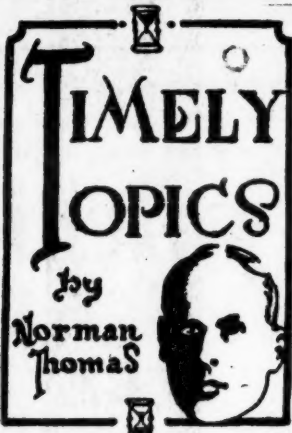


EMPLOYMENT CRISIS DEMANDS ACTION



Old Parties Kill Utilities Probe

Super-Lobby Decrees Vote In the Senate

Norris Says "Buying of
Senators" is Being Kept
in the Dark — Copeland
Flops

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—The public utilities super-lobby massed against Senator Walsh's (Montana) resolution to investigate the political and financial manipulations of the power trust, made its strength felt in the Democratic as well as the Republican party this week and succeeded in killing the investigation.

The proposed Senate investigation has been referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission, generally regarded as reliable servants of big business.

The vote came Wednesday night, after nine hours of fight by Senator Walsh and Norris, of Nebraska, for an honest investigation. The latter declared that a thorough investigation might lead to revelations that Samuel Insull, power magnate, had "sought to buy" other Senate seats besides that of Smith in Illinois. Despite this serious implication against the Senate, 46 of its members voted to

(Continued from page 5)

American Millionaires Increase 600 Percent

Millionaires have increased in number about 600 per cent since 1923, said Francis H. Sisson, vice president of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, according to the Associated Press.

A survey indicates that in five years the institutions have handled 608 estates valued at \$1,000,000 or more.

Recalling that George Washington, one of the wealthiest men of his time, left an estate worth only \$530,000, Mr. Sisson reported that in 1923 trust companies handled 48 million-dollar estates; in 1924, 69; in 1925, 101; in 1926, 151, and in 1927, 298.

The local trust company handled five of the \$1,000,000 estates in one year and six the next.

Dr. Justo, Father of Argentine Socialism, Passes Away at 63

Buenos Ayres.—The death of Dr. Juan B. Justo removes the most prominent figure in the Socialist movement of the Argentine Republic. Born in the capital in 1865, he adopted the profession of medicine, in the pursuit of which he spent some years of study in Vienna and Paris. After his return home he was appointed to a Chair in the University of Buenos Ayres, which he occupied from 1890 to 1905.

The deceased leader represented the Argentine Socialist Party at various international congresses—he was vice-president of the Congress of Bern 1919—and he presided over the last National Congress of the Party in October, 1927.

Yale Men Are Victorious In Strike Case

Court Forced To Dismiss
Student Who Distributed
Circulars On Neckwear
Strike

(By A New Leader Correspondent.)

NEW HAVEN.—The 18 Yale students who threw themselves into the struggle to win a restoration of civil liberties to New Haven workers by distributing handbills dealing with the United Neckwear Makers' Union strike, have emerged with a complete victory.

Sitting in the Court of Common Pleas, Judge Walter M. Pickett has upheld motions made by former Socialist assemblyman Louis Waldman and Philip C. Troup, counsel for the students retained by the Civil Liberties Union, for dismissal of the charges. A lower court had convicted William T. Patterson, chosen by the students to make a test case. The Court of Common Pleas sustained a demurrer offered against this conviction.

The demurrer denied that the city ordinance prohibiting littering the streets with handbills was applicable to the case of the students, asserted that the ordinance is unconstitutional.

(Continued on Page 2)

Modern Socialism's 80th Birthday To Be Celebrated Feb. 24th

THE birth of a great historic movement cannot be so precisely dated as that of an individual, because its origins are so much more complex and the process of getting born is more prolonged. Yet it is not far from the truth to say that next week we celebrate the eightieth birthday of the modern Socialist movement.

It was on February 23rd, 1848, that the people of Paris broke out in insurrection against the monarchy, the workingclass of course taking the lead and the part of danger. And on that day were given out the first printed copies of the "Communist Manifesto," by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels which was at once an eloquent call to action, a searching analysis of the existing class society, and a vivid statement of the science of history, fitted to serve as a guide, not for the moment only, but for the whole age-long struggle which was then definitely taking form. The next day King Louis Philippe gave up the crown and fled, and the Second Republic was proclaimed.

From that day to this the Socialist

Movement has been a living force in the world. It has met and survived every test. Bismark and Cavour and Thiers, the Kaisers and the Czars, the clerical reactionaries and the powers of great capitalism and high finance, have done their utmost to destroy it. Tens of thousands of its adherents have died on the barricades, on the gallows, or before the firing-squad. Hundreds of thousands have languished in prison or in forced exile. But millions have come forward to fill their places. Again and again the movement has been shattered by internal conflicts, such as that by which the Anarchists split fifty years ago, and again the Bolsheviks within recent years. At every such schism the capitalist press has prophesied the obituary of Socialism, and capitalist statesmen and professors have pronounced exultant funeral orations. But after every internal crisis, as after every blood- orgy of repression, the Socialist Movement has arisen with new vigor and resumed the struggle for the liberation of humanity from class rule.

The Socialists of New York will observe this anniversary Friday evening, February 24th, with a meeting in the Peoples House, 7 E. 15th Street. Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee and Haim Kantrowitz will be among the speakers.

Immediate Financial Assistance Imperative

Stimulation of Public
Works Also Needed To
Halt Growth of Intense
Suffering

THERE is no doubt of the fact that there is acute unemployment today. It is proven by the increased popularity of municipal lodging houses; the revival of bread lines; the clusters of inquirers around army, navy and marine recruiting officers; the reappearance of Coxey willing to lead another army of unemployed; the difficulty of the Salvation Army in securing jobs at menial labor for the salvaged homeless; the growing crowds before the bulletin boards of employment agencies; and the personal experiences of workers everywhere. The only things in question are the exact relief and remedial measures that should be taken.

Nobody knows how many wage earners are unemployed. Everybody guesses. The Labor Bureau, Inc., boldly puts its estimate at four million. It is one of the illuminating factors of the situation that there is no agency, governmental or private, that is in a position to supply accurate data for the country as a whole, for regions or for industries. Admittedly there are some million workers without jobs during the best of times. They constitute a capitalist reserve army. Yet nobody worries about them. It is only when the problem of unemployment becomes painful that we pay any attention to it at all. Then, we look around for the figures on the subject in order to cope with the situation intelligently, and we discover that no reliable data exists.

Coolidge "Prosperity"
Out of work—the dread of the working class! It is inherent within a system of production for private profit. Whether you explain it by demand not keeping up with supply, supply falling behind demand or what not makes no difference. It all comes down fundamentally to the deficiency of capitalism in guiding production by the motive of personal gain alone. Thus, inventions, which should lighten the lot of man, add to his burden of woe. Productivity increases but the result is not lesser hours of work for all concerned but a decline in the number of employed. Those thrown out of work can cherish the consoling thought that their fellow-workers remaining in the factories, on the railroads and in the mines are obtaining the highest wages, even in terms of cost of living, that this country has ever seen. That, indeed, is Coolidge prosperity. The high wages look good on paper but it does not tell us how many do not receive any wages at all. In the present emergency there but remains to push forward a program of relief that is consistent with sound socialization. Four features stand out.

1. Abolition of the employment shark and the establishment of governmental employment offices.
 2. Increase in the construction of public works.
 3. Unemployment insurance, and
 4. Adequate statistics.
- The evils perpetrated by the private employment agencies have become proverbial. They exact extortionate fees, they create fictitious jobs, they ensnare workers into establishments affected by strikes, and they scatter the efforts at placement of help among hundreds of independent, inefficient, narrow-visioned, profit-seeking agencies. In general, the states have tried to regulate the business by the requirement of a license and the limitation upon fees. These regulations have been ineffectual either thru violation or inadequacy of their provisions. In Canada a movement to abolish these private agencies is well under way. Five provinces prohibit them altogether, while in Ontario and Quebec no more licenses are issued. Foreign countries are fast suppressing them. In the United States two states have attempted legislation in this direction. The state of Washington under its police power passed a law in 1914 upon the initiative of the voters prohibiting employment agencies from charging fees to workers. The United States Supreme Court three years later declared this measure unconstitutional on the ground that it was "arbitrary and oppressive" and in violation of the four-

THE NEXT TEN THOUSAND

THE NEW LEADER, YOUR PAPER, IS DOING MIGHTY WELL, THANK YOU. EVERY WEEK FROM COAST TO COAST THOUSANDS OF READERS AWAIT ITS ARRIVAL WITH THE KEENEST INTEREST. BUT WE ARE NOT SATISFIED. BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE ALL IMPORTANT PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN THIS SUMMER WE WANT AT LEAST

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The first good news that has come from the coal fields in many a weary month is to be found in the fact that Federal Judge Symes has in effect sustained a writ of habeas corpus in the case of Frank Palmer, formerly editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate, who has been held in jail without charges under a curious monstrosity known as "military" not martial law. When a court does a sensible thing like that it is worth recording.

Now we'll see what the courts, both state and federal, will do with the bewildering proceedings begun in New York by the I. R. T. in its effort to get a 7 cent subway and elevated fare. The I. R. T. began action in a federal court; the city and state undertook three counteractions in the state courts. And everybody agrees that in the end the business must go before the Federal Supreme Court. Won't the lawyers have fun and won't they get rich at our expense? If by any chance the courts agree with the Interborough that a five-cent fare is confiscatory it will mean that public utilities commissions all over the country might as well go out of business and that contracts between public bodies and utility companies are only enforceable when they work for the advantage of the private company. That is judicial usurpation of the worst sort. It hardly seems probable that the courts will attempt it just now, especially in view of the fact that the I. R. T. is apparently going at the matter in blundering fashion.

It is to this historical capacity of the I. R. T. for blundering and the
(Continued on Page 2)

South amendment of the Federal constitution. A Wisconsin law of 1919 has had better luck. The state industrial commission is authorized to regulate fees and refuse licenses to agencies where the public employment office already serves the needs of a locality.

The abolition of the private agency goes hand in hand with the establishment of public employment offices. Some thirty states in the Union and about half as many cities have set up agencies. In 1926 there were more than two hundred such offices in more than 185 cities of forty states, involving appropriations of perhaps two million dollars. In New York, Wisconsin, Illinois and Pennsylvania representatives of employers and employees participate in the administration. Many of the exchanges require the consent of the existence of a strike, here in Illinois and Wisconsin prohibiting the services of the state employment office as such agencies have met with much handling in the courts. The provisions for strike publicity is important from the standpoint of organized labor and should be insisted upon. The United States Employment Service which performed excellent work during the war has been starved for lack of funds. At present it merely serves as a clearing house among state agencies and publishes a bulletin. It ought to be granted an immediate appropriation of the two million or more dollars it needs instead of the tenth of that amount it actually receives. For a period during the war employers of more than one hundred workers had to hire all their unskilled workers through the government offices. Some adaptation of this scheme might be worked out. The experience of foreign countries, beginning in 1909 in Great Britain with the Labor Exchanges Act, has been satisfactory.

Also the advocacy and practice of undertaking public works in time of business depression has been wide-spread, very little has been done to provide for the emergency beforehand. Construction projects which could tide wage-earners over hard times have often without planning already been carried out during prosperity. Frequently the available funds are insufficient or there are legal hindrances which must be hurdled. Even in Europe, more thoughtful of unemployment than we are, progress in long-range planning of public works has been slow. Since 1917, three states have provided by law for public construction during periods of depression, namely, Pennsylvania, California and Wisconsin. Idaho and Massachusetts have made provision for temporary relief. Governor Smith's ordered investigation into the problem follows these precedents.

Congress has also had the situation presented to it for consideration. During the depression of 1921-22 \$75,000,000 was appropriated to aid states under the law of 1916 to construct rural post roads. Since then, several attempts have been made in vain to commit the government to a permanent policy. At the present time there is the bill of Senator Jones of Washington, which has been buried in the Commerce Committee of the Senate. The proposed measure appropriates in addition to the usual amount, \$75,000,000 for rural post roads, \$50,000,000 for improvement of rivers and harbors, \$10,400,000 for flood control, and \$15,000,000 for public buildings, a total of \$150,400,000. The most important feature of the bill is the provision that no appropriation should be used

"... until such time as the President finds and communicates to the Congress that the volume of construction, based upon value, of contracts awarded for construction work in the United States, has fallen 20 per centum for a three-month period below the average of the corresponding three-month periods of 1926 and 1927."

Unemployment insurance is the most far-sighted form of relief. It eliminates the stigma of charity. It is permanent instead of temporary in character. It induces regularization of industry. What has been done by trade unions alone or in co-operation with employers and by fraternal societies and paternalistic capitalists is but a drop in the bucket. The first experiment in compulsory unemployment insurance, inaugurated by the canton of St. Gall, in Switzerland, in 1894, failed because of poor administration and the fact that the employers alone contributed. Great Britain established a system in 1912 and Italy in 1919. Since then Russia, Austria, Queensland, Poland, the Irish Free State, Bulgaria and with qualifications, Germany have followed suit. In general, contributions to the unemployment fund are made by the employers, employees and the government, the in Russia the employer bears the whole burden, while in Italy since 1923, the state does not participate at all. The feeling is gradually growing that the contributions should be made solely by the employer as a part of his responsibility to the worker. Recent state bills have taken the state compensation insurance funds as a model.

Reliable statistics on unemployment are needed, first, to focus attention upon the seriousness of the problem and secondly, to make possible careful planning. We have index numbers as to employment and from that we are expected to draw conclusions as to the number of unemployed. This takes no account of the mobility of labor, the development of new industries and the increasing absorption of workers by the distributive and service industries. In Europe there are statistics based upon unemployment among trade union members. New York State had such data until 1914 and Massachusetts until 1923. The latter resumed its figures for the building trades last spring. Unemployment insurance would automatically solve the problem of adequate statistical information.

Hearings On Old Age Pension Bill To Be Held In Albany, Feb. 28

A public hearing on the old age pension bill introduced in the New York state legislature by Assemblyman Frank A. Miller, will be held in Albany, Tuesday, Feb. 28th, at 2 p. m., it is announced. Organizations planning to send spokesmen should get in touch with the American Association for Old Age Security, 704 Fifth Avenue, Watkins 3891.

Haverhill Shoe Workers Show Strikes Can Be Won Despite Unemployment

Textile Workers of Massachusetts Urged To Follow Example of Haverhill Union

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

BOSTON. — That courage and trade union organization can stop wage cuts is the lesson of the Haverhill shoe workers' recent strike.

The most recent of the monthly figures published by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries shows that only 46 per cent of as many shoe workers are at work now as were employed on an average during the years from 1919 to 1923. Taking advantage of this terribly serious unemployment situation, the shoe manufacturers of Haverhill announced some weeks ago a wage "adjustment," which worked out at a wage cut of from 10 per cent to 25 per cent. But the Haverhill shoe workers are organized pretty solidly in the Shoe Workers' Protective Union and despite the serious unemployment situation in the trade, they struck against the reduction. After a ten day strike, they won.

It takes courage to strike when unemployment is a life, but when trade union organization is nearly 100 per cent, such a strike can be won. This victory has a lesson for the textile workers. For the New England cotton manufacturing barons are taking advantage of the unemployment in their industry to cut wages which already are less than \$20.00 a week. Fall River is the latest town to be hit by wage cuts, but many other mills towns with the exception, so far at least, of New Bedford, have had to take reductions in the past few months.

The only way to stop these reductions is by resistance through a strike if necessary and by organizing into unions to make these strikes effective. For if the workers tamely submit to one wage cut, they will soon be faced with another one. Just as the bosses use the bogey of southern competition as an excuse for wage cuts today, they will use the bogey of European competition or even Chinese competition as an excuse for further wage cuts tomorrow, if today's cut is accepted without a struggle. An employer who thinks he can get away with a wage cut will never lack an excuse.

Won Despite Unemployment.

Unemployment is serious in cotton manufacturing, it is true. But the figures published by the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries show that unemployment is a good deal worse in the boot and shoe industry than in cotton manufacturing. If a worse unemployment situation did not scare the Haverhill shoe workers nor prevent them winning their strike, a better unemployment situation should not stop the cotton work-

Midwest Students To Discuss "The Economic Order"

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

KANSAS CITY.—The third annual session of the Midwest Student Conference which will meet Friday and Saturday, February 24th and 25th, at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, will discuss "The Student and the Economic Order."

The first session will be held Friday, Feb. 24, at 8 o'clock, in the auditorium of the Central Administration Building. "Is the Present Economic Order Best Suited for the Needs of America?" will be discussed from L. Huggins of Emporia, Kan., and Paul Blanshard of New York City. Following the two addresses they will conduct a double open forum on questions arising from their talks.

The two speeches and the questions they bring forth will form the basis for Saturday's discussion. One or two general meetings will be held on Saturday, and for the remainder of the time the conferees may break up into as many small groups as they wish. An able corps of advisers, as well as Judge Huggins and Mr. Blanshard, will be available for participation in the discussion groups and for individual counsel.

Yale Men Who Aided Strikers Are Freed

(Continued from Page 1)

tional if it deprived the students of civil liberty, and that, if it were enforced against the students, no New York or New Haven newspaper could legally be sold on the streets of New Haven.

Though finding that the students had not violated the law, Judge Merritt softened his ruling in a manner that is likely to be appreciated by the New Haven Chamber of Commerce which has been backing the "runaway" New York necktie manufacturers against whom the strike is being conducted. He found that the "students" had "enlisted in a controversy not their own" and attributed this to "the throes of experimental sociology, undergraduate effervescence or unreasoned solidarity."

These paragraphs have, however, failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the 18 students for their role in the strike. Meanwhile, the United Neckwear Makers' Union feel that the path has been opened for a more vigorous appeal to the people of New Haven on the issues of the strike, the principal one.

ers from taking successful strike action against wage cuts.

Nor is it true, as the employers so often claim, that the New England cotton manufacturers are losing money. The King Philip Mills of Fall River have paid regularly 6% dividends since 1920 with extras as follows: 25% extra in 1922 and again in 1923. They watered their stock by a 50% dividend in 1923, and since then, in addition to the regular 6% dividend they declared extra dividends on the watered stock of 20% in 1925 and 10% in 1926.

The Pepperell Mfg. Company, one of those which made a 10% wage cut a few months ago, has been paying 8% dividends regularly since 1920.

The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company of Salem, has paid never less than 10% dividends since 1918, and only once since then have paid as little as 10%, namely, in 1921. They watered their stock by a 100% stock dividend in 1923 in addition to a 30% cash dividend that year. Since then they have paid on their watered stock 14% in 1924, and 12% in 1925, 1926 and 1927.

MHI Labor Urged to Resist. The Farr Alcock Co. of Holyoke, watered their stock by a 75% stock dividend in 1921. Since then they have paid regularly 8% each year on their watered stock together with extra dividends of 6% in 1922, 12% in 1923, 5% in 1925 and 6% in 1926.

In the face of such dividends, on watered stock too, it is absurd to say that a well managed cotton manufacturing company cannot make money in New England today. The employers are cutting the wages of the textile workers because they have the power to do it, and they think that the workers won't strike. Organization is the answer to this situation, plus an unemployment insurance law which will force the employers to pay a man part of his wages when they lay him off, just as a man gets part of his pay today when he is injured, so that unemployment will sting the employer's pocketbook instead of being a burden solely on the worker and his family.

Phila. Shoe Workers Urged To Follow Haverhill Example

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

PHILADELPHIA.—The Philadelphia shoe workers ought to be very much interested in the great victory of the 5,000 Haverhill Shoe Workers, who were on strike for two weeks under the Shoe Workers Protective Union. "The Shoe Workers of Philadelphia are continually forced to accept reductions of wages one way or another, and it is just about time they woke up to the fact that they must become organized, in order to protect wages and conditions," says Organizer Thomas Kelly. "Join the Shoe Workers Protective Union now, and place the members of the Philadelphia shoe workers before the public as a fighting organization for the workers."

All Philadelphia shoe workers are invited to Union headquarters, 1239 Spring Garden Street, Machineist Temple Building. The cutters meeting night is every Monday evening; lasters and woodheelers, 3rd Tuesday; edge trimmers, edge setters, finishers, packers, cleaners, every 2nd and 4th Tuesday; fitters, 1st and Wednesday evening. Joint Council No. 9, meets every Tuesday evening. Applications and reinstatement fee are \$1.00 for the month of February.

Thomas To Address B'klyn Shoe Workers

A mass meeting of Brooklyn, N. Y. shoe workers will be held in Lorraine Hall, formerly the Broadway Casino, 790 Broadway, Brooklyn, Friday, February 24, at 8.30 p. m. The meeting is arranged by the Shoe Workers Protective Union with the view of extending the organization of shoe workers in the city.

The excellent victory of the shoe workers at Haverhill, Mass., has aroused great interest in organization of the workers here and there is every reason for expecting a continuous growth of the local organization.

The committee in charge of the mass meeting is arranging for a number of prominent speakers, headed by Norman Thomas and Edward Nolan. Every shoe worker is invited to attend. The general officials of the organization will also be present. The mass meeting is held under the auspices of Locals 53, 54, 60 and 66, the organization committee of the joint boards.

Boot and Shoe Workers Local Calls N.Y. Meeting

Quite a number of shoe shops are now operating in Manhattan, in New York City. Some of them have moved from Brooklyn, which is considered one of the largest shoe centers in the world. All the shops in Manhattan are operating on the open shop basis. The Boot and Shoe Workers Union is conducting a campaign to organize them. This union is an international organization which has been in existence for more than thirty-two years, and is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

For several weeks an organization campaign has been conducted in Brooklyn with encouraging success. The union now plans to organize and better their conditions. The first organization meeting in New York will be held next Tuesday, Feb. 21st, at 6 p. m. (right after work) at the People's House, 7 East 15th St. Experienced organizers will speak in English, Jewish and Italian languages, amongst them being H. Baxter, a representative of the General Office of the B. S. W. U., and G. Valenti, well known Italian organizer of shoe workers. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the newly chartered Local No. 625 of the B. S. W. U.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

strength of popular wrath that we must look for a defense of the people of New York against this new imposition. Surely we have no reason to have confidence in Tammany Hall or the Democratic Party. It was the Democratic Party through Mayor Walker which jammed through the indefensible franchise for the Equitable Bus Company. It is the Democratic Party through Borough President Connolly which is involved in sewer and paving scandals in Queens Borough which make old Boss Tweed look like a piker. It is the Democratic Party with the aid or consent of some of its magistrates, judges and other officials which stole Judge Jacob Panken's election last November. Such a party will sell out the people on this transit situation if and when it dares or can collect its price. These involved legal complications may give it a chance.

For instance, here is one possibility. The Subway is making money for the I. R. T. The Elevated which it leases from a holding company at an extortionate rental is losing money. Suppose that the city could be jockeyed into taking over the Elevated but leaving the Subway in private hands. Two things would happen. The I. R. T. would be relieved of its burden and the city would be saddled with an unprofitable property which probably would have to be run at a loss or at an increased fare. Whereupon every opponent of public ownership and operation would shout with glee. A properly unified system can be made to pay the city. Nothing else can.

By contrast with other oil men and business magnates who applaud C. Stewart's defiance of the people John D. Rockefeller, Jr., looks like an honest man. Nevertheless his testimony and his actions in general raise some questions not flattering either to his conscience or his intelligence. For instance, what kind of a story did he swallow from Col. Stewart which originally made him accept without protest this \$3,000,000 fake sale which was an injury not only to oil consumers and oil workers but even oil company stockholders. And how in the name of Colorado, Bayonne, N. J., and a score of other places did he get the idea that his father and the Standard Oil Company had done so much for the workers? His constant cry that he is only an investor and a minority in these various companies and therefore not primarily responsible for their conduct is, by the way, a beautiful illustration of the almost complete moral irresponsibility of the present capitalist system. If the Rockefellers aren't responsible, who are?

Injunction Against Iron Workers Denied; Picketing Resumed

New York.—Supreme Court Justice Edward J. Byrne has denied a temporary injunction against the Architectural Iron, Bronze and Structural Workers' Union Feb. 8th.

Judge Byrne signed an order restraining picketing and all other acts in connection with the conduct of the iron workers' strike. Upon an argument of the motion, the injunction was denied.

The injunction was obtained by the Garman Iron & Bronze Works, of 53-59 Davis Street, Long Island City, iron and bronze manufacturers, based upon alleged assaults committed by union representatives, strikers and pickets against strikebreakers of the iron works which has been affected by a strike during the past three weeks. William Karlin, attorney for the union, presented a large number of affidavits in opposition to the injunction, showing that the firm had violated its agreement with the union, providing for a forty-hour week, by instituting a forty-eight-hour week and discharging its union employees and substituting them with scabs.

Specific denials are made of each and every alleged act of violence contained in the moving papers. Karlin's description of the acts of the employer had hardly been finished when Judge Byrne interrupted him with the question: "Mr. Karlin, would I be putting you out very much if I denied this request for an injunction?" Although Karlin had prepared a much longer speech than he had delivered by this time, he smilingly replied: "Not at all, Judge," and smilingly walked out of Court.

The officers of the union are exceedingly gratified with the results and have rearranged the picket line in front of the Garman shop where the strike is now in a healthier condition than at any time since its commencement.

WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ORGANIZED 1881
MAIN OFFICE: 9 SEVENTH STREET, N. Y. C.
Number of Members December 31, 1925
57,115

346 BRANCHES—98 in the State of New York
TOTAL ASSETS—Dec. 31, 1925.....\$2,530,781.96
Benefits Paid
Death Benefit.....\$3,481,379.89
Sick Benefit.....\$4,161,933.81

WORKING MEN, PROTECT YOUR FAMILIES
in case of sickness, accident or death!
Death Benefit, \$250 Sick Benefit, \$350 to \$900 for 80 Weeks
For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch
Financial Secretary of Your District

Socialist Action Group Organized

Committee To Lay Foundations For National Campaign To Meet February 22nd

The first meeting of the enlarged Socialist Action Committee, recently organized will be held Wednesday, Feb. 22nd, at 2.30 p. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street. The date of the meeting was set at a preliminary meeting held at 208 East 18th Street, N. Y. C., the home of Norman Thomas, Tuesday night last.

The Socialist Action Committee has been organized to co-operate with all the regular party bodies in the East to get the national campaign of 1928 under way as soon as possible, and was authorized by the recent meeting of the National Executive Committee in Philadelphia. The preliminary steps were taken as a result of a motion of the State Executive Committee about two months ago, when a conference of active Socialists in and around New York was held at the Rand School. Plans were made and submitted to the N. E. C., by which they were approved.

The committee will consist of approximately 100 men and women, who will elect an executive head to take full charge of the work in connection with the campaign. Committees representing New Jersey, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and other nearby states will be organized each committee to have charge of raising funds, propaganda and organization and publicity within its territory.

The full meeting next week will elect sub-committees to undertake their tasks at once, as well as the executive director, who will immediately take full charge of the committee's work. Among those present at Tuesday's meeting were Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, S. John Block, Julius Gerber, Henry Greenfield, M. Gillis, Joseph Weinberg, S. Levitas, P. Dembitzer, Edward Levinson, Morris Berman, G. August Gerber, William Karlin, William M. Feigenbaum, August Claessens, Dr. S. Ingemann, Harry T. Smith, Louis P. Goldberg, I. Gross and others.

Phila. Socialists To Open Campaign Sunday, March 4th

(By a New Leader Correspondent.)

PHILADELPHIA.—North Philadelphia Branch Socialist Party will open the 1928 Comradeship Suppers with Norman Thomas as the guest of honor, on Sunday evening, March 4th, at the Stephen Girard Hotel, 2027 Chestnut Street. Those who attended these suppers last year will remember the comradeship and enthusiasm. These little affairs were arranged to give local Philadelphia a feeling of good will and a truly get-together feeling that seemed to be lacking. They have more than served their purpose.

This supper on March 4th is to give more than comradeship. It is to open the Campaign in Philadelphia for 50,000 votes for the Socialist candidates in the Presidential election of 1928. Scoffers who could go out last year, with no Party organization and nothing but indifference on the parts of the workers, and in six short weeks bring in 7,000 signatures for petitions to put the Socialist Party on the ballot, can with a little encouragement get 50,000 votes for the only workers' party in the field in 1928.

The National Office is helping Local Philadelphia secure an organizer to work with in our city. We want to have a group of interested comrades to help him in his work here. We want a truly representative gathering at this supper on March 4th—not just members of North and West Philadelphia, who have pledged to turn out 100%—but representatives of every section of the city—members of every sympathetic organization—and those who are not members but who believe in a working-class political organization, and everyone who is in sympathy with the aims of the Socialist movement.

If you want Philadelphia to have 50,000 votes in Philadelphia for the Socialist Party next November—come to this supper and hear what Norman Thomas thinks of a Socialist Platform for 1928—let the comrades see that you are willing to do your share to get Philadelphia back into a good position on the Socialist map. Secure at once your ticket for the supper. The cost is \$1.25 a plate, and tickets may be obtained from any member of the North and West Philadelphia Branches and from the secretaries of all Socialist Party branches, or from the Party Headquarters, 808 Locust Street. Don't delay. We only have 300 tickets. You can't afford to miss NORMAN THOMAS—"A SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR 1928"—Stephen Girard Hotel, 2027 Chestnut Street, 7 P. M., Sunday evening, March 4th, 1928.

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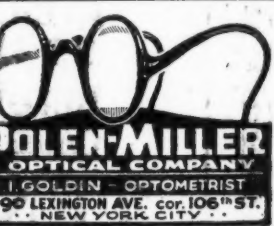


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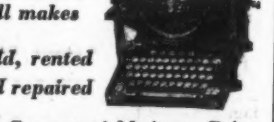
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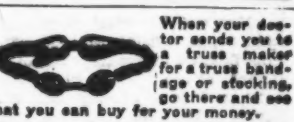
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Whose is the wealth of the world but yours? Whose is the virtue? Do you mean to go on for ever, leaving your wealth to be consumed by the idle and your virtue to be mocked by the vile?—Rankin, willing to trade unskilled over 60 years ago and preserving astonishment at their moderation.

BEHIND THE SCENES OF TWO DICTATORSHIPS

THE HERO



From "Het Volk" (Amsterdam).
"Mussolini, Stick to Your Caster-oll."
(News Item: Mussolini recently fought a duel, during which his reputed dictatorial strength did not save him from a severe sword cut).

By M. Phillips Price

TAKEN as a whole the American labor and Socialist movement is not well acquainted with the Continental revolutionary and Socialist movement. The appearance, therefore, of a book by Angelica Balabanoff, even if it were translated into English, might not arouse much interest. In France, Germany, Austria, and other European countries of the Continent, the name Balabanoff would have meaning. For trade unionists and members of the Social Democratic parties of these countries know a certain amount about the different schisms in the Russian revolutionary movement or about the role played by the Italian Socialists in re-establishing the International during the war. The names of Serrati, Balabanoff, Grimm, Martoff, Tchernoff, Luxemburg convey ideas; they stand for actions taken, struggles fought or lost, achievements made or marred. It would, therefore, be not out of place if a way could be found to publish in English Balabanoff's book which, without any exaggeration, brings the reader behind the scenes of the Russian revolutionary movement and of Fascism.

Angelica Balabanoff has in this book written a part of her autobiography, and is without doubt a romantic story, full of hardships, of undying devotion to the cause of the Russian revolution, and of the International in the darkest days of the war, of hopes raised and dashed by intrigues behind her back, of treachery, of idealism, and of courage. She was born of a cultured and wealthy family in Russian middle-class surroundings. Gradually she began to think for herself and free herself from the mental atmosphere in which she was brought up. With her family she frequently visited the watering places on the Italian Riviera, and in other parts of Italy also she saw for herself the dreadful conditions prevailing among the Italian working classes. The Italian Socialist movement was then developing, and moreover was a legal movement, and so she was able to do more active work for Socialism here than in Russia, where the movement was entirely revolutionary and underground. She decided, therefore, to leave the family fold and devote her life to the working-class movement. She worked in the Italian Socialist Party and soon became collaborator with Turati, Lazzari, Ferri, and Labriola. She acquired a great admiration for the Italian Socialist movement. The Italian working class, she felt, were among the most truly class-conscious workers in Europe, and party work was carried on with a thoroughness which was not even second to that of the German Social Democratic Party. Italy became thus her second Fatherland, and here she lived and worked until the Great War.

Mussolini's "Strange" Behavior

The Italian Socialist Party was now faced with a most critical problem. It had to fight for the neutrality of Italy.

* "Erinnerungen und Erlebnisse." Laubsche Verlagshandlung, Berlin. W. 30.

without appearing to support the Central Powers and at the same time to fight the battle of the workers. It was, however, during the first months of the war in an exceptionally favorable position for helping to reconstitute the International. But the pressure on Italy to join the Entente became greater and greater. Germany was not in a position to supply Italy with the large amounts of coal and other raw material in which she was deficient, and the tendency towards the Entente became stronger.

By this time Balabanoff had been appointed on to the staff of the Italian Socialist Party's organ, the "Avanti." She became acquainted about this time with a man who had risen from humble origins. She had known him first and helped him in Switzerland when he was a penniless journalist trying to gain a few pence by translating into Italian some works of Karl Marx. He was from a stone mason's family in a small Italian town who had fled Italy in order to escape military service. He was at times silent and morose, at others explosive and fiery. She had no doubt as to his sincerity in working for the cause and his diligence led the party Executive to appoint him chief editor of the "Avanti." Balabanoff thus became his colleague on the party newspaper. This man was none other than Benito Mussolini.

For a time all went well. Mussolini was a fervent advocate in the columns of the "Avanti" of the party policy of strict neutrality in the Great War. Then little by little Balabanoff describes how she began to notice something strange about his behavior. German agents, and amongst them the "Social Democrat" Sudetum, used to come to the "Avanti" offices and offer articles trying to prove that the Kaiser was the most Pacific Man in Europe. Mussolini always tried to avoid seeing them, and made Balabanoff take on the nasty job of interviewing them and refusing their articles. One day, however, according to Balabanoff, the German Social Democratic Party offered the Italian party, which was in financial straits, some money. The question arose, should they accept it. Foremost amongst those pressing for acceptance was Mussolini. It was finally agreed to accept, but Mussolini refused to see any of the Germans who came over to carry on the negotiations which were of a highly confidential character. A few days after the decision the whole story was out in the Italian capitalist Press.

"A Moral Coward"

A little later there was another incident with Mussolini. The Italian Socialist Party Executive sent him and Balabanoff to Switzerland to summon a conference of anti-war elements in those Labor and Socialist Parties of Europe who were able to come. The conference was held at Brieg in September, 1914, and was the first attempt to re-establish the International after the disaster of the previous month. The conference was held in strict secret, and none knew but the delegates and those who sent them. Balabanoff tells how she was surprised that Mussolini did not put in an appearance at the first meeting, giving an excuse that he was ill.

The First Secretary of the Third International Writes Her Memoirs—Believes Mussolini Was Agent-Provocateur

ages, as many people think. This gives an entirely false impression of the cause of the Italian working class defeat. . . . Tsarism was a phenomenon which arose out of the peculiar Russian social and economic conditions. Its existence as the bulwark of world reaction hindered the working-class movements of other countries, but never directly threatened them. It is different with Fascism. This is the product of the transition period in which we are all living. The world crisis and the example of Russia have upset the confidence of the propertied classes in its stability, to have recourse to Fascism, safety or lack of safety which it feels in its ready, in proportion to the degree of the safety of their possessions. This class. Few of them believe that by Fascism the "Red danger" is going to be removed for good and all. But all measures, even those of a political adventurer, is good enough to postpone the day of reckoning. . . . Weak though the Italian propertied classes were (for they only rose to any degree of class consciousness during the war), this amount of insight they did have, for they realized that their interests could not permanently be supported by a band of adventurers, but that an era of unbounded and unforeseen possibilities was opened in which a catastrophe such as another world war was not excluded.

Mussolini's career developed quickly after this. Balabanoff describes a memorable session of the Italian Socialist Party Executive, the last at which Mussolini took part. He sat there glum and silent, unable to answer a word or put up a case for himself. Before the close he slunk out and was not seen again.

The Tragedy of Italy

"The tragedy of the Italian people grows and deepens," she writes, I have felt it my duty to make clear to the working classes of all Europe the meaning and nature of Fascism. . . . Towards the Italian Socialist movement I feel this duty all the stronger, for the tragedy of a class which finds itself robbed of all its accomplishments and of its freedom is far greater than for one which has never experienced this, like the Russian. . . . In Italy it was not the case of a country sunk deep in the culture of the middle

Monarchist movement is a serious danger still, there is every prospect of the working class here being able to fight its way to power by constitutional methods. And the same thing, in a less degree perhaps, applies to France.

Balabanoff's sidelight on Mussolini's career goes a long way to explain how it was that Fascism defeated the very powerful Socialist movement in Italy.

"It was not Mussolini that saved Italy from disorder, but the fact is that after he had met with fiasco in his attempt to be taken up again in the Italian Socialist movement after the war and after his revolutionary demagoguery had failed to attract attention, he offered himself to the ruling class of Italy, the great land-lords of the South and Centre and the industrial captains of the North. Italian Socialism was not defeated by its own weakness but by the most unnatural coalition of the most heterogeneous elements that have ever been put together, even in an epoch of civil war. . . . It was Mussolini who during the so-called 'Bolshevik era in Europe' in 1919 and 1920, when Italy was rent with strikes, agrarian risings, and the occupation of factories, outbid the Italian Socialist Party by putting before the Italian masses ever more extreme demands." Nothing was apparently too extreme for this demagogue then. "The first experiment in occupying factories on March 16, 1919, at Dalmine in the province of Bergamo was not only welcomed by the Fascist Press, but Mussolini, who had by his treachery lost all hold on the masses following the Socialist Party, and who wanted to become popular with them again, went specially to the seat of action in order to encourage the workmen to extend the factory occupation. To these turbulent elements the Italian industrial chiefs now turned in order to draw off the masses from the Socialist leaders. . . . Just as they only got the Italian working class

to tolerate the war by corrupting the editor of the "Avanti," so it was equally true after the war that they could not induce the Italian working classes to give up their demands for their rights by having recourse to normal methods. Therefore they employed for the work these same men, who by this time had lost all bearing and all sense of shame."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

OLD SONG



Raemakers in The Telegram (Amsterdam).
Trotzky, Radek, Kamenef, etc., singing:
It isn't worth the trouble,
It isn't worth the trouble,
Yea, surely never worth the trouble,
To change the government.
(From the Daughter of Madame Angot.)

Berger Demands U.S. Vote Funds to Wipe Out Illiteracy

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Federal aid to States for the purpose of reducing illiteracy is proposed in a bill introduced by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, of Wisconsin. It provides that the Federal Government appropriate \$2,000,000 annually for the next six years, that appropriation to be apportioned among the various States in proportion to their per centage of illiteracy, but subject to the requirement that each State match the amount appropriated by the Federal Government.

Mr. Berger, in a statement he issued, said: "It is unfortunate that the United States, which was one of the first nations to make opportunities for an elementary school education generally available, should now be trailing other nations which started later than we did. We have a larger per centage of illiterates than Germany—which has the lowest of any nation—France, England, Wales, Scotland, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, Switzerland, or Denmark. It is not only unfortunate, but unnecessary—since we claim to be the richest nation on earth—and can very well afford to also make it the most literate.

"The menace of illiteracy is especially threatening in a democracy, where so much depends upon the people's ability to read and write. Where illiteracy is greatest, as in the South, there such movements as the Ku Klux Klan and other mob movements are able to get their start and make headway for a while. On the other hand, the Klan never did make any headway in Wisconsin, where the per centage of illiteracy was practically unknown until recent immigration.

"My bill does not shift the problem from the States to the Federal Government nor does it deprive the States of any of the rights they now have. Education remains a matter for the State to deal with, and the States continue to exercise that right as in the past. All that I propose to do is to encourage the States to make a drive on illiteracy by improving and enlarging their educational facilities. That is worth a good deal to the Federal Government—as much, at least, as good roads. And it will also be worth a good deal to the States, to have a literate population."

Be patient friends and those who finance the two capitalist parties will again put up the money to float two presidential tickets. Of course, the money will be useless unless you provide the votes, but as you have been very kind in this respect the brokers will expect you to be prompt as usual.

WHEN BATS SEE LIGHT

By Abraham Epstein

WHEN a body of biased and blind opinion strikes a body of irresistible facts there is an inevitable crash. The results are: shattered nerves, bruised feelings, the hurling of epithets and stupid accusations. Such a tragic collision occurred when Messrs. Ralph Esley and T. J. Umshel Sherman of the National Civic Federation, renowned apostles of peace between capital and labor by WOLLA, tionalizing the latter, set out on a fact-finding hunt for the amount of old age dependency in the United States. Of course, the knights of the Civic Federation knew the facts before they embarked upon their study. They were convinced that the various state commissions which studied the problem for many years did not present the true facts. Before they had proceeded far with their researches, Mr. Esley pointed that out in letters to governors and legislators. There simply could not be any poor old people in the United States! Had not the National Civic Federation preached the gospel of equality and brotherly love for decades? Is not ours the most pr-r-r-sper-r-r-rous country on earth? Do we have poverty and old age in this land of radio, automobiles, labor banks and labor insurance companies? Old age dependency in the United States was only a fiction created by Socialists and Bolsheviks whose insidious doctrines somehow permeated even the highly respectable state commissions delegated to study the subject. The St. Georges of the Civic Federation set out determined to slay this menacing dragon.

Poverty of Age Revealed

A general staff made up largely of insurance heads interested in the selling of private old age annuities was quickly mobilized. The Carnegie Corporation of New York generously offered to provide the means of war in this crusade and outfitted the Civic Federation's army of investigators to gather the facts. Every thing was primed and calculated. But even the greatest generals are sometimes fallible and one minor detail was overlooked. They actually hired an honest investigator—Edmund Cogswell—formerly of the Massachusetts Commission on Old Age Pensions, to direct the studies.

More than a year ago, James H. Mau-

The Civic Federation Proves That Facts Are Not For Fools

rer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and Chairman of the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission, publicly protested to Matthew Woll, President of the National Civic Federation, that the latter's local investigators were being instructed to gather only such figures as would disprove the findings of the Pennsylvania Old Age Pension Commission. Mr. Woll made no public denial of this charge. But even the Federation's investigators, despite all caution, somehow could not resist the snares of the Reds. The facts presented in the Civic Federation's report on THE EXTENT OF OLD AGE DEPENDENCY, stripped from the epithets and illogical explanations offer the greatest evidence of the prodigious amount of old age poverty in these United States. The collected information bears out further the truth of the aphorism that no matter how liars may try to make statistics, statistics alone never lie.

From the twittings and misinterpretations of the collected data one can surmise the consternation and painful agony which these discoveries must have brought to the Federation's headquarters. The general staff was perplexed and faced with a real dilemma. Mr. Cogswell was incorruptible. The study had been too well announced to be suppressed. It would appear that a compromise was reached by having Mr. Cogswell present the facts and Mr. Sherman their interpretation. And what delightful antics this gentleman performs with them! To be sure, had the Civic Federation not been so contemptuous of the intellectual faculties of its followers, it would have shown a far more delicate regard for their sensibilities. Listen to this gem of "scientific" interpretation of a significant economic fact:

The investigations showed that of the approximately 14,000 persons 65 years of age and over studied by the Civic Federation, 44.7 per cent of men and 52.9 per cent of women carried no life insurance whatsoever; in addition 33 per cent of men and 40.6 per cent of women had

less than \$1,000 life insurance—just about sufficient for burial (p. 41). Thus three out of every four men and nine out of every ten women questioned carried either no life insurance or were insured for less than \$1,000. This, in spite of the fact that life insurance has spread beyond all proportions in this country and regardless of the innumerable insurance agencies constantly coaxing and soliciting the public for this insurance. To an ordinary student this is a sufficiently striking and deplorable fact. Not so to the "experts" of the Civic Federation. Facts alone mean little to them. Note the "scientific" prophecy drawn from this economic phenomenon:

"Life insurance," they comment, "has greatly increased in popularity during the last decade and, from the present trend (no evidence at all is submitted in support of either statement) it seems likely that an investigation made ten years from now regarding the amount of life insurance carried by elderly persons would then show a much higher percentage of insurance than was found in the present study." (p. 41).

More Insurance Urged
The report then enlightens us with this piece of profound philosophy: "The large number of dependent widows found in this survey emphasizes the fact that the carrying of life insurance by more married men in the future would reduce the percentage of dependent aged widows." (p. 41)

The actual facts presented in the National Civic Federation's Report not only reveal the same extent of dependency which the different state commissions discovered but in some instances they show an even greater degree of poverty, especially when we remember that most of the interviews of the Civic Federation were carried on in 1926—the most prosperous year in our national history. Thus the Massachusetts Commission on Pensions found in 1924 that 39.7 per cent of the persons 65 years of age interviewed had no property amounting to \$1,000. The percentage found by the

Civic Federation is given as 37.9 (p. 32). This includes married couples, who if they had joint property worth \$1,000 were counted twice by the Civic Federation, or as two persons having \$1,000 each (p. 34). And 68 per cent of the men and 45 per cent of the women interviewed were married (page 31). Of the single men 52.4 per cent and of the single women 43.3 per cent had properties valued at less than \$1,000 (pp. 35, 36). Even when counted twice, the Federation's own figures show that the conditions in the really industrial centres are not even as rosy as the report tries to picture them. Thus, while in Troy, N. Y., only 36 per cent had no property above \$1,000 (p. 125), the percentage of the same group in New York rose to over 50 per cent (p. 126) while in Newark, N. J., and Bridgeport, Conn., it amounted to practically 55 per cent (pp. 127, 129).

The Massachusetts Commission found that 30.4 per cent of the persons it interviewed had annual incomes of less than \$300. According to the Civic Federation's findings an even greater percentage, namely 32.9, had incomes below that sum (p. 34). We must bear in mind that at 65 the expectancy of life is still about 12 years and even an annuity of \$300 a year requires at least a capital of from \$3,500 to \$4,000 for a single person and from \$7,000 to \$8,000 for an aged couple. It must be obvious therefore even to the gentlemen of the Civic Federation that persons with properties valued at less than \$1,000 and incomes of less than \$300 can be anything but independent in their old age.

Industry's Tragic Victims

The facts presented by the Civic Federation also bring out the pitiful tragedy of modern industry which ruthlessly scraps the old worker as it does worn-out machinery. Only half of the men who formerly were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries were discovered by the Federation's investigators to be so employed at the time of the interview (p. 45). But persons in other occupations were at work in the same business to a considerably higher extent. The Civic Federation significantly fails to tell how many of these scrapped workers it found to have been living on industrial

(Continued on page 4)

St. Colomba and the River — By Theodore Dreiser

(Continued From Last Week)

"SSST!"
What was that? A sound like the blowing off of steam. All at once Cavanaugh, who was just outside the pilot tunnel indicating to McGlathery and another just where certain braces were to be put, in order that the pilot tunnel might be pushed forward a few inches for the purpose of inserting a new ring of plates, heard it. At a bound he was back through the pilot hole, his face aflame with fear and rage. Who had neglected the narrow breach?

"Come now! What the hell is this?" he was about to exclaim, but seeing a wide breach suddenly open and water pour down in a swift volume, his spirit sank and fear overcame him.

"Back men! Stop the leak!"

It was the cry of a frightened and yet courageous man at bay. There was not only fear, but disappointment in it. He had certainly hoped to observe anything like this this time. But a moment before had been a

hole that might have been stopped with a bag of sawdust (and Patrick Murtha was there attempting to do it) was now a rapidly widening gap through which was pouring a small Niagara of foul river water, ooze and slime. As Cavanaugh reached it and seized a bag to stay it, another mass of muddy earth fell, striking both him and Murtha, and half blinding them both. Murtha scrambled away for his life. McGlathery who had been out in front of the fatal tunnel with others, now came staggering, back, horribly frightened, scarcely knowing what to do.

"Quick, Dennis! Into the lock!" Cavanaugh called to him, while he himself held his ground. "Hurry! Hurry!" and realizing the hopelessness of it and his own danger, Dennis thought to run past, but was stopped by the downpour of water and mud.

"Quick! Quick! Into the lock! For Christ's sake, can't ye see what's happenin'?" Through with ye!" McGlathery, hesitating by his chief's side, fearful to move lest he be killed, uncertain this time whether

to leave his chief or not, was seized by Cavanaugh and literally thrown through, as were others after him, the blinding ooze and water choking them, but placing them within range of safety. When the last man was through Cavanaugh himself plunged after, wading knee-deep in mud and water.

"Quick! Quick! Into the lock!" he called, and then seeing McGlathery, who was now near it but waiting for him, added, "In, in!" There was a mad scramble about the door, floating timbers and bags interfering with many, and then, just as it seemed as if all would reach safety, an iron roof plate overhead, loosened by the breaking of plates beyond, gave way, felling one man in the half-open doorway of the lock, and knocking and pinning it in such a way that it could be neither opened nor closed. Cavanaugh and others who came up after were shut out. McGlathery, who had just entered and saw it, could do nothing. But in this emergency, and unlike his previous attitude, he and several others on the inside seized

upon the dead man and tried to draw him in, at the same time calling to Cavanaugh to know what to do. The latter, dumbfounded, was helpless. He saw very clearly and sadly that very little if anything could be done. The plate across the dead man was too heavy, and besides, the ooze was already pouring over him into the lock. At the same time the men in the lock, conscious that although they were partially on the road to safety they were still in danger of losing their lives, were frantic with fear.

Actually there were animal roars of terror. At the same time McGlathery, once more realizing that his Nemesis, water, had overtaken him and was likely to slay him at last, was completely paralyzed with fear. St. Colomba had promised him, to be sure, but was not this that same vision that he had had in his dreams, that awful sense of encroaching ooze and mud? Was he not now to die this way, after all? Was not his patron saint truly deserting him? It certainly appeared so.

"Holy Mary! Holy St. Colomba!" he began to pray, "what shall I do now? Mother of God! Our Father, who art in Heaven! Bejassus, it's a tight place I'm in now! I'll never get out of this! Tower of Ivory! House of Gold! Can't we git him in, boys? Ark of the Covenant! Gate of Heaven!"

As he gibbered and chattered, the others screaming about him, some pulling at the dead man, others pulling at the other door, the still eye of Cavanaugh outside the lock waist-deep in mud and water was surveying it all.

"Listen to me men!" came his voice in rich, heavy, guttural tones. "You, McGlathery! Dennis! Arr ye all crazy! Take af yer clothes and stop up the doorway! It's your only chance! Aaf with yer clothes, quick! And those planks there—stand them up! Never mind us. Save yourselves first. Maybe ye can do something for us afterwards."

As he argued, if only the gap in the door could be closed and the com-

pressed air pushing from the tunnel outward toward the river allowed to enter the chamber, it would be possible to open the other door which gave into the next section shoreward, and so they could all run to safety.

His voice, commanding, never quavering, even in the face of death, subsided. About and behind him were a dozen men huddled like sheep, waist-deep in mud and water, praying and crying. They had got as close to him as might be, still trying to draw upon the sustaining force of his courage, but moaning and praying just the same and looking at the lock.

"Yis! Yis!" exclaimed McGlathery of a sudden, awakening at last to a sense of duty and that something better in conduct and thought which he had repeatedly promised himself and his saint that he would achieve. He had been forgetting. But now it seemed to him once more that he had been guilty of that same great wrong to his foreman which had

marked his attitude on the previous occasion—that is, he had not helped him or any one but himself. He was a horrible coward. But what could he do? He asked himself. What could he do? Tearing off his coat and vest and shirt as commanded, he began pushing them into the opening, calling to the others to do the same. In a twinkling, bundles were made of all as well as of the sticks and beams afloat in the lock, and with these the gap in the door was stuffed, sufficiently to prevent the air from escaping, but shutting out the foreman and his men completely.

"It's awful. I don't like to do it," McGlathery kept crying to his foreman but the latter was not so easily shaken.

"It's all right, boys," he kept saying. "Have ye no courage at all?" And then to the others outside with him, "Can't ye stand still and wait? They may be comin' back in time. Kape still. Say yer prayers if ye know any, and won't be afraid."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

SOCIALISM FLIES ALONG IN THE AUTO INDUSTRY

By Louis Stanley

THE annual crop of automobile shows before spring weather set in and the intensification of the rivalry of the manufacturers in the lower priced group of cars draws the attention of labor to the situation in the automobile industry. It has become a common-places to talk of the mechanization of production in the motor vehicle field. The old craft skills are being destroyed by the sub-division of labor. Whatever special capacity is required today is rather in the direction of greater accuracy and there the manufacturer prefers to obtain a "green" hand and inculcate in him the particular aptitude that is needed. There is always a waiting list of applicants. Just as important, too, is the process of vertical production. Ford, for example, begins to produce his cars with the extraction of coal and are in his mines and ends with profuse apologizing for his Jew-baiting. Mining, transporting, manufacturing marketing in the best developed organizations are all controlled from one center.

To cope with the motor vehicle industry, characterized by the ease of craft lines and the lack-inclusiveness of organization, the labor movement has nothing to offer but squabbling craft unions and a decentralized American Federation of Labor. Organized labor recognizes the existence of a problem, but in the present cultural and political situation in the A. F. of L. the logical solution is anathema. To mention industrial unionism or centralization of control is to bring down upon your head the curses of all the high priests, living and dead, of the orthodox trade union cult in the United States.

The A. F. of L. Campaign

In 1926 the American Federation of Labor, meeting at that union-forsaken city of Detroit, set on foot a campaign to organize the automobile industry. The president of the A. F. of L. was directed to call a conference of all national and international unions interested in the automobile industry for the purpose of working out details to inaugurate a general organizing campaign among the workers of that industry; and that the question of jurisdiction be suspended for the time being, so that the desired result sought

for in the resolution may be accomplished.

It is significant to note that the original resolution proposed that the officers of the A. F. of L. should inaugurate the campaign rather than the component craft unions concerned. That required a bit more centralization than the delegates were prepared for.

Conferences were accordingly held on December 2, 1926, and March 24, 1927, with precious time being squandered in the interim. A plan of gathering the automobile workers into temporary federal unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. and distributing them later to craft unions was worked out. The Executive Council informed the recent convention at Los Angeles that

"We are not in a position to report in detail upon this campaign, yet we can say that the matter is being given the best possible attention in cooperation with the organizations directly interested."

It is no secret that practically nothing has been accomplished.

Early Auto Unionism

Outside of the standard unions some organization work has been carried on by private persons and by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers. The former, if success rewards their efforts, will be faced by the dilemma of deciding where to send the workers, into the impossible craft unions or the dual organization, which is industrial. The latter is hampered by its isolation from other trade unions for not only is the moral support of city central bodies necessary but financial assistance of the general trade union movement is urgent. It is the irony of fate that the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers, which as the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers constituted the very organization fitted to organize the automobile industry, should have been expelled from the A. F. of L. for undertaking this very task. The history of this conflict between craft separatism and industrial solidarity is most illuminating in analyzing the present attitude of the A. F. of

L. towards organizing the automobile industry.

Once upon a time there were no automobiles. There were merely carriages and wagons and the buggy was still a pleasure, not a sentiment. The carriage and wagon workers, who were organized into a trade assembly under the Knights of Labor, became a national union in 1891 and affiliated with the young and sprightly American Federation of Labor two years later.

Then, their troubles started. They ran afoul of the A. F. of L. administration, because they were socialistic in philosophy and industrial in form of organization. They stood for independent political action. They caused Samuel Gompers to intervene in 1900 to keep them from seceding from the A. F. of L. and joining Daniel De Leon's mischievous Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Lastly, they claimed all the workers in the carriage and wagon industry, particularly the blacksmiths, woodworkers, painters and upholsterers or trimmers. Hence, those who dominated the affairs of the American Federation of Labor were not favorably disposed to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union. This personal relationship militated against the chances of settling amicably the jurisdictional disputes that were to arise.

Internal Conflict Begins

The Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union showed farsightedness. It saw two changes taking place in its industry. The introduction of labor-saving devices was undermining the advantage of skill that its members possessed and the growing popularity of the automobile threatened to destroy the industry altogether. In the very first issue of its journal in June, 1899, the editor predicted that the motor vehicle would some day sell so low as to drive the horse and carriage out of business.

To meet the technological changes the union persisted all the more heartily in its policy of industrial unionism and sought to extend its jurisdiction to the

automobile industry. In 1902 it complained that the blacksmiths and painters' unions were encroaching upon its jurisdiction over carriages and wagons. Unfortunately the A. F. of L. at its Scranton convention in 1901 had blandly disregarded the trustification of industry over which public resentment had been aroused and committed itself definitely to craft unionism. Instead of the carriage and wagon workers receiving any satisfaction, the American Federation of Labor decided in 1903 that a carriage painter was not a carriage worker who painted but a painter who worked on carriages, and turned this craftsman over to the painters' union. This began the official nibbling at the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union. Not welcoming annihilation, the latter refused to comply with the order and begged to have it reversed but the conventions of the A. F. of L. were adamant.

The Autos Are Recognized

This would not have been so important for the future were it not for the fact that the carriage and wagon were being replaced by the motor vehicle and the jurisdictional divisions were being transferred to the new industry. The American Federation of Labor only discovered the automobile in 1908, when the upholsterers' union called for assistance in organizing the trimmers and were promised help. In 1910 the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union asked permission to insert the word "automobile" in its title and extent its jurisdiction accordingly. This opened up wide the whole question of craft autonomy and a conference was called in which the carriage workers, blacksmiths and upholsterers' unions participated. The painters would not budge. An agreement was drawn up which provided (1) that the individual worker be permitted to choose the organization to which he preferred to belong; (2) that there be an interchange of working cards; (3) that the minimum initiation fee be three dollars and the dues be one dollar, jointly in drawing up agreements with employers. With the jurisdictional question thus sup-

posedly settled, the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Union was granted the change of title.

All would have been well had not the blacksmiths at the 1912 convention charged that the agreement had been violated. The carriage workers, they claimed, had lowered the initiation fee to entice workers and had conceded the union label to shops where the blacksmiths had not been organized. Conferences proved a failure and at the convention of 1913 a final resolution of protest was introduced by the delegates of the blacksmiths, sheet metal workers, metal polishers, painters, patternmakers, machinists, carpenters, electricians and upholsterers. This united front foretold a triumph for craft unionism.

Union Charter Revoked

When the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. conducted a campaign in the Detroit automobile industry early in

1914 the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union which should have been most concerned, did not take part. The organizing drive failed chiefly because of the unexpected depression that hit the industry but it served its purpose of notifying the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers' Union that its pretensions were not recognized. It was most natural, therefore, that the 1914 convention of the A. F. of L. should order this union to strike the word "automobile" from its title. The C. W. & A. W. I. U. refused to do so. It suggested councils for the automobile industry in various cities on the style of those in the building trades. A referendum vote among its membership revealed almost unanimous support of the officers for by this time the union practically consisted entirely of automobile employees. In 1918 the charter of the Carriage and Wagon Workers, as the A. F.

of L. began to call it again, was revoked. The craft unions had won the day. The organization whose membership they tried to divide among themselves took up an independent existence as the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers and continued its activities as best it could. Its rivals lost interest in the automobile industry. Not until 1925 do we hear of the problem again in A. F. of L. ranks, and then the International Association of Machinists expressed a desire to organize mechanics in garages. That, of course, was not attacking the basic industry proper. We have already referred to the gesture of the Detroit convention of 1926. There the matter remains.

So far as the regular trade union movement in the United States is concerned there is no union in the automobile industry; there are unions. Hence, there is no unionism. It may be that a general union of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the automobile industry is necessary. There is a move in that direction at present. Certainly, some intellectual and structural overhauling is in order.

Lack of Political Solidarity Retards The Farmers' Union

By Murray E. King

WITH a cooperative class organization deeply and extensively rooted throughout the agricultural states doing an enormous and increasing business and aiming definitely at a nation-wide cooperative system owned and operated by the actual producers, what are the prospects for the political development of this movement?

Is it likely to drift definitely toward independent political action as did the British cooperative movement when it founded the cooperative party and later merged it with the British Labor Party? Will the farmers' cooperative movement of the United States follow the line of development of the Danish farmers' cooperative movement, which virtually became the Party of the Left, lying between the Socialists and the conservatives? Will it become closely identified

with the working class political movement of America as have the cooperative movements of many European countries with the European working class political movement?

Most interesting of all, what is likely to be the position of the Farmers' Union in 1936 in the present attempt to form a farmer and labor political front this year?

In the first place, the Farmers' Union is committed to an advanced economic program—one which would modify considerably the present system in the direction of Socialism or cooperative democracy. Its "nonpartisan" efforts to obtain favorable legislation springs from a more radical root than that of the American Federation of Labor. The old capitalist political parties are not nearly so deeply rooted in the Farmers' Union as they are in the A. F. of L. Among the leaders of the Farmers' Union are a large proportion of liberals and radicals—and a good sprinkling of Socialists who fondly hope the day is not far off when the Union members will vote solidly as they work—for a real cooperative system. When the Farmers' Union has passed through the progressive stages of "nonpartisan" efforts to obtain laws and conditions favorable to cooperative growth and have demonstrated the inevitable fact that capitalist parties will not permit the passage of laws calculated to build up a rival economic system, they will begin to look in the direction of a workers' party.

Aside from the essentially radical ideal of the Farmers' Union, which is to construct a nation-wide cooperative system which will serve as the cost of service as an immense organ of economic self-supply for the producers, their immediate political program, adopted at their national convention last summer, among other things demands the following:

- 1.—Abolition of military training in high schools and colleges.
- 2.—The enactment of the Senator Norris plan of government ownership and operation of Muscle Shoals.
- 3.—Control of the Federal Land Bank by farmer stockholders as the law provides.
- 4.—That there shall be no further reduction of Federal income tax rates, especially in the higher brackets.
- 5.—An adequate Federal inheritance tax.
- 6.—Passage of a bill by congress containing all the essential features of the McNary-Haugen bill which would put the government in the world marketing business on a huge scale.
- 7.—THAT THE GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY TAKE OVER AND OPERATE THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANKING SYSTEM, ASSUME CONTROL OF THE ISSUANCE OF CURRENCY AND FURNISH CREDIT TO THE PRODUCERS AT A LOW RATE OF INTEREST, AND THAT THE INFLATION AND DEFLATION OF CURRENCY AND CREDITS BE ABSOLUTELY CONTROLLED BY CONGRESS.

This political struggle has drawn the

Farmers' Union into an alliance composed of 22 farmer organizations, known as the Corn Belt Federation. The Farmers' Union and the Farm Bureau Federation constitute the backbone of this federation. The whole weight of this coalition at present is directed toward breaking up partisan Republican and Democratic affiliations and training the farmers to vote for their class interests—to vote as farmers and not as Republicans or Democrats.

A recent official statement by the secretary of the Corn Belt Federation, A. W. Ricker, advising the members regarding their political duties in 1928, is copied with approval in all the Corn Belt Federation papers. After outlining the plan of political attack, which is to send all the farmers possible to the old party conventions with the object of compelling full recognition of the farmer program, Mr. Ricker further advises, using the Republican party as an illustration:

"If we are not powerful enough to nominate a Republican presidential candidate who is committed both by his past performances and present pledges to a real program for agriculture, then we should be courageous enough to say to the reactionary Republican bosses, 'Very well, you have nominated your man and he shall not get our votes.'"

"Until we are ready to do that we will not impress the industrial barons of this nation who now control the Republican party with our sincerity and common sense."

"If the farmers of the middle west are not ready to vote against an opponent of real farm legislation just because that opponent happens to be a Republican, then we might as well give up the fight, because we will never win a victory until we quit being partisan Republicans and Democrats and start in acting together as a farming class determined to have what belongs to us regardless of its effect on politics and politicians. That is the way the other fellows got theirs, and that's the only way we will ever get ours."

Voting together as a class to control old party primaries and conventions and party machinery for the purpose of using one or the other of the old parties to realize their program was exactly the method employed by the farmers' Nonpartisan League of Minnesota. It is entirely different from the "nonpartisan" policy of the American Federation of Labor, which leaves the primaries and conventions and the old party machinery in the hands of the capitalist enemy.

Labor's "Nonpartisan League" has given us nothing. The farmers' Nonpartisan League gave us the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and the Farmer-Labor movement of the United States. There are good reasons for believing that the Farmers' Union and the Corn Belt Federation are in the same process of evolution that the farms' Nonpartisan League was when it was changing into the Farmer-Labor Party, and that 1928 will show a real advance in this direction.

When Bats See Light

(Continued from page 3)

sons interviewed in this "borough" include an aristocratic old banker of old money managing his affairs single-handed and ruthlessly dictating to his several sons; the elderly gentleman of 101 years so active both in business and socially that an appointment to interview him had to be made" (p. 91). (What a brilliant idea to interview Chauncey M. Depew or John D. Rockefeller, Sr., on the subject of their security in old age!)

Indeed, only the investigators whose individual comments could not be "interpreted" or "edited" give a frank idea of what some of the facts actually disclosed. Thus the Manhattan investigator comments: "Among the aged likely to become dependent, there were encountered none with gambling tendencies,—no dabbles with cards, pool or stocks. . . . Among those facing possible dependency, the fear of 'The Island' surrounded that of the call of the Great Reaper." The Buffalo investigator discovered that "the manual laborers of the survey age were not found to be in so fortunate a state. Their average salary is \$18 a week" (p. 96). The Newark and New Brunswick investigator found that "57.7 per cent of those interviewed had less than \$2,000 in property; and among the 45.3 per cent having no assets of any kind, 65 per cent had no personal income from any source" (p. 84).

This reviewer has learned at least one moral to preach from this report: Keep the convictions of grandfather, if you wish to. But never go out to prove their truth by scientific facts. Facts are not fit for fools. Blessed be the blind.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLANS AND PROGRESS

National

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

Oklahoma in Line

The National Office addressed letters to known Socialists in Oklahoma enclosing a ballot to ascertain how many desired to join the party, hold a state convention and nominate a ticket. A few days answers began to arrive and they are still coming in. There is no doubt about the state convention, which will be announced later, and nomination of a state ticket.

West Virginia Re-Organized

West Virginia has been reorganized and a local at Morgantown has also been organized. A new State Secretary has been selected in the person of John F. Higgins, P. O. Box 218, Star City. The new state officers have plans for a full state ticket, as well as a national ticket. A delegate will be sent to the national convention and a general organization campaign carried on by the new state secretary is already on the job, sending out letters and lining up the party organization.

Arizona

The National Office is sending letters to a hundred or more old timers in Arizona, with the purpose of reorganizing that state. A list of names have been agreed to take part in this work. O. A. Kennedy, District Secretary, is, as usual, doing his part in this connection. He hopes to find some one who can take charge of the re-organization of the state, some one who is near enough to allow a saving in railroad fare.

Arkansas

An old timer and a live wire in Arkansas agrees to help put the movement on its feet in that state. Comrades in Arkansas should write to the National Headquarters what cooperation can be expected from them.

Help Necessary

Our active members must not forget that we can put the Socialist Party to the front this campaign if financial help is given so that the states may be organized and state and national tickets selected. At least a dozen organizers should be in the field.

Jewish and Finnish Delegates

The Jewish and Finnish Federations have already selected their delegates to the National Convention. The National Headquarters that they will pay their own expenses.

Idaho

State Secretary Cammings, is going ahead with organization work and is also raising a fund to assist in paying the expenses of their delegate to the National Convention. He has raised quite a sum already and has pledges from others. It is now suggested that Pocatello can be organized and plans are under way.

Texas

State Organizer David Curran, of Dallas, writes that he will donate one dollar each month to the National Campaign Fund to organize in the unorganized states, and he expects others to follow his lead in that state. Texas will be represented at the national convention.

Ohio

State Convention The State Convention of Ohio, announced for Feb. 25 and 26, will be held in Workmen's Center all, 3467 East 147th street, Cleveland. Local and Branches are making nominations for delegates to the National Convention. It is evident that the state officers in Ohio are up and doing and the membership will cooperate fully and get the best possible results.

Montana

Favorable Elections There are four counties in this state where there is a fighting chance to elect Socialists to the legislature but agriculture is prostrate and thousands of workers are unemployed which makes it difficult to raise campaign funds. There will be some municipal elections in the spring and these are also promising for a heavy Socialist vote. A thousand Socialist pamphlets obtained some months ago have all been distributed and another supply of 500 is gone.

Illinois

Chicago Y. F. S. L. The history and progress of the labor youth movement in Palestine was told by Meyer Halushka, active Chicago Socialist, who has returned from Palestine, at the Forum of the Young People's Socialist League. The young laborites are organized in communes, with two ideals: to rebuild Palestine and establish a social order based upon production for use and not for profit.

The Forum is held every Friday evening at their new headquarters at the National Socialist Institute, 322 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago. The Secretary is Pearl Greenberg, 1243 S. Homas avenue, Chicago.

Indiana

Organization Work Plans are being worked out for organization work throughout the state. The State Executive Committee plans re-organizing the inactive locals. Letters are being sent to non-members over the state, asking them to sign the application blank and become a member. In cases where a local may be organized, Emma Henry, State Organizer, will be sent. Some money has arrived from comrades to assist in organization work. The State Secretary is Elsie M. Mueller, 229 S. Keystone avenue, Indianapolis.

Pennsylvania

Easton Organized Easton is feeling the effect of the victory in Reading. W. Underhill has been carrying on active propaganda there for several months and after securing several members has laid the State Organization, has finally organized a branch with ten members of which he is secretary.

Pottstown Active The revived local has held two successful propaganda meetings and is also arranging a mass meeting on James H. Hunter who will speak on "White Slave Russia." Mary Winsor of Haverford recently spoke on "Women in Russia" and spoke on a heavy rain. Pottstown is in Montgomery County, about eighteen miles south of Reading. At one time the party elected several delegates to the State Convention. The members of the party will own their own headquarters.

Reading to Organize County With rural Berks as the next point of attack, the Socialists of Reading appointed a sub-committee on organization. Reports from a number of towns throughout the county indicate that the workers in Shillington, Mohnton, Hamburg and other important boroughs are interested in Socialism as a result of the party's victory in this city. The organization of party branches in a majority of the towns of the county as possible will be a powerful factor in electing William C. Hoover to the State Senate this year and breaking down the barrier of prejudice which has prevented Socialist gains in the past.

New England

Chances for putting up a ticket in Maine are beginning to brighten up a little, but the other states outside of Massachusetts are lagging behind.

State Office Notes

Interest in our anti-injunction bill and the unemployment insurance bill continues keen although the hearings have been held. We will of course continue the fight another year.

Dorchester

The Forum at Wellington Auditorium has been immensely successful. August Claessens and George E. Roewer have a large following. Mayor E. S. Peabody will be the speaker next Sunday on Free Speech. Norman Thomas will speak Feb. 26, and Frank R. Cross will speak March 4. Meetings begin promptly at 11:00 a. m.

Lewis' Dates

Alfred Baker Lewis' dates so far are as follows: Feb. 19, Congressional Union at No. Weymouth at 7:30; "The Economic Basis for Brotherhood;" Feb. 20 at 6:00 p. m. at King Wah Loh restaurant, 16 Tyler street, Boston, meeting for the Fellowship of Youth for Peace, subject, "Economic Basis for Brotherhood;" Feb. 23, Y. M. C. A. Forum at 8:30, 316 Huntington avenue, Boston, same subject; March 7, Worcester C. L. U. Subject, "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance;" March 12, Boston, same subject; March 14, 454 Massachusetts avenue, Subject, "Economic Basis for Brotherhood."

New Jersey

Newark Banquet Local Essex County is making arrangements for a "Victory Banquet" to celebrate the recent Socialist victory in Reading, Pa. Socialist Mayor J. Henry Stump will be the guest of honor and William Morris Feigenbaum will speak on "Our Immediate Problems." The banquet will be held Saturday evening, Feb. 25, at the New Workmen's Circle Bldg., 190 Belmont avenue, Newark. Tickets are \$1.25 and must be paid in advance. They may be obtained from County Secretary Andrew P. Wittel, 44 Linden avenue, Belleville, N. J.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

THESE CHARMING INTELLECTUALS

THE lovely lady with her hair slicked boyishly back looked at me out of cold gray eyes, much as one might look at a forgotten portrait of Queen Victoria. She flicked her cigarette ashes with a red-tipped finger and drawled out:

"My God, are people still interested in that sort of thing?"

At once I cast desperately around for some hole in which to hide my shrinking self. My feelings were those of that horrid moment when a bustling young garage mechanic gave me a dirty look and said: "You mean to say you can't drive a car? Why I didn't know there was any man alive these days who couldn't drive a car."

You see, I had inadvertently mentioned the subject of politics to the lovely lady. We had been sitting in complete silence for so long that I figured it was up to me to say something and as I had just returned from a Socialist meeting, naturally that was uppermost in my thoughts.

That was my fatal mistake. It seems that among that intellectual set whose favorite song is "What Does It Matter?" politics, Socialism, anything that has to do with what Spender calls "The Public Life," is as old-fashioned and as definitely out as what-nots, antimacassars and high-wheeled bicycles.

With this outfit it is perfectly permissible to tell stories that would bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of a steam-fitter in the back room of a blind pig on the Bowery. You may discuss sex matters with all the frankness which characterizes the advances of a mate-hunting tom cat. But, boys and girls, remember that politics is strictly taboo and that if you are dumb enough to drag politics in on a general conversation whole roomfuls of intellectuals will turn and rend you.

If you really want to get along in intellectual circles nowadays the smart thing to do is to profess complete ignorance of anything and everything that is going on in the world of affairs in general. Tell everybody that you never look at the papers. Leave the impression that such trivialities as wars, floods, and strikes, the gropings of the masses towards the light, the doings of dictators, the emergence of new economic and political forces, never for one moment ruffle the surface of your calm indifference. Go out and get an ivory tower for yourself. Go Mencken. Laugh scornfully through your nose when some naive enthusiast suggests that there might be something to think about every twenty-four hours besides your charming self.

Well, then, what does one talk about? That's easy. First and foremost and most of the time you talk about yourself. It helps to throw out vague hints about the nearly completed masterpiece back home in the typewriter drawer. So many publishers have been pestering you for the privilege of bringing it out that fighting them off has become a frightful bore and really, you don't know whether you will let the thing be published after all. Getting into print doesn't mean much these days with so many illiterate people scribbling away.

When you have played this line to a finish, tell them about all the great, big, 'normous, important people you have had lunch with recently. Don't just cry out, "Ooh, look! I had lunch with Otto Kahn." Be subtle about the business. Yawn a bit and then say, "As Otto said to me at Pierre's the other day—" If you run into some stupid who thinks that you mean Otto, the lavatory man, don't let that disturb you. Everybody who really counts knows that there is only one Otto in New York and that his last name is Kahn.

And when you are through retailing the latest wisecrack that F. P. A. made while you were beating him at tennis up in the armory the other day and how Heywood Brown confided to you that, after all, life isn't what it's cracked up to be, take another tack and ride the publishers. Say that you just heard how the dirty dogs stole Freddy's big idea. That biography of George Washington over which Freddy had been working for years. The biography that was to show George up as a two-fisted drinking person and a bit of a flirt to boot. Five years ago Freddy suggested the idea to a publisher and the low-life went and stole it and now every place you look is filthy with Washington biographies.

Go on and recount your own trying contacts with motion-picture producers. Tell the story about Goldwin and George Bernard Shaw and then say, "But what can you expect from such cattle?" That's the cue for the narration of how they turned down your scenario in which you introduced a situation where the heroine fell in love with the explorer from South Africa who had been a college mate of her husband's.

This leads eventually to the back-bone of any intellectual conversation these days: "Who Keeps Who?" "Did you hear that Gwen is living with that Portuguese sign-painter?" They say her husband is quite upset. The poor old dear. He always was old-fashioned. "What happened to Roberta's last baby? Colored, wasn't it?" "Are the Chauncey-Dennings still living together? Why they've been married all of three months." "Oh, you mean Eltruda?" She left that man long ago. He was a terrible bore. Served on committees and read the newspapers, all that sort of thing.

Above all things, if you want to be a big intellectual wolverine, don't forget to be rude. As Gertrude Stein might say, "Be rude. Be rude, rude, rude. Always rude. Sometimes ruder."

When some wretched outsider says, "How do you do?" give him a mean eye and say, "Do you really care?" If he tries to get off a funny story and asks "Did I ever tell you this one?" top-hat him by saying, "YOU never told me, but my nurse did."

If you are a man and are being introduced to a woman, for Heaven's sake don't get up. Lie way back on the lounge, hold out one hand for her to shake and say "Har yer?" with your best English accent.

Do all these things and a vast intellectual kudos will be added unto you. You will speedily acquire the reputation of being a wit and an emancipated person of parts.

It's the New Freedom, folks, take a good look at it. They've sent enthusiasm for such quaint old things as the labor movement, civil liberties, the emancipation of the workers, to the intellectual store-house. All well enough for the old days "when we were all in the movement." But hopelessly passe today.

As the lovely lady said: "My God, are people still interested in that sort of thing?"

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

ON THE WHEEL



From the jacket of "The Subaltern on the Somme" (Dutton).

THE REVOLUTION IN POLITICS AND LAW. American law and the judiciary bore the impress of the revolution. The political retainers of the ruling class worked out a political philosophy which matured at an early stage of the property revolution. Of this period Prof. Beard wrote: "They held that all of the natural resources of the country should be transferred to private hands as speedily as possible, at a nominal charge, or no charge at all, and developed with dashing rapidity. They also believed that the great intangible social property created by community life, such as franchises for street railways, gas and electricity, should be transformed into private property. They supplemented their philosophy of property by a philosophy of law and politics which looked upon State interference . . . as an intrinsic evil to be resisted at every point, and they developed a system of jurisprudence which, as Senators having the confirming power in appointments and as counsel for corporations before the courts of the United States, they succeeded in transforming into judicial decisions."

THE SUPREME COURT. The revolution in the social order was also registered by the Supreme Court when that body faced the situation of an American Empire possessing subject peoples abroad. The framers of the Constitution had never contemplated this but with the conquest of foreign territory the court had to decide its status. Did the Constitution extend to this territory? A series of tortuous decisions by the court answered, in substance, that certain parts did and others did not. The parts that did not apply to foreign territory were just those that would be of some value to its peoples while those that did apply were twisted into justification of American control. The painful reasoning of the solemn judges was evident from the majority views and the dissenting opinions of the minority members of the court. The Constitution "crumbled" as Mahan predicted it would when the test came.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT. By the end of the nineteenth century the free lands of the West were gone and the wage workers were shut up in the wage system. The new epoch of the magnates inherited the courts and judges and used them to issue injunctions against the trade unions. The great corporations came to employ private spies in the unions and private mercenaries—"gunmen"—became common in industrial disputes. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act became a weapon against the unions. In 1903 suit was brought against the Danbury haters for damages and in 1915 the employers were awarded three-fold damages, the sum, \$214,911, being contributed by the trade unions.

Before the turn of the new century

Stolberg Recommends McAlister Coleman For The Nobel Prize

Editor, The New Leader:

Some time ago McAlister Coleman notified me, out of a clear sky and from sheer love of learning, that my knowledge of modern psychology is imperfect. Though notoriously humble by nature I was not persuaded, and meekly heaved the electric iron at his head. Unfortunately I am too broad-minded and missed my aim, thus failing to shake his curious aberration about my scholarship. He remained unconvinced and loosened the sawweight for further discussion. His final rebuttal, which I refrain from quoting, having no desire to interfere with your mailing privileges, undoubtedly gave him the debate on points.

Nonetheless, lingering doubts still assailed me. But these McAlister has completely removed by his brilliant piece in last week's NEW LEADER on Dr. John B. Watson, the well known psychologist of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Laboratories for the advancement of pure science. Mc shows that, contrary to his claims, even Dr. Watson does not think with his "guts," and that the redoubtable Doctor is enabled to create the illusion of a ventriloquist philosophy by an old trick he has learned from his late lamented teacher, Sherlock Holmes. Mc also finally disposes of the central prop of behaviorism, the celebrated Nursery-Person Experiment, in which Dr. Watson thinks he proves his doctrine that we are nothing but glorified Unstripped Muscles by infantile vivisection. Mc shows conclusively that infants cry when stuck by needles or in contact with boiling oil because they reject and not because they approve of Dr. Watson's theories.

But I can say no more about Dr. Watson, for McAlister Coleman has said all there is to say on the subject. My only regret is that he has published his findings in a labor paper instead of submitting them for a doctoral dissertation at Salamanca. At any rate, I am sending his column to the "Zeitschrift der Psychologischen Wissenschaften fuer die Reine Experimentellmethode," whose American representative (on a commission basis) I have the honor to be. I should have also sent his column to the Marx-Popoff Psychologisches Institut in Moscow (MAPOPSY), of which I am proud to be the American nucleus or the capture of the American Association for the Advancement of Science were I not fearful that in some ways his critique of behaviorism might be interpreted by the Psychophenomena as a counter-Proletcult deviation. But I did cable to Joe Stalin to send a sickle and hammer, with which I hope to decorate Mc in our next argument.

BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

N. Y. C.

some labor struggles had assumed the character of brutal class wars with the public powers, executives, sheriff's, marshals and courts, often exceeding their powers and virtually cooperating with corporations to crush strikes and destroy trade unions. The Homestead strike of steel workers in 1892, the Cripple Creek strike of miners in 1894, the Pullman strike of the same year, the second Cripple Creek strike of 1903-1904, are a few of the most notable of these labor wars.

THE PARTY PLATFORMS. The passing of power from individual property to corporate property, from small owners

of industry to the great magnates, was evident in the party platforms. With the destruction of slave property the Democrats contested with the Republicans for the privilege of serving property in capital. Still servants of the lesser capitalists in 1888 when the small owners were still powerful, the two platforms bitterly denounced concentrated capital. The Republicans declared their opposition "to all combinations of capital, organized in trusts or otherwise" and repeated this in 1892. By the end of the century it was apparent that the lesser capitalists no longer ruled, that corporate masters were

the victors in the struggle for control of the economic structure. In 1900 the Republicans declared that they recognized the "necessity of honest cooperation of capital to meet new business conditions, and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade." The Democrats were still denouncing. They urged the enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1892, and demanded additional legislation. The next step in the platform transition to the new order was acceptance of the revolution in property and competition of the two parties to serve the new magnates of capital and finance. The party declarations thereafter approved "regulation" of trusts. Thus the two parties became annexed as political departments of the great dynasties of capital.

THE PARTY BROKERS. A hierarchy of political leaders evolved in harmony with the revolution in property. At the top was the national "boss," sometimes the President of the republic himself and occasionally a member of the Senate or the Cabinet. Next in order were the state "bosses" and below them the local variety. The old aristocratic planters had gone to Congress and to the legislatures to look after their interests. The great magnates of capital left politics to the "bosses" who became specialists, the magnates supplying the funds for marketing candidates and occasionally buying a seat in the U. S. Senate. Legislation, franchises, contracts, subsidies, offices became articles of commerce sold, traded and bargained for by two nation-wide political business firms. National elections became a matter of investments, increasing in amount each election till in 1920 the Republican fund was over \$8,000,000. Political issues disappeared, the two parties became alike, and Congress came under the control of a handful of two-party leaders. In fact, Congress became a Diet of party nobles. Journalism felt the impress of the new property regime. With a few exceptions the old independent journals gave way to the corporate newspapers, the chain newspapers, and syndicated features. The old independent editors were supplanted by editors hired to conform to "policy." The best passport to the judiciary was service to the new form of property.

SUGGESTED READING

Beard, "Contemporary American History," Chap. ix.
Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization," Chaps. xxiv, xxv.
Berman, "Labor Disputes and the President of the United States," Chaps. i, ii.
Browne, "Allgeid of Illinois," Chaps. xiv, xvi.
Ely, "Monopolies and Trusts."
Ford, "The Rise and Growth of American Politics," Chaps. xxiii, xxiv, xxv.
Jenkins and Clark, "The Trust Problem," Chaps. vii, viii, xi.
Jennings, "History of Economic Progress in the United States," Chap. xxxi.
Lippitt, "The Masters of Capital," Chap. i.
Orin, "The Boss and the Machine."
Ostrogorski, "Democracy and the Party System," Chaps. xi, xii, xiii.
Latane, "America as a World Power," Chaps. iv, viii, xii, xvi.
Latane, "The United States and Latin America," Chaps. vii, viii.
Lippitt, "Economic Development of the United States," Chap. xxi.
Mahan, "The Interest of America in Sea Power Present and Future."
Rastall, "The Labor," "History of the Cripple Creek District."
Stanwood, "A History of the Presidency," (For party platforms).
Wright, "The Battles of Labor," Chap. iii.

Old Parties Kill Power Trust Probe

(Continued from Page 1)

kill any investigation by a Senate Committee.

Senator Copeland of New York, favorite and confidante of Governor Al Smith, was one of those who "flopped" over into the power trust camp on the vote. Those who voted as the public utilities interests wished were:

Republicans—28
Bingham, Keys, (Ind.),
Curran, Jones, Schall,
Deneen, McLean, Shortridge,
Edge, Metcalf, Smoot,
Fess, Moses, Steiwer,
Gillett, Odell, Warren,
Gooding, Philpotts, Waterman,
Gould, Pine, Watson,
Greene, Reed (Pa.), Willis,
Hale, Robinson.

Democrats—18
Bayard, George, Ransdell,
Bratton, Herdin, Stock,
Broussard, Kendrick, Stephens,
Copeland, Mayfield, Thomas,
Edwards, Overman, Tydings,
Farris, Pittman.

Pairs—Du Pont, Sackett, Goff, Republicans; Blease, Caraway, Smith, Bruce, Simmons, Democrats.
Not voting—Dale, Republican.
Senator Norris declared that when the Federal Trade Commission was directed, in a resolution adopted a year ago, to investigate alleged anti-trust activities of the General Electric Company, it obtained an opinion from the Attorney General to the effect that it had no authority to investigate political activities by such corporations.

"The Commission will not take a single step," Senator Norris asserted. "If it violated the Attorney General's opinion, the public utilities would enjoin it." Everybody knows the commission asked for the opinion so it could find a way to escape. If the George amendment succeeds, we will get no investigation. If you do not want an investigation say so, but don't send it to the commission."

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TOO MANY MINERS; TOO MANY ADMIRALS

WHAT in the Sam Hill has gotten into our admirals? First, Admiral Margruder comes along and proclaims from the house tops (Saturday Evening Post) that as a means of offense and defense our Navy is as effective as a leaky teakettle at the bottom of a duck pond.

Next, Admiral Brumby demonstrates before a naval court that there is nobody home above his shoulder straps.

And now Admiral Plunkett, addressing the Republican National Club, breaks out with a bad case of wof and mouth disease, during which he predicted immediate and inevitable war with somebody not discovered yet.

Jerked up by the president, who doesn't like talking admirals (God bless him), Plunkett claims he was misquoted, denies he predicted war and tells the reporters who had called on him for the "how come?"

"I don't remember what I did say. I am not in the habit of predicting war. Preparedness, in my mind and in the minds of all other army and navy men, leads to peace and not to war." For the rest "You go to the record, my remarks were taken down stenographically, and find out what I really was saying for, search me, I can't remember what I did say."

Well, the reporters did go to the records and this is what they found:

(A) A conversation between the Admiral and a German biographer during which the Admiral is said to have said to the author:

"Don't worry, my friend, the penalty of efficiency is war. When a nation becomes too efficient, the rest of the nations combine and pull her down."

"There never has been and there never will be a great nation in this world that isn't great on the sea. Just so long as you make that your policy, and you follow it through, you are going to have war. I don't care whether it is with Great Britain, or some other nation, you are going to have war just as surely as you are sitting in this room with me, if you dare not contest the control of the sea with your goods, not with your guns."

"It is competition, gentlemen. It is economic in its origin and as long as we proceed along the lines we are traveling today, war is absolutely inevitable."

(B) Corollary of above applied to present and future situation of the U. S.

"If I read history correctly, and what we are doing today, we are nearer war today than we have ever been in our history, because we are too damned efficient."

So there we are and it's all there:

First: Preparedness in the minds of all the army and navy men leads to peace and not to war.

Second: When a nation becomes too efficient (industrially and commercially, which includes military and navy efficiency as a matter of course) the rest of the nations combine to pull her down. For confirmation consult the history of the holy alliance of Russia, Prussia, Austria and England pulling down France during the Napoleonic wars. Also history of the holier than thou allies, France, Russia, Italy, England, Montenegro, Roumania, the United States and what not in the act of pulling down Germany for the glory of God, civilization and democracy.

However, as preparedness is the only guarantee of peace and the sole insurance against defeat in war, France was not pulled down by the holy alliance because she had not only the biggest and best military establishment of that time, but also the greatest military genius of all times. I refer to Napoleon, the super-god of all the gold braided heaven-by-hell dumb bells everywhere.

Neither, I am happy to say, was Germany pulled down by the holier than thou alliance. Preparedness averted the calamity. Being better prepared than all of them, for which we have the authority of all of them, Germany was not pulled down. Tirpitz is still high admiral of the imperial high fleet. Gott and Ich, the all highest war lord, still reigns in Berlin.

Preparedness did it. Bury your little hammer, you pesky pacifists. You don't know how to get peace. "We do." Now be good. Fetch the battle ax, blow the cow horn, beat the Tom Tom, rattle the skulls and—"Peace be with thee."

Folks, I want another job. There are too many mines, too many miners and too many admirals. I want a job teaching history to up and coming admirals at Annapolis. I don't know any more about admiring than an admiral but I know a little history and a little history ought to go a long way at Annapolis.

Of course, all I learned from history is that every nation which sought preservation in preparedness, from Carthage and Rome to doleful Germany and drole-dispensing England, went to hell along the competitive armament route. Teaching this may be a little discouraging to up and coming admirals but, as I said, there are too many mines, too many miners and a goddarned sight too many mindless admirals.

"Viva Sandino, Martyr!"

"Viva France! Viva Central America! Viva Sandino, martyr!" So thousands of people gathered in Guatemala City greeted the arrival of the French aviators Colonel Lindbergh had hardly left the town.

"Viva Sandino, martyr!" Truly the common people, once the issue between freedom and tyranny, justice and slavery is seen, know whereof they speak, and instinctively.

"Viva Sandino, martyr!" All Latin America from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan is echoing that cry and all America north of the Rio Grande will yet take it up.

"Viva Sandino, martyr!" Strange that the man who stirred the emotion of a continent was but yesterday an unknown workman, a farmer-miner. But so it is and ever was. It is never the wise, the great, the mighty and the noble, but as the Carpenter of Nazareth said, the "weak ones of Earth," some starving, outraged worker or dreamer, who shames men and women into action in the holy cause of freedom, justice and human dignity.

"Viva Sandino, martyr!" It is the age-long cry of the Oppressed against the Oppressors, of the Republic against the Empire. Viva Sandino, Adam Condlidger.

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Union Health Center Extends Scope of Work

Started By I. L. G. W., It Now Serves Workers in Other Industries

By Pauline M. Newman

AS ONE who has worked for and with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for more than twenty years, I should like to add my voice in behalf of the Union Health Center.

For fifteen years this institution—owned and controlled by the locals of the International—has served the members with an interest and a devotion that cannot be surpassed. The sympathy and understanding with which each patient is received marks the Health Center as "different" from other institutions in the same field. Here the workers feel that this is their creation. They own it. They control it. It is their property, in short their Department of Health. They have a right to feel as they do. For, if it were not for their enthusiasm and support, this institution could not have lived and prospered as it has.

In return for their enthusiasm they have received the best there is in the medical profession—sincerity and honest advice. All modern equipment has been installed. The group of general physicians and specialists who treat the members and their families are all of high rank and long experience. Their interest in and devotion to the Health Center cannot be questioned. Whether they do or do not get paid for their work (and it is a long time since they have been paid) they are still ready to do the best they can for the members who come to them.

Enter the "Lefts."

All this however, is well known to the readers (or to most of them) of the New Leader. Thousands upon thousands of members of the International have been treated at the Health Center. What I am trying to say here may be ancient history to the readers of the New Leader. And then!

Behold, new "saviors" have arisen in this particular industry! They must destroy what others have built. They must begin to show New York (and especially Russia) that the members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union are ready for their kind of a revolution. Hence, strife and struggle within the local unions. Change of leadership. Bitterness. Hatred. Disillusionment! The faithful become cynical. The enthusiastic become indifferent. Forgotten are the glorious achievements of a quarter of a century. Forgotten are the many sacrifices that went into the building of the International Union and its institutions. The accomplishments in the field of education, organization, sanitation and health are scattered to the four winds—temporarily at least.

It is, therefore, quite natural, that the Health Center should be affected by the conditions existing in the industry as a whole. When the "saviors" of the garment industry assumed the leadership of the locals they ignored the fact that the Left Wing membership was treated at the Health Center as well as others and that as such, the Center never was and is not now, mixed up in the internal political struggle. But while the locals under the new leadership sent their members to the Health Center, they failed to pay for the services. As a result, before they were forced to vacate their places of office, they owed the Health Center \$8,000.00! They found it more important to occupy themselves with abstract and childish nonsense than keep a Health Center going. But, that, too, is ancient history, so we will say no more except that it was this debt to the Health Center which put it in a rather strained position.

The Health Center however, is coming into its own again. Not only will the members of the International locals continue to use this unique institution, but organized labor as a whole will be given an opportunity to use the services offered them. Already members and officers of the printing trades, upholstery trades, men's clothing trades, and many others, have been, and are now being treated in both the medical and dental departments of the Union Health Center. In order to acquaint the rank and file of the labor movement with this important fact, a conference of all labor unions will be held toward the end of this month. Readers of the New Leader who are members of unions are asked to be on the lookout for the date and place of this forthcoming conference.

It is in the firm belief therefore that ultimately the International will emerge into a brighter future that I urge the men and the women of the labor movement to preserve the Union Health Center for that future.

The true social objective is the full development of all human capacity, and only the conscious pursuit of this end can create industrial life on a broader and fuller basis providing space for beauty and time for leisure.—Stephen Foy.

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Gannett To Discuss Havana Conference Over WEVD Tue.

Those interested in the facts of the Havana Conference on Latin American Affairs and in the United States policy in the Caribbean area, will tune in on WEVD Tuesday, Feb. 21, to hear Horace G. Knowles, former U. S. Minister to Nicaragua, and Lewis Gannett, The Nation correspondent, who has just returned from Havana. Mr. Knowles, at 9:15 p. m. will talk on "Saving Nicaragua." Mr. Gannett's subject at 10 p. m. will be "The Farce at Havana."

An address by Carl D. Thompson, head of the Public Ownership League, dealing with "The Boulder Canyon Project," will be broadcast by WEVD D. Thursday, Feb. 23, at 9:45 p. m. At 10:30 p. m., the same evening, Frederick C. Howe, former U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, will talk on "Labor Looks at the Week." Saturday, Feb. 25th, at 9:15 p. m.

WEVD Programs

245.8M—WEVD—N. Y. C.—1220KC

Sunday, February 19
12:30 Weismantel's Entertainers
1:00 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
Monday, February 20
1:00 School Hour
2:00 George Rael, bass
2:20 Dudley Powers, cellist
2:40 Mary Siegrist, "Poems of the New Humanity"
3:00 Maude Tollefson, contralto
3:20 Professor Thatcher Clark Elementary French course
3:40 Norman Allen, baritone
4:00 Belgian Conservatory of Music, violin
4:20 Doris Gilman, coloratura soprano
4:40 Michael Ingeman, piano
5:00 An Hour of India

Tuesday, February 21
1:00 Margaret Fry, lyric soprano
1:20 Lydia Mason, Bach program
1:40 Myrna Lettets, contralto, Brahms songs
2:00 Roland Weber, German literature
2:20 James Blaine, bass
2:40 Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano
3:00 American Laboratory Theatre, reader
3:20 Abe Berg, violin
3:40 Lillian Dublin, soprano, Liedersinger
4:00 Horace Holley, editor "World Unity"
4:20 Marjory Delf, popular soprano
4:40 Raymond Burrows, piano harmony
5:00 Iris Schoff, lyric soprano
5:20 Civic Repertory Theatre, reader
5:40 Robert J. McClelland, tenor
6:00 Debt Vocal Quartet
9:15 Horace G. Knowles, Saving Santo Domingo
9:45 Del Rio
10:00 Lewis Gannett, The Farce at Havana
10:15 Debs Trio
10:30 Rebel Poets, Henry and Molka Reich
10:55 Debs Vocal Quartet
11:00 American Trio
11:30 Cardinal Dance Orchestra

Wednesday, February 22
1:00 Joe Zimmerman, pianist
1:20 Maude Tollefson, contralto
1:45 Irving Cheyette, violin
2:00 Helen Bierling, soprano
2:20 Richard E. Parks, bass
2:40 Debt Vocal Quartet
3:00 Virginia Tickling, contralto
3:20 Paul Carver, tenor
3:40 Roland Weber, reading
4:00 Conservatory of Musical Art, soloists
4:15 Genevieve Kaufman, soprano
4:30 Master Institute of United Arts, oboist
4:45 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
5:00 Bernard Carp, baritone; Michel Ingeman, piano
5:30 Tea Time Times

Thursday, February 23
1:00 Jennie Muehlischlegel, popular soprano and pianist
1:40 Roland Weber, reading
2:00 Mrs. L. G. Haas, German dramatic soprano
2:20 Myra Norton, piano
2:40 Belgian Conservatory of Music, piano
3:00 Alice Ward, soprano
3:20 N. Y. Tuberculosis and Health Assn., Measles Talk
3:40 The delivery of a new play, Mr. Gleason writing the book and Mr. Berlin the music. It will be called "Mister Bones," as the title suggests, it will be the story of a minstrel.

Friday, February 24
1:00 Joe Zimmerman, piano
1:20 Jack Phillips, baritone
1:40 Maude Tollefson, contralto
2:00 Myra Norton, piano
2:20 Rosalie Erik, contralto
2:40 Rocco Rescigno, violinist
3:00 Negro Group, Winifred Watson, soprano; Lydia Mason, piano; Ira Dea, Negro Poets; G. Carroll Clark, baritone; Andrew Harrison, baritone
4:10 Helen Devonia, lyric soprano
4:30 Michel Ingeman, popular pianist
4:45 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
5:00 Jewish Hour: Abe Borg, violinist; Leon Schwartz; Nathan Glance, saxophonist; Rosalie Cohen, soprano; Harry Rothpearl, recitations; Scholom Aleichem Ensemble

Saturday, February 25
1:00 George Ebert, baritone
1:20 Rose Sherman, soprano
1:40 Maude Tollefson, contralto
2:00 Michel Ingeman, piano
2:20 Robert J. Ulan, popular baritone
2:40 Sylvia La Vine, popular soprano
3:00 Cullen Paige, baritone
3:20 Molly Ruffman, piano
3:40 Florence Gibbons, lyric soprano
4:00 Rebel Poets, reading; Henry Reich
4:20 Milton Arno, piano
5:00 Jennie Wallach, lyric soprano
5:20 Bernard Carp, baritone
5:40 Riva Fisher, 13-year-old pianist and elocutionist
5:50 Mayne Farger, negro soprano
6:00 Justine Roberts and her group, Impersonations
9:15 McAlister Coleman, Labor Looks at the Week
9:45 Youth and Social Education, Y. F. S. L. talk
9:30 The New Trio
10:00 The New Trio
10:15 The Harris E. Goldman Troupe; Harris E. Goldman Vocal Quartet; Rose Dance Orchestra
11:00 Debs Variety Hour: Farrell and Summers, whistling, singing, playing; Anthony Moono, ballad singer; George C. Smith, popular tenor

The Week On Stage

MYSTERY—AND MIRTH

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE mystery play of this week more frequently mingles other appeals with that tingling of our baffled expectation which is its basic hold. Thrills once were sought by adding the supernatural and it is only a few seasons since chairs would collapse, doors open darkly, and chandeliers fall, all without time or other reason than the desired effect on the nerves of a tense audience. "The Mystery Man," by Morris Ankrum and Vincent Duffy, now at the Bays, is one of the guessing games that spreads laughter along the lines of the search; the high points of the play, indeed, are those in which the two Orientals, Togo and Yogo (Tell 'em apart? It's no go), are the source of confusion and general obstruction to the eager pursuit of the mystery. Indeed, this butler and his cousin who is learning English by reading "Little Red Riding Hood" lighten the mood so successfully that the action comes with increased rapidity; if the play were all second act it might outsell all Broadway. The first act takes too long to reach the second, and the last leaves too big a space between the solution and the lovers' close-up kiss—to Oriental inspection.

It's unfair to a mystery play to do more than indicate the story; and the complications that follow Robert Wheeler's discovery of a dead stranger in his apartment are wild enough to satisfy the most insatiable mystery-fan. Gustav Blum is more impressive in his directing, as contrasted with the usual run of Broadway directors, when intelligent fancy has opportunity to play. In "The Mystery Man," however, the performance is adequate, and the play scheduled for the lengthy entertainment of those who seek Broadway's thrills.

WHY WOMEN LIE

At the Cosmopolitan Theatre, Chamberlain Brown has hit upon the excellent idea of capturing otherwise unoccupied stars, in the rehearsing gaps between engagements, and using them for two weeks at a time, in popular priced revivals of popular plays. "Sherlock Holmes" is the next of these, with "The Heart of Maryland," "Within the Law," and "A Fool There Was," announced to follow. The present offering is "Mrs. Dane's Defence," by Henry Arthur Jones, first played in 1900.

The drama is effectively performed, save that the players seem to act with a slight measure of condescension toward the play, which scarcely deserves it. For while Mrs. Dane's defence is valid, there are even today few levels of society in which it could be successfully advanced;

created in Paris by Marguerite Jando. Others in the cast include the regular members of the Actor-Managers and guest players. Harold Becker is replacing Albert Carroll.

In Brief

"Caponsacchi" has come back so strongly that Walter Hampden has decided to extend the engagement of this revival at Hampden's Theatre for at least two weeks.

Speculation as to the future appearances of Al Jolson is set at rest by an announcement from the offices of the Messrs. Shubert to the effect that he will continue under their management. Contracts were signed yesterday with Mr. Irving Berlin and Mr. James Gleason for the delivery of a new play, Mr. Gleason writing the book and Mr. Berlin the music. It will be called "Mister Bones," as the title suggests, it will be the story of a minstrel.

Ina Claire will make her first New York appearance in Somerset Maugham's comedy "Our Betters" at Henry Miller's Theatre Monday evening, Feb. 20th, under the direction of Messrs. Kendall in association with Gilbert Miller. In addition to Constance Collier, who is featured in the role which she created in the London production of the play, which ran successfully for two years, the cast includes Lillian Kemble Cooper, Hugh Sinclair, George Evans, Edward Crandall, Martin Walker, Greffrith Truesdell, Louis D'Arcy, array Lillard and Reginald Bach, who also staged the play.

"Improvisations in June," the fourth production of the Civic Repertory Theatre will open Sunday night, February 26th, instead of the date previously announced, as a benefit performance for the Actor's Fund.

This is the Max Mohr play in which Egon Richter will play the leading role. Eys Le Gallienne is directing the production. This season Winthrop Ames has, as it happens, produced only plays and operas written by Englishmen. His three new productions have been "The Mikado," by Gilbert and Sullivan, "Escape," by John Galsworthy and "The Merchant of Venice" by William Shakespeare. In the last ten years, Ames has presented 13 plays and 3 operas. Of the plays, six were American, one French and six English. The three operas were by Gilbert and Sullivan. As far as American plays, wrights are concerned, Ames has offered as many native dramas as he has English in the past decade.

The first week of the Garrick Players' subscription, produced only plays and operas, has netted 124 subscribers. These have signed up for the three plays which will be "Twelve Thousand" by Bruno Frank, opened by Basil Sydney and Mary Ellis will do two more plays to be selected from "Denbigh" by Theresa Helburn, "The Father" by Strindberg, "Robert and Marianne" by Paul Gerdard and the work of a young American playwright. The subscription productions will alternate with the Garrick Players' modern dress "Taming of the Shrew."

"Maya," the play by Simon Gantillon which ran for more than a year in Paris and is at present one of the outstanding successes in London, will be presented by the Actor-Managers at the Comedy Theatre on Tuesday, February 21st. It will be the third production of the Actor-Managers this season. Aline McMahon will play the part of Bella which was

as the lady—pardon me, woman—herself remarks, her crime consists in having been found out. To the extent to which a young man would consent to marry the woman he loved, even though he were to learn that, as governess in an apparently happy home, she had contracted a child, the wife had committed suicide, and the husband and father gone insane—to that extent the play is out of date. In a subtler fashion, however, it also shows the marks of its period. For it is one of a group of plays in which some mystery, some cloud about the morals of a supposed "lady," works (as in "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," "A Woman of No Importance," and more) to ultimate overwhelming unhappiness. And the piled pressure upon the poor woman, that works her to her own betrayal as the lawyer puts at first unsuspecting, then suspicious, questions, seems to our minds (more tender? or more used to women's standing for their rights?) too heavy. But with a cast that includes Alan Skipworth, Conway Wingfield, Stanley Logan, Violet Heming, Horace Braham, Robert Warwick, Julia Hoyt, and Vivian Martin, the play is excellently performed, and the new names to come make the season most promising.

"SUNNY DAYS"

The usual lengthy list of names adorns the program of "Sunny Days," the new musical play at the Imperial. It is one of those pleasant moods through which one passes without more than mild stimulation, agreeable but not so moving as castoria. The color effects of musical comedies these days have improved to such an extent that the settings and costumes of this play, while attractive and well handled in themselves, no longer stand out as they would have five years ago. The music is pleasant, also, but startling neither in novelty nor in the contagion of its tunes—although a hit or two is snugly tucked among the numbers: "Really and Truly," "I've Got to Be Good," and "So Do I"—the third song having no reference to the second—if we must guess.

The plot runs with no more—and no less—inherent improbability than most other shows of the sort exhibit; Jeanette MacDonald as Ginevra gives it good help. The cross-current of humor we always await is provided by Billy B. Van and Frank McIntyre, both well known and as effective as their reputations; the dancing of two or three of the girls and of Carl Randall measures up to—but does not surpass—that of most musical comedies. Mild, but it satisfies, is the verdict one brings home after an evening that, without fixing the memory, moves gracefully to its close.

Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK
Sunday, Feb. 19, 11 a. m. Judge Panken on "Current Events." Hennington Hall, 214 East 2nd street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A.D.
Sunday, Feb. 19th, 8:30 p. m. Esther Friedman on "Sex Education." East Side Social Center, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1-2nd A.D.
Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 8:30 p. m. Louis Waldman on "Labor and the Law." 96 Avenue C. Auspices Socialist Party 7-8-12th A.D.
Friday, Feb. 24th, 8:30 p. m. Speakers Morris Hillquit, Jacob Fanken, Algoner Lee, C. Kanorovich. "60th Anniversary of the International Socialist Movement." Debs Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. Musical program.

BROOKLYN
Friday, Feb. 17th, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Mortimer J. Adler on "Mazes and Puzzle Boxes—The Animal Mind." Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue.
Friday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Mortimer J. Adler on "Tell Me Your Troubles." Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue.

BROOKLYN
Friday, Feb. 17, 8:30 p. m. Marius Hansone on "Collective Ignorance, Its Relation to Politics, Economics, Social Life, Crime (Can Men Learn from History?)" Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue.
Friday, Feb. 24th, 8:30 p. m. Marius Hansone on "World Labor Wars Against Ignorance. Can Ignorance Be Conquered?" Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A.D.
Monday, February 20th, 9 p. m. Louis P. Goldstein on "Socialism." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A.D.

Debate Scheduled For Harlem Community Church

A very interesting debate will be held Sunday evening, February 19, in the Harlem Community Church, 149 West 136th street, between Lenox and Seventh avenues.

Ethelred Brown and Hodge Kirton will debate on "Is Religion a Vital Factor in Human Progress?" Brown takes the affirmative and Kirton the negative. Mrs. Eulalie Domingo, L. A. B., will render a number of piano solos and Counsellor D. H. Williams will preside. Admission is fifty cents.

AMUSEMENTS

MUSIC

"Madonna Imperia" and "Coq d'Or" will open the seventeenth week of the Metropolitan Opera Season Monday evening the form with Mmes. Mueller, Falco and Ryan and Messrs. Jagel, Pinza, Bada, Wolfe, D'Angelo, Paltrinieri and Picco, Mr. Serafini conducting; the latter with Mmes. Talley, Guilford and Alcock and Messrs. Diaz, Pinza, D'Angelo, Paltrinieri and Reschillan singing, and Mmes. Gaill, Deleporte and Messrs. Kosloff, Bonfigli, Bartik, Jove, Casanova and Barone dancing and Mr. Samboschek conducting.

Other operas of the week will be: "Mignon" as a holiday matinee on Wednesday with Mmes. Bori, Talley, and Dalosy and Messrs. Cigli, Whitehill, Bada, D'Angelo and Ananiam. Miss Page will dance and Mr. Hasselmanns will conduct.

"Faust" on Thursday evening with Mmes. Aida, Dalosy and Wakefield and Messrs. Martinielli, DeLuca and D'Angelo. Mr. Hasselmanns will conduct.

"Rheingold" on Friday afternoon (on the Wagner Cycle) with Mmes. Kappel, Mueller, Branzell, Fiescher Telva and Wells and Messrs. Kirchhoff, Schorr, Hother, Meader, Schutzendorf, Patton (deb), Altglass and Wolfe. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

"The King's Henchman" on Friday evening with Mmes. Eason, Alcock, Rydberg, Paristetti, Bonetti, Flexer and Messrs. Johnson, Tibbett, Gustafson, Meader, Altglass, Bloch, D'Angelo, Picco, Marshall, Gabor, Cehanosky, Valda, Ananiam and Wolfe. Mr. Serafini will conduct.

"Pellaeas et Melissande" will be the Saturday matinee opera with Mmes. Bori, Dalosy and Howard and Messrs. Johnson, Whitehill, Rother and Ananiam. Mr. Hasselmanns will conduct.

"Tristan and Isolde" will be the "popular" Saturday night opera with Mmes. Kappel and Branzell and Messrs. Laubenthal, Schorr, Ludiker, Meader, Bada, D'Angelo and Gabor. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

Marcel Grandjany, the French harpist and head of the Harp Department at the Fontainebleau School of Music, will include a number of French compositions at his harp recital in Steinway Hall on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 26.

Dusolina Giannini, who sailed last week on the Berninella, will open her European season with the Hamburg State Opera, on March 23.

Madeline Monnier, the French cellist, will make her New York debut with the New York Symphony Orchestra on Saturday afternoon, Feb. 25.

Madeline Monnier, the French cellist, will make her New York debut with the New York Symphony Orchestra on Saturday afternoon, February 25.

At the fourth concert of modern music to be given at the New School for Social Research on Friday evening, Feb. 24, there will be a first performance in America of the Serenade for two violins and Viola by Kodaly. The Serenade will be performed by Ivor Karmann and Egon F. Kornstein, both members of the New World String Quartet, and by Lotie Karmann.

With this concert Mr. Oscar Ziegler, the pianist, joins the group of musicians whose concert place at the New School on alternate Friday evenings. Mr. Ziegler was the only pianist invited to give a recital at the Salzburg Festival of 1927, and he will also appear at this year's Festival. On Friday evening he will play the Honeger sonata with Mr. Kornstein.

Rachel Morton, young American prima donna of the British National Opera Company has been brought here from England by Walter Damrosch for his concert performance of "Tristan and Isolde" with the New York Symphony Orchestra in Carnegie Hall Thursday afternoon (Feb. 23) and in Mecca Auditorium Sunday afternoon (Feb. 25). Eusef Laubenthal is to sing the part of Tristan and Frederick Baer that of Kurenwal.

Miss Morton has been singing with the British National Opera Company for three seasons and is considered its leading dramatic soprano. The role of Isolde is considered her finest. Born in Bonn, she went to Europe to study seven years ago and has not been back since. She was for three years a special pupil of Jean de Reszke, who taught her without charge, predicting a great future in opera for her. She made her debut at Nice in the role of Sieglinde just a short time before he died.

The first concert of the Angelus Allied Club will be held at 131 Province Street, Playhouse, 133 Macdougal street, Monday evening, March 12. The contestants are Misses Hazel Essex, Anna Palmer, Jennie Scharr, Mr. B. Wolfe, sopranos; Conrad Cote, tenor; Charles Fry, baritone; Miss Mildred Davis and Master Louis Scharr, elocutionists; and Mr. McGinnis and Mr. Simon, dramatic speakers. These contestants are for scholarships in piano, voice and elocution and are attracting so many who are ambitious and talented that a new contest is being planned. Madame Minnie Huffman, musical manager of the club and Mr. Julius Reuter, chairman, invite those interested to their Sunday Thespian Club. The critics have not been asked to participate in the game of take chance however, and it is left to their own discretion. If they desire to tell the secret, they may do so.

The Rialto and Rivoli continue to pack in the customers, who are taking no chances at either of these houses. "Sadie Thompson," if anything, is increasing in popularity, which means that there is always a line at the Rivoli.

Emil Jennings' "The Last Command" refuses to be classed as anything but Jennings' best picture—and this at every premiere from coast to coast. It is said that Jennings' picture has not been asked to participate in the game of take chance however, and it is left to their own discretion. If they desire to tell the secret, they may do so.

In Movies

The Paramount will stage their annual "Take Chance With Your Love." The entire program is a secret. No billing will appear on the front of the theatre, and even the title of the picture will be kept dark. If anything is not been asked to participate in the game of take chance however, and it is left to their own discretion. If they desire to tell the secret, they may do so.

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Mexico Cannot Meet Foreign Debt, Its Experts Feel

MEXICO CITY.—Mexico's debt is once more in the limelight. The Mexican Government during 1928 will not be able to fulfill its internal and external financial obligations, obligations fixed by the Pan-American treaty of 1925 which agreement was a change from the former Lamont-de la Huerta treaty of 1922, not kept by the Mexican Government owing to the revolution of 1924.

That the Mexican Government cannot at present carry out its obligations is clearly shown in a statement of the Mexican Treasury which very clearly points out the practical impossibility for Mexico, with an income of about 280 million pesos, to pay 117 million pesos as debts without greatly endangering its social obligations, its educational, irrigation, and road building programs. The budgets of Mexican dependencies are cut to the extreme and if the Mexican Government, in accordance with its plans, is going to be able during the current year to spend some 20 million pesos for irrigation and some ten and a half million pesos for agricultural schools and roads; it can be seen that such amounts constitute the limit to which the Administration can go and still assure certain development along these lines.

Ninety-four and one-half million pesos alone of the above mentioned 117 million pesos is due as obligations on the foreign debt and it may safely be said that not even this amount can be paid by the Mexican Government. Up to date, the Federal Budget allows only 33 millions for debt payments aside from taxes which may be raised from an increased oil production and export, the Government's budget for 1928 being drawn up without figuring on the income to be derived

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Eves. 8:30
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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22
MR. KENNETH C. BLANCHARD
"The Chemical Composition of Protoplasm"
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 23
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"What is a Contradiction?"
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"Why Christianity Needed 'Free-Will'."

Wednesday, February 22, 8:30 P. M.

Prof. Morris R. Cohen

Department of Philosophy, College of the City of New York

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Mar. 6—"Can We Do Better?"

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8:30 p.m.—"Wait Whiteman—Foot of Democracy,"

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IN New York City, not long ago the healthiest metropolis in America, cancer and paralysis are lurking everywhere. For employees in garages and workmen in gasoline factories, the perils are great, indeed, notwithstanding the precautions which circumstances—not humanity—caused the Standard Oil and others to take. An assassin pursuing us relentlessly night and day would not be more dangerous to us than the hazards of slow lead poisoning or the cancer-producing inflammation caused by continual breathing of foul, poisoned air. Inflammation of kidneys and bladder, loss of all energy and appetite, tumors, cancer of the throat even in the young; such are the terrifying statistics found in the best medical journals.

Why should the workman in his factory and the people in the streets and thoroughfares be exposed to such perils? A few years ago (about three years for New York State and five for Washington, D. C.) no such thing as tetra-ethylene or lead gasoline existed, violent poisons such as aniline, benzol, etc., for they are manifold today—were never mixed with gasoline for the use of motor cars. Pure gasoline was employed and the carbon-monoxide gas, found in all exhaust gasoline, was considered dangerous enough, though of no great danger in the open air.

In a recent article, we read the following statement of Dr. George A. Soper, Managing Director of the American Society for the Control of Cancer: "More persons die of cancer than are killed by railroads, street cars, automobiles, fires, drowning, machinery, poison, homicide, and suicide all together. Of all women who die between the ages of 45 and 65, and in five dies of cancer. Of all the men who die between the ages of 45 and 65, one in eight dies of cancer. It is a well-known fact that in Germany all poisonous gases are forbidden by law. Tetra-ethylene gasoline is prohibited in Switzerland and is tolerated nowhere in Europe so far as the writer can ascertain. What is amazing beyond words is that one of the chief causes of cancer, if not the principal one, is not pointed out, so far as we know, except in Canadian medical journals. On the other hand, garages in residential districts are allowed to increase and multiply to as many as two and even three in a block, blocks full of residents with small children whose lungs and hearts are craving for pure air."

Now, what can workmen do about all this? They have two wonderful weapons to wield; first, the right to vote, to vote for those who will promise them redress, and whose past inspires confidence in their pledge. Second, their power as organized units, as trade unions. Let them give this ultimatum to their employers: "Only pure motor gasoline shall be manufactured in your factories or no gasoline will be manufactured at all. The public will be back of us for they, as well as we, are tired of being the victims of these dangerous poisons which are polluting our air, night and day, poisoning our lungs, and preparing days and months of untold horror for us when they have accomplished their nefarious work."

What will your employers reply? They will quote the name of Surgeon-General Cummins, a politician, who after a short and unfair test, declared, "The subject is—'Greatness'—Is It a Personal or a Social Quality?" The January Forum, attended by 55, was a great success. Come with your friends, and keep the ball of discussion rolling.

Monument To Gottfried To Be Unveiled Next Sunday

On Sunday afternoon, February 19th, at 2 p. m., a monument will be unveiled on the grave of our late comrade Dr. Karl Gottfried, at Mount Carmel Cemetery, Ridgewood, L. I. It is about a year since the Socialists of Greater New York and especially those of Harlem have not forgotten and cannot forget him. Gottfried was a man of remarkable energy and great devotion to the Socialist movement. He was campaign manager and treasurer in several of the Harlem campaigns and was one of the founders of the East Harlem Socialist Center. His comrades, relatives and friends are invited to be present at the unveiling Sunday afternoon.

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Solomon To Debate On Capital Punishment

A debate on capital punishment will be held under the auspices of the Jewish Center Forum, 667 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, the night of Feb. 27th. The subject will be: "Is Capital Punishment Justifiable?" Joseph V. Gallagher, first assistant district attorney of Kings County, who has prosecuted in many important murder cases, will take the affirmative. Charles Solomon, several times a Socialist member of the state legislature, and for many years active on the lecture and debating platform, will oppose.

Prof. Schneyerson To Talk on Immigration

Prof. F. Schneyerson will lecture this Sunday evening, Feb. 19th, at 8 p. m., in the Williamsburg Educational Alliance, 76 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn. His subject will be "The Cultural Psychology of the Immigrant Generations." All are invited. Admission will be 25 cents.

Pioneer Youth To Discuss Greatness Monday, Feb. 20

Pioneer Youth Forum, a group of young men and women between the ages of 16 and 20, will hold their February Forum at 3 W. 16th Street, Monday evening, Feb. 20th, at 7:30 p. m. The discussion will be led by Dr. E. C. Lindeman, who uses the same method of discussion as that employed by Bruno Lasker at the January Forum. There is no set lecture. The audience contributes practically all of the talk. The subject is—"Greatness—Is It a Personal or a Social Quality?" The January Forum, attended by 55, was a great success. Come with your friends, and keep the ball of discussion rolling.

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Sec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 311 St. 101st St.

NEW LEADER

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the future. It is not a newspaper of the day, but a newspaper of the future.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1928

The Wasservogel Decision

WE are glad that by a decision of Supreme Court Justice Isidor Wasservogel the application of the Interborough Transit Company for an injunction to prohibit the American Federation of Labor from organizing its serfs has been denied. That decision carries with it a denial of the application to hold Edward P. Lavin, leader of the strike in 1926, in contempt and punish him accordingly. This phase of the application was a bald request that the contempt held by Quackenbush and Hedley for Lavin be given judicial support. As well might Lavin ask that the courts ratify his contempt for Quackenbush and Hedley.

Thus ends one phase of the swine history of this notorious corporation. The official gang who run this corporation are so utterly insolent that they compel a certain measure of admiration. Just as one gets a kick out of the magnificent insolence of pirate leaders two hundred years ago, so the amazing arrogance of the Captain Kidds of the Interboro compels a certain admiration even while we boil with anger over being robbed. Together with rotten service and packing us in their cattle cars, maintaining a "union" which Quackenbush and Hedley carry in their pocket with their toothpicks, paying themselves extra "velvet" for breaking strikes of their serfs, loading the lines with thugs and other shady characters when the serfs rebel, they are now engaged in a desperate attempt to make us fork up an extra two cents every time their guards pack us into their boxes.

On the other hand it is no credit to the organized workers of this country that, after more than a hundred years of struggle, the mere right to organize the employees of the lines is determined by a judge. Nearly ninety years ago, after thirty years of prosecutions and jail sentences, the trade unions were emancipated from the common law doctrine of conspiracy which came down from the colonial period. To again have to face this issue eighty-eight years after this first emancipation is a striking evidence of weakness. Moreover, no one knows what will happen in the higher courts as the transit masters announce that they will appeal the decision. If chickens come to roost on the conservative union perch, the conservative leaders will have themselves to blame.

Crooked Patriots

ONE vender of patriotic bunk is in jail and facing a suit for recovery of funds he is said to have obtained by fraud. It seems that William Gregory Smith had organized the Pan-Aryan League "to encourage and foster and preserve patriotic ideals and doctrines and combat Bolshevism and other subversive and un-American tendencies." The complaint asserts that Smith was advanced \$25,000 which was not repaid. Smith expected to enroll suckers at \$25 per year and the business was to be underwritten by a Wall Street syndicate. The patriotic bladder appears to have flattened out and Smith is in the hoosegow for lack of enough money to bail him out.

Smith is not as fortunate as Fred Marvin of the Key Men of America who seems to be raking in lots of cash by marketing the same stuff. Perhaps the business is not sufficiently brisk to keep two firms going and this is probably the reason why Smith is in hot water. At any rate Smith had figured on a very large business as he expected to pay a total of \$100,000 for underwriting the business.

This business on its face is crooked. We immediately suspect a man who continually insists that he never robbed anybody. There are certain things that are taken for granted among decent and normal people. The professional "patriot" who continually shouts his virtues by the same token a faker. He is the chap who is likely to sell his country if he can get the price. He would sell hair tonic as well as patriotism. It is all a matter of business with him and he goes where he can get the best price.

Honest men and women of all beliefs will shun these charlatans, at the same time keeping their hands in their pockets if they meet one of these fakers. Otherwise the honest person may have to walk home for lack of a nickel to pay car fare.

The Odor of Capitalism

THERE is no particular reason for getting excited over the latest disclosure in the oil scandal which appears to show that a substantial part of the oil loot was delivered to the Republican National Committee to help pay a deficit in the expense of floating Harding into the presidency. We should remember that we are living in a nation where the capitalist class is more powerful than in any other nation. Moreover, it is the most vulgar of its tribe that has been spawned anywhere in the world. It has never had a feudal aristocracy to face in a contest for power, a class that

would teach it manners or restrain its vulgar appetite for accumulating lucre as the final aim of man.

Moreover, it is when its spokesmen talk most in florid eloquence of its "ideals" that it has always come close to the level of swine. Think of the aftermath of the Civil War, its looting of the public domain, the rise of the Tweed bandits, Jim Fiske and his mistresses, Jay Gould and his plunder, the pollution of bench and bar, and the shocking theft of a few millions from emancipated Negroes who had been induced to place their pennies in the Freedmen's Bank. Why shouldn't a part of the oil plunder go into the coffers of the Republican National Committee? Who else is more entitled to share in the thievery?

Of course, the transaction stinks, but it has the virtue of showing to many how completely power at Washington is the power of a ruling class. It is also important to remember that the itching palms of our glorified thieves made their first plunge into the money vats when the Wilson Administration had us locked up during the World War. There were the cost-plus contracts and enormous transactions in munitions, weapons, supplies and even the graft in "caring" for wounded soldiers. The capitalist class have found it as easy to use one party as the other. They got a taste in the days of Woodrow and gorged themselves in the days of Harding and Coolidge. The odor is unpleasant but it is no more offensive because it rises from the Republican rather than the Democratic pot.

The Prophet George

ONE cannot avoid being impressed with the fact that with the increase of secular knowledge the Fathers of the Church are being replaced by the Fathers of the Republic. Our ruling classes feel the need of providing us with saints and the aristocratic gentlemen who founded the government in the closing years of the eighteenth century are sufficiently remote from us to be endowed with sainthood. Not one person in a thousand has the time to consult what these saints themselves believed and how they lived so it is easy to provide them with wings. To take merely one example, we wonder what the pious would think if they read Hamilton's own admissions regarding his affair with Mrs. Reynolds.

These observations are provoked by a statement of that pompous warrior, Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett. He declared that we have "the greatest Government on God's green earth, conceived by our Maker and transmitted to George Washington."

Here is the first article of faith in the new state religion which has been unfolding ever since we made the world safe for democracy. The clouds parted in May, 1787, and God called Washington to the chair in the secret convention in Philadelphia. He called the merchants, lawyers, land speculators and slave owners to order and then God transmitted to George the sacred Constitution.

For some reason not explained the gentlemen did not understand that God had "conceived" the Constitution. They wrangled for four months and a number of times it appeared that the gathering would break up in a row. Fortunately, the doors were locked and the "rabble" outside did not know that the disciples were making faces at each other. Eventually they accepted the parchment God had transmitted to George, although it was somewhat mutilated when they got through with it.

It's a great life if you haven't any brains, for you may become a Rear Admiral and a pastor of the holy state faith founded by the Prophet George.

Wise Minds Govern

WHEN the G. O. P. brought the "best minds" to Washington in succession to the Woodrowian squads they brought a tariff faith which the great thinker, Cal Coolidge, has expounded with profound affection for steel, pig iron, sugar and other merchandise. It shows that the way to salvation is narrow yet it brings home the bacon.

The substance of the creed is that you build a tariff wall so high against foreign imports that an aeroplane will find it difficult to scale it. Having accomplished this, you insist that other nations keep their tariff walls so low that a child can leap them with little effort. If the other nations are not reasonable about this, strike a moral pose and get your ministers abroad on the job to offer objections to increasing the height of foreign walls.

Meantime you have the faithful subjects of steel, pig iron, sugar and other merchandise penned in a vast stockade behind our tariff walls. Now skin them to a frazzle and while the masters of industry are counting their huge dividends occasionally broadcast the happy news of "prosperity." Step heavy on the "spiritual" pedal just to make it all the more impressive. If the skinned begin to wince, call out the police and see to it that the editorial fraternity writes a few pieces about "law and order."

In the meantime watch France. She now proposes to increase her duties on foodstuffs and manufactures, in some cases fourfold, in spite of all the reason, logic and morality which Coolidge and Kellogg have offered to the stubborn French. You see the French have never been able to understand the "best minds" that have been in Washington since 1921 and they have the audacity to think that if we have a Chinese wall they are also entitled to one if they want it.

And there you are. It is all so simple. You force other nations to take your goods but you will take none yourself in exchange although all international balances must finally be made in goods. He was a wise bird who once said that God watches over children, idiots and the United States.

The Bolshy organ takes a fall out of us because Station WEVD permitted J. R. O'Brien to use it and because *The New Leader* declared that the station is "living up to its claim that all opinions can be expressed through it." "We go farther. We would be happy to share a Socialist platform with O'Brien in debate. We draw the line only at children and idiots, which excludes the Bolshy boys and all their kind.

IN THE INTERESTS OF ECONOMY no receipts will be sent by *The New Leader* and *The Leader-Appeal* for subscription renewal remittances, except when specifically requested. Watch the date alongside of your name on the address label at the top of page one. The figures will indicate the month and year, respectively, of the expiration of your subscription.

A BRIEF COURSE IN NEW-WORLD IMPERIALISM

By Raymond Fuller

1. How many "foreign possessions" (exclusive of those operating under The Wall Street P tectorate) has the United States on the continent?

Alaska. The Canal Zone (technically a "military reservation"). We pay \$250,000 yearly rent for the 10-mile zone. Since your lease is in perpetuity, and no one may legally dispossess us, or bid higher rental, it would puzzle our best "best minds" to delineate just where landlord's rights leave off and tenant's begin.

2. How many such possessions has the U. S. in Caribbean waters?

Three of the Virgin Islands: St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. John, are of commercial size—fifty little ones thrown in by Denmark—hardly count.

Porto Rico.
Isle of Pines.
Culebra Island.
Vieques Island.

3. How many in the Pacific?

Philippines—7,033 islands (including Sulu Archipelago and Cebu group).
Marcus Island (24 deg. N., 154 deg. E.).
Christmas Island (2 deg. N., 157 deg. E.).

Midway Islands.
Wake Island (18 deg., 168 deg. E.).
Baker and Howland Islands (title disputed with Gt. Britain).

Yap Island.
Swain's Island (annexed 1925).
Palmyra Island (5 deg. N., 163 deg. W.).
Jarvis Isl. 0 deg., 160 deg. W.).
Mauna Islands (east of Samoa).

Hawaiian Islands, 8.
In Samoan Group, five islands (Tutuila, Ofu, Olosega, Tau, Aunuu).
Rose Atoll (yet uninhabited).
Guan Island.

4. How many "benevolent protectorates" have we?

Cuba.
Republic of Panama.
Colombia.
San Domingo.
Nicaragua.
Shanghai.
Hayti.
Liberia.

(Suggestions for research under this topic: (a) How benevolent is the protection? (b) How many other nations south of us are secretly considered in Washington as such "protectorates"?)

5. What colonies have European Powers now in the New World?

GREAT BRITAIN: Canada (at least up to winter 1925), New Foundland, Bahamas, Cayman Islands, British Honduras, British Guiana, Windward Islands, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Falkland Islands, Kitts, Nevis, Dominica and the rest of the Leeward and Virgin Islands, except two or three.

France: Martinique, French Guiana, Guadeloupe, Miquelon Group, St. Pierre, HOLLAND—Curaçao, Bonaire, Aruba, Dutch Guiana.

DENMARK: Iceland, Greenland.

6. Does the Monroe Doctrine ignore these? No, since their domination antedates 1820.

7. Does the original Monroe Doctrine assert any right for the U. S. to interfere in the domestic politics of other American nations? No. (N. B. "Wall Street" is not considered a foreign nation in the meaning of the Doctrine).

Buckle's Opinion of War

Henry Thomas Buckle was one of the greatest minds of all time. His "History of Civilization in England" is still regarded as a masterpiece. In a review of John Stuart Mill's little book on "Liberty" in 1859 this great Englishman said one thing that should be remembered in these days of imperialism and threatened war. Here it is:

"The immense armies which are maintained, and which some mention as a proof that the love of war is increasing instead of diminishing, are merely an evidence that the governing classes distrust and suspect the future, and know that their real danger is to be found not abroad but at home. They fear revolution far more than invasion. The state of foreign affairs is their pretense for arming; the state of public opinion is the cause. And right glad they are to find a decent pretext for protecting themselves from that punishment which many of them richly deserve."

Tall Timber

And suddenly, my hate-singing Comrade screeches out, "look what they did to the unions, our unions. . . these. . . Communists. . ." Well, my dear Genossen, I am not so sure that the bacteria of a disease is the cause of its infliction on the patient. I am sufficiently ignorant of the medical profession to know, that unless the physical well being of the victim is undermined and weakened, bacteria does not take hold with any telling effect. Give me a giant in a day of lowered bodily resistance and I can kill him with a microscopic bug. And I am not charging you three dollars for this advice either. What do I mean by all this hyssop. . . ? Just that, maybe, perhaps, and it could really happen: the unions were so fearfully wracked and wrecked by the Communist microbial invasion, because something had been the matter with them long before the left wingers came upon the scene. And that "something" had weakened the morale, sapped out the morale, and just played merry deuce with the stability of the organizations. It has been known that labor officials get to like their salaries and their jobs more than their ideals. It has



Drawn by Lyn David.



"War Brings Out the Best in Men"

Washington Discovers Unemployment

The Mines Investigation and Other Capital Topics

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE great and wise men who guide our destinies have made an amazing discovery. They are announcing it on the front pages of all the newspapers. They have suddenly found out to their astonishment that in the most prosperous country in the world, at a time when Coolidge economy and the budget system has put us all on Easy Street, quite a large number of men and women, able-bodied and willing to work, have no work whatever to do. In fact, the estimate of the Labor Bureau of New York, a group of able economists, is to the effect that at the present time there are four million Americans looking for a job. When some months ago, we Socialists caused a little rift in the prosperity lute by stating on every occasion that for the great mass of workers this prosperity talk was sheer bunkum, we were accused of being sour-bellied pessimists. Now we have no less a convert to our cause than the Honorable Alfred Emanuel Smith, Governor of the Empire State of New York and potential candidate for President of these "prosperous" United States.

Governor Smith has sent a hurry call to the head of his State Labor Bureau to get all the figures that he could about unemployment in New York State. We Socialists congratulate Governor Smith on seeing the light, although it took him quite a while to get around to it.

From now on we may expect a deluge of bright ideas from the leaders of both old parties as to the reasons for, and the solution of the unemployment problem, which in many respects is the worst that has faced this country since the panic year of industry, which makes it possible for fewer men at machines to produce greater quantities of goods than have ever been produced before. We will be told by the Democrats that this is due to the Republican administration, and by the Republicans that it is the fear of a Democratic victory at the polls next fall which is causing unemployment. We will be anything along the lines of independent

told a number of interesting things, but in the meantime the tragic fact remains that four million Americans, one-tenth of the working population of the country are walking the streets of our cities with dark despair gnawing at their hearts. Add to them the 1,800,000 aged men and women thrown on the industrial dump-heap and dependent upon their children or charity for a meagre existence, and add again the farmers fast sinking to the peasant level, and you have a picture of the blessings which the capitalist system bestows upon its loyal followers. "No," says the worker, "I will not vote the Socialist ticket because it might upset things and lose me my job." But what if he has no job to lose? And what if he is driven so hard at that job (as he is being driven today) that he becomes a part of the very machine which he serves, and all human happiness is denied him?

At a time when labor should be bending its efforts towards a sane solution of the unemployment problem, it is tied up with the fight of its life against the injunction evil. No decision has yet been handed down in the case of the injunction sought by the I. R. T. against the three million members of the American Federation of Labor, forbidding the organization of the sweated subway workers, but this attempt to cripple the entire labor movement is symbolic of the concerted drive that is now being made to lower wages and take away from the worker such improved conditions as they have won. This vicious drive, headed by the various manufacturers' associations, and such hard-bolled corporations as the Interborough Rapid Transit of New York, is everywhere aided and abetted by the politicians of both old parties.

And still there are old-line labor men who hope to find among these politicians those friendly to labor. These labor leaders tell you that it is impossible to do anything along the lines of independent

political action for labor at this time. The question might arise how it is possible to find either in the Democratic or Republican Party any considerable group not definitely lined up with the big business interests which dominate the country.

Old-line labor's hero for the present is Al Smith, but Smith's campaign managers are very busy assuring everyone that Al is friendly both to Wall Street and to Main Street. And how he can serve both friends with equal diligence is beyond the ken of the normal man. However, of course, who will apparently be our next president, is in the camp of big business, horse, foot and artillery. Very little attention will be paid to labor's announced plans for a nation-wide anti-injunction drive, or labor's demand for public works to stop unemployment, or labor's drive for old-age pensions, (if such a drive is ever started), or anything else on labor's program, so long as labor trots around after the old-line candidates.

A congressional investigation of the mine strike is now promised us, but we have seen many such investigations before, notably the investigation into coal made by the United States Coal Commission in 1922—an investigation which cost the tax-payers \$600,000, and was very neatly pigeon-holed by the Republican Administration. No more investigations, except those into the crude violations of the civil liberties of the miners, are needed at this time. We have the facts about this wretchedly run industry, and the facts are that in coal, as in many another American industry, private ownership has utterly collapsed. The only way to end the recurrent wars in the coal fields is for the public to take over the mines, and run them for the public benefit, on the principle of production for service rather than profit.

Back-stairs Spokesman.

THE CHATTER BOX

TRUE, I have joked a great deal about them; equally true, I have swung high and low against their sweet chariots in my own way of hate hymns and spirituals; but actually and cross-my-heartedly, I have never held any deep rooted hate for the American Communists. And not much contempt either. Pity I always will have for their sloven ineptitudes, their outlandish aspect in thought and deed against the familiar background, their general ignorance of even Communism itself. The stupidity of the Third International is seen the clearer when one has fully acquainted himself with the intellect and ability of the American Communist leaders. To have subsidized such supermen as they, and entrusted them with the task of setting up a Dictatorship of the Proletariat here in America, is to my mind one of the great crimes committed by fanatic Russian Bolsheviks against their own Revolution. Count the American debacle of Communist effort on a par with the Chinese collapse. Money, time and energy, so needful to the homeland, were just wasted through sheer headstrong stupidity. Russians are a rare people. When they are smart, they are very, very smart; but when they are stupid, they go in for universal and immediate revolution.

However, all this does not bring me to my present thesis. I want to try and mitigate among my own Comrades that feeling of nasty hatred they show every time Communism, Communist or Russia enters into conversation. I do not think it is a sane trait for one brother under the skin to deliberately detest another. In fact I question even the balance of intelligence in a Socialist who meaningfully holds out intense bias toward what he considers the Cain of his Cause. In fact, whenever that feeling pops up at meetings and the like, I question the use of it all for Socialism.

I cannot for the life of my flivver determine the real cause for the state of affairs in our own party. I know the war had a great deal to do with its rise and decline as a numerical entity. Perhaps, the Russian Revolution, and the Third International put in a few hefty wallops. . . I say perhaps, because if such a group of ignoramus and petit larceny agitators as the left wingers could find enough of their own kind in what was Our Socialist Party and lead them out of our ranks, then we ought to thank them for having rid us of our weaknesses. On the other hand, should I be mistaken, and these American Trotskyts and Zinovievs really prove to be giants of efficiency and intelligence for a social revolution, then. . . but why waste time on impossibilities. The truth of the matter is that we ought to be grateful to the whole Union Square Proletariat for having cleansed our old stables, and given us the strength of ten. I like to mix my allusions and metaphors when speaking about Communists in general. They make up such a motley mish-mash of all things immature and mentally indigestible, in their own manner of life and thinking.

And suddenly, my hate-singing Comrade screeches out, "look what they did to the unions, our unions. . . these. . . Communists. . ." Well, my dear Genossen, I am not so sure that the bacteria of a disease is the cause of its infliction on the patient. I am sufficiently ignorant of the medical profession to know, that unless the physical well being of the victim is undermined and weakened, bacteria does not take hold with any telling effect. Give me a giant in a day of lowered bodily resistance and I can kill him with a microscopic bug. And I am not charging you three dollars for this advice either. What do I mean by all this hyssop. . . ? Just that, maybe, perhaps, and it could really happen: the unions were so fearfully wracked and wrecked by the Communist microbial invasion, because something had been the matter with them long before the left wingers came upon the scene. And that "something" had weakened the morale, sapped out the morale, and just played merry deuce with the stability of the organizations. It has been known that labor officials get to like their salaries and their jobs more than their ideals. It has

also been found that lame ducks in the shop become eagles in the business office of a union. It has also happened that the sins of one administration are visited even upon the usurpers. Consider the case of police and gangster grafting so much bruited about, although never really proven. And when an industry is slowly dispersing itself into villages, and distant cities in order to escape union conditions, you have left a hundred thousand workers ready to be driven into any kind of feverish error. I assure you right wing inefficiency had prepared the unions for Communist bacteria long before the Russian Revolution.

During the war prosperity days, when army contracts kept the productive ability of the American worker at a fierce pitch, the unions and the officials and the business agents and the rest had a hey-day of power and self-congratulation. In the clothing industry for example, not one of the leaders of labor had the foresight to see that this artificial prosperity would some day reduce the need for men and women; that the employers would again turn against the unions once competition became keen and profits were threatened. That contract labor would be used to evade the regular union shop; that the employers in seeking a way out of their own financial problems would forsake the city and seek the country towns and villages for non-union shops. These conditions obtain today. And the fact is that all this Communist hullabaloo in the unions was brought about by a real economic decline in the industry itself throwing thousands of union workers out into the unemployed ranks. Here the left-wing bug took hold. And let me tell you dear friends, that I know of no more avid conversationalist and debater than a clothing worker out of work. What a picnic the Third International had for a time with that sick crowd! But fevers are fevers, whether the Russian Communist or the Cholera gets you. If you still have purpose and life left in your being you will survive for a wiser and more useful existence once the illness has run its course and gone out of the system. Today the once powerful unions are recuperating into slowly growing strength.

And again I must say, that if an insignificant microbial pest like American Communism could play such destruction with our old labor unions all alone, then, really, there never had been any use for them any more. Perhaps they were just rotten ripe for change, and anything from Christian Science down to Smoking Old Gds might have gripped the dear old things and just strangled them lightly to a merciful end. But somehow I suspect that those who still hate the pitiable left wingers as being the sole cause of our present day Party and Union troubles are dignifying the mole with the importance of a mountain.

The fault lies not in our betrayers, but in ourselves. We simply have not built firmly enough. Perhaps, we never had anything built up anyway. This Party of ours ought to be built into a time and tide-defying tower, since we have with us the purity of purpose and ideal. I think it just downright puerility to go about hating a lot of dumbbells for having torn down a building which (I am becoming more and more convinced) has never existed. I, for one, have forgotten that there ever was a Socialist Party of any significance in this country. I do however firmly believe that the Socialist Democratic Party of America is in the making. It needs a new philosophy, not of phrase but of deed, and above all leaders imbued with faith for to-morrow. Too many of us are content with the comfort of the day. Too many of us cynic of hope. And quite too many with hearts and minds so full of old hatreds, that there is little room left in them for anything new, either of love or hate. These words and my next week's stint on "This Socialist's View of Russia," will constitute all the speaking I intend to make as a delegate at large to our National Convention. . . .

S. A. de Witt.