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of the
Socialist and Labor
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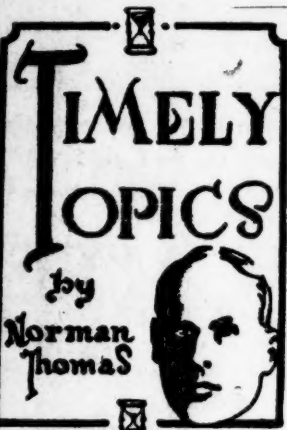
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U.S. Dead in Coolidge's Private War 18



DID YOU ever see a ventriloquist hold a conference with his doll? Well, this is what the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York is doing with its doll, the company union. And the doll in what is really the voice of Quackenbush and Hedley squawks "we'll strike if papa reinstates the 19 naughty members of the Amalgamated Street Car Workers."

If New York City falls for that joke it is hopeless. There isn't any American sense of humor. Imagine the boys who docilely remain as members of a company union threatening to strike on their own initiative. Of course, Pat Connolly, their head, may like to talk big to please Mr. Hedley. The company union means certain prestige and prosperity for him. It means nothing at all to its members who were compelled to join and who never will strike unless the company throws them out. By the way, they tell a funny story about Connolly. Some research worker thinking that he was the head of a bona fide union asked him what he thought of workers' education. He replied: "Workers education? Huh! We don't allow none of our boys to read while they work." Or think either.

It may be that this same Interborough Rapid Transit Company is a blessing to the whole nation in disguise. It is giving an object lesson of how stupidly arrogant a capitalist public utility can be. From the day it made its first contract with the city to operate the city owned subways it has tried with considerable success to get the better of its partner by sharp practices. It gives the worst possible service that a complacent law will allow. It forces a yellow dog contract on its workers. It then seeks to enjoin the entire A. F. of L. from trying to organize those workers. And when Justice Wasservogel in a decision that gives us some new hope for the sanity of judges denies the injunction and scores the yellow dog contract the company coolly and deliberately sets out to fire the union men anyhow even if it means a strike. Then they seek to hide behind their company union dummy. There you have an object lesson of private "honesty" and "efficiency" in the field of public utilities.

Not only on its labor policy but in other respects the New York transit tangle has important lessons for the country. For instance, the politicians have heretofore avoided responsibility for any solution of the problem by playing hide and seek between Albany and the City Hall. The respective responsibilities for state and city have never been properly defined. Therefore we hope that the enabling legislation sought by Mr. Untermyer from the State Legislature in behalf of the city will be passed. We are still suspicious of a Tammany transit plan. But on the whole Tammany is more amenable to public pressure from subway riders and taxpayers in New York City than the upstate legislators at Albany. At any rate there has to be someone whom we can hold responsible. And Mr. Untermyer's plans for operation of a unified transit company as outlined in the press are an advance on what we have thought they fall short, particularly in respect to workers' representation of what we Socialists have demanded.

On March 3 three federal judges sitting in what is called a Statutory Court will pass on the application of the Interborough for a seven cent fare. In making its application the Interborough is deliberately ignoring the contract which fixes the fare at five cents and the decision of the Transit Commission. It is going over the heads of the state courts. Irrespective of the result of this application which we hope will be favorable to the city, whose lawyers, by the way, let the company get the jump on them—we have no hesitancy in saying that it is not or should not be the business of three federal judges to upset the control of city and state in transit affairs. These judges are not experts on rates or regulation. The fact that some president

(Continued on Page 2)

Box Makers Tie Up The N.Y. Industry

Surprise Walkout 100 Per Cent. Effective—First Victory For Workers Recorded

After endurance of intolerable conditions in the industry since the strike of last year, the Paper Box Makers of New York City surprised the bosses by a general walkout Tuesday. Practically every worker in the industry left the shops, the unanimity showing how widespread was the discontent. This upheaval in the industry was all the more surprising considering the fact that the workers were on strike for 19 weeks last year and apparently the union was very hard hit.

The bosses had also become so confident of their supremacy after the union defeat that they went to extremes in treatment of workers. Wages were slashed right and left, workers were hired and fired at will, and hours of labor increased till the injustices had become unbearable. While the spirit of revolt was being stirred by this arrogance of the bosses the latter in turn engaged in cut-throat competition with each other and this contributed to their own undoing. This struggle to hog trade and profits impaired the solidarity of the bosses so that instead of the organization which they were able to effect last year their ranks were divided when the workers walked out Tuesday.

On the first day of the strike no boxes were delivered and the second and third days a few boxes appeared on wagons with police guards. At most of the shops two or three policemen have been stationed at the doors.

The effectiveness of the strike is shown by the fact that by Thursday morning 25 manufacturers had settled with the workers, including the largest manufacturer in the city, William Herman, at 69 Wooster street.

The discontent in the industry had been increasing for months when the workers were called to a meeting on Feb. 21 when nearly all the shops were represented. The

(Continued on page 6)

Berger Demands Federal Pensions for Aged Poor; Asks Repeal of Gag Law

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
WASHINGTON.—Declaring that 76,000,000 people in the United States do not get enough in the years they are employed to enable them to lay by anything for old age, Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, of Wisconsin, has introduced a bill providing for a Federal system of old age pensions. A weekly pension of \$12 per week would be paid anyone 60 years of age or over.

Acting on the basis of a precedent which he declares was established in 1868, Mr. Berger provides that the Federal courts be prohibited from passing upon the constitutionality of the act. In a statement, Mr. Berger said:

"The right of those who have rendered service to their country to a pension when they become dependent has been recognized by our country in the case of war veterans. Such pensions are approved by our people because it is realized that soldiers render a duty on the field of battle which is dangerous to life and limb. But we have not yet recognized—although most other industrial nations have—that the veteran of industry has performed a service to his country at least as important as that performed by the soldier, and under conditions at times even more dangerous."

"Any worker who has faithfully labored for a meager wage for 20 years or more has created more wealth than any pension in old age can repay. He has earned the right to be taken care of decently when he is thrown upon the industrial scrap heap. These workers have made civilization possible for everybody, and especially to the comfortable classes."

2,000,000 Aged Dependents
"There are now approximately 2,000,000 aged people in the United States dependent upon others for part or entire support. This problem will grow more acute with the years. The cutting off of employment possibilities by science, means that the period of dependency must continue to grow longer. Economic conditions,

even in so-called periods of prosperity, are such that no amount of thrift will enable a worker to escape the problem in old age. Fully 76,000,000 people do not earn enough in this era of "prosperity" to allow for a saving during unemployment, old age, or sickness.

"Charity and the poorhouse must do today what is the duty of the government to provide. Present methods of relief are costly to the community, inefficient, degrading to the recipient, and destructive of the home. Economically it would be cheaper, and socially it would be more decent, to enable those superannuated workers to spend the last years of their lives in their own homes, instead of in a poorhouse."

Repeal of the espionage act, so-called—which in spite of its name has nothing to do with espionage—enacted shortly after the United States entered the World War to prevent any criticism of the origin or conduct of the war, is proposed in another bill introduced by Representative Berger.

"The impression prevails that the draconian war law which made it a crime punishable by 20 years in the penitentiary to criticize the war policies of the Wilson administration has been repealed along with all other war measures. That is not the case. The so-called espionage act is still on the statute books," Berger declares.

Has Present Danger
"The danger of permitting it to remain in force becomes very real when any administration continues to pursue its imperialistic policies in Mexico. If intervention in some foreign country should ripen into an official declaration of war, a citizen would find himself silenced under penalty of a 20-year prison term if he expressed sentiments not in accord with those of the administration."

"The so-called espionage act was the most outrageous measure ever passed in our country. Its nearest approach was the alien and sedition act in 1798 which resulted in the wiping out of the Federalist party in the birth of the Democratic party. But there is this difference: In the alien and sedition act the

(Continued on Page 2)

4 More Die In Warfare In Nicaragua

Sympathy For Sandino As Defender of Nicaraguan Freedom Grows

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Washington.—The death of four more American marines in Nicaragua as a result of a battle with the forces of General Sandino now brings the total of American deaths in this unauthorized war to 18.

The fight in Darail was the second most serious engagement of the Marines and the Sandino forces in the seven and half months of American hostilities against the Nicaraguans. Six marines were killed and twenty wounded early in January. A dozen other smaller battles brought the death of eight more marines.

The Nicaraguan deaths have totaled into the hundreds.

Almost daily after every American loss, the marine officers in Nicaragua have caused reports to be circulated that Sandino is "through" or has quit. Each time these reports have been revealed as false and as attempts to mislead the American people.

The most recent deaths are certain to renew the demand that Coolidge act to take the marines out of Nicaragua. Charges that he is prosecuting an unauthorized war are being renewed with great vigor.

Meanwhile, all true progressives and Socialists find their sympathy and support for Sandino growing stronger daily as it becomes more and more evident that he is conducting a brave, uphill battle against superior forces which are attempting to deprive his country of its last remaining vestiges of independence from American financial and governmental domination.

French Trade Union Membership Grows

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Paris.—For the past two years there has been a steady tendency for Communist unions to return to the "free" national trade union centre; and at the same time, a steady increase in the membership of the latter. Special progress has been made in the Seine Department (Paris), where in spite of violent Communist propaganda, there has been a well-maintained rise of membership. In 1922 the departmental centre sold 54,314 members' cards, and its income was Frs. 52,614; the corresponding figures for 1924 were 60,000 and 121,257, for 1925 77,325 and 150,000, for 1926 90,000 and 164,000, and for the first 9 months of 1927, 90,830 and 191,766.

Socialists Enter Danzig Government

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Danzig.—The Danzig Assembly completed on Jan. 18th the re-election of the members of the Parliamentary Senate. There were 14 Senators to be elected. The new coalition consisting of Socialists, the Centre and Liberals, disposed of 66 seats out of the 120 in the Assembly. Since the Polish Group also voted for the candidates of the Coalition, the latter received 69 votes. There were 8 Socialists, 4 members of the Centre and 2 of the Liberal Group elected. Julius Gohl, the leader for many years of the Danzig Socialists, was elected as deputy President of the Senate. The other Socialist Senators are: Dr. Kammlitz, member of Provincial Court; Grunhagen, Trade Union Secretary; the Mayors Reek and Ramming; Arczynski, Trade Union Secretary; Dr. Zint, President of the Provincial Court and Rehberg a carpenter.

Former Socialist Head of Hamburg Passes

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Hamburg.—On Jan. 8th, Otto Stollen died at Hamburg in his 75th year. He was as leader of the Hamburg Labor movement August Bebel's successor as member of the Reichstag for Hamburg. He was the Socialist representative in the Hamburg Townhall, and when the revolution of 1918 brought universal suffrage he entered the Hamburg Senate and was twice elected by it as Mayor.

Socialist Sentiment Grows Fast

Convention Call in Oklahoma—Henry Reports 40 State Tickets Likely—New York Organizes

THE Socialist national campaign got into motion during the last week with speed and determination. A wave of enthusiasm seems to have swept through the whole party from the Atlantic to the Pacific. There is not a single state among the 48 which has not reported to National Secretary William H. Henry in Chicago a quickening of interest. All eyes are centered on the approaching national convention in New York City, April 14th, when the delegates from all over the country will name the party's standard bearers and give the lead to the Socialist campaign of 1928.

A survey of the states by National Executive Secretary Henry, has been sent to the National Executive Committee and the report shows that Socialist Party tickets are definitely assured now in 21 states, and, in all likelihood, 19 more states. Secretary Henry, in making this report, points out that the 21 states are among those that need no help in making nominations and filing them. The party will be unable to file a complete ticket in the State of Washington because of heavy filing fees which operate as a penalty upon any party that cannot have large funds at its disposal.

There are nineteen states which require some help, some more and some less, but all of them likely to file presidential electors and state tickets.

Though the states that must have help of the National Office are not states where a large Socialist vote has been polled in the past, no effort will be spared to include as many of them as possible this year.

Throughout the report the secretary remarks upon the increasing Socialist activity and interest that has been awakened in many states because of the coming campaign.

Oklahoma Convention Called
A sign of the times, hailed with much joy at National Headquarters, is the call for the state convention of the Oklahoma Socialists to be held March 10th, at 2 p. m., in Musician's Hall, 219½ N. Broadway, Oklahoma City. The convention is to form a regular state organization and take up the question of a full state ticket in Oklahoma. All party members and all those who expect to join before the date of the convention, or even at the beginning of the convention, are arranging to be on hand. During the last few weeks comrades from this state have been signing up until today we have a sufficient number of members to constitute a working organization. By the time the convention is opened, we expect to have a good representation of party members. Either the National Secretary or someone representing the National Organization will be present, and it is fully expected that the Oklahoma Socialist Party will grow rapidly when the reorganization has taken place.

New York Organizes
New York Socialists swung into action on Washington's birthday with one of the best attended meetings in years. As previously reported, a committee of 100, to be known as "The Socialist Action Committee" had been formed to promote the campaign. The first meeting was held in the Peoples' House, Feb. 22nd, and laid definite plans for pushing the campaign.

Several working committees for the year's program, including an executive committee with Morris Hillquit as Chairman, were elected to formulate definite plans for an overthrow of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

"This meeting will assume historic proportions for the Socialist Party," Hillquit said. "Through the movements which we are initiating today we will once again make Socialism a political power in the United States. The time is now ripe for a revolt against the two old parties."

Hillquit in opening the meeting said the "impotence" of the Democratic and Republican Parties was to be blamed for "the bursting of the prosperity bubble with resultant widespread unemployment."

It was announced the committee's activities would be carried on in conjunction with the national committee.

(Continued on Page 2)

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Dinner Pail Empties In Buffalo, N.Y.

Coolidge "Prosperity" Collapses Upstate New York—Business Combinations Continued

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO, N. Y.—Four years ago Buffalo Republicans were wearing buttons labelled "vote for Coolidge and a full dinner pail," now many of these Coolidge advocates are jobless, others are working part-time and those that own small stores are being crushed between chain store competition and bad accounts run up by jobless customers.

In spite of the press comments on the wonderful prosperity the Country is enjoying, the optimistic speeches at the Rotary Club, the glowing reports of the Chamber of Commerce, it has been whispered that a real industrial depression was setting in. Mayor Frank X. Schvab requested the Board of Social Welfare, which governs the City Welfare and Employment Bureau Departments, to make a survey and inform him of the number of unemployed workers in the City.

The Board of Social Welfare has reported to the Mayor that there are approximately 75,000 unemployed workers in the City or working on short time basis and unable to make enough to live on. At the height of the industrial depression of 1921 there were less than 50,000 unemployed in Buffalo.

Small neighborhood stores are all complaining at the lack of cash business and even the large department stores are forced to run constant sales and to solicit charge accounts. Many old established businesses are selling out and many others are just going out of business. The Courts are crowded with suits against debtors and the judgment records against debtors are much larger than a year ago.

The desperate plight of many workers can be imagined when the papers recently carried a story of how two armed men held up a small store late at night, ordered the storekeeper to wrap up a dozen of eggs, several slices of ham, a couple of loaves of bread, a pound of butter and a few other incidentals and then left the store. No attempt was made to rob the cash drawer although considerable money was in it, all the men said as they left the store was "Now our families will eat."

The frustration of business has made remarkable progress in Buffalo in the last four years. There is now an Ice Cream Trust, leaving only a couple of independent ice cream manufacturers. There is an Ice Trust, the same ice monopoly owning similar consolidations in various other cities in New York and Ohio. There is a Laundry combination. Chain stores of groceries and meat markets have superseded the corner privately owned grocery store or butcher shop. Chain cut rate drug stores are now operating in various sections and a merry war is in progress between these stores and the old established neighborhood drug stores. Even the moving picture shows consist of several separate chain combinations. In 1924 there were two morning and three evening papers, now by combination there is only one morning paper and two evening papers.

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NOTICE

Special Meeting of the
HARLEM SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL
CENTER ASSOCIATION
will be held on Monday evening, March
5th, at 61 East 106th Street. Important
business will be transacted.
D. STREIB, Secretary
SOPHIE LAPOFF, Secretary

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Safely
Relieved by
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Terrorism Against Socialists Marks Election In Poland

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WARSAW.—The electoral campaign in Poland has opened with a series of persecutions of Socialists by the Polish authorities. The leader of the Polish Independent S. P., Dr. Drobner, has been locked up in Bromberg on a charge of high treason incurred through a speech in which he recommended active class warfare. Some time ago three other leading comrades of the Independents were arrested, so that the Party is left to enter the election campaign without its principal personalities. Specially vicious persecution is being practised against the Ukrainian Socialists, numbers of whom have been put into prison with the past few days.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

of the United States made three lawyers federal judges gives them no wisdom in regard to decisions of regulatory authorities. They act in such matters on no sure and generally accepted principles of justice but on their own notions of what they think may be confiscatory. It is an intolerable situation that our courts should have this power and should exercise it as they have been inclined to do. It makes the cause of peaceful social progress through legislative action very much harder than it is, for instance, in a country like England where the courts have no such drastic powers. This rate making and value fixing power claimed by our courts ranks with the injunction evil as an example of judicial tyranny.

Score one for public opinion in and out of Congress for reducing the Admiralty's folly of an \$800,000,000 new navy bill to less than \$300,000,000 and for compelling the insertion of a clause permitting the President to stop building in the event of an international agreement. The bill has been so much improved that the force of criticism against it is weakened. Still it is hard to see why even \$274,000,000 for sixteen new ships is imperatively necessary in this time when the children of the unemployed go hungry in every city and the children of the miners starve in their miserable shacks. There is always danger that the big navy crowd may amend the bill upward in Congress. The light is by no means over and Coolidge's assurances that the navy is only for purposes of peace is worth neither more nor less than similar assurances by all governments.

Public opinion which has been fairly effective against a big navy has not been effective in other vital matters. It has not stopped the Administration's shameful and so far futile hunt for Saniño in Nicaragua. It did not prevent the Senate by a bi-partisan vote from referring the investigation of the super-power situation to the Federal Trade Commission—a body which lacks the legal power and as now constituted, the desire to do a proper job. This same sympathetic public opinion is at present moribund with the miners but it has yet no driving power for any constructive legislation. In New York State the real estate interests are far more vocal than the tenants when it comes to the discussion of the new dwellings law. Incidentally the New York City administration under cover of loyalty to some rule is very heavily and unexpectedly knitting even the most moderate progress in the housing field. When one looks at the actions of the Democratic party in city, state, and nation as exemplified by the Democratic attitude on the super power trust and on housing one realizes what a big job Messiah Al Smith would have on his own hands with his own party even if he were as progressive as some of his friends claim when they talk to radicals or to labor men.

Of course the plain speech of the Senate Committee about the tragedy of the Pennsylvania mine camps is worth something. But we rise to ask the sympathetic Senators and President John Lewis himself how they expect to solve this tragic situation without touching the private ownership of mines and their operation for profit. Even under private ownership we suppose the coal and iron police might be better curbed and the despotic power of judges to grant anti-labor injunctions might be taken away. But the fundamental tragedy of a chaotically mismanaged industry would continue. As long as the companies own the coal and the houses it is hard to deny them the right to evict striking miners. And that means the spectacle of boarded up houses with miners' families living in sheds across the road. What do you say, gentlemen of the Senate?

Theology treats of the unknown with minutest accuracy. — Anatole France.

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Birthday of Socialism Is Celebrated

Hillquit, Panken and Lee Speakers at Meeting Commemorating The Communist Manifesto

THE Debs Auditorium of the Peoples House was crowded with an audience of Socialist workers who came to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the issuance of the Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Morris Hillquit, Jacob Panken and Algernon Lee, who presided, and C. Kantorovich, spoke of the issuance of the manifesto as marking the birth of International Socialism.

The addresses of Hillquit and Lee followed the lines of their articles in last week's New Leader. Judge Panken delivered an eloquent analysis of present day American capitalism and the application to it of the principles of Marxian Socialism.

"The United States," said the former Socialist judge, "stands now in the forefront of the capitalist nations. We are undoubtedly the most developed country economically. Although for many generations the standards of living for the workers of the United States were higher than those of the workers of other nations, we are now on the threshold of a disastrous change in that respect."

"Due to the large stretches of untilled soil and the expanse of our land, we were able in the past—we might be able even now—to absorb millions of immigrants, who, in our developing country, found work in the up-building of our industries and in turn gave work to productive labor. That brought prosperity, minimized unemployment, and gave us our high standards of living."

The End of an Epoch
"This epoch in our history is coming to an end. Unemployed armies have become permanent. There is no escape from that. The stabilization of our population and the labor saving machinery in use have created for us serious conditions of unemployment."

"The railroads of the United States last year operated 800,000 additional freight cars, yet its employees were reduced by 250,000. Our surplus capital is being exported, and that is an added cause for unemployment. My calculations at the end of 1927 show me that there were at least 5,200,000 unemployed. That number, however, has been materially increased since. There are now more than 6,000,000 unemployed in our country."

"The decrease in employment since 1924, was 13 per cent on the first of January last. There are 40,000,000 of our people gainfully employed. On that basis, the number of unemployed as of January 1st last, compared with 1924, was greater by more than 5,000."

Marxism Vindicated
"Marx foresaw the unescapable tragedy which comes with developed capitalism and the creation of unemployed armies. He prophesied the only remedy. Conditions have changed since Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto. Not all that he prophesied has happened as he foresaw it. There were some changes which necessitated modifications in the program. He himself foresaw the need of such changes."

"In conclusion, let me say that Marx urged that Socialists must not be sectarian. He did not even exclude from the ranks of the Socialist Movement non-proletarians. He said: Just as, therefore, at an early period a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular the portion of the bourgeoisie and ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole."

"He stood for the solidarity of the working class, for unity in our ranks. He was opposed to any separatist movement. He said: 'The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties, they have no interest separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole, they do not set up any sectarian principle of their own by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement.'"

"There are so called Marxians who prate about their strong Marxism and set up sectarian principles, and attempt to shape the workers' movements in a mold of their own. They attempt to fit the facts of life into a theory. Theory must give away to the march of facts. They attempt to part the proletariat. They bring discord into its ranks. They attempt to destroy that unity of labor which is the basis of a class struggle and the ultimate triumph of that justice which society can only attain through a triumphant proletariat."

Tyranny is power without right, and superstition is credence without evidence. — Patrick Edward Dove.

Eastman and Thomas To Debate in Phila. Next Sunday Afternoon

Sunday, March 4th, 3 p. m., the Labor Institute Forum will close its series of fifteen lectures with a debate between Max Eastman and Norman Thomas. The meeting will be staged as usual at the Labor Institute, 802-10 Locust street. The subject of the debate is "Dictatorship vs. Democracy."

This event is being looked forward to as the most important happening in labor and Socialist circles during the present year. In point of attendance, it is anticipated that it will eclipse even that unusual gathering which had greeted Bertrand Russell, when he spoke before the Labor Institute Forum, early in the Fall or the great meeting which was addressed by Judge Ben Lindsey, when thousands of people struggled to gain admittance in the auditorium, the hall not being large enough to hold all who came to the meetings. Admission will be free.

Buffalo Socialists Mourn the Passing of Adelaine Imershrine

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUFFALO.—Mrs. Adelaine Imershrine passed away at her home on Dorchester Road. Socialists who knew Mrs. Imershrine sense the great loss to the Socialist movement. Her activities go back 17 years, when she appeared in connection with the building up of the Socialist Sunday School on the East Side, and then followed her activities in the Socialist Woman's Club and finally she took an active part in the local activities.

Her ability as teacher, organizer, speaker and music director were a great asset to the Party. Mrs. Imershrine always gave willingly, gladly, but of late years her family ties and her music teaching and vocal coaching deprived her of the time for activities as before. When called on she was proud to help. One of her last appearances was on the Socialist platform at the Debs Memorial.

A teacher of music of rare ability, she gained recognition very rapidly, but her early death has made her career a short one. Ill only two days, she did not have the vitality to fight off death, since her strength had been overtaken for years in her work as a Socialist worker. She organized years ago the "Mothers Club" on the east side. It was her life's ambition to awaken the desire in the workingman's wife for literature, music, art and the science.

Mrs. Imershrine died at the early age of 48. Irving M. Weiss delivered the funeral oration and with fitting words told of this faithful and true comrade's life work. A large number of comrades and friends attended the funeral to pay their last respects to the departed. The burial took place at the Pinehill Cemetery of the Workmen's Circle. Comrade Levin delivered the parting oration at the grave.

Socialist Strength Grows Fast in U. S.

(Continued from Page 1)

tees and with similar organizations of other cities. The committee was formed last week, and comprises representatives of labor organizations in the city. These organizations will support the work by cash contributions and pledges.

The subcommittees formed and the Chairmen elected to head them are: Committee on Trades Unions, Abraham I. Shipiloff; Committee on Fraternal Organizations, Joseph Weinberg; Committee on Individual Contributions, B. C. Vladeck; Entertainment, Louis Waldman; Publicity, Norman Thomas; Membership and Organization, former Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken. A meeting of the Executive Committee was held the following Saturday, at which G. August Gerber was elected to manage the drive for funds which, at the start, will occupy the chief attention of the Action Committee. The executive committee also elected Harry W. Laidler to be chairman of a Committee on Outside Contacts.

Liano Cooperative Colony Wins In Court

Newlano, La.—Liano Co-operative Colony, which has been in the hands of a receiver since July 1927, caused by some of the dissatisfied members who brought suit and demanded a receivership in the local court, and got it, has now won its fight in court.

The Colony appealed to the Supreme Court of Louisiana and has won a reversal and dismissal of the receivership by a unanimous vote of the seven judges.

BERGER ASKS AID FOR AGED

(Continued from Page 1)

maximum penalty was a fine of \$2,000 and imprisonment for two years, while in the espionage act, the penalty is \$10,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment. And in the old law the truth of a statement was a defense, while under the present law the greater the truth the greater the punishment.

"Under the espionage act 2,000 men and women who dared to speak and write the truth as they saw it—a right guaranteed to them by the constitution—were sentenced to prison terms ranging up to 20 years. Not a citizen was found guilty of espionage."

"The law was defended on the ground of war emergency. But Abraham Lincoln waged a war far more vital to the nation's existence—and with sentiment divided everywhere, including the north, and fought out mostly within 100 miles of Washington—without an espionage act. The only purpose in retaining the law on the statute books is to assure the ruling class that they can plunge this nation into war whenever the protection of their investments abroad may require it. Any one objecting will be put behind bars immediately. This is the time to demand that the law be repealed."

Injunction Evil in Mass. Unabated

N. Y. Ruling in Favor of Traction Union No Help To Bay State Labor

By Alfred Baker Lewis

BOSTON.—Judge Wasservogel's decision to the effect that the workers have the right to organize even when there is a company union protected by a yellow dog contract comes as a welcome surprise. But it does not help us in Massachusetts, for the law in this State is settled the other way.

Massachusetts has probably one of the worst series of injunction decisions in the country. For in this state the courts have claimed the right to declare strikes illegal and enjoin them, no matter how peacefully they are carried on, simply because the judges do not like the purposes of them. Organized labor can carry on a strike as peacefully as a Quaker prayer meeting, yet the judges will enjoin the strike simply because they disapprove of its objects. A strike for a union shop, a strike to compel the discharge of a non-union workman, a sympathetic strike, or a strike whose success would cause an alteration or breach of an existing contract all can be enjoined in Massachusetts no matter how peaceful and lawful may be the methods used.

If organized labor does not have the right to strike for a union shop, it is impossible successfully to organize the unorganized, unless by a sort of sudden religious conversion all the workers in any given industry who were formerly non-union suddenly acquire a complete 100 per cent understanding of union principles and solidarity. Yet that is the law in Massachusetts.

Sympathetic strikes are infrequent enough. When they do occur it is usually because some strong union seeks to lend its strength to a weak one. It is the most unselfish form of union action possible. Yet it is illegal in Massachusetts today.

Strike Right Is Denied

The courts deny to the workers the right to strike to compel the discharge of a non-union worker. In so doing they deny to the workers rights freely granted to their own class, the lawyers. For if the lawyers find that one of their members is a crook, they fire him out of the Bar Association, and even refuse to work with him and cause him to be disbarred. Yet if workers find that some union official has been a crook, and accordingly bring charges against him and fire him out of the union, they are compelled to continue to work with this non-union crook, perhaps even on the same bench with him. For if they go out on strike to compel the employer to discharge him, it is a strike to compel the discharge of a non-union worker and can be enjoined. It is a clear case of class bias, this denying to workers the very right claimed and exercised by lawyers, but it is settled law of Massachusetts today.

I put that very case to the members of the State Legislature in arguing for our bill against injunctions, but so far we have gotten no relief. The fact that strikes which would result in the alteration or breach of an existing contract are illegal is the most dangerous situation from the point of view of the workers. For it means that the bosses can call a few scabs together from a company union, sign an agreement with the company union giving the workers no rights at all except the right to a job at the pleasure of the employer, and then any strike to get a contract with the real union is a strike to compel the breach of an existing contract, namely, the contract with the company union, and is illegal. This is just the case of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company's demand for an injunction against Edward Lavin and the whole American Federation of Labor. In Massachusetts the decision would have been the other way around.

Company Union Not Needed

Furthermore, the bosses do not even have to have a company union. They can take advantage of a severe period of unemployment such as the present, and compel the workers to sign a yellow dog contract agreeing not to join a union. Then this contract can be protected by an injunction in Massachusetts, and you can even enjoin the union organizer from telling the men who have signed such contracts the benefits of joining the union. This is a clear violation of the rights of free speech. Yet it is the law in Massachusetts today.

The Socialist Party attempted this year to remedy this situation by introducing an anti-injunction bill which would simply forbid the judges to issue an injunction in a labor dispute against anything that was not a crime. The State Branch of the American Federation of Labor also had a similar though less drastic bill. Both bills were argued together before the Legislative Committee with the Socialist Party and the American Federation of Labor giving support to the other bill as well as their own. So far, however, the committee has made no report, and indications are that they will not grant relief. Yet until the injunction law is changed, organized labor in Massachusetts will be totally unable to progress and will have to fight hard to hold what they have.

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AMERICA'S 8 MILLION VOTELESS CITIZENS

By Herbert J. Seligman

INsofar as the United States is supposed to be an experiment in democratic form of government, the South is not part of the United States. The South does not believe in democracy. It does not practice it, insofar as democracy is supposed to rest in the voting privilege. For colored citizens of the Southern States, in every way qualified, by property, tax-paying, and intelligence, are deprived of their right to vote simply because of their color and their African descent.

Only recently we have had the spectacle of two United States Senators proclaiming on the floor of the United States Senate, not only their knowledge of the fact that Negroes are denied the vote in the South, but the expressed determination of the white people that Negroes shall continue to be deprived of the franchise.

The disfranchisement of the Negro after the Civil War was accomplished mainly by lawlessness, violence and intimidation by the Ku Klux Klan and other bodies. It will be recalled that there are two Amendments to the United States Constitution dealing with this question of the vote. One is the 14th Amendment, of which the second section provides that in States disfranchising Negroes or other people because of their race or color, representation in Congress shall be proportionately reduced. The other Constitutional Amendment which applies to the matter of voting is the 15th Amendment which states plainly that no American citizen shall be denied the voting right because of race or color.

Dead Amendments

Both these Amendments to the Constitution are constantly and admittedly evaded, most flagrantly in that section of the country which is loudest in its demands for the enforcement of the prohibition Amendment.

Before 1890 Negroes were deprived of their votes mainly by violence. But since the era of violence between the years 1870 and 1890, new means of accomplishing the same end were discovered. One of the most famous of these means, some years ago declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, were the so-called Grandfather clauses in the Constitutions of Southern States. These clauses made the voting privilege dependent upon war service or residence or voting of oneself or an ancestor in the past. Other means were easily found for accomplishing the same end as that sought by the Grandfather clauses.

Property qualifications were required of intending voters which deprived not only many Negroes of the vote, but many of the poorer whites as well. There were poll and other tax requirements so that if one either failed to pay the tax or lost any of his tax receipts the right to vote could be denied. There were educational tests. These educational tests were most obviously designed to be used against the Negro. Under the provisions of the educational requirements citizens might be required to explain some sentence or part of the Constitution. As the most eminent lawyers differ about the Constitution and its interpretation, and as the Supreme Court some times votes five to four on Constitutional questions coming before it, it is not hard to

see how some Southern Negro's explanation of a sentence or paragraph from the Constitution might be found wanting.

The South's Apology

These laws, technically legal and in accord with the Constitution, do not mention the Negro. Therefore no Constitutional question is involved in most of them. Yet their intent was to furnish a pretext for depriving the Negro of his vote. And although the law shows no discrimination on its face, it was passed for the express purpose of being unjustly and inequitably administered. So that in many Southern States, in Mississippi, for example, where the colored population is almost equal to the white, in Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, except in the large cities, the Negro has virtually no voice in determining who shall represent him, who shall make and who shall administer his laws, and spend the taxes he pays. Taxation without representation is of the essence of the Southern scheme of things, so far as the Negro is concerned.

What is the apology of the South for this situation? Senator Swanson of Virginia recently voiced it. Senator Swan-

son says the Fourteenth Amendment did not give the Negro the right to vote, but penalized any State which withheld that right. The Fourteenth Amendment therefore, left the question of conferring the vote in the hands of the States. Moreover, the Supreme Court has declared that the Fifteenth Amendment did not confer the vote on anybody but merely stated that the vote should not be withheld because of race or color. Therefore, says Senator Swanson and a considerable section of the South, the South is not violating the Constitutional Amendments because its laws are not withholding the vote on the ground of race or color.

The Texas Improvement

The answer of course, is that the disfranchisement occurs outside the law. Senator Swanson says the recourse of the Negro is to the courts, when his rights as a citizen are invaded. One Negro in Mississippi did go to the courts and bring suit because he was refused opportunity to register. The consequence of his attempt to obtain justice was that he had to flee from his town because the white people threatened him with violence. And the suit was discontinued. For a Negro outside the

largest cities in the South to attempt to vote, is to take his life in his hands. Unless he is one of the handful of colored people admitted to the polls by grace of the white minority as a gesture or because it is known those few Negroes will vote right.

The attempt to deprive the Negro of his fundamental citizenship went so far in Texas, that Texas in 1924 passed a law which made it illegal for any Negro to vote in the Democratic primary elections of that State. Now as everyone knows, in Texas, as in other Southern States, there is only one party of any voting strength and that is the Democratic party. So that the candidates designated at the Democratic primary elections in Texas and other States, are practically automatically elected to office. Therefore, to exclude anyone from voting in the primary is just as effectively to deprive him of his vote as if he were deprived of the voting privilege altogether.

This Texas law did not go uncontested. A qualified Negro voter, Dr. L. A. Dixon of El Paso, a Democrat, took the case to court. He was backed up by the National Association for the Advancement of colored People which carried the

case to the United States Supreme Court. And confronted with a plain case of denial of the vote on the ground of race and color, the Supreme Court had no alternative but to declare the Texas law unconstitutional. But the purely legal side of the disfranchisement question, although it is a matter of national hypocrisy in which the North is quite as much involved as the South, is only a phase of the situation.

The Stamp of Inferiority

Denial of the vote to the Negro in the South becomes a symbol for fastening the stamp of inferiority upon him. The man who is voteless, is ineffective in his demands for better education, for police protection, for sanitation. Too often he is the victim of injustice in the courts. Where his personal safety is concerned he is often the victim of the mob, the mob which may either beat him, or in too many cases hangs him, shoots him, or burns him alive at the stake before gloating audiences in which women and children mingle.

Part of the problem of the South and of the rest of the nation as well, is to get rid of the relic of slavery days. The notion that the Negro is something less than a man, and that white supre-

macy must be by laws which are in their intention lawless, which have been enacted for the purpose of denying and evading the spirit of the law of the land. For it is not a question of the Negro's having to prove his fitness to exercise the privilege of voting. If the Southern laws were directed merely against the ignorant and the unfit, and white men of this class were excluded equally with Negroes, there would be no valid criticism. It is because the Negro, no matter how thoroughly well qualified he may prove himself in every way, is submitted to this denial of his fundamental citizenship rights that protest is made against the Southern practice as vicious.

In the North Negroes have not only been exercising the ballot, but have been holding important offices with the most conspicuous success. One of the ablest members of the Ohio legislature for a number of years was a colored attorney of Cleveland, Harry E. Davis, who has recently been elected to the Civil Service Commission of his city.

What Actually Happens

The kind of intimidation Negroes are subjected to in the South to keep

them from the ballot boxes was exposed during the 1920 election, by which a Republican President came into office. It was disclosed by an investigator for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people that Negroes were threatened and insulted as they approached the polling places in Florida. One leading colored man, a physician and respected member of the community, was spat upon by a crowd which dared him to wipe his face because he committed the crime of advising colored men and women of the community to register and vote. Two brothers in Columbia County were called from their homes and almost beaten to death two weeks before election day and for the same crime of having urged Negroes to vote. In one small town, Ocoee, in Orange County, Florida, a bloody riot ensued upon the attempt of a colored man to vote. Word had been sent out that no Negro was to be allowed to cast a ballot. But this colored man, owner of an orange grove, of his own home, a respected member of the community who had never been in any trouble, did attempt to vote. He was severely beaten and told to go home. Thereafter a group of armed white men went to his house to get him, having no warrant for his arrest. Two of them were shot in the Negro's defense of his home. In the riot which ensued every Negro home, schoolhouse, church and lodge in the community was burned to the ground, in one case at least according to report, a colored woman and her child perished in the flames.

The situation as disclosed by special investigation of the election in 1920 in Florida, represents the spirit of the white minority which is determined to rule the South and to prevent the Negro from voting there. United States Senators may say what they like about the legality on the face of the Southern laws. It is the facts that count. And those facts, it is quite generally understood, include any sort of brutality, law evasion, inequity in the administration of the law, hypocrisy and subterfuge, by which colored citizens may be deprived of what is plainly intended shall be their right.

Heretofore efforts in Congress to have these facts placed on record and proved, have failed. The North has conspired with the South in its violation of the Constitution. Congressman George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts has introduced a resolution in the present session of Congress, Resolution Number 34 in the House of Representatives, calling upon the Census Committee to investigate and report on disfranchisement, making the facts available in such a form that Congress can and must act. But it is doubtful if there will be any action. Congress is not in the least interested. It is known that the Southern States defy the Constitution and evade it. But who cares? After all, what is the United States Constitution among friends, when those friends happen to be politicians, but a scrap of paper?

Battle Cry of the Wounded Consumer

By Stuart Chase

THE outward evidences of high-powered salesmanship that greet each bewildered consumer offer only the briefest glimpse of the Wonderland in which the American consumers find themselves. Sometimes it is fun, sometimes not so funny. There is documentary evidence to fill many books. The cases are not universal, but they are altogether too frequent. With the result that uncertainty among such consumers as have minds superior to that of the amoeba is universal—for a great variety of products. They are never sure with an untried article whether they are going to get their money's worth or get gloriously stuck. Even old and tried products have a habit of changing their formulas sometimes. And so a ragged battalion of us consumers are crying for more facts and less poetry.

As consumers we want more reliable information about the quality, the utility, the cost and, if you please, the therapeutic value of the necessities, and even some of the luxuries, that we purchase. We do not want all the technical facts about everything below the line of super-luxuries—it would bore us to death; but every now and again when I am buying a suit or a shirt or a vacuum cleaner or a pair of shoes or an oil heater, I would like to feel a little more intelligent and a little less like a helpless idiot. I would like an authoritative and independent source to which I could turn for help. I am not alone in this desire for a few less advertising slogans, and a little more light-

A Call For More Facts, Less Poetry About The Things We Buy

The consumer has his part, however small, in the great epic of American salesmanship. He has to pay for it. It is his case, and his case only for which I have the presumption to plead.

To hold that anything can come of that pleading is, I may grant, presumptuous. When one surveys dispassionately the lowly and turgid mass which is the consumer on the one side, and the impregnable assurance of the advertising gentlemen who know their business so well, on the other, it seems almost hopeless. I am doubtless a fool not to play golf, read the American Magazine, catch the 8:26 from Bronxville and save at once my breath and the strong probability of languishing in the lock-up for libel. "Eventually but Not Just Now" might be a better title for these untimely remarks.

The consumer's case I know something about. I am one. For him, if he should ever have red blood enough to want them, I have a number of constructive—no defensive, suggestions. But to the well disciplined army on the other side of the Rubicon I can only hurl defiance—puny, ill-advised, but passionate. One dove of peace I will send. On the question of price our warfare must be eternal, but on the question of quality there is just the possibility that we

might get together. The consumer for many not all, wants sound merchandise. The overwhelming majority of manufacturers in my opinion would like to produce sound merchandise. Adulteration is often forced upon them by the bitterness of the competitive struggle, but it is a dirty game, and they know it. What manufacturer, if he were sure of his demand, would not rather make an honest product in which he could take pride? But when salesmanship is so astute, or consumers are so dumb, as hopelessly to confuse the sound with the shoddy; when most of one's competitors are adulterating or depressing quality in one way or another—what can the manufacturer do if he is to keep out of the red? Many, to their eternal credit, have gone gloriously into involuntary, refusing, with the passion of artists, to give an inch from their standards of honest workmanship.

In brief, both parties, I believe, have a common ground in quality, one for the benefit of his body, the other for the benefit of his soul. And if ways and means could be found to set up and enforce quality standards, both parties would be healthier and happier. The only person who would not be any happier, indeed he might be a very gloomy person, would be the vendor of adulterated goods. His business would be in for an alarming shrinkage. It takes more space to sell fairy stories than to tell facts.

But in respect to other matters, particularly price, frankly I do not see how it is possible to reconcile the two points of view—that of the seller and that of the buyer. It can be done with a fine flow of rhetoric—full of such words as "service," "common aims," "cooperation"—"two parts of a united whole"—which leaves us all feeling perfectly splendid, but without an iota of an effect upon our tangible behavior when we get back to the desk or the counter. The buyer is trying to get the maximum of goods for his dollar, while the seller is trying to get the maximum of dollars for his goods. No amount of appeasement can bridge this chasm. That is why I object obscurely and vociferously to the rank hypocrisy of the whole modern cult of "service." As a buyer I am going to use my purchasing power to force as much in the way of quantity as I can get. The seller is going to collect the last cent the traffic will bear. He always has done so, he always will—until the rules of the game of business are altogether changed. Let us admit this obvious fact, and stand embattled but devoid of hypocrisy, face to face.

I make the claim, and I think that I can prove it, that in all too many lines the consumer is not getting his money's worth. He has been tempted, flattered, cajoled, frightened, cooked up, threatened and appealed to, misinformed—until his mind, as an instrument for appraising value, is a jelly. This may not be good for business, but it certainly is not good for the consumer. He needs stiffening up, standard of value, a reliable method to identify the sound from the shoddy; or the necessary sound from the superficial, in brief, a good double strength shot of sales resistance.

Of course his mind may be too far gone ever to be resuscitated to function with intelligence and discretion. Perhaps he is destined forever to walk his mile for a dromedary, though Dr. John B. Watson has proved that, bluffed, scared, scarcely one man in ten can recognize his favorite cigarette; to read unsmiling the label, "Guaranteed not to fade fast colors"; to buy his furniture on the assurance that it is made of Lumber from Contented Trees.

But a few of us are waking up, and setting off as many alarm clocks as we can lay our hands upon. We represent the buyer, first, last and all the time. We have no more respect for the tender susceptibilities of the seller, than he has had in the past for us. Which is precisely nil. He has forced his goods upon us by every conceivable legal means, and as the Federal Trade Commission can tell you, by means that have frequently been not so legal. Against that sales forcing, that employment of all the arts of Wonderland to make us buy what we too often do not want and do not need,

we the alarm clock squad, proposed trenches, tanks, barbed wire, machine guns and every defense, except poison gas. There has been altogether too much of that commodity in the air already, and as honest fighters we ought mutually to agree to its complete abatement.

It will be objected that such a move in the unlikely event that anything comes of it, may be bad for business.

Since when has business preempts the moral right to enforce its balance sheet as against the consumer's welfare? Since when has it taken precedence over life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Does one cross oneself as he enters this new cathedral? To hell with business when it overcharges me, misinforms me, adulterates my goods, or hits me below the belt with subtle psychological appeals up on the rocks the better I shall like it. Meanwhile if enough of us lowly consumers demand more facts and less poetry about the goods that we buy, there will be plenty of business men ready to meet that sort of demand. What proportion of manufacturers in recent years have gone cascading to eternity because their goods were better than their sales appeal?

What will happen—if indeed anything happens—is that certain concerns will lose their turnover to other more enterprising concerns who are ready to manufacture on the basis of more facts and less poetry. Isn't this sort of shift always occurring in American business from other causes—chiefly competitive?

Of course we would like to depress or at least modify some businesses; we might improve quality but the turnover would be no less. Indeed it might be more by virtue of the waste eliminated. Business is sufficiently strong to take care of itself without shedding crocodile tears, and bidding its eternal and steadfast enemy, the consumer, in the name of mercy to withhold his blows. When did the consumer ever get any mercy out of business? But business need not worry very much—at least just yet. Business always knows what it wants and the consumer mostly doesn't.

Some day perhaps the worm will turn and we can all lean over the window ledges of heaven together—our halos slightly askew—and watch the show. It ought to be good.

Already it is comparatively strong in seven or eight states and has penetrated about five other states with many local organizations. Only working farmers and other workers are permitted to belong to it; yet, it is said to have 150,000 to 200,000 members and is now able to hold the balance of power in two or three states, provided the contest between the two old parties is anywhere near close. Most of its members are real dirt farmers.

I refer to the Progressive Farmers. Inasmuch as the Progressive Farmers have become one of the most active elements working for a national farmer-labor party, are busy now seeking combination with other radical political and economic farmer organizations, and are likely to exercise considerable influence on political considerations this year, a sketch of their interesting history, growth, principles and methods is worthwhile.

Started in Washington The germ of the movement was a progressive insurgent movement within the state of Washington. The insurgent leader was named Kegley. After his death William Bouck succeeded to the leadership of the progressive wing. For his "radical" ideas he was expelled at a national convention of the Grange in 1921. In June, 1922, Bouck and his progressive followers organized a new movement—the Western Progressive Farmers. By December, 1927, this organization had spread over the states of Washington, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and had found lodgement in Iowa. Fifty delegates from these eight states met in Minneapolis in December, 1927, and launched the Progressive Farmers of America.

PROGRESSIVE FARMERS

A Current Radical Farm Movement

There is a widespread belief that a radical movement will never attract the farmers in great numbers. The writer has been studying a farmer organization for a month which asks for practically the whole Socialist program of farmer-labor control of government and industry and the establishment of industrial democracy. It had its beginning as a state organization five years ago. As a national organization it is only a year old.

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dorses the state Farmer-Labor party and supports it. Its national convention endorsed the Minnesota and national Farmer-Labor Parties. In Colorado a practical amalgamation of the Progressive Farmers and the Farmer-Labor Party has been effected. In the southwest states the Progressive Farmers have encountered the Farm Labor Union and the Progress Builders, both radical organizations in their principles and ultimate aims. No amalgamation has yet been effected with these organizations, although the feeling between them seems to be cooperative and harmonious.

Strong Town Followings Information I have gained from officials of this organization and from its official papers leads me to believe there has been a considerable organization of local groups of the Progressive Farmers. The more radical appeal of class organization for the purpose of emancipating the producers has met with a surprisingly widespread and enthusiastic response. Following the national convention last winter, speakers and organizers in Washington, Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin were greeted by crowded halls in remote rural sections when the weather was below zero and the roads made very difficult by snow. Appeals for funds brought collections ranging in many instances from \$50 to more than \$200.

The organization is strongest in Washington, Montana, Minnesota and Wisconsin. It is particularly strong in Washington, and thereby hangs a tale. In the state of Washington in 1922 when the Western Progressive Farmers were launched, a wave of progressive farmer-labor sentiment started by the Nonpartisan League and Farmer Labor party movements of North Dakota and Minnesota, was then at its crest. The farmer-labor forces of that state cast 128,000 votes and crowded the Democratic party to third place. The prospects looked splendid for the early rise of a conquering working class political movement. Strange to say, into this hopeful field American Federation of Labor "nonpartisanism" projected itself. Still stranger, the labor leaders of that state employed this method of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" in such a way that the Farmer-Labor Party was reduced to an insignificant movement and the two old capitalist parties were restored to their former bipartisan control of affairs.

It is significant that the Progressive Farmer movement has grown again to a place of considerable power right through this period of betrayal, wrecking and decline of the earlier farmer-labor movement. It is also significant that it is the agrarian, and not the industrial, while organized labor is handicapped by the second

swing toward working class power in the state of Washington. Political Cooperation Another interesting fact in connection with this movement has developed in Montana. The original farmer-labor impulse from North Dakota and Minnesota led to election of members of the legislature and the state senate and farmer-labor candidates in some of the counties. When this wave showed signs of subsiding, the new Progressive Farmer wave entered Montana from the west and began to cover the state with local groups. Last year again witnessed a rise in farmer-labor votes and the election of farmer-laborites in a number of counties. In Minnesota the closest cooperation exists between the Progressive Farmers and the Farmer-Labor Party. The Minnesota Farmer-Labor leaders attended the Progressive Farmers' national convention and were among the godfathers who helped to christen it and speed it on its way. In Minnesota where the ordinary farmer-labor organization is a political club more or less submerged in "progressivism," and A. F. of L. "nonpartisanism" is still active, an organization that has economic roots and that has dedicated itself to the task of developing class-conscious political action, such as the Progressive Farmers, is capable of doing a great deal of good. The representative of the Progressive Farmers at Breckenridge, Texas, has supplied the writer with some very interesting facts about the movement in the southwest section. Down here where Farm Labor Union locals have been numerous and where the Farm Labor Union launched a revival more than a month ago, the Progressive Farmers are concentrating on the promotion of the national Farmer-Labor party movement. Letters were addressed during the summer of 1927 to the various radical and labor elements. The responses were overwhelmingly in favor of a state farmer-labor party in which the trade unions would be included, if possible. A convention to organize such a state-wide party has been planned for March, this year. The Texas radicals and progressives have high hopes for the future of such a party on account of the radical tendencies developed in Texas in the past. Here is the record of the radical parties in Texas at their height: the Greenback party, 102,000 to 150,000 for the Democrats; the Populist party, 240,000 to 300,000 for the Democrats; the Socialist party, 50,000, which was higher than the Republican vote. The Union Labor party and the La Follette movement also made good showings. In another article I hope to give further facts concerning the Progressive Farmers.

YOUTH AND POLITICS

The Young Socialists' Position

By Julius Umansky

SHOULD youth affiliate with a political party? This is the question raised by the Young Peoples' Socialist League. By "youth" we mean those who range from the ages of sixteen to thirty. Not desirous of appearing arbitrary, we will allow minor infractions of these limits. By "affiliation with a political party," we mean a relationship of useful activity toward the furtherance of the aims of that party.

The Republican and Democratic parties are survivals of old controversies long settled, and are not now the representatives of current clashing principles. In present society there are such harsh economic conflicts which speak in terms of strikes, lockouts, injunctions, and machine guns. The Republican and Democratic parties are not on opposite sides of this economic strife. They stand for the ruling classes, whose interests are directly opposed to those of the working masses.

I hold that the classes which the Republican and Democratic parties represent are not in need of assistance. Youth recognizes that the great majority of the people of the United States—the wage-earners—are in grave circumstances and in dire need of youth's help. Youth is cognizant of the shameful ills that characterize our social structure. It desires to exterminate this outrageous state of affairs. Towards that end we earnestly urge Youth to affiliate itself with a Labor Party; for I believe that this party is one of the most significant agencies that function for the improvement of the lot of the masses.

Randolph Bourne remarked: "We, Youth, feel only contempt for those who stultify their talents and pervert their knowledge in defending outworn political philosophies, and economic codes. We can no longer completely believe in the usefulness or significance of those teachers and writers who show themselves so obviously oblivious to the social problem. We are keen analysts of the society around us; we put uncomfortable questions to our sleek and successful elders. We criticize the activities in which they engage, the hitherto sacred professions and businesses, and learn to distinguish carefully between actually productive work for society, work which makes for the material and spiritual well-being of the people for whom it is done; and parasitic or wasteful work, which simply extends the friction of competition, or lives on the labor or profits of others."

In short, Youth desires to reform the world.

With all due respect to other activities, I stress the importance of the political

party as a medium for the socially useful expression of thinking Youth. For, it is only thinking youth that would employ so positive a medium.

The political influence has insinuated itself into our daily life; in college, in industry, in the newspapers, in church, it is everywhere. Since it is integral an element in our existence, should we not delve into its nature that we may be better able to appreciate the mechanism of the social machinery? We who are the social engineers of the morrow, here is our laboratory, here is our field work, here is our practical training, and all society is our sphere of research.

The political phase is of serious consequence; yet labor has so little leisure to play politics, and in addition, it lacks political leaders sorely. Labor's need for able leadership is a challenge to Youth. It is a duty we must accept.

The Mexican Federation of Students through an official, stated:—"Though the Federation refuses to have in its program any political aim, students are pushed sometimes, no matter what efforts are made to the contrary, to take part in politics. This is evident—That it is easier for an individual than for a social group to live apart from public life. When we get in touch with workers and laborers, we find out and understand more clearly the necessities and aspirations of the poor. When we mingle with students from other countries in international congresses to discuss our responsibilities as students in the new order after the European clash, we can but earnestly desire not a program for students but a program for the people, in a wider sense for humanity."

That the suffering of a great portion of society is intense, is appallingly evident. This suffering must be alleviated. The Labor Party is an effective means for the dissemination of ideas. Moreover, the party serves also as a means for the dissemination of ideas. Our conceptions concerning society would undergo reconstruction, in the light of past and contemporary experience, and would be automatically broadened. That is of inestimable worth to youth. But, in order that an idea might triumph, it must be brought to the attention of the people. The political party is the organic link between the individual and the masses; thus it lends itself as the vehicle for these ideas, and the use of the party in this fashion allows theoretical analysis to be checked.

There is a personal phase existing in the affiliation of Youth with necessary reform movements in general and, the Labor movements in particular. What is of greater inspiration, what of finer spiritual enhancement, than the social and intellectual companionship of those unselfish, self-sacrificing comrades who live for the greater part of their lives for so noble a cause as the emancipation of the working class? You become imbued with an overwhelming zeal, a grand determination to offer a like devotion to movements so essential to the welfare of society.

The Labor party includes in its platform the desiderata of Youth. Youth and the labor party seek to improve. Their interests in the sociological plane are common. Their efforts must be common.

Randolph Bourne, one of our clearest and honest thinkers, said:—"For centuries well-wishers of men have shown a touching faith in the power of pure ideals to propagate themselves. The tragic failures of the beginnings of the social movement itself were largely due to this belief. Great efforts ended only in sentimentality. But we have no intention now that this fund of intellectual and spiritual energy liberated by radical thought in the younger generation shall die away in such ineffective efforts."

To summarize: Youth should affiliate itself with a labor party because:—

First: Youth is not a group in itself but a part of a pattern. Youth recognizes the ills in Modern Society and demands reform. The Labor Party recognizes the ills in Modern Society and compels reform.

Second: The ubiquity of political influence in our daily life calls for participation in, and simultaneously, the study of political action by Youth.

Third: The labor party serves as a sociological laboratory and offers practical training to youth.

Fourth: The labor party is a source of information for Youth and is a means for disseminating the ideas of Youth which have profited through reinterpretation.

Fifth: Labor has little time for adequate political action. In addition, there is an imperative need for able leaders. It is Youth's province to prepare adequately for the assumption of this leadership.

Youth! We have a sacred role to play in the public life of our country, a role which belongs to us, and which must be filled. If we desire to reform the world—and we do!—we must go to the world, for the world will not come to us and ask us how to reform it. We must shine before men, and it must glow, moreover, with a steady and resolute flame!"

BEHIND THE SCENE OF TWO DICTATORSHIPS

By M. Phillips Price

Either the war kills the revolution or the revolution kills the war. That was the slogan which the small band who had gathered round Lenin in Switzerland, amongst them Angelica Balabanoff, had made their watchword. That watchword soon began to have its effect in the first real conference of the anti-war elements of the European parties at Zimmerwald, in Switzerland, in September, 1915. This conference, at which representatives of the Minority Movement, in Germany, France and England, and of the whole movement in Italy, Russia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Sweden, Norway, and Holland issued a manifesto, which was couched in Marxian language and called upon the working classes of Europe to take up the bitter struggle against the war and exposed the shameful failure of the Second International to do its duty during this crisis in the fortunes of the working class.

A Commission was established to keep the parties and groups together after the delegates had gone, and to form a sort of central bureau for a new international. On this Commission Balabanoff sat, and she was the only one who attended all the meetings of the Commission from the beginning to the end. This famous Zimmerwald Commission was the only international organization which the Socialist movement had during the war, and the first one to become the organized centre of resistance to the war. As such it was of first-class historic importance. Six months later the Commission called another conference at Kienthal, at which Balabanoff was present. After much difficulty it was possible to get a resolution passed which laid down tactics to be adopted by the anti-war sections. Amongst others was the refusal to vote war credits.

"The Great Event of 1917"

Concerning the difficulties in getting this resolution put through Balabanoff writes interestingly: "During this time I was able to collect some most interesting psychological material. I could see from close quarters how the war had affected the temperaments of the different persons. I had to realize how extremely subjective were all the outlooks and opinions of those who believed themselves to be acting most objectively and non-partisan. Each one saw the situation as he wanted it to be seen; although many of them were experienced Marxists, educated in the school of objectivity. The Germans, who were filled with hatred against their Government and against their party which had betrayed its trust so shamefully, saw everything that concerned Germany in the blackest possible light. The French on the other hand denied that conditions were so bad in Germany. The most sympathetic side about all these people was that though they were suffering from the pressure and persecution of their own Governments and from ill-treatment by their own party colleagues, they were still able to take up critical attitude to all that their party and Governments had done. Although this was often somewhat removed from true working-class internationalism, it was at any rate better than the outlook of the average social patriot."

Then came the great event of 1917, the greatest event, in fact, of this century, which opened out new vistas for her activity. "The outbreak of the Russian February Revolution," she writes, "gave our thoughts and actions an entirely new course. Like a mighty rainbow, full of hope, it lighted up the whole horizon of our thoughts. There was no time, no psychological possibility of thinking either of the past or of the future. Only the present absorbed us now. The resurrection of the Russian proletariat, the end of Russian despotism, the beginning of the end of the ghastly war! What could be done to cause the spark kindled by the Russian Revolution to spread over all Europe? How could we

find our quickest way to Russia, in order to place ourselves at the disposal of the Revolution and of the fight for peace.

Lenin's Trip Through Germany

The Russian revolutionary emigrants in Switzerland tried all through these days to find a way to Russia, though the Entente lands barred the way.

"Then," says Balabanoff, "the rumor got about that Lenin and some of his colleagues, with the help of the Swiss Socialist Party secretary, Platten, had decided to make the journey to Russia through Germany. At first this news made a bad impression on me, especially as I heard that compromises were spoken of which the Bolsheviks seemed to take quite as a matter of course. But only after a time did I realize the full significance of Lenin's decision and could see how exactly this fitted in with his character. Straight as a die, sweeping all hindrances aside—that was his motto! At the same time I was convinced how different it was when a big man, like Lenin, did a thing like this, than it was when it was done by a small man, who was only imitating him. . . . Though the Socialists of the Entente countries were nothing wrong in this journey through Germany, this action was carried through by the Russian Bolsheviks alone, and not in co-operation with the

rest of the Zimmerwald Commission, which was opposed to these tactics."

For the Bolsheviks always held somewhat aloof from Zimmerwald and had their meetings separate from the International Socialist Commission. Yet when it came to the point many of the Zimmerwaldians in Switzerland followed Lenin across Germany to Russia and amongst these was Balabanoff herself, as she describes. There was in fact no other way to get to Russia. The German Government imposed no conditions upon their journey, except that they were not allowed out of the train. The German Foreign Office thought that revolutionary propaganda in Russia would help Germany in the war. The German General Staff, which in this respect showed greater wisdom than the Foreign Office, saw in the Bolsheviks a two-edged sword, which might wound them as much as it would wound Russia's fighting force.

In Sweden the Zimmerwaldians heard that the Russian Mensheviks had entered the Government of Kerensky along with the Liberal Cadets. At once the two wings of the revolutionary international movement, the Zimmerwaldians and the Bolsheviks, sent telegrams to Petrograd to protest against the policy of coalition with the capitalist parties in revolutionary Russia. In order to test the

worth of the Menshevik Ministers' Zimmerwaldians sent a telegram asking for the right of entry for Grimm, the president of the Zimmerwald Commission, who was being kept out of Russia by the Cadet Foreign Minister, Mikuloff, on the ground that he was supposed to be pro-German. In a short time they got the answer back that Grimm could come to Russia. And so in Balabanoff's words, "Zimmerwald marched officially into Petrograd." Its two years of existence in the back courts of the working class quarters of Swiss towns was at an end. It counted among its numbers Ministers of the first revolutionary Government that had arisen out of the war in Europe. It was coming to its new home.

A Sad Home-Coming

Balabanoff's return to her original Fatherland, Russia, was not without an element of tragedy. "Our reception in revolutionary Russia made a poor impression on me. Everything seemed cold and official. There was the Socialist-Revolutionary Minister, Tschernoff, a delegate at the first Zimmerwald Conference. He came towards me smiling, but I said to him straight away without a greeting: 'What, so soon from Zimmerwald into a coalition Government?'"

. . . From the first moment of my entry into Russia it was clear that I must stand

with the left wing of the revolutionary movement in conflict with the coalition Government. After I had breathed the air of Petrograd it clear to me that I must fight with Lenin against all those who consider the Russian revolution was ended with the fall of Tsardom."

This meant that Zimmerwald was beginning to split up. Tschernoff and the Mensheviks had gone into a coalition Government with Liberal Imperialists, who were for carrying on the Imperialist war. She and the Italian Socialists would follow Lenin. Grimm alone would remain, and for him grave difficulties were in store. The situation in Russia was so catastrophic and so tragic that only peace and the extension of the social revolution could save the country. It was a terrible time, and one which Western Europeans could but dimly realize if they had not lived in Russia during those months. The social fabric in Russia was collapsing. Tinkering at the surface was now criminal. Only a strong architect, even if he had to clear away some rubbish ruthlessly, was in place. Hence Lenin's adherents grew, and one of them was Balabanoff. With him she now became as intimate as she had been with the Italian Socialist leaders. But this meant that all relations with her family would be cut off. Her

first few days in Russia had been spent in her old home with her sister and brother. One morning her sister showed her in great distress a Press cutting in which was printed an attack on the Italian Socialists for their anti-war attitude, and this was largely ascribed to the "influence of the energetic Bolshevik, Angelica Balabanoff."

"Are you really a Bolshevik?" she asked. "If you were a Menshevik or even a Socialist-Revolutionary you could live with us. But now where will you find a room, and how will you eat? Everything is so scarce and so dear." The last night in her sister's house she heard a deep sigh and the voice of her sister saying: "Families meet with different kinds of unhappiness. Some have drunkards, some have epileptics, a third has a Bolshevik as a member."

Lenin's Fear of Peace

Her activity was next directed towards the proposed International Socialist Conference at Stockholm. In order to discuss the question of whether the anti-militarist and Left Wing of the International Socialist Movement should take part in this Conference which was being summoned by the "social patriotic" elements of the old International, she, as secretary, summoned the Zimmerwald Commission. Lenin and most of the

members of the Commission thought that the Stockholm Conference was "only called by the 'social patriots' in order to 'act as a cover for diplomatic negotiations between the belligerent Governments,' which might lead to peace and a general agreement to put down the revolutionary danger in Europe." "This session of the Zimmerwald Commission in Petrograd," writes Balabanoff, "was much discussed in the press at the time. It provided much interesting psychological material. I remember asking Lenin, as he stood by the window, what was likely to happen in Europe now. He answered: 'Now there will be either a further revolution or the counter-revolution.' In view of subsequent events and of Lenin's general outlook that meant: 'We must dare, for there is no time to lose. At the same time he expressed his opinion to me about Trotsky. He thought it was Trotsky's personal pride that prevented him from joining the Bolsheviks and made him continue to keep a small party with a newspaper of his own. . . . I must say,' continues Balabanoff, "that although Trotsky's pride always made a bad impression on me, nevertheless his enormous intellectual gifts, his inner tact and self-discipline enabled him to keep himself in hand at a time when it was needed in the interests of the revolution."

Soon after this the Zimmerwald movement had a set-back. Grimm, its president, who had come with the Russians from Switzerland and had been specially allowed to come in by the intervention of the Menshevik Ministers, committed a grave indiscretion. Driven to despair by the general condition of Russia, her apparent inability to withstand the pressure of the Entente on her to continue the war, the general state of economic chaos into which the country was sliding, he came to the conclusion that peace was absolutely necessary for Russia at all costs and under any conditions. Instead of consulting his colleagues on the matter, he approached, through a neutral embassy in Petrograd, the German Government to sound them on the question of conditions on which the Kaiser would be willing to make peace. The news leaked out and Grimm was expelled immediately from Russia. This was a bad blow for Zimmerwald. Balabanoff was now left practically in sole charge of the Commission.

Soon after this she left Russia for Sweden, where she started a Zimmerwald bureau and issued, in the name of the Commission, a manifesto calling upon the workers of Europe to come to Russia's aid by all means in their power. She was engaged in this work when the news arrived that Lenin and his colleagues had seized power in Petrograd and that the Soviet Republic had been declared in Russia. Her first thought was to use the apparatus of the Zimmerwald Commission to help the new Revolution which had now come in Russia. For some days there was uncertainty in the air. Some of Lenin's colleagues, and amongst them Zinoviev, who was later the most extreme of all the Bolshevik leaders, when it came to inciting revolts outside Russia, created much doubt and hesitation by letting it be known that they disapproved of the seizure of power in Russia. Soon it became clear that the new revolution was safe for a time at least till the international forces of reaction could summon up strength against it.

And in the meantime the Zimmerwald Commission was working under Balabanoff's guidance in Stockholm to inform the world about the truth of events in Russia. The next few months were engaged partly in work at Stockholm and partly in Geneva, whether the bureau was temporarily transferred. Then when it was clear that Germany was going to lose the war and that the fear of revolution in Germany might cause sympathetic movements in Switzerland, she and the Commission were expelled from Switzerland under conditions of unexampled cruelty and privation. She gives a full account of her journey from Switzerland, which lasted some weeks. The Zimmerwald movement's sphere of activities was now brought back to Russia once more. (To Be Concluded Next Week)

Five Friendly Studies of Russia

By B. C. Vladek

(A Review of Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors, By R. Page Arnot; Village Life Under The Soviets, By Karl Borsdorf; How The Soviets Work, By H. N. Brailsford; Religion Under The Soviets, By Julius H. Hecker; The Economic Organization of the Soviet Union, By Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy.)

THE five titles cited above were published by the Vanguard Press as a part of a series of Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia under the editorship of Professor Jerome Davis of Yale. Thirteen titles dealing with different aspects of Soviet Russia have been published already or are in process of publication. Eleven of the thirteen and four of the five under review were written by non-Russians and by the spelling of some of the Russian words used by them, it is safe to assume that the majority of the authors are not familiar with the Russian language. It is very laudable on the part of the Vanguard Press to attempt to give a full-sided view of all excreting problems facing Russia ten years after the Revolution. It is also laudable to make this attempt in a spirit of fairness and good will toward Russia but at least those readers of these books who are familiar with conditions in Russia, will from the very start be sceptical toward an undertaking of such a magnitude being guided and executed by foreigners. It is quite possible that in one particular field a genius should be able to grasp deeper and more penetrating conditions in a foreign land than a native but it is doubtful whether the same possibility can be realized in covering a huge and unexplored field.

However, most of the authors entrusted with the job of explaining Russia to the world are trained journalists. Some of them have a fine power of observation and nearly all of them, at least those whose studies the reviewer has already read, tried to avoid conspicuous propaganda. That they were not entirely successful in giving an impartial evaluation of the Russia of today, is not the fault of their integrity or ability but the fault of either their approach or their method.

Brailsford's Volume

To come down from the general to the particular, we shall stop first at Mr. Brailsford. I read in the chapter on the Communist Party:

"The spell of silence was broken by the same fact that he (Trotsky) forced a thorough public discussion within the Party of the main issues of Russian policy. The atmosphere of today is beyond all comparison cleaner and healthier. There is less silence and less apocryphancy. There is less centralization. And 'Opposition' exists within the Party which includes some of its ablest men. It may be wrong headed; it may represent no coherent view but it is strong enough to force a thorough debate on every issue that emerges and loyal enough when the whole Party has debated the point to bow to the decision of its vote. In short, the Party lives, for it continues to combine democracy with discipline."

Now, it isn't that Mr. Brailsford did not guess right. Of course, he couldn't make any such statement now with all the leaders and most of the members of the Opposition under banishment and in exile. This statement simply proves that the man who wrote it doesn't understand the Communist Party. And the man who doesn't understand the Communist Party, cannot possibly understand Russia. His approach of defending the Communist Party and its dictatorship on the basis of inner democracy is entirely foreign to Russian conditions and is demonstrative only of an Anglo-Saxon complex which is too deep to be set aside even when considering Russia.

In his chapter on the "Nationalities and the Union" Mr. Brailsford has only this reference to make to the conquest by Soviet Russia, of the Republic of Georgia: "A full and honest treatment of the tangled policies of the Caucasus would demand a separate chapter. The din of the endless controversy over Georgia is always in our ears and on the liberal reading of the idea of nationality, the Georgians who stand for independence have right on their side." A separate footnote tries further to argue with the "liberal reading of the idea of nationality" in explaining that "it may, of course be pleaded (1) that the independent Georgian government persecuted native Communists savagely and (2) that the Western powers used the Caucasus as a basis for intervention in Russia." The Caucasus now, according to Mr. Brailsford "enjoys peace and harmony." A Tory journalist writing of English claims to India, could not be more terse or less effective. Why should Mr. Brailsford who is not a Communist, justify Russian imperialism in Georgia. In what way is Russian imperialism more justified than English? What would Mr. Brailsford think of Mr. MacDonald if the latter had taken the same attitude toward Egypt and India that Stalin had taken toward Georgia?

Mr. Brailsford concludes his study with the following statement: "By its unflinching endurance through the dark years of blockade and civil war, of trials for which there is no parallel in modern history, it (Russia) has won its right to understanding and respect but above all it has won its right to peace." And I might add—it has also won its right to be criticized even by its friends. The entire value of Mr. Brailsford's book, which on the whole, contains important observations, is impaired by this uncritical attitude toward anything that Russia does.

Statistics and Reality

Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy deal with the economic organization of the Soviet Union. Their study is chock-full of statistics, figures, graphs, tables and excerpts. But the more one reads in books on social questions, the more one is convinced that statistics do not necessarily tell the truth. Not that we question the figures. With all allowances for what Mr. Walter Duranty defines as the Russian Communists' usual errors on the side of optimism, fundamentally they are probably correct. But nearly twenty years ago I read, while confined in a solitary cell in the Wilna prison, two

volumes on the History and Constitution of America. I am quite certain that most of the things stated in those volumes were correct. But when later I came to the United States I found that while the matter I read might have been correct in its relation to books, documents and records, it was not entirely correct insofar as the daily reactions of the average American are concerned. We read for instance, that "harmonious relations between the country and the city are being established by a number of measures which are lowering the costs of production to a point at which manufactured commodities will be within the economic reach of the peasantry." We also read that "production is distributed between millions of small peasants whose holdings are so small that they are not likely to become serious accumulators of private capital before the state is able to industrialize and economize rural production and direct it in the path of co-operation." Simultaneously we read in the daily prints of the growing crisis due to inadequate and uneconomical industrial production and we also read about the failure of the richer peasants to yield their grain to the state and of the consequent near-famine conditions in the Russian cities.

Mr. Nearing and Mr. Hardy were so anxious to erect a beautiful picture of Russian economics, that they forgot to prepare a foundation and with the first blow of adversity, the whole building begins to sag.

Subsidizing American Communism

Now one would think that at least on the question of Soviet Russia and her neighbors, one can afford to be entirely impartial. Irrespective of criticisms and attacks leveled against Communist philosophy, or even the Soviet system, the progressive mind of the world was unanimous in demanding recognition of Russia. Socialists and radicals all over the world, were against intervention and have constantly demanded recognition for Soviet Russia. But Mr. Arnot who writes on Soviet Russia and

her neighbors in this series and also Prof. Davis felt it necessary at the very start of the study to display their over-eagerness not to describe but to analyze Russian foreign policy. Mr. Arnot's book is prefaced by a statement of A. N. Mikoyan, a member of the famous politburo on the question of inter-relations between the Communist International and the Soviet government. Mr. Mikoyan states that "The Soviet government must not be identified with the Comintern"; . . . "that the Soviet government in its notes to foreign powers has repeatedly emphasized the falsity of the assertion of identity between the Soviet government and the Third International."

And Mr. Davis states in the name of Zinoviev that "In 1919, 1920, and '21, the American movement received some financial help from Russia. Now it is self-supporting and receives no financial aid from the Third International. On the contrary, today it is actually sending some money back to Russia." Now only as recently as last November, the representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Left Kuomintang officially thanked the Russian government for material and moral assistance to the Chinese revolution. The American Communists have repeatedly admitted that they receive from time to time support from Russia, and Stalin, in a public that such assistance is justifiable. Nobody who is familiar with the activities of the Third International, not from the statements of Zinoviev or Mikoyan, but from actual experience, does not for a moment think that these activities would be possible without direct support from the Soviet government.

This eagerness on the part of the editor and the author to explain away Russian foreign policy, is also illustrated by a passing remark of Mr. Arnot in his discussion of America and Soviet Russia in which he states that "any alteration in the policy of the State Department would be followed by modification of the attitude of the A. F. of L." Which is to imply that the A. F. of L. is nothing but a tool in the hands of the State Department and that the American Labor movement has no grievance of its

(Continued on Page 5)

Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

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

Nevada

State Secretary W. H. Cordill, of Reno, writes that it is not an easy job to get our ticket on the ballot. It takes 1,400 signatures on a petition. Nevada is a small state in area and population, but the Socialist sentiment is good. Socialists should get in touch with Comrade Cordill by writing him at Box 75, Reno.

Arkansas

Socialists of Arkansas are joining the party. W. C. Hall, of Jonesboro sends in three applications for membership and continues his activity. Another comrade has joined from this town, and within a short time there will be a local there. There are active members in other parts of Arkansas, a state organization will be formed in the near future and a full ticket placed in the field for the November election. Mrs. Julia Ward Pennington, a member-at-large, Fayetteville, writes that she is ready to help place our ticket on the ballot. She also agrees to make a tour of the state to line up members and prepare the way for an active campaign.

Indiana

Old members having become delinquent in their dues are paying up. New ones are coming into the party. Mrs. James B. Miller, secretary of local Terre Haute, writes National Headquarters that the local is doing excellent work. Attendance at meetings is better than at any time for many years. The local holds social affairs which have been drawing sympathizers. These affairs are proving

Kansas

Ross Magill writes from Fort Scott ordering dues stamps. He left the city of Pittsburg where he organized a local with seven members. The excellent work performed by Magill can be duplicated in any other state that needs organization. Magill does not claim to be the best organizer in the party. He has had little experience but his desire to get this work done—his willingness to sacrifice—has proven what a real live wire can do. Would that we had a Magill in every state that needs organization work!

West Virginia

The West Virginia newly organized Socialist movement continues to grow. It seems that all that was needed was a good live wire at the helm. State Secretary Higgins is much enthused over receipt of many letters from comrades who are joining the party and assuring him that they will organize locals in their community and back him up in every way. This slave state may have one of the best working organizations in the country. West Virginia will be represented in the National Convention.

Connecticut

The Socialist Party Forum will be addressed by State Organizer Karl C. Jurek on Sunday, March 4. His subject will be "Socialism of Tomorrow." The Forum meetings are held at the Workers' Circle Educational Centre, 438 Oak street, Sunday at 8 p.m. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise will speak before the New Haven Trades Council Forum Sunday, March 4, at the Hyperion Theatre at 3 p.m. Subject, "The Best and the Worst in American Civilization."

Hamden

At a recent meeting the local nominated Jasper McLevy, Bridgeport, Karl Jurek, Greenwich, and Walter Davis, Hamden, to go on the ballot as state delegates to the National Convention. The referendum vote will be taken in March.

State Executive

State Executive Committee met in New Haven Sunday, Feb. 25. The following resolutions were adopted by the committee for delegates to the national convention, June 1928, in Greenwich, Connecticut. The delegates to the convention are: Jasper McLevy, Bridgeport, and Walter Davis, Hamden.

Excellent progress was reported by the delegates from the various districts. Awakening interest and confidence in the Socialist Party is the welcome sign throughout the State.

The State Executive Committee's recent action in making the Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions living issues for the present industrial depression, has been heartily commended by Trades Unions, progressive and radicals. Jasper McLevy reported that he has succeeded in getting Bridgeport unions to back the Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pensions. His plan of employment in Connecticut will make these bills real ammunition for the 1928 campaign.

New Leader readers in or near Stamford and West Haven are requested to communicate with Karl C. Jurek, State Organizer, Greenwich, Conn., as locals will be organized there.

Pennsylvania

A Live Wire From the little town of Hermine, one of the best hustlers in our party, Anton Zornik, sends in three full lists of names on the organization petition, having collected \$25.00. Hermine is a little mining town with 250 people. Zornik has collected \$25.00 to assist the National Organization in its organization drive in the unorganized sections.

Reading

The Women's Socialist League will hold another mass meeting party at Labor Lyceum Saturday night, March 3. A surprise feature of last week's event was furnished by Mrs. Reuben Soliday, who supplied the visitors with a tasty soup at cost prices. Although lunch had not been advertised, the players evidently brought their appetites with them, for the soup disappeared and the crowd voted the evening an unusual success.

New Jersey

A new local has been organized at Paterson, and judging from communications we expect rapid growth of its membership. The first action of the new local was to elect a Committee on Education and Propaganda and call on the National Office for propaganda matter. Unorganized Socialists in other cities and towns in that state should follow the example.

Delaware

Socialists of Delaware wishing to have a Presidential ticket in their state in the election of 1928 kindly get in touch with the state secretary of Maryland, S. M. Neistadt, 1607 E. Baltimore street, Baltimore, Md.

New York State

State Referendum Ballots have been sent out on the referendum for delegates and alternates to the National Convention. Those in good standing are entitled to vote. Candidates for the three delegates at large were announced last week. The candidates for district delegates exclusive of Greater New York are as follows: 5th District, constituted of Westchester County and allotted two delegates, Theo. Tegtmeyer and Louis Uffner; 6th District, composed of counties along the Hudson River, Edward P. Clarke and Herman Kobbe; 7th District, composed of Schenectady County, Chas. W. Noonan for delegate and Chas. W. Autere for alternate; 8th District, consisting of Oneida, Madison, Cortland, Onondaga, Jefferson, Oswego counties, Fred Sander and James A. Manson; 9th District, consisting of Monroe, Niagara, Chautauque, Chemung, etc. counties, Warren Atkinson, E. W. Gray, A. Hahn and Geo. W. Ostrander. The 10th District, which is composed of the County of Erie, will make its own nominations and conduct its own referendum.

Schenectady

Rev. Harry P. Ward, of New York, will discuss Militarism at Sunday's meeting of Schenectady's Labor Forum, and North at cost prices. The meeting will take place at the Forum on March 18. State Secretary Merrill, who is secretary of the city central labor body of Schenectady, will preside at the Ward meeting.

New York City

Election of Delegates to the National Convention Ballots for the election of delegates to the National Convention are now in the possession of the organizer or the secretaries of the various branches in all five counties of Local New York City. The vote closes March 24th. Every branch must take this matter up at the

next regular meeting or call a special meeting for this purpose. Branch officers should be zealous in their efforts to get out the best possible vote. So important an election as this one should not go by default by having but a small percentage of the membership vote. We must make the best possible showing. The following is the list of the comrades who have been nominated by the branches in their respective counties.

New York City

Samuel E. Beardsley, Morris Berman, Simon Berlin, S. John Block, W. Chamelides, Frank Crosswath, McAllister Coleman, Maurice Caspe, Pierre De Nio, Henry Fruchter, Raphael Goldstein, Julius Gerber, Marius Hansome, Wilho Hedman, Anna Ingerman, Leonard C. Kaye, Mark Khinov, William Karlin, Algeron Lee, Bela Low, David Mikol, Rudolph Medard, Isidore Menkes, Jacob Panken, Nina Frey, Celia Rotter, Emrich Steinberger, Samuel P. Ulanoff, Herman Volk, Joseph Viola, Louis Waldman, Bruno Wagner. Fifteen to be elected.

Kings County

J. L. Afros, Rose Brody, Emil Bromberg, Barnet Berlin, Nathan Chanin, Israel M. Chatauff, Carl Cummings, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, Louis P. Goldberg, Morris Hochen, Samuel Kantor, Carl Larsen, Joseph Lee, Chas. L. A. I. Ship, Hyman Nemer, M. K. Parson, Bernard J. Riley, W. B. Robinson, Saul Rifkin, Herman Rivkin, Sadie Rivkin, Frank Rocco, Chas. Solomon, Emanuel Switkes, C. B. Vladek, Jos. A. Weil. Seven to be elected.

Bronx

Jacob Bernstein, August Claessens, I. George Dobsevage, Esther Friedman, Samuel Orr, Isidore Polstein, Sarah Volovick. Four to be elected.

Queens and Richmond

Barnet Wolf, delegate; William L. Herman, alternate. National Convention A Souvenir Journal is being printed in conjunction with the National Convention and the several affairs that are being arranged simultaneously with the Convention. Numerous articles are being prepared and they will make this book a very attractive souvenir. The Ar-

rangements Committee is also soliciting advertisements from Socialist Party Branches, individuals, trade unions, W. C. branches, cooperatives and friendly organizations. Our objective is about \$5,000 in ads. Up-to-date about \$1,000 in sight. Responses are coming in well and it should cheer comrades to know that there is excellent co-operation coming from various parts of the country. Comrades in Pittsburgh promise three to five pages; comrades Sidney Stark and Wm. Van Essen are on the job in that part of the country. Comrade Robert Leeman of Northern New Jersey visited the office the other day and promised us some five or six pages of advertisements that will include every friendly organization in that part of the State. Comrades Arkin, Rocco and Lewis are doing the same for Boston and vicinity. Comrade Riebo is assisting in lining up all of the Finnish branches, cooperatives, Labor Lyceum and affiliated bodies. Comrade M. Weintraub, of St. Louis, is doing fine work in that section and there are excellent responses from all parts of the country.

The Arrangements Committee is enthusiastic about the success of this work and is looking forward to a handsome donation to the Campaign Committee at the National Convention as the proceeds from this Souvenir Book.

Central Committee

The City Central Committee will hold its regular meeting on Wednesday evening, March 7, at room 402, Peoples House, 7 East 15th street.

MANHATTAN

1-2 A.D. The series of lectures delivered by Esther Friedman at the East Side Socialist Center have been very successful. Comrade Esther Friedman has consented to the suggestion to continue the course. On March 4, she will speak on "Woman's Sphere."

6-8-12 A.D.

At the branch meeting held last Monday evening the members were engaged in the circulation of the primary petitions for the election of delegates to the Convention and various matters pertaining to the work of the branch. A. A. was voted for the National Convention Jour-

nal. It was also decided to purchase 5000 copies of Victor Berger's recent speech in Congress and that these copies be mailed to the citizens of the district. Comrade S. A. DeWitt was the guest speaker of the evening. At the next meeting of the branch it is hoped there will be a Beckerman present and he will speak on "Some Phases of the Present Labor Situation."

Harlem

A mass meeting is being arranged at the East Harlem Educational Center, 62 East 108th street on Tuesday evening, March 6. Date and speaker will be announced shortly.

Upper West Side

The next regular meeting of the Upper West Side Branch will be held on Thursday evening, March 15th, in the office of Dr. Simon Berlin, 245 West 74th street, 8:30 p.m. The important business for this meeting will be the voting for delegates to the National Convention. Immediately following the business meeting, J. Rosenthal will speak and lead the discussion on "The New Criticism of Marxism."

Bronx

The Bronx Branches now have the ballots for the election of delegates to the National Convention. It is urgent that every Bronx Socialist attend the next meeting of his or her branch and see to it that the ballots are given an opportunity to vote on the County as well as the State Referendum Ballot.

Branch Seven

The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Tuesday evening, March 6, at the headquarters, 4215 Third avenue, 8:30 p.m. The important business for this meeting will be the voting for delegates to the National Convention. The branch is busily engaged in the sale of tickets for its Theatre Party which is to take place on March 30.

Branch Seven East

At a well attended meeting held on Sunday, Feb. 26, it was decided to change our meeting dates to the second and fourth Thursday of the month. It was decided to place a four dollar "ad" in the National Convention number. Secretary was instructed to call an enrolled voters meeting for Thursday, March 8.

(Continued on Page Seven)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

THE SAD CASE OF PETER SCHMALZ

ONCE upon a time Peter Schmalz went out and did a good deed. He gave freely of his time, money and energy to help a man who was in distress and who could do nothing in return for Peter's kindness.

No sooner had word of Peter's act got about than the Behaviorist said:

"Every Behaviorist knows that all living things are dominated by one motive and one alone—the motive of self-interest. What Schmalz did was to act in response to some stimulus of self-interest which in his case may not be at once apparent but which could unquestionably be found by scientific research and observation. Let us waste no time in praising Schmalz. As well praise a turbine for its revolutionary character."

The psychoanalyst said:

"It is at once apparent that there is a serious maladjustment in the sex life of Schmalz. No doubt analysis would reveal the fact that when he was a little boy he had a secret passion for his great-aunt. What he did the other day was merely an act of compensation for this unrequited and probably unconscious passion of his youth. Mr. Schmalz should be 'psyched' at once."

The conservative neurologist said:

"I have recently completed an exhaustive case study of the great altruists of history and I find that in almost every instance their home lives were unhappy. From the time of Socrates on, domestic infelicity has driven those whom we sometimes sentimentally regard as heroes and heroines to acts of altruism. If we had the records of the home lives of the leaders of Russia today we would no doubt find that their interest in Communism arises chiefly from a lack of interest in domestic matters."

The professional Communist said:

"There is no reason for becoming sentimental over Schmalz's act. An individual gesture of this sort does nothing to further the cause of World Revolution to which we are devoted and to bring about which we submit ourselves to the rigorous communist discipline strictly curbing all humane instincts. In my opinion, Schmalz is no better than a yellow Socialist who by his deed proclaims to the world his lack of understanding of realities."

The dogmatic Socialist said:

"I find nothing in the writings of Marx that puts the stamp of approval upon such individualism as that shown by Schmalz. He is not fulfilling the historic mission of Socialism and is to be suspected of dangerous Liberal tendencies."

The editor of the New York Commercial said:

"Schmalz's way is the way of anarchism, bolshevism, socialism, communism and communism. Evidently the man is foreign-born and while we have no information concerning his activities in our secret files we strongly suggest that he be sent back where he came from. There are plenty of institutions in this country to care for the few amongst us who are in need and in most instances suffering because of their own short-comings and inertia."

When these comments were brought to Peter Schmalz, he pushed his gold-rimmed eye-glasses up on his bewildered forehead, cried loudly, "Gott in Himmel!" and went out in the back yard and kicked his black cat, named Bismarck.

We have seen in our town any number of plays supposedly written for the enjoyment and edification of the proletariat. Most of them have been as self-conscious and pious as a New York intellectual trying to chew tobacco and talk out of the side of his mouth. There are notable exceptions. Recently Paul Sifton's "The Belt" provided one. But by and large, we stick to our contention that the drama which sets out deliberately to propagandize the patient proletariat is pretty poor stuff. We are the more convinced of this by having seen the real stuff in very lively action. For several years now we have been going to plays given by the Cellar Players, a group of honest-to-God working people, who put on their performance in the thirtieth-story cellar of the Hudson Guild, over on West 27th Street, New York City. The actors are indigenous to that community, which is one of the last strongholds of the Irish worker in New York. And there is nothing strained or unnatural in the manner with which they go about their work. Thanks to the good sense of Adele Nathan, their competent director, and the management of the Guild, they do not go in for "arty" pageants, or long-winded recitals in poorly conceived dramatic form of the woes of the oppressed workers. They have the quaint notion down there that after all, plays have something to do with conflict, with the clash of temperaments, with the unexpected—in fact, with those things which thrill, overwhelm, or amuse the average audience. When there is a fight in one of the one-act plays which this crowd puts on (and there are plenty of fights) the local postman crashes the worker in the nearby factory right spang on the jaw, so that you can hear the grunt as plainly as if you were sitting at the ring-side. When they make love, they leave out whole chapters of Freud and go straight to the point. And when a man is shot, he is shot good and plenty, and has no chance to get off a long speech about immortality and the emptiness of life and how he has sacrificed all to the Cause. He just grabs hold of his stomach and sits down on the floor and coughs once and dies in an entirely satisfactory manner. To be sure, sitting in the front row is a bit like attending a Sunday afternoon on the South Side of Chicago, but at any rate you don't come away from the Cellar Players wondering just whether that stepladder in the second act was intended to be a symbol of man's eternal struggle to the dawn or had some sort of phallic connotation which only the author and Dr. Freud are wise to.

We are interested in plays and their making just now because we have been asked to be one of a section gang to dish up some sort of scenario for a show to be delivered by a group of the Comrades. If we have our way, there will be practically no one in this performance clad in non-union cheese cloth wandering about a semi-lighted stage muttering "I am the Spirit of Labor." Nor will there be any Essex Street sextette doing Greek dances to the tune of the Internationale. We haven't just decided what sort of a show we would like to write. Of one thing we are certain—we would like to hang up an all-time, intercollegiate, Amateur Dramatic Union record by having the performance start at 8.30, if it is scheduled for that time. The amount of back-curtain snickering, off-stage hammering, and lighting experimentation which the audience at an average amateur performance has to undergo before the curtain finally rises is positively appalling. And as a rule, when the stage is finally disclosed, it portrays nothing more elaborate than the home of a humble mountaineer in Fairmount, West Virginia.

But even now we know that we are doomed to disappointment in this matter. Year after year we have hopefully arrived at seven o'clock at Socialist banquets scheduled for six-thirty, SHARP, only to sit down at quarter past nine to those "olives of endless age" for which H. N. Brailford has named his latest book. And we have considered ourselves fortunate indeed if by eleven o'clock the waiters have gotten around with their saucers containing the world's most expensive toothpicks. But mention of this subject of banquets, bringing up as it does oceans of lukewarm vegetable soup, plantations full of wilted caviar, barnyards of hard-boiled chickens, ware-houses of unbreakable demi-tasse cups and their contents of undrinkable chicory, is far too sad a subject to be dwelt on at this writing by

McAlister Coleman.

American History for Workers

An Outline — By James Oneal

(Continued From Last Week)

THE FARMER'S SHARE. President Butterfield of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, comparing the productivity of American farmers in 1919, estimates that "the volume of productivity of each American engaged in agriculture is about two and one-half times that of the English agriculturist, nearly 3 times that of the German farmer, and 6 times that of the Italian. From the best figures obtainable he estimated the average labor income of the American Farmer at \$400 per year.

In 1922 Senator Capper presented startling figures which tell a similar story. The period of the war was a period of increased productivity on the farms, but it was followed by the most acute distress that has ever overtaken the farmers. In 1919 it required 6 bushels of corn to buy a ton of coal; in 1921 it cost 40 bushels, and in 1922 it cost 200 bushels. In 1919 a \$60 suit of clothes cost 40 bushels of corn; one year later it cost 200 bushels to buy the same suit, and in 1922 it cost 300 bushels. In the period of after-war depression hundreds of farmers lost their farms and homes while the masters of capital were declaring the greatest dividends in their history.

THE UNSKILLED LABORER'S SHARE. The latest investigation of unskilled labor in the United States is that by Prof. Coombs of Allegheny College and published by Columbia University in 1926. The number of unskilled laborers in agriculture is 3,555,797; in transportation, 1,430,981; in manufacturing and mechanical groups, 2,850,528, making a total of 8,837,306 unskilled laborers. A detailed analysis of all the available figures of wages for unskilled labor enabled the author to state that "the unskilled wage earner who worked 52 weeks in 1924 received an annual income of \$1,133." This assumed steady employment throughout the year which is rare for unskilled workers who include the casual workers and most of the workers in seasonal industries. The annual wage of these 8,800,000 laborers is much less than the budget required

to maintain a man and his family in a minimum of comfort and decency.

USEFUL AND USELESS CLASSES. The evolution of business organization has more and more abolished private property in industry. Collective property for a limited number has been and is replacing private property. This revolution in the great forms of property has been accompanied with a change in the function of the owners. Formerly they supervised and managed industry. Today this service is hired and the owners are absentee receivers of dividends.

This revolution in function led Prof. Albion W. Small to declare as early as 1912 that "the title of many landlords and of many capitalists to an income rests, not upon their functioning as economic factors, but solely on their privileged status under our laws of property."

Justice to the laborer consists in assigning him a share in the product of industry, provided he works. Justice to the absentee landlord or capitalist consists in assuring him a share in the produce of industry whether he works or not.

Not only are the useful functions of superintending and managing now hired. It is true of other useful necessary services, including the technicians, experts, foremen, skilled and unskilled workers. If present owners disappeared they would not be missed. Useful services would continue without them and mankind would become the collective heir of our industrial system. Industry would become the collective property of society and the useful workers would serve all, instead of a few corporate masters.

In 1914 Walter Lippman declared that "the trusts are organizing private property out of existence." It is rapidly passing. Many owners do not even manage their own investments or know the property in which they have invested. They hire a broker. The capitalist may own steel stock today and railroad stock tomorrow. The owner "may be ignorant or wise, he may be a child in arms or a graybeard in his dotage, he may live in Island or Patagonia; he has no genuine role in the conduct of industry."

This revolution of property in industry

and transformation of the great owners into workless and absentee receivers of dividends is concealed to many by permitting little investors to purchase small shares of stock in industry. These trivial shares blind many to the useless character of the great owners. We here have the problem of collective industry owned by a few vs. ownership, control, and management by all and for the welfare of all.

POLITICAL DISSENT. The new age and new problems brought by the property revolution are slowly finding recognition in political dissent. In 1920 a total of 1,184,742 votes were cast for Labor candidates—265,191 for the Farmer-Labor Party and 919, 551 for the Socialist Party. The Nonpartisan League of farmers captured the State of North Dakota in one year and was powerful in the Northwest for a number of years. In Minnesota the League, in alliance with trade unions and Socialists, evolved into an independent party of farmers and workers. It retains a strong delegation in the State Legislature, has elected one U. S. Senator, and two Congressmen. Wisconsin Socialists have had a strong delegation in the State Legislature and have for years elected the Mayor and other officials in Milwaukee. In Reading, Pa., the Socialist Party allied with a local Labor Party and the trade unions swept the city in the election of November, 1927.

In 1924 the political movements and parties representing urban and rural labor supported LaFollette and Wheeler for President and Vice-President, polling nearly 5,000,000 votes. This was the most important and largest desertion of the capitalist parties guided by organizations of workers in our history. Its continuance means the rise of workers in agriculture and industry to power in politics and government.

An important addition to the electorate was made when the Nineteenth Amendment granting suffrage to women became a part of the Constitution on August 13, 1920. The Twentieth Amendment proposing Federal regulation of child labor was submitted June 2, 1924, but it has been

rejected by 40 of the 48 states. This indicates the stolid indifference of upper class politicians and leaders to effective protection of childhood in industry.

READINGS. Beard, "The Rise of American Civilization," Vol. II, Chap. xxx. Bogart and Thompson, "Readings in the Economic History of the United States," Chap. xxiii. Butterfield, "The Farmer and the New Day."

Capper, "The Agricultural Bloc." Clark, "The Super-Trust Arrives in America," New York Times, December 13, 1925.

Coombs, "The Wages of Unskilled Labor in Manufacturing Industries in the United States, 1890-1924."

Cory, "Who Owns the Nation's Wealth?" The New Republic, August 10, 1927.

Gaston, "The Nonpartisan League." "The Labor Year Book, 1927," Section I.

Lippman, "Drift and Mastery," Chap. III.

Oneal, "The Workers in American History," Chap. xii.

Rice, "Farmers and Workers in American Politics," Chap. vi.

Robbins, "The Labor Movement and the Farmer."

Russell, "The Story of the Nonpartisan League."

Schlesinger, "Political and Social History of the United States, 1829-1925," Part 4.

Small, "The Present Outlook of Social Science," Publications of the American Sociological Society, 1912.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT. 1. What forms of concentration do the latest organizations of big business take? 2. What effect do they have on the smaller forms of business? 3. How has agriculture been affected by the property revolution in this century? 4. What has been the tendency in the distribution of wealth in this period? 5. How have the workers and farmers shared in this distribution? 6. Does the change in the function of owners of industry suggest the need of reorganization of the industrial system? If so, what change? 7. Does the political dissent in this country indicate attack upon the two-party system and need of independent political action? 8. Is there an analogy between this dissent and dissatisfaction with Whigs and Democrats during the last two decades before the Civil War?

FOR DISCUSSION. Resolved, That the old parties cannot serve rural and urban labor and a new political alignment is necessary.

St. Colomba And The River

BY THEODORE DREISER

(Continued From Last Week)

HE FELT actually free of fear, as though he had a mission, and the next day began by assisting Michael Lavery to get out the solid mass of earth which filled the tunnel from the second lock outward. It was slow work, well into the middle of the summer before the old or completed portion was cleared and the bones of Cavanaugh and his men reached. That was a great if solemn occasion—the finding of Cavanaugh and his men. They could recognize him by his big boots, his revolver, his watch, and a bunch of keys, all in position near his bones. These same bones and boots were then reverently lifted and transferred to a cemetery in Brooklyn. McGlathery and a dozen workers accompanying them, after which everything went smoothly. The new shield worked like a charm. It made eight feet a day in soft mud, and although McGlathery, despite his revived courage, was intensely suspicious of the river, he was really no longer afraid of it in the old way. Something kept telling him that from now on he would be all right—not to fear. The river could never hurt him any more, really.

But just the same, a few months later—eight, to be exact—the river did one last slap at him, but not so fatally as might have appeared on the surface, although in a very peculiar way, and whether with or without St. Colomba's aid or consent, he never could make out. The circumstances were so very odd. This new cutting shield, as it turned out, was a cylinder thirteen feet long, twenty feet in diameter, and with a hardened steel cutting edge on front, an apron, fifteen inches in length and three inches thick at the cutting edge. Behind this came what was known as an "outside diaphragm," which had several openings to let in the mud displaced by the shield's advance.

Back of these openings were chambers four feet in length, one chamber for each opening, through which the mud was passed. These chambers in turn had hinged doors, which regulated the quantity of mud admitted, and were water tight and easily closed. It was all very shipshape.

Behind these little chambers, again, were many steel jacks, fifteen to thirty, according to the size of the shield, driven by an air pressure of five thousand pounds to the square inch, which were used to push the shield forward. Back of them came what was known as the tail end of the shield, which reached back into the completed tunnel and was designed to protect the men who were at work putting in the new plates (at that danger point which had killed Cavanaugh) whenever the shield had been driven sufficiently forward to permit of a new ring of them.

The only danger involved in this part of the work lay in the fact that between this lining and the tail end of the shield was always a space of an inch and a half which was left unprotected. This small opening would, under ordinary circumstances, be insignificant, but in some instances where the mud covering at the top was very soft and not very thick, there was danger of the compressed air from within, pushing at the rate of several thousand pounds to the square inch, blowing it away and leaving the aperture open to the direct action of the

water above. This was not anticipated, of course, not even thought of. The shield was going rapidly forward and it was predicted by Henderson and Lavery at intervals that the tunnel would surely go through within the year.

Some time the following winter, however, when the shield was doing such excellent work, it encountered a rock which turned its cutting edge and, in addition, necessitated the drilling out of the rock in front. A bulkhead had to be built, once sufficient stone had been cut away, to permit the repairing of the edge. This took exactly fifteen days. In the meantime, at the back of the shield, at the little crevice described, compressed air, two thousand pounds to the square inch, was pushing away at the mud outside, gradually hollowing out a cup-like depression eighty-five feet long (Mr. Henderson had soundings taken afterwards), which extended backward along the completed tunnel toward the shore. There was then nothing but water overhead.

It was at this time that the engineers, listening to the river, which, raked by the outpouring of air from below, was rolling gravel and stones above the tunnel top and pounding on it like a drum, learned

that such was the case. It was easy enough to fix it temporarily by stuffing the crevice with bags, but one of these days when the shield was repaired it would have to be moved forward to permit the insertion of a new ring of plates, and then, what?

At once McGlathery scented trouble. It was the wretched river again (water), up to its old tricks with him. He was seriously disturbed, and went to pray before St. Colomba, but incidentally when he was on duty, he hovered about this particular opening like a wasp. He wanted to know what was doing there every three minutes in the day and talked to the night foreman about it, as well as Lavery and Mr. Henderson. Mr. Henderson, at Lavery's and McGlathery's request, came down and surveyed it and meditated upon it.

"When the time comes to move the shield," he said, "you'll just have to keep plenty of bags stuffed around that opening, everywhere, except where the men are putting in the plates. We'll have extra air pressure that day, all we can stand, and I think that'll fix those bags in position, but don't let 'em know there's anything wrong, and we'll be all right."

FIVE RUSSIAN STUDIES

(Continued from page 4)

own against Soviet Russia. This typical Communist view of the American Federation of Labor has done more harm to the cause of Russian recognition than 300 books can ever correct. In every country the Third International has set itself upon destroying whatever friendship there was among the working classes for Soviet Russia. The Third International is more guilty of the failure of America to recognize Russia than either the State Department or the A. F. of L. or both.

The Chinese Adventure

The most illuminating example of the failure of Mr. Arnot's study is his chapter on Soviet Russia and the Chinese Revolution. Mr. Arnot fails entirely to see the great misfortune brought upon Russia and her future standing in the world by the Communist policy in China. Just as English hostility and intervention during the first years of the Russian revolution helped the Communist Party to establish its sway over Russia, so did Russian policy in China help to save imperialism for Great Britain. Both Russia and China are the losers to the benefit of Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain.

More refreshing are the observations of Mr. Karl Borders "On Village Life Under the Soviets." Without pretending to dig into the substructure of Russian society of today, Mr. Borders records his impressions of the Russian Village as he saw it. In a friendly warm tone and with justifiable sympathy toward the trials and tribulations of peasant life in Russia, he writes a number of interesting observations which make pleasant and profitable reading. But in his artless manner, Mr. Borders brings testimony to the fact that after ten years of Soviet rule, the peasant is essentially what he was. I think the most striking paragraph in the whole book is the opinion of his chapter on the Church in which he says:

"I have already indicated that photographically (the village) is essentially what it was a hundred years ago. So too, in spite of the new invasion of the most important social mores, central in this social scheme, as it is central in the architectural structure of the village, is the church. The completeness with which this ancient institution encompasses every move in the life of the individual from the day of his birth to his death and even after that pursues him with the prayers and candles of his family, is nothing short of marvelous."

An Ambiguous Dedication. Another book which tries to give facts instead of interpretations and is of real value in this series on the Soviets is Prof. Hecker's "Religion Under the Soviets." The flight of the Greek-Orthodox Church against the Soviets, its involuntary submission and the attempt of the Soviets to encourage a new church, more in sympathy with the new order, as well as the vista that has been opened to other churches as a result of the Revolution—all this and more is competently recited in Mr. Hecker's book as limited as the interest of the subject treated might be to the general reader.

I cannot close this review without referring to the dedication which is carried in front of every one of the Vanguard Studies. It reads: "To the sincere men and women of Russia who, despite prison, exile, and death, burned out their lives trying to attain freedom, peace and brotherhood for the common people."

The reviewer, as it happens, belongs to this class and he was considerably jarred by the ambiguity of this dedication. Is "sincere" the only adjective to be applied to the four generations of Russian Revolutionists? Does this dedication apply also to the present rulers of Russia? And if so, do they try to attain freedom? The editor seems to have been afraid to take definite sides in the controversy about Soviet Russia and wished to express a sentiment of friendliness without specifically stating for whom it is intended.

Let me know when you're ready to start, and I'll come down."

When the shield was eventually repaired and the order given to drive it just twenty-five inches ahead in order to permit the insertion of a new ring of plates, Mr. Henderson was there, as well as Lavery and McGlathery. Indeed, McGlathery was in charge of the men who were to stuff the bags and keep out the water. If you have ever seen a medium-sized red-headed Irishman when he is excited and determined, you have a good picture of McGlathery. He was seemingly in fifteen places at once, commanding, exhorting, persuading, rarely ever soothing—and worried. Yes, he worried, in spite of St. Colomba.

The shield started. The extra air pressure was put on, the water began to pour through the crevice, and then the bags were put in place and stopped most of it, only where the ironworkers were riveting on the plates it poured, poured so heavily at times that the workers became frightened.

"Come now. What's the matter with you? What are you standin' there for? What are ye afraid of? Give me that bag up with it! That's the idea! Do ye think ye're goin' to be runnin' away now?"

It was McGlathery's voice, if you please, commanding—McGlathery, after his two previous experiences! Yet in his vitals he was really afraid of the river at this very moment.

What was it that happened? For weeks after, he himself, writhing with "bends" in a hospital, was unable to get it straight. For four bags of sawdust burst and blew through, he remembered that—it was a mistake to have sawdust bags at all. And then he remembered that (well enough), in stuffing them in, they found that they were a bag short, and until something was secured to put in its place, for the water was streaming in like a waterfall and causing a flood about their ankles, he, McGlathery, defiant to the core, not to be outdone by the river this time, commanded the great thing to be done.

"Here!" he shouted, "the three av ye," to three gaping men near at hand, "up with me! Put me there! I'm as good as a bag of sawdust any day. Up with me!"

(To Be Continued Next Week)

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MEANDERING ABOUT

SOME thirty-odd years ago I sojourned from Fort Worth to San Angelo, Texas in company of a herd of longhorns. They called that country the Great American Desert in those days and if a country ever tried hard to live up to its name that stretch of landscape surely did. Endless rolling prairies, covered with parched Buffalo grass, sun-burned mesquite trees, scrub oaks and prickly cacti, interrupted by waterless canyons.

Then further west in the Colorado, Concho and Pecos river country more hills, rockier hills, dwarfed cedars, coyotes, wolves, Spanish dagger grass, prairie dog towns and bigger and pricklier cacti.

All in all, God's backyard in which He had swept all the rubbish, mortar and broken stones left from creation week.

Looking from a rock-strewn promontory over hundreds of square miles of desolation, I often said to myself: Talk about God's country, talk about the boundless opportunities of the boundless west, talk about 'go west, young man, and grow up with the country'—don't make me laugh! Why two shanty Irishmen, with a jug of whisky, couldn't raise a fuss in this country!

That's what I said. That's what I predicted. And I was some prophet, even in those far off days. But the trouble is that this is no country for prophets. It's too unreliable. It can't be depended upon to do the natural thing, as I am about to show.

Well, the other day I traveled again from Fort Worth to San Angelo, Texas, and over the identical crooked trail laid by the lead cow of that herd of longhorns. I know it was the same trail because that cow could smell a water hole ten miles against the wind and then start for it, not giving a whoop in hell how far it took us off the course. The Texas highway engineer surely had a heap of confidence in that lead cow when he laid out the concrete road from Fort Worth to San Angelo. Or perhaps he traveled in a Ford with a leaky radiator and needed those water holes as badly as our herd of longhorns did.

Mentioning a concrete road, the gentle reader may get the suspicion that Western Texas ain't what it used to be, and well he may, for in spite of all my prophecies concerning the unredeemability of that country, folks moved into it, ousted prairie dogs, coyotes and Comanches, turned down Buffalo grass, cacti and sage brush; dug dug-outs, reared old houses, lived on corn pone, jack rabbits and sow belly until by now that country is dotted with farm silos and farm houses, surrounded by lightning rods and mortgages. And when it rains, which it does three years out of five, they raise big enough crops out there to pay off the notes contracted during the two dry years and that, to my mind, is doing pretty good considering the status of American agriculture in these prosperous times.

West of the Colorado, the landscape looked as wide-begotten as ever but here and there was a tiny hamlet with a garage or two and four or five filling stations and maybe even a little church, indicating that civilization had penetrated to the worst yet. But it hadn't. The worst was yet to come. The blow which killed my prophetic pride fell at San Angelo. Thirty odd years ago it was a frontier post, surrounded by saloons, gambling joints and ladies' seminaries, in which white aproned booze clerks, black moustached card sharks and scarlet kitties reeked Uncle Sam's defenders of their monthly thirteen-dollar rolls. And now—(cease weeping, prophet heart)—San Angelo is a city of some 30,000 souls and near-souls, with skyscrapers, department stores, apartment houses, hotels with hot and cold running water—and New York prices.

Oil did it. Oil is pouring out of those God-forsaken hills between San Angelo and Fort Stockton by the millions of barrels every week and big pipe lines take it from there to the Gulf, where it is poured into tank steamers and shipped to goodness knows where all.

On the way from West Texas to St. Louis, on a train pulled by an oil-burning engine, I stopped for a few days on and about the Mason Ridge. If you don't know where Mason Ridge is, then let me tell you. It's that 60-mile-long blow sand ridge, which runs from Eudora, Arkansas, past my Louisiana cabbage plantation. That ridge is the only poor land in the Mississippi Delta between Cairo and the Gulf and so when I saw it for the first time about three years ago I prophesied that the country never would amount to shucks.

Well, that blow sand ridge hasn't reformed any from the agricultural viewpoint but when I saw it again the other day there were hundreds of gas wells all over it and some of them are coughing up as high as seventy million cubic feet of gas a day. And they are building a 26-inch gas main to St. Louis from Richland County, Louisiana, and smaller mains to Memphis and Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

They haven't found any gas on that sourkraut plantation of mine yet, but the capitalist brethren are putting more holes down. So here's hoping they find what they're after, for it hurts me to see folks get disappointed.

However, I am getting off my subject which is the fallacy of prophesying in an unreliable country like ours.

For instance, about three years ago, I heard Professor Slosson, author of "Creative Chemistry," predict that within six years our oil and natural gas resources would be exhausted. When I heard that statement I clapped my hands to encourage that exhausting process, thinking that it would mean more work for our miners. But now it looks as if our oil and gas resources are only beginning to be touched. Anyway, after seeing that West Texas oil field and those oil-burning engines and that Richland gas field and also remembering those office and apartment buildings minus coal cellars, which are coughing up, if I was still prophesying business, I'd say that a coal mine will be an awfully good place to stay away from for a long time to come.

Of course, there is no telling what an unreliable country like this will do next. Congress, which is investigating the coal industry again, may pass an act prohibiting the burning of oil and gas or it may make a greater demand for coal. Or it may do something else faster than ever. But I'm early in age as a seer and I leave the latter the speedier.

So if you boys don't mind, I'll leave the pretty certain to get plenty.

Laundry Workers Fight Bosses and Police Brutality

The Laundry Drivers' Union, Local 880, has declared a strike against the Manhattan and Bronx Laundry Owners Association, and despite vicious police tactics, is determined to carry the fight through to victory. The activities of the union have forced the laundry owners to band together in an effort to defeat the workers' demands for better conditions. The association is composed of owners of five plants, namely, Giants, Oak, Liberty, Fruse and Phoenix. There are strikes in progress against all except the last named firm.

The strikers are fighting hard despite the police brutality. The officers appear to be taking orders from Samuel Makarovsky, president of the association. Many strikers have been beaten by uniformed police and plainclothesmen who have been identified as Industrial Squad men, according to Joseph P. Viola, member of the district council of the laundry workers' union.

"They cannot keep us from continuing this strike," Viola declared. "Our men and women feel certain of victory. The employers are making every effort through the police to intimidate our people, but they will not succeed."

Sadie Reich of the Women's Trade Union League, who has been taking an active part in the strike, was held in the 104th street police station Wednesday morning for one hour without excuse or reason given. She was finally released, without any explanation given. It is charged that this was done in order to prevent Miss Reich from organizing picket lines in front of the struck plants.

Brailsford, Thomas and Hillquit Will Speak on Russia and Socialism

Those who have attended the most interesting and New Leader Banquet where Maurer and Thomas, Stolberg, Lee, and Hillquit, locked horns on one of the most vital questions facing the radical movement of the world. "Our attitude toward Russia," have in store for them another treat. The Rand School of Social Science, feeling that there is need for a composed and scholarly discussion, invites the readers of the New Leader to a meeting to be held on Monday, March 5, in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, at 8:30 p. m. Henry Noel Brailsford, Morris Hillquit, and Norman Thomas will speak at a symposium on the subject of "Soviet Russian and World Socialism."

Little needs to be said to those of our comrades who have followed the epic making British Labor Movement about the place that Brailsford holds there. He has been in Russia, has been in close touch with developments in that land and is considered a first-rate scholar. He was editor of the official organ of the Independent Labor Party, the New Leader, and is by all odds one of the best informed men on the subject. It is unnecessary to tell readers of the New Leader or radicals in New York about Morris Hillquit and Norman Thomas, two of the outstanding leaders of the American Socialist Movement. It is certain that the three speakers will add a great deal and throw more light on the subject than was possible at the New Leader Banquet where, the speakers were limited in time.

There is a nominal admission charge for the school felt that it was necessary in order to meet the expense of Mr. Brailsford and incidentally to help raise a little money for the school. Those who come will receive more than their money's worth.

Harry W. Laidler On WEVD Thursday; Other Labor Features

STATION WEVD, operated by the Debs Memorial Radio Fund, 31 Union Square, New York City, announces a number of features for the week beginning Monday, March 5, of particular interest to labor and progressive-minded citizens.

Tuesday, March 6, at 5:20 p. m., Madeline D. Doty, author of a number of books, will talk on "Women's International Work for Peace." At 9:45 Tuesday evening, Horace G. Knowles, former member of the United States diplomatic service, will talk on "Saving Nicaragua." The second of a series of three lectures on "Peace Problems" will be given Thursday evening, March 8th, at 9:15 p. m., when J. Russell Smith of Columbia University will talk on "Geography and the Higher Education." At 9:45 the same evening, Dr. Harry W. Laidler,

author and director of the League for Industrial Democracy will talk on "Developments in Socialist Thought." Saturday, night, March 10th, at 9:15 p. m., McAllister Coleman, associate editor of the New Leader, will broadcast his weekly talk on current events from the labor point of view. At 9:45 Saturday night, a talk on public ownership by Carl D. Thompson, will be broadcast.

Mrs. Lillie Mikol Dies in New York

Mrs. Lillie Mikol, wife of David Mikol, associate director of the Rand School of Social Science, passed away this week in Mount Sinai Hospital, New York City. Death came after two weeks serious illness from aggravated sinus malady. For many years, Mrs. Mikol shared with her husband an active part in the radical movement of this country. Though ill for some time prior to her death, she always maintained a keen interest in Socialist and labor developments. The funeral was held Sunday last. The New Leader expresses the feelings of the Socialists of New York in extending to Comrade Mikol our heartfelt condolences.

Symposium on Russia Sunday in Brooklyn

A four-sided symposium on "Socialism and Soviet Russia" will be held Sunday night, March 4th, at the Educational Alliance, 76 Throop Avenue, Brooklyn. The speakers will be Abraham I. Shiloff, C. Cantorowicz, editor of "The Worker," and J. Villatzer, a Russian Social-Democrat. All are invited.

Colorlight Ball In Brownsville Tonight

The Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 229 Sackman Street, will be the scene of one of the most colorful social and socialistic affairs of the season Saturday evening, March 3rd, when the Educational Center will be given a colorlight ball. The affair has been organized by the 23rd assembly district branch of the Socialist Party and the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. Phil Lynch and his famous jazz artists have been engaged to supply the music. Admission, including wardrobe, will be 75 cents.

Panken To Address Bronx Forum This Friday Evening

Judge Jacob Panken, for ten years a justice of the Municipal Court, will address the Tremont Educational Forum, at its club-rooms, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx, this Friday, March 2d, at 8:30 sharp, on: "The Philosophy of Law." The social point of view, in the interpretation of law, and its application, as a guide, will be stressed by the speaker, and his general observations, illustrated by his rich experience on the bench and at the bar. Questions and discussions will follow the lecture.

Workmen's Circle Choir At Carnegie Hall, March 4

The Workmen's Circle choir will give a concert this Sunday evening, March 4, at Carnegie Hall, Seventh Avenue and 55th Street. Several soloists and the mandolin orchestra will assist the choir. The Workmen's Circle choir will be remembered by the thousands who attended the first Debs Memorial meeting in Madison Square Garden and other labor and Socialist demonstrations, as a finely trained group of voices who know how to sing the workers' songs with feeling and discrimination. The concert at Carnegie Hall is certain to be rich in musical values.

M. Posner is the conductor of the choir.

BOX MAKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

meeting voted to send a letter to the manufacturers asking for a conference to discuss wages, hours, etc. The letter was ignored and at another meeting on Feb. 27 the workers voted to strike the next day. The response to the strike call was spontaneous.

The strikers are demanding recognition of the union, time and a half for overtime, work on legal holidays to be overtime, a minimum scale for all workers, those receiving the minimum to get a two dollars per week increase, piece workers to get a fifteen per cent increase in wages, and the present work week to be limited to 48 hours. A final demand is the right of the union to call for arbitration for the purpose of shortening the working hours within six months after an agreement is reached.

Color Light Ball given by THE EDUCATIONAL CENTER Saturday Evening, March 3, 1928

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The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley
MARCH MADNESS

It is only in the spring of life that one is lunatic enough to value starlight and the mutual pulsing of two hearts beyond the fluctuations of the market and the power of gold—which buys all things. At least, Samuel Mill, American millionaire, thinks his son crazy for the lad's discontent—in picturing him, through "Improvisations in June" Max Mohr makes a great play. While it may be nobler to aim high and fail, success, even on a lower level, is more entertaining; and the new play at the Civic Repertory Theatre has stretches of flagging concern. The excellent opening situation, of the dying princess brusquely swept aside for the millionaire who has purchased her old castle, would rise to more potent heights if the moneyman's doctor and secretary were drawn with more skill. It is with the gold-lovers, indeed, that the drama fails; Max Mohr takes them too seriously. Tompkins, the "free" man who values money only for the freedom it gives, scorns and escapes its spider-power, who kills the Princess that she may join her prince; Olga who refuses to sell herself for proffered gold; Ian Mill who despairs because he has found nothing beyond purchase; these are drawn with understanding, with a gracious touch of romance, with dialog that often leaps to poetry.

For Samuel Mill to believe his son crazy, however, while we see young Jan as a most intelligent and sensitive individual, calls for a more fantastic treatment of the millionaire. He and his troupe are too "real" to think Ian really a case for medical care; against the genuine life of the young, with their urgent vitality: "Is the world alive?" there should be balanced the mechanical existence of the money-mad (the more puppet-like presentation. Greater the craft, so as to make those dead souls walk in machine-like bodies as they utter their automatic responses to the stimulus of gold, would have corrected the discord in Max Mohr's play, that now prevent Eva Le Gallienne's company, despite excellent coordination and individual acting, from achieving more than occasional beauty.

MULTIPLIED MYSTERY

Another of the season's mystery plays throws forth its shuddering thrills under the menacing name of "The Clutching Claw," at the Forrest Theatre. Ralph Morgan is the sure and steady newspaper man who reaches far beyond the puny efforts of the police—until at the end we discover that he is himself no more than a national policeman—a federal dope hunter. This makes us wonder why he is so much more intelligent than the detective, who thinks the polysyllables "Gordon" utters are some foreign tongue. Warned not to "interrogate" the prisoner—who ever uses that word in conversation, anyway?—the detective says "No. I'll only ask him a few questions."

The play is more successful than the police investigator. Especially in the moments when the stage is completely dark, and the faithful maid is attempting to summon the spirit of her murdered master, moments leading to shrieks and a struggle in darkness that end with the tightly held audience. There is the usual unnecessary attempt to explain the offstage shots, the mysterious tappings and oddments that come at strained moments to give the audience chills, that serve a purpose and should be forgotten—not "explained"—thereafter. There is the usual reward of the successful detective, in the shape of a fair damsel whom, curiously enough, he had seen once before, and even then aided and loved. Sufficient has been said to indicate that "The Clutching Claw" is a regular mystery play. Mystery audiences wait to hear no more.

THREE REVIVALS

Butler Davenport has moved his production of "The Passing of the Third Floor Back," by Jerome K. Jerome, to Wallace's Theatre, where the aging legends valiantly with the aging legends, the good old member of the days of "The Stranger in the House" and "The Return of Peter Grimm." Without any great necessity for the revival, it is a mild pleasure, for those who like their mysticism dramatized, to see the play return; and a greater pleasure to behold so earnest a fighter for the theatre as Butler Davenport move over the few blocks to Broadway.

At the Cosmopolitan Theatre the second of Chamberlain Brown's all-star revivals assumes an excellent cast for the first of the crook plays, William Gillette's reliable "Sherlock Holmes." The movement of the evening is still swift, and many a play of the sort, written long since, must bow to this prime and pride of the type. Fritz Scheff smiles for a while in the play; but Robert Warwick as Sherlock Holmes and Frank Keenan as old Professor Moriarty, the Napoleon of crime, are all any one brought upon Conan Doyle would desire. The remainder of the cast, which includes Julia Hoyt and Vivian Martin, contributes to make this the second of a series well worth taking in.

At Henry Miller's, "Our Betters," by Somerset Maugham, brings again to our stage this sharp comedy of that brilliant writer. Ten years ago, perhaps, there was more resentment, more sharpness of feeling, in England, about the wealthy Americans who killed their "superiority" over the English, reversing in their financial strength Lowell's early observa-

tions about a feeling of condescension in foreigners on these shores. Ina Claire and Constance Collier (in the part she played in London) and the others of high society play with a certainty that preserves the rich satire of the play, and makes it as valid—if not as pointed to individuals today as in its first performance.

PHYSICIAN'S FARCE

In rollicking translation by Granville Barker, Jules Romains' "Doctor Knock," which has been running for several years in Paris, now starts on its lengthy course at The American Laboratory Theatre. It is of a type not so popular in this sophisticated town, a burlesque extravaganza, a far-flung travesty of physicians' methods, which runs nonetheless with a riotous foolery that cannot but win laughter.

This picture of a doctor converting a healthful countryside into a wide-spread sanitarium is intensely amusing in the contemplation, though it wears rather thin as days move by outside the theatre. The location of the action, in a town that has stood aside from progress, where radio has not penetrated (if indeed the victrola yet exists!) gives the humor an older flavor that requires the excellent buoyancy of costume and scenic design to keep the audience interested, and the general validity of the action, to make it the worth while product it grows, through these united arts of the theatre, quite to be.

In Brief

After an absence of two years Laurette Taylor returns to the New York stage Monday night when she will be seen at the Shubert Theatre in "The Furies," a new play by Zoe Akins. John Tuxton is the producer. Preliminary announcements set forth that the new play is concerned with "the eventual happening of a single night in the life of Fin Sands, a brilliant New York society woman." Mrs. Sands' husband is murdered early in the evening—off-stage, it might be parenthetically recorded—and finds herself in a web of suspicion as a result. Miss Taylor is said to have a role calling not only for those touches of comedy for which she is famous, but also demanding the simulation of poignant dead-seated anguish.

Her supporting company includes A. E. Anson, John Cumberland, Estelle Winwood, Ian McLaren, Frederick Worlock and Greta Kemble Cooper.

Winthrop Ames announces that the original six-week engagement of George Arliss in Shakespeare's "The Merchant of Venice" in the Broadhurst Theatre has been extended to the fourth production of his New York season on Saturday night, March 10, and on Monday, March 12, he will begin his spring tour in the Shubert Theatre, Washington, D. C. The other cities to be visited are Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Toronto, Montreal, and New Orleans. For the New York season, he will be seen in these cities. In October Arliss will open another season in "The Merchant of Venice," which will take him to the Pacific Coast.

"Improvisations in June" a comedy from the German of Max Mohr, translated by Susan Behn and Cecil Lewis, was presented at the fourth production of the season at the Civic Repertory Theatre for the first time last Sunday night. The occasion was a benefit for the Actors' Fund.

The intriguing title of the play proved to be somewhat misleading. Instead of the romantic love-tale which the title suggests, the comedy unfolded as a satire on the machine age, a subject which has received the attention of the Continental expressionists, and such men as Elmer Rice and Eugene O'Neill (in "The Hairy Ape") in our country. Max Mohr's play, which had over two thousand performances in Germany, does not, however, employ the expressionistic method.

The play deals with the manner in which a young son of an American millionaire is cured of his madness while on a sojourn in Switzerland. The very slight plot is made a medium for some very clever scenes, and the play is a present civilization as a machine era weighed down by its worship of money. The play is fantastic and makes symbolic use of its characters.

Egon Brecher plays the principle role, as Zappo, the improvisator. Other important parts are taken by Josephine Hutchinson, known for her work in "Cradle Song" and "The First Stone," John Eldridge, Donald Cameron, Sayre Crawley, J. Edward Bromberg and Walter Beck.

Eva Le Gallienne staged the play and played a minor role. The settings and costumes were designed by Aline Bernstein.

Eva Le Gallienne is inaugurating a campaign for a theatre subsidized by the United States Government. It is virtually the only country whose government does not, to some extent, officially support a national theatre. Art in this land—outside of Broadway commercial ventures, which are too often business not art—depends upon the donations of the rich. Several efforts are being made to bring the theatre to its proper supporters, the public. Eva Le Gallienne's hope is to secure 200,000 "members" at \$1 each—membership meaning that one shares a great honor, artistic movement, and members being entitled to reductions that make some seats no more than 25c. In the days of Greece's greatest artists, the desire to see good art flourish, may help by applying at the Civic Repertory Theatre, Fourteenth Street and Sixth Avenue.

Volunteer workers are desired for the coming campaign. Anyone with five spare minutes (or more) a day, and a desire to see good art flourish, may help by applying at the Civic Repertory Theatre, Fourteenth Street and Sixth Avenue.

AMUSEMENTS

MUSIC

"The Bartered Bride" will open the nineteenth week of the Metropolitan Opera Season Monday evening with Mmes. Mueller, Telva, Dalossy and Wakefield and Messrs. Laubenthal, Bohnen, Meade, Bloch, Cohnovsky, Wolfe and Gabor. Misses Page and Halliday and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

Other operas of the nineteenth week will be:

"Sigfried" as a matinee on Wednesday—the fourth of the Wagner Cycle—with Mmes. Rakowska, Branzell and Fleischer and Messrs. Laubenthal, Schorr, Schutzenfand, Gustafson and Bloch. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"Madam Butterfly" on Wednesday evening with Mmes. Easton, Bourskaya and Wells and Messrs. Chamlee, Scott, Tedesco, Pico, Malatesta and Ananian. Mr. Bellezza will conduct.

"Die Meistersinger" on Thursday evening with Mmes. Muller and Wakefield and Messrs. Kirchoff, Whitehill, Rothler, Schutzenfand, Meade, Bloch, Malatesta, Paltrinieri, Gabor, D'Angelo, Cohnovsky, Gustafson, Ananian and Wolfe. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

"Carmen" as a special matinee on Friday with Mmes. Jeriza, Mario, Aleock and Ryan and Messrs. Johnson, Basilio, D'Angelo, Pico, and Cohnovsky. Miss Gail and Mr. Bonfiglio will dance and Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

"Rigoletto" on Friday evening with Mmes. Talley, Telva, Falco and Egerer and Messrs. Chamlee, Dolan, Pina, Tedesco, Patton, Ananian and Reschlian. Mr. Bellezza will conduct.

"L'Orandine" will have its American premiere on Saturday afternoon with Mmes. Bori, Fleischer, Aleock, Flexer, Ryan, Parlette, Falco and Wells and Messrs. Gail, Tolson, Ludlar, Malatesta, Wolfe, Pico, Paltrinieri, and Allglass. Mr. Bellezza will conduct.

"Aida" will be the "popular" Saturday night opera with Mmes. Mueller, Clausen and Wells and Messrs. Jagel, DeLuca, Rothler, Patton and Tedesco. Miss DeLeopore will dance and Mr. Serafin will conduct.

The postponed dance recital of Anna Robenne will take place at the 48th St. Theatre on Sunday evening, March 18, instead of the 4th as originally announced. At this recital, the third of the current season, Mne. Robenne will be assisted by two male partners, Anatole Vitzak and Philip Vianini, both of whom will include solo dances, as well as duets and trios. Nicolas Kopelinkoff will again be heard in piano solos and the dancers will be accompanied by an instrumental ensemble.

The Russian Symphonic Choir, with Basile Klitchich at its head, will give a kind of choral extravaganza for which it has become famous, its final recital of the season in Town Hall on Saturday evening, March 17. The program will include choral arrangements of compositions by Rachmaninoff, Rimsky-Korsakoff and Levitzki, as well as original choral works by Gretchaninoff and others.

The fifth of a series of concerts of modern music will be given at the New School for Social Research on Friday evening, March 9, at 8:30. The program will be as follows: Sonata for cello and violin, Lucien Kirsch and Ivor Karmann; Kodaly: pieces for violin and piano, Ivor Karmann and Oscar Ziegler; Webern: pieces for cello and piano, Lucien Kirsch and Oscar Ziegler; Webern: trio (piano, violin and cello), Oscar Ziegler, Ivor Karmann and Lucien Kirsch, Ravel.

Jack Partington's production will carry you away to Hawaii and the South Sea next week at the Paramount, but it will not be a Hawaii that can be recognized, for with stage license, he has made it more weird, more fascinating, or, rather, more "Hawaiian" than the "lost features of 'Blue Hula' were. He is tiger dance by Drena Beach, late of "Padlocks." She will be assisted by a couple of real Samoans in this spectacle.

Emil Jennings in "The Last Command" will continue at the Rivoli Theatre, but will be replaced in a few weeks with "The Legion of the Condemned."

Gloria Swanson must be enjoying the popular run of her "Sadie Thompson," which has been so successful at the Rivoli. It will continue at that theatre until March 10th, at which time Douglas Fairbanks in "The Gaucho" will open for the first time at popular prices.

Harry Pollard, director of special productions for Universal, has requested the direction of the next Cohen and Kelly picture to be titled "The Cohens and Kellys in Turkey." Pollard, it will be remembered, directed the original "The Cohens and Kellys," the great popularity of which convinced Universal that a series should be made, the first one being "The Cohens and Kellys in Paris," which recently played at the Colony Theatre. Others pictures in this series now in the course of preparation include "The Cohens and Kellys in Jerusalem," "The Cohens and Kellys in London," "The Cohens and Kellys in New York," and "The Cohens and Kellys in Hollywood."

Two Universal productions are in prospect for Arthur Lake. The pictures are provisionally titled "Navy Blue," an original story by Earl Snell and "Ship Ahoy" written by John Glymer and Nat Ross. Nat Ross has been selected to direct Lake in both of these productions for the continuities are now in preparation.

S. L. Rothafel will again utilize the musical and dramatic properties of his organization in an adaptation of Alexandre Dumas' novel, "The Three Musketeers," the Roxy Theatre beginning today. It is called "The Gay Musketeer" and has been arranged in four scenes with music by Maurice Baron and lyrics by Channon Colville. It follows the elaborate musical and stage proportions of the special presentations given in recent weeks. The cast of principals includes Henry Thompson, Nicholas Vasiloff, Douglas Stanbury, J. Parker Coombs, Jose Santiago and Marie Sampson. The Roxy Orchestra, Ballet Corps, the Roxyettes and the Chorus are utilized.

THEATRES

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Week of Mar. 5

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MARCO MILLIONS

Week of March 12

BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

The Doctor's

Dilemma

Guild Theatre

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Mats. Wed. & Sat.

THEATRE, West 48th St. Eves 8:30

Mats. Wed. & Sat.

Socialist Party Plans, Progress

(Continued from page 4)

BROOKLYN 2nd A. D.
Branch meetings are held every Friday evening at the club-rooms, 420 Hudson street. A well-known Socialist speaker will be present at each of the future meetings and the enrolled Socialist voters of the district will be invited to attend. The business at these meetings will be reduced to consume but a small part of the time and the rest of the evening is to be devoted to a discussion of current events.

5-6th A.D.
The next regular meeting of this branch will be held on Tuesday evening, March 13th. At this meeting ballots will be on hand for the election of delegates to

the National Convention and one important feature of the evening will be an address by some prominent Socialist, possibly E. F. Cassidy, and members will be advised to invite their friends for this occasion as well as an enrolled Socialist voters of the district.

Coney Island
The Jewish Verband Branch, Coney Island, which meets at 2518 Mermel avenue, is showing considerable improvement in attendance. The Sunday night forum continues to be highly successful. The Concert and Dance held last Sunday evening at the Pythian Temple was also a huge success and it was interesting to note that the membership of the branch was growing.

Bensonhurst
Things are picking up considerably for the Socialist Party throughout the 16th A.D. Kings County. There are four branches in this territory and a meeting will be held on Monday evening under the auspices of two of these branches, the newly organized 16th A. D. Branch and

the Bensonhurst Jewish Branch was highly successful. Between three and four hundred people were present at the Savoy Mansion and listened to Comrades Jacob Panken, B. Botwinick and August Claessens. A number of applications for new members were obtained and it was gratifying to announce that this was the first large meeting in this section of Brooklyn in many years. It will be followed by still more meetings of this character. The large Socialist enrollment and increasing vote in this section of Brooklyn presents itself as a fertile field for the organization of more Party Branches.

18-21 A.D.
Under the leadership of Comrades Mr. and Mrs. Elish an organization drive will commence in a week or so in the Flatbush section of the 18th and 21st A.D.'s. Taking advantage of the Workers' Circle Center on Church avenue, there is every reason to believe that a good branch of the Socialist Party will be formed in this territory within a very short time. The large Socialist enrollment, the increase in vote, makes that prediction possible and with the leadership of Comrades Elish and some of our Brownsville comrades who live in this district, we should be successful in our endeavors.

18th A.D.
Somewhere it has been said, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." Frank Brodsky, who is now working among member solicitors, has found this to be the unvarnished truth. The labors involved in making recruits sign on the dotted line have been entirely too arduous of late to suit Frank, and his cries and lamentations have ascended to high heaven. His pleas for assistance have been answered by that someone who presides over the destinies of this territory, some earth of ours. On Feb. 22d, Frank's life partner, Kate Brodsky, the former Kate Wolfson, presented Frank with a baby girl, weighing 3 lbs. 4 oz. The mother and daughter are doing nicely, thank you.

The team of Brodsky and Brodsky give promise of setting the Socialist record on fire. It now looks like 400 members by May first, instead of 200. Baby Brodsky, of course, has joined the 18th.

On Tuesday evening, March 27th, Frank Brodsky will speak on "The Economic Interpretation of History" at the Headquarters, 1465 St. Marks avenue.

22nd A. D.
J. L. Afros who returned from a visit to Soviet Russia will speak at our headquarters, 218 Van Sicken avenue on Tuesday evening, March 27th, 8:30 p.m. on the following subject: "My Observations of Soviet Russia."

An enrolled Socialist voters meeting will be held in our headquarters on Tuesday evening, March 27th, 8:30 p.m. on the following subject: "My Observations of Soviet Russia."

The annual ball in Brownsville will take place this Saturday evening, March 3rd, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. There is every indication of success for the ball. A very handsome journal containing some \$900 in "ads" has been printed and is ready for distribution. Comrade Max Rosen, one of the group of active comrades mentioned in recent issues of the Leader has done heroic work in making this affair a success.

Next Monday night at the business meeting of the Branch, Comrade Louis P. Goldberg will give his last of the series of talks on "Socialism," immediately after the business of the night. On Monday evening, March 13th, Dr. Edward Cohen, will give the first of a series of talks on "The Cooperative Movement in America." In the very near future the new re-decorated club rooms which will be the new home of the 23rd A. D. Branch will be opened with appropriate ceremonies. A suite of rooms in the Labor Lyceum has been set aside for the purpose. An entertainment and dance which will be the first affair in the new club-rooms and it will go to the Sustaining Fund of the Sunday School.

Mrs. Tobl Held Passes
Comrade Adolph Held, President of the Amalgamated Bank, sustained a severe loss this week in the death of his mother Mrs. Tobl Held at her home, 3451 Giles Place, New York City. Funeral services were held Tuesday, at the above address and memorial services later in the Attorney Street Synagogue.

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The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
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J. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Recorder
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Fin. Sec'y.
REGULAR MEETINGS EVERY 1ST AND 3RD SATURDAY.
Executive Board meets every Monday.
All Meetings are held in the
Headgear Workers' Lyceum
(Beethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 489, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P.M. at the Labor Temple, 345 East 14th St.
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary
AMOROS HALL, Fin. Sec'y.

PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 208 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 8228
Day Room Open Daily, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m.
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LOCAL 174, A. M. O. B. W. OF N. A.
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Labor Temple, 345 E. 14th St., Room 13
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at 6 P. M.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 104th Street
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, President
NATHAN ZUGARF, Recording Secretary.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION No. 508
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone BR 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening.
JOHN HALKETT, President
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President
ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec. Secretary
JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary
SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Ave. Phone 4021 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening.
WILLIAM WENGERT, President
VALENTINE BUMB, Vice-President
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Sec'y
JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
ANDREW FREIT, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING AT 490 E. 14th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 14TH STREET
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President
HARRY P. ELERT, Fin. Sec'y
CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
CHARLES M. BLUM, Rec. Sec'y

UNION DIRECTORY

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members.
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Executive Boards Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
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JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Fin. Sec'y.
HEBREW
BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 224, A. M. O. B. W. OF N. A.
170 E. 17th St., Orchard 2130
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
L. KORN, Manager. J. BELSKY, Secretary.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 46, I. L. G. W. U.
1 East 15th Street
Tel. STUYVESANT 3499
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 10 P. M. in the Office of the Union
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LEON HATTAB, Manager
NATHAN RIESEL, Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
1 East 15th Street
Stuyvesant 7078
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 102 East 23rd Street
Fred Fasslaend, N. Ullman, President
A. Wollst, Rec. Sec'y
J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec. & Treas.
Wm. R. Chilling, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTOR'S UNION

Office, 31 Seventh Street, N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Office: 175 East Broadway
Phone: ORCHARD 4839
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening.
M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hotel, 63 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10174. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
HALL, P. M. Sec'y.
BARRETT BRISCOE, A. GREEN, Rec. Sec'y.
JACOB RAPAPORT, Bus. Agent.
AARON RAPAPORT, Treasurer.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 160 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza-1190-5416, Clarence M. Barnes, Secretary

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING AT 490 E. 14th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 14TH STREET
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HARRY P. ELERT, Fin. Sec'y
CHAS. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
CHARLES M. BLUM, Rec. Sec'y

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America

LOCAL 2163
OF AMERICA - LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 100 East 56th Street, New York.
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.
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THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y
CHAS. GARE, Treasurer
W. L. CORRIE, Sec. Agent
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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 9148
MORRIS HUBMAN, President
ABRAHAM KAPOFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 251 East 14th Street
TELEPHONE LEXINGTON 9600
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZILANT, President
I. JAFFE, Vice-President
M. FEINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 308 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 151 E. 10th St.
B. GURKIN, Chairman
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

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TELEPHONE ORCHARD 11004
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INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: 11 WEST 18th STREET, N. Y. Phone Chelsea 3034
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MILLINERY WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 610 Broadway. Phone Spring 4458
Uptown Office: 30 West 37th Street. Phone Wisconsin 1370
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening
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ORGANIZERS: L. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

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Headquarters: 621 BROADWAY (Room 523) Phone Spring 2255-2256
G. GOOZE, Manager
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday
Local 245-Executive Board meets every Tuesday
Local 246-Executive Board meets every Wednesday
Local 248-Executive Board meets every Wednesday
These Meetings Are Held in the Office of the Union

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Local 2, Int'l Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn. PULASKI 0798
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130 East 23th St. Madison Square 1934
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8 P. M.
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OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 88
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A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. STUYVESANT 8946.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 310 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. in the office.
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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
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Discussion-admission free
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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 patterns?
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
Mar. 15-REVITALIZING THE CITIZEN
Is the prevailing apathy toward citizenship explainable and perhaps justifiable?
Mar. 22-BUILDING WORLD MINDED-NESS
Can we expand the mind beyond habitual localism?
Mar. 29-SALVAGING THE ADULT
Are there new possibilities open to the adult?

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union At 8 O'Clock
SUNDAY, MARCH 4
Concert by the American Orchestral Society
CHALMERS CLIFTON, Conductor
TUESDAY, MARCH 6
MR. JAMES WATERMAN WISE
"Youth Movements in Europe"
FRIDAY, MARCH 9
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN
"This People Can Read": The Psychological Influence of Popular Education.
Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion
At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23rd St. (nr. 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 O'Clock
MONDAY, MARCH 5
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Blake"
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7
MR. HERBERT POLLOCK
"The Role of Some Inorganic Chemical Substances in the Cell"
THURSDAY, MARCH 8
DR. E. G. SPALDING
"What Are Abstractions?"
SATURDAY, MARCH 10
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"The Emergence of Scientific Determinism"

Soviet Russia and World Socialism

A SYMPOSIUM BY
HENRY NOEL BRAILSFORD
MORRIS HILLQUIT
NORMAN THOMAS
Monday, March 5th, 1928, 8:30 P. M.
At the Rand School of Social Science
7 East 15th Street, New York Tel. ALGONQUIN 3094
ADMISSION \$1.00

DEBATE

SCOTT NEARING
NORMAN THOMAS
Subject:
Communism vs. Socialism in America
Chairman ROGER BALDWIN
Friday Eve., March 30, 8:15
Community Church
34th St. and Park Ave.
Tickets: \$1.00; \$1.50
a few at \$2.00
BUY YOUR TICKETS EARLY
Judge Ben B. vs. Rabbi Alexander LINDSEY LYONS
on
Companionate Marriage
BROOKLYN ACADEMY OF MUSIC
This Sunday, Mar. 4th, 8:15 P. M.
Tickets on sale \$2.75, \$2.20, \$1.65, \$1.10 at
Academy Box Office and
Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St.
Brooklyn
(Leigh-Emmerich Lecture Bureau)
(11 West 42nd St.)
United Lodge of Theosophists
No. 1 West 67th Street
Free Lecture Sunday, 8:15 P. M.
"On Sewing and Reaping"
Wednesday, 4:15 to 5:15 P. M.
A Practical Lecture
"The Song of Life"
No Charges or Collections

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Yipseldom

Members of the Senior Y. P. S. L. please notice that elections for League Executive and Financial Secretaries will begin March 2 and end March 12. Comrades are urged to attend circle meetings during this period so that their vote may be cast.
Four Lectures
George Ross will deliver four lectures on "India" for the League. On March 2 he will speak at a joint meeting of Circle's Two and Nine Juniors, 219 Sackman street; on March 11 at the guest of Circle 13, 429 East 14th St. at 8:30 p.m.; at a joint meeting of Circle One Juniors and Nine Seniors on March 16 at 218 Van Sicken avenue at 9 p.m.; and at a meeting of Circle Two Seniors, 219 Sackman street on Sunday, March 25, at 3:30 p.m. At all lectures colored slides portraying the life of the Indians will be shown. Ross has delivered the same lecture in Bronx and Manhattan circles where a fine showing was made. The lectures are entertaining and educational. Every member who has not heard Ross should make it a point to hear him. Admission is free. You and your friends are welcome.
Only members in good-standing will be eligible to vote in the coming elections. Members are again urged to pay up all back dues.
Julius Hochman to Lecture
Julius Hochman, general manager of the Joint Board of the I. L. G. W. U., will speak on "Communists in the Trades Union" on March 11 at 1167 Boston Road. The lecture is arranged by the Bronx Boro Committee and will start promptly at 3:30 p.m. Hochman is preparing a book on the same subject, his many years in the labor movement and his present post in one of the largest unions in New York make his lecture extremely important and interesting. Comrades are urged to attend.

Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK
Sunday, March 4, 11 a.m. Speaker, Judge Jacob Panken, "Current Events." Hennington Hall, 214 East 2nd Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A.D.
Sunday, March 4, 8:30 p.m. Speaker, Esther Friedman, "Woman's Sphere." East Side Socialist Centre, 204 East Broadway. Auspices, Socialist Party, 1-2nd A.D.
Sunday, March 4, 8:30 p.m. August Claessens, "Gentile Heredity vs. Fine Art." University Settlement, 184 Eldridge street. Auspices, Roamer Club.
Thursday, March 8, 8:30 p.m. Speaker, Dr. Simon Eberlin, "The Social Policy of Henrik Ibsen." 96 avenue C. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12-A.D.
BRONX
Friday, March 2, 9 p.m. Speaker, I. George Dobson, "The Moral vs. Fine Art." Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Blvd. Auspices, Socialist Party, 5th A.D.
Friday, March 9, 8:30 p.m. Speaker, August Claessens, "The Motive in Human Behavior-Incentives and Ambitions." Auspices, Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third avenue.
BROOKLYN
Friday, March 2, 8:30 p.m. Speaker, Frank Brodsky, "The Economic Interpretation of History." 1465 St. Marks avenue. Auspices, 18th A. D. Kings.
Sunday, March 4, 4 p.m. Speaker, William Karlin. Subject: "Revolutionary Methods-Old and New." Workers Circle Center, 7316 20th avenue. Auspices, Bensonhurst Forum, 16th A. D.
Monday, March 5, 9 p.m. Louis P. Goldberg, "Socialism." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.
Friday, March 9, 8:30 p.m. Speaker, Charles Solomon, "Crime and The Criminal-A Challenge to Society." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1928

An American Swine-Pen

ALMOST ten months after the miners have vegetated in idleness and misery a committee of the United States visited the bituminous fields of Pennsylvania. The members were shocked. "It is inconceivable that such squalor, suffering, misery and distress should be tolerated," said chairman Gooding. "The committee found men, women and children living in hovels which are more unsanitary than a modern swine-pen. They are breeding places of sickness and crime."

A few facts were disclosed regarding Judge Langhan who issued the sweeping injunction which even prohibited miners from singing hymns. It appears that the miners had not been heard in the injunction proceedings and that the judge is an investor in coal mines. He may not have any interest in the mines covered by his injunction, but the fact that he has investments in the industry is significant. A due appreciation of his position in this matter would have induced a man jealous of the reputation of his office to refuse to act in this case. Not so with this bituminous judge. Knowledge of this economic interest of the judge also gave the members of the committee a surprise. Then there is Governor Fisher who has served the New York Central Railroad as general counsel and was once director of one of the coal companies that is owned by the New York Central. Governor Fisher holds only one stock in the coal company at present but are we to believe that this executive with his intimate associations with coal and railroads is any less affectionate toward the corporate oligarchies? What an interesting mixture of coal, railroads, courts and executive power we have in the "swine-pen" called Pennsylvania!

It is a hideous background of working class suffering in a state that is absolutely ruled by the most powerful capitalist interests in its borders. The picture is not relieved by any statesmanship on the part of responsible union officials so far as organization of the industry is concerned. Even the Senate committee is convinced that the private anarchy in production must be brought under some form of social control but John L. Lewis does not have any program. The program of nationalization which was formulated some years ago has been shunted into the background when it could have been used to place the anarchist owners on the defensive. Old conditions cannot continue and the miners can have no peace under them, yet labor statesmanship is conspicuous by its absence. It has no vision. Men, women and children starve. It is pathetic and discouraging.

Marvin's Merchandise Declines

WE have occasionally expressed our enjoyment at Fred R. Marvin's success in selling his merchandise to a large crowd of dumbbells. His specialty is the organization of half-wits into what he calls "Key Men" and sending them reports about the doings of imps of sedition whom he alleges are seeking to seize the republic and disposing of it at auction in Moscow. Most of the stuff he has sent out is garbage, but the Babbitt swine have gulped it down with relish. Meantime Marvin induces the dupes to send him cash for the stuff and large advertisements in the newspapers throw fits into those with larger wads who send Fred a share of their shekels.

Fred has built up a big industry and the pickings have been excellent, but he seems to have gone too far in capitalizing credulity. Some of the stuff he has sent out has been so absurd that even some perfectly sane and sane Senators at Washington are in revolt. As a perfect patriot Marvin had to defend the oil looters so Freddie gets out a report declaring the precious trio—Fall, Sinclair and Doherty—are really patriots and that the prosecution of these gentlemen was a "red plot" hatched in Moscow!

So long as Fred confined himself to Socialists, radicals and noble women like Jane Addams he got away with it, but even safe and sane Senators could not stand for his version of the oil thieves. Then there was the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States had placed its brand on the oil yeggs and the inference of Fred was that this august body was also involved in the "Moscow conspiracy." This might go with Marvin's morons but not with Senators who discovered that Fred had also annexed some army officers as a department of his industry and through them his stuff was actually being mailed free under the government frank! It appears that one piece of army propaganda had its origin in a bulletin of the 7th Corps area at Omaha and this abominable item declared that it was necessary to bring the "Christian religion with the point of the bayonet" to the "heathen Chinese!"

Just what effect these revelations will have on Marvin's Key Men we do not know. Some of them no doubt will feel that they have been duped by a consummate faker and will tell Fred to migrate to a hotter climate. Fred of course, will not take their advice as long as he can find enough simpletons to put up the cash to enable him to pocket a good

income, but we surmise that the industry is now on the decline. His stuff is a hangover of the idiosyncrasy of the war and he will probably find a market for it a little while longer.

We are sorry for you, Fred. It was a great life while the pickings were good but the patent medicine field is still brisk. You have qualified for plasters and ointments and there are plenty of morons who will patronize the new goods.

"Fit to Govern"

THE Republican leaders always have been proud to trace the descent of their party through the Federalist and Whig parties and to have inherited the dignified traditions of Washington, Hamilton, Webster and Clay. The G. O. P. hoisted its banner and marched behind it to the slogan of "a party fit to govern."

Something can be said for the dignity and culture of its aristocratic ancestry but the gentlemen leaders passed with the death of Webster and Clay. A few survived after the Civil War like Senator Hoar. Henry Cabot Lodge presented the transition from the gentleman to the vulgarian as he was something of both. His culture was a flag to mask the looting appetites of the mercenaries.

Today the party "fit to govern" is a shelter for the vulgarian and mercenary leaders in politics, the Falls and Denbys, the brokers like Longworth and the congressional rubber stamps, and the confirmed crooks like the gang that has ruled Indiana for years. A decent conservative like Borah merely serves as window dressing for the firm.

One Indiana Republican served a term in the penitentiary and another escaped it on a technicality. The city of Indianapolis is so near being wrecked that a suit has been filed in the Marion County Superior Court asking that a receiver be appointed to take over the city. Meantime the gang is involved in a quarrel over the question as to which of three men is mayor and the Koo Koo squads of Indiana Republicans, now a remnant of the former nightshirt army, are casting aside the shirt and mask.

To complete the portrait, the monthly organ of the G. O. P. at Washington, *The National Republic*, runs each month a department on "The Enemy Within Our Gates" to combat all "subversive movements." Pirates hoisting the Jolly Roger before proceeding to loot could not be more impudent.

Some "Moral Issues"

CAPITALISM has a setting in the United States that is a paradise compared to its home in any other country. Even the liberal opposition to be found in other countries and in their parliaments is absent here. What there is of liberalism functions outside of politics and contents itself with expression of opinions in a few journals and through publicity in the daily press. It received a terrible blow as a result of the war when all its fine-spun theories were thrown into the stew at Paris and it spent its time trying to explain what had happened.

There comes to hand a bulletin from the National Council for Prevention of War which is typical of much that is labeled "liberalism." This piece of intelligence declares that "Hon. William D. Upshaw, for eight years the recognized leader of the moral forces in the House of Representatives in the United States Congress," is one of the real chaps to lead the world "in the gestures towards peace." His "championship of moral issues" is paired with the "Hon. William Jennings Bryan as a warrior whose weapons were logical arguments, whose munition was always the way of reason and spirit of friendliness."

Well, we have terrible memories. We remember the Hon. Upshaw encasing his manly figure in overalls a few years ago and offering this as a way to solve the problem of the high cost of living. We have a rather vivid recollection of the Hon. Bryan fighting imperialism and then using his influence to have Democrats ratify the treaty which fixed the status of the Philippines as conquered provinces. And it was the Hon. Bryan who, as Secretary of State, observed the crucifixion of Haiti without a protest.

Certainly, "moral issues" assume strange forms at the hands of some of our "liberals."

Hedley the Ventriloquist

HOW often have we not bubbled with admiration at the finesse of the street faker as he passed out his tinsel or marvelous herbs to gaping dupes who scrambled to hand him their money. You may not like the way he gets his living, but as an artist he is so adept in marketing his goods that his skill commands admiration.

We feel the same way regarding Frank Hedley, president and general manager of the Interboro Rotten Transit Company. Smug and arrogant, enjoying rich pickings, he returns to the same old stand year after year and gets away with the goods. The lines are again facing trouble, as Hedley's serfs want a union that represents them and Hedley has a "union" that represents him and he is determined to keep it.

Another situation in the service has issued out of his discharge of nineteen workers for being members of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. A strike is threatened if the victimized men are not reinstated and this provided another opportunity for Hedley to assemble his wooden figures like a ventriloquist on a crowded street corner.

The wooden manikins have been assembled by Hedley in his "company union" and are led by a figure labeled Patrick J. Connolly. Hedley begins his performance by placing this figure on his knee, adjusting his fingers to the springs in the back of the neck, and the wooden jaws begin to open and we hear the thing squeak. "The management must stand by its agreement with the great mass of loyal employees and discharge all others when requested by the Brotherhood and decline to reinstate disloyal employees who have been expelled by their Brotherhood." The figure winks at the crowd and Hedley chuckles over his skill in operating the mechanism.

Following this performance Hedley places the figure labeled Connolly on his knee for an encore and the jaws again open. The thing declares that "nine-tenths of the 13,000 employees are loyal members of the Brotherhood. All we want is to be left alone" and hints that if Hedley's "union" does not have its way it will strike. Hedley grins as he lays the figure in a cushion box and proceeds to rake in the nickels paid by the poor fish hanging to straps in his cattle cars.

The old time faker was picturesque and admirable, but for unalloyed brass we commend our readers to Frank Hedley of the Rotten Transit Company.

The Breadline In Prosperous America



Song Of The Unemployed.

BY YEARS that were meant for play,
I carried the load of a man;
It warped me and wearied and wore,
But I thought it was God's own plan. . . .
And who in a lowly place like mine
Dare question a Godly plan. . . .?

I knew I was born to work;
Sprung from a worker's seed,
Truly I gloried and sang at my bench
And plied for my daily need;
And wanting for little, I hungered for less,
And knelt to the Godly creed.

I served for my master's ease;
Held true to his weal and trust.
I heaped for him hills of dazzling discs,
I bowed to his "do" and "must"
I never balked at my pittance
Whatever he gave . . . was just. . . .

There came a time of stress
Orders were meagre—few;
Bills and charges and other things
That make for expenses, grew
Then one strange day, I heard him say,
"There's nothing for you to do. . . ."

To the land of Nothing-to-do,
I trudged with millions more;
Stunned and dumb, questioning why,
I dragged from door to door,
Pleading for work, wheeling for work,
Begging, no longer more. . . .

Then once in a curious light,
I posed for the fool I'd been,
Giving away all the marrow of me,
In a game where I never could win,
And keeping the waste that was left of me,
As though I had sloughed in sin.

Strange . . . I who was born to work,
Sprung from a worker's seed,
Have nothing to give to these eager hands
That they might earn for my need
And maddened by famine, with food in sight,
I stab at my Godly creed

I stab, and with gnashing spite,
I tear through the blinding weave,
And fling a nasty sneer at Him
I curse . . . I disbelieve
And who can blame for blasphemy
The soul that's an empty sieve.

And who can judge for crime,
The hands that would never shrink
The meanest task, or the quickening brain
That calls for creative work,
And hears with the leaden thud of doom,
The words . . . "There is no work?"

I only ask for work
What is left in flesh and brain
Cries out for something it must do
This idleness is pain
Or it will find something to do
And then they will try in vain

To halt the march of famished men
With sanctimony's sigh
Hungered hearts in a time like this
Beat furiously high,
And hopeless men in the dark of death
May kill before they die. . . .

S. A. de Witt.

Civilized Murder In Roumania

Socialist Leader Dying by Slow Torture

By Edward Levinson

IN THE salt mines of the blessed Queen Marie's Roumania there still languish peasants imprisoned for their connection with the uprising of 1907, a rising against cruel oppression practiced against the peasants by the owners of great estates. The sweet Queen, subject of rhapsodical editorials in the American press, has found herself unable to forgive the peasants for their agonized rebellion 20 years ago.

One Roumanian political prisoner is a well known figure in Roumanian Socialism—Mihail G. Bujor, whose name has for years linked with that of Christian Rakovski, the Bolshevik, as the leaders of the Roumanian workers. Bujor is but 47 years old. He was a lawyer, joined the Socialist movement in 1903 and rapidly rose to a position of trust, for some time editing the principal Socialist newspaper.

In May 1922, Bujor delivered a speech at the funeral of a Socialist comrade. Prosecution by the military authorities followed and Bujor fled to Russia. In expectation of an early revolt in Roumania, Comrade Bujor became commander of the revolutionary Roumanian battalion which had been organized in Odessa. When the Bolsheviks came to power in Odessa, he was placed in charge of imprisoning and watching the Roumanian royalists who had taken refuge in the Ukrainian city.

Roumanian Socialism soon called Bujor back to his native country, where he was immediately seized and imprisoned. The work done by Bujor on behalf of the Bolsheviks in Odessa occluded the chief attention of his prosecutors during the trial. Despite the fact that it was proved that he had given his prisoners the most humane treatment possible, Bujor was convicted and sentenced to 20 years at hard labor. That was eight years ago. He has been held since his arrest in the Doftana prison, confined in a tiny cell in solitude. He is kept severely apart from all other prisoners, and his ward is deaf and dumb. Newspapers and letters are refused him.

Though he worked with the Bolsheviks in Odessa, Bujor is not a Communist and therefore the Communists have all but forgotten him. At the time of the founding of the Third International, he declared the act to be a crime against international Socialist unity.

About a year ago, two comrades finally succeeded in seeing Bujor. They were shocked, for they found the powerfully built man of other years a decrepit old man. He swore his loyalty to Socialism and the workers, though in all he years he had received no news of his comrades' activities.

This visit served to re-open the case. The Socialist International gave the story publicity in all corners of the world. The Roumanian government finally was forced to go through the motions of an inquiry. It has now reported "all is well" with Bujor and that he is receiving "special treatment." With this the Socialist International is not satisfied.

The report of the Bratianu government has been proven a lie. There has appeared in "Socialism" the organ of the Roumanian Socialist party, an article by Ilie Micoi, who recently visited Bujor in his cell.

"I have seen Bujor again after a year and a half," Micoi writes: "During the seven and a half years that Bujor, cut off from the whole world, has been pining away in a solitary cell of the Doftana prison, this is only the second time that we have managed to get permission for a visit, so that he might receive his comrades and friends."

"But what a difference between the first visit and this second one! "On the first occasion one could still observe in him a will to live, the hope of surviving this frightful confinement. And at parting he folded me in his arms, made me return as often as possible and declared to me 'that he was still the

same Socialist' who had shared with me a whole lifetime, and in the event of his dying he would carry with him into the grave the same ideal under whose auspices we both grew up. Today it was no longer the same Bujor who met our eyes."

"Before us stood a man bowed with tortures, undermined by hunger, incapable of rejoicing at the reunion with his friends, resigned to everything. Most reluctantly after we had for a long time implored and urged, yes even scolded him, Bujor against his will and even with disgust consented to picture in detail the treatment to which he is subjected."

"Referring to an article which appeared a year ago in the 'Socialism'—the first newspaper article which by chance came under his notice and which stated that he was a victim of a savage treatment—he uttered an ironical protest against this description of his confinement and asserted that he was treated in a civilized, altogether civilized fashion. He had besides submitted to the governor an answer to this article which doubtless will never be forwarded to its destination."

"Bujor is indeed, as was stated, in receipt of a 'special treatment.' Alone in a separate section of the prison, quite divided from all the other sections; in a special cell which is damp, cold and dark, nourished with special air which he can only enjoy alone one or two, or at most three hours per day; under the special supervision of a warder and latterly also of an assistant, who inflict all possible annoyances on him; with special diet, specially prepared for him out of bad meat; with special noises at night on the walls and the door of the cell; with special measures taken after every visit

and every complaint—such is Bujor's special treatment. And it would be an insult to savages to describe as savage such a treatment which is only thinkable in a civilized society with all the refinements of civilization."

"Bujor was sentenced to hard labor in the company of other men; and actually he is kept for seven years in solitude without the chance of exchanging a single word with his fellows, and he is kept under a special treatment, doomed to a slow death of torment."

"At first he believed he might be able to modify this regime in the idea that possibly only the local management of the prison was responsible for it. He believed that by means of complaints and protests he might get the laws and regulations applied also to himself. But after numberless requests and complaints, after bringing his case fruitlessly to the notice of all the inspectors and lawyers, he now utters no further complaint, asks for nothing, affects to view everything as civilized and humane, declines the bad meat and the whole of his food, rejects all special favours, no longer accepts the gifts of eatables sent to him from outside—which indeed could only result in protracting his agony. In short, he considers himself as having irrevocably fallen in the struggle for the ideal of a genuine civilization. Having given to this ideal everything, his life and his strength, there remains nothing more than a slight sacrifice, which will soon enough ensue."

"Returning to us the victuals and warm clothing we had brought him, Bujor begged our forgiveness, begged us to do nothing more to alleviate his fate, since after long this terrible regime under whose yoke he had been for so many years, would for him have ceased to exist."

"But Bujor must not die, he must be rescued. The working-class of Roumania will not weary in the struggle for his ultimate liberation, and meanwhile, so long as there is still time, for the alleviation of his barbarous imprisonment. But the entire working-class, the entire public opinion of the civilized world must be mobilized on behalf of this victim of the Roumanian governing caste. The helpless and oppressed proletariat of Roumania knows well that the international working-class will join in the cry: Save Bujor, whom an inhuman government is slowly but surely murdering."

American Socialists who read these lines, will experience a feeling of revulsion at the heartlessness of a government which can subject a human being to the suffering which has been meted out to Comrade Bujor. And Bujor's bravery will be an inspiration to the Socialists of the world, young and old. It may be that the American Socialists and readers of the New Leader can do a little toward helping the Roumanian Socialists in their efforts to win freedom for Bujor. Let each one who reads this article sit down immediately and write a short and vigorous note of protest to the Roumanian minister in Washington, telling him of our disgust at the continued imprisonment of Comrade Bujor and demanding his immediate release. Send your letters to George Gretsiano, Roumanian Minister, Wash., D. C.

Several thousand letters will bring to the Roumanian government in startling fashion the realization that the news of their atrocity against Bujor is becoming known throughout the world. Loyalty to Socialism for which Bujor is giving so much would demand that we do at least this much to begin with.

THE CHATTER BOX

WE INTEND to allow a few young ones to gambol about in this prosy pasture for the week. . . . The following poem by a ten year old bard of the Bronx, intrigues us with the thought that all is not so well with this dear world as long as youngsters hardly in their teens go about trumpeting such un-American thoughts as these —

War!

Nothing more terrible ever was known,
By it's hand desolation and ruin was sown,
Loved ones must go forever away,
For the capitalist wants more money today,
Mind you he wants it without any need,
To the cries of the wounded he gives no heed,
He sits in his cozy steam-heated home,
Like Nero who played at the burning of Rome,
Some days the minds of men will be sound,
Then will the capitalist fall to the ground.

ROBERT S. WARSHOW.

And if I go out in conjecture, the Jim Junior of these poems below is none other than Jimmy Oneal's own charming daughter of hardly a dozen summers or little more. I must be careful in giving the exact age of any lady no matter how young she be. These have not the prophetic thunder of Robert S. Warshow's War poem. They are gentler in subject matter as becomes a lady, even in this most unladylike age.

Beach

Silence and darkness. Sound of the waves
On the sand, and a clean, clear wind
Whipping the sand into dunes,
Rustling the march grass;
Stars like pieces of metal, brittle and cold,
On a dead black sky, and out in the darkness—
A lost bird crying.

—Jim Junior.

Waves

Endlessly they roll, and fall,
Break and back, and break again,
Tossing up starfish and seaweed,
Spars from a shipwreck out of Cathay
And an old tomato can.

—Jim Junior.

Dedication

The gods have blessed me with a nimble pen
For an hour, and I long to write
Of the things that I love—
Roses, stardust and ships from Spain—
And the hour is short. No roses for me,
My pen is too precious, my minutes too few;
So tonight I will write of a workman,
Of a miner, that's starving, a Boverly bun,
And God grant my work shall hasten the Dawn
Of a different, more noble, more gracious sun!

—Jim Junior.

Storm Dance

O muted chords of liquid syllabance!
O roar of a twisted sea-shell
Play your symphony that the dance may begin!

Soft pluckings of the five-stringed lyre—
Like a blown reed she is bending and swaying
Moving before the Wind God's ire—
Golden hair like reed-flowers, twisting and fraying.

Creating crescendo of viol chords—
Like living fire, a white arm stops
Its broken arc. And as in storm-swept fjords,
Her feet patter like falling rain-drops.

Muttering echoes of three-stringed lutes—
The storm is slowly passing . . . is gone . . .
The wild rain's singing she gently mutes
Till silence reigns . . . The dance is done!

—The Office Boy.

Now this is what I call a real rest after weary weeks of key pounding on serious questions for serious people. I hope I never get serious again. You know it involves so much responsibility. Everybody watches your statistics. Everybody uses encyclopedias to check you up. And when the printer makes an error, or leaves out a word, what a ha-ha you get from friend and foe alike. It's much better to keep telling jokes. You don't have to be so accurate; and no one gets mad at you. Well, until I find something to chase my nanny out again into the street, allow me to remain, joshingly yours, so gentle and kind.

S. A. de Witt.