Discussion
Questions and Answers
ADMISSION FREE

United Lodge of Theosophists
No. 1 West 67th Street
Free Lecture Sunday, 8:15 P.M.
"Instinct—Intellect—Intuition"
Wednesday, 8:15-9:15—Devotional Meeting
OR INCANTATION
No charges or Collections.

partment of the Illinois Conservatory of Music, will introduce a new Sonata by Slavensky at his Town Hall recital on Saturday afternoon, January 28th. He will have the assistance of Emanuel Bay at the piano.

Alfred Blumen, the Viennese pianist, is no longer connected with the Bush Conservatory of Music of Chicago, having relinquished that post last Summer in order to give his entire time to concert work here and abroad. He will give his second piano recital at Town Hall on February 2d and will sail immediately thereafter for London, where he plays on February 17th.

Ossip Gabrilowitsch, second of the five guest conductors scheduled to direct the New York Symphony Orchestra this season, will make his two appearances this week. The first will be at Carnegie Hall Friday evening (January 20) and the second at Mecca Auditorium Sunday afternoon (January 22). This will be the first time Gabrilowitsch has conducted one of the regular New York orchestras.

Tomorrow (Sunday, Jan. 15) the concert in Mecca Auditorium will be directed by Rene Pollan, with Walter Gieseking as assisting artist. Gieseking will play Schumann's Concerto in A minor for piano with orchestra.

"Tristan und Isolde," its first performance this season, will open the twelfth week of the Metropolitan Opera season Monday night when General Manager Gatti-Casazza will present a new German Wagnerian soprano in the person of Mme. Gertrude Kappel from the Munich Opera and Vienna State Opera. With her will be Tristan will sing Mr. Laubenthal. Mme. Karin Branzell the Swedish contralto replaces the company in the role of Brangäne while Mr. Schorr will be the Kurnal and Mr. Bohnen the King Marke. Others in the cast will be Messrs. Meador, Bada, D'Angelo and Gabor. Mr. Bodansky will conduct.

Feodor Chaliapin will rejoin the Company at a special matinee of "Faust" on Friday with Messrs. Alda, Falco and Dalesky and Messrs. Martinielli, Basola and Wolfe. Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

In Movies

Additional interest will be given the musical program at the Ritz Theatre next week by the appearance of Fowler and Tamara, the international dance stars, who have just returned to this city after two years of exceptionally successful engagements in London, Paris and the Riviera. Roxq induced this dis-

tinguished team of dances to make their initial American appearance at his theatre, presenting the dances with which they captivated the audiences at the Kit Kat Club in London and the Folies Bergere, Paris. These dances will include their famous tango, and other original dance interpretations.

Anita Loos' famous story, "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes," with Ruth Taylor in the part of "Lorelei," will open at the Rivoli Theatre on Saturday, Jan. 14. For those who have read the book, we can say that the picture is equally funny, and for those who haven't, the story of the world's most famous gold-digger, who took men like Grant took Richmond, will prove most diverting. Others in the cast include Alice White as "Dorothy," Ford Sterling as "Mr. Eisman," Mack Swain, Emily Fitzroy, Chester Conklin and Trixie Friganza. Malcolm St. Clair directed, and Anita Loos and John Emerson scenarized the story.

"Favorites from Martha" will be the contribution by the Rivoli Orchestra.

"The Dove," with Norma Talmadge and Noah Beery, will continue next week at the Bialto, where it will be succeeded by Emil Jennings in "The Last Command."

Wallace Beery and Raymond Hatton in "Wife Savers," will be the screen attraction at the Paramount next week. The story is based on Florenz Ziegfeld's "Louie XIV," by Arthur Wimperis, and was scenarized by Tom J. Geraghty and Grover Jones. The action all takes place in a small village on the Franco-Swiss border. Beery is the bachelorette maker for that section of the American Army stationed in the village, and Hatton is a second lieutenant in his outfit. They do everything from breaking the hearts of the village maidens to fighting a duel. On the stage will be Jack Partington's production, "Havana," with Lou Kosloff and the Paramount Stage Band; and the usual Jesse Crawford Organ Concert with Mrs. Crawford at the console.

Youth and Universal's junior stars come to the Colony Theatre beginning Saturday, January 14th, in a highly amusing comedy-drama titled "The Fourflusher." It is an adaptation of the play by the same name by Caesar Dunn which played here two seasons ago.

This is Marian Nixon's first starring role after several years playing featured roles in Universal productions. George Lewis, of "The Collegians" fame, shares honors with Miss Nixon.

The Universal Pictures Corporation will make a special production from Cosmo Hamilton's play "Scandal," produced here several years ago. It was in this play that Francis Larrimore made her first great success and started on the road to stardom.

Schools - Lectures - Forums

The Rand School of Social Science

7 EAST 15th STREET ALGonquin 3094

GRADED COURSES IN ENGLISH — Grammar, Spelling, Pronunciation, Dictation and Composition—Mon. and Wed., 7 p.m. and 8 p.m. \$4.00 per month or \$9.00 for 9 months.

"America as a World Power" Edwin B. Hewes, of Columbia Sat. at 2 p.m. — Jan. 14—Feb. 18

"Questions for Socialists" August Claessens & Algernon Lee Tues. 8:30 p.m. — Jan. 17—Apr. 21

"Elements of Social Psychology" Joseph M. Osman Tues. 7 p.m. — Jan. 17—May 8

Sunday, January 15 11 A.M.—MORNING SERVICE JOHN HAYNES HOLMES "The Companionate Marriage—Will This Help Any?"

8 P.M.—COMMUNITY FORUM WILLIAM E. (PUSSYFOOT) JOHNSON "Can Prohibition Be Enforced?" Questions, Discussion—Admission Free

Thursday, January 19, 8:15 P.M. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH "Modern Tragedy" Admission 75c

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE At Cooper Union At 8 O'Clock

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15 MR. EDMUND VANCE COOKE "Are You a What or a Who?"

TUESDAY, JANUARY 17 MR. W. B. CURRY "The Ethics of Science."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 20 MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN "The Religious Revival" and the Crowd. From Jonathan Edwards to Billy Sunday."

Admission Free Open Forum Discussion

LABOR TEMPLE SCHOOL ANNUAL DINNER at Midway Club, Room 200 Fifth Ave. Friday Evening, January 20, 1928 At 7:00 o'clock

SPEAKERS:—Hoywood Brown, G. P. Beck, John Cowper Powys, Edmund B. Chaffee, John Haynes Holmes

SUBJECT:—"The Lecture and the Future of America." Tickets at \$2.50 per cover may be obtained at the Labor Temple Office, 242 E. 14th St.

BROOKLYN LODGE—THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY Public Lecture—Sun., Jan. 15, 8:15 p.m. MR. CLIFFORD W. CHEASLEY

Will lecture on Numbers—Their Relation to Character and Experience Do you know the hidden meaning of your name? Do you realize how numbers affect your life? General Discussion Questions and Answers EVERYONE INVITED

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THEATRES

ANTI-WAR! Hope of Future Peace! ANTI-WAR!

TRUTH is made vivid, terror made dramatic, war revealed in all its agony and fruitless waste—in

THE ENEMY

A picture of the suffering of women and children that tears your heart-strings. Scenes of the battle-field that show the grim humor and horror of war.

A living, gripping story—A lesson to all who think!

ASTOR THEATRE TWICE DAILY

Broadway and 45th Street 2:45 and 8:45

Gilbert Miller Presents

Max Reinhardt's Season

at the

COSMOPOLITAN

Theatre on Columbus Circle

Monday Eve. at 8

First American Appearance of HELENE THIMIG Mid-Europe's Greatest Actress

KABALE und LIEBE

(LOVE and INTRIGUE) by Friedrich von Schiller

"If there is any justice on Broadway nothing will obscure such treasure as 'Excess Baggage'—better than 'Burlesque'!"

EXCESS BAGGAGE

THE NEW COMEDY SMASH!

RITZ THEATRE W. 48th St. MATS. WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY, 2:30

Theatre Guild Productions

PORGY

by DUBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD

Republic Theatre

WEST 42nd STREET

Mats. Wed. and Sat. 2:10

THEATRE GUILD ACTING CO.

Week of Jan. 16

in BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

The Doctor's Dilemma

Week of Jan. 21

EUGENE O'NEILL'S MARCO MILLIONS

Guild Theatre

WEST 52nd STREET

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

A Fortune Spent to Thrill You!

Carl Laemmle's Universal Masterpiece

A Harry Pollard production

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

Central

B'WAY at 47th St.

Twice Daily 2:30-8:30

The Greatest Human Drama Ever Screened!

WILLIAM FOX presents

"COME TO MY HOUSE"

with O.G. RORDEN and ANTONIO MORENO

with a typical brilliant FOLIES

PALM BEACH FOLIES

A Gay and Colorful Revue with

ROXY SYMPHONY ORCH.

GAMBARELLI DOUGLAS STAN-

BURY, BARON VAN DUZER

and ROXY CHORUS

Sunday, January 15, 11:30 A.M.

ROXY SYMPHONY CONCERT

Orchestra of 110

are Things Intelligible!

Soloists: ABRAHAM DE LOCA.

Contralto

PHILHARMONIC

MENDELBERG, Conductor

CARNEGIE HALL THIS AFT. at 3:00

SIR THOMAS BEECHAM

Guest Conductor

(Last New York Appearance)

Soloist: VLADIMIR HOROWITZ, Pianist

NOZART—DELUS—PAISIELLO

CRISTY—TUMBAKOVSKY

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

TUES. EVE., JAN. 17, at 8:30

BERNARDINO MOLINARI

Guest Conductor

(First Appearance in New York)

CORRELL—BETROVEN—DEWSSY

MOUSSORGSKY—CASSELLA—WAGNER

Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve. Jan. 19, at 8:30

Soloist: JACQUES THIBAUD, Violinist

BETHOVEN—CHOPIN—MARTUCCI

DEBUSSY—ROSSINI

ARTHUR JUDSON, Mgr. (Stimway Piano)

THE PRISONER

By EMIL BERNHARD

one of the most prominent of

contemporary German playwrights

Translated by

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

"You are held by a struggle that is unique

Bronx Socialists Planning Elaborate Affair, January 29

The Bronx Branches of the Socialist Party are running their 16th Annual Concert and Ball at Hunts Point Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard, Sunday afternoon and evening, Jan. 29. Socialists, progressive and radical voters of the Bronx and Greater New York will come to renew old acquaintances.

The Bronx Socialist organizations have several hundred members. The Socialist vote is over 200,000 and in many districts the party is second. Two years ago at the Concert and Ball a Hardman Peck Piano worth \$750, was given as a prize. Last year a Hudson Essex Coach worth \$800 was given.

This year the Arrangements Committee voted to give ten valuable prizes worth hundreds of dollars. They include a radio, a chime clock, set of community silverware, floor and table lamps and a bronze bust of Debs.

The concert program is the largest and finest ever given by Local Bronx. The talent consists of seven prominent artists of reputation.

PROGRAM

- Part I**
- (a) Ballad, "Before the Governor"—Rubinstein
 - (b) Ballad, "Song of Exile"—Ippolito Ivanoff
 - David Yaroslavsky, Baritone
 - (a) Revolutionary Etude—Chopin
 - (b) The Nightingale—List
 - Max Wellerson, Pianist
 - (a) Andante—Lalo
 - (b) Spanish Dance—Sarsate
 - Jacob Mestechkin, Violinist
 - Oriental Cymbal Dance
 - Mme. Anita Alamo, Dancer
- Part II**
- Peer Gynt Suite—Grieg
 - (a) Morning
 - (b) Anitra Dance
 - (c) In the Hall of the Mountain King

Ida Nachmanowitz, Max Ellerson, Pianists

- (a) The Night—Kotchetov
- (b) Mattinata—Leoncavallo
- Rose Medvedeff, Soprano
- (a) Spanish Tango
- (b) Apache Dance
- Anita Alamo, Philippine Rodriguez, Dancers
- (a) Tor Aulin—Berceuse
- (b) Tor Aulin—Cavate
- Jacob Mestechkin, Violinist
- (a) Oh Repeat, duet—Edna Rosa Medvedeff, David Yaroslavsky Singers

At the Piano—Mme. Ida Nachmanowitz Wellerson

The arrangements committee has obligated itself to spend \$1,000 on this affair. The dance music will be rendered by Dan Barnett's Radio Orchestra. Its service is enjoyed by the best dancers in all hotels and ballrooms.

The party will run a buffet, in charge of Sarah Volowick, assisted by a score of beautiful waitresses from the party and Yipsel organizations. Sandwiches, cakes, tea, coffee, milk, ice cream, fruits and candies will satisfy the inner man.

Admission for the afternoon and evening, for the Concert and Ball, including wardrobe, is \$1.00. Concert Program from 4.30 to 7.30 p.m. Dancing 7.30 to the wee hours of the morning.

Everybody is welcome. Children under ten years of age will be admitted free. Parents are invited to bring the children. A beautiful Ball Journal and Concert Program has been prepared. A copy will be given to all who attend.

N. Y. Negro Tenants Organize To Fight Rapacious Landlords

At a meeting arranged by the Community Progressive Painters' Union in Harlem last Sunday a Negro Federation of Labor was organized by Captain Harry Allen Ely, president of the Audubon Community Council and Washington Heights Tenants' Association. Frank Pore was elected president, G. French, vice-president, Ethelred Brown, recording secretary, Victor C. Gaspar, financial secretary, and Miss A. Elizabeth Hendrickson, treasurer. A Negro Protective Taxpayers League was also organized.

Asked by two Negro painters of Chicago why the Progressive Painters are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, Gaspar answered that as soon as Negro painters developed the required efficiency and were able to pay a high initiation fee they would demand full recognition.

An open meeting will be held that the Community Progressive Painters' headquarters, 2525 7th avenue, Sunday, Jan. 15, at 4 p. m. Other unions are asked to send representatives and all inquiries will be given prompt attention.

**N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL
CAP MAKERS**
Cloth Hat and Millinery Workers' International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone: Orchard 9500-1-4
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Treasurer
A. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER, Organizers.
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday
Executive Board meets every Monday.
CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
Executive Board meets every Monday.
All Meetings are held in the
Headgear Workers' Lyceum
(Bethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street.

**THE LABOR SECRETARIAT
OF NEW YORK CITY**
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Fight the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel
225 Broadway, Room 2701-N, New York
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 213 East 84th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P.M.

WEVD Programs

Sunday, January 15, 1928
2:45 P.M. WEVD New York City 1220 KC
12:30—Weissman's Entertainers
1:00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
2:00—Tristan Wolf, tenor
2:30—Rose Bachova, soprano
3:00—Water Warren Plock, baritone
3:10—Millon Arno, piano
3:20—Debs Opera Co., Leon Cavallo's Pagliacci

Monday, January 16, 1928
1:00—Scholl Hour
2:00—George Rael, bass
2:20—Dudley Powers, cello
2:40—Mary Siegrist, Poems of the New Humanity
3:00—Debs Trio
3:30—Merial Nelda, soprano, diseuse
3:50—Carlos Press, cellist and lecturer: "Bach—the man"
4:00—Carlos Press, cello solos
4:20—Debs Book Club Review
4:40—Marie Yunge, lyric soprano
4:55—Michel Ingberman, pianist
5:10—Master Institute of United Arts, saxophonist
5:25—William Schulman, 13 year old saxophonist
5:40—Robert J. McClelland, tenor

Tuesday, January 17, 1928
1:00—Topics of the Day
2:00—Merial Nelda, lyric soprano
1:40—Myra Norton, piano
2:00—Irving Chetty, violin
2:20—Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano
2:40—Carlos Press, cello
3:00—Professor Charlotte Pekary, German literature
3:20—Abe Berg, violinist
3:40—Helen Bierling, lyric soprano
4:00—Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger
4:20—Raymond Burrows, piano studies in harmony
4:40—Janet Shair, contralto
5:10—Civic Repertory Theatre, reader
5:30—Variety Boys Half Hour
9:00—Debs Trio
9:10—Elsie Gluck, Labor Conditions
9:30—Merial Nelda, diseuse, soprano
9:40—Merial Nelda, diseuse, soprano
9:45—New Leader Topics
9:50—Merial Nelda, diseuse, soprano
10:00—Hans Thilg of the Reinhardt Theatre company, interview
10:15—Debs Trio
10:30—Rebel Poets
10:45—Jack Phillips, popular baritone
11:00—Cardinal Dance Orchestra

Wednesday, January 18, 1928
1:00—Joe Zimmerman, piano
1:30—Dorothy Brudeville, contralto
1:50—Paul Haskell, tenor
2:10—Richard E. Parks, bass
2:30—Helen Bierling, lyric soprano
2:50—Rolf Weil, baritone
3:10—Elsie Restell, Liedersinger, Mah-ban
3:20—Professor Pedro Fernandez, Spanish Literature
4:00—Myra Norton, piano
4:20—Conservatory of Musical Art, soloists
4:50—Michel Ingberman, piano
5:10—Rosalie Cohen, soprano, Jewish songs
5:30—Wolf Sisters, Piano Quintet
Thursday, January 19, 1928
1:00—Lichterman's Dance Orchestra
2:00—Norman Allen, English ballads
2:20—Avis Phillips, dramatic soprano
2:40—Myra Norton, piano
3:00—Jennie Wallace, lyric soprano
3:20—Professor Pauline Taylor, French Literature
3:40—Lisetta Braddock, soprano
4:00—Adolf Otterstein, violinist and lecturer
4:20—Debs Book Club, readings
4:40—Rosa Kovar, contralto
5:00—Hilts from Suzanne
9:00—Vocal Quartet from Debs Opera Company
9:15—James Oneal, Backgrounds in American History
9:30—Dudley Powers, cellist
9:45—Roger N. Baldwin, "What I Saw in Russian Prisons"
10:00—Vocal Quartet from Debs Opera Company
10:30—Abe Berg, violin
10:45—Robert G. Urann, popular baritone
11:00—Sid Fiedler's Orchestra

Friday, January 20, 1928
1:00—Joe Zimmerman, piano
1:30—Winifred Watson, soprano
1:50—Florence Landy, Liedersinger, Hugo Wolf, songs
2:10—Roland Weber, reading
2:30—Rosalie Erick, contralto
2:50—Rocco Rocco, violin
3:10—Elsie Duffield, lyric soprano
3:30—Lydia Mason, piano, negro composers
Saturday, January 21, 1928
1:00—George C. Smith, popular tenor
1:15—William Schulman, saxophone
1:30—Caroline Himmel, popular singer
1:45—Mabel Thibault, cornetist
2:00—Debs Book Club, readings
2:10—Michel Ingberman, popular pianist
2:30—Robert Urann, popular baritone
2:50—N. Y. U. String Quartet
3:20—Maud Tollison, contralto
3:40—Leon Schwartz, Jewish violinist
4:00—Fraser Paige, baritone
4:20—Betty Goodman, lyric soprano
4:40—Milton Shridnik, piano
5:00—Norman Allen, baritone
5:20—Debs String Quartet
9:00—Justine Roberts and her group, impersonations
9:20—McAlister Coleman, Labor Looks at the Week
9:35—Molly Ruffman, piano
9:55—Speaker to be announced
10:05—Abis Phillips, dramatic soprano
10:25—Speaker to be announced
10:40—Carl Linder, popular baritone
11:00—Debs Variety Hour

**Artists Delight at Angelus
Allied Arts Club Concert**
Seldom is such enthusiasm shown at a concert as greeted the artists at the Angelus German-American concert of the Angelus Allied Arts Club, last Monday, at the Provincetown Playhouse, given under the inspired management of Madam Minnie Huffman. This enthusiasm was but natural. Miss Anna Fried wielded a flaming torch that one moment dripped molten music and the next music that was honey sweet with the flowers of many meadows, illuminating the most shadowy nuances of every composition. Miss Erna Korn sang with fine dramatic fervor and charming clarity. Her rich contralto voice proved captivating. Albert Schroeter, the famous tenor, showed richness and poetic restraint but little fire, while Miss Claire Hughes at the piano filled a humble role with charm and sympathy.

Galsworthy's "Escape"
For Pioneer Youth, Monday
Don't "Escape" John Galsworthy's last play. He has announced he will write no more plays. If you will go Monday evening, January 23, to the Booth Theatre, you will see what Joseph Wood Krutch of the Nation calls "the best play on Broadway" and also help Pioneer Youth Camp at Riffon, New York. Some of the money from this benefit performance will provide scholarships for strikers' children. Much of it will go toward building an infirmary which, with 100 lively kids camping out for ten weeks, is a necessity.

Tickets are \$3.30 and \$3.85. Get them in advance. Perhaps you can make up a theatre party. But even if you go alone, you will meet many friends. You will see a play that shouldn't be missed and send a good deed winging its way on toward next summer. Will you be there?

Foreign Affairs To Be Discussed At Rand School

The popular idea of American international policy was until recently summed up in two simple theses—we should avoid entanglement in European alliances, and European powers should not acquire any new territory in the Western Hemisphere. The isolationist theory still has its eloquent champions, and most Americans care little and know less about international affairs. But can this last? Does the isolationist ideal fit the economic facts of our day? Did the conduct of our nation, indeed, ever quite square with the theory of national isolation?

Mr. Edwin B. Hewes, of Columbia University, will discuss this whole problem at the Rand School Saturdays at 2 p.m. as follows: On Jan. 14 his subject will be "The Myth of Isolation"; on Jan. 21, "The Monroe Doctrine: A Necessity or an Outworn Shibboleth"; Jan. 28, "The Growth of the American Empire"; Feb. 4, "The Far East and the Open Door Policy"; Feb. 11, "Armageddon and the Aftermath"; Feb. 18, "World Peace: Disarmament or Disaster?"

Other new courses beginning next week are: "American Social History," David P. Berenson, Tues. 7 p.m. Jan. 17 till May 8; "Economic Theory," Algernon Lee, Fri. 7 p.m. Jan. 20 to May 4; "Problems of Sociology," Marjorie Hansons, Tues. 8:30 p.m. Jan. 17 till April 24; "Questions for Socialists," August Claessens and Algernon Lee, Tues. 8:30 p.m. Jan. 17 till April 24; "Elements of Social Psychology," Joseph M. Osman, Tues. 7 p.m. Jan. 17 till May 8; "Psychology of Personality," Joseph M. Osman, Tues. 8:30 p.m. Jan. 17 till April 24.

The second lecture on "New Trends in the Guidance of Childhood and Youth" will be given by Mrs. Sidonie Matner Gruenberg, Wednesday, Jan. 18 at 8:30 p.m. "The Factors that Influence Personality" will be the subject for that evening.

On Thursday evening, Jan. 18 at 8:30 p.m., Dr. Harry W. Laidler, will give his second lecture on "Socialism and Related Movements." On that evening he will discuss Industrial and social Europe in 1848; Marx, Engels, and their co-workers; essential principles of Marxism—economic interpretation of history, theory of class struggle, and of surplus-value.

Goldenweiser To Lecture In the Bronx, Jan. 13th

Prof. Alexander Goldenweiser, author of "Early Civilization," will deliver the first of a series of three lectures on "The Doctrine of Social Evolution" before the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Broadway, near Tremont avenue, Bronx, on Friday, Jan. 13th. The lectures start at 8:30 sharp, and are followed by questions and discussion.

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Rush To Join Socialist Party On In Reading

READING, PA.—Within a few days after the Socialist administration took over city affairs, Local Reading of the Socialist Party admitted 90 new members. The new members came into the party from a number of wards, 34 of them being listed on a charter application for a branch in the 18th Ward.

This big accession to the party membership is merely the beginning of thorough organization throughout the city. The new members from the unorganized wards will be distributed among ward organizations as rapidly as these are formed. The work of party building will also expand into Berks County, and plans are being considered with this end in view.

When the Socialists' Party goes into the next campaign it will have the best organization that it has ever had in its history. Of course, the Socialist administration helps wonderfully in this work of party organization. It is a visible monument of long and persistent work of education and now that this monument is built, many Socialist voters are willing to share the burdens that had fallen to some twenty or more active party workers.

Papers Pay Attention
Moreover, for the first time in the history of the local movement, the Socialist Party is always news in the local papers. What the Socialist administration is doing and what it proposes to do is news and this publicity also helps in organizing the party. With the expansion of party organization throughout the city and country, the Socialists have every reason to expect the election of two more councilmen two years hence.

Socialist officials are also being sought as speakers by local organizations. School Director Raymond S. Hofes was the speaker at the monthly luncheon meeting of the Graduate Club, Reading's youngest civic organization, last week at the Berkshire Hofes told of economic conditions which prevent some children from enjoying the full benefits of the public schools.

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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 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

FUR DRESSERS' UNION
Local 2, Int'n'l Fur Workers' Union

NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1928

Rats at Large

THE Senate committee investigating the faked Mexican documents hawked by the Hearst papers had not made its report when another revelation of an attempt to traffic in similar documents was made by the *New York World* on Monday. In this case spurious papers were offered to the Mexican Consul in New York, papers purporting to reveal plots against Mexico and hatched in this country. The notorious Jacob Nosovitsky turns up as the chief agent in this dirty mess.

Who is Nosovitsky? He claims to have been employed by Scotland Yard and the American Department of Justice some years ago. In 1920 he was one of two representatives sent by American Communists to a secret meeting of the Third International in Amsterdam although he was a spy. In 1926 he induced a woman to bring a suit for breach of promise against Albert Weisbord, one of the leaders of the Passaic textile strike. Nothing came of the suit and Nosovitsky disappeared. Now he turns up in this second episode of forged documents.

What is to be said of these rats who plot and forge in a dirty game which, if successful, tends to muddle relations between two countries and invites the disaster of war? Nothing more criminal can be imagined than work of this sort. In this era of imperialist adventures and loading up of arms by the leading powers there are more than enough explosives stored. But with these rats slinking in underground channels and messing around these explosives the lives of millions of human beings in two nations are the possible price of their work.

First it is Hearst and now it is Nosovitsky. Are there any others working a private game of their own? We do not know. Nobody knows. We do know that within a few months two episodes of this kind have occurred in the United States and it is possible that somebody else with more skill and cunning than either Hearst or Nosovitsky did may light a torch that will set two nations at war.

There are human pervers who have gone chair for crimes of less danger to human peace than the offenses attempted by rats of the Nosovitsky. It is the imperialist era which gives them their opportunity and so long as an aggressive capitalism survives we will face the peril of rats at large.

A National Scandal

THE attack of the National Civic Federation on old age pensions has become a national scandal. Deriving its sustaining funds largely from industrial magnates and bankers, we expect a report from this organization on this question that gives comfort to the big insurance companies and supports the hypocritical "welfare plans" of big industries which are sapping the foundations of trade unions. But when prominent trade union leaders for a year or more give their assent to such a program, conservatism in the unions has reached a point where it systematically aids in destroying the unions themselves.

We have in mind the attitude of Matthew Woll on this matter. Either the trade unions are in favor of insurance companies and big industrial corporations exploiting human welfare or they are not. We believe that a general discussion in the unions followed by a referendum vote would show that the members are opposed to the Civic Federation and Mr. Woll on this issue and accept the view that the aged veterans of industry are a social charge on society, that they should be assured a comfortable existence in old age, not as a matter of charity, but as a compensation which they have earned by their services to society.

Moreover, discussion would bring out the fact that the Civic Federation attitude is distinct support of "company unionism." Nearly all such substitutes for the genuine union of workers is accompanied by a bogus pension system for the aged. Mr. Woll may cooperate with the reactionary Civic Federation on the issue, but in so doing he is unwittingly helping to undermine the trade unions of this country. The last convention of the A. F. of L. recognized the increasing danger of "company unionism" but it is certain that members of the unions could not anticipate that this sort of "unionism" would obtain indirect support in their own ranks.

No man is too big in the labor movement to avoid criticism. Mr. Woll has exercised this privilege freely and the members of the unions should avail themselves of it to check any policy that leads to sterility and disaster.

Our Military Caste

A pamphlet of the Committee on Militarism in Education, "Militarizing Our Youth," is the most important survey we have seen of the extent to which the military caste has penetrated the educational institutions of the United States. One has to go back to the Germany of thirty years ago to find a parallel to what is happening here. The giddy impudence, insufferable arrogance, and glori-

fication of military might which we once laughed at in the Prussian aristocrats are offered here by pompous empty-heads in the name of "democracy."

In the pamphlet mentioned, the author, Roswell P. Barnes, offers a selection from the writings and addresses of the former Prussian and the present American aristocrats. These are printed in rotation as paragraphs, one from a Prussian and one from an American, and alternating from one paragraph to another to show that the two form a harmonious whole. The reader is referred to another page for references identifying each paragraph. Without these references one is unable to determine which is old Prussian and which is modern American.

Here are two examples. "We live in a world governed by Divine laws which we can neither alter nor evade. And in this world of ours force is the ultimate power." That reads like General Friedrich Bernhardt but it is a question from an American. You are wrong. It is from the same American military manual. Then try this on your piano. "During the course of a great war every government, whatever its previous form, should become a despotism." Surely, from a Prussian military top? You are wrong. It is from the same American military manual.

When this sort of thing is coolly written for use in propaganda to make American education a conscript for our militarists we have some comprehension of the ideas that inspire these gentlemen. Nor are they scrupulous in their methods. Propagandists are instructed to fight all opposition by questioning the character and damning the motives of every man and woman who do not submit. Printed instructions are provided and even the names of men and women are listed for blasting. Jane Addams is "the most dangerous woman in America." George Foster Peabody gets a black mark because of his interest in the Negro. Abba Hillel Silver is denounced because he is "pro-labor."

This is the brood and these are their ideas. They are seeking complete mastery of all education in the United States. If they have their way the "despotism" which they openly favor will be permanent. They want your minds and bodies. Will they get them because of your inactivity? It is for you to answer.

Tinkham's Tactics

REPRESENTATIVE George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts advised a New York audience of Negroes to insist on the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment "which requires reduction of representation in proportion to disfranchisement." He declares that the amendment which is supposed to protect Negro suffrage is "mandatory," that is, Congress is required under the Constitution to enforce it.

Tinkham is a Republican member of Congress and informed his audience that in the Republican Party lies the only hope of those who are disfranchised. Why his assertion was not challenged we do not know. Congress has often been controlled by his party since reconstruction days and that hope has never been realized because of this control.

There are two other facts that refute Tinkham's conclusion. The Republican Party is increasing in votes as capitalist enterprise expands in the South. That party has for years been divided over the issue Tinkham stresses, one faction being known as the "lily white." This faction accepts the policy of disfranchisement and fights for it in Republican conventions. It also has its allies in the North and these allies increase as the Republican Party increases in strength in the South.

The second fact is the late President Harding's significant Birmingham speech. He was the first Republican president to openly approve the attitude of the "lily whites." There was no revolt in the northern Republican press because of this speech. Harding's address was perfectly consistent with the policy of disfranchisement.

If in the face of this history the Negro thinks he has any hope in the G. O. P. we marvel at his patience and credulity.

Our National Myth

IN primitive societies the medicine man and sorcerer obtain dominion over the minds of the herd through myths. These myths are systematically cultivated to keep the "lower orders" working for the ease of the groups enjoying leisure. The medicine man and sorcerer share in the plunder taken from the lower orders and the myths become sacred. To question them is a sin, for the moment the "lower orders" cease to believe in them the main props of exploitation are removed.

Our chief national myth is the fiction that wealth and ease have been acquired by individual genius without aid of government. This myth has become our popular folklore. Presidents, governors, congressmen, politicians, editors and the clergy subscribe to it. They are the modern sorcerers who share in the plunder taken from the skinned. They guard the sacred myth from impious criticism. They warn rural and urban workers never to look to government and legislation for help.

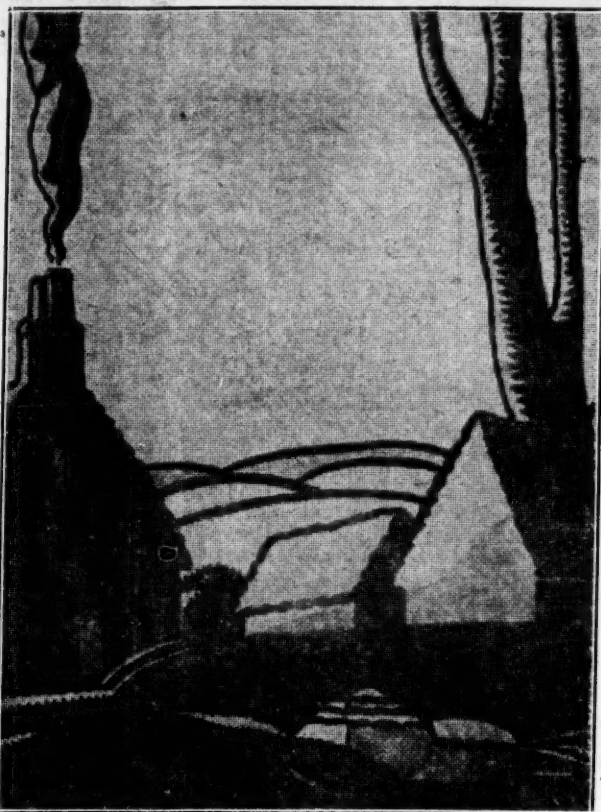
We assert that this myth has never been observed by the upper classes in any stage of our history whether it be the colonial or the modern period. Town proprietors and land speculators of New England acquired their wealth and made it secure by their control of colonial legislatures. The same thing is true of the merchant magnates of the same region. It is true of the owners of slave property and large plantations in the South. Throughout the colonial period legislation was a matter of stacked cards against farmers, mechanics, white bondsmen and slaves.

The later period beginning with the establishment of the Constitution is no exception to this general truth. Again federal and state legislation favored land speculators. Early industries received special subsidies and exemptions from legislative bodies. Canal and railroad corporations were next in line for legislative favors. Financial legislation of the First Congress created fortunes for eminent "fathers" who held Continental securities. Slave owners profited by their share in control of the Federal Government and complete mastery of their respective state governments. Each war we have had spawned new fortunes for individual grafters and profiteers.

The legislation of this character since the Civil War is so vast that it is impossible to enumerate its items. The present super-power propaganda is an example. If this crowd gets what it wants from Congress immense fortunes will be reaped by it. Each vote cast for their program will be worth a million or more dollars and fabulous fortunes will be awarded to capitalist investors.

The myth will not stand investigation and workers who permit it to influence their political beliefs and action simply subscribe to a superstition that helps to perpetuate their own servitude.

THE OLD CANAL



Drawn by "Gal", the Miner-Artist

The Last Speech of Henry George

(Delivered at the Central Opera House in New York on October 28th, 1897, written for the New Leader by one Who Heard the Address).

MR. GEORGE appeared obviously tired and ill as he entered the hall at 10:30 P. M. He was accompanied by Mrs. George and by his brother, John V. George. The audience cheered for four minutes. There were cries of "What's the matter with Henry George?" and "Three Cheers for Henry George!" Mr. George then spoke, as follows:

"Fellow democrats: I hear above your shouts, occasionally the rooster crow. (Imitation of the rooster crow by one of the audience. Mr. George acknowledged same by a bow and smile, as did his wife.) I believe over these old Broughs in this new Greater Municipality you will hear the rooster crow; the bird of freedom, the old democratic emblem, for the party of real democracy, the party of Thomas Jefferson, the party of the common people. (Applause) After years of waiting, after years of longing, after having been pushed aside, after democracy of this kind and democracy of that kind, after the democracy of Grover

Cleveland (hisses) and the democracy of Richard Croker, (hisses) there will come again the democracy of common men; the democracy that knows no privilege, the democracy that knows no special institution, the democracy of equality, the democracy of common right. It is for that we struggle and for that we stand. It is for that I stand before you as the nominee of my fellow citizens for this high office. I have been travelling far, wishing in the democratic manner to show myself to the citizens whose suffrages I ask. I have met everywhere with crowds like this, with crowds not merely in number, but great in purpose and intense in spirit. After seeing them I believe that I shall be elected; that Dayton will be elected; that O'Neill will be elected and that the next duty which devolves upon us will be the duty of carrying out your will. So let it be. I have for the party of real democracy, the party of the people, as I now think will be the case, do believe that their interests are best served by our election, elected we will be. I will not keep you longer. The hour is getting late; I wish merely to show myself. What I am you prob-

ably know. Since 1888 I have not hid my light under a bushel. Whatever I believe, I have stated. It is unnecessary for me to make, at this time, any general explanation. I do not believe in what has been the practice of Mr. Croker's man, Mr. Van Wyck, the gumshoe policy—the saying nothing and trusting to the power of organization. I believe it is franker and better to meet one's fellow citizens to discuss with them the questions that are involved. We are nearly to the verge of election. The battle is about ended. If I am elected I will do what I can, honestly, faithfully, conscientiously and fearlessly, to carry out the principles for which I stand. (Cries of "we believe you.") You may believe me and trust to the result. So with this brief explanation of my purposes and my policy I ask for your suffrage. (Cries of "you will get them.") Good night." Not many hours later, Mr. George was dead.

The Old Southwest

WILLIAM CATHER, who heretofore has devoted her delicate pen to subjects fitted for it, attempts in her latest novel, "Death Comes to the Archbishop" (Alfred A. Knopf), to achieve a tale of a lusty land—New Mexico—in 1850. That was a brilliant and burning scene she invaded with her fragile armor and there were many who hoped she would emerge from it all the stronger for the trip. But she didn't. In fact all her silken accoutrements simply were burned to a crisp by its heat and passion and as a monument to her defeat, she leaves a cairn of gray words.

Recently, Harvey Ferguson produced a book about her New Mexico which was eminently successful. "Wolf Song," it was appropriately called and Knopf also published it. Ferguson dredged deeply into that country and brought up wholly credible people who, it is true, performed rather incredible deeds viewed in the light of the more quiet sections of the community. But Willa Cather's people are simply incredible, and while credence may be placed in their actions, this is true only because they lived in sheer mediocrity. The few periods she intends as drama are missed completely.

There is something altogether too holy about her Archbishop and his faithful Vicar. Cast into all manner of predicaments, these two servants of the Lord respond like well trained catechisms. Their only major sin seemed to be an inordinate yearning for the lettuce and leeks of their beloved France, and this the Church lasses neither as a mortal nor a venal transgression. They are in fact two little Rollos with turned collars loosed upon a peculiarly sweet population. The priests of our history and acquaintance are much different fellows. It is recorded that even the Pope has been known to confess to sin.

Bert MacDonald.

Within less than twenty years even the air has become almost completely monopolized by big radio corporations. What would they do to us if they could bottle the air and sell it to us at so much per quart?

THE CHATTER BOX

More Sonnets To A Dark Lady

At last I learn why all the rest are pale
And cold, and sadly undesirable. . . .
Once having loved you, I must ever fail
The joy of loving others half as well. . . .

Ah! there be some for whom emotions yield
An interchanging crop thru interval
Of fruitage now, and then a fallow field. . . .
And there be those for whom our passions spell

A rakish braggadocio . . . a game
Of pagan tribute in a ritual
Where youth is flung and shrivelled in the flame.
And which of these you are, I may not tell.

Unless I yield to anguish and disclaim
The sanctity in which I keep your name.

LIVING in a well-to-do neighborhood has its comforts for the flesh. But it also makes for some nasty spiritual disturbances. Excuse me, folks, I don't intend to start out here with a tirade against middle-class habits and bourgeois vices. Don't believe, that just because I write for a Socialist weekly, it is imperative that I give the economic interpretation of everything from Ampico pianos down to ham bologna, if I happen to be discussing either of these delectable commodities. What I want to become cantankerous about this week is the subject "Man's Best Friend and Companion, The Dog."

When I lived on the East Side among the toilers and pushcart merchants, a dog was a permissible entity in my eyes. A "mutt," our pet name then for the mongrel hound of the gutter-refuge, sort of fitted in with our squalid scheme of things. As kids we hailed him for play and banter. As young men, he somehow blended into our own days of job-hunting and poverty. He belonged. So that even when I left the old life behind, and commercialized enough of my ability and time to move into a "sweller" part of the city, I managed to retain my sentimental affection for the canine species. Of course, I had seen a little of the Riverside Drive Pomeranian Pup parades of mornings, when the fine ladies aired their pets with such exclusive posturing. My rebel senses would sputter a bit, and I would content myself with the ancient question, flung half-aloud, at them. . . . "Say lady, at which end of the string is the dog. . . ?" But, I did not live on the Drive, and the matter would be crowded out of my mind by the press of more familiar experience.

Now, I come in contact with this peculiar annoyance every morning as I go downtown to work. The apartment houses adjacent to and surrounding Moshulu Parkway seem to be honeycombed kennels for frizzled wet-nosed poodles, sniffy dachshunds, and stuck-up Chows. The way their human keepers trot them about the lawns and walks of the Parkway, you would suppose that a dog's life has it all over the one of Reilly. One day, while hurrying to the station, I stepped upon the cute little footle of one of these running-nosed toties. The dear little thing squealed its pain and outrage at my impoliteness right up to my own God's heaven. The bawling-out I received, in spite of my profuse apologies to the lady at the other end of the chain, still sends the willies through my sensitive spine. And maybe that is why I am writing this little note of protest.

Of course, now that I think the matter over, if it were in my power to decide, I would gather up the whole tribe of these pets together with their loving

owners, send them off to the Fiji Islands, or some such other region where men are still animals, and animals have a deuce of a job living down the nasty habits of their human neighbors, and so remove at once a cruel looking sore spot from the body communal.

I have become a bit statistically curious about the cost of care and upkeep of these pampered four-legged household monstrosities, and also somewhat busy-bodish about the private lives of their owners, and I come to the following dull conclusion that it would be hardly more expensive to feed, and clothe and bring up a foundling or orphan child into useful life. It certainly would be a whole lot more human and humane. I take it that most of those who go in for dog-loving cannot or will not have children of their own. Which may be either sad or sensible as the case may be, and none of my profane business at that. But again, if I had my way, I'd tax the hound out and induce the homeless institution-ridden child into the sterile household by some tithe measure or another. Having children to bring up is one of the few joys of living, provided of course you can afford to support their upbringing with some substance and decency. And the strange part of the whole miserable dog business is, that most of the families consisting of man, wife and dog are economically better off than those that are made up of a slaving husband, a drugging wife and five underfed and undernourished children. But all of which is as it should be in this best of all worlds.

So now dear friends you know why I become dramatically inspired at times when viewing a dame and her frowzy pup at the other end of the chain, and misquote from "Julius Caesar," "I'd rather be a dog and bay at the moon, than such a human."

But then, upon second thought, this legislative idea of mine would hardly be fair to the innocent boy or girl child that it would force upon these hound-hugging families. Individuals who do not voluntarily have or adopt one of their own kind for love and care are hardly fit for the responsibility even though the law make it imperative that they assume the rearing of children. They are within all logic and probability suited to and on an intellectual level with the objects of their specious love. I certainly would not entrust the tender years and spirit of a child to the mind and heart and hand of a being that quite willingly centers all care and love and worship on a messy lap-dog. So you see, anger does not always lead us aright when we are trying to settle a question under its bitter influence.

I suppose, when we consider the whole matter coolly, these people and their dog-passion are just a part of our civilization. We must accept them, in the same spirit as we approach the prevalent stupidities, vices, and unpleasantnesses of our living in this wholly unholy age. Dogs feed on dainty viands, wear woolly blankets, sleep on soft cushions in steam heated elevator apartment houses. Children of the poor have little or food, wear rags, live in filthy hovels, and just don't get a chance to live. Big men of brawn, and broken men stand in tatters, shiver in bread lines, and sleep on park benches. It is an old story, this phrasing of dog and man. But so is this money-mad, business-drugged world, an old, old and thoroughly disgusting story. I sometimes feel ashamed to repeat this propaganda chestnut to the workers. Their unresponsiveness is humiliating to me. And even as I repeat it now, the only one who listens perhaps is Midway's Pomeranian pup. It snickers and snivels and laps the hand of the lounging mistress. It understands. It is proud and conscious of its class.

S. A. de Witt.

Patrick Henry In Reverse (?)

The Latest From
Patrick Henry
By Sam Flint

HERE is something new. Here is something true. But don't feel blue for you shan't be hurt.

Trembling reader, I have about made up my mind that you are the angel who fears to tread and I am one of several who rushes in. Let it go at that.

I believe in the Purify of Preparedness. Hence I'll give you an illustration that will come handy later on, and I'll give it to you now.

Alright, here's the illustration:

Willard Quincy Hathaway is a youth. He is broken out all over with pubescence on account of a sudden desial to ask her papah to mawwy his daughter.

Her papah, be it known, is none other than Wade Cather, who is a brain in his factory by day and a heart in any social gathering which he chooses to step on at night.

Excuse me, nephew, while your uncle Fuller changes tactics. I mean, I want to cut out the lah-de-dah stuff. So I'll call him Carter. Plain Carter. And I'll inform you right off of the reel that he is old.

Old? Wait. I'll scratch my head and tell you how old. What is it they call a man past eighty? Well, Wade Carter is a genarion of some kind, I feel certain. But I don't know just how many octaves.

However I know this: both lenses of his shell-horn glasses are thicker than any I ever heard of. And as you look straight into them they seem to draw the pupils of his eyes so near the surface that they almost poke through.

Which made it mighty hard for Willard. But there was no way around old Carter. So the connections were tightened and the switch turned on.

"Can you support her?"

"The question was thunder itself. 'I can't right now,' squeaked timorous, squirming. 'But later on—'

"What has later on got to do with it?" roared the man of wealth and the lion of clubs.

"I'm an inventor. I'm working on an invention."

"What invention?"

Willard squirmed again but came out with it.

However, he gulped first.

Then he said:

"I'm about to discover Perpetual Motion. I've put in ten years working on it. There! I've come clean! May I have Madge?"

"You may like Hell!" And that answer didn't do a thing but rupture a blood vessel in the bubble. Phil!

Now I offer this as a reasonable assumption: Willard Boy might not have lost the blond which he preferred if previously he hadn't misplaced his mind. And as a further offering, before I close, I am constrained to make reference to that great law of Nature discovered by the elder Kuppenheimer in the frontal oboe of the sixth century, namely: No good can ever come from greasing the seat of ones breeches, and trying to slide down the rainbow.

Failure would attend the enterprise, an't you see? The point is it's wrong to strive for the unattainable.

My goodness alive! If that's so too, we better find out what's attainable and what is not!

Well, war is attainable; Peace is not. Despotism is; Democracy is not. Hypocrisy is; everything that opposes religious and political double-dealing is not.

Sweeping statements? I admit it. But who's to blame? The statements are not more sweeping than the facts. And they are not my facts.

They belong to the world. They are known to the world. So that lets me out—and you in.

Do we understand each other? Oh! Oh! I hope so! I've tried so hard to meet you half way.

I've called attention to the fact that we can't run and hide from a thing that everybody knows. And nobody can help but realize that justice for all and special privileges for none never happened and never will happen on this revolving footstool.

Taft told us about it when he was vice. He was the first foremost American openly to declare that all of the people should at all times not have the power to govern all of the people.

See how he prospered! And see how things are added to them that believe—in what, now?

Are you afraid to say it? I'm not. Here is the word: Despotism!

I said it, didn't I? Yes, and I'll go farther: I'll say hooray! I'll say hip, hip hooray! For Despotism is attainable, do you hear me? And whatever opposes Despotism is not attainable, do you still hear me?

No? Let me tell you something: I hear myself. My duty is done whether yours is or not. And I feel so happy over this whole Despotism business that I can scarcely keep from being frisky.

Therefore, behold me cut the pigeon-wing and hear me shout:

Come all ye spirits and hobgoblins and help us make a great occasion! Wear your phosphorescent wings tonight so as to light us to the tomb of a former father of this nation, Patrick Henry by name! We'll come in a body and we'll have one hammer per man as we come! We'll cast fear to the winds, knowing that in a union of cowards there is courage of the wildest kind!

On boys and ghosts! On to his tomb! On in mob formation!

What then?

This is what then: We'll dig up his bones. We'll smash his bones. We'll let the hammers pound his bones until the skeleton is shapeless and the broken pieces cry out: "Give me Slavery or give me Death! A hundred and fifty years ago I was an ass!"