



TIMELY TOPICS
by Norman Thomas

AFTER what you have heard and still hear about high American wages it is interesting to read in the report of the employers' organization, The National Industrial Conference Board, that the average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries in October 1927 was \$27.01 and in November \$26.72. The average index of employment taking June 1920 as a base—that is, 100—was 79.7 in October and 78.3 in November. Moreover the same authority admits that there have been no appreciable changes in wage rates for four years—this in spite of the increase in production. Pretty rough on Coolidge prosperity isn't it? And, so far as the dreadful calamity of unemployment is concerned, these figures and the facts we all know make a mighty plea to the labor movement to begin a vigorous campaign for unemployment insurance.

I am delighted that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. has sent to Charles E. Hughes, head of the American delegation at the Havana Conference so clear a declaration against American intervention in Latin American countries. It is in the ranks of the workers that effective opposition to intervention and imperialism generally must be developed. We hope that it will grow mightily in strength, intelligence and courage.

The war of extermination against **Steno** in the Nicaraguan jungle goes ruthlessly on. The Administration is deaf to protest. But this is a Presidential year. What do Smith, Lowden and Hoover think? Nobody knows and apparently nobody cares. The Nation in its issue of January 25 outlined in detail the terms of the loan which Diaz was forced to make in order to pay the purchase price of \$10 a gun to the soldiers of General Moncada by the terms of the Stimson settlement. That loan is the grossest form of extortion. Will the next administration enforce its payment by **Liarines**? What do Smith, Lowden and Hoover say? Nobody knows and apparently nobody cares.

We have some domestic problems. What shall we do with the tragedy of the coal industry? What forms of social insurance, if any, shall we adopt against unemployment and old age? Who shall own the super power of the nation? Has any one of our leading candidates made a clear out statement on any of these issues? Not that we have seen. Hoover's conservative position on some of them is pretty well known from his past utterances. Possibly Gov. Smith's position on super power can be inferred from his stand on water power in New York. But he has made no declaration at all on the other questions. His supposedly progressive supporters are irritated when they are asked where he stands. It seems that we must trust him like God.

And this is the tragedy of American politics: that nobody knows and nobody cares where the parties or the candidates stand on vital issues. At the last moment some nominal issue will have to be found about which the candidates will appear to fight. But there will be little or no reality in the conflict and the people will awake, if at all, too late to make their ballots effective. This is bound to be the case so long as we are controlled by two parties that belong to the same general set of interests.

It is good that the Senate passed the McMaster resolution favoring a reduction in the tariff, even if the Republican House which must initiate all such legislation will have none of it. Nevertheless, Senator Smoot was right in pointing out that most of his low tariff colleagues when the present tariff law was under consideration always voted for the highest possible rate on the particular products of their own district. This is the difficulty in any genuine reduction of tariffs. It is all very well to point out the hypocrisy of the business and its essential greed. We shall not get far merely on denunciation. We shall have to have a genuine education on the effects of the tariff nationally and internationally. Men will have to be taught to see beyond the apparent advantage to them of high rates on some products in which they are interested as employers or workers to their greater interest as consumers and peace lovers. That is the job for tariff reformers.

Trotzky the eloquent defender of dictatorship has been banished to one of the

(Continued from page 3)

Graft Trail Worries GOP And Al Smith

Census Report Forces Mrs. Knapp to Resign College Job - Sewer Scandal Stench Grows

ALBANY—The Empire State of New York has been having plenty of alarms and excursions. Commissioner LeBoeuf, appointed by Governor Smith to look into the activities of Mrs. Florence E. S. Knapp, the first woman Secretary of State, a Republican who conducted the 1925 State census, brings in a report urging that Mrs. Knapp be prosecuted on the criminal charges of forgery, the making of false claims in certification, the illegal removal of State records, and grand larceny.

Apparently Mrs. Knapp was saving up the crimes of mayhem, arson, and breaking and entering for her old age. The Commissioner charges that of the \$1,999,902.80 expended on the taking of the census, which, by the way, didn't get much further than Cattaraugus County, \$118,707.76 was illegally expended, and \$79,125.26 was wasted. After the charges were filed Mrs. Knapp resigned as Dean of Home Economics at Syracuse University.

It is not clear to us just why she should do this. Surely any woman who can get her mother, aged eighty, her butler, and her cousins and her sisters and her aunts on the State payroll is well qualified as an expert on Home Economics, and should be of invaluable assistance in training the girls of our capitalist system as to how to get theirs. Mrs. Knapp's lawyer, in a complaint to Governor Smith, says that the Commissioner isn't done right by our Florence, and that Le Boeuf was really very rude indeed to bring accusations like this against a lady.

Republicans Feel Guilty!!

All this business naturally upset the delicate sensibilities of the New York State Republicans, who immediately went out to look for a red herring. They found it in the Industrial Survey, a collection of up-State legislators who have been going around for a year or more cooking for some excuse for hitting the labor legislation of the state square in the nose.

One of the moving spirits of this Survey is a politician named Cornairs, who is the fair-haired boy of the power trust in the state, and of the open shop manufacturers. The representative of the public on the Survey is none other than that great statesman, Jimmy Gerard, who rose to diplomatic fame by first teaching Boss Murphy of Tammany Hall not to eat with his knife in Delmonico's. For his noble act he was made Ambassador to Germany, and had the great luck to be there when the war broke. Ever since then he has been telling us all the sassy things he said to the Kaiser, and has intimated that, thanks to him (and undoubtedly the J. M. C. A.) the hun was finally pushed off the gate.

Horried by the Knapp business, Cornairs and other Republicans arose and demanded an investigation of the Workmen's Compensation Department of the State Labor Bureau, the head of which is a Smith appointee. Smith appointed Dr. Lindsey Rogers, a real economist, to make the investigation, which began on Monday. But his didn't suit the Republicans at all. Senator Knight, leader of the Republican majority, wanted the Industrial Survey to make an investigation on its own hook, but Republican McGinnies, of the Assembly, who is self-confessed candidate for Governor, feared that the wily Al might be setting some of his customary traps for innocent Republican feet, and he opposed any independent investigation.

Meanwhile, Governor Al is sitting back enjoying the spectacle—and trying hard to keep the Connolly sewer graft scandal off his mind. Thoughtless citizens of Queens borough, in New York City, produced charges and figures indicating that Mr. Connolly, Tammany power in Queens, let more than a million and a half dollars of the tax-payers' money filter into pockets where it doesn't seem to belong—except by the God-given Tammany right of plain and fancy grafting.

Governor Smith was led by the outcry to appoint an investigator. Max Steuer, on behalf of Connolly, agreed to help "bring out the facts." This has taken the peculiar course of enjoining judges, investigators and everybody else who has anything to do with the investigation. Connolly vitally ignores the public clamor; vital records disappear; important witnesses vanish across the Canadian border.

Now, in face of the palpable attempt to block the probe, a questioning finger is again being pointed at Governor Smith, who is being reminded that he has the power, if he will, to remove Borough President Connolly.

Worst Depression In Years Stalks The South-West

Entire Families, Homeless, Drift Around in Battered Cars, Searching For Jobs, Homes And Food—Mounting Tide of Resentment Waits For Movement to Crystallize Unrest

By Murray E. King

ROSWELL, New Mexico.—The worst unemployment condition in years has gripped the agricultural West and South. It has engendered an amount of mass resentment such as the country has not seen for years. The long reign of post-war reaction is cracking on the wide, ragged fringes of Coolidge prosperity and the soil is being prepared for a new planting of Socialist and progressive ideas. These are the inevitable conclusions one forms here in Roswell at the "cross-roads of the Southwest" meeting up with the steady streams of industrial and agricultural derelicts drifting from the North southward in search of that rare combination—jobs and warm weather—drifting from east to west and meeting themselves coming back, baffled, beaten, bitter, desperate.

These doubling crossing streams are composed of two elements—jobless wage earners and uprooted farmers. There is a special point of convergence of them here at an automobile wrecking and junk yard operated by a Socialist comrade. A rare opportunity to sound these very vocal streams is afforded at this yard. Unlike former migrations of workers, which followed the railroad lines, riding when it could and walking when it had to, these new human tides are on wheels. A great change is taking place in the life of the "hobo," or wandering job seeker. Conditions that have filled Amer-

ica with used autos that can be had at almost any price and junk yards in every town where auto parts can be traded in and out for almost a song has made the cheaper used auto accessible to the itinerant workers. It is cheaper and safer now to cover the long distances between jobs in old and patched up autos than to try to follow the railroad lines. Especially is this true in the South where the pedestrian looking for work is regarded as a sort of a criminal at war with society.

Families On The Move

These conditions have evolved another new element in hobo life—the hobo family. Thousands of worker families now have no homes except the old road-worn auto eternally in pursuit of the elusive job, or the still more elusive "chance" for little patch of land and a fixed habitation that will afford a tolerable living. Many of these families are on wheels the year around. Many of them drift south in the winter to escape cold weather they can no longer resist except by running away from it. Many of these families are getting the incurable road habit. They are becoming permanent dwellers upon the great open road that begins and ends nowhere. They are on the way to degenerating to the tramp class—from the hunter of work to the fugitive from work.

(Continued on Page Seven)

Berger Moves to Have U.S. Take Over All Telegraph Lines

Washington, D. C.—Declaring that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. has destroyed practically all competition in the telephone business, dominates the field in which it operates, and is piling up tremendous profits by purchasing its apparatus from subsidiaries, Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, has introduced a bill providing for national acquisition and for government operation of telegraph and telephone lines.

In a statement he issued, Mr. Berger said: "Recent investigations made to determine to what extent, if any, competition still prevails in the telephone business have disclosed that the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. does 72 per cent of the telephone business of the United States and dominates the rest. It is the richest corporation in the world.

"Through its control of the Western Electric Co., of which it owns 98 per cent of the stock, and from which all telephone companies are obliged to purchase telephone apparatus on a cost-plus basis, the telephone trust exacts tribute from the American people from the time the apparatus is made down to and including the time the telephone user is compelled to pay exorbitant rates for the service he gets.

"In addition to squeezing the people for all they are worth by imposing a variety of unnecessary charges, the trust exploits the workers, compelling them to work for ridiculously low wages and for long hours at nerve-racking labor.

"Regulation has failed to deal with the monopoly problem. No one even pretends that the Sherman anti-trust act is enforced or can be enforced. Instead regulation is one of the most fruitful sources of corruption.

"There is no reason why the federal government, which runs the postal business of the nation—and runs it efficiently—should not also be able to operate the telegraph and telephone lines. The rates would be cut to a point where business would increase. The workers could get a living wage. And the people, instead of remaining at the mercy of an irresponsible clique which now runs these lines to suit themselves, could own and operate them for the benefit of all the people through its legally constituted government, very much as the people now run the postal department."

Speeches of Berger Available to Voters

Paste This in Your Hat

Here and there one hears the opinion that we must be careful in choosing the name of a movement for human liberation. FORGET IT! Whether you choose to name it Socialist Party, American Labor Party, Farmer-Labor Party, it is all the same. You will receive the mud of the enemy. The Working Men's Party of New York in 1829 was called the "Dirty Shirt Party" and the "Infidel Party". The Abolitionists were called "Amalgamationists", that is, that they wanted to mix the races. The Populists were called the "Sockless Party" because it was said that Jerry Simpson did not wear socks. When the American Labor Party was organized in Chicago in 1919 the press referred to it as "Boishevik". The movement that is not smothered by the enemy is of little use. Win the venom of the enemy and it is a tribute. Make your movement loved by the masses and do not expect to escape the snarls of the kept men of the ruling classes. They are paid for calling names.

Young Socialists Of New York Meet In City Convention

The senior section of the Young People's Socialist League of Greater New York will meet in convention on Feb. 4th and 5th, the eighth since the League was organized. Forty delegates from twelve circles will meet in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Saturday, 2:30 p. m., for the first session. Fraternal delegates from the Socialist Party, the New Jersey and Newark Y. P. S. L., the Junior Y. P. S. L., the Young Poole Zion and the Workmen's Circle Youth Group are expected.

The convention will prepare work for the year. Extensive educational and organization work will be the keynote of the convention. Various phases of youth endeavor will be discussed. Child labor, military training and imperialism will be considered.

A complete report of the work of the past year, will be submitted by the Executive and Financial secretaries.

A number of prominent Socialists are expected to address the convention, including Algernon Lee, Chairman of the Socialist Party Committee on Yipsel Affairs; August Claessens, Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party and James Oneal, Editor of the New Leader.

The League invites members of the Socialist Party and kindred organizations to attend this convention. The second session will begin Sunday at 11 a. m.

Our competitive system of industry is a vestigial institution. It is a survival from the militant ages of the past. It is a system of cannibalism. Instead of instilling the feeling of brotherhood, it compels us to eat each other.—J. Howard Moore.

Gallitzin Miners Parade Attacked; Pledge to Fight on

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
GALLITZIN, Pa.—Local 1056 of the United Mine Workers has been compelled to take notice of propaganda in the newspapers that local members are going back to work and that others have asked coal operators for jobs. Only one member of the union has gone to work and one mine owner is trying to operate a non-union mine.

Recently the miners arranged a parade and thugs of the mine masters appeared on the scene. Without any provocation men, women and children were clubbed in the streets. A young man carried an American flag and he became a target for the thugs. He was cowardly assaulted, his life threatened, and, to the astonishment of the miners, he was arrested and sentenced to pay a heavy fine!

With prostitute jealousy, thugs and magistrates apparently united in a crusade to crush the fighting spirit of the miners, Local 1056 has adopted resolutions which recite these incidents in the struggle. The concluding sections of the resolution read:

"Resolved, That we, the membership of Local Union No. 1056 United Mine Workers of America, 700 strong, and other citizens, have become indignant from this abuse and propaganda, and be it further:

"Resolved, That we serve notice on those who have so abused and lied about us, that we shall not falter in this our struggle, and that with our District and National Offices; never shall we go back to work until our fight is won and a living wage is guaranteed, and be it further:

"Resolved, That this resolution be sent to our Journal and to the Johnstown and Altoona papers and to THE NEW LEADER for publication."

The resolution is signed by S. A. Nelson, James Brawley, T. B. McCloskey, of the Resolution Committee.

Catholic Priest Raps Company Unions

Washington, D. C.—Rev. Francis J. Haas of St. Francis Seminary and Marquette University has written to a prominent manufacturer in protest against a "yellow dog" contract which the manufacturer, a Catholic, has enforced on his employees. Father Haas had been informed of the facts by correspondence with a friend. The letter says:

"I have no first hand acquaintance with the conditions prevailing in your mills, but assume that Mr. — writes is true. He writes that your management has introduced a policy of requiring your employees to sign an agreement making their employment depend on certain conditions, specifically that they will not affiliate or retain affiliation with a trade union. If this information is correct, please do not regard it as impertinent on my part to point out to you that a system of this kind makes employment depend on the surrender of a right which no worker should be asked to forego."

Me and My Shadow



—Duffy in the Baltimore Sun.

Reading Opens War On Vice; Notice is Given

Mayor Stump Orders Disorderly Houses to Get Out of Town Immediately

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, Pa.—The Socialist administration is facing three important questions, commercialized vice, re-valuation of property for assessments, and the need of a municipal machine shop. There were 6,667 treatments for venereal diseases at the Homeopathic Hospital clinic last year and this figure, according to one official, "is only a small fraction of the number of treatments given by doctors of Reading in their offices."

Mayor Stump has announced his intention of driving houses of commercialized vice out of the city as rapidly as they are uncovered. "I will give them a reasonable time to settle up their affairs and get out," the mayor declared, "and then the raids will begin."

The mayor also considers favorably a suggestion offered by a citizen for a vice commission who would undertake the duty of working with the police and with citizens who have information to divulge regarding houses of prostitution.

Favorable reports from a number of cities which have used the services of real estate appraisers to determine property assessments and tax rates have strengthened the sympathies of the Socialist city officials with that method of procedure. Among the municipalities whose opinions have been secured on this important proposal are Jamestown, N. Y., Cleveland, O., and Perth Amboy, N. J. Another strong endorsement of the plan has been furnished by the Teachers' Federation of the City of Chicago, where an appraisal was made of the property in the loop district, known as the highest priced property district in the world. In each case the work was done by the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Philadelphia, with which the local officials have been in communication.

Stump Examining Costs
"Council will proceed slowly but surely," Mayor Stump said. "We will give the people a scientific assessment and we want to do it in the best possible way."

Councilman James H. Maurer's discovery of reckless expenditures in relation to the city's automobiles brought from him the suggestion of a municipal machine shop. He is convinced that the city can save thousands of dollars by establishing its own shop. His investigation shows that excessive prices were paid to private shops for repairs and the bills were paid without protest by his predecessor. The proposal for a municipal machine shop will be considered by the city council at a future meeting.

Facts for Farmers

The deterioration of rural communities becomes hopelessly certain. We have reached a point in American agriculture where it is worth while to hold land for its speculative rather than its true economic value. In some of our most prosperous farming states land is slowly but surely passing into the hands of absentee landlords—not merely farmers who can afford to retire to the village or county seat, but to an increasing extent men whose main business is banking, or the law, and whose investment in farm land is purely speculative.—Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, in "The Farmer and the New Day."

A.F.L. Urges U.S. Drop Its Imperialism

Green Writes Hughes Demanding Non-Intervention Policy Be Adopted at Havana

(By International Labor News Service)

MIAMI, Fla.—In a most emphatic letter to Charles Evans Hughes, chairman of the American delegation at the Pan American Congress in Havana, President William Green of the A. F. of L., has just made one of the strongest declarations of American labor policy toward Latin America that he has ever made. It serves notice to the American delegation in Havana that American labor is not in agreement with what has been declared as the official American policy which is, in the words of President Coolidge, that "the person and property of an American citizen are a part of the national domain even when abroad." Labor's policy is declared to be one of self determination, self government, democracy and national freedom, with an absolute guarantee by the United States that it will never encroach upon the sovereignty or the territorial rights of any Latin American nation.

It is accepted here as backing up the Latin American demand in Havana for a policy under which "no state may intervene in the affairs of another state."

Mr. Green's letter to Chairman Hughes of the American delegation in Havana says, in part:

"The working people of the United States are firmly convinced that cordial and friendly relations can be established and maintained between all countries represented in the Pan-American Union through the development of a perfect understanding that the Government of the United States will not, at any time, interfere in the affairs of any Latin-American Nation and will not, either directly or indirectly, encroach upon their sovereignty or territorial rights. Such guarantees should be absolute, without reservations, and should be made in such a way as to remove all doubt in the minds of all people who reside within all countries represented in the Pan-American Union.

"The working people in the Pan-American countries should be guaranteed the right to organize and to co-operate within their respective countries in the furtherance of their legitimate, social, industrial and economic interests. The right of free speech, free assemblage and free press should not be abridged. Liberty, democracy and justice should triumph over autocracy and unfreedom in any form.

"We deeply regret that the Government of the United States failed to designate a responsible representative of Labor to serve either upon your Delegation or in an advisory capacity. We feel that the highest and best interests of the Pan-American Union could have been better served if the voice of Labor could have been heard in the Councils of this great organization. Your deliberations and your legislation is of transcendent importance to the working people of all the countries represented. They will be greatly affected by the application of such policies as may be determined upon and in many ways will be called upon to assist in giving vitality and force to these policies. It is unfortunate that the great heart and mind of Labor is not present in your exceedingly important Conference."

The American Federation of Labor executive council formally endorsed the Shipstead anti-injunction bill, directed drafting of a bill to prevent future conspiracy suits against labor under the Sherman act and laid plans for a conference of representatives of national and international unions in Washington February 7 to back up the fight in Congress against the injunction.

On the day of final adjournment the council lifted the suspension of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees, readmitting that organization with its close to 100,000 members.

President Green also announced that Secretary Morrison's report showed \$220,000 sent to the miners through the Federation.

On the Boulder Canyon Dam issue before the council by order of the Los Angeles convention, the council voted that it is "in favor of the Boulder Dam project," being constructed "with such safeguards thrown around it as to fully protect the interests of all the people, and we favor the distribution of the water for domestic, irrigation and power-generating purposes being placed under the direction, control and authority of the Federal Power Commission created by the Federal Government."

"Socialism and Soviet Russia" Discussed At Fourth Annual New Leader Dinner

Thomas Hillquit, Maurer, Stolberg, and Lee State Views on the Bolshevik Revolution

WHAT shall be the attitude of Socialists towards Soviet Russia is the question that was raised and answered in diverse ways at the fourth and most successful of the New Leader dinners.

Under the witty chairmanship of B. Charney Vladeck, manager of the Jewish Daily Forward, speeches were delivered by Norman Thomas, Algernon Lee, Benjamin Stolberg, James M. Maurer and Morris Hillquit. The discussion without doubt was the most intriguing in many years. Only the absence of refutation prevented a determination of what constituted the common ground, the insignificant differences and the sharp conflicts.

Thomas Leads Off

Norman Thomas led off with a plea for a sympathetic and interested attitude towards Soviet Russia. Referring to the article written by Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward, upon his recent return from Russia, Thomas pointed out that whether a Socialist or Communist state was being developed or not, interesting things were being worked out. A great effort was being made, which was comparatively successful, to create a society where the love of money was not the motivating force in human endeavor. Thomas stressed the great importance of the Russian experiment in conscious planning, the Gosplan, which had won the admiration of such economists as Professor Paul H. Douglas and Stuart Chase.

It was a new thing in history. For these reasons alone Soviet Russia deserves our support. If failure greets its efforts, the reactionaries all over the world will rejoice and the workers will suffer. Not ten per cent of the workers and farmers understand the Socialist antagonism towards Russia. We must not echo the fears of the A. F. of L. hierarchy. It is not enough that we demand recognition of Soviet Russia. The Chase National Bank and Standard Oil will attend to that. We must be friendly and sympathetic. That does not mean that we are to be uncritical. It is a difficult thing to draw distinctions when feelings on the subject are so intense. Yes, we ought not, because of our admiration, fall to censure occurrences to which we should not shut our eyes in the United States. It would be the height of madness to say that the only way to progress in America is along the path taken in Russia.

Finally, Thomas made clear his reasons for not operating with the Communists in this country. It was not because of their theory of dictatorship. He could go along with anybody if both were taking the same road up to a certain point. It was the Communists' tactics that repelled him. It was their attitude of "come on, you yellow dogs, let us unite." It was their lack of good faith, of honesty. It was their disdain for internal democracy, as exemplified so dramatically in the Trotsky affair. But our attitude towards the Communists here should not warp our judgment of Russia. Let the disposition of ultimate questions wait. For the present we must give our sympathy to Soviet Russia.

Algernon Lee Critical

The next speaker should have been Ingerman of the Russian Federation but he was detained by illness. As Chairman Vladeck expressed it, Ingerman's group with true Russian generosity and practicality had delegated their ten minutes to Algernon Lee who, it soon became apparent was imbued with the bitterness of the Russian Social Democrats towards Soviet Russia. Lee explained that he had recently talked the matter over with the Russian Federation and was voicing its sentiments. He regretted very much that he had to take issue. However, it was impossible any longer to ignore, to soft-pedal the differences of opinion between the Social Democrats and the Communists. It reminded him of the old days of anarchist agitation. There were fundamental differences. Social Democrats must learn to discriminate, to see that it is not merely a matter of detail, an incident in Russia of dissatisfaction

\$3,375 in Birthday Presents Given the New Leader at Dinner

"There are two reasons for this dinner," Chairman B. C. Vladeck told the audience gathered at the Fourth Annual New Leader Dinner Friday night, Jan. 27th, in Beethoven Hall, New York City. "And," he added, "the most important is that of raising funds to boost our paper."

That was all he needed to say. No flowery talk to touch of the heart and loosen the purse-strings. The comrades knew the New Leader, what it has done in four years and what it hopes to do in the years to come. The response showed this. Immediately the huge dining hall was the scene of scores of comrades carrying gifts. A Comrade from Washington, D. C., who wishes his name withheld, started it with \$250. Comrades Jacob Halpern and Morris Berman followed suit. Then came an avalanche of bills and checks, in denominations of one to one hundred dollars.

Comrades from the United Neckwear Makers' Union, a similar amount from the Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; \$50 from the Furriers International Union and Joint Council; \$100 from the Millinery Workers, local 24; \$25 from the Shakers and Bag Makers; \$25 from the Hebrew Butchers Union; The Socialist Party branches also donated liberally "Isabel." McAlister Coleman's cat gave up \$10 worth of liver, while "Democrat" turned in \$10. A hundred other comrades put their donations into the hat.

The total collected, through cash and pledges, was \$3,375. Through these birthday presents fall short of making up the New Leader's annual deficit, the New Leader staff feels that the spirit behind these contributions indicates a year of successful Socialist propaganda which will exceed anything the paper has accomplished thus far. Among the plans, more of which will be disclosed later, are one to publish a daily paper during the National convention of the Socialist party so that comrades throughout the country may be fully and quickly informed on the deliberations.

Hillquit Takes Issue

Hillquit: "When the first Russian revolution occurred a wave of joy swept over the world. When in November of the same year we learned of the second revolution, we found that our ranks became divided. We have never been able to evolve a consistent Socialist position. My prediction is that we shall still remain divided after tonight's debate. The fault, is not ours. It is not that we are not logical. Socialism is not based upon logic. Here I disagree with Comrade Lee. It is not like engineering or architecture, an exact science. A popular movement like Socialism cannot be that.

Stolberg Tells a Story

It fell to the lot of Benjamin Stolberg to break the tenseness which the impassioned address of Algernon Lee had produced. Stolberg began by citing a letter published about two weeks ago in the New Leader in which a gentleman from Chicago declared that he had heard Maurer speak on Russia. The Chicagoan said Maurer was a Communist not a Socialist and wanted to know what the true attitude of the Socialist Party was. That reminded the speaker of the story of the Jew who was arrested for blowing a shofar, (a kind of horn used for sacramental purposes on the Jewish New Year.) The judge asked the Jew what a shofar was and failed to elicit an explanation. Again and again the judge put his query until, growing impatient, he threatened to throw the offender into jail forthwith. Thereupon the Jew volunteered a definition.

"A shofar," he said, "is a horn."

"Then, why did you not say so in the first place?" asked the judge.

"Because," said the Jew, "a shofar is after all not a horn!"

Thus, Stolberg illustrated his point that there are various brands of Socialists and sometimes one kind will not recognize another. Lee, he said, was a theoretic signer of that Chicagoan's letter. The speaker, then, called attention to Ramsay MacDonald without actually mentioning him by name. MacDonald had refused to comment on the Sacco-Vanzetti case because he was an important foreign visitor to these shores, he supported the British Empire but was opposed to imperialism and he appointed two labor members to a commission to investigate India though no Indian was represented on the body. Yet the Forward honored MacDonald with a dinner, and when Stolberg had had the pleasure to review Harry Laidler's new book on Socialism he did not point out that Ramsay MacDonald was no Socialist. On the contrary the speaker emphasized that the first labor premier of England simply was a manifestation of a certain kind of culture. Socialism is an international attitude towards plutocracy and an expression of a national culture. Therefore, the Russian Revolution could not have been anything else but what it was. The main objection of American Socialists is that the Communists have not been behaving themselves here. The Com-

Inspection Made Freely

Nobody told the delegation where to go. They were not supplied with interpreters; they had their own. When they wanted to visit the rural regions, they rode out into the country. They did not know where they were going. They just kept going. They interviewed everybody who should have been interviewed. There were a lot of things which the speaker could not approve. One had to remember that the Communists had inherited a region devastated by war and famine. Seven million at one time were sick because of famine and invasion. From the terrible conditions wonders have been evolved.

Said Maurer: "I am the last man to condemn Soviet Russia. If what they have over there is Communism, I don't care if you call me a Communist. They are working for a better world to live in."

"For twenty years after the revolution in this country we were intolerant. We confiscated, we burned, we chased the loyalists out of the country. Let us point

James Maurer's Views

Vladeck told a Russian-Jewish version of the Anglo-Saxon tale of a person finding in Paris exactly what he was looking for, and then abruptly introduced James Maurer. The introduction may have nettled "Jim" but the subsequent heckling by two or three thoughtless individuals certainly did not. Maurer was not his usual self. He related no pleasant stories, as is his custom. He was deadly earnest and his voice was fraught with emotion. One could forgive the interruptions on the score of politeness but to dam Maurer's anecdotal stream was an unparadise sin.

The trouble with the Socialist Party, began the President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and Council of Reading, Pa., is that it has editorialized about Russia and now finds that it does not know what it has been editorializing about. He had gone to Russia with an open mind. He had not expected to measure things by American standards. He had gone to compare New Russia with Old Russia. He was not surprised to find that he did not know what was going on. While he and the unofficial trade union delegation were in Russia the Associated Press correspondent informed them of a riot in Leningrad arising from a strike for the eight hour day. That was impossible, the speaker went on to explain, when he was interrupted by a remark and sarcastic guffaw from someone behind him.

"That is no joke," shot back Maurer, out deeply.

He then tried to drive his point home by an illustration. While in Russia he received a clipping from a home town newspaper, telling of the shooting of strikers by Red Guards in a certain small mining town near Moscow. Again some one interfered by volunteering the information that there were no mines there.

Maurer turned brusquely and insisted upon telling his own story. As a matter of fact there were no mines in that town and Maurer had been in the place at the time the shooting was alleged to have taken place and later again. Diligent inquiry revealed that no such incident had taken place and yet American newspapers had run this story with an accompanying picture of a similar condition under the Czarist regime.

Maurer began to tell about the political prisoners. Only dangerous ones were jailed and the conditions in the prisons were excellent.

"I don't believe it!" exclaimed a heckler.

"Because I am a Socialist," it does not mean I must be a hypocrite," retorted the speaker and he resumed his description of the penal institutions of Soviet Russia. There was no prison he saw there that was so unfit for human habitation as those he knew in Pennsylvania. He was in the worst prison in Russia and that was better than any at home.

ingers here first. One cannot risk the success of a revolution. You can't imagine the nervousness of the people there with Poland armed to the teeth and the country infested with spies. If I were there, I'd probably be a Communist. They asked me about the Communists in this country and I told them they were a bunch of darn fools. They wanted to know why the workers didn't sympathize with Russia and I told them because of the darn Communists you have over there. I have seen the Communists in action here. They don't build; they destroy. They tried to destroy the Socialist Party and the labor movement. I told them they couldn't think we should give up so easily what it took a century to build up.

"The Communists there are doing the best under the circumstances. The difference between the Communists and the Socialists is that one says that labor creates all wealth, and the other that all wealth is created by labor. This is a fight of workers, and I don't care what kind of a fight the workers are in, I'm with the workers first, last and all the time."

Vladeck then introduced Morris Hillquit as "the man best qualified to sum up the situation."

"In retrospect what the Communists did looks like the most insane act. There was a radical party taking hold of a vast country like Russia. Who would have thought they would have lacked favor among the working class? Yet their first act was to try to break up the labor movements of the world and make enemies for themselves among the working class.

"There is a credit side, too. To a great extent the Communists were compelled to do what they did by the conditions existing at the time. They have saved Russia from barbarity and disintegration. At least the majority are honestly trying to rebuild Russia."

"If we must have a program, let it be something like this: Let us disassociate ourselves from the Soviet government and thereby make clear that the Social Democrats have no connection with it, bear no relation to it. Demand recognition of Russia by all means. It is not recognized because Russia represents an attack on private property. When this country recognizes Mussolini, the old Czarist government and Horthy, then, I say, it becomes our duty to stand for the recognition of Soviet Russia. It will be a good thing to break down the Chinese wall. The masses of Russia will come back to the Socialist movement. Every year since 1917 has seen Russia sobering down; it has been a painful process.

"There will come a time when the workers of America, Russia and Europe will unite again. Let us go our own way, hold aloft our own banner. In the last year there has been a lack of criticism. Stolberg is right to a large extent. We have left the field to the crazy Communists. It is time to shake off the lethargy. It is time not merely to theorize, but to work and fight."

Among Those Present

THE New Leader dinner, celebrating the fourth birthday of our paper, was in the nature of a gala event which brought out more than 500 comrades from all sections of the Socialist and trade union movement. Young and old mingled in an afternoon which was at once a reunion and an occasion for planning the work of the future. There was a representative group of comrades from outside of New York and a large sprinkling of new faces. Here is a partial list—many of the comrades having entertained guests—of those who were present:

A. J. L. Afros, Mr. H. R. Ansell, Mrs. H. R. Ansell, Mr. Jacob Axelrod, Mrs. Jacob Axelrod.

B. Chas. Ball, Abraham Baroff, Harry Begon, Mrs. Harry Begon, John Bellia, Ben Belsky, Dr. Simon Berlin, Mrs. Simon Berlin, Eli Berman, Mrs. Eli Berman, Morris Berman, Philip Bevilacqua, J. Blaufarb, Mrs. J. Blaufarb, Charlotte Bohlin, Irving Brackman, Emil Bromberg, M. W. Brunn.

W. Cannon, Edward F. Cassidy, William Chermides, Mrs. Hilda G. Claessens, Fannie Cohn, Miss Edith Cohen, Dr. J. Cohen, Lee N. Cohen, Tillie Cohen, McAlister Coleman, Mrs. McAlister Coleman, Frank Connelly, Frieda Cooperman, Lewis Copeland, I. Corn, Carl Cummings, D.

J. A. M. Dahme, Jennie Davidson, Pierre De Nio, S. DeWitt, Mrs. S. DeWitt, Jacob Dissin, Jacob Dubno, Julian S. Duncan.

M. M. Elish, Mrs. M. M. Elish, Abraham Epstein.

F. Samuel Falperin, Arthur Fasburg, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Miss M. Feldman, Solomon Filler, Mrs. Solomon Filler, Nathan Fine, Warren E. Fitzgerald, Joseph Freeman, Esther Friedman, George I. Friedman, Mrs. George I. Friedman, Samuel H. Friedman, Bella Fruchter, Harry Fruchter.

G. Julius Garber, Meyer Gillis, Arturo Giovanniotti, Morris Glanz, Aida Gittelson, Henry Grockman, Geo. H. Goebel, Clara Goldberg, Edna Goldberg, Louis F. Goldberg, Dr. M. Goldberg, Rita Goldberg, Clinton S. Gold, Israel Goldin, M. Goldsmith, Mrs. M. Goldsmith, Ralph Goldstein, Ben Goodman, David Grandtler, Ray Grandtler, Harry Greenfield, Mary Delloi Gusar, Vivian Gusar, George Guis.

H. Mrs. S. Halman, Sigmund Halman, Albert Halpern, Mrs. Albert Halpern, Dr. J. Halpern, Phil Harnet, Dr. Leon Harris, Mrs. Leon Harris, Moe Harris, L. Harvey, Wilko Hedman, Adolph Held, Mrs. Adolph Held, S. Hershokowitz, J. Hillman, Mrs. Harry Karp, Mrs. Fannie Karsh, Gertrude Weil Klein, Peter Knudsen.

I. Dr. S. Ingerman, Cy. Inselbuch, Mrs. Cy. Inselbuch, Mr. Isaacs, Mrs. Isaacs.

J. Dr. M. S. Jaffe, Mrs. M. S. Jaffe, Dr. James M. James, Ida Jokianen, Ben Josephson.

K. Alexander Kahn, Mrs. Alexander Kahn, Phillip Kaplowitz, Ida B. Karlin, William Karlin, Mrs. Jennie Karp, Harry Karp, Morris Karp, Mrs. Fannie Karsh, Gertrude Weil Klein, Peter Knudsen.

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Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

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

Iceland
A big order for Socialist literature arrives from the cold north. The committee ordering this literature writes that we may expect a warming up in that region as the Socialist movement develops.

Party Interest Increasing
State and District secretaries and comrades in states not organized write of renewed interest in party organization, of plans for state conventions, party organization, and the 1928 campaign. Comrades and friends should realize that the more support we get at national headquarters the better shape we will be in when the big convention meets.

Literature
Orders for literature are on the increase. The second edition of "Walls and Bars" is the best. This book sells readily wherever comrades make a serious attempt to sell it. The big leaflet, "Party Builders and Thinkers," is being ordered from all parts of the country. A new supply of this leaflet is ready and we expect comrades to use it.

We hope to announce next week the price and make-up of the new farmer pamphlet. Printers are now working on it. This piece of literature can and should be used in large quantities in the farming sections.

Colorado

New Local
C. A. Bushnell, State Secretary of the party in Colorado, has organized a new local at Boulder. He also orders dues stamps.

Texas

State Ticket Sure
Comrade Taylor, State Secretary again orders dues stamps and explains the situation confronting them in placing the Socialist ticket on the ballot. They expect to have a full ticket in Texas. Every Socialist who reads this in Texas should be an active cooperator with the state officials.

New Jersey

State Convention
State Secretary Schwab has sent out a call for the state convention, which will be held in Passaic on Sunday, March 25, when a full state ticket will be named. Schwab orders a big supply of the new leaflet, "Party Builders and Thinkers." He also writes he is pushing the sale of Voluntary Assessment stamps and says the members are still buying them. He expects to make record showing before he makes his final report.

Kansas

Magill at Work
State Secretary Magill is still in the field pushing the work of the organization. The National Organization is cooperating with him, and giving him some small financial assistance. Magill's reports show that the party organization can be built up. All it takes is work.

Kentucky

John J. Thobe, State Secretary, writes that he is getting ready for organization and expects to make record showing in near future. He reports that the party will have a ticket on the ballot in Kentucky in the fall election.

Utah

Nominations Assured
O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Rocky Mountain District and State Secretary Utah, writes that both Utah and Wyoming will surely have full tickets in the November election. He is not sure about the third state, Arizona. He will do his utmost to cooperate with local Socialists in building up the party in that state and placing our ticket on the ballot.

Michigan

Michigan Coming Back
Joe Bernstein, State Secretary, orders a big supply of dues stamps. Michigan is going forward and will have a ticket on the ballot. The woman's branch of Detroit has sixty members. They are very active—not only doing propaganda work for the party, but in assisting the striking miners.
The Jewish branch at Detroit has purchased a headquarters, where all branches of the party may meet and carry on the work.

California

The recent mass meeting addressed by Lew Head and Lena Morrow Lewis brought a number of applications for membership and a number of subscribers and renewals to the Socialist weekly, the Labor World.
Local Los Angeles has voted to hold propaganda meetings each Thursday night. The South Park Branch will hold a banquet in the near future and the Central and Jewish branches are holding good meetings.
Local Pasadena has also decided to hold public lectures every third Tuesday night of each month.

Pennsylvania

Big Revival in State
State Secretary Darlington Hoopes orders \$107.00 worth of dues stamps and supplies. Recent conferences and discussions among liberal trade unions and Socialist groups indicate that the fast growing number unemployed and suffering workers require immediate endorsement of such bills.
The committee urges all Socialists and sympathizers to contribute money and send clothes to the striking miners at Pittsburgh, Pa. Clothes can be sent

IMPORTANT

An Opportunity To Help Your National, State, Local and Branch Offices.

YOUR National Office has in stock a considerable quantity of the supplies listed below. It should be made use of at once, giving the National Organization Funds with which to put in a supply of new literature for the coming campaign and also providing state, local and branch offices a chance to make some profits for organization work.

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Original Photo, 8x10 (retail at \$1.00 each).....\$ 9.00 per doz.
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Birthplace, 9x11 (retail at 25c each)..... .30 per doz.
Bronze Busts (retail at \$1.00 each)..... 5.00 per doz.

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During the coming presidential campaign every Socialist should show his colors by wearing one.
Small, neat, solid gold party buttons (retail \$1.00).....\$8.00 per doz.
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Enclosed find \$2.00 for which you will extend my subscription for one year.

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Pittstown Organized
Local Pittstown, which has been inactive for some time, reorganized with 15 new and old members last week. The new officers are: Secretary, J. J. Wilson; Treasurer, J. J. Wilson; and Reading speaks this Thursday night and a public mass meeting will soon be held with Reading Socialist officials as the speakers.

Thursday night of this week a membership meeting of Local Berks County will be held in the Labor Lyceum when political nominations will be made for a number of offices. The candidates to be nominated are one Congressman, one State Senator, five Assemblymen, and two State Committeemen.

16th Ward Reorganized
The 16th Ward Branch will apply for a renewal of its charter at the meeting of Local Berks Thursday night. The application will be signed by 32 members and co-members who initiated action for re-affiliation with the party. The new branch will meet every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 at 538 S. 18th street. All members and friends in the ward are urged to attend.

Wisconsin
Socialist Help for Miners
Recently a tiny band of Communists in Milwaukee roared that Milwaukee Socialists "betrayed" the striking miners because a "red front" meeting with them was refused. The Milwaukee Leader recently published a picture of a large shipment of clothing and shoes to the miners of Pennsylvania which weighed two tons. This was the fourth shipment. In addition to this \$681.27 has been gathered for the miners. The Socialists are cooperating with the Federated Trades Council in this work.

New England
Boston
Frank Crosswath, Special Organizer for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, will speak at 21 Essex street on Thursday, Feb. 9, at 8:15 p.m. His subject is "Labor's Struggle Against the Company Union." As the porters, under Randolph's and Crosswath's leadership, have put up the finest struggle of any trade union in the last few years against company unionism, he will be well worth hearing. Alfred Baker Lewis and Joseph Beaulieu have spoken for the Brotherhood in Boston. The Boston local of the union is coming along strong under the leadership of Frank R. Crosswath.

Worcester
Joseph Beaulieu will speak at the Worcester Central Labor Union's meeting Wednesday, Feb. 1, on the anti-injunction bill introduced by the Socialist Party. Louis Rabinowitz was the speaker representing the Socialist Party of the Anti-Fascist meeting held last week in Seaside Auditorium.

Brookton
Frank Crosswath spoke at the Labor Forum in Brookton last Sunday, and Alfred Baker Lewis will be the speaker this Sunday on Unemployment Insurance.

Lewis' Dates
Lewis spoke in Dorchester at the Wellfare Centre Feb. 1 on the subject, "Is America a Democracy?"
His subsequent dates are as follows: Friday, Feb. 3, Branch 729 Workmen's Circle at 20 Bryant street, Malden on "Socialism and Americanism." Sunday, Feb. 5, at noon at First Congregational Church in Somerville on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood." Same day at 3:15 p.m. at the Labor Forum, 47 West Elm street, Brookton, on "Unemployment and the Economic Basis for Brotherhood." Feb. 19 at 7:30 at the Congregational Church at N. Weymouth on "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood." Monday, Feb. 20, at the Fellowship of Youth for Peace meeting on the same subject. Thursday, Feb. 23, at the Y. M. C. A., 316 Huntington avenue, Boston, at 8:00 p.m. on the same subject.

Connecticut
State Executive Meets
The State Executive Committee met Sunday Jan. 29 in New Haven at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center and unanimously voted to support unemployment insurance and old age pension bills. Recent conferences and discussions among liberal trade unions and Socialist groups indicate that the fast growing number unemployed and suffering workers require immediate endorsement of such bills.
The committee urges all Socialists and sympathizers to contribute money and send clothes to the striking miners at Pittsburgh, Pa. Clothes can be sent

to William Hargest, 408 Columbia Bank Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. Send funds to M. F. Plunkett, Wallace Block, Wallingford, Ct.
All deals are urged to sell the Debs Memorial Convention stamp. These stamps are sold for the purpose of helping to finance the National Convention.
A call will be sent out this week for nomination of delegates to the convention. Connecticut is entitled to three delegates.

New Haven
The speaker at the Feb. 5 meeting of the Socialist Forum at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 438 Oak street, will be Mrs. Joseph Whitney, first woman alderman of New Haven. Her subject is "America and Foreign Relations."
We still have a few of the Debs Birthplace Calendars left. Any who want one can send 12c in postage stamps to Walter E. Davis, R-105 Belmont street, New Haven, Ct.

Missouri
St. Louis
St. Louis Socialists have been inactive for a long time but a call for a recent meeting brought out some old timers. A general discussion was followed by a decision to hold regular meetings and lectures. The subject announced for Jan. 31 is "Government by Injunction and Organized Labor." Meetings are held at Labor Hall, 940 Chouteau avenue, and open at 8 o'clock.

New York State
Buffalo
Buffalo is rapidly going to the front in organization work. The comrades recently visited old timers and are receiving encouraging reports. All seem to be ready to get back into the movement.
We are having a very interesting study on evolution conducted by Frank Ehrzried. These lectures are given first and third Thursdays each month, at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 Genesee street, near Deat (side entrance). This is only the beginning of many activities planned. Readers of The New Leader are cordially invited to attend these affairs; we guarantee them pleasant and interesting evenings.

New York City
The branches of Local New York City in the five counties have received a call from the City Office for the nomination of delegates to the National Convention

FRATERNALLY YOURS

AT THE Beaux Arts ball held in New York last week Mrs. S. Stanwood Menken appeared in a costume that cost \$7,000. It was a one night costume only and can never be worn again. Mrs. S. (the S. is for Solomon, but we won't go into that) Stanwood Menken is the wife of a notorious red-baiter who was President of the National Security League, the crowd that threw fits about admitting Countess Karolyi to this country on the ground that the Countess would overthrow our institutions. This same gang succeeded in cancelling the speaking engagements of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the English M. P., because, forsooth, he was "preaching Socialist doctrines." They also picked on eleven-year-old Leo Grandoff who was suspected of having designs on the government in 1923 and Mr. Menken and his boy friends Major General R. L. Bullard and Haley Fiske are among the Big Boo Men of the Nation.

Seven thousand dollars for a dress. Sit down and figure how far that would go with the striking coal-miners in Pennsylvania the union is paying around \$2.50 a week relief for a family of five.
Every time you think of that seven thousand dollars for one dress for one party, get good and mad and go out and get subscribers for The New Leader. You know the psychology shows say that it is bad business to let an emotion loose and give it no aim or purpose. The one and only way to end the sort of indecent display put on by the Menkens and their ladies is to build the Socialist Party. And nothing builds a party faster than the strengthening of a militant, constructively radical press. And in the long run, by and large, you dear reader-comrade, can give us the sticks and stones in the shape of subscriptions and advertisements that will give you the paper you want.

NO NEED FOR SOCIALISM? THE MOVEMENT HAS NO PLACE IN A COUNTRY WHERE EVERYONE IS PROSPEROUS? IS THAT SO? TAKE A LOOK AT THE PICTURE OF MRS. SOLOMON STANWOOD PARADING HER SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLAR GOWN AROUND A DANCE FLOOR FILLED WITH DRUNKEN BABBETTES AND THEN LOOK AT THE PICTURE OF A COAL-MINER'S WIFE NOT TWO HUNDRED MILES AWAY FROM THAT DANCE FLOOR, SHIVERING IN HER FLIMSY BARRACKS, DRESSED IN PAUPER-LIKE FANTASY, MAKE-SHEPT RAGE AND-TELL US ANOTHER.

If any comrade came away from The New Leader dinner last week without new hope and enthusiasm for the movement, then he or she is curiously put together. The liveliness of the discussion, the real fire shown by the speaker, the responsiveness of the audience to the appeal of Comrade Viadek for making The New Leader stronger than ever, all combined to make this a most memorable affair. For his part, at any rate, every member of The New Leader staff found fresh inspiration in this gathering of men and women coming together with the common end in view of creating in America and abroad a genuine cooperative commonwealth. We're on the job, here in the office. How about you, out there on the dining line?

in his blood he can never quit," writes Comrade Joe LaGasa from Fallon, Nevada, in a letter sending us a subscription for himself and a farmer friend; and Joe is right. It's the only sort of germ that we know anything about, which we can really admire. We would most admire to see those of you who have it, go out and expose your friends and shop-mates to this self-same germ.
"Like most workmen I have been and still am up against it pretty hard but I must have my New Leader as it is the only source I know for home and foreign news of interest to the working class. I have been with you with you as long as I live. Congratulations on your fourth birthday. I hope to live long enough to get my beloved Leader every day instead of every week."
Well, if we had a few thousands like this comrade who sends us three subscriptions with his letter from Hubbard, Ohio, it wouldn't be long before we would have a great national working-class daily. Pipe dream? Castles in Spain? Maybe. But, as a matter of fact, a great many substantial buildings have come out of Spain and there is nothing in the cards to show that a real house for the people may not be nearer than we think.

which is to meet in New York City April 14 to April 20. There will be 40 delegates representing the State of New York. Eleven will be elected from update congressional districts; three by a State referendum as delegates at large and 26 from the five counties in New York City. The apportionment of these 30 delegates is as follows: 15 from New York County; 7 from Kings County; 7 from Queens and Richmond County. The three remaining delegates will be elected by the City Council Committee at the conclusion of the referendum.
The branches of all five counties will nominate the quota of delegates from their respective counties to the branch meetings. These nominations must be filed with the City Office not later than Feb. 15. The nominations received after that date will not be considered.

Primary Petitions
All branches and members in Greater New York are informed that official primary petitions for delegates to the National Convention, State and County Committees, are now being prepared. During February every active Socialist must report to his or her headquarters and volunteer to work. We will also have the advantage of making contacts and obtain new members.
City Executive Committee
The new City Executive Committee will hold its first meeting Wednesday evening, Feb. 8, in room 505 Peoples House, 7 East 15th street.

CHATTAN
Downtown Branches
The banquet and get-together of the 1st-2nd A. D. and Jewish Downtown Branch in Chattanooga, Tennessee, was in spite of bad weather, a decided success. A fine gathering of comrades met, feasted and gossiped. It was held at the Hotel Hamilton and lasted months to bring about a better acquaintanceship among our members.
On Sunday evening, Feb. 5, Esther Friedman will lead a series of lectures on "Love's Coming of Age" at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway, 3-5-10 A.D.

This branch will meet Monday, Feb. 6, Louis Bromberg will lead a discussion on "Theatre and Art." Branch meets in room 402, Peoples House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p.m.

Upper West Side
The branch will meet Thursday evening, Feb. 9, in the office of Dr. Simon Levin, 245 West 74th street. Important items are the nomination of delegates to the National Convention and circulation of presidential primary petitions among the enrolled voters. At about 9:30 p.m. the branch will hear a guest speaker, Ethelred Brown, who will speak on "Capital Punishment in the Light of Recent Executions."

Italian Branch
On Tuesday evening, Feb. 21, the Italian Branches will hold a dance in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street. Please reserve seats by writing to the Italian Branch, 204 East Broadway, at once.

BROOKLYN
The branch will meet Tuesday evening, Feb. 7, at the club-rooms, 1167 Boston Road. Important items including election of delegates to the National Convention. As a special feature the branch will have as their guest our former candidate for Governor, Edward F. Cassidy, who will speak on "How I Became a Socialist."

5th A.D.
This new branch will meet Friday evening, Feb. 3. An important item is nomination of delegates to the National Convention. A well-known speaker will discuss some important topic.

BROOKLYN
18th A.D.
This new branch in the Bensonhurst section continues to show progress. It is interesting to know that practically 80 per cent of the members are present at business meetings. The Sunday afternoon forum continues successful and arrangements are being made for an enrollment of Socialist voters meeting and an intensive membership drive. The branch meets at the W. C. Center, 731 20th avenue.

18th A.D.
The 18th A. D. reports encouraging progress. It is active for 200 members continues with a perceptible slackening for the week ending Jan. 27. Although but one application was received Jan. 27 (thus continuing the unbroken stream of applications at weekly meetings), it simply indicates that this infant branch is getting its second wind.

There are rumors afloat that the "Memorial House" (Frank Brodsky and his nearest competitors (Afros, Wolfe and Daubin), have something up their sleeves and will spring an agreeable surprise at the next meeting. We await with eager anticipation the denouncement.

S. Benj. Daubin's talk at the last meeting on "Why I Rejoined the Socialist Party" was extremely interesting and stimulated a most profitable discussion.

J. L. Afros will address the next meeting at 1465 St. Marks avenue on Feb. 3, 7:30 p.m. The subject is "Socialism." Party members and friends are cordially invited.

22nd A.D.
The Committee elected to study cooperative institutions with William Halpern as Chairman will report at the Tuesday meeting. After the report we will organize a cooperative association. Last Tuesday we had one of the biggest branch meetings held for a long time. Keep up the good attendance, comrades.

23rd A.D.
A well attended meeting was held last Monday evening. Secretary Classens was present and spoke on "The Socialist Party and the Presidential Campaign." The Branch nominated delegates to the National Convention and report was made of the successful Bertha Bass is doing heroic work in getting ads for the Journal. Bill Lichtrahl is leading in the sale of tickets. A thousand dollar journal is expected and every effort is being made to obtain a large sale of tickets.

Branch meetings are held Monday evenings at the Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. On Monday, Feb. 5, L. P. Goldberg will give a talk on Socialism after the business meeting.

Yipselom
Circle 3, Junior, Bronx
Last Friday after an interesting literary evening four new members were accepted. This Circle is developing nicely under the leadership of its executive committee consisting of Skulnick, Smith, Dologot and Bendersky. A splendid course in Socialism has been mapped out covering 12 weeks. The program for the next four weeks is Feb. 10, The Abolition Movement; Feb. 17, A Round Table Discussion on the Principles of Socialism with our director, Comrade Dickson as leader; Feb. 24, Discussion on Dr. Harry Laidler's booklet "How America Lives." Each member is supplied with one copy by the organizer, costs only ten cents. March 2, Humor and Musical program.

A committee of Circle 3 elected to cooperate with Party at Hunts Point Palace last Sunday was on the job since 3:30 p.m.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)
most remote corners of the great realm under the control of the dictatorship which he helped to establish. Those of us who are convinced of the dangers of dictatorship and who still believe, despite H. L. Mencken, Benito Mussolini and the Third International, that there is something to be said even for our present imperfect and often hypocritical democracy find a good many morals in the fate of Trotsky and his fellow exiles.

Not that we believe that Trotsky's present policy was better for Russia or the world than Stalin's. Probably Stalin's general policy is wiser even though it marks a decided swing to the right no matter how revolutionary the formulas he may employ the better to curse his enemies. In practice he seems more loyal to dictatorship than to other principles of pure Leninism. This swing to the right goes a considerable distance to justify those who have claimed that it is easier in Russia to talk revolutionary formulas than to put them in practice. It robs communist criticism of the caution of Western socialists of some of its sting.

One of the matters in dispute between Stalin and Trotsky had to do with the policy toward the peasants. The dispute, according to Walter Duranty, the well informed correspondent of the New York Times, has not shaken the administration politically but has produced or heightened a difficult economic situation. The peasants want more concessions. They will give grain only for goods, and that pretty much on their own terms. In short, the lack of harmony between agricultural economy and industrial economy which is at present so acute in capitalist America has not been solved in Soviet Russia.

Nevertheless not by the breakdown of the Russian experiment or by bitter attack on it from without but by its healthy evolution from within can we expect victory for what is vital and fine in it. And there is much that is tremendously vital and fine in the Russian experiment. It has already brought immense gains to the workers which cannot all be measured in money. As the critical Keynes has said it is developing a society with some other religion than the love of money. It is providing an opportunity to show what can be done with an ordered and planned scheme of production and distribution instead of the chaos of our profit system. To these things the enthusiastic testimony of shrewd labor leaders like Jim Maurer and other workers who have recently visited Russia and the reports of economists and statisticians like Professor Paul Douglas and Stuart

believe that some of these witnesses have been misled in certain details by their enthusiasms or duped by their guides it is impossible to escape the conclusion that there is something in Russia worth the eager and sympathetic study of the workers in every land. Simply to denounce the Russian Revolution as Edmund Burke denounced the French plays into the hands of black reaction.

Among the trial balloons which various favorite son candidates for the Presidential nomination are flying appears one bearing the name of Governor Fuller of Massachusetts. That his name should be suggested is a shocking performance. One can only believe in the Governor's honesty in the terrible Sacco-Vanzetti affair by believing in his complete inability to deal with evidence or the facts of human nature. His recent references to the whole tragic business have but added insult to injury. That a man who has so affronted the conscience of mankind should even be mentioned for the Presidency is an affront. What makes the shame of the business worse is that the journalist who reports the Fuller boom in rather friendly fashion

in his weekly letter to the New York Times is the same man who won a Pulitzer prize for his eloquent editorial in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti in the Boston Herald. Economic pressure, perhaps the magic of A. Lawrence Lowell's name soon reduced him to stony silence which he breaks now with the sign of the feelings that once he may have had. And that in itself is another chapter in the history of a cowardly American journalism.

There are some matters of special interest to New Yorkers which I wish I had space to discuss. For example, the new tenement house bill which seems on first examination to be good. No regulatory bill can take the place of a constructive policy of municipal housing. One correction I must make to a typographical error which appeared in my column during my absence and made me say that I favored "more political" control of nationalized coal mines. What I said was non-political control of these mines. While speaking of nationalization, it seems to me a good thing that the Senate stands by the government owned merchant marine.

1+1=2 1+1=2 1+1=2 1+1=2

CAN YOU ANSWER THIS ONE?
Q: If You Add One and One What Do You Get?
A: Doubled Circulation For Your Paper!
Correct - Go to the Head of the Class.

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Now all together. Solve this simple problem for us. Get that new subscriber today. We repeat! GET ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER AND DOUBLE THE CIRCULATION. Remember the equation: 1 plus 1 equals 2.

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Here is my answer to your arithmetic problem that proves 1 plus 1 equals 2. Enclosed find \$..... for a six months' subscription to The New Leader to be sent to:

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HIGH-PRESSURE SALESMANSHIP DEFLATES THE DOLLAR

Stuart Chase Reveals The Advertising Experts As Glorified Bunco-Steerers

By Harry W. Laidler

Stuart Chase wrote his first book on "Tragedy of Waste," Ramon MacDonald praised it as an outstanding example of the kind of research into the evils of capitalism which should be made in the present time, of revealing capitalism. It punctured the argument of the great business men who argued that possible under the most efficient of possible systems and showed pretty conclusively that if we but organized our economic life with a view to service rather than profit, we could produce as much as twice the quantity of useful goods at present with but one-half of the cost now expended. In other words, we could work for four hours a day instead of eight and be at least as well off as we are at present.

Chase, who, by the way, is a certified public accountant, formerly senior accountant for the Federal Trade Commission in the investigation of the beef combine, director of the Labor Bureau, Inc., and treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy, was not, however, content with this analysis of things-as-they-are. Together with F. J. Schlink, formerly of the United States Bureau of Standards, he has, during the last two years been delving into the whole American game of fooling the consumer, and has come out with a brilliantly written and powerful indictment of the whole system of high pressure salesmanship which calculated to fritter away the hard earned dollar of Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen.

It is an encouraging sign of the times that "Your Money's Worth," (net price, \$2.00) the title of the author's most recent book, is published and widely advertised by the old and conservative house of Macmillan Company and that the Book of the Month Club chose the volume as their book of the month for July, 1927, thus insuring it an immediate distribution of perhaps forty thousand copies.

Victimizing the Consumer
"Alice in Wonderland" is the title of the first chapter of the book. Alice is the consumer, victim of the modern salesmanship, utterly without knowledge of the relative merits of the various articles advertised as the "very best," "the world's greatest," and with no way as an individual of knowing how to obtain that knowledge.

"We who have to bring in business," the author's quote from a New York advertising agency, "must get out before the beloved customers and shout, search, hallel, promise, concede, coax, be funny, pop, thump, seek, knock, push, and get the order."

The consumer is thus under mounting pressure to buy, buy, buy, "while few courses are offered him whereby he may intelligently select in his buying," indeed, declare the authors, "so far as may be, he must not be permitted to think. It is an axiom of the higher salesmanship that his mind must be made up for him in advance. Too much thinking would halt turnover, flatten sales curves, give competitors an opening. Witness the cloud of 'last call' advertising—this extraordinary offer good for ten days only, 'the last chance of a lifetime' etc.

Inasmuch as profit through quick turnover is the chief aim of the advertiser, he is under a tremendous temptation, the authors contend, "to adulterate goods, limit their serviceability, shorten their life, and bring the purchaser back the sooner for another sale. The tire business recently issued a warning that tires were being made to last too long for healthy business." While, if we have any conceivable commodity capable of lasting several years, extraordinary efforts are made to get you to buy a new model, and to bring obliquity to bear against any who are so behind the times as not to have the latest model.

Turning to adulteration, the authors quote an authority in the Federal Trade Commission as estimating that there are at least a thousand advertisers of fraudulent schemes advertising through our magazines and journals. The annual loss to the consumer runs into hundreds of millions of dollars.

We are constantly being urged to buy fancy package goods when bulk goods at a tenth of the price would be equally effective.

We are being told that certain commodities are good for a thousand and one uses which they have no connection: "That Peacnuts are not only good food for the stomach but for the brain; that Blisters not only eliminates odors but eliminates dandruff . . . that chewing gum . . . is no longer just an exercise for the jaws, it is a dentrifice, a digestion stabilizer, a breath sweetener, an antiseptic. "Wrigley's, we are assured, is a thrice daily routine for people of refinement."

The authors quote another advertising agency as maintaining that but one-fourth of the business is done as a result of a natural demand, the other three-quarters as a result of salesmanship. While this is probably exaggerated, a staggering total of the nation's purchasing power is so controlled. And the advertising that does the business is not

that dealing with quality, value, utility, reasonable cost or soundness, but repetition.

Selling the Package
There is developing, writes the author, a wonderful technique of getting into the homes, as representative of the school of mothers' club, etc. A growing art of developing of "selling the package," rather than what the package contains. "Gilt paper, shiny nickel boxes, layers of glassine paper and tissue, bright colors, ribbons, fancy and costly printing, the shapes of perfume bottles—all add to the purchasing appeal and with a singular efficacy detract attention from the material which lies embalmed in all this glitter."

Appeal to Sentiment
And then there is the new appeal to sentiment and social prestige. "Here is a soap which will bring a new kind of

cleanness.' We have a picture of a young man who uses it dancing with a charming girl. . . Of course she likes him better. The other fellow dances well—a fine chap, but—you know—a bit careless. To be frank, not pleasant to dance with. What is this subduer of charming young ladies; this new kind of cleanliness? A little cresol, a common and cheap disinfectant recommended by the government for disinfecting cars, barns and chicken yards."

Health, Not Wealth
And so the authors expose this new time of higher salesmanship ad infinitum. They debunk the average tooth brush and tooth powder advertisements. "The curative power of mouth washes," they quote from a Medical Association, "has been grossly overestimated. In the chronic case of pyorrhea usually seen, they are ineffective, neither checking or curing

the disease." The best and safest mouth washes are either warm water, a teaspoonful of salt in a pint of water, or a salt solution with a little sodium bicarbonate added.

The American Medical Association reports that the \$117,000,000 a year cosmetic industry is honeycombed with dangerous products. "Scores of women seeking beauty by the jar get for their money unsightly scars and permanent disfigurement." The Bureau of Standards recently found that only nine per cent of the wood entering into furniture made very durable furniture, while 56 per cent was dubious or very "non-durable." In fact we are in "a wonderland . . . a wilderness in which we consumers wander without chart or compass. We buy not for the value of the article to meet our specific needs but because the story told on every billboard, every

newspaper and magazine page, every shop window, every sky sign, every other letter we receive, is a pleasing, stimulating and romantic story. . . But whether or not it is a fairy story we do not know save through the bitter and wasteful process of trial and error."

Increase in Productivity
One of the great reasons for this rate for customers, and the use of every kind of fairy story to induce purchasers is, according to the authors, the great increase in the ability of mankind under modern industry to produce.

"The amazing growth in the technical arts has provided the machines and the organization for turning out goods in incredible quantities. One cotton mill operative is now able to handle more looms than 50 operatives could manage in 1870. One garment worker running

six rib-cutting machines, replaces 25 workers. Two men with an electro-magnet can unload as much pig iron as 128 men could formerly dispose of. One bottle making machine operator replaces 54 machine workers; one cigarette machine tender replaces 100 hand rollers."

Lag in Purchasing Power
Purchasing power lags behind. The plant, however, must be kept busy, "so the best mental effort in the game of business is concentrated on the major problem of securing the customer's dollar before the other fellow gets it. . . The fruits of that urging are national advertising, experts in sales psychology, high pressure closing men, trade association drives, vertical trusts, instalment selling, direct mail appeal, sucker lists, 'contact men,' the 'dumping' of goods in foreign markets, heaven knows what. . . With a capacity to produce perhaps twice the present total of consumption goods, unemployment lingers, poverty remains, two-thirds of all American families live below the budget of health and decency as computed by the United States Department of Labor. . . Our money system is based on the economics of scarcity, while our technological plant is based on the economics of abundance. The two systems fail to interlock, and out of the frantic and largely futile attempts to do so, the new competition emerges."

The New Main Street
Messrs. Chase and Slinck give us an enlightening picture of the new competition and the new combinations. They take us along the new Main Street, with the new fangled drug stores and grocery stores, haberdashers, etc. They show us how impossible it is for the Average Citizen to find out from the clerks behind the counter what he is buying. They quote, for instance, Dr. Cramp, of the American Medical Association, maintaining that he knows of no patent medicine that ought to be advertised. They tell us how home builders are constantly being imposed upon in the purchase of every article that goes into the building of a house from cellar to garret, and how even the manufacturer of raw materials is constantly being victimized by the sellers of wood, of leather, of machinery. They give an astounding number of cases of adulteration, of quackery, all verifiable.

Organize
They show what the United States Bureau of Standards has done in testing the ingredients of hundreds of millions of dollars worth of products purchased by the national government in its various departments, and how it has saved the people of the country through governmental machines millions upon millions. And they ask why the kind of thing that is being done by this agency in the case of commodities purchased by government agencies cannot, as the first step, be done for the people of the United States at large?

Whether consumers will follow the advice of the authors and unite for the purpose of ascertaining the contents of the commodities they buy, it is difficult to tell. The past has not given much evidence of the ability of consumers to make effective demands for fundamental changes. And the high pressure salesmen and their big backers will assuredly fight bitterly against the impartial testing laboratories which the authors urge. Nevertheless, sooner or later the initial steps suggested by the authors must be taken in some form or another to protect the people of the country against the outrages and assaults on their pocketbooks, their health and their general well-being. While ultimately we must put the economic system on an entirely different basis, on a basis of social ownership for common service. In the meanwhile, we are all indebted to the authors for one of the most intelligent, one of the most informative, one of the most vivid, one of the most incisive and one of the most compelling examinations of the unchecked working of the profit motive in modern industry which has yet been written. Every socialist and every progressive should secure and read this book from cover to cover. It provides to Socialists a wealth of argument which they can use with telling effect, particularly with the housewives, with women's organizations and with those who are inclined to think primarily in terms of the rights and the welfare of the consumers—most of whom are, as well, producers of the nation's wealth.

GARY PASSES, MORGAN RULES ON

Anti-Unionism And Industrial Slavery Continues in Steel

By Louis Stanley

Will the Steel Trust reform in its attitude towards labor? The announcement that a triumvirate has replaced the little lamented Elbert H. Gary as the managing genius of the United States Steel Corporation must be taken with two or three grains of salt. Not only was Gary's intellect not so capacious as to demand the substitution of three brains for his mentality but his power and responsibility were so insignificant that he will be but little missed—except by the newspaper men. His locquacity was a boon to every reporter. He was a facile prophet of industrial conditions, including steel; he could resound with political economic and moral platitudes; and he was a preacher of the open shop as an antidote to radicalism. When Judge Gary died last August he was chairman of the board of directors, chairman of the finance committee and chief executive officer. Nevertheless, despite his decease the two and a half billion dollar corporation did not stop functioning. James A. Farrell, president since 1911 and identified with U. S. Steel practically from the start, continued to run the far-flung enterprise as he had been doing right along. The directors and the finance committee kept on taking orders from J. P. Morgan and from George F. Baker of the First National Bank, both of whom dominated the corporation. What could be more natural, therefore, but that when the period of mourning, so to speak, had elapsed, that James A. Farrell should be named officially chief executive officer in addition to president, that J. P. Morgan should become chairman of the board of directors without executive duties and that a representative of Baker, Myron C. Taylor by name, should be made chairman of the finance committee. No fundamental change whatsoever! The Morgan and Baker interests continue to dictate policies. Labor can look forward to no lessened pressure of the iron and steel hell. Only the fulfillment of the predictions that Calvin Coolidge of Boston police strike fame will eventually become the dummy chairman of the board of directors remains to complete the picture of a Mammon, fed with helpless workers.

Not Even Company Unions
The United States Steel Corporation does not even deign to establish company unions. That smacks too much of labor organization. It feels powerful enough to lay down the rules and establish the conditions for its workers without any pretense of democracy. Its welfare work has seemed to it sufficient to ornament its autocratic control.

The United States Steel Corporation was formed in April, 1901, as a merger of the all-important Carnegie Company and several other iron, steel and tin corporations. The Carnegie Company had become notorious in the bitterly fought Home-

stead strike of 1892, when the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers went down to defeat. H. C. Frick, chairman of the company, had issued his defiance:

"I can say with greatest emphasis that under no circumstances will we have any further dealings with the Amalgamated Association as an organization. This is final."

It was final and the U. S. Steel inherited this policy with the iron and steel assets of Andrew Carnegie, philanthropist, par excellence.

Morgan Gives Approval
On June 17, 1901, the executive committee of the first billion dollar corporation passed the following resolution:

"That we are unalterably opposed to any extension of union labor and advise subsidiary companies to take firm position when these questions come up and say that they are not going to recognize it, that is, any extension of union in mills where they do not exist, that great care should be used to prevent trouble and that they promptly report and confer with this Corporation."

Nor is there any doubt as to the placing of responsibility for this position. Great pains were taken to make it appear that the labor policy was not centralized. On July 6, 1901, we have this entry:

"The chairman stated that it should be clearly understood that the United States Steel Corporation has nothing whatever to do with it (meaning the question of unionism) that the representatives of the three subsidiary companies are not to state that they are acting in concert, or even by consultation, with any of the officials of the United States Steel Corporation." And also this illuminating bit: "The president stated that he had been assured by the head of the financial house (Morgan's) that he will stand by whatever action the president thinks best."

had to fight or die for the company and the abolition of the sliding-scale, while the unionized subsidiaries declared for "open-shop." When the strike was formally called off a year later the union was completely smashed.

The Strike of 1919
The steel strike of 1919 is still fresh in our memories. It was a grand opportunity, unfortunately let slip by. After almost a year of delay by the American Federation of Labor at a time when labor had the strategic advantage some sort of federation of forces of the craft unions involved was achieved and the strike opened on September 22, 1919. More than a third of a million workers responded to the call. Surprising as it may seem, it was the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, timid and broken in spirit, interested only in the highly skilled worker, seeking and bargaining for its own separate advantage, that was most responsible for the failure of the strike.

The United States Steel Corporation took the lead in the combat, raising a smoke-screen of Bolshevism for which it never presented one iota of evidence, conducting a pernicious propaganda to stir up national animosities among the workers, importing negro strike-breakers, evicting strikers from company homes, trampling upon civil liberties, and utilizing spies, detectives and armed guards to the full extent of its financial resources. The strike was crushed by the beginning of 1920. U. S. Steel remained non-union, anti-union.

Said Gary triumphantly to the stockholders in 1919: "As stated and repeated publicly, we do not combat, tho we do not contract or deal with labor unions as such." "But whatever may have been the conditions of employment in the long past, and whatever may have been the results of unionism, concerning which there is at least much uncertainty, there is at present in the opinion of the large majority of both employers and employees, no necessity for labor unions and that no benefit or advantage through them will accrue to any one except the union labor leaders."

It is of such gems of thought as this that the decease of the Judge deprives us. Morgan, Farrell, Taylor—none of these like to talk but they are one in their conviction that unionism must be eliminated.

The Mill Refrain
No examination of the labor policy of U. S. Steel is complete without a reference to the resistance of the corporation to the demand of the public, the technicians and minority stockholders for the elimination of the twelve hour day in the mills. Work-

ers were too cheap for the company to bother about changing methods that had never failed to produce profits. As the old refrain in the mills went:

"Kill a nigger, hire another."
"Ill a nigger, hire another."

In 1922 good-natured President Harding urged upon Judge Gary as president of the American Iron and Steel Institute to appoint a committee to consider the abolition of the two shift day. Gary complied and on May 25, 1923 a report was made. The Judge and our new hero, John A. Farrell, signed for U. S. Steel. It was gravely predicted that

"If the twelve hour day in the iron and steel industry should be abandoned at present, it would increase the cost of production on the average about fifteen per cent, and there would be needed at least 60,000 additional employees."

Nobody was convinced and on August 3 Judge Gary announced that "Manufacturers of iron and steel representing the entire industry of this country will now begin the total elimination of the twelve hour day."

At the same time an extra divi-

Japanese Labor Prepares For Fight In Feb. Election

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

TOKIO.—For the first time in Japanese history the working class will have an opportunity to test its strength in a general election which will occur the middle of February. Heavy filing fees may eliminate some candidates and it is certain that the Government will exert its influence for the Government party. The Eta outcasts have also announced their intention to run nine candidates with the slogan "Equality for all." The Eta consists of the lowest strata in Japan, a caste that for centuries has not been permitted to marry into any other class, and which has been consigned to the most menial occupations. The awakening of this class is a significant phase of Japanese history.

It is necessary to remember that while anybody can be a candidate until Feb. 13, those who by that date have failed to deposit 2,000 yen will drop out, so that many who are now enjoying the limelight as candidates will then become mere voters.

depend of % of one per cent on the common stock was declared.

The Revolution Is Made
Thus, the twelve hour day passed into history. Eight hours at the ten hours pay became the rule in U. S. Steel plants. Most surprising of all was the ease with which the dreaded transformation was made.

"We went over without a ripple," said one official. "The striking thing about it was how easily it was done. There was no interference with production—nothing. It was a great surprise to us all."

Commentary:
1924—2% extra dividend on common stock.

1925—Regular dividend on common raised from 5 to 7.

1926—40% extra stock dividend. And there have been mild rebellions by stockholders because the corporation officials are too stingy with dividends.

The United States Steel Corporation makes much ado about its welfare or as the workers call it "hell-fare" work. Most of this activity was started in 1911 after the union had been eliminated. The stock subscription plan goes back to 1903. Upon the occasion of its silver anniversary the corporation announced that it had in operation for the benefit of its employees among other things these more important facilities:

- Dwellings and boarding houses, 28,216
- Churches, 27
- Schools, 32
- Restaurants and lunch rooms, 66
- Playgrounds, 169
- Sanitary drinking fountains, 4,689
- Comfort stations, 2,130
- Water closet bowls, 10,375
- Washing faucets or basins, 24,930
- Clothes lockers, 179,581
- Base hospitals, 11

Speaking at that time of its safety program in which the corporation takes the greatest pride, it said officially:

"These expenditures for labor have not been, as might appear, at the expense of the stockholders. For instance, calculations show that had accidents continued at the 1906 rate the Corporation under various State compensation laws, would have paid to those who would have been injured or to their families, a sum far exceeding the amount spent in preventing accidents. The Steel Corporation is not an eleemosynary institution. All its activities for the good of the worker, apart from consideration of humanity, have been amply justified by plain business reasons—they paid eventually. The men who direct the policy of the Corporation have never lost sight of the fact that the first object of any company is to make money for its stockholders."

The trio of Morgan, Farrell and Taylor will live up to this noble ideal—at least so long as the trade unions will remain craft-divided and limp in spirit.

St. Colomba and the River — By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued from Last Week)

BUT, at that, as it stood, there was no immediate danger of work being offered. The cave-in had cost the contractors thousands and in addition had taught them that mere air pressure and bracing as heretofore followed were not sufficient for successful tunneling. Some new system would have to be devised. Work on both halves of the tunnel was suspended for over a year and a half, during which time McGlathery married, a baby was born to him, and his six hundred had long since diminished to nothing. The difference between two and five dollars a day is considerable. Incidentally, he had not gone near his old foreman in all this time, being somehow ashamed of himself, and in consequence he had not fared so well. Previously Cavanaugh had kept him almost constantly employed, finding him faithful and hard-working, now owing to stranger associations there were weeks when he had no work at all and others when he had to work for as little as one-fifty a day, so pleasant. Besides,

had behaved a little more courageously at that time, gone and talked to his old foreman afterward or at the time, he might now be working for good pay. Alas, he had not done so, and if he went now Cavanaugh would be sure to want to know why he had disappeared so utterly. Then, in spite of his marital happiness, poverty began to press him so. A second and a third child were born—only they were twins.

In the meantime, Henderson, the engineer whom Cavanaugh had wanted to consult with at the time, had devised a new system of tunneling, namely, what subsequently came to be known as the pilot tunnel. This was an iron tube ten feet in length and fifteen feet in diameter—the width of the tunnel, which was carried forward on a line and the axis of the tunnel into the ground ahead. When it was driven in far enough to be completely concealed by the earth about, then the earth within was removed. The space so cleared was then used exactly as a hub is used on a wagon wheel. Beams like spokes were radiated from its sides to its centre, and the surrounding earth

this plan the old company had decided to undertake the work again.

One evening, sitting in his doorway thumbing his way through an evening paper which he could barely read, McGlathery had made all this out. Mr. Henderson was to be in charge as before. Incidentally it was stated that Thomas Cavanaugh was going to return as one of the two chief foremen. Work was to be started at once. In spite of himself, McGlathery was impressed. If Cavanaugh would only take him back! To be sure, he had come very near losing his life, as he thought, but then he had not. No one had, not a soul. Why should he be so fearful if Cavanaugh could take such chances as he had? Where else could he make five dollars a day? Still, there was this haunting sensation that the sea and all of its arms and branches, wherever situated, were inimical to him and that one day one of them would surely do him a great injury—kill him, perhaps. He had a recurring sensation of being drawn up into water or down, he could not tell which, and of being submerged in ooze and choking slowly. It was horrible.

As has been indicated, a prominent element in McGlathery's nature was superstition. While he believed in the inimical nature of water to him, he also believed in the power of water

one-fifty or two or none at all (seven, once he became proficient) and an assured future as a tunnel worker, "sand-hog," as he had now learned such men as himself were called, was a luring as well as a disturbing thought. After all, he had no trade other than this he had begun to learn under Cavanaugh. Worse he was not a union man, and the money he had once saved was gone and he had a wife and three children. With the former he had various and sundry tasks. To be sure, tunneling was dangerous, but still! She agreed with him that he had better not, but—after all, the difference that five, maybe seven, instead of two a day would make in their living expenses was in both their minds. McGlathery saw it. He decided after a long period of hesitation that perhaps he had better return. After all, nothing had happened to him that other time, and might it ever again, really? He meditated.

As has been indicated, a prominent element in McGlathery's nature was superstition. While he believed in the inimical nature of water to him, he also believed in the power of water

or hinder. In the Catholic Church of St. Colomba of South Brooklyn, at which McGlathery and his young wife were faithful attendants, there was a plaster statue of a saint of this same name, a co-worker with St. Patrick in Ireland, it appears, who was McGlathery's native town of Kilrush, County of Clare, on the water's edge of Shannon, had been worshipped for centuries past, or at least highly esteemed, as having some merit in protecting people at sea, or in adventures connected with water. This was due, perhaps, to the fact that Kilrush was directly on the water and had to have, a saint of that kind. At any rate, among other things, he had occasionally been implored for protection in that realm when McGlathery was a boy. On his setting out for America, for instance, some few years before that the suggestion of his mother, he had made a novena before this very saint, craving of him a safe conduct in crossing the sea, as well as prosperity once he had arrived in America. Well, he had crossed in safety, and prospered well enough, he thought. At least he had not been killed in any tunnel. In consequence, on bended knees, two blessed candles burning

before him in the rack, a half dollar deposited in the box labeled "St. Colomba's Orphans," he finally asked of this saint whether, in case he returned to this underground tunnel work, seeing that necessity was driving him, would he be so kind as to protect him? He felt sure that Cavanaugh, once he applied to him and seeing that he had been a favorite worker, would not begrudge him a place if he had one. In fact he knew that Cavanaugh had always favored him as a good useful helper.

After seven "Our Fathers" and seven "Hail Marys," said on his knees, and a litany of the Blessed Virgin for good measure, he crossed himself and arose greatly refreshed. There was a pleasant conviction in his mind now, newly come there before this image, that he would never come to real harm by any power of water. It was a revelation—a direct communication, perhaps. At any rate, something told him to go see Cavanaugh at once, before the work was well under way and not be afraid, as no harm would come to him, and besides, he might not get anything, even though he desired it so much, if he delayed. He bustle out of the

church and over to the waterfront where the deserted shaft was still standing, and sure enough, there was Cavanaugh, conversing with Mr. Henderson.

"'Yis—an' what arr ye here fer?'" he now demanded to know of McGlathery rather amusedly, for he had sensed the cause of his desertion.

"I was readin' that ye was about to start work on the tunnel again." "An' so we arr. What av it?'"

"I was thinkin' maybe ye'd have a place fer me. I'm married now an' have three children."

"Ah ye're thinkin' that's a reason fer givin' ye something, is it?'" demanded the big foreman rather cynically, with a trace of amusement. "I the ght ye said ye was shut av the sea—that ye was through now, once an' fer all?'" "So I did, but I've changed me mind. It's needin' the work I am." "Very well, then," said Cavanaugh. "We're beginnin' in the mornin'. See that ye're here at seven sharp. An' mind ye, no worryin' or lookin' around." "We've a safe way now." "It's different. There's no danger." (To be Continued Next Week.)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF BOWLING

AS A member of the Dr. John Roach Straton Sunday Morning Bowling and Breakfast Club, Inc., I rise to say a few good words in favor of the ancient and honorable game of bowls.

I have been a member of this Association for several months. I think that I am a member in good standing, although that matter will have to be referred to Kingpin Morris Ernst, who is also secretary of the club. At any rate, I have now reached the stage where I can qualify as a veteran bowler, and I want to urge my radical friends to take up this sport seriously.

It is particularly delightful in that the more strikes there are, the more liable one is to win. Furthermore, the costume required is not elaborate. For men players, a vest, lavender suspenders, and a cigar-butt constitute the correct apparel. The ladies should appear in proper sports costume, in our case, wearing across the front the initials D. J. R. S. S. M. B. B.

As success in this game requires that the players should lean far over, some care should be taken by its feminine followers in regard to undies, but we will not go into that.

It is out of our own experience that we recommend that the suspenders be lavender. Ours, which were purchased at Dayton, Tennessee, during the Scopes trial, had been laid away against the time when we should acquire a genuine English pair of pants, which as everyone knows, has no use whatever for American belts.

It was not until this Christmas that we achieved our Anglican ambition. Now we have an English country gentleman's suit, with lovely pleats in the trousers and a huge hunting pocket. When we inquired of our friend who presented us with this suit as to the functions of a hunting pocket, he informed us that the English use it for the stowing away of such foxes, grouse and wild boar as they come upon in the course of their travels.

It is now apparently the open season for English lecturers, who come these days by the shipload to tell us provincials all about Art and culture and the infinite superiority of the mind of Britain under Baldwin.

There may be some use for our hunting pocket other than as a depository for dumb animals, if we have to listen to any more of these tame bores. But to repress our Angliophobia, and to get back to the good old American game of bowling, we hereby print for the benefit of the layman certain rules and regulations for his observance.

In the first place, bowling is very beneficial from a health standpoint. It is usually done in a dark basement, which is not a real bowling alley unless the cigar smoke is so thick that it is with difficulty you can descry your nearest neighbor through its enveloping mists.

At the further end of the alleys stand disconsolately, a number of elderly gentlemen who are known in the jargon of the game as pin-boys. It is their duty to set up in place the pins which you knock down with your bowling ball. We have noticed that whenever we appear in an alley the faces of the pin-boys perceptibly brighten. They realize that while we are about there will only be a part-time job, and that there will be opportunities for them to indulge in caustic side-comments, such as, "Here comes the poor fish with glasses again." If he is a bowler, I am Queen Marie of Roumania.

Hang near the racks which contain the balls, you will discover a towel, a sponge and a large piece of chalk. Contrary to what you might think, the towel and sponge are not for the purpose of reviving exhausted players but are there for you to wash off paddies with. You do this in the manner of acrobats at the old Hippodrome. Tossing the towel to your towel-bearer, and selecting your favorite ball from among the many on the rack, you stagger off with the mammoth thing, and if the ladies are present, you make a somewhat feeble attempt to swing this weighty object. Care should be taken not to let go on your backward swing, as this sends the ball into the audience and yourself down the alley. Even if you should make a strike at the end, it would count you practically nothing, as it is the ball, not the player, which must hit the pins.

Swinging the ball, then, in a cautious manner, you crouch over and advance in the fashion of a Greek discus-player. Though it may be difficult to picture a Greek discus-player in lavender suspenders and a vest, the illusion must be maintained until you reach the foul line. At this point you drop the ball with a sigh of relief, and a prayer for its successful journey. It is here too, that you discover that all good bowling alleys are equipped with gutters which run along the side of the alley proper, and for which the bowling balls of the amateur seem to have a fatal penchant.

There is probably no more depressing experience in a world full of such than to watch a ball which you had despatched with great accuracy down the center of the alley take a sharp turn to the right and fall dully into the gutter. It reminds you of so many former friends in the radical movement who have done the same thing.

On the other hand, there is nothing more satisfactory than to watch a good bowler, like Morris Ernst or Walter Frank, for example, hit the pins just right and send them crashing down into oblivion. At a time of complete apathy along other lines, you say to yourself by way of vicarious enjoyment "Attabo!" There goes the Open Shop, the American Plan, the Company Union, the American Defense Society, the National Security League, the National Electric Light Association, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, John Sprague, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Nicholas Murray Butler, all in one gorgeous swoop!

As we bowl a perfect 38, our experience in the game has not been striking. But by naming the headpin to ourselves after some of our pet hates, we hope to achieve the soul-satisfying proficiency of some of our conferees.

McAlister Coleman.

The Summons

Gather you, gather you, angels of God
Freedom and Mercy and Truth;
Come, for the earth has grown coward and old,
Come down, and renew us her youth.
Wisdom, Self-sacrifice, Daring, and Love,
Haste to the battlefield, stoop from above,
To the day of the Lord at hand.

Gather you, gather you hounds of hell,
Famine and Plague and War;
Illness, Bigotry, Cant and Misrule;
Gather and fall in the snare!
Hireling and Mammonite, Bigot and Knave,
Crawl to the battlefield, sneak to your grave,
In the day of the Lord at hand.

Scanning the New Books

Isadora Duncan

ISADORA DUNCAN'S "My Life" (Bon & Liveright) belongs among the few great classics of autobiography. I never saw her dance and know but little about her except what is to be found in this book. And this book places her with the superwomen, Mary Wollstonecraft, George Sand, Bernhardt, the few who make us humbly proud to be the sons and lovers of the sex and not ashamed to be men. Regard this book first simply as literature. Here is an exciting, rich, varied career, splendid material. The best material can be ruined by inadequate presentation. Duncan is expressive, articulate, even eloquent and beautiful, compellingly honest and sincere. Of course she is an egotist. If she were not, there would have been no original dancer, no Duncan to write about. It is dignified egotism, without a fatal gesture. Her dancing, according to her own account and many accounts by others, was free from conventional poses, it expressed herself and an idea. It is not fanciful to assimilate that natural, non-posturing quality in her dancing to the literary, intellectual quality of her book. She groans under the difficulty of trying to put herself into words. So does every honest writer. It is only the charlatans, the uncritical, who are ever satisfied.

Mark Twain set out to write a candid autobiography and found, what forty years of experience as reader and writer might have taught him, that it cannot be done. Duncan produces the effect of having done it better than even the best of those books that are called "Confessions"—a word that connotes the revelation of something unfavorable or reprehensible, something that ought to be concealed. Duncan's book is not a confession, it is an assertion. She takes herself for granted, naked and unashamed as a goddess, but with an almost bitterly self-critical appreciation of her mistakes. Note that the worst sorrows and failures in her life were not her fault, nor tragedies of character, defects of nature, sins of will, but sheer accidents. The death of her children and her own death were calamities not of her making, but inflicted on her by Hardy's inscrutable "President of the Immortals." The closing of her school in Paris was not due to her mismanagement or to lack of support but solely to the Wicked War which converted her beautiful temple of art into a hospital. Of course she knows how to write. I am not quite sure that I know what I mean by that, of course, but the training, the sources of expression are all evident, accounted for, so far as the art of words can be accounted for. She read endlessly, "devoured everything." Literary men in Europe brought her the treasures of their languages, fed her with beautiful words, read aloud to her by the hour. How many people have had the privilege of such an opulent incessant education?

I would not lose a word of this book; but I would rather give up some of the more passionate episodes than the image of that eager groping child trying to find inspiration for the dance in Kant's "Kritik." It is simply gorgeous! And those splendidly crazy children building a house on a hill in Greece miles from running water, sinking gold in an artesian well that never welled—here is romantic comedy enacted by people in this very day of the world, at least as romantic as dancing in the Parthenon by moonlight. Hardy and Meredith working together could not have invented this woman, but she could have taught them more (and certainly teaches us lesser fellows still more) than they ever imagined about what a woman is and how she thinks—if that woman happens to be a genius and to be the singular individual genius, Isadora Duncan.

John Macy.

Very, Very British

FORD MADOX FORD finishes up his series of novels on what has happened to the English Tory before, during, and since the war, with a book which he calls "The Last Post," published by Albert and Charles Boni, New York. If you read "Some Do Not," "No More Parades," and "A Man Could Stand Up," you naturally want to know what became of that almost incredible Christopher Tietjens, who believed himself to be "the last Tory in England," and his Latinist mistress, Valentine Wannop, and his amazingly vindictive wife Sylvia. I think

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you will be a bit disappointed that "The Last Post" contains so little of the solid Christopher and so much of his brother Mark, who distinguishes himself by going to bed out of doors under a thatch and refusing to talk to anyone, partly through Tory obstinacy, and partly through the shock that was his when he discovered that by the terms of the Armistice the Allies were not to go one and devastate Berlin.

Certainly "The Last Post" is the least interesting of the four books, though certainly, too, Mr. Ford has a style, a queer, tight, compact way of writing that makes most anything he puts on paper memorable. The book has to do with the "mopping up" of the old furniture in the old houses of England by hordes of invading Americans. Such Americans as never were on sea or land, and I am sure, in Oklahoma either, whence one of the most odious of them is supposed to hail. This is a lady who goes about England patronizing the aristocracy, and boasting that she is a descendant of the Maintenon. Now I have been in Oklahoma, and if that state is capable of producing a woman who has ever heard of the Maintenon, and who can at the same time beat the English aristocracy at their own game, it has possibilities which I have overlooked. Incidentally, why do British authors select such strange names for their American characters? In "Mean-While," Mr. Wells' American is called Mrs. Plantagenet-Buchan. In "The Last Post," the overseas victim of Mr. Ford's rather labored satire is a Mrs. de Bray Pape.

On the whole, "The Last Post" seems rather an afterthought, a filling in of certain details connected with those tremendous days when the Tory went to account Christopher Tietjens, and the good old Tory virtues, come down straight from the Middle Ages, were blown to pieces by the high explosives concocted by British blundering, German ambition, and American avarice. It is difficult to conceive what a reader who has not followed Tietjens through the first three books, will make of this last. But it is also difficult to conceive how anyone who has done so will fail to go out and buy "The Last Post," so haunting a portrait has Ford done in this upstanding saga of the hell that the Great War was and is still.

McAlister Coleman.

Literary Rough-neck

IMAGINE a child of H. L. Mencken and T. S. Eliot (if such a biological feat could be achieved); visualize this child with Dos Passos for a wet nurse and Joyce as a governess; educate it in a newspaper office; throw it out into the hobo world of Jack London for a spell; give it in the army, and, lo, after thirty years you have (no, not Lon Chaney) but Don Ryan.

This incredible heritage of Ryan's plasters itself over each page of his "Angel's Flight," published by Boni and Liveright. Perhaps an injustice is done in saying that he has acquired so many characteristics from his mythical parents, but passages in this strange book are so like those of the parent work that the circumstantial evidence of an inherited style will not down.

Nevertheless, there is some grand writing here and despite its strong similarity to so many dissimilar authors, it has the feel of a new book and a strong book. Ryan has great descriptive powers and his style is peculiarly adapted to the story of that mad town Los Angeles, where the scene is laid chiefly with intermittent glimpses of staid old New York.

There is much that is autobiographical in "Angel's Flight" but there is enough fertile imagination in it to bias away the dullness which must creep into every life. Ryan has, it is suspected, a strong leaning to the mock heroics of the old Wobblies crowd who wore gray shirts when they had the price of white ones because it was so romantic. But there is enough good stuff in him to overcome that phase of a happily forgotten era.

Bert MacDonald.

Voices of Revolt

A SERIES of small books bearing the title of "Voices of Revolt" (New York: International Publishers, 50 cents each) is introduced by four volumes. Robespierre is presented in the initial volume, Marat in the second, Lasselie in the third, and Liebknecht the younger in the fourth. Other volumes announced will present Danton, Blanqui, Jaures, Louise Michel, William Morris, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Lenin, Ferrer and Sun Yat-Sen. Among Americans to be included in the series are Thomas Paine, Frances Wright, Susan B. Anthony, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Albert Parsons, Johann Most, Daniel DeLeon and Jack London.

The aim is to present typical selections from the writings or addresses of leaders in revolutionary thought and action. The first four books fulfill the promise. The books are attractively bound in board covers and printed in type large enough to make reading pleasant. Each volume carries less than a hundred pages and can be read within an hour.

The introduction to each book, however, reveals a studied attempt to make each notable "Voice of Revolt" serve the Communist movement. Considering a recent "history" of the American working people brought out by the same house and reviewed in these columns, it is necessary for the reader to be cautious in accepting the introductions as models of history.

Sinclair's "Boston"

THERE is appearing in this month's BOOKMAN a story to which all who contemplate the present social order with mingled wonder and dismay, should turn. It is the opening of Upton Sinclair's novel, "Boston," which will grow into a searing and searching study of the men and the system that produce such things as the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Sinclair has, in his past few books, been learning the difference between propaganda and art; he has perhaps recognized that truth is the best propaganda, when clothed in the grace of art. In "Boston," the movement starts with the funeral of an ex-governor, one of the old Boston society, and the satire is as spirited and rich as it is subtle and restrained. In the second chapter, there enters a group of Italian laborers, including Bert Vanzetti; we see them through the quiet gaze of the "first-family widow who has come to live among them. The first instalment of "Boston" is the handshake on the promise of what should be as forceful a study of American industrial society as has yet been made.

J. T. S.

Fleeing Unfortunates

ONE of the most notorious and revolting phases of the period immediately following the Civil War was the philanthropic gesture of the Republican leaders toward the emancipated slaves. This attitude found expression in the organization of an institution for gathering in the few pennies Negroes might have by way of teaching them the virtues of thrift and saving. A study of this institution by Walter L. Fleming, Ph.D., has now appeared (The Freedmen's Savings Bank, University of North Carolina Press, \$2) and it makes very interesting reading.

The work is an expansion of an article on the same theme contributed to the Yale Review in 1906 and it will serve as an authority on this phase of economic and political history. Readers of the history of this period are more or less familiar with this shocking episode but the details with considerable documentation presented in this study are for the first time gathered into one narrative.

In brief, it is the story of graft and betrayal of unfortunate Negroes just released from bondage, a plundering of their savings and the final wrecking of the institution by the grafters. It dovetails with the period of the looting of the public domain, the plundering of New York City by the Tweed Ring, the railroad and franchise steals, the debauching of bench, bar, judiciary and press, and the rise of capitalism to power after its release from the duty of sharing power with the owners of slaves.

It is a sordid story and reveals the "spiritual values" of capitalism in a light that President Coolidge shuns when he broadcasts this theme to the loyal subjects of King Capital.

Sacco and Vanzetti

THE sensational murder trials of recent date, the sentimental outcry at the execution of a woman, are developing a public drift toward the abolition of capital punishment far stronger (one is ashamed to say) than that carried on the wave of indignation at the Massachusetts legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. But, with the calm determination that marked the warriors who, at Thermopylae or at Belleau Woods, declared "They shall not pass"; so is there in this country a small group to whom the two Italian victims of prejudice and pride have become a symbol of what is rotten in our land, and who declare "They shall not pass from memory."

One expression of the resolve that the Christendom has other ends
Than creating lust and greed
And the ugly things they breed—
Millionaires and dividends.
—Dolly Vidal.

names of Sacco and Vanzetti will be held high until not merely is their innocence established, but the system that permitted their death itself put down. Is the anthology "America Arraigned," edited by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyney. This American "I accuse!" is prefaced by the clear words of John Haynes Holmes, and contains protesting songs of many of the nation's noted poets. The poet is pre-eminently the forward-looker; his sympathetic imagination makes him leader of lost causes—and the "lost causes" of a generation's ideals are the base of the world's salvation, and shall succeed tomorrow.

Many of the poems in this volume (Dean & Co. \$1, on sale in the Rand School Book Store) appeared in the heat of the struggle; all are strong tokens of spirits firm for truth and justice. Merely to call the roll, the editors, Sam de Witt, David E. Berenson, David Gould Flecker, Louis Ginsberg, Ernest Hartsock, Benjamin Musser, Lola Ridge, E. Merrill Root, Countee Cullen, Babette Deutsch, Henry Alan Potamkin, James Rorty, Clement Wood, Witter Bynner, Arthur Davison Ficke, Alfred Kreymborg, Jeanette Marks, Kathleen and Edna St. Vincent Millay, John Dos Passos, and a score more—with a letter from William Ellery Leonard, who had no poem, but "would not seem by silence to give consent to this terrible deed," and a prose picture of Miss Vanzetta in Paris by Professor W. P. Trent, whose present stricken condition is largely the result of his efforts for the two victims—merely to list some of the names is to indicate the geographical sweep and the spiritual power that are gathered into this volume, in the resolve that the shock felt round the world on the 23rd of August, 1927 will prove to have lighted a fuse that ultimately will blow from their vaulted chambers the smug, blind rulers who know not that justice reaches always to its goal, if even by the sudden blaze of revolution.

Joseph T. Shipley.

On Cooperatives

Under the title of "The Woman with the Basket" Catherine Webb has published a history of the rise of the women's cooperative movement from a membership of 50 in 1883 to its 57,000 of to-day, when it forms one of the links in the international organization of working-class women. As long as fifteen years ago the British section of the Women's Cooperative Guild was calling for an alliance between Cooperative and Labor forces in England, which has at last been achieved during recent months. The book contains a preface by Margaret Llewellyn Davies, and is published by the Cooperative Women's Guild, 38, Downshire Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.3, at the price of 3/6.

"Cooperation in Sweden" is the title of a translation in English of a book by Axel Gjeras, intended primarily for the student of the cooperative movement, but containing much matter of general interest. It can be obtained from the Cooperative Union, Limited, Manchester and costs 3/6.

If the people could be persuaded to cease taking the papers controlled by privilege and take only papers devoted to their real interest, it would not be long before they could abolish privilege.—W. E. Brokaw.

Christendom has other ends
Than creating lust and greed
And the ugly things they breed—
Millionaires and dividends.
—Dolly Vidal.

The chattel slave owner got all the slave's time for nothing. Whoever gets any of another's time for nothing has that much of a slave.—"Equitist."

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AN OPEN LETTER TO COOLIDGE

DEAR CAL: I haven't written you for quite a spell and thought that maybe you'd think I'm huffy about something you've done. But I ain't. Fact is, the nearer you come to the end of your term the better I like you. I'm especially tickled the way you settled the trouble with Mexico. Sending Lindy and Will Rogers down there was a master stroke. Those two boys did more good in two weeks than the marines can undo in two years, and they are some undoers, believe me.

But that ain't what I'm writing about. It's some good advice I want to give you about the \$750,000,000 navy program that boy Wilbur is putting up to Congress. I know steel production fell off 16 per cent last year and the steel trust may need a little paternalism to help it declare the customary dividends on the aqua pura of its stock, as we Latins say. But I'd a heap rather make an outright present of those \$750,000,000 to the boys, or, better yet, spend it to make the Mississippi safe for democracy, than to waste them on floating liabilities like battleships, cruisers, destroyers and submarines.

It would take me too long to tell you what disastrous consequences a naval race with Johnny Bull may bring. Germany tried that game and if you write to the ex-Kaiser and ex-Admiral Tirpitz they can tell you all about how it worked out. I'm sure they will answer you gladly and in great detail because the last I heard of them they didn't have a thing to do but write memorials.

However, that's neither here nor there. What I'm trying to get you hep to is that it takes two things to make a first-class naval power and that is men and ships. When these two requirements are fulfilled then a nation is prepared to fight to its finish. I again refer you to England and Germany.

Now when it comes to building war ships there is not a country that can hold a candle to us. We've got the mechanics, we've got the machinery and the steel industry is willing to take our last dollar. But when it comes to men to command ships I'm afraid you're going to be up a stump unless you decide to put civilians like this man Charley Shambaugh in the place of professional admirals, front admirals and rear admirals. But maybe you don't know Brother Shambaugh so I'll start at the beginning.

Well, Cal, I guess you remember when Submarine S-4 went down with all hands on board and all the Annapolis admirals could do was to throw up their hands and say "We did the best we could," which is proven by the fact that S-4 is still on the bottom of the ocean.

Well, up to that crucial moment in the naval history of our country, Charley Shambaugh was a plain, unassuming citizen running a garage in Lafayette, Ind. Winter coming on, the old Fords being mostly beyond recovery and the new ones not out yet, the garage business was middling bad and so it happened that Brother Shambaugh got to reading about the noble efforts Admiral Brumley was making to raise that submarine and the more he read the more he became interested. So one day when the garage business was worse than usual he wired Admiral Brumley that he'd like to have a conference with him about that submerged sub. And the admiral being at his wit's end—which was right close at home—wired back: "Come on Shambaugh, the Navy needs you." Whereupon Shambaugh, like a true patriot, threw down his monkey wrench and started for Boston.

I may add here that up to this point Brother Shambaugh's nautical experience had been rather limited. Once, as a boy, when the Wabash had backed into the back yard of his home, he had taken a sail in his mother's best wash tub and got a licking for it which so discouraged him that he gave up the idea of going to Annapolis to become an admiral. But the far had entered the soul of that boy and stayed there until the day came when the Navy called him. When Shambaugh landed in Boston he found the very cream of Annapolis naval experts waiting for him with thumping bosoms. He had answered his country's call in such a hurry that there had been no time to recall Sousa's marine band to head a naval review in honor of the super naval expert from the banks of the Wabash. However, the boys did their best considering the shortness of time. The commandment of the Charlestown navy yard escorted Shambaugh to the naval brig Majava and shipped him to Provincetown with all the honors due the white hope of the Navy.

Arrived there Shambaugh dined in secluded privacy with Admiral Brumley, inspected the spot on the ocean below which S-4 was supposed to lie, spent the night in the officers' quarters of the mine sweeper Bushnell, shook hands with the divers and complimented them on their good work. And then he returned to Boston aboard U. S. destroyer.

So deep an impression had Shambaugh made on Admiral Brumley and his staff of Annapolis naval experts that they forgot to ask him if he had ever been on a ship before. And they might never have learned that he hadn't except for the fact that some bright Boston newspaper reporter asked that very question when Shambaugh re-entered the Charlestown navy yard surrounded by anxious and gold-branded captains.

So I guess by now the Navy may know all about the garage man from Indiana and if it isn't asking too much from a busy man like you, Cal, I wish you'd send me the report of Admiral Brumley on the raising of S-4. It ain't that I'm curious, but my pet goat died last Friday and I think reading the exchange of expert opinion between Admiral Brumley and that Hoosier monkey wrench alinger would cheer me up a heap.

Anyhow, if we're hell bound by way of a bigger and better Navy, we won't get there so prematurely if you bounce the Admirals and hand their jobs to civilians like this man Shambaugh. And don't forget, we got the money, we got the ships and we got the garage men.

Well, Cal, that's all for today. Tell Kellogg to appoint Will Rogers ambassador to Nicaragua. He's the only fellow that can tell it to the marines in the only manner it can be told right.

Ever your friend and buddy,
ADAM.
P. S. If you should think it advisable to replace your iron men of War with wooden ships, you'll find some good timber in the heads of the Navy.
Adam Coolidigger.

The Might of Right
God bless ye, brothers!—in the fight
Ye're waging now ye cannot fail,
Far better is your sense of right
Than kingcraft's triple mail.
Than tyrant's blow or bigot's ban
More mighty is your simplest word:
The free heart of an honest man
Than crosser or the sword.
Go—let your bloated Church rehearse
The lesson it has learned so well.

Schools - Lectures - Forums

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SUNDAY FEBRUARY 5 11 A. M. Morning Service DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI "A Son of Mother India Replies"

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BRICKLAYERS' UNION LOCAL NO. 9 Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 349 Willoughby Ave.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America LOCAL UNION 488

Worst Crisis Stalks Entire South-West

(Continued from Page 1)

This class is being recruited not only from wage earners, but largely from the enormous population that has been uprooted from the soil during past six years.

This endless procession of auto-riding job-seekers, crossing and re-crossing itself has left with us here a vivid and, I believe, accurate impression of widespread conditions.

These men were bitter, desperate, rebellious. They had found bitter, desperate, rebellious men everywhere they had travelled.

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MAX WOLFF OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN 128 W. 125 St. Bet 8th & St. Nicholas Ave.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS OF AMERICA LOCAL UNION No. 508

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS OF AMERICA LOCAL UNION No. 508

the farmers and wage workers alone will solve the problem. The majority I have met readily assent to the proposition of government ownership or control of railroads, banking and marketing facilities.

WEVD to Broadcast Debate on American Policy in Nicaragua

AMERICAN policy in Nicaragua will be debated over Station WEVD, the Dobs Memorial radio station, Saturday evening, February 4th, at 9:10 P.M.

The American Legion post has designated J. Robert O'Brien, who has lectured scores of times on political and social topics, to uphold the course of the Coolidge administration in dealing with the Latin-American republic.

Horace G. Knowles, well known in recent years as a defender of the rights of the small Central-American countries, and an ardent anti-imperialist, will oppose Mr. O'Brien.

The Tremont Educational Forum, conducted under the auspices of the 7th and 8th A. Ds. Socialist Party, Bronx, N. Y. C., presents a series of four consecutive Friday evening lectures.

With Best Birthday Wishes from WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BRANCH 62 Passaic, N. J.

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PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51 Headquarters 265 EIGHTH AVENUE Telephone Longacre 4629

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FURNITURE, FLOUR and GROCERY TEAMSTERS UNION Local No. 125, F. C. S. & H. of A.

UNION DIRECTORY

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German Painters' Union LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

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U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers LOCAL UNION No. 488 of NEW YORK CITY

N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6 Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union 3 West 16th Street, New York City Telephone Chelsea 5148

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Office 231 East 14th Street

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917 BROOKLYN, N. Y. Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 213 Backman St., Brooklyn

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N. Y. Joint Board, Shirt and Boys' Waist Makers' Union AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

FUR DRESSER'S UNION Local 2, Internat'l Fur Workers' Union Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Pulaski 0738

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Amalgamated Lithographers of America, New York Local No. 1 Office: 265 WEST 14th St. Phone: WAT 2nd 708

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N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6 Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.

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NEW LEADER

Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement

Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1928

An Appeal to Socialists

THE NEW LEADER believes it is important to call attention to one division of the Socialist Party that is too often neglected.

A Dangerous Proposal

IT is a curious and dangerous proposal made public this week by a sub-committee of the American Bar Association with the approval of Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor.

on the blood-stained floor brought his "counter-revolutionary" effort to an inglorious end.

It was a terrible night and it revealed that the Socialist Party is to "take a Tammany form."

Perhaps that story in the Bolshy organ will bring a few thousand kopecks from Moscow

Illuminati Frightens Rotary

WHAT the Rotary clubs are being served by military officers is evident from an address by Major Hall G. Van Vlack to the Jamestown Rotary last week on "The Menace of Facism."

Here is what Van Vlack received from his superiors and rationed out to Rotary.

Then the identification of Socialism with the Bavarian Illuminati is rich humor to those who have any acquaintance with history.

The facts are that Bavaria was a medieval dictatorship with a union of Church and State.

The Illuminati was a faint torch of knowledge raised by a handful of men in Bavaria.

It is this movement which our illiterate militarists drag before Rotary lunches and utterly damn as an imp of perdition.

Investigation of Morse's statements showed that they were based upon a letter in French issued by Wisdom Lodge of the Masons in Virginia!

What has appeared in the West is a Coxey Army, a mass of "uprooted" farmers and jobless workers of the cities and towns.

With the experience the workers have had with courts throughout our history, we believe that it would be fatal to lodge with them the power to enforce wage agreements.

Some Terrible News! WELL boys and girls, as Mac Coleman would say, the Socialist Party is doomed for a slide into oblivion.

It all came out in the speeches regarding Russia and our American Bolshevies.

Why Are We in Nicaragua—And What In Hell Are We Doing There?—

WILL ROGERS

THE BRAY OF THE ASS IS HEARD

Pages From a Washington Diary

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE air has been filled of late with the braying of two types of jackasses.

One of the most alarming features of recent years is the new attempt of the jingoes to put over a naval building program that would cost the taxpayers three billion dollars.

Now as reduction of taxes and national economy are going to be the main points on which the Republicans will campaign this year, even Cautious Calvin became alarmed at the bellowing of Plunkett, and slapped the Admiral mildly on the wrist by giving out one of those ghost interviews from the White House.

Mexican workers were gravely menaced by the activities of Calles' opponents.

And speaking of Nicaragua, it looks as if that unhappy subject would be successfully eliminated from all the discussion of the Pan-American conference at Havana.

Frederick J. Libby, Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War, was rude enough to suggest that the entire proceedings of the Pan-American Conference are being rigorously censored by the United States and Cuban secret police.

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which, in the terms of the military trade, is regarded as only an odd-lots, ladies' and misses' size war.

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THE CHATTER BOX

Injunction

Abraham Lincoln, turn in your grave! The time is come: the Masters of the Whip Have swindled you of your most precious dream!

Caliban, laugh! It's your own joke—enjoy it!

There is pain in the coal fields, pain In the factories. Everywhere is pain where laborers are. Everywhere is hell where beast-men sweat!

There is pain in the coal fields! Of course! Philosophers know that suffering belongs there!

Slaves, to your work! Back to the pits! Down into the dark with you again! To your places in the mills! To the mines! Who are you to complain!

O Emancipator! Miner, here is your coal dust! Midas, take your gold! Chokey over your shares. Each of you!

—CARL JOHN BOSTELMANN.

I KNOW this Trotsky banishment is a touchy matter for any lover of Russia's revolution to discuss.

And now to continue in disturbing thought. Last week, a woman singer committed suicide after reading the newspaper reviews of her concert debut.

The peasants of Russia are tough business birds. They work and grow wheat and produce. They will exchange that wealth of theirs for manufactured goods, machinery and all such material as their lives are barren of, right now.

for that length. All the Communist Party of Russia has been able to give to these farmers is propaganda. But reasons the moujik, you cannot make shoes out of leaflets, or build plows out of manifestos.

Aftermath

The magic of the night has fled, The moon has lost its shimmer; And all the velvet stars are dead.

The magic of the night has fled, While weird regret looms large, instead, And hope grows dim, and dimmer.

The magic of the night has fled, The moon has lost its shimmer!

—KATE HERMAN.

A FOOL LOOKS AT MANHATTAN

By Francis Blake

AS SOON as I had been admitted to the sacred soil of Manhattan as related in my first report, with Arabella my wife and Alethea my daughter and a few trunks containing the appurtenances of a Marlonette theatre by which I hoped to earn an honest living in this galet of all cities, I bethought myself of what a wise American had told me on the journey across the waters.

I sauntered forth, bidding my wife an affectionate farewell. Arabella was all agog with the sights and sounds of the turbulent metropolis and I could see that she was itching with impatience to explore the stores and bazars there are a delight to females. Besides, she has nothing but the utmost contempt for all constituted authority, deeming that my desire to set eyes upon the famous Mayor of Manhattan was nothing short of imbecility on my part.

Having come to the corner of Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street I espied a small and neat booth inside which sat a man in blue uniform who was pressing a telephone receiver to his red ear and gazing fixedly into a book with figures. I timidly knocked at the window pane and asked him where Tammany Hall might be found. He jerked his receiver to the left and pointed with it up Fourteenth Street. As his head was evidently full of figures and numbers he could not find time to speak.

I turned to the left and sauntered in the direction indicated. I passed various shops selling Victrola records and gaily colored socks. I hesitated in several cases. Occasionally a male voice boomed out of an open shop door protesting with a nasal twang: "I love my baby girl." This seemed to me an obvious sentiment for a man to express toward his daughter, the child of his loins. Why so much noise about an obvious fact? For a moment I lingered pondering in front of a magnificent display of brown records a dozen of which were below for sale at the same time. This might very well be Tammany Hall.

Practical Americans would certainly think of the clever device of sending records to the voters instead of engaging the costly services of orators who are not always to be depended upon. But then my eyes fell upon a sight which, in a flash of intuition, revealed to me that I had found Tammany Hall, the object of my quest.

Tammany Hall Found There was no door to this building. You just walked in and walked round and interview whom you liked. At the entrance sat an old Irish Grandmother in a glass-box, upon whose shoulder writhed a cat with amber eyes. Her lips were moving silently while her shriveled hands were gliding over a row of cards spread on the table before her. A wonderful piece of waxwork mechanism. What imagination on the part of the authorities to choose this decrepit old fortune teller as the symbol and slogan of their political ideals. You slipped a coin in the old woman's box and straightforth he wagled her head and READ YOUR CARDS FOR YOU. I could no longer doubt that this was Tammany Hall. In her rear were some lively young fellows tracking rifles at moving targets. At the sides of the hall were dainty little boxes inscribed APPROVED BY THE STATE CENSOR granting peeps at the pretty antics of the city who no doubt are busy at election time. What a marvelous conception of political pedagogy!

But if there had been the slightest doubt left in my mind that this was the famous Tammany Hall, the gentleman standing leisurely at the door, wearing a smart bowler hat cocked on one side of his head, swinging a slender cane, and crossing his one leg over the other, his shoes covered with the most elegant gray spots while his left thumb was gallantly playing with the button-hole in the lapel of his coat, the sight of this smart boy about town with merry brown eyes and good humor twinkling from every line of his juvenile face would have dispelled that doubt. He swung his cane in the direction of a little box-panorama in which tiny trains were running in a most bewildering fashion into and out of innumerable black holes, repeating to all who cared to listen: "Five cents, only five cents, up and down and round about the old town, no matter which train you happen to get pushed into and indifferent through whichever hole you happen to be milled into daylight again."

I took off my hat and bowed obsequiously. "Mr. Walker, I presume, the immortal Mr. Walker"

He smiled in a mysterious fashion. I was just going to congratulate him on this marvelous way of doing political business which is made up of fortune telling, five cent peepshows of the truth, training in the arts of gunmanship, including practice on moving targets (which explains how the Manhattan police never fail to hit a stray dog or a cunning innocent pedestrian when pursuing a bandit over the housetops who has got away with it) when I suddenly heard shrieks of laughter and noticed that a huge mob had collected outside a milliner's store on the opposite side of the street. I saw a bonnet glimmering through the surging crowd that looked suspiciously like Arabella's to me. Supposing she had gone shopping all alone in this strange city and had got herself into trouble? I dashed across to investigate.

S. A. de Witt.