



WRITING on a train somewhere near Chicago in a hurried trip to keep speaking dates isn't the best way to fill this column. I hope I'm not so busy travelling and talking myself that I haven't learned some things of value. But those things are more likely to show later on than now.

To the enthusiast for any sort of a "revolution", or for the big aggressive labor movement organized industrially and politically which we Socialists want, there is plenty that is discouraging in a trip like this. But there is also plenty to challenge the hopeless pessimist or cynical disbeliever in any sort of live social interest. In colleges and among the workers in cities and country districts there is discontent, there is interest. There is no enthusiasm for war, imperialism or even the prosperity balldoo among those who are its victims. There is a lack of hope, of faith and hence of courageous effort. There is a disposition to wait for a Messiah or at least a Moses. And there isn't much organization of our forces either in the industrial or political field. Too many Socialists quit too soon and too easily—a fault which is not eternally incurable.

But enough of these generalizations. How about politics? So far as I can learn the farmers' "progressivism" in Iowa and Minnesota doesn't fly higher than Lowden and that is pretty low. The farmers have a right to demand relief legislation which will admit them to the tariff table—or through—or its equivalent. The McNary-Haugen bill won't solve the farm problem; it is not even the best emergency subsidy measure that could be devised. But that bill with the equalization fee is better than the Coolidge substitute without it and I am becoming reconciled to the political wisdom of letting the farmers try the remedy for which their strongest organizations cry. I gained in Iowa the distinct impression that the most intelligent farmers aren't fooled into believing the bill is a cure-all.

Smith sentiment seems strong among the workers and in the cities—but I can't see him carrying any Middle Western states. As usual too much both of the support and the opposition to him is based on prejudice, not reason.

When I wrote "Smith" I meant, of course, Al Smith. They have a would-be United States Senator by that name here in Illinois who hangs on to his credentials though the Senate says his admittance card isn't good with them. To deprive him pending formal action seemed to me a dangerous precedent. To refuse him a seat after discussion on the evidence seems to me wise though not without possible danger as a precedent for unseating some future radical whose opinions the Senate holds in horror. Certainly it is a good thing that power magnates like Insull should not buy Senators by wholesale gifts to their campaigns. The Illinois Federation of Labor, like the Anti Saloon League, also endorsed this Col. Smith in the primary fight. He had done them some small favors. But in the Senate, depend upon it, he would recognize Insull's not labor's, as his Master's voice. Labor now isn't openly proud of Smith and Victor Glander reminds me that he and others blocked any endorsement of any Senatorial candidate following the primaries but prior to the election. That's something!

And prohibition? Well, everywhere I've been they talk about it. Some folks are more worried one way or the other about when they or their neighbors drink and what than when and what they eat—if ever. And certainly we discuss the right to drink more passionately than the right to think. At the excellent Chicago forum run by the Workmen's Circle and allied groups a woman who questioned me spoke for a vigorous Socialist campaign against prohibition. Now I can't see it as a Socialist issue. Important it certainly is, but outside the logical realm of party politics one can be a wet and a good socialist or a dry and a good socialist. Moreover the continued intrusion of prohibition discussion in party politics obscures other fundamental issues. Therefore I again urge that the Socialist Party which can't afford to pussy foot by saying nothing should recommend that the issue be left to a properly framed nation-wide advisory referendum to which all candidates of all

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Trade Unions Confer On the Unorganized

Philadelphia.—Over one hundred and fifty delegates, representing unions and labor colleges in the surrounding territory, are gathered here for a two-day discussion of the problem: "How to Organize the Unorganized." Determined to tackle the question from all angles, the conference, sponsored by the Labor College of Philadelphia with the endorsement of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia, will start its sessions on Saturday afternoon with a survey of the unorganized field as it exists today. It will then continue with a dinner, at which H. H. Broach, International Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, will be the speakers. Two more sessions will be held on Sunday, Jan. 29 covering new organization methods that could be applied. Professor Tugwell of Columbia University, will be one of the speakers on Sunday. In addition to the representatives of local union, credentials have been received from Chester, Reading and Allentown, Pa.; from the Baltimore Labor College; from unions in Newark and Patterson, N. J. and New York City.

Tammany Inspector Removed by Board

The Board of Elections has caused to be dismissed from future service as inspectors of elections, Democratic members of the board which served in the 22nd election district of the 2nd assembly last November. This district is located in the judicial district in which it is alleged, Tammany Hall stole enough votes to deprive him of his seat on the bench during the coming term.

Porters' Brotherhood Chiefs Confer in Chicago

Chicago.—In the Vincennes Hotel January 12th and 13th the Pullman Porters Brotherhood chiefs, consisting of M. P. Webster, Chicago Division Organizer, Roy Lancaster, Secretary-Treasurer; Bennie Smith, Field Organizer; A. L. Totten, Assistant General Organizer, and E. J. Barclay, St. Louis Division Organizer, were called together by General Organizer, A. Phillip Randolph, in Chicago, for the purpose of reviewing the struggle of the movement to organize the pullman porters, and to map out a program to meet emergency problems that may arise from this stage of the struggle through a completion of the fight.

News For Our Nordics

The fact is, the genuine American, the typical American, is himself a hyphenated character. This does not mean that he is part American and that some foreign ingredient is then added. It means that "he" is international and interracial in his make-up. He is not American plus Pole or German. But the American is himself Pole-German—English—French—Spanish—Italian—Greek—Irish—Scandinavian—Bohemian—Jew—and so on.—The late RANDOLPH BOURNE.

Labor's Dividends

The metal-mining industry in the United States experienced a higher death rate in 1926 than in 1925, according to reports of the Department of Commerce. An examination of the companies' reports showed a death rate of 3.47 per thousand men employed as compared with 2.99 in 1925. A single disaster killed 51 men; this was a mine caused by a burst of water. The nonfatal injury was 245 per thousand employees as against 284 in the preceding year.

A.F.L. Fights Wholesale Injunction

Organization Activities on
N. Y. Traction Lines at a
Standstill in Meantime

By Louis Stanley
THE suit of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company to enjoin all the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor from organizing the I. R. T. employees who have been entrained by a "yellow dog" contract, came into court on January 23, after three months of postponements.

A distinguished audience of trade union officials, professors, subway workers and others crowded the courtroom to "standing room only" capacity. The philosopher, Morris R. Cohen, introduced the English Labor publicist, H. N. Brailsford, to the politician and counsel for defense, Democratic Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York. It was, indeed, an historic occasion.

The significant contribution of the proceedings was the address of Senator Wagner to his newspaper audience. From the I. R. T. side the important thing was the advantage taken by Quackenbush, genius of the company of the recent decision of the Court of Appeals in the old I. R. T. injunction suit.

Now, the point that has been overlooked is that the Exchange decision was handed down on May 31, 1927, and it was in consequence of this very action of the Court of Appeals that Quackenbush and Hedley of the I. R. T. admittedly concocted a new contract which purported to cover a definite period of two years and which every employee had to sign individually in addition to being bound by it through the General Committee.

But Judge Lehman, who wrote the opinion of the Court of Appeals in the Lavin case was not satisfied with repeating the doctrines laid down in the Exchange case. In his characteristic loquacious and speculative way he added some thoughts of his own.

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U.S. Gags Cuban Press; Socialist Paper Banned; Forces Halt Peace Move

"Good Will" Mission to
Gen. Sandino Halted by
American Authorities,
It Reports

Finds Popular
Resentment of U. S.

Cessation of American
Hostilities First Require-
ment for Settlement, It
Is Urged

MEMBERS of the "Mission of Good Will" sent to Central America last November by the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation have returned to report that they had attempted to initiate mediation between General Sandino of Nicaragua and the authorities of the United States but that the American authorities had not permitted them to make a direct approach in person to General Sandino. Those composing the Mission were Prof. Elbert Russell of Duke University, North Carolina; Miss Carolina Wood, Rev. John Nevins Sayre, a Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and Robert Jones of Chicago.

A statement by members of the Mission said: "We went to Managua and had repeated interviews with Dr. Dana Munroe, American Charge D'Affaires, and with Colonel Mason Gulick, commanding the marines. We urged that a strong attempt should be made to reach a peaceful settlement with General Sandino before the Pan American Congress assembled in Havana. We offered to go to him and to see if some basis of negotiations could not be begun between him and the American authorities. His father was willing to take us to the vicinity of his stronghold and we had letters of introduction to General Sandino from his brother and from the Nicaraguan Federation of Labor. But we could not persuade the American authorities to let us attempt this mission."

"However, after various delays Mr. Jones and Mr. Sayre were allowed to penetrate as far as San Rafael del Norte, 170 miles north of Managua, but three days journey on horseback this side of where Sandino's headquarters were supposed to be. At San Rafael they were able to have a conversation with the wife of General Sandino and to put into her hands their letters of introduction, with a letter of their own, stating the purpose of their mission and asking if General Sandino would be willing to confer with them. This was on December 27th, three days before the clash between his soldiers and the marines near Quilich which resulted in the death of 6 Americans and an unknown number of Nicaraguans. Mrs. Sandino said it would require six days to get an answer back to San Rafael but she agreed to forward the letters to her husband immediately by a trusted messenger."

"Mr. Jones and Mr. Sayre waited ten days for an answer, and it was only after they had left that a press dispatch from Managua brought word that General Sandino had declined to meet them. We suppose that the advance of the American marines into the Sandino territory

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Some Figures Explaining American Concern With The Latin-Americans

Economic Ties of the United States with Latin America				
Year End June 30	Imports From Latin America in Millions	Per Cent of Total	Exports to Latin America in Millions	Per Cent of Total
1913	\$ 442	24.40	\$ 324	13.13
1914	469	24.77	282	11.93
1915	557	33.29	251	9.08
1916	760	34.58	411	9.49
1917	963	36.21	582	9.25
1918	1,025	33.44	726	12.24
1919	1,127	36.39	826	11.99
1920	1,774	34.50	1,163	15.05
1921	1,134	31.70	1,313	20.90
1922	662	25.40	506	13.46
1923	1,025	27.94	608	15.36
1924	987	27.77	683	15.28
1925	1,021	22.69	814	16.74
1926	1,012	22.66	847	17.82
1927	1,001	23.54	832	16.76

Students Fight Conviction in Handbill Case

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
NEW HAVEN.—Undaunted by conviction of one of their number for "illegal" distribution of handbills, the 19 Yale students who set out to tell New Haven about the issues in the Neckwear Union strike, are planning to carry the case forward to the highest courts of the state, and, if necessary, the U. S. Supreme Court. If action in the court fails to establish the right to distribute trade union literature in the streets of New Haven, a strong fight will be made to amend the ordinance under which distribution of the literature is now being prevented.

J. T. Patterson, son of a wealthy Bridgeport manufacturer, was selected to make the test case for the group of students. In the court of Common Pleas last Saturday, he pleaded not guilty and was found guilty. An appeal was immediately taken.

More than 150 Yale students filled the courtroom to capacity, drinking in every word as former N. Y. Assemblyman Louis Waldman and Philip C. Troup, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, argued in defense of what they held to be rights guaranteed in the Federal constitution. The students burst into cheers when Troup declared that the prosecution's view could prevent distribution of John Stuart Mills' essay on "Liberty". Four patrolmen, following the lead of the dignified Judge Dunn, restored order.

City Attorney French seemed to feel that the handling out of union circulars in the streets might scare horses and "make them misbehave." Mr. Waldman politely reminded him that horses are a sort of a rarity in the streets these days. But Mr. French thought up more objections. The circulars might litter streets, clog up sewers, etc. Waldman answered that all this was hypothetical and

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Reading Tackles Readjustment of Assessments

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
READING, PA.—"We will give the people of Reading a scientific and just assessment if it is the only big thing we do in our entire term," declared Mayor J. Henry Stump at a recent meeting of the Socialist Executive Committee in Labor Lyceum. "We made our campaign on a fair assessment and we will keep our pledges to the people to the letter. However, we will not move rashly or with excessive speed. We will study the situation and proceed just as rapidly as we can safely do so."

Stump, Maurer and Snyder, the committee was informed, are studying the property situation and will present their recommendations to Smith and McConnell, their republican and democratic colleagues, in time for a consideration by the full councilmanic body.

Two plans for the assessments have been suggested. The first proposal calls for a "home made" assessment which will be worked under the direct supervision of Assessor Milton E. Bortz and local members of his staff. The other plan involves engaging a firm of expert appraisers. The latter course will leave the city assessor in full control of all values, but will give the city the benefit of assistance from experts who have given similar services to many other municipalities.

The Socialist councilmen, who, as a controlling majority, will be responsible for whichever course is taken, are given the greatest possible consideration to both plans. They feel that Smith and McConnell have already placed themselves on record in favor of the present assessment figures and should not be asked to take any initiative in making a sweeping change. For that reason Stump, Maurer and Snyder are proceeding with their investigations as a body of three.

Audience That Cheered
Coolidge Hand—Picked
by Secret Police—Critics
Deported

Criticism Seeps
Through the Press

Influential Organ Says
Coolidge Deals in "Ami-
able Words" and Deadly
Airlines

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON.—That the United States is forfeiting an opportunity to improve relations with the Latin-American countries at the present Havana Conference, by prompting Cuban suppression of free speech and a free press, is the statement made by the National Council for Prevention of War, as the result of information received from its American correspondent in Cuba.

Control of the Cuban press to the end that nothing unfriendly to the interests of this country shall be printed, hand-picking of audiences where the American delegation appears, and deportation from Havana of persons known to oppose America's Caribbean policy were the specific points brought forward in substantiation of the Council's statement.

The National Council for Prevention of War is a clearinghouse of thirty national organizations interested in the promotion of world peace. Its headquarters are 532 Seventeenth street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Police Pick Listeners
"The Cuban Government," the Council's correspondent writes, "took special pains to prepare the ground for President Coolidge. His reception was a most enthusiastic one and most of the people were not only curious to see him, but seemed to like him."

"However, these facts must be taken into consideration. First, the Secretary of State, Ortiz, had asked the press to refrain from unfavorable comment. Second, the name of every person who was given an invitation to hear Coolidge speak was first passed upon by the Cuban secret police. Third, all foreigners were deported."

"These deportees included two distinguished Haitian jurists, Dantes Bellegarde and Pierre Huncuourt. They were delegates to the last Pan American Conference at Santiago where they criticized the American occupation of Haiti. Huncuourt is a former delegate to the Hague Peace Conference, a member of the American Institute of International Law and Dean of the Haitian College of Law. Bellegarde is a former delegate to the League of Nations and one of the most distinguished lawyers in the Caribbean."

Press Kept In Line
Favorable press comment on the American delegation and American policies has been secured in two ways, the correspondent of the National Council points out: First, by government influence over certain papers. Second, by silencing the dissenters. Nevertheless, some criticism of our Caribbean policy has leaked through the wall of official censorship.

The National Council for Prevention of War further quotes its correspondent as follows:

"Most of the Cuban press gave Coolidge a rousing storm of praise after his speech. However, it must be remembered that the press is subsidized by President Machado, of Cuba, who gets \$300,000 a month from the national lottery, \$100,000 of which goes to the Cuban Congress, \$100,000 of which goes to the press, and \$100,000 of which he keeps."

"Heraldo de Cuba, one of the foremost supporters of Coolidge's speech is owned in part by Ambassador Ferrera."

"Despite this control there has been an undercurrent of cynicism regarding Coolidge's visit. One paper, Atuel, a Socialist weekly, edited by Cuban students educated in the United States, was suppressed because of an article giving instructions to the Latin-American delegates."

Critical Editor Out
"But most important of all, chiefly because it is one of the foremost papers, El Pais has printed some very caustic things about Coolidge, among them the following:
"This is Coolidge, the man who

Hoover All Things To All Men, Say His Managers

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Washington.—The Republicans have been plugging away, boosting the candidacy of Herbert Hoover. Mrs. Malaprop said of Caesar's wife that she was all things to all men. Republican campaign managers are evidently trying to get Hoover into the class with Caesar's wife. On the one hand they tell us that he is a great liberal, and the supposedly progressive Scripps-Howard newspapers announce that they will support him in the campaign. On the other hand they assure us that he is all for big business, and they hint that he will have the support of Uncle Andrew Mellon, the leader of the reactionary forces in this country.

To think of Herbie Hoover as a liberal is to laugh. So far as I

know he has never made a speech on any important issue in which he has not defended, and with some vigor, all the privileges of the special interests of this country opposed to labor and favoring capital. The collective action of the people in any way, shape or manner, is abhorrent to this man Hoover. Using the most questionable methods when engaged in relief work abroad, he did all in his power to suppress the revolutions of workers and peasants in Hungary and other countries. In this country there is no doubt that he was instrumental in persuading John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers to sign the disastrous Jacksonville agreement. Unquestionably the agreement has worked out in favor of the non-union

fields, as against the organized miners, and is at the root of the present troubles in bituminous coal. Those farmers who can remember back to war days will not be likely to forgive Hoover quickly for the part he played in the fixing of the price of wheat.

They have begun early, these old-time politicians, with their propaganda for the 1928 campaign. The other night over the radio, Charles D. Hillis of the Republican party, and Franklin Roosevelt of the Democrats, told their audience of the respective merits of their parties. Mr. Roosevelt said that if made his blood boil when people said that there was no difference between the two old parties. But in the course of a long and rather dreary speech, in which he blamed

all the financial panics of the past on the Republicans, whereas Mr. Hillis had just blamed them on the Democrats. Mr. Roosevelt neglected to explain just what this difference was.

Every Shakespeare student will understand that the only difference between the two old parties is the difference with which the common man wears his ruse. There is no hope in either of them. They are vestigial remnants of the days when there really was a conflict of ideas in this country between the followers of Alexander Hamilton, representing the banking and mercantile interests, and Thomas Jefferson, representing the workers in the cities, and the farmers. The Hamiltonians won long ago, and now there is simply one grand Re-

publican-Democratic party, far removed from the aspirations of the common man, devoted to the protection of privilege and the consequent opposition of the producer.

They have found a way for bridging the aisle which separates these two in the Congress. That bridge is campaign contribution, such as Insull of Illinois made with open-handed generosity to both candidates in the last Senatorial election in his state, contributions for which the successful candidates are expected to return full measure to the corporations making them. That they are doing so this session is evidenced by the success with which the lobby for the electrical power interests are blocking the Walsh resolution for a thorough investigation of the Power Trusts.

A. F. of L. Fights National Injunction

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command. . . The question would still remain whether the defendants are justified in urging the employees to conceal (emphasis in original) facts which, if disclosed, would lead inevitably to their discharge. That question has not been argued on this appeal. We do not answer it now. Many factors must enter into its solution. Not all appear in this record. We merely state the question to point out that we are in no wise determining it. . . . Wrong begins, if at all, if the defendants use unlawful means to carry out their purpose or perhaps if they attempt to induce the plaintiff's workers to conceal facts where concealment constitutes in effect deception, or to do other acts which constitute express or implied obligations to their employer upon which the employer has legal and equitable right to insist."

Quackenbush pushed forward this new argument based upon concealment of union membership as often as he could. It was apparent that he was counting a good deal upon it. He begged that the "boring from within" should be restrained or a strike would ensue. The reply of Senator Wagner and Republican ex-Congressman Perlman was two-fold. First, they wanted to know where in the papers of the case the charge of secrecy and deception appeared, and secondly, they offered to supply a daily list of workers recruited into the union, provided the I. R. T. promised not to discharge the new members. The first refutation will call forth the ingenuity of Quackenbush in discovering an implication of concealment in his original complaint but the second is, of course, a silly gesture, which begs the whole question at issue. The most effective reply in harmony with the whole line of argument of the union is based upon a realistic approach. Just as the Court of Appeals recognizes the legality of picketing in the absence of a strike because it is consonant with current economic developments, so it should be argued that secret recruiting is essential to successful union activity. To dodge the issue at this juncture is to stir up a hornet's nest for the future.

Probably Quackenbush placed his chief reliance upon the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and the inferior Federal tribunals. In 1908 the highest court in the land decided in the Adair case that the section of the Erdman Railway Act of 1898 declaring the exaction of "yellow dog" contracts on railroads in interstate commerce a criminal offense was unconstitutional. In 1917 in the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. case the same court decided that interference with a "yellow dog" contract in the coal fields of West Virginia was illegal, although employment was "at will". By inference the Copeage case decided by the Supreme Court in 1915 was also brought in by Quackenbush. There a Kansas statute making it criminal to require a "yellow dog" contract as a condition of employment was held unconstitutional. Quackenbush referred to a similar New York law of 1887. Finally, the I. R. T. lawyer pointed to the Red Jacket decision involving a "yellow dog" contract in West Virginia, which the Supreme Court had affirmed as recently as at its last October session. Quackenbush pointed out that William Green, as an official of the United Mine Workers, had been a defendant in the Hitchman case and concluded with the question:

"Is there one law in this state court and another one across the square in the Federal court?"

As one professor whispered facetiously: "Here! Here!"

Now, as a matter of fact, there is one law in the Federal and another in the state courts and Quackenbush knows this very well. The Hitchman and Red Jacket decisions do not apply in New York because the law of contract in West Virginia differs from that in New York and the Federal Courts are bound by the law of the jurisdiction where the case originates. Furthermore, the cases involving Federal and state statutes are inapplicable because the laws declared unconstitutional concerned a criminal and

not a civil offense. Unfortunately, so far as the hearing was concerned, the lawyers for defense did not point this out. They probably will in their briefs but they missed an opportunity to obtain publicity on a point about which there is wide-spread misunderstanding. As it is Judge Waser's decision that Senator Wagner served in his briefs a discussion of the bearing of the Red Jacket decision upon the present litigation. No matter what the present ruling will be, the case will in all probability be carried through to the Court of Appeals and perhaps to the United States Supreme Court. That will take months, if not years. In the meantime, organization work among the I. R. T. employees may be said to have ceased. A strike is out of the question, even if it were possible, for refraining from a walk-out had to be promised the court in order to avoid the granting of a temporary injunction in the first place. It looks very much as if the union is merely marking time to obtain its members on the I. R. T. ready-made, when the city takes over the lines.

Will Tammany live up to the implied pledge?

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

parties be pledged to give legal effect. We won't get it? Well, neither will we get any other solution—2.75% beer will not satisfy the wets—and this is at least the most logical way out.

The Geneva Conference on Naval armament was theoretically a good thing but it was so bungled by the politicians both English and American and handled so adroitly by the naval officers who went as experts—on armament, not disarmament—that its results were to encourage the big navy program in all countries.

So with these Briand-Kellogg outlawry of war negotiations. In theory they are good. But there is reason to fear that stupidly or on purpose they will be so handled by our Administration and the French cabinet that their failure will be another argument for big armaments. It will pay us to watch and not be fooled.

That was a clever speech Mr. Hughes made in justification of our Latin American policy. We doubt if it will go down at home or abroad. It is all very well to talk about "independence, stability, good will, and cooperation" as the pillars of Pan American relations. But who made us God Almighty to judge these qualities in our neighbors? And how much cooperation has there been in our methods? Why didn't Mr. Hughes discuss the financial background of our interventions past and present? Certainly none of our imperialists in his senses wants to occupy a Latin American country if he can get what he wants without it. A nice pro-capitalist government like that in Cuba, Costa Rica or Peru which gives our investors all they want anyhow is cheaper and more edifying to Mr. Hughes and his associates than an expensive occupation. But that is no solution of Pan American desires.

At this distance it begins to look as if some of the delegates would talk freely. The Mexicans broke away from Mr. Morrow's hypnotic spell long enough to propose some drastic structural changes in the Pan American union. That Havana party may yet be worth watching.

I was one of those a little disappointed by Mr. Bertrand Russell's recent lecture trip. But I have nothing but gratitude and praise for him these days when I am reading his most recent book, Philosophy (W. W. Norton, N. Y.). It is written with a delightful humanism, keen wit and as lucid a style as one could bring to some difficult abstract problems. His criticism of the psychological doctrine of behaviorism both by way of praise and blame and his account of the new theories in physics and their bearing on philosophy is both satisfying and stimulating to the non expert reader. More I may say when I've finished the book. Now I recommend it to you all who first acquired a little taste for philosophy or philosophers from Will Durant.

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Prize Fights Draw Big Turnout to Meeting of Textile Union

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

Northampton, Mass.—Trade Union meetings have not been altogether free of fist fights in the 106-year-long history of labor organization in this country but until this time there probably never were friendly boxing bouts staged between various orders of business at the regular meeting of a local union. The Florence branch of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers discovered that its monthly meeting fell on the night of the Sharkey-Heeneey fight. Word was passed around the shop that a radio would be set up in the hall and that business would be suspended when the fight was on the air. The meeting opened shortly after eight with a big turnout of members present. Routine business was transacted and some matters of importance taken up until a recess was called to hear the description of the prize fight. After listening to the radio story of the match a surprise was sprung on the meeting. A bout was staged right in the hall between some of the knitters present. Three different pairs mixed it for about half an hour in all to the great amusement of the gathering.

The union meeting was reopened and a good discussion had on important shop questions until midnight when adjournment was moved with a big night's work accomplished. Several younger men were induced to take part in the meeting as a result of this event who had formerly taken trade unionism as a matter of paying dues and hearing a bunch of grey beards orate at each other. The Florence local now plans to stage a totally different sort of stunt for the next meeting.

WAR AIMS AND ILLUSIONS

The great joke of the World War is that Germany got what we said we were fighting for and we got what Germany was said to be fighting for. The war destroyed the Prussian military machine while our militarists are feverishly at work to establish it here by militarizing education and bringing about universal military conscription. We have less democracy than we had before the war and Germany has more than it had before the war. Then we are doing in Latin America what Germany was charged with wanting to do in the East. Moreover, the western farmers could not be worse off now if the German armies had reached their region.

Moral: Always look for the enemy at home. You will rarely find him elsewhere.

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A Jingle for Jerry

Nearly forty years ago a few clever verses were written in England against the Socialists and then imported for service in this country. Here they are: "Who is the Socialist? One who hath yearnings 'For equal division of unequal earnings. 'Tidder or bungler or both he is willing 'To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling."

This was considered clever by some people. We would like to see a fat head politician chant this to textile workers, miners and farmers by way of proving that Socialists are responsible for their plight. How 'bout it, Jerry?

Yale Students Fight Conviction

(Continued from Page 1)

none of it had taken place. He inquired why the students had not been charged with any of these offenses which the City Attorney deemed so illegal.

Justice Dunn shook his head in a disapproving fashion. Young people—"the misguided spirit of youth" was his original way of putting it—too often take a "too liberal interpretation of liberty under the constitution of the United States."

The attitude of the local press has not served to decrease the resentment which the students and other public spirited New Havenites hold against it. Now the Associated Press, wittingly or unwittingly, has joined in the game of doctoring the news about the strike and the arrest of the Yale men in connection with it. After the arrest, the Yale News, student publication, commented sarcastically on criticism of 19 who had been arrested. They pointed out that the action of the students was "undignified." Did not the students know how dignified Yale students had been in other days—when the boys used to hurl bricks through windows, stage free-for-alls on the venerable green and fought firemen who tried to put out fires?

The local press enunciated the editorial beyond recognition blazening on its pages a "denunciation" of the arrested students. The Associated Press sent this garbled version out all over the country.

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THE POT CALLS THE KETTLE BLACK

The Tragedy of William Foster Revealed By Himself In a Book on "The Misleaders of Labor"

By Benjamin Stolberg

(A Review of "Misleaders of Labor," by William Z. Foster. Trade Union Educational League.)

THIS book is divided against itself. And in this division lies the failure and tragedy of William Z. Foster. There is no man in the American labor movement who might have done as much as he toward remedying the very conditions which this propaganda monograph exposes. Foster knows the American labor movement as few others do. He knows its history, its tactics, he knows its personnel intimately. He is fundamentally a proletarian, yet he is an intellectual in the sense that his formal training in the field of his interests is wide and disciplined. He is a superb organizer. His central aims, the organization of the unorganized and the drive toward a greater trade union solidarity, are undoubtedly the first steps in the modernization of the archaic dominant labor movement. What just one competent leader can accomplish Foster has demonstrated well enough in 1922 when his amalgamation program received innumerable endorsements by state and city labor federations all over the country and forced quite a number of international union officials to render at least lip service to his program. Foster knows what he wants logically. But he does not know it psychologically. He lacks a single-minded comprehension of what he wants, an instinctive gift to avoid pitfalls which will ensnare his

course. In plain language he lacks character, which lack turned to ashes all his intelligence and genuine courage and, indeed, in the end perverted even his intellectual honesty and fearlessness. And today he is the pawn of a fantastic program, whose phantasmic nature probably few appreciate better than he does himself.

Michigan Woods, His End

The "liquidation" of Foster's usefulness as an effective critic of the A. F. of L. oligarchy may be said to have begun when he was caught in the idiotic, macabre "conspiracy" in the Michigan woods, betrayed by the kind of stool pigeon who is bound to find lodgement in Quixotic "revolutionary" movements. When Foster was caught in this imported red phantasy he was through with American labor. And he knew it.

"Every man makes his mistakes. And that's where I made mine, I guess," it escaped Foster soon after the Michigan fiasco. His new alignments, indeed, proved fatal. He drove all bona fide left wing trade unionists, such as the Chicago Federation of Labor, into the arms of the reaction. He was ever more forced, against his better judgment and against his will, to do the will of the fanatic morons and two by four politicians of the Workers' Party, whose brand

of "journalism," whose views of American life and labor, and absurd antics in general are still provoking some of the choicest epithets in the private vocabulary of contempt and ridicule of the Russian revolutionary leaders. These cheap charlatans made him use an "ideology" which had not the slightest bearing on the problems of the American working masses and to partake in "strategies" whose crazy nature was bound to attract to itself all the unstable fools, adventurers and red chorus boys and flappers on the fringes of the labor movement. When poor Foster protested he was slapped in the face and made to eat his words. And by this time he was so deteriorated that he is forced to spoil what would be an excellent book on the collapse of the dominant labor movement by holding up the American Communist fiasco as the only hope against labor's degradation.

It is an exasperating book. There is a world of truth in it; and a world of bunk. And the truth is so well told and documented that the falsities in it stand out as equally deliberate.

Trade Union Corruption

In this book we find well authenticated between the covers of one volume the whole range of mental and spiritual corruption of the old trade union hier-

archy. First, we meet the actual criminal, underworld type of labor leader: "Skinny" Madden, Simon O'Donnell, Mike Boyle, Tim Murphy, Sam Parks, Robert Brindell. The easy theory that the Parks-Brindell days are over is quite false. The court records of the last few years show plainly that the labor criminal in places of leadership is by no means a figure of the past. But, on the whole, graft in the labor movement as elsewhere has discovered more respectable ways of doing business. Thus George L. Berry, President of the International Pressmen and Assistants' Union and his gang stand convicted in court of misappropriating \$165,000 of union funds for the development of a private enterprise, the Clinchfield Hydro-Electric Power Company. This is merely a sample of Mr. Berry's way of doing business, a gentleman who has been in power by as rotten a "rotten borough" system as has ever been devised.

E. H. Fitzgerald, Grand President of the Railway Clerks, organized the "Railroad Brotherhoods Investment Corporation," a \$10,000,000 company under fake union auspices, which almost wrecked the clerks' organization. The report of the 1922 convention of the Maintenance of Way workers brought out that that president of the union, A. E. Barker, "misappropriated the aggregate sum of \$222,000." The organized workers of Buffalo and Pittsburgh have been fleeced to the tune of tens of thousands of dollars by "Labor Temple" sharks. Dozens of such corrupt methods of stealing the pennies of the workers might be quoted.

Warren Stone's "Statesmanship"

During the life of Warren S. Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers we all heard a great deal about his labor "statesmanship" in the building of huge financial institutions and enterprises. Some years ago, a well-known magazine asked me to write an article on Mr. Stone's new unionism. I went to Cleveland, where I soon lost all appetite for the story. But it remained for the 1927 convention of the Brotherhood to prove the high-scale thievery and Ponzi methods of Messrs. Stone and Prenter, his successor in office. The whole administration of the union during those days of frenzied finance was saturated with glorified grafters, so greedy and stupid that they were bound to be discovered. According to the Committee of Ten, which was appointed by the convention to investigate the financial enterprises of the union, \$16,000,000 were invested in Florida land speculations alone, a pure gamble in which the insurance and pension funds were unconscionably used and in which all the shabby tricks of Florida real estate sharks were used to bamboozle the membership into pouring money into it. From \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 were lost in this Florida gamble, nobody knows just how much. The Coal River Collieries, the scab mines which Stone did not permit to unionize on the ground that to do so would mean their ruin, netted their promoters "possibly \$550,000." Stone and Prenter made out of it a "personal profit" estimated from \$60,000 to \$100,000. Salaries of these union officials ranged from \$48,000 to \$10,000 a year with expense accounts which many a corporation might well envy.

Indeed, the American railroad worker, whose wages average a little over \$1600 a year, pays all his higher officials in the various international unions around \$9,000 a year. The president of the Maintenance of Way workers, that is of the common laborers on the railroads, gets \$500 a year more than a United States Senator. Vice-President Phil Murray of the United Mine Workers of America, at a time when the vast majority of its soft coal members were actually starving in time of strike, belittled in the 1927 convention: "You can consider me a miner with a grievance. I am fighting for just wages." He was "fighting" to increase his salary from \$7,000 to \$9,000 a year; and he got it. His expense is never less.

Foster goes on for pages on end exposing this sort of thing. I am not taking his word for it merely, though he documents his material carefully enough. Ten years as a reporter of American

labor have brought practically all these cases to my own attention. And Foster refrained, no doubt, from doubling and trebling his material simply because one has to stop some place.

A Well-Founded Indictment

There is a great deal of truth in Foster's philosophical indictment of the American Federation of Labor as well. Its social conceptions are primitive, reactionary, harmful not only to a militant development of the rights of labor, but equally harmful to social intelligence in general. To the comparative student of international labor the shibboleths of the A. F. of L. are as primitive as the social outlook of an Australian Bushman. For all of Foster's sweeping indictment of its "class-collaboration" it really does not "collaborate" with capital. It just gives in. In its fear, weakness, and stupidity it plays with every agency which is organized by the reactionary forces to cheat it even of the fruits of the "pure and simple" trade unionism of the last half century. The word "class collaboration" in the Communist vocabulary means very little, for Foster indicts the Amalgamated program, a program which merely appreciates that a sick industry can not support its workers, quite as bitterly as he indicts Mat- the Well's double crossing of labor's old age pension plans, and of everything progressive in the way of social legislation and advance through the Civic Federation, of which he is now the official head.

But that the Woll strategy, whatever its motives, means the total emasculation of the labor movement, of this no intelligent student can possibly entertain any doubts. Foster's analyses of labor journalism, of the A. F. of L. "non-partisan" political strategy, of the B. and O. Plan are no doubt correct. One wishes, for instance, that that part of the book which deals with the policies of the A. F. of L. oligarchy could find its way into the hands of the college students, who have been doped of late years by well meaning liberal and church goers with pictures of how "fine" our labor movement is, only to become permanently disgusted with it after they come in contact with it in after years.

Foster's Falsehoods

There is, however, too much emphasis in this book on the spinelessness and corruption of leaders and tactics, and not enough analysis of the social forces which corrupted them. For, after all is said and done, these "misleaders" are at bottom only a reflection of social conditions which have weakened the labor movement in its relation to the national culture. Still, one might excuse Foster for dealing with persons rather than conditions on the grounds that this book is primarily a work of propaganda.

It is much more difficult to forgive the falsehoods he tells, deliberate falsehoods, about the few progressive tendencies, no matter how weak and ineffective these might be, as long as these tendencies are not part and parcel of the Workers' Party hoax. And what is even more absurd is his dogmatic endorsement of the Communist "left wing" tactics, no matter how corrupt and foul these might be. Relatively, quite as much downright thieving has been done during the last few years by some of the "left wing" leaders as has ever been done by the "Skinny" Maddens. Fake campaigns for all sorts of international reliefs, and national programs are constantly resorted to. Even the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy was exploited to raise money for strictly party work. On the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party there is known to be at least one agent provocateur.

When Foster attacks Morris Hillquit as "the type of labor lawyer that prey upon the unions," who "charges the unions \$25 for a telephone conversation," all one can say is that it does not happen to be true. There are many critics, one might level against Mr. Hillquit's Socialist leadership of four decades, as one might against anybody's leadership of such duration, but dishonesty does not happen to be one of them.

Forgotten "Little Oscar"

When Foster quotes "from the Labor Herald of February 1924," that is from

an article which this reviewer happens to know Foster helped to prepare himself, that, "Ben Gold, Fanny Warshawsky, and Lena Greenberg (present left wing leaders) were assaulted and brutally beaten at the instigation of Kaufman" (then president of the Furriers) he knows that he is not telling the truth. As a matter of fact, intra-labor gangsterism in the Furriers' Union was introduced by these very left-wing leaders. When he writes that the "New York Socialist trade unions . . . are . . . infested with . . . terrorists" and that many of them are connected with criminal underworld gangs, he again is forgetting "Little Oscar" and other professional gangsters introduced into union warfare by Communist leaders.

I hold no brief for the "Socialist" trade unions. I hold no brief for the right leadership in the International Ladies Garment Makers' Union or for the motley right-wing leadership in the Furriers' Union. But Foster's presentation of the great cloakmakers' and furriers' strikes in 1927 as a betrayal of the rank and file, whom the noble "left-wingers" would defend at any price, is just deliberately false. The right-wing leadership in both these unions happens to have acted in both these strikes incomparably more decently, no matter what its motives may

have been, than the left-wing wreckers, who turned the conduct of the strike entirely over to the Workers' Party. In both these strikes it was the "Left-Wing" which first introduced terrorism through the hired gangsters, of whom it soon lost all control. It was the "Left-Wing" leadership which squandered money in irresponsible bribery of the police authorities, at least so they claimed. And it was the "Left Wing" leaders who, as Bill Foster well knows, misappropriated thousands of dollars more irresponsibly, relatively, than Brindell ever did, and who tried to break up the unions after they had lost their leadership.

Bitter Tears in Moscow

All this Foster knows as well as anybody. He is disgusted with this "left wing" as much as anybody. It was he who made a pilgrimage to Moscow where he assailed this incompetent and thieving crew as bitterly as anybody. And now he is presenting this same "left wing" as the hope and the ideal of American labor, thereby rendering his study as a whole worthless to anybody who does know the American Labor movement with sufficient discrimination to know what's what.

The truth of the matter is that American labor is "misled" from its furthest right to its furthest left; that the causes of this misleadership lie in social conditions on which Foster hardly touches, if at all; and that the book on the subject still remains to be written.

Berger Assails Pennsylvania Coal Barons

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Something of the condition of the striking Pennsylvania coal miners was brought to the attention of the house by Congressman Victor L. Berger.

"To Hell With Humanity"
Mr. Berger—Mr. Speaker and members of the house, I have received the following telegram this morning:

"Brownsville, Pa., Jan. 7, 1928.—Congressman Victor Berger, Washington, D. C.:

"The Vesta Coal Co. has a gang of gunmen evicting the coal miners from their houses at its No. 6 mine. These women and children have no shelter.

I appealed to General Manager Joe Edwards to stay evictions until Monday, when we could have barracks sufficiently erected to shelter these people.

I asked in the name of humanity not to put these women and children on the roadside these cold nights and Sunday. He answered: 'To hell with humanity.' He hoped they would freeze and rot. These people have been in employ of that company for more than 10 years.

"LAWRENCE DWYER, Representative United Mine Workers of America.

"West Brownsville, Pa."

Tells of Injunction

Judge J. N. Langham, presiding judge of the court of common pleas of Indiana county, Pennsylvania, on Nov. 18 issued an injunction in which he addressed the whole army of strikers by name, "District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America, their associates, aiders, abettors, and agents, or any other person acting with the above named," and instructed them as follows:

We therefore * * * do strictly enjoin and command you, the said defendants, your associates, aiders, abettors, and all other persons that you from henceforth desist * * *

(4) From distributing pecuniary contributions, in furtherance of the conspiracy to keep men from employment or seeking employment with the plaintiff.

The plaintiff is the Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, which operates the mines at Rossiter.

Fred Thomas, organizer of District No. 2, said:

Starvation Their Aim

The purpose of that injunction is to

starve our men into submission. They have nothing but the pitiful \$3 a week the union gives them. And now the court bars that. We are forbidden to share what little we have with our own people. And they need it so!

The need in Rossiter is terrible. It is also terrible in the coal fields of western and central Pennsylvania, among the 85,000 strikers and their 200,000 dependents.

A reporter arrived at one of these homes at noon. He was ushered into the kitchen of Mrs. Francis Summers, young mother of old American stock, as are most of the Rossiter strikers. Three children clustered about the table.

They were hungry. All the mother had for them were three soda crackers for that meal. These crackers she soaked in a plate of weak tea.

The meal of each child consisted of one soaked cracker, fed to it with a spoon.

Mother Goes Hungry

This is what the children got. The mother got—nothing.

That is the situation in Rossiter. And it is there that it is made a crime to give children food.

In the face of these privations and hardships it is remarkable that the spirit of the strikers and their families has not been subdued by all the injunctions and all the evictions and all the hardships to which they have been exposed by the mine owners and the judges who do their bidding.

Cannot Even Visit

Rossiter is not the average coal town in that there are some parts of the town not owned by the company, whereas in other mining towns everything in it and on it is owned by the mine owners. But despite the "free" territory still to be found there, the strikers are not permitted to visit one another or even to walk together under the injunction.

It was on that kind of a situation that the new year dawned for thousands of families. And it continues to grow worse. And on the dawn of the new year a court order compelling 800 families to vacate company-owned houses of the Vesta Coal Co., whose striking employees sent me the telegram I read at the beginning of my remarks, was issued. That company, I am advised, is a subsidiary of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, and is related somewhat to the Mellon interests.

(To be Continued Next Week.)

Farmers' Union Is Rallying Land Workers on Class Lines

By Murray E. King

THE Farmers' Cooperative and Educational Union, more than any other American farmer movement, is the farmers' trade union. It is a gigantic mother organization fostering the cooperative buying, selling, credit and insurance organizations of the farmers. It is the largest and most widely spread class and independent farmer movement of this kind in the country. It is a genuine attempt of the farmer to emancipate himself from economic bondage by economic organization. It is combining with itself other independent economic farmer movements and is gradually becoming a nation-wide movement. I was informed several days ago by John A. Simpson, president of the Oklahoma Farmers Union, that the Farmers' union is organized in 26 states. From Iowa and Kansas the movement spreads East, West, North and South. It extends far into the old South. Its president, Charles S. Barrett, lives in Georgia. It is strong on the north Pacific coast in Oregon and Washington.

Within the past two years it has instituted a successful invasion of the old stronghold of the Nonpartisan League, North Dakota. Last year it added 8,000 new members from old members of the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota. The League ceased to collect dues from members five or six years ago, but the effect of its educational work still remains, making North Dakota one of the best fields for farmer economic organization in the United States.

Inroads in Minnesota

Within the past two years southern Minnesota has been sprinkled with Farmer Union locals. South Dakota has become a strong Farmers' Union state. Fifteen hundred new members were added to this movement in Wisconsin last year. The Farmers' Union is building an economic backbone in Minnesota, the former political stronghold, which will undoubtedly prove to be of great value to the political movement in the future.

Several very important and interesting moves preceded this economic invasion of the farmers' northwest political field. A. C. Townley's last attempt to organize the farmers of the nation after the Nonpartisan League movement in Minnesota became the Farmer-Labor party, and virtually cast him aside, was the Producers' Alliance. The Producers' Alliance is one of the most complete adoptions of trade union methods to farmer organization in the history of this country. The plan of this organization is to hold crops for equitable prices by storing them on the

farms, the price to be the average cost of production plus an equitable profit for the farmer. Townley tried to organize the Producers' Alliance first in North Dakota, but the North Dakota farmers were tired of him. So were the Minnesota farmers. He tried South Dakota with much better success. But when he discovered that the movement would be of comparatively slow growth he abandoned it. A. W. Ricker took up this organization when Townley dropped it. Shortly after this the Producers' Alliance merged with the Farmers' Union and South Dakota became a strong Farmers' Union state.

Equity Exchange Merges

About this time the equity Cooperative Exchange of Minnesota and Wisconsin—a cooperative movement which has been a great factor in the history of the farmer movement of the northwest—reached a mutual agreement with the Farmers' Union and became a part of the latter movement. These events mark the expanding and absorbing powers of the Farmers' Union in its march to the position of the national parent organization of the independent economic activities of the farmers of the United States. As a result of the amalgamations the strongest political and economic agrarian currents in America are brought into contact. The Farmers' Union, with its enormous cooperative assets and activities has annexed the great cooperatives of the Equity Exchange. The Producers' Alliance has been annexed together with its efficient corps of organizers, and a new executive committee of the Northwest has charge of the region covered by these amalgamations, consisting of M. W. Thatcher of the Equity, A. W. Ricker of the Producers' Alliance and C. C. Talbot of the Farmers' Union.

In its efforts to become the parent economic organization for all farmers moving toward better conditions along independent class lines, the Farmers' Union is making friendly overtures to all kindred organizations. When the Progress Builders arose in New Mexico, they were invited to join forces with the Farmers' Union. Their reply was that the Farmers' Union fails to stress the equal importance of political and economic organization, confining itself wholly to the economic field. The reply received by the Progress Builders to this brings out the interesting reasons why the Farmers' Union for the present steers away from independent political action. It is because its members are of all political beliefs. The leaders believe that any present attempt to unite the farmers politically would serve only to create disunity and division of a

destructive character which would retard economic organization. Most farmers are partisan Republicans and Democrats. They will have to function a long time in their economic organization as farmers before they will be ready to vote together as farmers, these leaders say. This controversy also developed the fact that many of the most prominent Farmers' Union leaders believe in independent political action, but believe that independent economic organization is the best and surest way to bring it.

Economic Progress Made

In the economic field, however, there is no gainsaying the splendid and highly useful work the Farmers' Union is doing. Through all the failures incidental to the battle for collective action in a country where the power of capitalistic ownership is unparalleled in the industrial and political fields, they are building up a surviving residue of cooperative enterprises owned and controlled and operated by the farmers as the foundation of a cooperative system. Better still, they are changing the farmer psychology and spirit. They are making the farmer class conscious and collective minded. They are breaking down his rock-ribbed individualism and in doing this are preparing the human material for a political movement capable of changing the present system.

One fact that my inquiries brought out is that during the last few years organization work in most states has been slower and more difficult than it ever was before, but at the same time the cooperative and union enterprises of the organization have developed more rapidly and attained greater success than ever before. Many of the states—states like Kansas, Iowa and Nebraska, formerly twice as many members as they have now. But in these same states the union is now at the zenith of its material achievements.

This is partly explained by the peculiar psychology of the farmer. He becomes far more enthusiastic over the prospect of united power than over actual achievements in that direction. Actual cooperative achievement takes slow, patient work. It is still too prosaic and the gains to modest for a large proportion of individualistic farmers. But the thousands and thousands of cooperatives built up and fostered by this country-wide parent organization are growing and their combined results are enormous. In their success the leaders see the certain growth and success of the movement.

The next article will attempt to give an impression of these enormous material achievements.

St. Colomba and the River — By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued From Last Week)

THE digging of this particular tunnel seemed safe enough—for McGlathery at least, once he began working here. It moved at the rate of two and even three feet a day, when things were going well, only there were days and days when, owing to the need of shoring and timbering and plate setting, to say nothing of the accidental encountering of rock in front which had to be drilled away, the men with picks and shovels had to be given a rest, or better yet, set to helping the joiners in erecting those cross beams and supports which made the walls safe. It was so that Dennis learned much about joining and even drilling.

Nevertheless, in spite of the increased pay, this matter of working under the river was a constant source of fear to him. The earth in which he worked was so uncertain. One day it would be hard black mud, another soft, another silt, another sand, according as the tunnel sloped further and further under the bed. In addition, at times great masses of it fell, not enough to make a hole in the roof

above, but enough, had it chanced to fall on one of the workers, to break his back or half bury him in mud. Usually it was broken by the beams overhead. Only one day, some seven months after he had begun and when he was becoming fairly accustomed to the idea of working here, and when his skill had increased to such an extent that he was considered one of the most competent workers in his limited field, the unexpected happened.

He had come down one morning at eight with the rest of his gang and was working about the base of two new supports which had just been put in place, when he noticed, or thought he did, that the earth seemed wetter than usual, sticky, watery, and hard to manage. It could not have been much worse had a subterranean spring been encountered. Besides, one of the gasoline lamps having been brought forward and hung close by, he noticed by its light that the ceiling seemed to look silvery gray and beady. He spoke of it to Cavanaugh, who stood by.

"Yis," said his foreman dubiously, staring upward, "tis wet. Maybe the air pumps is not workin' right,

I'll just make sure," and he sent word to the engineer.

The shaft superintendent himself appeared.

"Everything's all right up above," he said. "Two thousand pounds to the square inch. I'll just put on a little more, if you say so."

"Ye'd better," replied Cavanaugh. "The roof's not actin' right. And if ye see Mr. Henderson, send him down. I'd like to talk to him."

"All right," and off he went. McGlathery and the others, at first nervous, but now slightly reassured, worked on. But the ground under their feet became sloppy, and some of the silvery frosting on the roof began to drip and even trickle as water. Then a mass of sloppy mud fell.

"Back, men!" It was the voice of Cavanaugh, but not quicker than the scampering of the men who, always keenly alive to the danger of a situation, had taken note of the dripping water and the first flop of earth. At the same time, an ominous creak from one of the beams overhead gave warning of the imminence of a catastrophe. A pell-mell rush for the lock some sixty feet

ensued. Tools were dropped, precedence disregarded. They fell and stumbled over the beams and between, pushing each other out of the way into the water and mud as they ran. McGlathery a fair second to none.

"Open the door! Open the door!" was the cry as they reached the lock, for some one had just entered from the other side—the engineer. "For Christ's sake, open the door." But that could not be done so quickly. A few moments at least had to elapse. "It's breakin' in!" cried some one in a panicky voice, an ironworker.

"Great God, it's comin' down!" this from one of the masons, as three lamps in the distance were put out by the mud.

McGlathery was almost dying of fear. He was sweating a cold sweat. Five dollars a day indeed! He should stay away from water, once and for all. Didn't he know that? It was always bad luck to him.

"What's the trouble? What's the trouble?" called the amazed engineer as, unconscious of what was happening, he pushed open the door,

"Git out of the way!"

"Fer God's sake, let us in!" "Shut the door!" this from a half dozen who had already reached safety assuming that the door could be instantly closed.

"Wait! Cavanaugh's outside!" This from some one—not McGlathery, you may be sure, who was cowering in a corner. He was so fearful that he was entirely unconscious of his superior's fate.

"To hell with Cavanaugh! Shut the door!" screamed another, a great ironworker, savage with fear.

"Let Cavanaugh in, I say!" this from the engineer.

At this point McGlathery, for the first time on this or any other job, awoke to a sense of duty, but not much at that. He was too fearful. This was what he got for coming down here at all. He knew Cavanaugh—Cavanaugh was his friend, indeed. Had he not secured him this and other jobs? Surely. But then Cavanaugh had persuaded him to come down here, when he knew that he was afraid of water! And now this had happened. Inside as they cowered—even in his fear he had manhood

enough to feel that it was not quite right to shut Cavanaugh out. Still, what could he do—he was but one. But even as he thought, and others were springing forward to shut Cavanaugh out, so eager were they to save themselves, they faced a gleaming revolver in the steady hand of the big foreman.

"I'll shoot down the first damned man that tries to shut the door before me and Kelly are in," the big foreman was calling, the while he was pulling this same Kelly from the mud and slime outside. Then fairly throwing him into the lock, and leaping after him, he turned and quietly helped closed the door.

McGlathery was amazed at this show of courage. To stop and help another man like that in the face of so much danger! Cavanaugh was even a better and kinder man than he had thought—really a great man—no coward like himself. But why had Cavanaugh persuaded him to come down here when he knew that he was afraid of water! And now this had happened. Inside as they cowered—all but Cavanaugh—they could hear

the sound of crushing timber and grinding brick outside, which made it quite plain that where a few moments before had been beams and steel and a prospective passageway for men, was now darkness and water and the might of the river, as it had been since the beginning.

McGlathery, seeing this, awoke to the conviction that in the first place he was a great coward, and in the second that the tunnel digging was no job for him. He was by no means fitted for it, he told himself. "Tis the last," he commented, as he climbed safely out with the others after a distressing wait of ten minutes at the inward lock. "Begob, I thought we was all lost. 'Twas a close shave. But I'll go no more below. I've had enough." He was thinking of a small bank account—six hundred dollars in all—which he had saved, and of a girl in Brooklyn who was about to marry him. "No more!"

(To be Continued Next Week.)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

GOD AND THE TAX-COLLECTOR

NO doubt about it. The city of New York has a crush on us.

We have told you in these columns how we have long since been a mascot for the Commissioner of Jurors, and how whenever they want a good jurymen they send one of their municipal boy scouts after us.

Now, it seems, we are the Fair-Haired Boy for the Bureau of Taxes.

We had not been having what one might call a round of gale. We had just come back from the dentist in fact. But don't let's go into that. Three strong young men, armed with hammers, drills and dental engines (the things that go B-z-z) had gone into us. As a result our face had gone left. This ought to be good news for the Daily Worker. In fact, the entire left half of our face looked like nothing less than the inflation of the French currency.

At the same time we had gone on the wagon and had received two manuscripts back from the publisher, telling us that while they were neatly typed and all that, they did not somehow seem to fit their requirements. And after taking one look at us, Isabel, our black cat, and all her progeny had gone under the bed.

So altogether we were not full of what they called in the army Joe D. Vee, the fellow who used to go around with Cest Laguerre.

In the midst of our anguish, a hearty voice asked us over the telephone if we were that same Coleman who had formerly lived on West 71st Street.

Thinking, as we do, that some unsuspected aunt of ours had dropped dead in Bayonne, N. J., leaving us one hundred shares of National City Bank stock, we weakly answered, "yes". "That's good," said the bouncing voice, "I have a summons and complaint for you for failing to pay your personal property tax in 1922." He was so happy about it all that we couldn't bear to disappoint him by refusing his request to come down right away to the Municipal Building.

When we got there we found that they had a dandy suit all fixed up for us. It seemed the City of New York was suing us for \$682.50 for the 1922 taxes on what they told us was \$25,000 worth of personal property that we were supposed to own at that time. They said this property consisted of mortgages we held on real estate, oil paintings, and other household possessions, yachts and other marine vessels, automobiles, horses, carriages and draft animals. We were quite impressed. "Goody," we cried, "where is all this?"

But in spite of the fact that the man who sent for us was as amiable as anything, it turned out that he had a grim superior who looked gloomily at us over his spectacles and said, "Do you want to make a statement?"

He took us by surprise. Up to this moment we had not thought of making any statement. But we are not noted for our inarticulateness, so when he called in a stenographer we started right off—

"I predict that in the presidential campaign of 1928 the Socialist Party will show gains everywhere. If the Republicans nominate Herber Hoover—"

But it seems that wasn't the sort of statement that he wanted. He wanted us to answer questions that he asked us, like that stupid game everybody was playing last year. And the cross-examination went thuswise—

Q. Where was you in October, 1922?

A. Herrin, Illinois.

Q. Did you at that time have any yachts or other marine vessels?

A. Not that I can remember.

Q. Had you any oil paintings, personal jewelry, or real estate mortgages?

A. No.

Q. Had you any oil paintings, personal jewelry, or other draft animals?

A. (We had quite a struggle with our New England conscience here; is Isabel a draft animal? If so is she subject to personal tax? If we fib about Isabel and keep her a secret from this horrid old man, will the city of New York repleven her? Or is it garnishee that they do? Or perhaps impound? Impound sounds ominous. Suppose we had to see her going off in a wagon with a deputy sheriff. She might not like the deputy sheriff. He might not know that she preferred chopped liver to the pink salmon that the man in the A. & P. store fishes down with a long pole with a hook on the end of it. Would they put her in Ludlow Street Jail, or send her to the Tarrytown Home for Unmarried Mothers. In either case, it would be embarrassing. When people ask "Where is your Isabel?"—we would have to say, "She is held by the City of New York incommunicado until we pay our personal tax for 1922." So we decided to take a chance, and gulping a bit, we answered) No.

Q. Any mules?

A. (Again we were taken by surprise. Most of the mules of our acquaintance are working in a coal mine, and the idea that anyone should have to pay a tax on one, would strike a mule driver as ludicrous in the extreme. But this was easy to answer. We practically never owned a mule. And having seen mules in action, both in the army and in the mines, we have never had the least desire to own one.) No.

When the lady with the pince-nez had taken this all down, the grim old gentleman said that was all. He didn't tell us what had become of the suit, but said we would hear from it later. So here we are again in a state of horrid suspense and dental agony, uncertain as to what our fate shall be. Every now and then we look timorously out of the window, expecting to see the sheriff drive up in his official shrievly Chevrolet, (try that on your drunken friends).

We will keep our readers in touch with events. In case we have to go to the jug, we smoke Fatimas, wear Faultless Pajamas, and just adore fishcakes, which can be prepared quickly on Sunday mornings.

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

The Agrarian Revolt

(Continued From Last Week)
REASONS FOR DECLINE. A large surplus of funds and lavish expenditures brought attacks from outside and factions within. In 1875 the National Grange voted a loan of over \$50,000 to state granges which led them into dissident business ventures. Admission of politicians, business and professional men brought hostile elements into the Grange, extensive cooperative enterprises in the West failed, while "rapidity of organization resulted in an unwieldy and undisciplined mass of members, whom the leaders were unable to control, and dissensions soon arose within the ranks". The ceremonial and social and educational features of the Grange, while bringing farmers together, offered no solution of their economic distress. Non-partisan in politics, the Grange could not restrain the tendency of members to raise political questions and to act in independent political movements.

OTHER FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS. As the Grange declined local and state alliances of farmers appeared in response to the same economic problems which had given impetus to the Grange. A maze of these organizations appeared. These include the Agricultural Wheel, organized in 1882, which united with the Brothers of Freedom, expanded into other states, and emerged as the National Agricultural Wheel in 1887, claiming 500,000 members. The National Farmers' Alliance in the same year was a union of two independent alliances and in turn amalgamated with the Wheel as the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America. An independent Northwestern Alliance was organized in 1880, adopted a platform the next year, and in 1889 failed to unite with the southern organization at St. Louis. The southern organization became the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union which met in convention at Ocala, Fla., in 1890. A secret order, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association with about 200,000 members, met at the same time and place.

Most of the organizations of this type represent a half-way stage between the social-educational Grange and the political organizations mentioned below. Debts, bad business ventures, reckless expenditures, and differences over the campaign of 1890 had already weakened these organizations and as they declined their elements entered the third party movements.

POLITICAL ACTION. While wheel leagues, alliances and granges were declining, the political revolt was increasing and by 1890 the beginnings of a political upheaval were apparent. In five southern states alliance supporters stormed Democratic conventions and captured the legislatures, 44 Congressmen, three Governors and one U. S. Senator.

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In the West the revolt created the People's or Populist Party in 1892 which nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for President. Weaver received over a million popular votes and 22 electoral votes. Two years later the party increased its vote to 1,471,590, a gain of 42 per cent, and prepared for the election of 1896. But opportunism was already gaining the upper hand in the party. Although it had gained the cooperation of many workers in the cities and declared that "the interests of rural and civic labor are the same, their enemies are identical", the party fused with Republicans in the South and with Democrats in a number of western states. This prepared the way for the national fusion with the Democrats in 1896, split the Populists into two factions, and the party rapidly disintegrated in the next few years.

In the South the agrarian movement brought a political revolution which overthrew the old aristocratic political leaders. It brought men like Tillman, Vardaman and Watson to the front as political leaders who shifted some tax burdens to corporations, apportioned representation in legislatures more equitably for farmers, and then turned to a policy of Negro disfranchisement and fighting the Pope and Jews. Rising real estate value and revision of tax laws also contributed to the disappearance of Populism in the South.

Another factor which brought about the decline of the farmers' political movement was the general increase in the value of farm land and the upward trend of prices of farm products following the election of 1896 and continuing to the beginning of the World War. The discovery of gold in Alaska and South Africa also had a favorable effect upon prices and as they rose farmer radicalism declined and even the strong Populist States in the West returned to the Republican fold. The adoption of two amendments to the Federal Constitution authorizing an income tax and popular election of Senators, two mild Populist proposals, also tended to satisfy radical farmers. Weaver and other prominent leaders found it possible to support Alton B. Parker, the Democratic candidate, in 1904.

THE GRANGER LAWS. The farmers' revolt had succeeded in enacting state laws regulating railroads, fares and freight rates. These laws were occasionally sabotaged by the railway corporations, generally carried into the state courts where they were upheld, and then to the Federal Courts. Meantime the corporations were promoting their lawyers to the Federal bench and as this process of infiltration proceeded the philosophy of capitalism was worked out in a series of judicial decisions that nullified the farmers' conquests in the states. The Granger laws were struck down.

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What was a mere opinion in one case was expanded into "law" in another case so that "no layman can easily unravel the mysterious refinements, distinctions, and logical subtleties by which the fact was finally established that property was to be free from all interference except such as might be allowed by the Supreme Court (or rather five judges of that Court) appointed by the President and Senate, thus removed as far as possible from the pressure of public sentiment."

This passed into history the agrarian revolt of the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

READING
Arnett, "The Populist Movement in Georgia".
Beard, "Contemporary American History", pp. 73-86.
Beard, "Rise of American Civilization", Vol. II, Chap. xxii.
Buck, "The Agrarian Crusade".
Buck, "The Granger Movement".
Dodd, "Epic of the Embattled Farmer".

Human Nature in Brief

THE three latest volumes in the New Science Series edited by C. K. Ogden (W. W. Norton & Co., \$1.00 each), maintain the high standards of scholarship and lucidity already established. P. Sargent Florence in "Economics and Human Behavior" dismisses the ludicrous controversy between the economists and the psychologists as to the character of human nature by tossing them both among the statisticians. Establish your facts and then, if necessary, weave a psychological theory to connect cause and effect. Your casual relationship will remain unharmed. It is surprising that the author with his admiration for hard-headedness should find no place for the Marxians among his economists. No doubt the academicians will never note the omission.

"Culture" as its subtitle, "The Diffusion Controversy," indicates, is an epitome of that dispute among anthropologists as to whether civilization spread from an original center to other localities or whether it arose independently in separate communities. Four specialists appear between the covers of this book: G. Elliot Smith, Bronislaw Malinowski, Herbert J. Spinden and Alexander Goldenwieser. Their argumentation proves to us the infutility of some experts. Why one explanation or the other alone must suffice is beyond understanding. Anybody with a grasp of materialistic in-

terpretation can see that diffusion and invention must have proceeded together. Goldenwieser almost says as much.

Probably the most delightful and surprising book of the three is "The Standardization of Error," by Vilhjalmr Stefansson, the explorer. The Arctic adventurer penetrates the field of education and reduces to a logical absurdity the doctrine that only beneficial learning should be conveyed to our youth. In these days of Thompson history-baiting and Tennessee super-censorship, Stefansson's charming dissertation is much to the point. Nor does he fail to take account of the vested interests that find the standardization of error profitable. "The New Science Series" hastens our lagging knowledge and braces our sluggish thought.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What were the economic grievances of the northern farmers?
2. Of the southern farmers?
3. How did the Grange program fail to meet agricultural issues?
4. What were the net achievements of the farmer parties in the North?
5. In the South?
6. What part did the Federal Courts play in the agrarian rising?

FOR DISCUSSION

Should wage workers and working farmers have their own political party? If so, why?

Louis Stanley

The Prostituted Intellect

It is not the gathering of philosophers in schools that betrays philosophy; it is the regimentation of opinion when they are gathered, the prostitution of free thought to religious dogma and political expediency, the subjection of the spirit of free inquiry to the vested interests of the mind and the pocket. These convert the thinker into the lay priest, the lover of truth into the huckster of prejudice—Horace M. Kallen in "Culture and Democracy in the United States."

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PROSPERITY PIFFLE

ALL ye who are burdened and heavy laden, cheer up. Prosperity is with us still. It may be so con-founded still in your case that you can't notice it. But all the same, it's with us still.

According to Andy Mellon, the greatest secretary of treasury since Alexander Hamilton, we (heavy on the we) are entering the new year with 228 citizens reporting incomes of over one million bucks per annum and that is 21 more million dollars a year men, than we had last year. Better still, the number of those blessed with incomes of \$5,000,000 and better per annum more than doubled, having risen from seven to fourteen.

Now, in order to make our prosperity still more preposterous, the House, meaning the lower house of Congress and not the little green house on K. Street, has already approved the retroactive reduction of the federal tax on corporation profits from 13 1/2 to 11 1/2 per cent. This means a charitable donation of some \$160,000,000 to the 228 needy patriots in the one to five million per annum income class, for retroactive means going back behind the income returns of 1927. In other words, that one hundred and sixty million iron men represents a rebate on taxes already paid.

Of course Uncle Andy, who, as already stated, is the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton, swears up and down that corporation taxes are shifted on the consumers of corporation products and there is something to that contention if we consider gross incomes only.

Andy, for instance, is in the aluminum ware business and that being the case he naturally pays taxes on his aluminum ware plants. Now taxes are part of the overhead of said aluminum ware plants along with insurance, interest, depreciation and other unavoidable misfortunes. So, when Uncle Andy sells you an aluminum kettle he adds your proportion of his tax on his aluminum business on said kettle and in that way you pay Andy's taxes. Ain't that cute?

This system is called indirect taxation and is the greatest, best paying and most respectable swindle ever devised by the minds of mortal men.

Well, then, you and I and the rest of us free born independent Aluminum Kettle consuming cuties have already paid Uncle Andy's taxes for 1927. The government has got that money now—our money, for we paid it out of our jeans.

All that good Andy did was to collect it from us and then hand it to our government, and now he is pushing that retroactive rebate act which will enable him to appropriate the money we paid to our government for a bigger and better navy for the protection of our financial interests in Nicaragua to his own private pockets. And if Andy succeeds, as he certainly will, then he will have our money and our bigger and better navy and all we have to do is foot the bill when it falls due and maybe get killed by some lousy Nicaraguan while trying to collect the interest on our money which Uncle Andy and his kind invested in their Nicaraguan aluminum mines, or whatever they mine, down there that ain't mine or yours.

But, migosh, I got plumb switched off from the subject on hand. What I want to say is that this prosperity to which I'm trying to put you next, got more twists, crooks and kinks in it than a tin can full of angle worms. Here, for instance, is an ad in Commerce and Finance in which the Industrial Commission of Richland County, South Carolina, boasts that the annual wage averaged by persons engaged in the textile mills of South Carolina is \$631.00.

Then the Commission of Richland County goes on and says that "It is conservatively estimated that in South Carolina fifty thousand whites (native born of Anglo Saxon origin) desire industrial employment." at an average weekly wage of \$13.63. Blacks, tan, and saddle colored native born of African origin and Caucasian infiltration don't need such ungodly high wages as the superior whites, of course, but of this the Industrial Commission of Richland County, South Carolina says nothing, being that the Klan won't allow those inferior persons to compete with Nordics for \$13.63 a week jobs!

As an additional inducement for prospective textile mill settlers and just to show what boundless opportunities they may find in Richland County, South Carolina, the Industrial Commission adds that "The typical rural attitude, which they (the Richland County ruralists) bring to industry, is particularly appreciative, and co-operative with their employers. And—in all of South Carolina's textile plants there is not one Labor Union."

Sure there is no Textile Workers Union in South Carolina. The \$13.63 average weekly wage proves that. But why in the same hill did that Richland County booster outfit overlook such valuable inducements as the total absence of legal restrictions on the hours white native born American men and women may slave in that happy country; that women are perfectly free to work at night, that South Carolina employers are not pestered with accident and compensation laws and that child labor legislation is still in its infancy or died a "borned." I've forgotten which?

If I had the time I would write a few snappy slogans for those ambitious Richland County boosters, something like:

Come to Richland County and Prosper on poverty. You furnish the mills, we furnish the illa.

Bring us your plants and banks, and we supply the boobs and babes.

We let the little ones come unto you and suffer them not. Nor shall we suffer anyone to interfere with their suffering after you land them.

Richland County and an average weekly wage of \$13.63. Richest country on earth and 50,000 white native born Americans in one state, alone, willing, glad, to swap six days of life for a seven-day supply of corn pones and sow belly. Two hundred and twenty-eight persons with an annual income of \$1,000,000 and better. Two million children and future mothers slaving in mills and factories. A baker's dozen of billions of billions, a few divisions of gilded joy chasers and jazz hounds, and armies of weary job hunters!

G'wan with your wealth statistics, production records and prosperity chapter. If the goal of government is the greatest good to the greatest number and if the goal of life is happiness, then you Richlanders are the most glorious fizzle of history.

Adam Coalcligger.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National
The National Convention
The National Office has issued the call for the election of delegates to the national convention of the party which meets in New York City April 14. New York Socialists are making elaborate arrangements for the convention and entertainment of the delegates.

Pledges to National Fund
Last week we reported that Dr. Green of Cleveland had pledged \$5 per month for ten months for national organization work. James O'Connell of New York follows with a pledge of one dollar per week to the end of October. National Executive Secretary Henry makes the same pledge for this year. Morris Hillquit of New York and Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts are pledged for \$25 each month. Mary and Mildred Hicks each contribute one dollar per month. A fine list. Can we get a thousand Socialists to make pledges? After reading the above write the National Office immediately. Address at top of this column.

Kansas
Ross Magill at Work
State Secretary Magill is on the field. At Fredonia he held a supply of Socialist books and has ordered another supply from the National Office. Applications for membership are being received. Other Socialists who are short of money are signing application cards and will pay later. Those who pay are paying for three and four months. Magill takes up his work without a dollar being guaranteed for expenses. Who else will follow his example?

Wisconsin
Milwaukee Nominations
The county headquarters of the Socialist Party has announced the nomination of a full city ticket and a list of candidates for aldermen and supervisors. Daniel W. Hoan will be a candidate to succeed himself as Mayor. The election occurs in April and Milwaukee Socialists will bring another victory to the national convention.

Illinois
The State Executive Committee has planned down-state organization work and nomination of state ticket. Cook County (Chicago) Socialists will nominate delegates to the national convention on Feb. 12 and act on other matters of importance to the party.

Indiana
Renewed Activity
The State Organizer is writing old timers and the State Secretary is sending out follow-up letters in preparation for the national campaign. Indianapolis and Terre Haute report meetings and interest on the increase.

Ohio
Ohio Coming Back
State Secretary Willert writes that Comrade King of Zanesville is working to organize a local of the party. Local Massillon reports having sold more stamps last month than in the previous twelve months. Local Dayton has mobilized for greater activities. Local Cleveland makes the same report, and the trade Menz at Youngstown is working hard to organize a local.

State Convention
The state convention will be held in Cleveland, Feb. 25 and 26. The big job is obtaining signatures for the state ticket and it can be done with the cooperation of all Socialists and sympathizers.

Pennsylvania
Reading
Since November 500 new readers of the local Socialist and trade union weekly, "The Labor Advocate," have been obtained. It has the full support of the trade unions of the city as well as the Socialist and many workers have a financial and sentimental interest in its success.

Maurer on Russia
Counsellman James H. Maurer will lecture on his impressions of Russia, which he visited last year, in the Orpheum Theatre, Sunday, Feb. 5. It is expected that the theatre will be packed by workers and others interested in the lecture.

New Branch Organized
The 7th and 8th wards branch was reorganized at the Labor Lyceum last week with 20 charter members as a starter. The branch will hold meetings on the second and third Wednesdays of each month.

The 16th ward is also in process of organization and 25 or more members will likely be enrolled when this appears in print. It will be the second branch in this section as the 18th ward was recently organized with 33 members. There are 18 wards and the Socialists are out for a branch organization in each.

Pottstown to Organize
Miss Mary Windsor lectured in Pottstown on "Women's Status in Russia" last week. The Pottstown local has been weak and an organization meeting has been called to increase the membership.

New England
Lewis' Lecture Dates
Albert Baker Lewis' dates so far follows: Sunday, Jan. 29, 8 p. m., for Gardner Ypsels on "Socialism and Democracy"; Wednesday, Feb. 1, 8:15 p. m., for the Welfare Center at 31 Bradshaw St., Dorchester, on "Is America a Democracy?"; Sunday, Feb. 5, First Congregational Church of Somerville at noon, on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood"; Monday, Feb. 13, Fellowship of Youth for Peace, on "Economic Basis for Brotherhood"; Sunday, Feb. 19, at 7:30, Pilgrim Congregational Church in No. Weymouth, on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood"; Thursday, Feb. 23, Boston Y. C. A., 316 Huntington Ave., on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood"; Monday afternoon, Mar. 12, at 2:30, the International Ministers Alliance, 454 Massachusetts Ave., Boston, on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood."

Boston
Thursday, Feb. 9, Frank R. Crossworth will speak for the Central Branch on "Labor's Struggle Against the Company Union," at 8 p. m., 21 Essex St.

Dorchester
August Claassen will open the Forum of Branch 706 of the Workmen's Circle at Wellington Hill Auditorium, Sunday morning, Feb. 5.

State Office Notes
The Socialist Party led the fight against the vicious criminal syndicalism bill, and we expect that it will be killed in committee.

Our unemployment insurance bill and anti-injunction bill are receiving considerable support among unions throughout the State.

Massachusetts is entitled to thirty delegates at the coming National Convention. A call for nominations has been sent out. Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Maine are each entitled to one delegate.

Ypsels
The Gardner Circle is one of the most active in the country. They have arranged an educational program for Jan. 29 on "Socialism and Americanism."

Boston Circle is holding a speakers' training class every Sunday at 5 p. m., at 21 Essex street.

Connecticut
State Executive To Meet
The State Executive Committee will meet in New Haven at the usual time and place, Sunday, Jan. 29. State Secretary Plunkett, who has been sick, will attend.

Bridgeport
Local Bridgeport held its twenty-fifth annual get-together. The party and supper at Carpenters' Hall, Jan. 21. About 100 Socialists and their friends enjoyed a fine supper. Toastmaster Fred Schwartz talked on Socialism and the festival concluded with music and a dance. Bridgeport Socialists will be heard from this year.

New Haven
Local New Haven is holding an open forum Sunday evenings at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak street. M. Rossi will speak Jan. 29 on "Why Teach Yiddish?" On Feb. 5, Mrs. Joseph Whitney, first New Haven woman to be elected alderman, will speak on "America and Foreign Relations."

New York State
Delegates to National Convention
New York State is to have forty delegates to the National Convention. Three are to be elected at large by State referendum and 37 from districts made up by State Secretary Merrill with the approval of the State Executive Committee. They are as follows: No. 1, New York County; No. 2, Kings County; No. 3, Bronx; No. 4, Queens and Richmond; No. 5, Westchester; No. 6, Orange, Dutchess, Rensselaer, Albany and Warren counties; No. 7, Schenectady County; No. 8, Oneida, Madison, Onondaga, Cortland, Oswego and Jefferson counties; No. 9, Monroe, Niagara, Chautauque, Cattaraugus, Chemung and Tompkins counties; No. 10, Erie County; No. 11, Hamilton County.

Reorganized Local Jamestown
The reorganized Local Jamestown now reports 44 members in good standing. It is organizing a co-operative, and intends eventually to erect a building for the purpose of accommodating its co-operative and making a headquarters for the party. The local meets every Thursday night at 11 Arcade Building.

State Secretary Merrill will send a communication in regard to the Spring primary next week. In Presidential years members of the official State Committee are elected at a Spring primary. The date of the Spring primary is April 3.

New York City
Central Committee
The City Central Committee will meet Wednesday evening, Feb. 1. An important session and very delegate must attend. There will be the election of the permanent officers and members of the City Executive Committee. The Committee meets in room 402, Peoples House, 7 East 15th street.

Downtown Branches
A banquet arranged by the 1st-2nd A. D. and the Jewish Downtown Branch will be arranged Saturday evening, Jan. 28, in Zatz's Restaurant, 204 East Broadway. These affairs are held annually. The objective is a get-together for East Side Socialists.

Esther Friedman will begin a series of lectures on "Love's Coming of Age" beginning Sunday evening, Feb. 5.

A fine meeting was held Monday evening. The clubrooms were packed. The guest of the evening, Edward Cassidy, gave a delightful lecture on "How to Become a Socialist." Our old veteran was in excellent trim and the discussion indicated great enthusiasm.

BRONX
Big Annual Event
The big annual event will take place Sunday afternoon and evening, Jan. 29 at the Hunts Point Casino. Months of preparation has done much for the success expected Sunday. The concert will begin at 4:30 and last until the beginning of the dance. There will be an excellent buffet in charge of Sarah Volovick, providing all sorts of refreshments. A fine journal, containing hundreds of ads and feature articles will be distributed. Morrisiana Stock Farms, a local milk company, has been generous in contributing an ad and is also furnishing milk free for our buffet. A fine entertainment is promised. Dan Barnett's radio orchestra will provide dance music and ten valuable prizes will be distributed.

A good meeting was held Sunday morning at headquarters, 2095 Daly avenue. George Dobson delivered an inspiring lecture on "The X Y Z's of Socialism." Socialist sympathizers were well pleased with the lecture. Our efforts to spread

Socialist propaganda are successful. As soon as the enrollment lists are obtained, Socialist voters will be invited to lectures and to enroll as active members. This branch meets second and fourth Sunday mornings.

5th A. D.
This new branch will meet Feb. 3 at the Freeman's Mansion, 1249 Southern boulevard. As soon as the new enrollment lists are on hand, a mass meeting will be held in an effort to increase the membership. The following officers have been elected: Organizer, Arthur Fassberg; financial secretary, Henry Gross; recording secretary, Alex Miller; delegate to the City Central Committee, Alex Miller.

BROOKLYN
1st-3rd-5th A. D.
Secretary Claassen attended the last meeting of this branch. One of the best attended meetings for some time was held and an interesting discussion took place regarding work in this district. Street meetings will be held this summer in some neglected sections of Borough Hall and in the 2nd A. D.

18th A. D.
To show his contempt for the competition of Simon Wolf, Jacob Afrore and S. Benj. Daublin, Frank Brodsky issued to another handful of application blanks, accompanied by initiation fees (five new members) at the last meeting. Another application secured by J. N. Cohen brought the total to six. The 18th A. D. now has a membership of 46.

An analysis of the membership shows interesting results. One-half, or 23, have never belonged to the Socialist Party before (this includes two members dropped in 1917 who have rejoined), 11 members-at-large of the old 18th, 2 members transferred from other locals (1 from New York and 1 from Reading, Pa.), and 10 from the 23rd A. D. Kings. This young branch is securing new members almost exclusively from the 1926 list of registered Socialist voters (of which there are approximately 800), and with the issuance of the 1927 list (of which there are 937), the possibility of 500 members is not fantastic.

At the meeting Jan. 29, Harold Spitzer made his debut as a public speaker with an address on the U. S. Constitution and acquitted himself splendidly. The discussion rounded out a pleasant evening.

S. Benj. Daublin will speak Jan. 27 in the headquarters at 1465 St. Marks avenue. Subject: "Why I Rejoined the Socialist Party." Members and friends are cordially invited.

22nd A. D., Br. 2 and 3
Meetings are held Tuesday evenings at headquarters, 218 Van Siclen avenue near Liberty avenue. They are becoming more interesting weekly.

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Office: 62 East 106th Street, Telephone: Lehigh 3141
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Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street
ISADORE SILVERMAN, WILLIAM MERROW, Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.

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

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

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HALKETT, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALEN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL No. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4821 Stags
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGER, President CHARLES F. LAM, Fin. Secy.
VALENTINE BUBER, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Secy ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 488 E. 160th Street
OFFICE: 281 EAST 160TH STREET. Telephone MEAD 5875
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President CHARLES H. SAUSHER, Bus. Agent
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Secy CHARLES M. BLUM, Rec. Secy

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS
OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 160 East 40th Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
JOHN A. KAHNA, President J. A. DALTON, Vice-President WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent
THOMAS SCHARLAW, Fin. Secy CHAS. SAGE, Treasurer

This week, M. C. Miller, formerly candidate for alderman in the 54th district, will lead a discussion on a survey of the radical movements in America. As opinions of comrades vary, we expect a lively discussion.

23rd A. D.
Meetings are held Monday evenings at headquarters, 219 Sackman street. The branch is working vigorously to attain success for its annual ball at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum March 3. A conference is being arranged by Brownsville branches and friendly organizations for relief of the striking miners. Friday night lectures continue very successful. During February, Marius Hausome will deliver a series on "A Sociological View of Ignorance."

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Civil Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET Phone: MEAD 5851-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y Organizer, S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GILLES, Organizers.

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

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday
Executive Board meets every Monday

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

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Boards Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGELMAN, Fin. Secy.

UNION DIRECTORY

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Union and their Members.
S. John Rock, Attorney and Counsel.
225 Broadway, Rooms 2106-10, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor Temple, 248 East 54th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone CHelsea 5148
MORRIS STOLMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 251 East 14th Street Telephone ASHland 56
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY at the OFFICE of the UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZLANT, President
I. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLS, Bus. Agent
N. FEINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y. I. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 109 Tappan St., Brooklyn

EMBROIDERY WORKERS
UNITED, Local 4, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 601 E. 161st St.
GAIL GRABER, President
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Neckwear Makers' Union
LOCAL 1018, A. F. of L.
1 East 18th St. Phone: MEAD 5875
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 9:30 o'clock, in the office.
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ED. GOTTESMAN, Secy-Treas.
J. D. HOFFMAN, Bus. Agent
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

United Hebrew Trades
175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Secs.
Exec Board meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
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M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION
Local 66 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1166-6
A. SNYDER, Manager

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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-613 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7090-1-2-3-4
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PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD
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OFFICE: 175 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1389
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.
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INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone CHelsea 5148
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MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL
Civil Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 449 Broadway. Phone Spring 4518
Uptown Office: 30 West 27th Street. Phone WISconsin 1278
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening
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AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
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Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.
Local 213-Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 216-Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
Local 248-Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

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Local 2, Int'l Fur Workers' Union
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JOSEPH KARAS, Vice-President.
SAMUEL MINDEL, Rec. Sec'y.
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Sec'y.
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

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150 East 25th St. Midtown Square 1954
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.
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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
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PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY BEGOON, General Sec'y-Treas.

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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. STUYvesant 5548.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 910 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
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Pal's Hallon, Vice-Pres. A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Frank, Frank Schol, Treas.
Yas-Fran. 2nd Sec'y 3rd Sec'y

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FRED DEIGAN, General-Secretary. Business Agents:
GEORGE MEANT, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN HARSSETT, PAT DREW.

N.Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6
Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.
4th Floor, 2nd Subway at Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 57 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN
Phone: WATson 9188
LEON H. ROUSE, President
John Sullivan, Vice-President
Jan. J. McDermott, Secretary-Treas.
Theodore F. Bough, Organizer

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
Of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6294.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM MEHTAN, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

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NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. It does not represent the policy of the Socialist 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 28, 1927

Death and Disaster Ahead

WORKERS who supply the human sacrifices in war might as well make up their minds that we are on the road to another war. The Administration program of naval armament and the shouting of our naval jingoes who are talking in terms of a billion dollars program make this inevitable unless the masses send representatives of their class to Washington to avert the disaster. The shouts have been heard in England and have been played up in the headlines of British newspapers for it is apparent that our jingoes are challenging the British navy. The challenge to British naval power is easily understood. The United States has become the leading power of the world. The investments and loans of its ruling classes extend all over the world and a big navy is their police department. In many parts of the world American investments come in contact with British investments. Friction and rivalry lead to jealousy, then a contest for mastery, and the final stage of the struggle is the hurling of British and American farmers and workers into the hell of war. If there are those who think that our ruling classes cannot put over hymns of hate against the British people as they did against the German people they are mistaken. This propaganda is essential in order to shape the minds of millions in this country for war against England and it is a very easy job. Of course, it will be necessary to wipe the slate clean of all the words of affection spoken when the United States was allied with Great Britain in the war but that can be done and it will be done. It is necessary to go back to the literary trash of this country from the period of the revolution to the Civil War, bring this stuff up to date for modern consumption, and British "Huns" will take the place of German "Huns". There are the old stories of British employment of Hessians in the War of the Revolution; the employment of Indians on the frontier to scalp farmers, trappers and their families; the burning of Washington in the War of 1812; the long antagonism with Great Britain over her practice of impressing American seamen for forced service in her navy, the Oregon boundary dispute with its jingo cry in politics of "54, 40 or Fight", and any number of other disputes which will serve the gang who want another jolly war.

We predict that within the next few years this propaganda will begin to take shape so that the masses may be fitted for the slaughter. There can be no fight unless there is hate and the jingoes will provide the hate in order to get the fight. If the present drift continues The New Leader will be able to reprint this editorial as a prediction of the accuracy of Socialist forecasts. While we are thinking of wages, hours, democracy and more freedom, here is a monster that will throw everything dear to us into the ditch. Everything will be sacrificed to feed the furnace of war. Neither party organization of capitalism reveals opposition to this fearful catastrophe and when we are dragged into it all opposition will be made a crime.

Your votes are priceless this year. Given to these parties it may mean the commission of suicide. The Socialist Party is an evangel of peace. It raises a warning signal. A political revolt of the masses can avert death and disaster, death for millions and disaster for human freedom. It is for you to answer.

Dead Cats

WHEN the State of New York is represented in the National Republican and Democratic conventions and the brokers choose candidates to police us for King Capital, it will carry to both auctions the smell of big graft. For many weeks the "New Tammany," the Tammany that has washed its ears, wiped its nose, and is preparing to move to a more respectable neighborhood, has had the Queens sewer graft of a few million dollars staring it in the face.

Like a man dragging a dead cat at his heels, this has been very embarrassing to Tammany. Now it can rejoice that the other political firm of capitalism will drag a dead cat into the Republican convention this year. Each will have a carcass to throw at the other during the campaign, for Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, ex-Secretary of State for New York, is the subject of a report and recommendations by Randall J. Le Boeuf, Jr., who charges her with "criminal intent to defraud the State." Among the charges are forgery, false audits and certifications and abstraction of public records in taking the census of 1925. A few others are involved in the dirty mess and if the State recovers nearly \$200,000 illegally spent it will have to bring action in court. It is also reported that it will probably cost \$100,000 to meet the cost of investigating the sewer grafters.

It is a rather dirty mess no matter how you may look at it and an interesting preliminary to the campaign this year. Considering that each party has a dead animal on its hands there may be a quiet agreement between both to bury the bodies. Frank Kent tells the story of one party headquarters in

Chicago in 1924 calling up the headquarters of the rival party in New York a few days before the election and arranging for a gin party of both in the latter city following receipt of the election returns. If they can laugh over gin there is no reason why the party brokers cannot sign a treaty to bury their respective cats for the odor is of no service to either.

The Ousting of Smith

CONSIDER for a moment Illinois and the barring of Frank Smith, the Senator-elect from that unhappy state. Governor Small announces that he is deeply affronted at the action of the senate in excluding Smith, because the latter was indiscreet enough to spend about half a million dollars on his primary elections. Now anything that can affront Governor Small of Illinois is in the nature of a miracle.

The Governor himself is an affront to decent citizens everywhere. He began his political career by taking graft derived from the sale of blankets intended for the inmates of the insane asylums of the state, and since then he has risen to greater and greater heights. When the courts recently decided that the governor would have to refund a cool million dollars which was strangely missing from the state treasury, the Governor complied by levying an assessment on all State employees, including the scrubwomen in the State House at Springfield, naively explaining that it would financially embarrass him to pay the money back from his own pocket. He is one of the rawest deals that the Republicans of Illinois have put over on the people of the state, and that is saying a lot.

All this, of course, is aside from the merits of the refusal of the Senate to seat Smith. In our opinion this sets a bad precedent. If ever labor becomes strong enough to elect its own Senators, it may find them barred by action of the conservatives within the Senate, who take it upon themselves to pass on the qualifications of the elected official.

Shaking 'Em Down

ONE of the essential industries spawned by the World War was a peculiar form of graft which for a number of years paid handsome dividends. Hundreds of organizations appeared and marketed the new product. The upper range of our Babbitts invested millions in it but the industry declined despite all efforts to keep it a going concern. A few firms are still at work and turning out the routine article but the demand is not very brisk.

We have in mind the business of saving the republic from mystic Bolsheviks. Of course, our burlesque bolsheviks at the beginning of the industry, when the stock was selling at a premium, occasionally hurled a few bristling documents from high buildings. Old ladies fainted and the Union League Club mobilized its members for an air attack. The bomb squad clubbed some heads and the National Security League appeared in the headlines to save the republic.

Hundreds of "patriotic" organizations sprung up like mushrooms and the mails were filled with frantic appeals to millionaires to come across with funds. It was easy plucking and many charlatans lived a happy life. Fred R. Marvin of the "Key Men of America", is one of the few survivors of this rosy era of easy graft and he is still "shaking 'em down" for the long green. A recent output of his is a seven-column advertisement in New York papers showing a skeleton with a seed bag sowing seeds and carrying a scythe to reap the harvest. The seed sown is Communism and the soil is the United States.

Graft returns on this should be considerable despite the fact that Communism has been reduced to a few street "nuclei" in New York and Chicago. Freddie has few competitors in this industry for we have not for a year or more seen any advertisements or documents of this kind and all of them found their way into The New Leader office.

Shake 'em down, Freddie. You might as well have the coin of the illiterates who do not know any more about the Third International than they do about the fourth dimension.

The Savings Bunk

IN a recent issue we called attention to the bunk regarding the number of savings depositors in the United States. We pointed out that depositors generally place their savings in two or more banks yet each deposit is counted as a depositor. There was the case of one woman who had deposits in 34 banks but in census returns she appears as 34 depositors. Another case is that of a woman who recently died in Middletown, Conn. An inventory of her estate shows that she had deposits in 33 banks. Here are two depositors alone who appear in official figures as 67 depositors.

Do not let the prosperity ballyhooers get away with the old hokum regarding the millions of workers who have savings deposits. Nobody knows how many depositors there are but it is certain that the number is much smaller than the number advertised.

The Torch-Bearers

ALTHOUGH by an oversight we are a week late in paying our tribute to two New York comrades who were the recipients of testimonial dinners by their friends, we hasten to make amends for the omission. Two men more worthy of such testimonials could not be chosen than Abraham Shipplacoff of the Pocketbook Makers and Morris Berman of the New Leader Board. "Ship" is a type of Socialist and trade unionist whose idealism has never become tainted with that cynicism that has afflicted some of the old idealists in the unions. He has had to contend with the adventurers who have nearly destroyed some unions in the needle trades but in fighting this poison he has not ceased to hold aloft the banner that inspired the organization of the needle trades, the Socialist banner of a working class organized for political victory.

Berman is of another type, one who has won leisure for himself and family and might easily retire from the Socialist movement and pay homage to the altars Babbittism, but for him life is joy in the old human struggle for a better world. Never discouraged, faith in the ultimate redemption of the working class unshaken, a keen interest in every phase of Socialist activities, serving when asked and giving of his means without ostentation, Morris Berman is a living rebuke to the cynic, the pessimist and the shirker.

Men like these aid humanity in the long struggle for a better world. May they carry the torch to old age, their tribe multiply, and inspire many others to follow their example.

NOW WE ARE FOUR

The New Leader Staff Makes A Birthday Pledge

FOUR years. Short enough in the history of most newspaper enterprises, but to have kept head above water and feet on ground in these doldrum days is something of an achievement for any labor paper.

And this, thanks to you, and the other loyal readers this country over, The New Leader has done. Done, perhaps, not as effectively as we might have wished, but done at any rate in a manner that makes its future assured so long as there is a Socialist and labor movement worth the chronicling.

It was Oscar Ameringer who said, in a rare moment of despair, "Running a labor paper is like feeding melted butter on the end of a hot awl to an infuriated wild-cat." At times it has seemed like that to us on The New Leader. Only we would be inclined to substitute for "infuriated wildcat," "indifferent timorous."

But birthdays are no times for dragging up unhappy recollections. If one is sensible, on his birthday he struts a bit, sticks out his chest, gives interviews to visiting newspaper correspondents, on rules for success and how he achieved his end by thrift, hard work, and abstinence from any sort of dissipation. Well, to be sure, if we have succeeded at all, thrift and hard work have certainly had something to do with it, and abstinence from dissipation has been our part performance, as one does not lead a double life on the income derived from publishing a labor paper.

The Accomplishment

At this period, we can point with pride to certain accomplished facts. We can say that throughout four years The New Leader has been faithful to the larger ideas and ideals of the Socialist Party, that it has never consciously favored any cliques within the party, that it has shunned all manner of factionalism which might weaken the movement, and that to the best of its ability it has constantly held before its readers the goal of us all—namely the creating of a cooperative commonwealth here and abroad. To do this, it has taken on its staff and for its contributors men and women who have proved their fundamental integrity, and who possess expert and specialized knowledge of the Socialist and labor movement. To the distress of some comrades who still believe that anything which is understandable is necessarily superficial, The New Leader has encouraged its writers to present their material in the most interesting and readable manner possible. We realize that we are editing a paper which is being read by working men and women in America in 1928, and that the cross-section of America which we reach is not much interested in the fine shadings of social philosophy as in everyday, bread-and-butter problems, and to those who may object that our

special stories and features are not profound enough, is that the New Leader is "highbrow."

Whether highbrow or superficial, at all events give us credit for having carried on during days when the stoutest hearts have weakened, and the "What's-the-use?" pack has been in full cry.

Blue-Printing The New Capitalism

It is true that there are times when it seems as though the so-called "New Capitalism", which with all the powerful influences for submission which it can rally, has won the victory. But as M. H. Hedges recently pointed out in a brilliant article in The New Leader, all the devices which capitalism is bringing to bear for the subtle oppression of the workers—company unionism, group insurance, service buttons, company-bestowed old age pensions and the like—cannot at any time of crisis take the place of that service to human needs and interests which Socialism offers.

More and more the workers are beginning to understand the devious ways by which they are being defrauded out of their share of the products of industry. Everywhere there are signs of an awakening to the grim reality of the life of a worker in America today. That The New Leader has played its part in this awakening is evidenced with the arrival of every mail in our office. All across America men and women are writing to The New Leader commending the paper for its stand against capitalist hypocrisy, and urging that the fight be carried on with even greater vigor.

Of course we will not fall those of the inarticulate producers of the country's wealth who have placed their faith in us. To reach more of them with our message of constructive radicalism is our fondest hope. And we can do this with your help. If you and the thousands of

other readers of The New Leader, realizing that this is in very truth your paper, speaking your language, and putting your cause before the American people, do here and now resolve that you will be of substantial service to The New Leader by sending in subscriptions and advertisements, then indeed we can go full steam ahead.

Join With Us In The Crusade

Never was there a greater need for an aggressive, intelligently conducted labor press to combat the mighty flood of capitalist propaganda that appears to overwhelm the workers today. Because it presents in non-partisan fashion the significant news of the labor world, free from the bias of factionalism, The New Leader is in an unusually advantageous position to become the rallying-point for those who would build up in this country a labor press of genuine service to its readers. With proper support its future is indeed bright. The adventure started on four years ago is now in full swing, with every indication of exciting and colorful days ahead. Who knows but that four years from now we may be celebrating an anniversary of the founding of a daily labor paper of incalculable benefit to the entire Socialist and labor movement?

Four years. Years for those who have made The New Leader one of anxieties, perplexities, even heartbreaks at times. But years nevertheless filled with the soul-satisfying sense of doing a piece of work well worth the doing, and of being in the van of a fight for a world where happiness shall have a wider distribution, and the creative instincts of man a freer range. We of The New Leader greet you, comrades, on this, our fourth birthday, give you our fraternal salute, and bid you come along with us up the road which leads to the dawn.

The Staff of The New Leader.

Sandino Nicaraguan Patriot, Follower of Carillo, Martyred Mexican Socialist

no attended his meetings and became a fervent convert to the Governor's theories.

During the de la Huerta revolution Carillo Puerto was imprisoned and executed. Sandino left Merida for Tampico, and after a few weeks returned to Nicaragua. The Conservatives had regained power there, and Sandino was advised he would find Nuevo Segovia more healthy than the southern part of his country.

He was next heard from, his friends say, in the San Albino mining region. He was a military liberal and enthusiastic about introducing some of Carillo Puerto's ideas into Nicaragua. He began organizing a following when Emiliano Chamorro deposed President Solano, and with this following joined the Sacaca revolution.

THE CHATTER BOX

Prayer to Joan — (For Milka, the Maid of the Colorado Strikers)

Joan, look down on her,
She is alone.
Behind her prison bars
What you have known,

All that the souls of man,
When man is least,
All that the blood of man
When man turns beast,

Can brand upon her soul,
All this she knows.
Joan, look down on her,
For in her glows

The faith of children, great
And unafraid.
The faith that builded France—
And killed the Maid.

DAVID P. BERENBERG.

THE story runs of how once after a recital by Jascha Heifetz, the eminent young Jewish violinist, a father brought his boy before the box office of the theatre to listen to the following conversation: "Father to the man behind the grating:—'Mister, please tell me and my son Mischa how many people came in to hear Mr. Heifetz today? He's studying violin and I want him to hear this for his own inspiration.'"

The Man at the Ticket window. . . "Three thousand five hundred seats, and five hundred standing, four thousand in all."

The Father: "And the average price was two dollars a seat, no. . . ?"

The Man at the Window. . . "Yes, I believe the total receipts were something over eight thousand dollars for the recital. . ."

Father, turning to little Mischa. . . "Eight thousand dollars for two hours on the fiddle, did you hear. . . eight thousand dollars. . . And even while Mischa was nodding his head a broad paternal hand whacked and himself resoundingly across his pale little face, and a hoarse familiar voice thundered into his dazed brain. . . "NOW WILL YOU PRACTISE! Do you hear me Mischa, PRACTISE!"

Funny tale, and so fraught with sadness. Every time I hear of a young prodigy and his success on the concert stage, this story bobs up before my mind. Every time I listen to the perfect sob of a violin, or the pretty trickle of treble chords on the piano, my pleasure at the music's insistence is dulled by the thought of the wearied hours and days and years that dragged along in cruel monotonous repetition of stroke, and touch and fingering until the pure mechanics of playing the instrument were perfected. I must confess to a great love for music, yes to an unquenchable passion for its soul lifting joys. But I must further admit to a subtle shuddering every time the perfection of sound pours into my ears. And when in further thought I think on how few succeed to popular acclaim and monetary reward after horrible years of preparatory cruelty, I question the value of being able to think at all. Certainly, no lover of music ought to understand the sordid machinery of trial, error and bitter endeavor behind each glittering recital. The latest infant wonder of the violin, a Jew boy with an unpronounceable name, played a difficult Bach concerto with the poise and technique of a Fritz Kreisler. A sensation mad public is pouring thousands upon thou-

sands of dollars into his guardian's purse. Hundreds of vain parents are urging their own tots onto unbearable inhuman labor with the vision of this success before their greedy senses. The pleasures of boyhood, play, study, reading, companionship are all denied the child. Years, dull years later, a mannikin appears bowing the strings or tripping over the keys with dazzling precision. Music through its own magic gives itself a soul. But there is neither mind nor spirit in the flesh, the pale, wiry fingers, nor the set visionless eyes above the instrument. Oh, for a world where children may grow into their art without the hunger of their parents driving them out of their due as children. Oh, for an age when music will pour forth out of strings animated by souls within the bodies that play upon them! Oh, for a world of music without managers, press agents, stupid critics, and sensation-drenched audiences! Here you find one of the thousand reasons why I am a Socialist. . .

Soliloquy

"Dancing the blues away—"
Snoring phonograph!
Why do they always play tinny music
When I want silence?
Aw well!
Brown dress with flare sleeves—
Graceful as the willow reeds—
Swaying—blending—disappearing—
Ta-ta-ta-da-yo-do-do—
Nasty noise box!
Swaying—blending—disappearing—
Swerving like green wave rearing—
Beauty—
Her hair is like the aureole of light
Around the infant Jesus on the night
That wise men came to pay their homage—
"Dancing the blues away—"
O Torsichore! O Cleo!
Did you know your arts
Would be used in such derision?
Did you know what later
Gods insulted your decision?
Muse of Greece! Muse of Rome!
Your musing gives our
Newer songsters
Plots and themes
To hold above your graves—
To mock you in your sleep—
To show you laughter is
A sword!
"Dancing the blues away—"
Her body is a bended bow.
Her suppleness answers
The rigidity of time.
Her cool lips balm
The burning in my eyes—
The perfume of her hair is sweet.
"Dancing the blues away—"
—THE OFFICE BOY.

Here the office boy interrupts my own musing long enough to remind you that Brother Ralph Cheyney has organized the Rebel Poets, a society of those whose verse can help sing in the New Day, when poets and artists, and artisans will play and indulge in their craft as their true selves will move them. The dues are nominal, only \$1.00 per year, and all of you who write, not for money but for self-expression, in revolt against the present day money madness ought to send in your applications, to Ralph Cheyney, care of the New Leader. Send all inquiries to him.

S. A. DeWitt.

New York Socialist Technical Bureau Recommended to N.E.C.

The state office of the Socialist Party of New York State has for a number of years maintained a Technical Bureau consisting of men who are experts in city planning and municipal affairs in general. The purpose of the bureau is to provide professional service to elected Socialist officials in the form of advice and recommendations.

At its recent session the State Executive Committee adopted a resolution recommending that the national organization of the party establish a technical bureau to render similar service to Socialist officials. The substance of the recommendation is contained in the following excerpt from the resolution which has been sent to the National Executive Committee of the party:

1. The National Secretary of the Socialist Party shall from time to time communicate with men and women qualified for membership in the Technical Bureau, and shall have power to enroll them as such, keeping a record of the education and qualifications of each member, which record shall be open and available to all elected Socialist officials whether National, State or Municipal.

2. The National Executive Secretary, with the advice and consent of the National Executive Committee shall appoint a Board of Directors for the Technical Bureau, which Board may be constituted of eleven or more Directors as follows:

A lawyer familiar with corporation counsel duties, a physician familiar with public health requirements, an architect familiar with city-planning, building codes, public building construction, etc., a paving expert, a sewerage expert, an electrical engineer, a telephone expert, an authority on relations with public service corporations, a teacher or person with school-board experience, an expert on financing and accounting, a statistician and expert on office organization.

3. Any technical problem referred to the Bureau shall in turn be referred to the particular Director to whom it is most familiar, and he may pass it along to Bureau members deemed most competent to advise as to its best solution, or may furnish the required advice himself.

4. The National Executive Secretary may act as secretary of the Bureau, or may provide it with a special secretary as required.

William Shapiro Honored

Friday evening, Jan. 20, the Williamsburg Socialists, Workmen Circle members and trade unionists tendered a banquet to William Shapiro at the Philip Morris Mansion, in celebration of his 60th birthday. Almost 40 out of the 60 years of Comrade Shapiro's busy and useful life have been devoted to the service of the Socialist and Labor movement. Warm and touching tributes were paid him by his comrades and the delegates from various organizations. In many respects this banquet was unique. First of all it was a rare tribute to a comrade who had seldom made a speech, written an article, or was ever in the limelight and whose 40 years was one of service as platform carrier, literature distributor and all round Jimmy Higgins. Many comrades spoke glowingly of Comrade Shapiro's life and example. A fine gift was presented to Mr. and Mrs. Shapiro as a token of the affection of Kings County comrades. A musical program was rendered by Sidney Schwarack and Frieda Kirsch. Mrs. Eva Dann rendered some songs and the quartet of the choir of the Viadec Forum sang some beautiful Jewish folk songs. Jos. A. Weil was toastmaster.

This books can do, nor this alone:
they give
New views to life, and teach us how
to live.
They soothe the grieved, the stubborn
they chastise,
Fools they admonish, and confirm
the wise.
—Crabbe.

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