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of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

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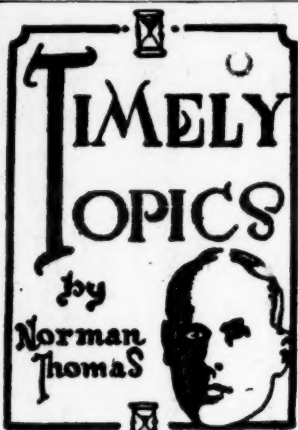
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PROFITS AT PEAK AS UNEMPLOYMENT GROWS



IT is good that Governor Smith and the Republican politicians have agreed to increase appropriations in order to hasten work on public building enterprises and thus offset unemployment. Of course this improvised program is not adequate. There should be a definite plan—federal, state and city—automatically making it possible to rush public building with the very beginning of unemployment. This in turn would require accurate and up to date figures on employment in good times and bad which we have no machinery for obtaining.

One form of public works, the most necessary of all, will not be begun because it is not yet authorized. I mean municipal housing in New York City. Yet such housing is the only way out of a continuance of wretched slum conditions. Adequate tenement house regulation without municipal housing merely means that rents will go too high for unemployed and low paid workers to afford. A program of municipal housing would at once help us fight slums and unemployment. All the logic is on its side. But what is logic against profit for business interests and politicians?

Mr. Hughes' diplomatic victories at Havana look impressive in our newspapers. Not for a minute do they mean that the Latin American peoples will accept our overlordship cheerfully. Diplomatic caste feeling, the loans that Latin American governments now have or hope to have, their rivalries with one another, and Mr. Hughes' clever diplomacy made any effective protest against our intervention impossible. But the fact of our intervention stands. It is not explained away by calling it by another name or by piously protesting that we are opposed to aggression, or by saying—that is true—that nations big and little, have duties as well as rights. The point is that in dealing with weak nations the United States constitutes itself prosecutor, judge and jury. It does not intervene merely by diplomatic representation but by armed force as in Nicaragua and Haiti. And it does it not for the good of the little nations but for the profit of investors. Not one of Mr. Hughes' speeches explained away these sinister facts. The real good that was accomplished at Havana in the eyes of the world is completely overshadowed by the man hunt which we are carrying on in the jungles of Nicaragua. Even the poor excuse that Sandino was an irresponsible bandit scarcely holds in the face of Carleton Beals' report of him in The Nation. Mr. Beals' gallant exploit has made public Sandino's own terms which leave our imperialists without a shadow of an excuse for continuing their ruthless, unauthorized and criminal war in Nicaragua.

Senator Capper of Kansas introduced a good resolution looking to the outlawry of war. I wrote him to congratulate him on it and to ask how far he thought the Administration's Nicaraguan war was consistent with his resolution. He replies that he is "not yet convinced that we could consistently stay out of Nicaragua" and quotes American minister Eberhardt, "a citizen of Salina, Kansas" as saying that "fully 90 per cent of the people of Nicaragua want the United States to stay on the job." Well, maybe. But on the very day I received this letter I read a statement by the New York Times correspondent in Nicaragua that American planters in a certain district were nervous because of the small force of marines there to protect them. Sandino was credited with the support of a big majority of the "lower classes", at least in that district. Whether he has it or not, since when is it the business of boys from Kansas and other states to waste their lives and our money on a war which is far more surely in the interest of a few planters and investors than of the Nicaraguan people who ought to manage their own affairs. And how hypocritical is any talk of outlawing war unless we show good faith by outlawing imperialism.

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Thomas Plea For Housing Called 'Red'

"Lenin and Trotsky," Realtors' Representative Shrieks At Appeal For Better Homes

A PLEA for better housing for New York's workers, to be built by the municipality and rented to the people at cost, made by Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Socialist Party Housing Committee, brought from the real estate owners' representative the cry of "Bolshevism", at a public meeting in the John Golden theatre last Sunday night.

Mr. Thomas had just completed comment on the proposed dwelling house law, taking the general view that it fell far short of the needs of the situation.

"It must be made clear," he said, "that not the most perfect regulatory law is enough. People now live in old law tenements because they cannot afford to live elsewhere. In almost two years not one private limited dividend corporation has begun work on housing under the much advertised state housing law. The so-called Walker-Heckscher plan of which we heard much at election time is still in the air and Mr. Heck-scher has recently said that it cannot be carried out under the proposed dwellings law, which can only mean that the plan is not good enough for the people of New York. Municipal housing under a non-political authority along the lines which the Socialist Party has advocated for many years is the only solution for this shame of our city. It may be observed that if such a progress had

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THIS FRIDAY
February 24, 8 P.M.

CELEBRATION 80th Anniversary of Birth OF SOCIALISM

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North-West Farm-Labor Political Conference Is Called for March 8

St. Paul, Minn.—The state committee of the Farmer-Labor association of Minnesota has decided upon the date for the state indorsing convention. It will be held Monday and Tuesday, Mar. 26 and 27, at Labor Temple, St. Paul.

The executive officers reported that it was found impracticable to call together representatives of the north-west states last fall as ordered by the state convention last September. Correspondence was, however, conducted with a number of leaders and assurances have been received that the conference will be well attended if called. The state committee ordered Secretary Sharkey to issue a call for the conference for March 28, following the state convention and to invite the representatives to attend the state convention. The conference will be held in the Labor Temple, St. Paul.

Farmers For United Fight In Election

Unrest in Agricultural Districts Stimulates Thinking Along Political Lines

By Murray E. King

ROSWELL, N. M.—Before I describe the next farmer or farmer-labor organization I want to tell the readers of The New Leader about the most stirring and most discussed issue among the progressive and radical farmers and farmer-laborites in this country at this moment. The issue is the prospect of uniting the farmer-labor-radical-progressive forces under one set of national candidates this year.

I have encountered this topic among the officials and active spirits of all the farmer and farmer-labor organizations I have studied so far in this series. The wish, except among the more conservative elements, seems to be unanimous for a solid fighting front, and the desire for this objective is a very sincere and passionate one.

I meet Socialists everywhere. I meet a sprinkling of them almost every day while I am organizing the farmers. Many of them are old men converted by the Appeal to Reason. They have not changed in their fundamental beliefs through all the intervening years of war, reaction, persecution, and worst of all, disintegration of the movements they held most dear. During a long period of discouragement and isolation they ceased to be active. But they are still Socialists and will undoubtedly again become active in a movement strong and consistent enough to win their confidence.

Almost to a man they want to see all the forces that stand on the side of the

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"I WON'T GO TO NICARAGUA," MARINE SAYS

THIS letter, received this week by The New Leader, speaks for itself:

Editor, The New Leader:

There is talk that our outfit will be ordered to Nicaragua. While I may have to go, I want the American people to know that if I am ordered to Nicaragua it will be against my will. Furthermore, that is the way more than half of the marines in my outfit feel.

Why should we go to Nicaragua? What interest has the American people in fighting Sandino? Sandino's men have not harmed the United States government. As far as I can see it, it all comes down to this. Sandino is fighting for his country. All patriotic Americans ought to wish him well. I certainly do.

I am ready to do anything for my country. I fought in the World War. I would be ready to do it again. But I'll be damned if I want to die for Wall Street. If the Wall Street bankers want to collect their blood-money let them go ahead and do it. Why should we fight for them? What have they ever done for us? That's what I want to ask the marines. The more I think of it, the more I believe that fighting Sandino is no job for the marines or any other American. If I am ordered to Nicaragua, I shall refuse to go on the ground that patriotism does not mean fighting for Wall Street and the bankers.

Yours Truly,

A MARINE.

Brooklyn, Navy Yard.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Many Big Earnings Reported

Goodyear Rubber Has 50 Per Cent Increase; N. Y. Central Has Best Year Ever; Gas Co. In Clover

THE periodical breakdown of capitalism with its consequent unemployment and misery for the working class has become so apparent that it has broken into the headlines of the press throughout the country. The United States had already entered a period of industrial stagnation in 1914 when the World War broke out and American capitalism, like a vampire, recovered by feeding upon the destruction wrought by the ruling classes abroad.

There was a temporary depression in 1921 but Europe was still in need of American materials to rebuild what the hell of war had destroyed and in 1922 there was a rapid recovery. The present collapse is not one of recent months. It has been gathering since early in 1927 but the Coolidge administration and the press throughout the country have been silent about it. The situation has now become so acute that knowledge of it cannot be suppressed.

Meantime the masters of great corporations have been rolling in dividends. Francis H. Sison of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York last week estimated that the number of millionaires in this country had increased 600 per cent since the year 1923. One has to keep this fact in mind by way of contrast to the disaster which has come to millions of working class homes.

The net profit of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company for 1927 amounted to \$13,135,666, against \$8,799,138 in 1926. This was after deductions of \$9,298,648 for depreciation and \$3,500,000 for contingencies last year and after taxes, interest and profits of subsidiary companies applicable to stock not held by the company.

The Consolidated Gas Company of New York and its affiliated gas and electric companies report for 1927 a net income of \$42,273,779, after all charges and taxes, equal after \$5 preferred dividends to \$8.79 a share, earned on 4,320,000 shares of no-par common stock. This compares with \$35,666,893, or \$9.60 a share, one 3-600,000 common shares in 1926. The increase amounts to \$6,606,885.

A new record for all time in net income was reached in 1927 by the New York Central Railroad, which yesterday issued its official income account for last year. The 1927 net income of the system, including the figures of the Boston & Albany Railroad and the Ohio Central Lines, was \$58,565,145, which compares with \$55,664,040 for 1926, the peak year for the carriers in general, and with \$48,627,224 for 1925.

Unemployment is National
What is significant of the industrial depression is that it is not confined to one or two industries or some particular region. It is general throughout the country. From the Pacific Coast, Los Angeles trade unions report 70,000 men unemployed and San Francisco reports the same number. The Central Labor Union of Boston reports an army of the unemployed numbering 60,000 and the number in Baltimore is estimated at 75,000. In Chicago 10,000 homeless men have been given sleeping accommodations on the floors of a shelter house maintained by the Gospel Loop Church and Mission in sixteen days. In suburban towns near Chicago the distress is also evident. In Cicero, for example, there are more than twice the number of men for the jobs that are available.

What is called a "conservative" estimate of the number now unemployed throughout the country is made by the Labor Department at Washington. This estimate places the number at 3,500,000. It is certain that a "conservative" estimate is one lower than the real figure as the Coolidge administration has no desire to broadcast information that gives the lie to its faithful propagandists.

New York State is badly hit. A survey of the industrial tragedy made by Industrial Commissioner James A. Hamilton and embodied in a report to Governor Smith shows widespread unemployment, employment agencies swamped with applications for jobs, and the number of homeless men on the increase.

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Not for years has there been such an opportunity for driving home the message of constructive radicalism which The New Leader carries every week. Unemployment, brazen corruption in high places, the ruthless exploitation of the workers everywhere—all combine to give us the chance to reach far-flung audiences who heretofore have been indifferent to our cause.

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Farmers For United Fight In Election

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workers in the present struggle and on the side of real social progress united under one banner this year so that a new beginning may be made in the fight against capitalism and reaction this year. I am sure if they could vote on it this would be their message to The New Leader.

In organizing, I also meet many progressive farmers who are bitterly incensed over the remorseless looting and ruin of agriculture during the last decade or more. They know who are doing the looting. They know the looters are corporate big business aided by the petty middleman parasite and non-producer. They know that these elements are ruining the farmers and enslaving them because these elements control the government. The remedies these progressive farmers think of tend in the direction of socialism—state and government aid in control of the surplus and marketing; public ownership of the railroad and marketing facilities; Government insurance and regulation of money and credit; and other like measures. These progressive farmers that I have met are ready to respond in great numbers to a nation-wide alignment of farmer-workers forces, and I believe they represent a cross-section of the country.

The burden of the messages that have come to me from leaders in the Progress Builders, Farmers Union, Progressive Farmers, Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, North Dakota farmer-labor movement, national Farmer-Labor party, and from leaders in other movements is: "We must somehow get together this year—all who are opposed to the two political parties and the tremendous financial and industrial powers that own and control them. We will never get out of our factional confusion and weakness, we will be cut up in detail and it will be eternally too late, if we do not use this year of presidential election to get together."

From a Farmer Laborite
One of these leaders has just sent one of these messages to me. It is so truly representative of them all; it covers all the main points of all of their arguments so well that I am going to convey part of it to the readers of The New Leader. The message is from Morton Alexander, editor of Humanity, a farmer-labor weekly published at Arvada, Colorado. Alexander is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Progressive Farmers. He was formerly editor of Dawn, a Socialist paper published at Myton, Utah. He was long a member of the Socialist Party and is as firm a believer in Socialism today as he ever was.

Here are some of the things he says: "Not long ago a good farmer radical in western Colorado wrote me saying, 'Our leaders are always telling us to unite and stand together—and yet they never unite, but always give us three or four different tickets. How do they expect to unite under these conditions?' The indictment he brought against us is true, and I feel that the first duty now of every true Socialist should be to help change this disgraceful condition. We are weak because we are divided—AND FOR NO OTHER REASON."

"Already the calls have been issued for three different radical or progressive national conventions: The Socialist in April in New York; the National party in Chicago in May; and the Farmer-Labor Party in Milwaukee in May. Doubtless others will be called. And if all of them put up presidential candidates we will be confronted with the same old condition."

"There is no possible doubt about it: the farmers of the West and South are ready for REVOLT—and the only thing that is holding them back is wise and sagacious leadership. I have written many letters during the past few months on the subject of a united front, and I have found sincere approval everywhere. My own personal feeling is that we in some way must plan to get these bused Western farmers into the radical movement. They are ready to come NOW—but they are shy and balk at the words, 'Socialist' or 'communist.' We must give them a more palatable name."

Shipstead Flirting?
"But it is not necessary that any of these existing party organizations should abandon their names or their organizations. It is only necessary that they agree on one set of presidential nominees and then go into the campaign all shooting at the same mark."

"The Minnesota situation as I learn it is this: The Farmer-Labor organization

is being held up by Senator Shipstead, who really wants to get back into the Republican camp, but is afraid to make the move. The Farmer-Labor party is endeavoring to smoke him out and compel him to go one way or the other—but as yet have not succeeded. They have called a convention to meet in Minneapolis in March, when they will put up their state ticket and elect delegates to the national Farmer-Labor convention in Milwaukee in May.

"Bert Martin, the national secretary of the Farmer-Labor party, tells me that about twenty states have expressed a willingness to send delegates to Milwaukee in May."

"The Socialist party, holding its national convention in April, before any of the others, will be confronted with the duty of taking the first step toward insuring a united front. They should consider carefully every phase of the situation and should act with the greatest wisdom and caution, especially in the matter of naming candidates."

"It is not necessary that we should surrender or alter a single essential principle for which we stand. I am certainly not in favor of doing that. But we must learn to play the game of politics with the same shrewdness that the old parties play it. We must play it with the sole aim and purpose of grabbing power, for power is what we must have—and the only road to power is to unite, unite! Karl Marx told us what to do."

"Let us get together on agreements. If that makes it necessary to have a short platform, well enough—then let us have a short platform—but in God's name let us get together! Let us open the door in welcome to every Socialist and near Socialist, every Progressive and near Progressive; every radical and near radical."

Exile of Trotsky Is Denounced By World Socialists

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—The two chairmen of the Commission of Enquiry into the condition of political prisoners, of the Socialist and Labor International, Senator de Broekere (Brussels) and Deputy Arthur Crispin (Berlin), have sent the following communication to M. Kallin, President of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union:

"On Dec. 1st, 1927, we addressed to you a communication with the aim of giving expression to the desire of the international working-class that the amnesty on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union should also comprise an universal political amnesty. Our communication remained unanswered; however, in the meanwhile a form of answer has been given by you which could not be more illuminating. Not only have you given no political amnesty, but you have inflicted fresh political persecutions. Dozens of the leaders of the Opposition within your own Party have been dispatched into banishment. Thus Leo Trotsky is to drag out his existence in distant Asia, in Turkestan, removed by hundreds of miles from all political and civilized life. The places to which Rakowsky, Radek and others have been banished have not yet been made known. But the evasion with which you have hitherto sought to cheat the workers of the world in respect of your system of persecution, is this time revealed to everyone more unmistakably than ever before."

"In all these years you have sent into banishment and cast into prison hundreds and hundreds of honest and faithful Socialists; and whenever you were taken to task for it, you sought to justify the persecutions by every kind of fable to the effect that the people in question were counter-revolutionaries. It was proved against you in hundreds of cases that this charge was a direct calumny on men and women who have self-sacrificingly devoted their lives to the service of the working-class. In the case of the Opposition in your Party which is now concerned, you cannot, even within your own Party, advance this usual calumny that it is a question of 'counter-revolutionaries.' For indeed, far as we are from regarding the conceptions and deeds of such a man as Trotsky during the last ten years as having been a blessing to the workers, we shall never question, and even you cannot deny, that he has been a whole-hearted revolutionary. And that is why this persecution of your Opposition, and in the first place in the case of Trotsky, stands as an illustration of your system which brooks no freedom of opinion, but subordinates everything to the dictates of your absolutist regime."

Upholsterers Restrain Firm From Hiring Non-Union Workers

Labor is slowly demonstrating to injunction-loving employers, that given a fair judiciary, the injunction weapon is a sword that cuts both ways. The most recent indication of this tendency is the case of the Upholsterers Union, local 76 of New York.

On behalf of the union, former Assemblyman Louis Waldman appeared in the New York Supreme Court Tuesday to ask an injunction preventing the Manhattan Upholstering Company from breaking its contract with the union. Mr. Waldman pointed out that there is a contract between the union and the company which does not expire until September, 1928. He charged that four members of the union, against whom the injunction was also asked, were made "partners" in the firm in order that they might avoid working under union conditions.

Mr. Waldman's petition asked that the firm be restrained from employing non-union help and from making an unfair division of the work. The order was signed by Judge Delehanty, who made it returnable Monday when it will be argued before Judge Callahan.

TIMELY TOPICS

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Again discussions of armament, arbitration and security are being heard at Geneva. Japan begins action by proposing to revise her arbitration treaties so as to cover practically every issue that may arise between nations. Since the United States must soon negotiate for the renewal of arbitration treaties probably with England and Japan this declaration is significant for us. Where do we stand as a nation?

So far it would seem that our State Department has hauled over the excellent idea of outlawing war as an institution. Take the French treaty for example. It has a pious preamble about outlawing war but the text of the treaty does nothing of the sort. It does three things: First it renews the old Bryan treaty of conciliation, which treaty provided for the submission of all disputes to an international commission whose conclusions might be accepted or rejected by the parties to the controversy. This, of course, is not arbitration. Next the new treaty with France provides for arbitration of differences. However, in each case the specific arrangement for arbitration must be embodied in a treaty and submitted to the Senate for ratification. The third article of the French treaty excepts from the application of the arbitration agreement almost all controversial issues under one form or another! It is even a question whether a treaty like this marks a forward step of any sort. It clearly does not if the exceptions of Article 3 apply not only to arbitration but to the process of conciliation set up in the Bryan treaties to which no exceptions were enumerated. In ratifying this treaty at least our government and the French should exchange notes declaring that the exceptions of Article 3 do not apply to the provision for conciliation. This especially since this French treaty will be a pattern for treaties that are to be negotiated with England and Japan, countries with which dangerous controversies are far more likely to arise than with France. It is to be hoped that our new treaties with them will be better drawn than the French treaty. They ought to provide, in other words, better substitutes for war.

It is never enough simply to say: "Now let's outlaw war." We must discover and provide flexible machinery for adjusting disputes. Some issues can and should be referred to a World Court or to arbitration. There are other issues, however, which strong nations in their present stage of development hesitate for compulsory decision—the regulation of immigration, for instance. Indeed the element of compulsion might increase the likelihood of war. For such issues the first step is conciliation through an international commission. If the results of that international commission's work are unsatisfactory to either or both of the quarreling powers the next step ought to be not war but conference between the powers in an effort face to face to find a way out. If conference fails it may be possible to leave the issue to the cooling and the adjustments of time and later wisdom rather than to hasten a war which never can be worth its cost. In other words, the outlawry of war bears a peculiar interacting relation to the machinery of adjusting disputes. If the notion of war is outlawed it will be easier to bring about adjustment. If flexible machinery of adjustment is provided it will be easier to outlaw war. Hence the importance not only of a good general idea but of the details by which it is carried out in treaties.

Of course, as I have repeatedly argued no machinery for outlawing war will be worth much if we countenance imperialism. Neither can we hope to get rid of war by saying that the unjust and inequitable division of power and privilege now existing among us constitute international law, which law is to be enforced against the protesting nations. We must travel the hard road of some measure of world government in an interdependent world. We must set up machinery not only to interpret international law but to change it. Possibly the League of Nations may develop into that sort of machinery. Nevertheless Brandt tells Kellogg that he cannot agree to outlawry of war treaties because of his obligations to the League of Nations and when Prime Minister Baldwin answers the famous Ronsonby Peace Letter in England by telling its signers that their duties to the League of Nations may compel them to fight on the Continent we Americans are justified in great hesitation to join such a League.

We ought to join the League if it were based on the idea of the outlawry of war. We ought not to join the League to enforce Europe's peace. Wars arising from Europe's crazy quilt boundaries and all the injustice of the status quo are not our business. Our pledge to enforce the status quo by arms would be as bad for Europe as ourselves. It would check the salutary process of readjustment in Europe. True, we ought not to finance or profit by Europe's wars. Certainly we should not aid by our trade a nation which refuses all means of arbitration and conciliation. But beyond that we should not go in agreeing to enforce Europe's peace. To nations smarting with a sense of grievance the threat that the League of Nations will bring overpowering might into the field against them can only increase hate. The best sanctions for peace do not come from agreements to enforce it by war but rather from a new spirit of understanding, new machinery of co-operation, and a general resolve to repudiate war as an instrument of public policy.

Barney Berlyn Honored By Chicago; Rest of the Country Chimes In

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—February 7th was the 85th anniversary of the birth of Bernard Berlyn—known and loved throughout the nation and in many other countries as "Barney" Berlyn, the fighting champion of the workers for more years than the rest of us care to acknowledge—especially when we compare our accomplishments with his.

Barney came to the United States while still a boy and soon became imbued with the ideals of the working class movement. He was one of the pioneers of the Socialist movement in this country and waged many a war—real and oral—on tactics and policies. But no matter which side he took, the trend of things has proven him right in all his contentions and that he has been contented we all agree, and at the same time agree that his contentions were right.

Many banquets and dinners have been given in honor of this veteran of the labor and Socialist movement, but the latest one seems to have been the best. It started the day before, on the 6th, when numerous telegrams and special delivery letters reached him, wishing him a joyous day on the morrow. Then at 8 P. M., W. C. F. L., the broadcasting station of Chicago's Federation of Labor, announced that the Federation wished to announce the date of the birthday of a veteran leader and to pay its respects to one who had so ably and nobly served the cause of unionism for many years. By the urge of a comrade who was "next" Barney tuned in just in time to hear the announcement. "Was he pleased?" We'll say he was! Then on Tuesday, the birthday, the telegrams, cards, special delivery letters and telephone messages continued throughout the day. And there was a constant stream of visitors to pay their respects and show their love in person.

Among the official messages received were those of the National Executive Secretary of the Socialist Party, Wm. H. Henry; Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Bertha Hale King, Lena Morrow Lewis, The Montana Federation of Labor, Local No. 39 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Abraham Cahan, Chicago Makers Union No. 14, Jacob Winen (only 83 himself), Theodore Debs, John M. Work, Caroline A. Lowe, A. H. Flosten, J. Mahlon Barnes, Wm. A. Cunneen, Maurice De Jong, A. MacDonald, Mayor J. Henry Stump, James H. Maurer, J. Wanhope, Oscar Ameringer, Harry C. Parker—space will not permit of the listing of the dozens and dozens of others—all old timers that love Barney and rejoice that this year finds him not only 85 years young but strong and healthy and in full possession of his mentality—and just as keen on party matters as he was twenty—thirty—forty (that is enough) years ago.

We who had the privilege of visiting with him on this occasion and witnessing his pleasure in being remembered by his numerous friends and comrades felt rejuvenated for the coming struggles. Comrade Barney asked us to say to all our friends and comrades the following:

"In the declining days of my life I feel comforted by the perhaps exaggerated appreciation of the value of my work among the workers. I assure the comrades that I am with them as Socialists, and I hope that those who are Socialists will remain Socialists and remember that no matter what label you put on the government of any country, be it soviet or soviet republic, when it is neither a soviet nor a republic, and especially when it is neither a Socialist nor a republican government it does not make it the government of its name. Socialism carries with it the escape from unemployment, particularly in countries where industrial development is low, and a republic means a government of the people."

"Barney Berlyn refuses to make a cleavage between industrial workers and workers without whom life would not be possible, that is the tillers of the soil, and when we say workers of the world unite we call upon those who work on the soil as well as those who work in the factories and mines. All workers must unite and rid themselves of the parasites—that is the mission of the Socialists—not to create new aristocracies, no matter what their pretensions may be. One thing is certain: the triumph of the working class is not as far off as some people may think. They may be deluded by the apparent high wages that are prevalent now. But these high wages mean heavier losses to the workers when unemployed."

Among the many gifts received by Barney was one that he particularly prized—a copy of the De Luxe edition of "Walls and Bars," Comrade Debs' last book. It was inscribed by Wm. A. Cunneen, Seymour Stedman, Peter Sissman, W. H. Hill, Samuel Levin, John M. Collins, Henry Finkelstein, George Koop, Wm. H. Henry, Morris Seidman, Dr. Joseph H. Greer and J. Mahlon Barnes—all old fighters with Barney in the pioneer days of the movement.

As a fitting climax to a solid week of celebration, on Sunday, February 12th, Comrade Berlyn was called by W. C. F. L. (Chicago Tribune) broadcasting station at the Drake Hotel to give a short talk on his appreciation of Lincoln. This Barney gladly did, and in part said the following: "My appreciation of Lincoln was made the greater by Lincoln's appreciation of the work of Karl Marx in keeping the workers of England on the side of the North. That appreciation is embodied in an autographed letter from Lincoln to Marx, which is still highly valued by the Marx family."

Porters Union Wins Strength In Boston

Crosswaith's Organizing Campaign Rallies Colored Workers—Auxiliary Formed

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BOSTON.—The work of Frank Crosswaith in organizing the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has been fruitful in reviving the spirit of the porters. Each meeting is better attended than the one before. Crosswaith has also organized a Ladies' Auxiliary which is proving to be a big help for the men.

The outlook in Boston for the union was never more rosy than now. A Citizens' Committee has been organized to help the porters in their work and on Sunday, Feb. 13, Crosswaith addressed the Interdenominational Ministers Alliance of Boston and vicinity on the problem of Negro Labor which brought the alliance to sympathetic support of the cause of the porters.

Following the address the alliance adopted resolutions of support and ordered that they be sent to the daily and the interdenominational press. The resolutions in part declare:

"Pullman porters and maids are the only group of workers in the transportation system of the country not organized and as a consequence they work about 400 hours per month, calculating on an 11,000 miles for \$72.50 and are compelled to rely upon gratuities in order to bring their income within reasonable distance of what the United States Government says a citizen requires to maintain himself in decency and health."

"Tips are at best uncertain, degrading, and tends to destroy the self respect and manhood of those who depend upon gratuities for a living."

"The success of the Pullman porters and Maids will tend to stimulate labor organization among the other section of Negro labor, which will result in strengthening the economic fibre of the race; thereby raising higher the cultural, racial and educational level of all sections of the race; and also tend to break down the walls of prejudice existing in many labor organizations against workers of our race."

"We unqualifiedly endorse the efforts of the Pullman porters and Maids in the exercise of their inalienable right of life, liberty and happiness. As Clergymen responsible for the religious side of our race's life, we bid these workers forward and upward in their struggle for more life and we call upon our brethren everywhere to give them their unstinted support to the Pullman porters and Maids."

The Socialists would wipe out two classes of Unemployed—the jobless class and the jobless

Many Unions Endorse Union Health Center

Pressmen and Sheet Metal Workers' Unions Urge Members To Use Institution

By Pauline M. Newman

DEAN ALFRED OWRE of the Columbia University School of Dental and Oral Surgery states that "Dentistry now is in reach of only the wealthy, or those served in charitable institutions." This statement of Mr. Owre is interesting to those of us who have known that all along. We have always said that for the working people there seems to be no choice—either the high paid dentist or the charitable institution. He cannot, of course, go to the high priced dentist. Neither does he want to go to the charity clinic. He is, therefore, pretty much forced to neglect his teeth until such time as finances will enable him to attend to them.

It is timely, in view of what Mr. Owre has stated, to call attention of the organized men and women of this city to services rendered by the Union Health Center. The Dental Department is equipped with 23 chair units. It has an x-ray department. A laboratory. A group of competent, graduated dentists. The fees are nominal since the charges are based on cost of labor, material and overhead expenses. It is not a profit making institution. The Medical Department, too, is equipped to take care of organized labor. It is with this in mind, that the writer addressed several Union meetings last week, and the announcement that the Union Health Center has opened its doors to them and their families was received with a great deal of enthusiasm. They need such a place. Their families need the services the Health Center can give them. All members and their families, are, therefore, invited to come and see both Departments—the medical is located at 131 East 17th street, and the Dental, 222 Fourth avenue, corner of 18th street. The hours of the former are from 11 to 1:30 p.m. and from 5 to 7 p.m. The Dental department is open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

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MARXIAN SOCIALISM EIGHTY YEARS AFTER

Some Thoughts For Would-Be Revisionists Inspired By the Eightieth Anniversary of the Communist Manifesto

By Algernon Lee

THE publication of the "Communist Manifesto", just eighty years ago, is one of the most distinctly epoch-making events in world history. It closed the period which had begun with the meeting of the States-General and the taking of the Bastille in 1789. It began a new era, whose culmination has not yet arrived. It announced the advent of a movement differing in nature, aim, and method from anything that had before existed—a movement whose capacity for internal development, for genuinely organic growth and adaptation, has enabled it to triumph over obstacles that appeared insuperable, to survive repeated shocks and schisms each of which in turn might well have been thought fatal, to outlive not only the mighty empires which had over and again tried to drown it, in blood, but also the many rival movements which from time to time seemed about to take away from it the leadership in human progress. The history of Modern Socialism through these eight decades might almost be called miraculous were it not so clearly explainable without resort to the supernatural.

The explanation is to be found in two words—Labor and Science. Modern Socialism is at bottom a movement of the proletariat or wage-working class—the one class which, from the very nature of the capitalist system of which it is a part, is bound to grow in numbers, in knowledge, in capacity for united action, and in self-reliance and constructive revolt. Modern Socialism, moreover, is that movement of the working class which has known how to dispense both with myth and with dogma, to look facts in the face, substitute thought and understanding for opinion and belief, to make intelligence the guide instead of the dupe and plaything of popular emotion.

It is no empty boast when we designate as Scientific Socialism the movement whose main features Karl Marx and Frederick Engels sketched eighty years ago, and whose subsequent history has in all essentials followed the lines they foresaw. When we use the word "scientific" in this connection, it is not because we wish to plume ourselves on our book-learning, but because the word correctly describes the movement in its theoretical aspect. The Socialist theory of today is not in every particular identical with that of Marx, any more than the biological theory of today is in every particular identical with that of Charles Darwin. To live is to change; and what is most characteristic of Marxism is not any of the conclusions it comes to, but the live and life-giving method by which it arrives at them.

GIANT OF SOCIALISM



FRIEDRICH ENGELS
Co-author With Marx of the
Communist Manifesto

d'Alembert. Another was the narrow but within its limits precise economics of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. A third was the intellectually bold critical philosophy of the Germans, from Kant, whom Hegel calls the German Robespierre, to Hegel, whose dialectical method of thinking anticipated the evolution of Darwin and Huxley.

III
FRENCH materialism had served the bourgeoisie while it was still a revolutionary class. British economics seemed to prove that, capitalism once in the

saddle, everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. Hegelianism was almost as much as Lutheranism a state religion for dynastic Prussia. Labor had as yet no science and no philosophy. But then came "both the hour and the man"—or the men, rather, for the work of Marx and of Engels was as one through the whole forty years of their friendship.

Equipped by their previous studies with an amazing knowledge of philosophy, of history, and economics, voluntarily committed to the cause of the exploited and oppressed, they did the work which the revolutionary moment of 1848 both demanded and made possible. In their thought-life those three intellectual systems were merged and transmuted into something greater than themselves. Hegelian dialectic was rescued from its half-mystical idealism. By its means the old static materialism was made dynamic and the Ricardian economic theories were carried to their legitimate conclusions, and thereby became such a damning indictment of capitalism that the bourgeois world became afraid of any and all theoretical thinking in the economic field and has done none worth speaking of ever since.

To say that Marx and Engels used these materials, and used them in accordance with the needs and possibilities of their time, detracts no whit from the originality of their contribution both to social science and to the working-class movement. Theologians nowadays are inclined to think that even the Almighty used some kind of pre-existent material that was floating around in formless chaos, and that in shaping it into an ordered universe he observed some immutable laws of nature. As for us humans: "Man makes his own history," but he does

not make it "out of the whole cloth"; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand.

IV
NOTHING gives some of our opponents more delight than to sneer at Marxism without ever trying to understand it—and alas! some within our ranks amuse themselves with the same facile sport. It is easy to set up a ridiculous parody of Marxism and then point out how ridiculous it is. Every scientific system can be, and most of them are or have been, exposed to like abuse. John Roach Straton thinks he is "making a monkey of Darwin"—and lacks only the gift of seeing himself as others see him to realize how vividly his simian sense of humor illustrates the theory of atavistic survivals. A thousand pamphleteers, profoundly and willfully ignorant of bacteriology, lampoon Pasteur and wax merry over the idea of preventing disease by injecting "filthy virus" or an "extract of dead bugs" into the patient's system. When a theory is attacked by such methods as this, we may reasonably infer that it is too strong for honest attack. At any rate, it is significant that, numerous as have been the attempts to refute Marx by serious argument, none of them has had more than a momentary effect. Who reads Boehm-Bawerk now, except an unfortunate college student, boning for an examination? Who knows Dühring, except through the book in which Engels replied to him?

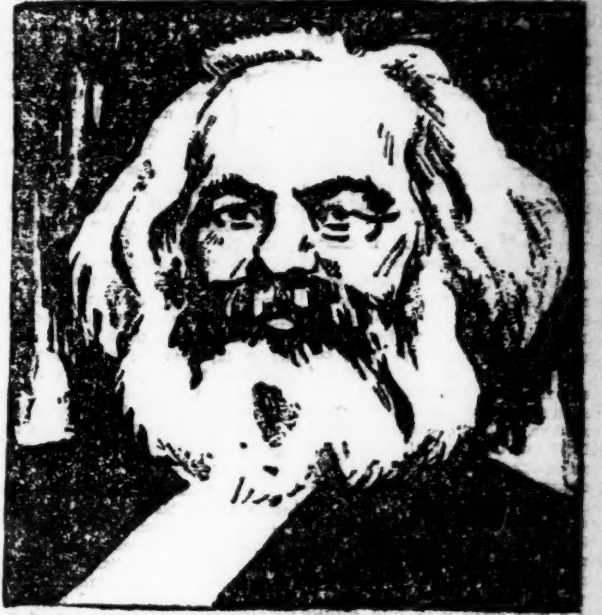
Marxism, so far from being destroyed or discredited, exerts an ever wider and deeper influence. This is obvious when we consider the irresistible growth of the Socialist movement, to which Marxism is as soul to the body. But it is true also in a less obvious way. No one

who is familiar with the work of Marx and Engels can study the sociological and historical literature of the last forty years without very frequently finding their ideas woven into it—often in a mutilated form, indeed, or imperfectly understood, yet on the whole influencing it in the right direction. And it is interesting to note that many of the writers, having got these ideas at second hand, are blissfully unconscious of their origin. They are like Monsieur Jourdain, who spoke prose all his life without knowing that it was prose.

V
FROM time to time we are earnestly adjured to revise our Marxism. Such a proposal is always in order. Marxism, like every other genuine scientific criticism, can stand continuous revision. Only, the revisors must be intellectually honest to start with, they must know what it is they are dealing with. If they prepare themselves for their task by setting aside the smart perversions and tabloid popularizations, go back to the sources, and open-mindedly examine what they purpose to censor, many of them will be astonished to learn that Marx and Engels were themselves thorough-going revisionists, that the very essence of Marxism—more important than the so-called doctrines of value and surplus-value and capitalist accumulation—is a method of thinking which provides this whole theoretical system with the means and the urge to its own continuous revision from within.

If the outcry against Marxian "orthodoxy" shall bring about a renewal of Marxian studies it will have served a useful purpose. Marx can take care of himself. He needs no apologists. It is we who need a stronger will to understand.

FATHER OF WORLD SOCIALISM



KARL MARX

"If the outcry against Marxian 'orthodoxy' shall bring about a renewal of Marxian studies it will have served a useful purpose. Marx can take care of himself. He needs no apologists. It is we who need a stronger will to understand."

MARXIAN SOCIALISM AND LABOR HISTORY

By Harry W. Laidler

Author, "The History of Socialist Thought"

EIGHTY years ago—when Thomas A. Edison was just celebrating his first birthday—two brilliant young members of Europe's rebel intelligentsia, Dr. Karl Marx, aged 29, a young Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena, and Friedrich Engels, business man, aged 27, issued to the working people of Europe a Manifesto destined to mark the beginning of a new epoch in the lives of the workers of the world.

The Communist Manifesto was called, thought it represented the aspirations of the small groups of Socialist working people of that day.

Its pronouncements are now known wherever workers read. It depicted history as a series of class struggles. It described the rise of the modern capitalist class and pronounced this class a great revolutionizing force in the life of the day. It pointed to the growth of the world market, to the concentration of industry, to the inability of capitalism to take care of the needs of the workers, to the great economic crises that were the outcome of the mode of production, and of the increasing strength of the workers, who would at last serve as the grave diggers of capitalism.

The Functions of Socialism

It described the functions of the Socialists in society. They were not to form separate parties opposed to other working class parties. They had no interest separate and apart from the working class as a whole. They did not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mold the proletariat as a whole. Their object was the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy, the conquest of power by the proletariat.

It answered charges hurled against the revolutionist of its day; set forth the program of the communists, which included many immediate measures that have since been attained, and criticized other groups in society that failed to hold the Socialist concept.

It was at once a critical survey of the great economic forces that were leading to a cooperative world and a clarion call to the workers to realize their part in the bringing about of the coming day and more perhaps than any pronouncement ever issued to inspire the workers to organize and demand that those who labor should enjoy the fruit of their toil.

It has taken longer than Marx and Engels realized to bring about the day of the workers' emancipation. They thought that perhaps the revolution then imminent and which for awhile engulfed a part of Europe, would prove the herald of the coming day. In this they were doomed to disappointment. The reaction that followed the defeat of the revolution of 1848 was a long and discouraging one. We have not as yet developed into a Socialist society in any portion of the earth.

The History of 80 Years

How great, however, has been the development of events in the last eight decades! In 1848, when Marx and Engels wrote, the trade union movement was weak and in many parts of Europe nonexistent or regarded as altogether illegal. Today it is a powerful and recognized factor in most of the countries of the old world. In 1848, there was practically no cooperative movement. The famous Rochdale flannel weavers had started their small enterprise in Toad Lane, Rochdale, only a few years before and were just getting started. Today the workers have combined in the great consumers' cooperative movement by the tens of millions. There was scarcely a labor party in existence. The workers were virtually disfranchised. Years later Gladstone declared that not one out of five hundred workers in Great Britain were privileged to vote. Today various types of labor governments have at one time or another during the past dozen years been in office in most of the important countries of Europe from Great Britain to Russia.

In 1848 the mass of workers were illiterate and the literature on Socialism and labor was taboo in most circles. Today the mass education of workers has

grown apace and the Socialist movement has contributed to literature many of the most brilliant writers of modern times.

In 1848, as Engels pointed out in his "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844," stark misery was the lot of practically all of the workers. Today the organization of labor and the progress of industry have wrought very considerable changes. The trend for the most part has been in the direction pointed out by the brilliant young leaders of the Socialist movement.

We in America particularly have a long way to go before we gain the heights foretold by Marx and Engels. We have a more complicated situation to meet than they perhaps realized. But though the march of the world may be retarded, it cannot be stopped and before many years we may tentatively expect that the workers too will begin to respond to "Sisters of the two German students," "speakers of the world unite," and will be marching abreast of the other great movements of the world toward the rising sun of the cooperative commonwealth. But we must do our part.

Berger Moves To Enforce Constitution

WASHINGTON.—A bill to put teeth in the first amendment to the constitution by passing an enforcement act has been introduced in the House by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist. Violations of the first amendment are made punishable by two years' imprisonment, or a fine of \$5,000, or both.

In a statement Representative Berger said: "Putting teeth into the 18th amendment has become a favorite phrase with the Anti-Saloon league and its servants in public office since the amendment was adopted. It has never been suggested, however, by any group of 'reformers' and least of all by the Anti-Saloon league, that the first amendment, which is much older, certainly more important, and almost as frequently violated, ought to be strengthened."

"Both Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, who did not agree on many things, agreed that the first amendment, which guarantees the right to speak freely, write freely, and of peaceable assembly, was the most important part of the constitution. The 18th amendment restricts human liberty, while the first extends it. Moreover, I believe that the first amendment can be enforced without trouble if a law is passed for its enforcement, because it is to practice liberty, while the 18th amendment cannot and will not be enforced."

"Unfortunately, human liberty meant more to Americans in the 18th and 19th centuries than it means to America today. American business men today worship Mussolini who brags that he wipes his feet on liberty, and who only last week wiped out the last vestige of democracy in Italy. They find fault with the Russian Communists not because of their methods, or because a small oligarchy rules in Russia, but because they violated the sacred rights of private property."

"Of course, there is much lip service paid to Americanism, which now means that children must salute the flag and write essays about the constitution. Patriotism now means not the greatest good for the greatest number, but military display—flag day, navy day, defense day. Democracy today means jobs for 'deserving Democrats.'"

Give the unemployed workers due not conscience.
It looks like a sultry summer
the I. R. T.

THE LIVING FORCE OF MARXISM

"The Fundamentals of Marx Remain Unshaken"

By Morris Hillquit

International Secretary of the Socialist Party

IN THE spring of 1848 there appeared in London a pamphlet entitled "Manifesto of the Communist Party."

It was published in German. Its authors were two young emigrants named Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The document did not pretend to be anything more than the political program of a small organization, which never attained to a degree of practical importance and a few years later entirely disappeared. And yet, no book, not even the Bible, has so profoundly influenced the course of history as has this pamphlet during the eighty years since its obscure birth.

It has been translated into practically every European language and into several others. It has circulated in millions of copies. In two generations it has animated the thought and guided the conduct of the militant labor cohorts of the world. It has served to weld the Socialist parties of the different countries into one unified and harmonious movement. It has imbued them all with the same fundamental political philosophy and has furnished them with the concrete outlines of the same program. Volumes have been written in comment, amplification, interpretation and application of the Manifesto. The technical terms first employed in it have become household words to millions in all lands and in all stations of life. What accounts for the phenomenal vitality of the little booklet?

The Communist Manifesto is the first definite formulation of the nature, aims and struggles of the modern Socialist movement. There were Socialist movements before the Communist League and there were Socialist programs before the Communist Manifesto. The utopian schools of France from Babeuf to Fourier, the English Owenites and the German followers of Wilhelm Weitling all envisaged a social order based on the common ownership of productive wealth.

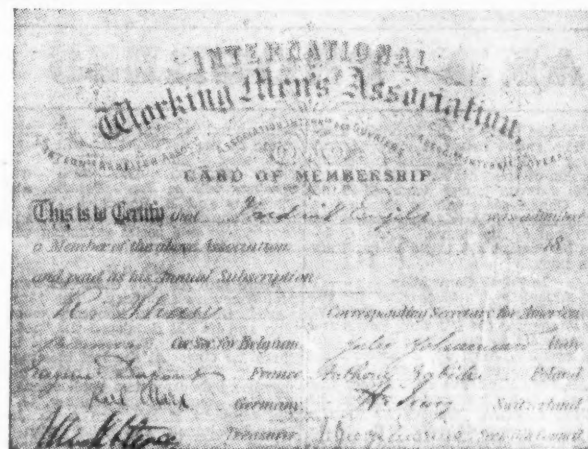
But their philosophies and programs sprang from nebulous ethical concepts. They combated the social system of their day as "unjust" or "irrational." They advocated their plans of social reconstruction in the name of fairness and reason. The evils of capitalist society appeared to them primarily as aberrations from the eternal path of righteousness, which only had to be persuasively pointed out in order to be corrected. Their principal methods were propaganda and "demonstration" by social experiment. Their appeal was directed indiscriminately to all classes of society.

The Communist Manifesto established the Socialist movement on a realistic basis and revealed its historic sanction and mission.

These are the guiding thoughts of the Communist Manifesto:

The ever changing forms of social organization in human society are not fashioned by arbitrary design, but are determined by the changing mode of wealth production. The modern system of production is the system of capitalism, which is characterized by the separation of the worker from his work tool. Under this system industrial society is divided into two main interest groups or classes: the capitalists or bourgeois, who own the sources and instruments of wealth production and appropriate the profits of the industrial process, and the modern workers, proletarians without property or tools, who are compelled to work for wages, to "sell themselves piecemeal" to the capitalists as a commodity. Between the two classes there is not a mere lack of mutual understanding and fair dealing, but an inherent and ineradicable conflict of interest, which results in an uninterrupted struggle, open or hidden. The history of our time is shaped by the struggles between the

FRIEDRICH ENGELS' RED CARD



The New Leader has attempted to reproduce from the original the membership card held by Friedrich Engels in the International Workingmen's Association (the First International). The card contains signatures of figures who have made Socialist history, which has been world history. The cards say: "International Workingmen's Association, Card of Membership. This is to certify that Frederick Engels was admitted a member of the above association, etc. . . . (signed) R. Shaw, Corresponding Secretary for America; Bernardi, Cor. Sec. for Belgium; Eugene Dupont, France; Karl Marx, Germany; Mark Stephen, treasurer; Jules Johannard, Italy; Anthony Zabriski, Poland; H. Jung, Switzerland; J. George Eccarius, Secretary to General Council."

bourgeoisie and the proletariat as all recorded history in the past has been one of class struggles.

In this struggle the workers have the advantage of being steadily increased in number, consolidated and organized by forces inseparable from the process of capitalist development. The eventual triumph of their cause is thus assured by the infallible economic laws of history.

But while the victory of every new class in the past has entailed the subjugation of another class, the victory of the modern working class must inevitably result in the emancipation of human society as a whole. Dependence in modern society is primarily economic. The working class can free itself from economic independence only by abolishing the private ownership in the means of common property and making them the common property of society as a whole, thus doing away with all classes and removing all causes for class struggles. The struggle of the modern workers is therefore a struggle for the emancipation of the whole human race.

The character of the modern Socialist movement was thus indelibly stamped as a labor movement. Its battlefield was fixed in the industrial and political arena. Its program and methods were established.

The pivotal points of the whole elaborate Marxian philosophy were thus clearly foreshadowed in the first dozen pages of the Communist Manifesto.

But what gives the work its undying value as a source of inspiration and instrument of propaganda for the Socialist movement of the whole world is not only the lucidity of its reasoning but also its brilliance of style, its fire and eloquence.

The Communist Manifesto is more than a declaration of principles or a program of action. It is a challenge, a ringing and defiant challenge of the adolescent and rebellious proletariat to a triumphant capitalism, a declaration of war to the bitter end.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a

Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workingmen of all countries unite!" How many times in the last eighty years have these closing words of the Manifesto electrified working-class assemblies from one end of the world to the other; how many historic working-class battles have been fought and won with this inspiring slogan!

When the Manifesto was written its authors were young, the Socialist movement was in its infancy and the capitalist world was comparatively new.

Universal suffrage, parliamentary government and social legislation were things practically unknown. There were hardly any methods for the accomplishment of radical political and economic changes except violent revolutions. There was very little in the prevailing social order worth preserving.

It is at least very doubtful that Marx and Engels, if they were living today, would insist on the inevitable necessity of a violent revolution of that they would advocate the abolition of "all existing social conditions."

In many other details history has corrected the views expressed in the Communist Manifesto. It could not be otherwise. The Manifesto was a work of genius, but no mortal is infallible, particularly when undertaking to forecast all directions of the bewildering course of social and political development.

Marx and Engels were the first to recognize this truth, which was an organic part of their dialectic philosophy. Writing only twenty-four years after the first publication of the Manifesto they uphold only "the general principles" embodied in the document. With the progressive democratization of the principal countries of Europe both became warm supporters of Socialist parliamentary action.

Only persons devoid of judgment and imagination or uncritical fanatics like our neo-Communists can attempt in 1928 a literal interpretation and application of a program formulated in 1848.

But if the Communist Manifesto has become obsolete in some details of theory and inapplicable in many points of method and tactics, it is true that its

"Socialist Program For 1928" Will Be Thomas' Phila Topic

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

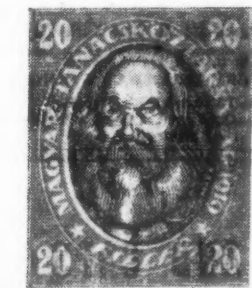
Philadelphia.—North Carolina Branch Socialist Party, will give a Comradeship Dinner at the Stephen Girard Hotel, 2027 Chestnut street, Sunday evening, March 4, 7 p.m. Norman Thomas will speak on "A Socialist Program for 1928." Every trades-union has been asked to send delegates, as have the Workmen's Circle Branches and the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Societies.

This subject, which is the consideration of every serious thinking Socialist, should have the attention of everyone interested in working class political programs. Those of you who attended these cheery, informal suppers of North Philadelphia Branch last year, will not need any urging to get their tickets for this one on March 4. North Philadelphia, with the cooperation of Local Philadelphia Socialist Party, is endeavoring to have all groups meet in friendly, intimate dinners. The plates are limited to 300 and must be purchased before March 1. The tickets, which include an excellent supper, are \$1.25 each and may be secured from any branch of the Socialist Party or at the Socialist Party Headquarters, 808 Locust street, Room 3.

Price Article Next Week

"Behind the Scenes of Two Dictatorships," M. Phillips Price's engrossing story of Angelica Balabanoff's later years in the revolutionary movement of Italy and Russia, was crowded out this week because of the material on the anniversary of the Communist Manifesto. Mr. Price's article will be completed in two more installments. Next week, he will tell of Balabanoff's part in the Zimmerwald peace movement, her return to Russia after the Bolshevik revolution, giving some interesting sidelights on Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev.

KARL MARX STAMP



The short-lived Communist dictatorship in Hungary in 1919 paid recognition to Karl Marx by reproducing his picture on the Federal postage stamps. Pictures of Friedrich Engels and Ferdinand Lassalle were also engraved on stamps.

THE BAR WOULD MAKE LABOR LAWYER-CONSCIOUS

By Louis Stanley

THE gist of the American Bar Association formula for the settlement of disputes between labor and capital is the replacement of class consciousness by lawyer consciousness.

Differences among business men may be settled by arbitration agreements enforceable by law. There is no reason, runs the theory, why the same rule should not apply to the class struggle.

The embodiment of the majestic impartiality of the law is Julius Henry Cohen, himself, fast approaching Chief Justice Taft in appearance.

Julius Henry Cohen of New York is chairman of the sub-committee on labor legislation of the Committee on Commerce, Trade and Commercial Law of the American Bar Association. His colleagues are one hundred per cent Americans from various parts of the country. They believe with him in law and order and above all the sanctity of contracts. Labor agreements, they say, whether individual or collective, are also made in heaven.

Julius Henry Cohen will be remembered as counsel for the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association from 1910 to 1915 and of the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, both of New York City, from 1913 to 1916. He was so impressed with Protocol established in the cloak and suit industry after the bitter strike of 1910 that he wrote a book about it in 1916, entitled "Law and Order in Industry." There he had already concluded that trade agreements should have the validity of law and that decisions made by arbitrators under such agreements should be filed in federal courts and have the force of judicial decrees. In 1919 he published "An American Labor Policy" in which he advocated "a new democratic law and order" based upon legally binding agreements which were premised upon the freedom to organize, freedom to deal collectively, and security from arbitrary discharge. His lawyer consciousness was upmost. He had expressed himself in 1916 in his book, "The Law—Business or Profession?" He had thrown himself into the movement to make commercial arbitration agreements binding and had written a treatise on the subject in 1918 under the name "Commercial Arbitration and the Law." Law and order was beautiful, expedient, and above all dignified.

"Dignity was the key-note of the hearings conducted by the dignified Julius Henry Cohen in the dignified chamber of the dignified Bar Association Building in New York City. There was a lapse here and there, such as when Lawyer Cohen shouted at his witnesses in his anxiety to convince them of his point of view, while he had them fixed helplessly on the stand; or when Lawyer Cohen, like an old fashioned peacemaker, petulantly refused to hear William Z. Foster, Communist, whom he had permitted to take the stand, because the law and order advocate did not approve of the latter's kind of propaganda. The lawyer preferred his own. Thus, dignity was preserved. As the sub-committee stated in its press release for the Wednesday morning newspapers, "The chairman, Mr. Julius Henry Cohen, will announce at the opening of the hearings that there will be no smoking."

The formula, as Lawyer Cohen insists upon dignifying his committee's proposal, has two features:

(1) A declaration by Congress encouraging responsible organizations of employers and responsible organizations of employees to make contracts through negotiations and arbitration, such contracts when freely and voluntarily made to be in all respects lawful and binding and the provisions for settlement of differences by arbitration to be irrevocable and enforceable in a manner not described but understood to be along the lines of the Watson-Parker Railroad Labor Law, which provides for the filing of decisions in a federal court; and

(2) The establishment of a National Industrial Council to investigate and make recommendations from time to time.

The contentious questions raised by the formula are these:

1) Who are to be considered responsible organizations of workers? and

2) Should arbitrators' awards be enforceable by the courts?

On these two main points the responsible organizations of employers and employees made no commitments. They did not have to. They would not disturb Lawyer Cohen's dignified party unnecessarily. They thought highly of the American Bar Association and of the dignified chairman of its sub-committee on labor legislation. These praises our prophet of industrial peace was pleased

to hear for they made the hearings a success.

President Green was not even examined. He delivered a pleasant address, promising nothing but extreme interest. No representative of organized labor testified, though it was known that Matthew Wolf, Victor A. Olander and John P. Frey as a committee of the A. F. of L. had conferred with the well-intentioned lawyers. The three were present and divided their time between the hearings and the lobby. President Green did make some informal remarks from the floor when Lawyer Cohen asked for the preparation of data by the A. F. of L. on arbitration agreements of the affiliated unions. President Green graciously promised to comply with the request and made the significant remark that nothing that smacked of compulsion would win the approval of organized labor.

The two witnesses who might be said to represent the organized employers' point of view were skeptical. Marjorie K. Hart, representative of the employees on the New York State Industrial Commission, stated flatly that the formula, if put into execution, might encourage trade union organization and that the very discussion of the question was disturbing. James A. Emery, lobbyist and counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Industrial Council, was more subtle. Lawyer Cohen could not or would not pin him down. Emery wanted to be sure that all forms of employer-employee relationship were included. Company unionism was never once mentioned by name but Lawyer Cohen was bright enough to get the point and assured the slippery lobbyist that all forms were contemplated in the general proposition. Then, Emery added in a philosophical vein, that in this country we have been blessed with individual relationships, too. Would those be undisturbed? The answer was that even these fitted into the comprehensive scheme of Lawyer Cohen for if there was no collective agreement freely and voluntarily made, then the formula did not apply. Emery then made some complimentary remarks about the performance and promised his cooperation, though he could not pledge his organizations to anything.

The experts who testified were less

spectacular but perhaps more illuminating. Gilbert H. Montague gave assurances that agreements made under the formula would not come under the purview of the anti-trust laws if price control as such was not mentioned. He was anxious, however, that the regular instruments of legal relief should not be disturbed. By this he meant injunctions. Lawyer Cohen assured the witness that the latter had given ten thousand dollars' worth of legal advice.

Charles L. Bernheimer, chairman of the committee on commercial arbitration of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, who had done so much to make commercial arbitration a reality explained that the 1925 commercial arbitration law of the United States, introduced at the instance of the commerce committee of the American Bar Association, had come to exempt "seamen, railroad employees and any other class of workers engaged in foreign or interstate commerce," because of the objections of organized labor, particularly the seamen. Lawyer Cohen constantly referred to this provision as an impediment to the realization of the formula. It seems quite likely that before the A. F. of L. will give its official sanction to the Bar Association proposal that it will call a conference of trade union officials where claims for exemption from the operation of the law would be entertained. The trade unions cannot but realize that being legally bound by arbitration awards is a form of involuntary servitude. It is compulsion; it is slavery. It takes no account of the realities of the industrial struggle.

The other witnesses touched on these points. Raymond V. Tageroff, impartial chairman of the New York cloak and suit industry, and Jacob Billikopf, impartial chairman of the men's clothing industry of New York, pointed out that compulsion of any kind would not work in the needle trades. They intimated that the social, economic and psychological elements of industry invalidated the legalistic formula. They could not state publicly that the impartial machinery was based upon a balance of power of the parties to the agreement but they suggested that the fundamental principles and rights were already established and were never arbitrated.

Royal Meeker, formerly United States Commissioner of Labor, and P. W. Martin of the International Labor Office, made this clear when they distinguished between justiciable disputes and conflicts of interest between adjustments by interpreting the agreement and the matching of strength before the contract is written.

W. Jett Lauck, economist for the railroad brotherhoods reverted to his old advocacy of an industrial code, which as co-author, he had boosted in the book by that name and which he had used as a basis for his recent statement to the press. Lauck was disappointing. He agreed with Lawyer Cohen's fundamental suggestions and even abandoned codes for the present as a matter of expediency.

David Drechsler, counsel for the New York Clothing Manufacturers' Exchange, was in favor of the formula because

workers could be hailed to court if they did not live up to the agreement. Of course, Lawyer Cohen was impressed with the sanctity of contract. He cared nothing for the realistic situation. As a matter of fact, agreements would not work at all if various lapses were not overlooked because they meant bread and butter and life to the workers.

The most hopeful things about the hearings were the poor attendance, the evasion of definite commitments by responsible parties, the danger it showed of encouraging company unionism, and the light it threw upon the governmental enforcement of law and order in industrial relations. The American Bar Association does not meet until July. Lawyer Cohen thinks that that organization is acting as counsel for the so-called public. Lawyer consciousness is not a new phenomena in history. Dignity alone has never solved industrial problems.

THREE PEACE PLANKS

A Program To Do Something— Besides Talk—For Peace

By Lew Head

WE, the people of the United States, have, for an altogether too long a time, sat back in our chairs and, silently or audibly, expressed our approval or disapproval of the way our servants, those whom we elect to do our bidding, are handling our affairs. Now, for once, at least, let us speak for ourselves. Let us speak for the people. Let us speak for the people who have something to say about it. Let's put a proposition up to these gentlemen and give them our commission to go ahead and do it, whether they like it or not. What do you say?

The United States can, should and will, if we say so, put an end to war, so far as this country is concerned, and come fairly close to stopping wars all over the world. If it's worth doing, let's do it. If it's worth the price, let's pay it. If there isn't enough interest among us, the people, to quit wholesale murder and property destruction, then, let's shut up and let our servants be our masters.

There's an abundance of talk, all over the world, about disarming; talk from Russia, Poland, Germany, France and the United States, not excluding the League of Nations. But, with all this talk and these good pretensions, who sees anybody disarming? Sir Robert Cecil says the only way to disarm is to disarm. Nothing could be stated with greater plainness than that. Everybody agrees, that is, everybody who is seriously thinking about the matter at all, that disarming is a positive, definite and certain method of endings wars.

Three Possible Steps

There are three steps that, taken today by the United States, would bring armed conflict throughout the world to an end. Each one of these steps could be taken by the present session of Congress. All of them are possible by legislation and no amending of the Constitution is necessary. These three steps have been subjected to criticism by lawyers, thinkers and statesmen. They agree that a way out has been found that is simple, certain and practical. Besides, these steps are easily and quickly available. First, prohibiting the loaning of any American money to any people, one dollar of which is to be used for the payment of war debts, the support of any armed force or preparation for war.

Second, the abolition of the Department of War and the transfer of such men and equipment as are needed for the purpose, to the Department of the Interior, where they shall be used for national police purposes and the construction of such works of peace as control of the Mississippi river; completion of the Muscle Shoals project; building of the Boulder Dam proposition; planning and finishing the St. Lawrence river plans and other monuments of progress that are worthy of our civilization.

Third, the abolition of the Department of the Navy and the transfer of such personnel, materials and equipment as are necessary for the purposes, to the Department of Commerce, there to be used for the promotion and protection of the maritime commerce of the United States.

Just a word about each of the three steps.

The greatest creditor in the world is the United States. There is now owing this country more than \$11,000,000,000. It is all payable in gold. There is less than \$10,000,000,000 in gold in the whole world. Most of this over \$7,000,000,000, is in the United States right now. The United States has a prior lien on all the gold that it does not possess. No nation in the world has enough war money, which is gold money, to start, carry on or complete a war. Any nation that wishes to go to war must first negotiate loans of gold. No great loan of gold can be negotiated in the world without considering the United States, either borrowing from or getting the consent of this country. If this country refuses to make the loan or countenance it, no nation could go to war.

In other words, if we, the people, made it known to our servants in office, that no more money is to be loaned for war purposes of any kind, directly or indirectly, that would come pretty nearly ending war, wouldn't it? And there was never a time in history when it could be done better than right now; never a nation in the history of the world that could do such a trick at such a time, but this nation. You might even go as far as to add to the constitutional definitions of treason, the violation of such a law.

If Congress discontinued the Department of War, approximately 300,000 soldiers and officers would be returned from idleness, of which nine-tenths of them are guilty nine-tenths of the time, into the channels of peace and constructive benefits. It has cost this country \$20,000,000,000 in the last two decades to support its army and that same army has not contributed ten cents worth of calculable good to prosperity to the people of this country. It is planned to spend over one-third of a billion dollars on that same army for the present fiscal year, without any war in sight, except in Nicaragua, which is absolutely unconstitutional.

Put the Army to Work

For once in the history of this country, let us, the people, put the army to work on something worth while. Never mind if they did join the army to get out of working for a living. Let's make them work a while and return some of the cash we have wasted on them.

If Congress abandoned the Department of the Navy, about 150,000 men and officers would be turned back into the productive avenues of peace, as well as some of the \$12,000,000,000 we have appropriated for the navy in the last twenty years. Here, again, we have the picture of nine-tenths of the naval force idle nine-tenths of the time, standing watch against wars that never come, deaths that never occur and property that is never endangered. Furthermore, we would be rid of the threat of Congressman Thomas S. Butler, Pennsylvania, who is planning to introduce a bill in the present Congress to appropriate a billion more or less, for ten or fifteen new first class cruisers. This is the intelligent modern statesman who would have us add fifty-five new cruisers to our navy, "to catch up with Great Britain."

There are scores and scores of out of the way places, all over the face of the earth, where commerce is merely waiting to be developed, not under the muzzles of great guns, but with the hand of friendship and goodwill. With over \$300,000,000 demanded for the fiscal year for the navy and in excess of a billion dollars for next year, are there not enough of us common people in the United States to realize what a useless waste of money all this is?

Now, add the third of a billion for the army to a third of a billion for the navy for 1922; then add a billion for the navy for 1923 and another third of a billion for the army next year. For two years of peace, we will have spent close to two billion dollars of our money. The income tax is bringing in about \$2,000,000,000 annually. That means we are paying out for the maintenance of our army and navy approximately one-half what our income tax is bringing in.

Start the Ball Rolling

Say, you common people, remember this! Your national debt is, right now, about \$18,000,000,000. If you have the sense and courage to cut out your army and navy, you will save enough money to enable you to pay off your national debt inside of ten years.

The moment you rise up and demand that these things be done, your very act will ignite the spirit of France; the workmen of Great Britain; the men and women of Germany; the hordes of Russia; perhaps, the suppressed children of Italy—at any rate, the common people of the world. You will have fired the "will to peace" around the globe. You will have made war an utter impossibility between nations.

The United States should and can disarm, immediately, without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth. It is worth doing. The price is worth paying. The only way to disarm is to disarm. Let's do it, you and I, the common people, who employ these other fellows to do our work for us. Just this time, if it never happens again, let us do a little legislating on our own hook.

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, guides, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and other necessary information by writing William H. Henry, Executive Secretary, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Coolidge Leads the Way
Albert Sprague Coolidge of Massachusetts comes to help the Socialist Party and backs his wishes up with a \$200 check—this in addition to a monthly contribution of \$25 the year around. Comrade Coolidge is not the type that makes a big fuss and then falls to act, but in his quiet way sends the check with a very brief letter stating "In view of the approaching campaign, I am enclosing check for \$500 as a campaign contribution."

There are others who can give this amount; there are many who can give a liberal contribution, though not as large as that of Comrade Coolidge, but we will be the forerunner of a good, liberal contribution from all who can spare it.

We have a most splendid opportunity to build the party in every state. We can and must have our ticket on the ballot in every state.

Pennsylvania

New Members in Reading
The 18th ward branch added 39 new members at a recent meeting. The membership of this branch is now 120 and 75 great things can be looked for from that end of the city during the coming campaign. The branch will meet again on Thursday, Feb. 28, at which time Councilman George W. Snyder will deliver an address. All meetings are open to the public.

Despite the heavy downpour of rain last Tuesday night, 21 new members and three who already belonged to the party responded to the call for an organization meeting in Charles Yeager's store at Rosedale and made plans to organize under the jurisdiction of Local Berks.

James H. Maurer will address a public meeting on Sunday, March 11, at 7 o'clock in the Moose Temple at High and Charlotte streets, on "What I Saw in Europe." Maurer has delivered this lecture in a number of cities and repeated it two weeks ago to a crowded house in the Orpheum theatre in Reading.

York
Lilith M. Wilson, of Reading addressed a good meeting in Labor Temple last week. The meeting was arranged by the Socialist Local. She spoke on "What the Socialist Administration is Doing in Reading." It was an instructive lecture. The speaker showed that although Socialist officials have been in office only a short time they have taken actions and laid plans of great benefit to the working class. Local York desires speakers for other meetings.

Mrs. Wilson's Lectures
Lilith M. Wilson, of Reading, who has been an organizer for the National Office, finds that workers in other cities are much interested in the Reading Socialist administration. She is available for meetings in eastern Pennsylvania and near by states. Terms and dates may be obtained by addressing her at R. F. D. 2, Blunking Spring, Pa.

North Philadelphia
The Children's Dramatic Club are arranging a play for the North Philadelphia Branch called "The Socialist Tree." Rehearsals are now taking place Saturday afternoons at the Labor Institute. There are a number of the minor parts which can be filled. If you have any children, particularly smaller children, send in their names at once to Marie W. Hodgson, 524 N. 6th street, Philadelphia.

Branch York
Branch York is again waking up and on Saturday evening held a meeting at which Lilith Wilson, of Reading, was the speaker. Her subject was the victory in Reading. Comrade Shay writes that he expects to double the membership and make the Socialist Party a real force in York.

Oklahoma

With every mail, applications for membership are arriving from Oklahoma. We are going to have a live, fighting party in that state as it was during the period prior to the world war. A state convention of the party will be announced in a short time. Those wishing to become a member of the party in that state should communicate with the National Office at once.

West Virginia

"Going strong" is the proper statement for West Virginia when it comes to the building of the party organization there. John F. Higgins, State Secretary, writes that he is more than pleased with the support he is getting. "We will have a state ticket on the ballot. We will have a delegate at the National Convention and we will have a real organization," says Higgins.

Texas

More dues arrive from Texas. "More members are joining the party; there is more enthusiasm," is the report of the State Secretary. "The report of the forefront in party building; we will have a state ticket," writes Comrade Taylor, and then sends a contribution to the National Organization to assist other parts of the country.

Kansas

Ross Magill is continuing his good work. Most satisfied with his old car, he trades it for a better one and writes he must have a better machine to take him over his territory. He is making plans to cover the entire state and make a good job that Kansas will be answering the old question that has been a by-word for many years—"What's the matter with Kansas?"

Wisconsin

Wisconsin Socialists never sleep. Whenever a letter is sent to local state branches, the National Office for funds, we always hear from Wisconsin in a practical way. Now they are lining up their forces to sweep Milwaukee in the spring election. It looks promising for a clean sweep. The National Office has shipped 100 of the Debs book, "Walls and Bars", to fill the immediate demands in Milwaukee.

Indiana

Indiana Socialists are lining up old and new party members. The ex-Governor of that state recently finished his term in Atlanta prison for corruption and attempts to send the present Governor to take his place. It is reported from various parts of Indiana that never before were the great masses of voters so disgusted with the rottenness of the old parties. Our comrades are doing their utmost to reach the masses with our propaganda.

Kentucky

John L. Wraether, of Mayfield, is preparing to cover the entire western section of that state, getting new members, selling literature and gathering subscriptions to the Leader-Appeal. Wraether is considerably past 70 years young, and is still young in spirit.

Maine

Wendell F. Farrington, an old resident of Maine, now located at Harvard, Mass., has been engaged by the National Office to do organizing work in placing the party ticket on the ballot for the coming election. Alfred Baker Lewis, secretary of the Maine branch, is a part, is gladly cooperating with the National Organization and Comrade Farrington.

Montana

The Socialists go back on the ballot in Butte, for the first time in nine years, for the election of which Main H. Ainsworth will make the run for Alderman in the 7th Ward. Comrade Ambrose was a member of the Butte city council years ago, when our party was a dominant factor in Montana politics. He was the first Socialist alderman to be elected in Butte and served six years, being elected for three consecutive terms. He was considered one of the ablest aldermen that ever sat on the Butte city council. The prospects of his election are exceedingly hopeful. Ambrose is at present business agent for the Butte Barbers Union.

Utah

Socialists of Utah are, as usual, on the job. They never stop. Comrade Kennedy, District Secretary, not only looks after the party work in Utah, but wholeheartedly cooperates with the National Organization in an attempt to build up the party in Wyoming. Comrade Kennedy suggests that organization in that part of the country can be taken care of by our enthusiastic workers. E. G. Locke of Salt Lake City. We hope our financial situation will allow us to put this comrade to work, as well as others, in the very near future.

Northwestern District

Emil Herman is cooperating with the State Secretaries of Idaho and Utah, arranging for speaking dates on his way to the National Convention.

New Jersey

Jersey City
On Sunday evening, Feb. 26, at Fraternity Hall, 256 Central avenue, Jersey City, the problems facing the aged will be discussed and a state program of old age pension will be outlined by Mr. William Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, whose directors include Jane Adams, Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin; Father John A. Ryan, Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise; Cornelius Bryce Pinchot, wife of former Governor Clifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania; Ethelbert Stuart, Commissioner of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; and many others of equal prominence.

Newark

An audience of about 250 Essex County Socialists will greet the Henry Stump, Socialist Mayor of Reading, Penn., at a Victory Banquet arranged by Local Essex County, S. P., at Workmen's Circle Hall, 180 Belmont avenue, Newark, N. J., Saturday, February 25th, 8 p.m. William M. Feigenbaum will speak on the topic "Our Immediate Problems."

New York State

State Secretary Merrill advises that referendum ballots for the selection of three delegates at large to the National Convention will be sent out shortly. The following names: Nelson Belanger and Katherine Dewey, of Cohoes, Morris Hill, of New York, Arthur Jacobsen, of Albany, Herbert M. Merrill, of Schenectady, Norman Thomas, of New York, and Ezekiah D. Wilcox, of Elmira. The three highest will be delegates at large and the three next highest will be alternates at large.

District nominations for delegates will be announced next week. Local Rochester was voted to co-opt one delegate. The Workmen's Circle in arranging a lecture for Esther Friedman on or about March 21. The State Secretary announces his intention of calling an organization meeting for the official State Committee in New York during the time the National Convention is in session. Official Party members are required to meet and organize within fifteen days after the primary. Subdivision 1 of Article 131 of the Election Law provides that presidential electors shall be chosen for each party by its State Committee.

New York City

Anniversary Meeting
Friday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. A meeting will be held in the Debs Auditorium, People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8:30 p.m. by the City Organization and the Debs Club to celebrate the anniversary of the publication of the Communist Manifesto, the famous document written by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which heralded the beginning of the international Socialist movement. An appropriate program is being arranged. Speakers will include Morris Hillquit, Jacob Fanken, Algernon Lee and Chaim Kantorovich. There will be a fine musical program consisting of the following artists: Eva Barron Kozitz, mezzo soprano; Sol Deutsch, violinist; and Tristan Wolf, tenor. Admission is free.

Theatre Party
Socialists of Greater New York should reserve Wednesday evening, March 28

for a Theatre Party at the Republic Theatre. The entire house is engaged and the play is "Porgy," the most successful production of the Theatre Guild in many seasons. Seats range from \$1.10 to \$3.85. Choice seats can be obtained at the City Office, 7 East 15th street, or at branch and county offices. Those desiring to be present are urged to get their tickets now.

National Convention
The Arrangements Committee for the National Convention of the Socialist Party, having an important meeting and begs comrades to note these dates: Saturday evening, April 14, a concert, reception and dance at the Finnish Socialist Club, 218 W. 42nd street. A very fine program is being prepared to include the following numbers: Dances by Dorsha and her assistants; vocal and instrumental singing by the club; and a play to be performed by Party members and Yipsels. This sketch is being written by McAlister Coleman, Samuel A. Deane and August Claessens.

Sunday, April 15, at 5:30 sharp, a banquet for 1000 will take place at Park Palace. This will be one of the big events of the year and among the guests will be delegates, prominent Socialist and Labor Leaders from all parts of the country, all possible candidates for President and Vice-President, and Socialists and their friends of Greater New York and vicinity. There are several other events planned.

Special Notice
All comrades desiring facilities for housing and entertainment of out-of-town delegates are requested to get in touch with Secretary Claessens as soon as possible. Write Claessens, 218 W. 42nd street, New York City, and let him know you wish to stop at hotels, comrades in the Bronx and Manhattan particularly, may desire to entertain a delegate or two. Comrades having an apartment or a room to spare should notify the City Office whether these machines will be available for various trips made by out of town delegates to our cooperative institutions, Labor Schools and other points of interest.

MANHATTAN 4th A.D.
The 4th A. D. has arranged a Theatre Party at the National Theatre for March 28. The next meeting will take place Wednesday, Feb. 29, at the East Side Socialist Centre, 204 East Broadway. Important business will be taken up. Discussion will take place on "Current Topics."

6-8-12 A. D.
The branch will meet Monday evening, Feb. 27, at the headquarters, 96 Avenue C. A prominent Socialist will talk on some important question of interest to the members.

BRONX
A well attended meeting of the members of Bronx County was held Wednesday evening. A number of interesting matters discussed at length. Matters pertaining to the Y.P.S.L. and the organization of new branches were acted upon. The meeting also decided to donate \$200 to the City Office out of proceeds of the recent successful Ball at Hunts Point Palace.

Branch Seven East
This branch will meet Sunday, Feb. 26, at 2095 Daly avenue at 10 a.m. Comrades are asked to be on time as matters of importance vital to the branch are on the order of business.

Lecture by Dobseavage
On Friday evening, March 2, at the Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Boulevard, I. George Dobseavage will speak on "Murder as a Fine Art," following the business meeting. H. Fruchter and Eli Cohen are being transferred to this branch and both will help the growth of this new branch in the near future. A mass meeting will be arranged with prominent speakers and enrolled voters will be invited to attend.

KINGS 1-3-5th A. D.
The branch will meet Tuesday evening, Feb. 28, at 122 Pierrepont street. Ethelbert Brown will speak on "Capital Punishment."

2nd A. D.
Branch meeting are held every Friday evening at the club-rooms, 430 Hinesdale street. Plans are now being effected to improve the business meetings by inviting a speaker to discuss some topic of the day.

16th A.D.
A mass meeting will be held in the

Bensonhurst section and all enrolled voters in the 16th district will be invited to attend Monday evening, Feb. 27 at Savoy Mansion, 6322 20th avenue. Speakers will be Jacob Panken, August Claessens and B. Botwinick.

On Saturday evening, Feb. 25, an entertainment and social gathering will be held at the headquarters.

18th A.D.
Score one for Gus Claessens, our general Executive Secretary. The 18th has elected Claessens to honorary membership and he has developed the "let your member" spirit. The score thus far is three for Gus. At the last meeting Andrew T. Williams, though not a branch member, submitted two applications, and Daublin accounted for another. G. Fertik, formerly of the 23rd A. D. Jewish Branch, joined the 18th with four others, making a total of seven. The meetings are becoming crowded and a committee is on the job hunting new quarters.

At the Feb. 17 meeting Alexander Alexeyev, of the Russian Federation, spoke on the "Failure of the Russian Dictatorship" and delivered an interesting address. The usual discussion following the talk lived things up considerably.

Ethelbert Brown will address the 18th A. D. at 1465 St. Marks avenue, Friday evening, Feb. 24, on "Capital Punishment in the Light of Recent Executions." Comrades and friends are cordially invited.

22nd A.D.
Saturday evening, Feb. 25 at 218 Van Sicken avenue our reunion and dance will take place. Those who have attended our affairs the last two years know what a pleasant time the people have. Admission is fifty cents.

Tuesday evening, Feb. 28, W. M. Feigenbaum will speak on "Pan-American Relations." On March 6, J. L. Afros will speak on "My Experience in Soviet Russia."

23rd A. D.
The annual ball of Brownsville 23rd A. D. Branch will be held Saturday evening, March 3, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. All Socialists, sympathizers and friends of Brownsville will make merry until the small hours of the morning. A handsome Journal is being published and the proceeds will be used to liquidate the debt of the last campaign. Branch meetings are held every Monday evening at the Labor Lyceum. Business meetings are short and immediately following, Louis P. Goldberg speaks on Socialism. He has been giving a series of talks on this theme and has aroused considerable interest and discussion.

Yipseldom
Y. P. S. L. To Launch Publication
The Y. P. S. L. Committee on publication is on the job. The first step is to be a meeting of all active members in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, Saturday, February 25 at 3 p.m. An association is to be formed and a drive for funds will be launched. Everybody interested in the progress of the League should give all help possible to make this campaign a success.

Debate
On Feb. 26, at 3:30 p.m., the debating teams of Circles three and four will argue the question: "Resolved, That the United States Shall not Intervene Further in Nicaragua." Circle Three will uphold the affirmative. The debate will take place in the headquarters of Circle Four, 4215 Third avenue.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

AFTER READING "THE DAILY WORKER"

WELL, boys and girls, here we all are in East Fourteenth Street at a meeting of the good, old Nucleus all ready to hear the reading of a bunch of snappy theses on The Degradation of Revisionist Ideology or The Dilution of Militancy by Right Deviation. Won't that be fun?

Here comes Agitprop Sopotolsky with his thesis neatly typed so that he can read it aloud to a plenum of the embattled agriculturists of Red Dog, Kansas, what time he goes agitpropping around these parts.

It seems, according to Comrade Sopotolsky, that the fractions of the pitch-fork proletariat of Red Dog are to be drawn into the revolutionary vortex by the conversion of the functions of the bourgeois State through the process of catalysis into a genuine politburo. This he is going to prove by reading some of the livelier passages from N. Bukharin and Preobrazhensky and there is no doubt but that he will get a big hand in Kansas. At any rate that seems to be the opinion of all the functionaries and subsection organizers present and these are the boys who know all about the psychology of the corn belt. Haven't they been over to the model garden in Union Square talking to the employees of the Park Department and didn't they all go on a hike last summer up to Bear Mountain? And hasn't Kamenov said: "The exigencies of the direct and immediate struggle with the bourgeoisie, which was working underground and using its industrial position as an instrument of political and economic struggle—was at bottom a political situation of our nationalization policy?" You bet. Just you wait until word of this gets around the post-office at Red Dog and out on the R. F. D. routes and watch the rush to join the Workers Party.

But come on over here for a minute and take a look at this polcom. Did you ever see a more flourishing one? It's been going around all day with that trick prolet-cult and from here it looks a bit liquidated, although you never can tell.

Now we are going to sing a couple of prolet-songs.

Said the Plenum to the Polcom;
"Where are all your nuclei?"
Said the Polcom to the Plenum;
"They have gone to bed. But I
Am keeping up the struggle,
And the bourgeoisie I defy,
For I'm the Popper Agitprop
Of the Partee."

And swing into this one—

Will we make a revolution?
With a lot of swell parades?
Marching round and round 14th Street,
Underneath the burlesque shades?
Will we crash all S. P. meetings,
Making pretty nasty snoots,
Will we drown out all their speakers
With our cat-calls and our hoots?
Will we rough-house right-wing pickets,
Will we cheer for Comrade Bill,
Will we take it out in yelling?
Yes, you bet your life we will.

If you're all through singing, come on over here and meet the boys and girls of the Innocent Front. We use them to dig the jack out of the Liberal Suckers and they are certainly doing a splendid job. You couldn't think how nicely they speak over the telephone. "Oh, no, my dear, of course this hasn't anything to do with Communism. Just an extension of the adult education idea. We know that you are interested in anything that will help the workers. You see, we're starting a little school and we want you to be one of the charter members and of course, we'll be only too delighted to put your name on our letter-head and couldn't you tell us the names of some of your friends who might be interested . . ."

Don't you want to come along with us to the Prolet-theatre? It's going to be a pretty big night. They're putting on, "Sock 'Em and Knock 'Em", a delightful little thing by Pica Em Dash. The first scene is in a dope-fiend's back parlor in the gymnasium of Ohio State University. Five depressed stationary engineers are committing suicide by drowning in the swimming pool which comes down from the top of the stage directly over the parlor—it's the new expressionist scenery you know. A life and drum corps wearing masks which disguise them as Armenian rug-dealers are in hiding behind the seat occupied by Comrade Otto Kahn and during the big second act they come out and throw bromo-seltzer bottles at the audience. This makes every one feel at home and establishes that intimacy between the actors and spectators so essential to the new drama.

At intervals they blow on a siren borrowed from the municipal ferry landing and one man stands in the wings firing off a semi-machine gun borrowed from Herrin, Illinois. The whole thing creates the illusion of reality, grim yet lively. Do come. In case you have any trouble getting in, here are forty-eight passes.

To revert for a final moment to the discussion of bowling which we conducted in these columns recently, we are in receipt of a letter from Fellow Bowler Newman Levy, who, like ourselves, is a prominent member of the Dr. John Roach Straton Sunday Morning Breakfast and Bowling Club. F. B. Levy writes, Dear Sir:

"My attention has been called to your screech concerning Bowling, or Ten Pins as we call it on the upper west side. Your article demonstrates your total unfamiliarity with the fine points of the game—something I long suspected from watching your antics on the bowling links. "For instance there is your absurd error concerning the sponge that repotes in the brass cuspidor adjacent to each alley. We veteran bowlers know that it is placed there so that the bowlers can indulge in a sponge bath after each roll or "chucker" (so called from chucking the ball down the alley). What you ridiculously thought was chalk is merely solidified talcum powder, to be used after the sponge bath.

"In some of the more exclusive Bowling Parlors, which apparently you never patronize, small bath tubs with hot and cold running water are furnished by the management. It is a jolly sight to watch the bowlers sponging themselves after a hard fought roll, their bodies tingling with a healthy glow, splashing the water gaily over one another in a spirit of harmless fun.

"I should have thought that with your well known radical sympathies you would have hesitated to refer to your bowling experiences. What will your readers say when they learn that for the past six months you have carefully avoided anything that remotely resembles a strike?

"Moreover when you speak of getting 30 you're just boasting."

Yeah? Well I would it surprise you to know that once last Sunday we got all of ninety-eight? It certainly surprised

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

Contemporary America

FROM REPUBLIC TO EMPIRE. The outbreak of the World War in 1914 found the United States ready to play the role of a world power. Four years later it became one of five powers that drew the map of the new world. American bankers came into control of the money vats of the world. Universal military conscription had become a fact, enacted and enforced with prison penalties by a party which had, in its platform of 1900, warned that militarism "would be a constant menace to our liberties"; which opposed militarism in that year as a "sure forerunner of compulsory military service and conscription," and which denounced this as "un-American, undemocratic and unrepulsive."

With conscription of youth, censorship of the press, sedition laws, and invasion of the rights of free assembly, all the characteristics of an empire ruled by a class of masterful owners became evident. The old republic was dead. The imperial revolution summoned collective capital and finance to the throne and the two leading parties served this class.

NEW FORMS OF CAPITAL. The revolution in property brought other phases of industrial organization, vertical and horizontal trusts. The horizontal trust consists of the union of all industries in a certain field, such as steel, electricity, or automobiles. The vertical trust means a union of industries from the bottom up, from raw materials, coal, forests, shipping, railroads up to the plants. These two forms often overlap and are also generally tied to powerful financial institutions. For example, the Ford Motor Company does not make only automobiles; it cuts trees, saws timber, mines coal and ore, runs a fleet of steamers, operates a railroad, blast furnaces, steel plants, rolling mills and glass plants and owns whole towns, including churches and stores. The super-trust is the fruit of the property revolution. It is the overlord of rural and urban workers, a monstrous offshoot of former capitalist enterprise.

The duPont Company is an example of the blending of the vertical and horizontal types by expansion into various fields. It began by making explosives. It now manufactures artificial silk, transparent wrapping paper, moving picture films, paints and varnishes; owns and operates a large hotel and a great building construction enterprise; and dominates a merger of 62 concerns which manufacture five types of automobiles, most of the taxicabs and a large number of motor buses and trucks.

The small enterprise is doomed to eventual extinction. Even the retail bu-

iness is being gathered in by chain store systems and former proprietors slowly decline to the status of petty vassals in the employ of the great overlords. The sovereignty of the overlords transcends state jurisdiction, ignores frontiers, and is expanding over the world. About 6 per cent of the total wealth of the world is owned here, most of it by the overlords.

THE REVOLUTION IN AGRICULTURE. Except for a few regions isolated from the general current of economic progress, agriculture has become a fished-out industry. Its non-paying dregs have been left to the farmer. Soil analysis, improved fertilizers, extermination of parasites, deeper plowing, adaptation of crops to the soil, and the introduction of a variety of machinery have increased the productivity of the farm many fold, but the increase has gone to others. Activities once remunerative to the farmer have been fished out of the farm and have become capitalistic industries enriching corporate owners. Meantime tenantry is increasing.

The farm was once a free economic unit. The market was near the farmer and he reached it with a team. It is now a world market in control of others. His credit was in the hands of a neighbor, generally his friend. It is now controlled by city financial kings. Instead of his team reaching the market, the railroad is his medium and it is in the hands of corporations. The market is "rigged" against him by those who gamble in his products. He sells in a cheap market and buys in a dear one. His simple implements once made and repaired by the village blacksmith have become machines that have passed into the hands of great corporations. Killing and dressing meat, once a source of income for him, has become a huge business of corporations. Preserving and selling fruits have also largely passed into corporate control. Dairy products have witnessed a similar transformation.

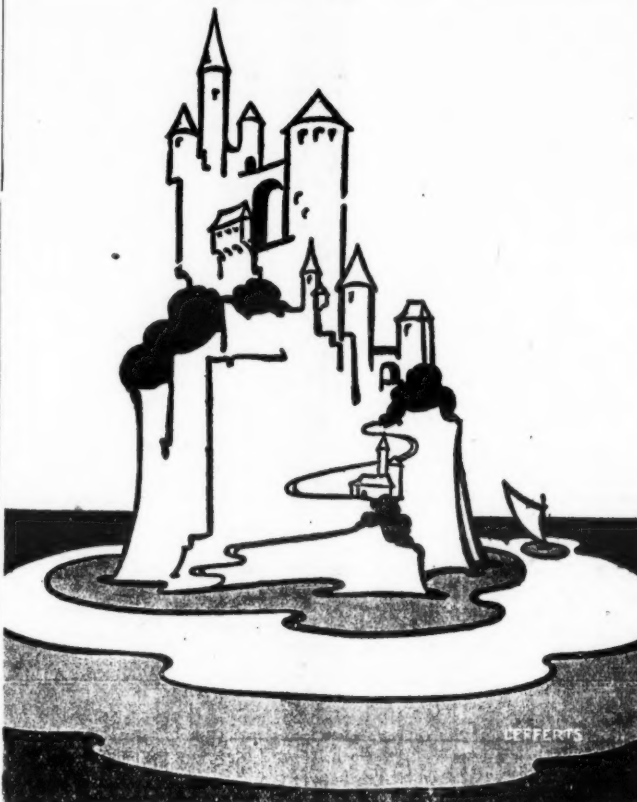
This is what is meant by the fished-out farm. The chief agencies of production, transportation, marketing, credit, and so on, have passed out of the hands of the farmer. With the main facilities of the old days of rural independence changed, and now in the hands of great corporations, the farmer has become a serf of our industrial and financial kings. More production will not help him. More production means larger incomes for those who control the essentials of farming. More ample credit and obtained on easier terms will help him, but it will not give him independence. The mastery of other essentials by city magnates condemns him to a humble status in society.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. From 1870 to 1900 the wealth of the United States increased threefold and was less evenly distributed than before the Civil War. In 1890 George K. Holmes estimated that "91 per cent of the families of the country own no more than 29 per cent of the wealth, and 9 per cent of the families own about 71 per cent of the wealth."

In 1915 Prof. W. I. King estimated the poorest class of our population at 65 per cent which owned only 5 per cent of the wealth; the rich at 2 per cent of the population but in possession of 60 per cent of the wealth. He divided the middle class into upper and lower layers, the upper comprising 18 per cent of the population who own from \$2,000 to \$40,000 worth of property; the lower layer constituting 15 per cent and owning about \$1,000 worth of property.

In 1926 the Federal Trade Commission estimated the shares of the product of industry going to labor as wages and salaries, but as salaries include income received by officers of corporations, proprietors, and firm members, this report conceals rather than reveals the distribution of wealth. The Commission compared 2,854 estates in 1912 and 4,160 in 1923—estates considered fairly representative of city, town and rural population: It concluded that the comparison shows a tendency toward a wider distribution of wealth. This claim is subjected to a keen and critical analysis by Lewis Corey. He concludes that "The inequality and class concentration of ownership of income-yielding property is overwhelming. 6.4 per cent of the gainfully occupied owning 67.5 per cent of income-yielding property." He adds that "Ownership is a non-wager perquisite." Government figures, we may add, appear to be presented with the purpose of concealing the real facts.

From the jacket of "Sagunto" (Doubleday, Doran)



From the jacket of "Sagunto" (Doubleday, Doran)

(To be Concluded Next Week)

St. Colomba AND The River

BY THEODORE DREISER

(Continued From Last Week)

BUT, although the air pressing outward toward Cavanaugh held the bundles in place, still this was not sufficient to keep all the air in or all the water out. It poured about the dead man and between the chinks, rising inside to their waists also. Once more it threatened their lives and now their one hope was to pull open the shoreward door and so release themselves into the chamber beyond, but this was not to be done unless the escaping air was completely blocked or some other method devised.

Cavanaugh, on the outside, his whole mind still riveted on the men whom he was thus aiding to escape, was the only one who realized what was to be done. In the panel of the door which confronted him, and the other, which they were trying to break open, were thick glass plates, or what were known as bull's eyes, through which one could see, and it was through the one at his end that Cavanaugh was peering. When it became apparent to him that the men were not going to be able to open the farthest door, a new thought occurred to him. Then it was that his voice was heard above the tumult shouting:

"Break open the outside bull's eye! Listen to me, Dennis! Listen to me! Break open the outside bull's eye!"

Why did he call to Dennis, his latter often asked himself afterwards. And why did Dennis hear him so clearly? Through a bedlam of cries within, he heard, but also realized that if he or they knocked out the bull's eye in the other door, and the air escaped through it inward, the chances of their opening it would be improved, but the life of Cavanaugh and his helpless companions would certainly be destroyed. The water would rush inward from the river, filling up this chamber and the space in which stood Cavanaugh. Should he? So he hesitated.

"Knock it out!" came the muffled voice of his foreman from within where he was eyeing him calmly. "Knock it out, Dennis! It's yer only chance! Knock it out!" And then, for the first time in all the years he had been working for him, McGlathery heard the voice of his superior waver slightly: "If ye're saved," it said, "try and do what ye can fer the rest av us."

In that moment McGlathery was reborn spiritually. Although he could have wept, something broke in him—fear. He was not afraid now for himself. He ceased to tremble, almost to hurry and awoke to a new idea, one of undying, unflinching courage. What!—There was Cavanaugh

outside there, unafraid, and here was he, Dennis McGlathery, scrambling about like a hare for his life! He wanted to go back, to do something, but could he? It was useless. Instead, he assumed partial command in here. The spirit of Cavanaugh seemed to come over him and possess him. He looked about, saw a great stave, and seized it.

"Here, men!" he called with an air of command. "Help knock it out!" and with a will born of terror and death a dozen brawny hands were laid on it. With a mighty burst of energy they assaulted the thick plate and burst it through. Air rushed in, and at the same time the door gave way before them, causing them to be swept outward by the accumulated water like straws. Then, scrambling to their feet, they tumbled into the next lock, closing the door behind them. Once in, they heaved a tremendous sigh of relief, for here they were safe enough—for the time being anyhow. McGlathery, the new spirit of Cavanaugh in him, even turned and looked back through the bull's eye into the chamber they had just left. Even as they waited for the pressure here to lower sufficiently to permit them to open the inner door he saw this last chamber they had left his foreman and a dozen fellow workers buried beyond. But what could he do? Only God, only St. Colomba, could tell him, perhaps, or had he?—him and fifteen other men, the while he had chosen to allow Cavanaugh and twelve men to perish! Had St. Colomba done that—or God—or who?

"'Tis the will av God," he murmured humbly—but why had God done that? . . . But somehow, the river was not done with him yet, and that, seemingly, in spite of himself. Although he prayed constantly for the repose of the soul of Thomas Cavanaugh and his men, and avoided the water, until five years later, still there was a sequel. By now McGlathery was the father of eight children and as poor as any average laborer. With the death of Cavanaugh and this accident, as has been said, he had forsworn the sea—or water—and all its works. Ordinary house shoring and timbering were good enough for him, only—only—it was so hard to get enough of this at good pay. He was never faring as well as he should. And then one day when he was about as hard up as ever and as earnest from somewhere was wafted a new

scheme in connection with this same old tunnel.

A celebrated engineer of another country—England, no less—had appeared on the scene with a new device, according to the papers. Great head was his name, and he had invented what was known as "The Greathead Shield," which finally, with a few changes and adaptations, was to rid tunnel work of all its dangers. McGlathery, sitting outside the door of his cottage overlooking Bergen Bay, read it all in the Evening Clarion, and wondered whether it could be true. He did not understand very much about this new shield idea even now, but even so, and in spite of himself, some of the old zest for tunneling came back to him. What times he had had, to be sure! What a life it had been, if a dog's one—and Cavanaugh—what a foreman! And his body was still down there entombed—erect, no doubt, as he was left. He wondered. It would be only fair to dig him out and honor his memory with a decent grave if it could be done. His wife and children were still living in Flatbush. It stirred up all the memories, old fears, old enthusiasms, but no particular desire to return. Still, here he was now, a man with a wife and eight children, earning three a day, or less—mostly less—whereas tunneling paid seven and eight as much as himself, and he kept thinking that if this should start up again and men were advertised for, why shouldn't he go? His life had been almost miraculously saved these two times—but would it be again?—that was the great question. Almost unceasingly he referred the matter to his saint on Sundays in his church, but receiving no definite advice as yet and there being no work doing on the tunnel, he did nothing.

But then one day the following spring the papers were full of the fact that work would soon actually be resumed, and shortly thereafter, to his utter amazement, McGlathery received a note from that same Mr. Henderson under whom Cavanaugh had worked, asking him to call and see him. Feeling sure that it was the river that was calling him, he went over to St. Colomba's and prayed before his saint, putting a dollar in the Orphan's box and a candle on his shrine, and then arising greatly refreshed and reassured, and after consulting with his wife, journeyed over to the river, where he found the old supervisor as before in a shed outside, considering one important matter and another.

What he wanted to know was this—did McGlathery want to take an assistant-foremanship under a new foreman who was going to be in charge of the day work here, one Michael Lavery by name, an excellent man, at seven dollars a day, seeing that he had worked here before and understood the difficulties, etc.? McGlathery stared in amazement. He an assistant-foreman in charge of timbering! And at seven dollars a day! He!

Mr. Henderson neglected to say that because there had been so much trouble with the tunnel and the difficulties so widely advertised, it was rather difficult to get just the right sort of men at first, although McGlathery was good enough any time. But the new shield made everything safe, he said. There could be no calamity this time. The work would be pushed right through. Mr. Henderson even went so far as to explain the new shield to him, its excellent points.

But McGlathery, listening, was dubious, and yet he was not thinking of the shield exactly now, nor of the extra pay he would receive, although that played a big enough part in his calculations, but of one Thomas Cavanaugh, mason foreman, and his twelve men, buried down below there in the coze, and how he had left him, and how it would only be fair to take his bones out, his and the others', if they could be found, and give them a decent Christian burial. For by now he was a better Catholic than ever, and he owed that much to Cavanaugh, for certainly Cavanaugh had been very good to him—and anyhow, had not St. Colomba protected him so far? And might he not in the future, seeing the position he was in? Wasn't this a call, really? He felt that it was.

Just the same, he was nervous and troubled, and went home and consulted with his wife again, and thought of the river and went over and prayed in front of the shrine of St. Colomba. Then, once more spiritualized and strengthened, he returned and told Mr. Henderson that he would come back. Yes, he would come.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BIBLE
Home Study Course (75 cents)
American Institute of Sacred Literature, Box V,
The University of Chicago, Chicago

GOOD CHEER COMRADES! Want to buy, sell, or swap books, bronzes, old china, clocks, curios, etchings, lamps, paintings, prints, oriental rugs? Buy, or stroll to Dacca, 814 Washington St., N. E. C. 917

AND QUEEREST, TOO

MOTION made and seconded that this is the richest country on earth. All in favor—What's that? All right, brother behind cornob amends motion by adding word "greatest" to "richest." Now, all in favor of the motion as amended say—Well, what do you want? Sure. Brother to the left of stove offers amendment to the amendment to the effect that word "greatest" be added to "richest and greatest." Now all in favor of the motion as per amendments one and two say "Aye."

The eyes have it and so ordered. There being no further business before the house, the secretary will now entertain us by reading humorous excerpts from the newspapers of the "richest, greatest and grandest country on earth." Go to it, secretary.

Secretary Josh Mulewhacker rising:

"Brother President and Brothers: These here pieces I'm about to read I found in a speech delivered by Senator Hiram Johnson before the Senate of the United States. They deal with conditions in the coal camps around Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, which, as you all know, is located in the United States of America: "We saw thousands of women and children literally starving to death."—New York News.

"Privacy? No. Over-crowded? Yes. But there is no lack of ventilation. With the temperature below freezing and a 30-mile wind howling down the valley and across the hillsides, there is warmth and a measure of comfort in snuggling up close as the cold air rushes in through the unmatched boards. * * * The \$3 a week allowance from the union must furnish food, clothing and other necessities. For a family of five this means a little less than nine cents per day."—New York Evening World.

"This uncivilized spectacle of families evicted from their homes and living like dogs among slops in kennels, opposite the very threshold of their vacant homes (from which they were evicted) is wrong.

"Children are hungry and sore-eyed in their kennels. Mothers have not the milk for their wretched babies.

"The civilization which countenances the wretchedness that exists along the hems of this fine city (Pittsburgh, U. S. A.) becomes a horror.

"Capital, by this behaviorism, is turning the heart of labor into gall.

"Incipient, red bolshevism is stalking these mining camps, children are born and reared into abhorrence of present conditions. * * *

"I have held strike-born babes in my arms who were brought into a shambles-like world within eight and sound of the other children of the family.

"It is less than two years since the writer returned from a tour of Russia, but in this brief survey of strike conditions in this city (Pittsburgh) she can safely say that she had never beheld the equal of the scenes of human squalor, degradation, poverty and misery that exist here on the outskirts of Pittsburgh.

"Day after day Public Opinion, passive, unbestirred, phlegmatic, flows past the cruel and ironic spectacle of miners' ex-homes boarded up and vacant, while the evicted families live opposite them in wooden huts, where even the most ordinary of human decencies cannot be observed.

"My fine lady of Pittsburgh, with the plumes in her hair, has had her garments jerked aside and beneath her finery she is covered with sores!

"Bright, green mildew on the rug across which Mrs. Jsdierer's youngest baby had crawled, and the barrel of rainwater which the Jsdierers kept indoors for washing, was filled with floating objects that seemed to make it smell. * * *

"The wife of this striking miner had a face of the thick lumpy texture of half-cooked oatmeal, and bony-headed, furiously smeared babies crawled over her while she tried to talk. She kept batting these children's hands out of her eyes and hair as I attempted to get her to explain to me the riddle of why she is willing to starve for a policy she only half understands. * * * a woman whose brain is dulled by months of malnutrition and whose eyes at 33 have the look to them of drained beds. * * *"—Fannie Hurst in the Hearst Press.

President Pickpacker, addressing Secretary Mulewhacker, who is frantically searching his pockets: "Is that all, brother?"

"No, it ain't. I had another piece. Oh, here it is," comes back the secretary. "I don't know how it fits in with these other pieces, but I'll read it, anyhow. It's from the New York Sun, and tells what helluva great philanthropists we coal diggers are. Here it is: "A gift of \$500,000, more than double any previous gift from an individual, was announced yesterday by Commander Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army. It came from John Markle, coal operator, of 520 Park Avenue, whose recent donations to charity have totaled nearly \$5,000,000. The money is to be used to erect an up-to-date residence for young business women on the Salvation Army property in Fourteenth Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues, and running through to Thirteenth Street, with accommodations for between 300 and 400 young women."

Voice of man behind cornob: "Brother President, I want to make another amendment to the motion we passed a while ago."

"You're out of order, Brother," announces Brother President, bringing down the gavel.

"Sure I am. So is the country, wherefore, I move to add the word 'queerest' to the 'richest, greatest and grandest.'"

Adam Coal digger.

"They'll Be Forgotten"

(On Reading in "America Arraigned", an Anthology of Sacco-Vanzetti Poetry
"They'll be forgotten in a week," he said.
And drained his coffee cup and laughed again:
"Those anarchists are now most safely dead"—
And as he said it I could see the stain

Of murder on his lips. His pudgy hands
Were crooked as if to throw the fatal switch—
And then I heard shrill cries through all the lands
That filled the air with anguish dark as pitch.

The cries were echoed by the mountain peaks
And carried by the sea to distant climes—
And I beheld the pallor on his cheeks
Of one who had been damned a thousand times.

Now in these songs I hear those anguished cries
That swept through all the lands like living fires.
"They'll be forgotten"—yes, when freedom dies!
"They'll be forgotten"—yes, when truth expires!
(C) —HENRY REICH, JR.

23 Expulsions Stir Up Row in Stenos' Union

ACTION of the executive committee of the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union in expelling 23 members of the union on charges of being Communists and "trouble-makers," has aroused much criticism on the part of members of the union. These charges that many of those expelled are not Communists and not "trouble-makers" but in fact, among the most active of the members. It is the intention of the expelled members to appeal to the American Federation of Labor for re-instatement.

Winston Daniels, one of the most active members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Socialist Party in the Bronx, has asked the New Leader to publish the following, which, he feels, is representative of a considerable portion of the membership of the union.

Mr. Daniels said: "At the February meeting of the B. S. & A. U., Local 12446 A. F. L., Business Agent Ernest Bohm reported on the action of the Executive Committee in expelling 23 members. The charges against these members are that they are Communists, Communist sympathizers, or trouble makers. About a year ago, the Executive Committee was given power to expel members who are of the above class. However, in this instance, no trial was ever given to these members. Sometime during the period between the January and February membership meetings, these 'office workers' received registered notice of disassociation from the union, with no reasons cited.

"At the meeting of February 20 held at 3 West 16th street at 6:45 p.m., the expelled members were not permitted to enter in order to appeal to the membership. Those expelled included almost every member of the Organization Committee, headed by Miss Sally Green, which had directed the campaign to organize the office workers of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

"The trouble began when the Amalgamated Bank gave notice during December to one of its clerks, Harry Rubin, of his discharge on December 31, 1927. The reason given was that he had violated rules and business usages of the bank and made other serious errors in his work. He claims it was due to his union activities as shop chairman of the bank employees and on the executive committee of the B. S. & A. U. The union officials tried to have the bank reinstated Rubin, but were unsuccessful.

"At the January meeting, the members voted 23 to 14 for a strike of the 78 employees of the Amalgamated Bank if Rubin was not reinstated in three days. Since the Bookkeepers are a Federal Union, directly affiliated with the A. F. L., strikes must be approved by the Executive Council of that body. The union officials protested against this strike vote. They claimed that the vote was not binding due to the fact that no advance notice of a proposed strike call was sent the members, and that a 2-3 vote as required was not secured.

"At the February meeting, President Emerich Steinberger claimed that the Executive Committee's action in expelling Communists, their sympathizers and trouble makers was not subject to review by the membership at the regular monthly meetings. Several members protested this ruling, but were ruled out of order by the President and no appeal from his ruling was allowed. In a talk, President Steinberger said that no Robert's Rules of Order is going to disrupt this union and that those in power would use methods which did not appeal to them in order to expel these undesirable and that when the union was cleared of this element, then democratic and legal procedure would be observed.

"The action taken by the Executive Committee of the Union is manifestly unfair to the expelled members and to the best interests of the union. The illegal and undemocratic manner of conducting the Feb. 20 meeting should be condemned and corrected. The actual reason for the expulsions is the interpretation of the fact that those who voted for the strike at the January meeting were of the undesirable element. That vote seems to have been ill-advised, but, to expel, without trial, active and sincere trade-unionists can only result in dual unionism."

Those poor farmers in the West who are running around in flippers without tires looking for work can now appreciate the millionaires who have retired on what these workers produced but did not get.

WEVD Programs

245.8M—WEVD—N. Y. C.—1220KC

SUNDAY, FEB. 26

12:30 Weismantle's Entertainers

1:00 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox

MONDAY, FEB. 27

1:00 Scholl Hour

2:00 Georges Rael, bass

2:30 Dudley Powers, cellist

2:40 Mary Siegrist, "Poems of the New Humanity"

3:00 Gedrun Ekeland, lyric soprano

3:20 Belgian Conservatory of Music, soloist

3:40 Dr. Thatcher Clark, elementary Spanish course

4:00 Marie Yunge, lyric soprano

4:15 Norman Allen, baritone

4:30 Johanna Karlebach, German dramatic soprano

4:45 Michel Ingerman, piano

5:00 An Hour of India

TUESDAY, FEB. 28

1:00 Margaret Fry, lyric soprano

1:20 Roland Weber, Swinburne's Love Poems

1:40 Kitty Greed, soprano

2:00 James Hudson, English dramatic tenor

2:20 Dorothy Johnson, dramatic soprano

2:40 American Laboratory Theatre, reader

3:00 Cecile Orlando, dramatic soprano

3:20 Abe Berg, violin

3:40 Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger

4:00 N. Y. Tuberculosis and Health Society, "The Measles Epidemic"

4:20 Marjorie Delf, popular soprano and piano

4:40 Raymond Burrows, piano harmony

5:00 Edward Carp, baritone

5:20 Civic Repertory Company, reader

5:40 Robert J. McClelland, tenor

5:50 Debs Vocal Quartet

9:15 Leonard Wright, "Labor at the Crossroads"

9:30 Debs Trio

9:45 Cecil Headrick, "Is Russia Drifting Toward Capitalism?"

10:00 Debs Vocal Quartet

10:15 Debs Trio

10:30 Rebel Poets

10:45 Debs Vocal Quartet

11:00 Ernie Farb and his orchestra, dance program; saxophone solos by Ernie Farb

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 29

3:00 Paul Harvey, tenor

3:20 Samuel Diamond, sightless pianist

4:00 Florence Landy, lyric soprano

4:20 Helen Janke, contralto

4:40 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama

5:00 Tea Time Tunes

THURSDAY, MARCH 1

1:00 Jennie Muhlschlegel, popular soprano

1:20 Norman Allen, baritone

1:40 Maude Tollefson

2:00 Rolf Weil, baritone

2:20 Mary Hubbard, reader—Browning Poems

2:40 Belgian Conservatory of Music, soloist

3:00 French Chanson, coloratura

3:20 Helen Bloom, reader

3:40 Doris Sprague, soprano

4:00 Adolf Otterstein, violinist and lecturer

4:20 Rosa Shkman, dramatic soprano

4:40 Rosa Kovar, contralto, Liedersinger

5:00 Hints from Suzanne

9:00 Mme. Eva Barron Krautz, dramatic soprano

9:15 William I. Hull, Professor of History, Swarthmore College, "The Big Navy Bill"

9:30 Debs String Quartet

9:45 Carl D. Thompson, Public Ownership

10:00 Mr. Joseph de Stefano, tenor, with quartet accompaniment

10:15 Debs String Quartet

10:30 "Eighty Years After"

10:45 Debs String Quartet

11:00 Mello Club Orchestra

FRIDAY, MARCH 2

1:00 Joe Zimmerman, piano

1:20 Jack Phillips, popular baritone

1:40 Elsie Duffield, soprano

2:10 Lydia Mason, piano

2:30 Rosalie Erick, contralto

2:50 Rocco Rescigno, violinist

3:10 Negro Art Group: Winifred Watson, soprano; Edith Benjamin, reader; C. Carroll Clark, baritone; Andrew Taylor, baritone; Lydia Mason, piano

4:10 Merriam Sternfeld, coloratura soprano

4:30 Michel Ingerman, piano

4:45 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama

5:00 Jewish Hour, George Schwiller and his Scholim Aleichem Orchestra; Harry Rothpaul, recitations; Rosetta Bialles, recitations and songs, dramatic soprano

SATURDAY, MARCH 3

1:00 Rolf Weil, readings

1:20 Rose Sherrow, soprano

1:40 A. Berg, violin

2:00 Michel Ingerman, piano

2:20 Robert J. Urran, baritone

2:40 Ruth Newman, 12 year old pianist

3:00 Cullen Paige, baritone

3:20 Maude Tollefson, contralto

3:40 Cecile Brooks, pianist and her kiddies

4:20 Milton Arno, piano

4:40 Rebel Poets, readings

5:00 George Eber, baritone

5:20 Jennie Wallach, lyric soprano

5:40 Harold Greenspan, popular tenor

9:00 Justine Roberts and her group

9:15 McAlister Coleman, "Labor Looks at the Week"

9:30 Janet Shafr, contralto

9:45 A. Basil Wheeler, The Meaning of Current Events

10:00 New Trio

10:15 Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger

10:30 Audubon Bird Society, Talk and Bird Relations

10:45 New Trio

11:00 Debs Variety Hour: Farrell & Vincent, whistler and pianist; George C. Smith, tenor; Anthony Meeno, tenor

The Week On Stage

HEAVEN IN JERSEY

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE New Playwrights are improving in general stage management, in acting and in scenic skill, to judge by the performance they are giving of Michael Gold's "Hoboken Blues," now searching the intelligence of audiences at their theatre on Commerce street. In one sense the play serves to separate the sheep from the goats; the poetry and power of its spiritual probe are effected through a story that, viewed merely as a surface tale, seems incoherent and wild; in the light of the deeper conflict it grows with fire that at moments is as the harsh bellows-blast of the forge and at times the eerie flare of the Northern Lights.

"Hoboken Blues" lives, in terms of a group of Negroes in Harlem, the conflict between two attitudes toward life that are the core of our age's unrest. In 1903, the end of the era of horse-cars, Sam Pickens is hunting a job. The call of the old plantation is in his heart; the factory and the subway ditch are beyond his power of sticking; he needs a job where there is place for music and for joy. He is, of course, the object of the impressions of the Reverend Rosewater, revivalist. In 1928, Sam has discovered his Eden and returns to take his family there. He finds the Reverend and the former undertaker operating rival cabarets, the latter just dismissing Sam's wife, the former arranging to marry Sam's daughter. The general public has grown faster and more frantic in its unchanging quest: "Gold" it is called around the way in "Hot Pan"; perhaps out of regard for his name the present author refers to it as "Money". The fact that Sam reaches, and for twenty-five years dwells in, his paradise, as the result of an undesired crack in the skull dealt him by a Hoboken cop, but adds to the irony of the theme.

No sketch of the play or its theme can touch upon all angles of its vision or effects. Only the most imaginative of those who read "Hoboken Blues" in the American Caravan might have foreseen its liveliness on the stage. The swift changes of scene in the first act, as a rolling backdrop aided the transfer from revival meeting to saloon, are good preparation for the extravagant transport of Sam's delirium as he hovers between life and death; the need of his family, and the struggle of his genuine love for them bids him refuse to go off with the "banjo angel," add a poignancy to the mood and a vitality to Sam that enrich the part and the play. It is meet contribution to the irony and the truth of the drama that the drunken philosopher and the misfit beauty-lover are the two whose attitude is most likely to redeem the battered soul of man; nor is there an escape into sentimentality in the picture of their son and daughter keeping clean of the flapper flippancy of the new age, serious in purpose and resolve.

While the chorus provided for the cabaret and other dancing scenes may lack the pulchritude of Ziegfeld's, the synchronization of Chester Hale's, it is probably the most intelligent group of chorus girls now playing; Jane Barry, in several numbers, gave it good reason to disport. The very large cast was well handled and responsive; the principals rising above the usual level of their work and of the New Playwrights. Hazel Mason, Lawrence Bolton, George Brazill and George Price were to our mind most effective, but individuals merged to create a whole performance that no one interested in either the best of our drama (as distinguished from the Broadway success) and the best of our living (as distinguished from the eager quest and the loose employment, of wealth) can afford to go without seeing. "Hoboken Blues" looks through Harlem to accuse the world.

HOT PANNING

Those two sons in "Desire Under the Elms," who started off to California, were met on the journey by the John Howard Lawson mood that conceived "Processional," and helped the framing of Michael Swift's "Hot Pan," which riots its travesty over the boards of the Provincetown Playhouse. The germs of our present society (pardon me, as the speaker has to explain), not the breeders of disease, but the seeds of what is humorously referred to as our social order are exhibited in spring planting season, with a humor that respects neither doctrine nor deed—nor deity—in its burlesque tomfoolery and penetrating attack.

The calm righteousness with which the Americans dispossess the Mexican settler would make us sympathetic too much with him, were no Lopo at hand to remind Don Armido his seizure from the Indian is but being turned upon him. We are indeed not expected to sympathize with anybody, nor is there spare time for the slow sentiment of pity; for the play whirls its extravaganzas conceals in suave and swift succession. After the most brazen appropriation in the name of Country, when the tables are turned, it is law and order that must be upheld; anti-climax piles ridiculously on anti-climax: "Was it for this," exclaims a devoted citizen, "that our fathers wrested this land from the hands of a foreign king? . . . I doubt it!" When the minister cries out that the Lord demands the suppression of the thief, an excited miner bawls "I agree with Him!" Humor that probably sounds flat on the printed page takes color and fire with the mood of the playing; the absurd page takes color and fire with the mood of the play-

ing, the absurd retouching of the costumes and the manners of the time, and the softer irony in the handling of the Mexican and his mistress, Luz la Mar (tempestuous Barbara Bulgakov) who loves him and wants to see him hanged—until the compromise that merges heaven and earth and holds the future.

This is the sort of entertainment one can imagine a group of intelligent observers of things as they are, gathering together and presenting in spontaneous jollity, it is raised above that type of amateur offering, not in mood, but in skill of writing, sureness of points drive home, and tempo of production. At moments in act three there creeps a sense of sameness over the stir; then comes another crashing broadside or sly rapier (or crack of pop pistol as another miner falls) to repay the alert attention. "Processional" more seriously and on larger canvas paints the life we have come to: "Hot Pan" more joyously and in smaller field shows its beginning, in the mixture of cultural pretense and coarseness, of pious sentiment and self-judging action, in the smug justification of clutching greed, the swift abandonment of a bone in the mouth for the bigger one in the water, that bring the miners of Hot Pan close to the majors—the majority—of America today.

COCKTAIL—WITH CHERRY

Good Americans—if it be but to release their repressions—no longer need wait till they die to go to Paris. What Sam emigrants from the U. S. A. seek is summed up in the sort of show where you can see almost as much of the Parisiennes as you desire, and listen to stories that (without understanding enough of the slang to recognize their vulgarity) you can guess are naughty. All that sort of thing is dished up for the epicures in Vincent Valentini's "continental cocktail," "Parisians," at the Edith Totten Theatre, without the trouble and the shielding of the French.

"Parisians" presents as much vulgarity and as little clothing as one may hope for these days, if one is in the habit of hoping for those items. It is, for example, the first play in which the present reviewer has been privileged to behold a young woman wearing Eve's adornments to the waist, not a mere posturing grace, but an actual part of the dramatic (if that's the right term) action drama (if that's the right term) action. There was also a skit the whole point of which was the laugh to be won from reform for an illegitimate child is solemnly applied to its object. Olive May has a sweet voice, and Horace Kols can dance. Rabbit visiting the metropolis would laugh along the evening with "Parisians"—and probably wait at the stage door after the show.

ORIENTAL REVENGE

Lord Dunsany, in his blood curdling play of jewels stolen from an Eastern God, makes his chief characters the gang of thieves that stole the stone, and works to the proper vengeance of the God. In "The Silent House," at the Morocco, the emphasis is shifted; the thief is killed to that an innocent nephew may be hero; the pursuer is not the god himself but a villain descended from that god, a very villain, for he has long held in his power the fair daughter of the partner of the man who stole the gem. With these ingredients, a potent mixture has been prepared for New York's lovers of melodrama.

"The Silent House" is not really a mystery, for we learn too soon who the villains are; it is rather a sophisticated development of the ten-twenty-thirty cent thrillers of our youth, when the hero led a group of rescuing firemen to make a human chain, a bridge on which the heroine could run from one building to another, just in time to escape both the clutching flames and the grasping hands of the Oriental villains. In melodrama, it would be a safe rule that all Oriental villains, were it not that—as here—one of them has had his life saved in youth by a friend of the hero, and is therefore devoted to, and the means of saving, the party.

But if the old thrillers that stirred the last generation amuse us in revival today, it needs but slight shifting of devices, a mere turn of the technical screw, to tighten our interest once more, and hold it tense. Hidden funds that must be redeemed within four days, secret passages, poison gases, deaf mutes at the back of potent fields, trap doors that open on guns that at once go off, secret compartments that reveal sudden death: these combine with the suave performance of Clarke Silvernall and the pretty bewilderment and helplessness of Helen Chandler (who justifies much heavier demands on her powers than this play makes) and a generally effective company well directed to keep the audience in constant flow from gasps and held breath of excitement to sighs and drawn breath of relief.

Prof. Oliphant To Talk On Courts for the L.I.D.

Professor Herman Oliphant, Professor of Law at Columbia Law School, will be the principal speaker at the New York Chapter symposium on "Court—An American Labor" to be held on Wednesday, February 29, at 8:15 at the home of Mrs. Helen Hamlin Fincke, 143 East 38th street. The meeting will be given under the auspices of the New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy. Karl L. Llewellyn, Associate Professor of Law, Columbia, will act as chairman. All the members and friends of the League are welcome.

In Brief

George Arliss' spring tour in Winthrop Ames' production of "The Merchant of Venice" probably will include Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Buffalo, Toronto, Montreal and Hartford. Next October he will begin a tour in the Shakespeare comedy to the Pacific coast that will include all the important cities of the country.

David Belasco will present his latest production, "The Bachelor Father," a new comedy by Edward Childs Carpenter, with June Walker, C. Aubrey Smith and Geoffrey Kerr, on Tuesday evening, Feb. 28 in the Belasco Theatre.

Jules Romains' satirical comedy "Doctor Knock" opened at the Laboratory Theatre Friday. "Doctor Knock" was directed by Richard Boleslawsky and the cast includes: Robert H. Gordon, Herbert V. Gellender, Harold Hecht, Florence House, Donald Hartman and Frances Wilson.

When Winthrop Ames opened his Little Theatre in New York with John Galsworthy's "The Pigeon," the author, called before the curtain, said: "Thank you." Ames, almost as brief, said: "If you don't like this play, I'll give you another." Galsworthy evidently did not mind the remark, for he always has sent Ames his plays as soon as he wrote them. Ames has declined more dramas by Galsworthy than he has produced. Galsworthy's latest drama, "The Pigeon," produced by Ames, reaches its 150th performance in the Booth Theatre, New York, on March 2.

At the New Playwrights Theatre on Commerce street, the Sunday night drama discussions are continuing. Next Sunday 8:30, Shakespeare's general symposium on the current production, Michael Gold's "Hoboken Blues." If you have seen the play—or read it in "The American Caravan"—you are invited to come and express your opinion; if not, you are invited to come anyway.

The theatre is full of surprises and not the least of these is the sign of a Launcelot Gobbo making one of the outstanding acting successes of the season on Broadway. Shakespeare's clown and Gobbo, Jr., in particular, have with the passing centuries become somewhat tedious on the stage, however interesting and amusing the reminder in the study. Yet, Romney Brent in the Arliss-Ames production of "The Merchant of Venice" has made the younger Gobbo such a lively and comic fellow that his performance promises to set a new tradition for the role. Brent, born in Santillo, Mexico, was at the age of five taken to Paris by his father, then Mexican Ambassador to France. The boy made his debut as a "super" with the Theatre Guilde and attracted attention in two of the Gills' Garrick Gables and as the latter of the little roles of Bernard Shaw's "Androcles and the Lion."

Claudette Colbert has been signed up for the role of Agathe Lynche in the all-star revival of "White Lie," the third repertory offering of the Chamberlain Brown artists. Miss Colbert, one of the most popular of the younger stars, plays the role originally created by Florence Nash when the Bayard Veller drama was presented in New York in 1912. Miss Colbert has barely had time to rest from her last efforts in "La Gringa" before beginning rehearsals for "White Lie" in which she acts as the assistant of Mary Turner, played by Miss Violet Heming.

"Children of the Sun" will be the title of Alexander Markay's recently announced picture to be released by Fox. He shortly embarks for an island in the Southern Pacific accompanied only by an assistant, a cameraman and a continuity clerk. Here Markay, himself a scientific explorer, cameraman and author, plans to film a romantic and dramatic story of the Maoris.

Ernest Laemmle will direct "Why Announce Your Marriage?" an original story by Lewis Allen Brown and Alan Crossland, which Universal has just purchased. John Glymer is now making an adaptation of this fast moving farce.

Three stories are now in preparation for Reginald Denny at the Universal studio and will be ready for him to commence work upon his return from his proposed trip to England. Frederick and Fanny Hatton have written an original story for Denny titled "The Man Disturber." "If I Were Rich," a story by Max March, was purchased a year ago for Denny's use and is now being adapted by Edith and Gladys Lehman has completed "His First Case."

In Movies

Since the recent publicity hoax staged in Central Park for the promotion of a night club dancer, a report has been circulated that the visit of Princess Anastasia who is in New York as a protégée of Mrs. William Leeds, is to be used as a publicity and promotion stunt for "The Last Command," the Emil Jannings picture now playing at the Rialto Theatre. "The Last Command" is a story of the crumbling regime of the late Czar, as exemplified in the role of the Czar, the part played by Emil Jannings. The Rialto Theatre has sent out a complete denial of an connection in the present visit of Anastasia to this country. "The rumor," as well as the "denial," seems to have originated from a publicity office. Guess which one.

Every Sunday afternoon, from 2 to 3, Roky grasps the hand of his ever-growing radio audience and takes it for a bewilderment and helplessness of Helen Chandler (who justifies much heavier demands on her powers than this play makes) and a generally effective company well directed to keep the audience in constant flow from gasps and held breath of excitement to sighs and drawn breath of relief.

"Four Sons," newest Fox film special, opened at the Gaiety Theatre Monday night, Feb. 13. The picture, which will have a special musical setting prepared by Erno Rapee, based on a story by Miss L. A. R. Wyle, and is said by those who have seen it to be filled with very human details of domestic life which will reach into every home. An unusual feature deals with the experiences at Ellis Island of the woman portrayed by Margaret Mann, and her subsequent wanderings in New York.

AMUSEMENTS

THEATRES

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Week of Mar. 5

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MARCO MILLIONS

Guild Theatre

WEST 52nd STREET

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

EUGENE O'NEILL'S

STRANGE INTERLUDE

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE

5

Schools - Lectures - Forums

The Community Church

Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, February 26 at 11 A. M.
Morning Service

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"The Compensation of Calamity"

8 P. M. Community Forum
ISAC DON LEVINE
"The Fall of Trotsky"

Discussion-admission free
PARKER MOON
Lectures on "The International Situation"

Tuesdays at 8:15 P. M.
Feb. 28—"Practical Internationalism"

Mar. 6—"Disarmament Negotiations"

Mar. 13—"America's International Position"

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THURSDAYS, 8:15 P. M.
Feb. 23—THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THIS AGE
Is this a new age? What are the new
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Mar. 1—HOW DO WE BUILD A MIND?
Can we build a mind according to
conscious plan?

Mar. 8—THE BASIC TRENDS IN MIND
BUILDING
What are fundamental personality types?

Single admission 75c \$3.50 for the Course

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DR. A. WAKEFIELD SLATEN
"Taking the Ill out of Illusion"

FRIDAY, MARCH 2
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN
"Politics and Leadership in American
Democracy"

SATURDAY, MARCH 3
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"Human Hopes and Kismet, Predesti-
nation and Providence"

Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion

At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23rd St. (nr. 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 O'Clock

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Pope"

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 29
MR. KENNETH C. BLANCHARD
"Chemical Changes in the Cell"

THURSDAY, MARCH 1
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"What is Error?"

Soviet Russia and World Socialism

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Beauty And The Beast

MORTIMER ADLER (Psychology)

Saturdays, March 3, 10, 17, 24, 31, April 7, 14

Cycles In Literature

DR. HENRY WELLS (English Literature)

Mondays, March 5, 12, 19, 26, April 2

The Mirror Of The Passing World

M. CECIL ALLEN (Painting)

Tuesdays, March 6, 13, 20, 27, April 3

Inherited Prejudice In Art Criticism

HENRY LADD (Literature and Art)

Mondays, April 9, 16, 23, 30

Scientific Method in Aesthetics

DR. THOMAS MUNRO (Aesthetics and Modern Art)

Thursdays, April 5, 12, 19, 26

EAST SIDE OPEN FORUM

Church of All Nations 9 Second Ave.

7:30 P. M.—"Russia"

8:30 P. M.—James' Yard Will Speak on
"The Chinese Adventure"

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5:00 p.m.—Lecture
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7:30 p.m.—American International Church
"Religion and the Modern State"

Dr. Edmund B. Chaffee

8:30 p.m.—"The Mystic"

Dr. G. F. Beck

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These lectures on "Drama" to be held

in conjunction with their business meet-

ings, began at the last meeting and were

acclaimed by all present with over-

whelming enthusiasm. The educational

committee of the branch, headed by Mor-

ris Extract, promises to continue these

lectures at every meeting, with promi-

nent speakers to appear from time to time.

The subject for this Friday's lecture

which will be held at 62 East 106th Street

at 10 p. m. sharp, will be "Drama, and the

significance of his plays," by Dr. Berlin.

These lectures are free to the members

and their friends, also to the general public.

Everybody is cordially invited. Subse-

quent lectures will be held by this or-

ganization every 2nd and 4th Friday.

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Socialists and Friends
Pay Tribute To
Claessens at Dinner

One of the most notable Socialist affairs held in years was the dinner given to August Claessens, Organizer of Local New York of the Socialist Party, the evening of Lincoln's birthday in Beethoven Hall. The dinner was arranged by friends of Claessens who appreciate his services to the Socialist Party and who desired to give a testimonial of their regard for him as a devoted and hard-working Socialist.

Over 200 persons attended the dinner and a number of Socialists paid an earnest tribute to Comrade Claessens. Oscar Ameringer of Wisconsin was also present and indulged in some witty reminiscences of the early Socialist movement which kept the audience roaring with laughter.

Claessens was presented with a combination orthophonic victrola and radio set and the diners contributed about \$500 to help pay a deficit of the city office.

Unemployment Meeting
To Be Held in the Bronx
Thursday, March 1st

A mass meeting at which the subject of unemployment and the traction middle will be discussed, will be held at Hunts Point Palace, Thursday evening, March 1, 8:30 p.m. Speakers: Judge Jacob Panken, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, Samuel Orr and I. George Dobseavage. Admission is free. Auspices, Socialist Party, Bronx County Committee.

Lindeman Leads Discussion
At Pioneer Youth Forum

Pioneer Youth Forum held its February meeting Monday night at 3 West 16th street. Dr. E. C. Lindeman led the discussion. About 30 members attended and 10 adult guests. Dr. Lindeman, at the close of the hour told the youngsters that "they had a clear-eyed candor that he found stimulating and unusual." Bruno Lasker will lead the March Forum and Dr. Lindeman will lead the one after that.

New Labor Temple Courses

Proof of the boast that the Labor Temple, at 14th street and Second avenue, is the freest forum in the city and tolerant of every conceivable point of view may be seen in the announcement of a series of lectures by Mr. Samuel D. Schmalhausen on "The New Psychology." The course is to begin Feb. 24. V. F. Calverton, editor of The Modern Quarterly, will begin a series of five lectures at the school on "The New Morality," Feb. 24.

"Willy" Silverman Married

Socialists of Brooklyn are congratulating Mr. and Mrs. William Silverman, newlyweds. Silverman is known to every Socialist in Brooklyn and quite a few outside of that borough for his many years of unselfish work for the cause. He has been for years one of the most active of the comrades in the 6th assembly district organization. The lucky lady was the Miss Rose Walkoff, also of Brooklyn. The marriage took place last Sunday at Harrison Palace, Brooklyn. Harry Kritzer was the best man, as he usually is.

Educational Alliance Lecture

Under the auspices of the Williamsburg Socialists, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Saken will talk on "High Blood Pressure" this Sunday evening, Feb. 26th, at the Educational Alliance, 76 Throop avenue, Brooklyn. Admission will be free. The lecture will begin at 8 p. m.

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Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m.

EDW. F. McGRADY, Manager

Phone: PENN. 1932

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2108

Day room and office, 100 East 42nd Street, New York

Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.

JOHN E. BARNES, President

W. A. SLOAN, Sec'y-Treas.

THOMAS SHEARER, Fin. Sec'y

SHAL BARK, Organ.

WILLIAM LEE, Bus. Agent

Thomas Housing
Plea Called "Red"

(Continued from Page 1)

been adopted this building of decent homes for the workers of New York would of itself have been a tremendous offset to the tragic unemployment of this winter. By our prostration and delay, by our excessive devotion to private property and private profit we pay not only in the quality of our housing but in the misery of unemployed workers and their children.

Stewart Browne, representing the Real Estate Owners Board, rose in an agitated manner. He began to throw off adjectives against the bill, which soon became lost amid the audible resentment of the audience.

Then Mr. Browne turned on Mr. Thomas.

"When I hear speakers like the one just before me I am reminded of Lenin and Trotsky."

"This brought roars of laughter. 'Look at Russia,' shouted the reality man, undaunted.

There were more roars. By that time the gentleman's time was up and when the chairman cut him short, he announced that he would "hire a hall."

Lecture Calendar

Friday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. Speakers: Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken, Algernon Lee, C. Kantorovich. Subject: "80th Anniversary of the International Socialist Movement." Debs Auditorium, Peoples House, 7 East 15th street. Musical Program.

Sunday, Feb. 26, 11 a.m. Speaker: Judge Jacob Panken. Subject: "Current Events." Debs Auditorium, 214 East 2nd street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8 12th A.D.

Sunday, Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m. Speaker: Esther Friedman. Subject: "Companionate Marriage." East Side Socialists, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1-2nd A.D.

Monday, March 5, 8:30 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Simon Berlin. Subject: "The Social Plays of Henrik Ibsen." 96 Avenue C. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8 12th A.D.

BRONX
Friday, Feb. 24th, 8:30 p.m. Speaker: Dr. Mortimer J. Adler. Subject: "Tell Me Your Troubles—The Methods of Psychopathology." Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue.

Friday, March 2, 9 p.m. Speaker: I. George Dobseavage. Subject: "Murder as a Fine Art." Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Blvd. Auspices, Socialist Party, 5th A.D.

BROOKLYN
Friday, Feb. 24, 8:30 p.m. Marius Hamsome. Subject: "World-Labor Wars Against Ignorance. Can Ignorance Be Conquered." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A.D.

Sunday, Feb. 26, 4 p.m. Speaker: G. Valenti. Subject: "Origins of Fascism." 1216 29th avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 16th A.D.

Sunday, Feb. 26, 8:30 p.m. Speaker: August Claessens. Subject: "Genius, Heredity and Environment." Workmen's Circle Center, 2518 Mermald avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Coney Island Branch.

Monday, Feb. 27, 9 p.m. Louis P. Goldberg. Subject: "Socialism." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A.D.

Friday, March 2, 8:30 p.m. Speaker: Judge Jacob Panken. Subject: "Civic Duties as a Social Function." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A.D.

Home of Chicago Judge Bombed, headline. This news story exploded prematurely. It should have been released on May 1 when the usual crop of bomb scares sprout.

Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I.L.G.W.U.

130 East 25th St. Madison Square 1934

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

D. GINGOLD, MEYER TOLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union

OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET

Phone: ALGONQUIN 9600-1-2

The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer

A. BERSHNEVITZ, M. GELBERG, Organizers

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday

Executive Board meets every Monday

All Meetings are held in the

Headquarters Workers' Lyceum

(Beethoven Hall)

210 East 5th Street.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF

Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION No. 808

Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, New York

Office: 210 East 5th Street, New York

Phone: ALGONQUIN 9600-1-2

The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday

JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer

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NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles of the organized working class. It is not a newspaper of general circulation, but a paper of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of a subject, and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1928

The American Labor Movement in Retrospect

EIGHTY years ago the Communist Manifesto heralded the birth of the Labor and Socialist movement. It was a Socialist Manifesto, the name Communist being used to distinguish the movement from a variety of sects and societies that called themselves "Socialist." When these passed into history the word Socialist came to express the ideals of the working class movement in all countries.

Strangely enough, the United States gave birth to the political and economic movement of the working class before it was ripe abroad. Here the first central labor body and the first labor party were organized in Philadelphia, nearly twenty years before the Communist Manifesto appeared. The workers were successful in electing a third of their candidates in the city election of 1829, although some of them were officially supported by the other parties. In New York they sent one man to the legislature. In Albany a number of wards were carried. A few years later the workers of New London, Connecticut, sent three workers to the legislature, one to the Senate, and in 1834 they carried ten towns in Massachusetts. There were local successes in other states and this period showed that the new class thrown up by the development of the factory system was as intelligent, despite the lack of a general system of popular education, as the workers in Europe nearly fifty years later.

Of course, the movement was crude and indefinite in its ideas, but it exhibited a class-consciousness as high as was to be expected at this early stage in the history of the American working class. It had also produced a literature that will compare favorably with the working class literature of Europe before the appearance of the Communist Manifesto. It established the first daily labor papers to appear in any nation which were supplemented with many weeklies. Three important books had also appeared, one by Byllesby in 1826, one by Skidmore a few years later and a third by Stephens in 1836. One was distinctly agrarian in its philosophy, that of Skidmore's, which is not surprising considering the fact that it was written in New York where great feudal estates had come down from the days of the Dutch grants and where even the manufacturer was considered an underling down to the middle 'twenties. The other two works were devoted to a merciless criticism and, in some respects, to a keen analysis of the new capitalism with its exploitation of men, women and children by power-driven machinery. They asserted the need of the cooperative principle in industry, affirmed the conflict of interest between workers and owners, and represented a near approach to the ideal of a Socialist world.

This political and economic movement of the American working class has important achievements to its credit, more than the modern movement can claim in the past twenty years. It deserves the largest credit for the establishment of tax-supported public schools. It won an extension of the suffrage, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, a legal status for trade unions after forty years of prosecutions, the abolition of forced drill in the militia for a certain number of days in the year, and contributed much to the destruction of the system of raising public funds by the sale of lottery tickets which had helped to feed the debtors' prisons with working class victims.

Then the slavery issue entered politics and the workers forgot their special interests as a class. They were soon following the corrupt machine headed by Van Buren or the Whig aristocracy of merchants and the new capitalists, represented in New England by Daniel Webster whose capitalist backers contributed no less than a hundred thousand dollars to him personally as their political spokesman in politics and Congress.

Having this glorious pioneer record, the movement forgot its traditions and achievements in the post-war hatreds following the emancipation of the slaves. The old movement was alive and inspiring. In the past quarter-century it does not exhibit even a memory of its splendid past. It is isolated from its brothers of the old world and it clings to archaic forms of organization and methods that have brought it to a standstill. Some former powerful organizations have actually declined and great basic industries are not organized. Officially it clings to two parties of the possessing classes with consequent spiritual death as the penalty. It is now marking time, hoping to hold its own.

There will be no rejuvenation of the American Labor movement till the organized masses strike out as their grandfathers did, abandon old moorings, and assert their spiritual emancipation from the dominion of the possessing classes. The movements abroad that accepted the ideals of the Manifesto, which is now being celebrated by progressive workers in all countries, are advancing. Here there is stagnation. The soul has fled. Inspiration is gone. These will be recovered when the movement follows the course pursued by the organized workers in other countries of the world.

A Fascist Aristocracy

L'IMPERO, one of the wildest Fascist publications in Italy, is now urging the creation of an aristocracy of Fascist nobles which is said to appeal to the young morons of the castor oil squads. It is proposed to infuse new blood into the old Italian aristocracy from the young Fascists in imitation of Napoleon's creation of a new aristocracy.

The idea appeals to us and we offer our contribution to the glorified bandits who rule Italy. We suggest that Mussolini head the Royal House of Castor Oil and that all lesser nobles and princelings be prohibited from infringing in any way on his title. Mario Carli, one of the editors of L'Impero, should be next in line because his paper suggested the need of this new aristocracy. Duke of the Stiletto would be appropriate with a coat of arms showing a Fascist sticking a voter in the back. Other titles are not wanting for members of the ministry and representatives abroad. Marquis of the Sand Bag, Prince of the Slugging Squads, Knight of the Strangling Corps, Baron of the Faithful Yeggs, and so on.

It's a great idea that may be passed on to the professional bandits of our own cities. Then a code of murder might well be worked out for observance by the members of the aristocracy. Everything should be regulated to fit the new race of gentlemen and their children should be required to learn the use of castor oil, the stiletto, the sand bag and other noble instruments of Fascism.

Our own nobility of corporate cash is an admirer of Muss's morons and from his seat on a hot cinder we are sure that Judge Gary is cheered by this latest announcement from Fascistland.

Transit in the Courts

WHILE the injunction gang of late is not having everything its own way in the field of labor disputes, nevertheless the Interborough Rapid Transit in N. Y. C. has obtained an order in the Federal Courts staying all city and State proceedings against the seven cent fare for which the I.R.T. is shouting. Appropriately enough this order was signed at night and in Yonkers by Judge Francis A. Winslow. The Judge says that he wants to give the I.R.T. its day in court. The hearing on the writ as to whether or not it should be made a temporary injunction took place Tuesday. If this is granted we may begin paying seven cents on the Third of March next, the time the company set for the increased fare, while the lawyers for the city and the I.R.T. squabble around in the courts.

Mayor Walker chooses this particular time to go South for another one of those vacations, which are so popular with New York Mayors. He hints darkly that he may order the police to tear up the tracks, if necessary to prevent the Interborough from increasing its fares. But this is just a whole lot of noise. He is said to be in quite a rage over the action of the Interborough in sneaking up to Yonkers to get their writ, but the balmy winds of the Southland may well soothe his ire and in the meantime we are left to struggle along, fishing out more money for less service.

Some day, very shortly now, with the way things are moving, the people of New York will wake up to the fact that the only solution to the transit problem is genuine public ownership and operation of the lines by the parties most concerned with giving real service, namely the technical men, the representatives of the public and the workers through their own organizations, having some say as to their wages and conditions. One important thing to watch for is any attempt of the transit lines to foist off on the public the wretchedly equipped and unprofitable elevated lines, hanging on to the profitable subways for themselves and assuring us that by owning and operating the antiquated elevateds we are enjoying real public ownership.

A Peace of Gentlemen

THE dead calm of the two leading parties at Washington is evidence of their complete merger. Nothing like it has appeared in our history since the two administrations of James Monroe. Federalists and Republicans had become so much alike that there was no opposition to the re-election of Monroe in 1820. Jeffersonian members of the Supreme Court had become Federalized. While there was a small group of Federalists in Congress one could not identify them by their votes. This union of the gentlemen leaders of the two parties was blown up when Jackson entered Washington in 1828.

This peace of gentlemen is evident in Washington even in the year of a presidential campaign and at a time when the minority party has an opportunity to raise an important issue. Coolidge and Kellogg have been waging war in Nicaragua without so much as reporting it to Congress, to say nothing of asking its consent. This is a case of glaring usurpation on the part of the executive branch of the government. Congress used to be jealous of its powers and many an oratorical battle has been waged over its prerogatives, but even the minority members sit like dumbbells in the chamber without a protest.

Now and then there is a protest, as in the case of Senator Wheeler in Cleveland last week, but there is no fighting group raising the issue of a war waged without the consent of Congress. The imperialist bankers and concession magnates have annexed the two parties as their private property and they might just as well merge as the two parties did in the election of Monroe in 1820. There are no big issues raised in Congress, so alike have the parties become, and the members are compelled to shovel speechless speeches into the Record and ship them in tons back to their dupes.

Congress has become a morgue of party brokers dead above the ears. Capitalist power is more supreme in the republic than planter property was in the ten years before the Civil War. A working class informed, determined, and relying on its own numbers and power, could scatter this peace of gentlemen by sending troops of their own Congressmen to Washington. Instead, the trade unions stand cap-in-hand waiting for the brokers to assemble and asking if they will not toss a few crumbs their way. Socialists, at least, know what is what and can afford to educate and wait till the mass begins to move.

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.

Lippmann's Friend Ralph

N. Y. World and Civic Federation Celebrate Companionate Marriage With Attack on Old Age Pensions

THOSE who are interested in the discussion of companionate marriage should not overlook the interesting union that unites Walter Lippmann of the New York World and Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation. The nuptials were celebrated in the World last Sunday where a leading article on old age dependency occupies almost an entire page. The cooling dove and the bat fraternize in the same nest, a free union of souls in a piece of propaganda that is as false as it is disgusting.

What is done in this article is to take the propaganda of the Civic Federation against old age pensions and weave it into an article which purports to give an intelligent survey of the problem. What it actually does is to use the material of Easley's yes-men in a way to give the impression that there is no old-age dependency problem in this country.

One would think that in an article of this kind some space would be given to the work of Mr. Abraham Epstein, of the American Association for Old Age Security, who has given years of study to the problem, but the article carries just fifteen words quoted from Epstein. The rest is Easley's stuff worked over and served for reading at the Sunday dinner.

The job, however, is far from being a clever one. The hoof of Easley sticks out of every paragraph while the caption to a picture of comfortable old gentlemen in lines at a bank to draw upon their accounts gives the case away. "Majority of men past middle life do not need charity," reads the caption. The assumption is that we should not worry about old age dependency till fifty per cent of old men are in need of help.

In many respects the "liberal" World has become more of a sycophant at the feet of reaction than any other New York paper. On this particular issue it has never given old age pension advocates a fair opportunity to present his case and now Lippmann seems to have yielded to the affectionate advances of Easley.

Some years ago Lippmann wrote a "profound" book on Public Opinion, for thesis being that we are living in a maze of forces that it is impossible for the human mind to register an accurate picture of what transpires. Perhaps we can only say that we suspect any photographs which the firm of Lippmann and Easley place on the market.

New Leader Mail Bag

MAKES AMENDS

Editor, New Leader:
I have had occasion to criticize The New Leader—once or twice—and want to make amends now by telling you what a fine, soul-satisfying paper you are putting out. That's all.

O. A. KENNEDY.

Ogden, Utah.

SNAPPY ANSWER

Editor, The New Leader:
As a student of sociology I want to protest against the heading on Mr. Abraham Epstein's article last week, "When Bats See Light," in which he attacked the National Civic Federation investigation of old age dependency.

Don't you know that bats never see light?
WINFIELD G. THOMPSON.
Montclair, N. J.

Neither does the Civic Federation.—Editor.

FOR NATIONALIZATION

Editor, The New Leader:
The strike of the bituminous coal miners in Pennsylvania, northwestern Virginia, and Ohio drags inconclusively along, while the miners and their families, many of them evicted from their homes, suffer from hunger and exposure, and the operators lose profits and markets. In the meantime the public provided with coal from the non-union fields south of the Ohio River, remains indifferent to the struggle, which is merely one in a long series of industrial strikes that have marked the history of coal-mining in this country.

The Committee on Coal and Giant Power is concerned with the immediate issues of this particular strike. It is even more, however, concerned with its underlying causes. Members of the Committee who have been in long and intimate contact with the developments of this basic industry are convinced that the present situation, the bituminous field indicates the failure of private ownership and management to supply the public with this basic necessity and at the same time provide its workers with decent American wages and standards of living.

The industry is overexpanded. The mines of the country can today supply a billion tons where only about a half billion tons are needed. As Senator Copeland declares, we at present have between 3,000 and 4,000 more mines and over 200,000 more miners than we have markets for their coal. The result is only part time employment of miners, part time utilization of mines and increased operating costs—since the unit costs of mines working only two and three days a week are from 20 to 48 per cent more than those operating full time. The result is financial failure, waste of underground coal, bad methods of coal utilization, bitter warfare between worker and operator and heart-breaking conditions

THE ADVANCE GUARD OF LABOR



among the wives and children of the miners.

It should not be necessary for the American public to choose between the feudalism which prevails in the non-union fields and the recurrent warfare which characterizes union operation.

Congress is now investigating the bituminous industry. The public has already paid for many such costly investigations, notably that of the United States Coal Commission of 1922. The facts are to be had without much further research. And they all point to one sound conclusion, namely that private

ownership, unregulated, and indulging in cutthroat competition, is incapable of running coal.

Under such circumstances, the obvious way out of such a tragic dilemma as is presented by the coal fields today is for the public to take from the incompetent hands of private owners the management of this all-important industry, and put it where it belongs—namely with the three parties most directly concerned with the production and distribution of cheap and abundant fuel—the public, technical men, and the workers.

It is the considered opinion of the

Committee, after consultation with economists, engineers and research men, that no other solution to this pressing problem offers adequate relief for the consuming public. The Committee is devoting itself to the preparation of a detailed program for public control along the lines indicated above, and invites suggestions and criticism from those who are interested.

HARRY W. LAIDLER,
Acting Secretary,
Committee on Coal and Giant Power
N. Y. C.

THE CHATTER BOX

IT SEEMS so strange to debate what a Socialist's attitude toward Soviet Russia ought to be. There are a great many of us here in America who find cause to hurl hatred at her head, and quite a number who are just undecided one way or the other for praise or condemnation. Committees of labor men and liberals have gone, seen and been vanquished by the apparent vision of the New Day there. Editors have gone, seen and come back either with cynicism or with little less than despair. They see nothing but a tortuous transition from a theoretical impossibility into a reactionary reality. One hundred and fifty million landowners are about to crush the dream out of ten million industrial idealists. Socialism is dying an hour after its birth. The future is dull and promiseless for our ideal in every land. Between these two views I find myself blundering about for position. Socialism is not dying in Soviet Russia, nor will it strut about with any imposing glory for decades to come. There are some rules in any philosophy that allow for no change under any circumstance. A material faith like our own has a few of these solid truths to withstand the shock of accident and the erosion of despair. One of them for example is the tenet that Socialism can come and develop healthfully only where industrial growth has expanded and become so top-heavy with danger to the well being of the exploited masses beneath, that public ownership and control of these industrial monsters alone can save everything from chaos and destruction.

As one glances over our American scene with any sort of clairvoyance the imposing truth of this appears quite forcefully. And if the day comes, when by ballot or barricade, the deed to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is actually transferred from the coupon-clippers to an entire people, there will be a splendidly organized system of production and distribution, and a world of raw material to take hold of and operate for the greatest common good. Socialism, when it does come in this land of ours, will have no new economic policies to formulate, and certainly no worry of white blockades from the outside.

With the U. S. S. R. however, the road toward any sort of Socialism has been brutally hard. In the first place, their only source of solid wealth, the land, was never communized. It belongs to individual peasants. The only socialization that has been accomplished with any effectiveness, is that of poverty. The great badge of accomplishment for the Bolshevik regime is that everybody in Russia, with the exception of the peasant, is poor. With an admirable idealism they have kept down the encroaching danger of bourgeois self-enrichment, and have created a sort of beggarly aristocracy of the working class. The self-sacrifice, the devotion to Communistic principles, and the Spartan fortitude of these Russian comrades are the saving graces in an otherwise graceless and futile posturing. They have done well with whatever they had at hand to work with. Baronial and royal estates were turned into schools, museums, and sanitariums. Universal education became public and compulsory. Whatever there was of shop and mill became socialized or cooperative. Public oil, and mineral and forest remained public property. An honesty in government such as we Americans never will understand has saved Russia millions of dollars that ordinarily go into channels of private graft and political corruption.

In the factories, in the universities, men and women stand over crude machines, old apparatus, and worn-out equipment trying to spin, turn and concoct a Paradise on earth for mankind. These proletarians and worker-intellectuals have their vision trained to the future. They have done much with the little that Czarism left behind. For all of the lack, the sorry housing conditions, the primitive sanitation of the cities, the actual poverty in material, machinery, and food, the Communist regime has accomplished a semblance of order, at least for transition if not for per-

manent progress. They have kept the peasantry from flinging Russia back into a reactionary dictatorship of the Horthy type. And if they have not succeeded by this time in converting the farmer to Socialism, it has been because the philosophy that fits with dovetail nicely into a highly industrial system is an awkward and untenable thing to a land of primitive husbandry. What will happen in Russia, happened in France one hundred and twenty years ago. For mechanical progress and agricultural efficiency, there is little enough to choose between the Paris of 1793 and the Moscow of 1928. And as for the human element, the repetitive incidents of one revolution and the other range in sad and disillusioning parallel. The next decade will see the Communist dream passing into a sort of quasi-capitalistic regime, wherein old sacrifices and old ideals will fall before the peasant's demand for worldly comforts and goods in exchange for his soil products. The Slav peasant and the Asiatic Kulak have no spark of idealism in their makeup. They have no eye toward the future. Only the present intrigues them. They want machinery, cloth, shoes, luxuries, now. Your vision of a Co-operative Commonwealth tomorrow isn't worth a pinch of buckwheat flower to them now. Give them a combination reaper and binder today and they will immediately open up their hidden granaries and pour forth tons of the wheat and corn and rye, the product of their labor. Give them a library full of economic literature and manifestos, and all you will get in return is a sullen reminder that print paper does not even make a decent fertilizer.

Therein lies the end of all Bolshevik empire. Unless Trotsky's mirage of world revolt turns to ponderous reality within a ten-year stretch of miracle, all that the Communist Party of Russia has sweated and slaved and sinned for will just wane and vanish into history with the Agrarian Revolt of Old Rome and the Paris Commune of 1848. With this impending revolutionary debacle in mind, what else can a Social Democratic Party do except stand by with some sort of reverent sorrow. Really, there is nothing we can do now to save the present day Socialism of Russia, anymore than we could help it toward permanence in the beginning. There might have been a chance of some sort of orderly progression toward our ideal, if a democracy had been established and preserved opinion been kept free, and dissension allowed to boil over and simmer down. Even then, without a developed industrial productivity, I doubt whether Russia under a Kerensky or some sort of Menshevik Democracy would have travelled any further toward the Socialist State than did the Communist Dictatorship. Somehow this is a world that rolls on ball-bearings. The ox-cart wheels that still creak and slobber in the mire of the Russian provinces augur little for even the near future.

I know, my friends how presumptuous it is for a nonentity like myself to shoo off with one sweeping gesture this vast turmoil of life and hope that occupies one-third of the world in land space, and entails almost a fifth of its population. But even to the humblest of us is given at time the power of precise sight. And can I help it that ever since I have given thought to Russia of these years there has appeared over the horizon of hope, like a pall cloud of ominous disaster, the face of the moujik—vast, thin-lipped, slant-eyed and sinister, like the presence of a pagan god whose creed is selfishness, tribute and possession, and whose narrow brow has never been circled by the halo of an idealistic dream.

Hail, Socialist Russia, I say you, and Farewell. Full bodied men that spring from the soil in some sort of wizardry make pretty and inspiring stuff for legends.

There is an analogy between the legendary soldiers who sprang up from the field sown with the teeth of the slain monster, and the Bolshevik dictatorship that leaped up out of the Russian mess of 1917. The fruit of all miracle vanishes at the touch of reality.

S. A. de Witt.