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of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

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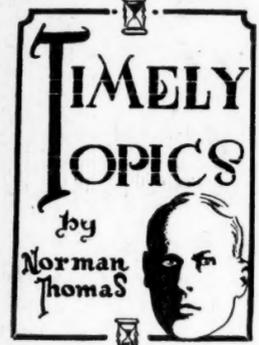
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Buying of Senators, Crooked Finance, Extortion Charged To Power Trust



TWO jobless men die or starvation—thus reads a headline in the morning paper. The night before a reporter of the New York Telegram explained that it was unemployment which drove most, or, at any rate, the best of the sorry crew of strikebreakers to eat the bread and take the pay of the I. R. T. in New York. Yet it was only after things like this had come to this pass that the Senate adopted Senator Wagner's resolution providing for an authoritative federal survey of unemployment.

No great and forward looking country in the world is so lacking in social conscience and social planning for these victims of our industrial system as is the great and "prosperous" United States of America. Facts we need, but we need more than facts. The children of the striking miners and the unemployed should be a rich social asset but hunger, undernourishment and despair make them a dangerous liability to any nation. The best way to care for unemployment is not a system of relief but sometimes there is no other way. That emergency is at hand. The federal government should appropriate generous funds for the help of these children—funds to be administered through existing social machinery or machinery which could easily be set up. If the government has not enough money in hand, why not get some more by taxing that Wall Street "prosperity" of which the sensational advance of the stock of the General Motors is most conspicuous evidence?

A plan for preventing unemployment has appeared in the latest book by William F. Foster and Wadell Catchings of the Folkart Foundation. The book, written in popular style, is called "The Road to Plenty." The authors following up their earlier book, "Money" and "Profits", hold that the cause of hard times and unemployment is the fact that owing to the necessity for saving the purchasing power of men as consumers almost invariably lags behind their power to produce. Not the general under consumption of capitalism but the lag in the money circuit is the devil they would fight. The remedy they advocate is a federal board which will keep constantly in touch with the facts of the business and employment situation so as to supply the public with weather signals for approaching storms. Unlike the weather, however, employment depression, the authors believe, could be cured by injecting at the right moment new expenditures for new enterprises preeminently in the field of public works, financed, if necessary, by short time loans. This is, of course, a very inadequate account of an interesting and fairly well worked-out plan which Socialists and progressives generally could favor with good conscience. The authors have called attention to aspects of money economics which none of us should overlook.

But by no means can Socialists and progressives support all the reasoning and optimistic hopes that go along with the book. The authors themselves in their earlier writing have admitted wastes and sufferings that their scheme could not possibly cure. There is, for example, no help for the tragically mismanaged coal situation to be found in this easy road to plenty. There is no adequate consideration of the unemployment in almost every line of industry from farms to steel mills caused by the marvelously rapid development of machinery geared to private profit rather than human need. However great may be the help given by more accurate information on business conditions and by a wise program of expenditures for public works at the right time there is still a desperate need for unemployment insurance as a meas-

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Pine, Pioneer of Socialism, Dies in N. Y.

Death Takes Builder of Trade Unions Among East Side Workers

ANOTHER of the great figures of the New York labor movement passed away last week with the death, at 62, of Max Pine, for many years secretary of the United Hebrew Trades. Comrade Pine died at his home in Maywood, New Jersey, of pneumonia after an illness of 12 days.

Attending the high position held by Pine among the masses of the East Side, more than 5,000 men and women swarmed around the Forward Building Sunday where funeral services were held and followed the funeral cortege through the East Side streets. Leaders of the trade union and Socialist movement, speaking at the funeral services, paid high tribute to a man who had given all of his adult life for the cause of the workers. Abraham Cahane, Judge Jacob Fanken, Morris Feinstein, B. C. Vlasek and many others who fought side by side with Pine in countless strikes and labor battles spoke of Pine's unselfish service to labor.

Coming from Smolensk, Russia, in 1889, Pine spent his first year in the United States working in a coal yard. Then he learned to operate a sewing machine in an east side "sweatshop" that made "knee pants." He joined the Socialist Labor Party and later the Socialist Party, and spoke from trucks in its campaigns. Gradually he impressed himself on his associates in the Klee-

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LIGHT THROWN ON KILLING OF WALSH PROBE

Investigation Would Have Revealed Slush Fund That Might Have Embarrassed Coolidge and Host of Congressmen and Senators.—What A Thorough Inquiry Might Have Shown

By Judson King
Director, National Popular Government League

THE Walsh resolution for an investigation of the power combine was defeated by the largest, most effective most skillful and best financed lobby, both back-home and in Washington known in the history of the interference of big business with government—which means from 1787 to date.

The editor of *The New Leader* writes that this defeat "has given rise to all kinds of speculation as to what is really being covered up," and asks if I can shed any light on that question. Very well, here are a few items which Hon. George B. Cortelyou, Samuel Insull, Henry L. Doherty, H. T. Sands, and many, many other able and estimable gentlemen of the power industry distinctly do not want the people of the United States to discover.

Mystery!

There was an unusual apprehensiveness or even terror on the part of the power crowd of an investigation. But there was also a powerful resistance— not voiced loudly but still there—on the part of many Senators and big politicians in both parties difficult to de-

scribe or classify. The air was filled with the same dread-of-daylight psychology that characterized the Teapot Dome investigation from the first. My own guess is that a genuine investigation would reveal some cam-

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Shirts Heads Socialists' Ohio Ticket

State Convention Names Full Slate — Nicaraguan Intervention Debated

(By A New Leader Correspondent)
CLEVELAND.—The Ohio Socialists are the first in the field with a complete state ticket, standing on a true Socialist platform. The convention was held at Cleveland, Ohio, February 25th and 26th. The following is the ticket:

For Governor: Joseph W. Sharts, Dayton; Lieutenant-Governor, F. Slusser, Massillon; Secretary of State, Edna Hastings, Cleveland; Treasurer of State, Sidney Yellen, Cleveland; Attorney-General, Frank Krebbel, Dayton.

The convention was a live one and every delegate showed his sincere enthusiasm in all the work of the convention. Delegates were selected to represent Ohio in the National Convention; plans outlined to raise a good campaign fund, and the delegates all left the convention with a determination to carry on a vigorous campaign for their ticket and platform from this time up to election day.

A number of resolutions were passed, as follows:
Resolution No. 1, extending sympathy and pledging loyal support to the striking miners of the bituminous coal fields.
Resolution No. 2, condemning the

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Explanation Wanted

Did you notice that vote in the United States Senate which decided that the investigation of the super-power grabbers should go to the Federal Trade Commission? There were 28 Republicans and 18 Democrats who voted to refer the matter to this smothering body. Will some cheerful idiot tell us the difference between these Dems and Reps? They don't know, we don't, and nobody else does.

Box Striker Is Stabbed, Office Raided by Cops

Workers Feel Terrorism By Bosses is Proof of Effectiveness of Walkout

THE police department of New York City and particularly a group of its plain-clothesmen have loosened a reign of terror against striking paper box workers, such has not been seen in some time. Side-by-side with the plain-clothes police, professional gangsters are also at work attempting to intimidate the strikers. The terrorism resulted in bloodshed this week when gangsters stabbed and beat Tony Leggio, a striker, as he stood in front of the Crown Paper Box Company at 107 Wooster street. Leggio was rushed to the St. Vincent Hospital where he is suffering from serious stab wounds.

The campaign of violence inspired by the employers has convinced the strikers more than

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I. R. T. Union "Let Down" By Walker

Reliance on Tammany "Friend" Found Poor Substitute For Organizing the Workers

THE open defiance of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, in New York City, the calling off of the strike-vote meeting by the union and the departure of Mayor Walker from the city afford a complete demonstration of the futility of relying upon political "friends" and publicity as substitutes for organization work in waging an industrial struggle.

The union leaders have been knowing to the Mayor. They have sung his praises to the sky. They have cherished the agreement, which he was supposed to have made between them and the I.R.T. last summer, and now the Mayor finds it impossible to see them because of a tooth-ache, as was the case when he returned from New Orleans, or because of the necessity of obtaining a new post office for New York for which reason he went to Washington. The glorious agreement of last summer suddenly vanishes from the scene. Organizer Coleman of the Amalgamated, indeed, mentioned it when the I.R.T. began to threaten the discharge of union members. Everybody has been dodging it ever since. Perhaps it has expired.

At first the implied excuse of the union organizers for keeping off the lines was the effort of the I.R.T. to obtain an injunction against them. The union, of course, respected law and order. As a matter of fact, the only injunction in force was that issued in the Lavin case in December 1926. Everybody knew, and especially the Interborough, that that injunction would be vacated by the Court of Appeals. That highest tribunal had decided on May 31, 1927 in the Exchange Bakery case that organizing in the absence of a strike, where a "yellow dog contract" with an indefinite term existed, was legal. It was for that very reason that the Interborough introduced a new "yellow dog" contract a month or two later. Certainly from June 1, there was no injunction in force. The application of the I. R. T. for a new injunction in the Fall of 1927 could not affect the union until it had been granted. Justice Wasservogel denied the application on February 15, 1928. Therefore, even if respect for the courts had been a prime requisite, the Amalgamated still had a free hand. It took little advantage of its opportunities.

The union had the good fortune to profit by favorable publicity not only because the subway riders of New York have come to understand what a fake the company union is but also because of the 7-cent fare challenge of the I.R.T. The good publicity had an excellent effect upon the morale of the subway workers but they also wanted to see some action done; they wanted to see some action done; they wanted to see some action done.

Another element which has effected the sentiment of the men has been the shabby treatment accorded the strike leaders of the 1926 strike. Two of them finally went back to work, carrying with them not only their own grudges but also those of their fellow workers. One, who went into other union work, has been given no consideration whatsoever. A fourth is secretary of the local union. The key men on the lines have resented the slights to the first three.

On Tuesday, February 21, 1928 Local Division 977 of the Amalgamated held its regular meeting at Harlem Casino. The daily press gave it little attention for it had little news value then. In the afternoon of that day Hedley, who by the way was still in Florida, circulated a letter among the men, stating that the company would abide by its agreement with the Brotherhood until it was illegal. At the meeting the union officers pledged themselves to protect all its members, as was the tradition of the Amalgamated. The local executive board was empowered to formulate plans for further action to be reported upon at a special meeting, if necessary but in any event not later than the regular meeting on March 6. Hedley's reply was to suspend seven union men, later increasing the total to a score. Counsel for the union, ex-congressman Perlman, spoke vaguely about contempt of court and announced that he would appeal to Justice Wasservogel, while the organizers made efforts to see Mayor Walker. On Monday the learned Judge stated he could only act as a private citizen, not as a judicial officer. Every lawyer knew in the first place that under

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those new subscriptions which mean so much to the continued success of your paper.

But the more we get the merrier, and we are quite a way from that ten thousand minimum mark we set when this campaign opened.

Remember that within a short time we shall have nominated our candidates and the presidential campaign will be in full swing.

In the meantime *The New Leader* is doing yeoman service by telling the truth about Nicaragua, the war against organized labor in the mine fields, unemployment, injunction judges, and other matters of pressing interest to you and your friends, which receive scant attention in the capitalist press. We must get news of this sort before workers and friends of labor everywhere.

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Socialist Unity Is Achieved By Czech Parties

Adler Hails Event On Behalf of International - Racial Conflicts Was Barrier

PRAGUE—The Unity Congress of the Socialist Party in Czechoslovakia took place in Prague on the 28th and 29th January. The opening speeches were delivered by the President of the Czech Party, Hampel, and the President of the German Party, Dr. Czech. In the President there were elected in addition to the representative of the Polish Socialists, Lukosz, and of the Socialists of Karpathian Russia, Necas, and also a Czech and a German woman Socialist. The main reports on the first item of the agenda, "Political and economic conditions and the task of the Working-Class," were given by Bechyně and Czech. The Czech speaker delivered some remarks in German, and the German speaker concluded in Czech. After them there spoke the representative of the Polish Socialists, Stefek, the representative of the Magyar Socialists, Borsanyi, and the representative of the Ruthenian Socialists, Nimouk. The political resolution and the manifesto were unanimously adopted with tremendous enthusiasm. The event had begun by a tableau expressing fraternity between the Czech and German gymnasts to the sound of the "International" and so it closed to the powerful strains of the "Red Flag" and the "International".

As representative of the Socialist International there were present Dr. Friedrich Adler and Louis de Brouckere. Friedrich Adler's speech, in part, follows:

"The significance of this Congress for Czechoslovakia can hardly be measured. But far beyond the borders of Czechoslovakia today's Congress marks a day of confidence for the International. Let us for a moment recall the time of the Hamburg Congress, five years ago, when we undertook the attempt to join together again in one organization the labor movements of the various countries, so disrupted by the war and the post-war period. Five years have gone by and this attempt has succeeded; we have again achieved a united organization, and today on this memorable occasion for the workers in Czechoslovakia, we can recall the fact that among the greatest difficulties we had to overcome in order to get this unity, were the problems of the labor movement in Czechoslovakia. I may today say quite frankly, even to the German comrades in Czechoslovakia, who were very pessimistic at that time and thought it would not be possible, that I persistently expressed the conviction to them that what is happening today must come, not through any miracle from above, or from the International, but as it has been so rightly expressed in the speeches of the President, through the pressure of events themselves. That has been fulfilled. We have had difficulties, they are plain to the world, they have been published everywhere. The Hamburg Congress could only get over the difficulty raised by the problems of the labor movement in this country by setting up a commission to bring, in the future, these problems nearer to solution. This commission met there under the Chairmanship of comrade Huysmans, heard every Party, and came to the decision that the moment had not yet arrived for a step forward to be taken. Untiring efforts had been made towards it, but the opportune moment was long in coming. But the moment has come today, and the fact that it has come marks a consolidation not only of your movement in Czechoslovakia but a consolidation of the whole international movement.

"During these very days, eighty years ago the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels was issued for the first time. This Manifesto, which has been a guiding star to us during all these decades, taught us above all that in face of all local interests, national interests, cultural interests, the class-interest would finally be realized as the most powerful force in the whole society. This great recognition we see confirmed again today. We see, how against all other opposition, the bourgeoisie of this country has become united in order to move against the working-class, and we see with proud satisfaction that the class-consciousness of the workers of this country is winning through to supremacy and dominance in face of all other difficulties confronting us, that the working-class of this country is determined, united and with closed ranks, to pursue this fight.

"1928, so hopefully begun by this Congress, is in the highest degree a year of campaign. In various European countries we are faced with great election battles, in France and Germany, perhaps also in Belgium and Great Britain. In the various countries we are faced with important decisions, but all those decisions which will arise we shall approach with great confidence. Reaction, which in all European countries has brought about a state of affairs in which the bourgeoisie is again alone in the government, is watching these election campaigns with quite other feelings—For it is evident that after the first blow we experienced in the first five years, the International is now again on the advance. That we may hope that a leftward development in all the countries of Europe may in this year of 1928 become a fact. And therefore may I conclude my most cordial wishes for your deliberations with the hope that the results of this Congress here in Prague may be such that, when we meet in Brussels on the 5th of August for the Third Congress of the Socialist International, among the successes won during this period since Hamburg—during these last five years—we will be able to say with pride: It was the working-class of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia which contributed to the victory of class-conscious socialism."

LIGHT THROWN ON KILLING OF WALSH PROBE

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shock slash fund scandals that would shake the nation and render a considerable number of Congressmen and Senators, and perhaps even President Coolidge, extremely uncomfortable. I don't know. That is my surmise.

I do know as a solid fact as stated in my bulletin "Who's Who in the Super-Power Lobby" that an analysis of the Borah report on the presidential campaign of 1924 shows that 100 electrical utility magnates contributed from \$1,000 to \$50,000 to the Coolidge fund, 9 to Davis and none to LaFollette.

Since the power crowd chose the Republican party as its vehicle of political control and helped defeat the Democratic party nationally, it looks to me almost like party treason for Democratic Senators—from Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic floor leader down, not only to desert Walsh of Montana in his investigation but to play the game of the power trust in the matter of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Canyon and anything else they want.

Robinson, Harrison and several other southern Democrats helped Underwood three years ago in his strenuous efforts to give Muscle Shoals to the 13 southern power companies. Yet you cannot find an electric utility man south of the Mason and Dixon line in Borah's report as contributing to the election of Davis.

Mr. George of Georgia, Thirteenth or more Democratic Senators voted to side track the Walsh resolution. First lieutenant to Sen-

ator James Watson of Indiana, Republican, who led the fight against Walsh was Senator George of Georgia who is being boomed for the presidency. Mr. George is a fine man personally. He is able but it is a fact that the Georgia Power Co. is the most powerful political agency in Georgia. It is also a fact that the heaviest contributor in the south was Mr. Frank E. Shumate, vice-president and legislative representative of the Georgia Railway & Power Co. Shumate is the lobbyist at the Georgia legislature, active in politics generally and was in Washington two weeks just before the Walsh resolution was voted down. Senator George admits these facts but says that Mr. Shumate and he were old friends and law chums together for many years.

I am informed reliably that the senior member of a law firm which is counsel for another wing of the power trust is a United States Senator, and that this wing is the most powerful factor politically in that and surrounding states.

So I suspect that a lot of underground politics—good, bad and indifferent—on the part of the power interests back of the election of many a Senator and Congressman little suspected by their constituents of having any connection with this gigantic monopoly—five-headed or one-headed, as you choose, but one unit when it comes to politics and opposition to public ownership—How far and where the trail would lead we do not know.

Reckless Financing

Another thing the power people do not want exposed is the reckless financing which has been going on since the advent of super-power a few short years ago. For example, up in Maine last summer I learned that when Mr. Samuel Insull of Chicago invaded the Pine Tree state to assume direction of its power, politics and newspapers he paid \$140 per share for Maine Central Power common stock which had been selling at \$40 and was not worth that, but he gave him control.

Now this sort of buying has been going on all over the United States, in little towns and big, by power magnates seeking monopoly in their respective spheres of influence. A

special drive has been made to buy up municipal plants; first, to get them; second, to be able to advertise that municipal ownership is a failure. And that is why we got them.

To be sure, these fancy prices are carried forward into the big mergers and all set up as an "investment" on which the people are required to pay dividends. Sometimes this stock exceeds the actual physical value of the property on which it is based by five or six or even ten times.

To have this exposed would impede the progress of this grand crusade of selling "customer-ownership" stocks to common people. Many investment bankers have invested in these watered stocks and it is perilous to have their confidence shaken.

Extortionate Rates

This frenzied financing—to use an old term—of electric utility securities is all based on the ability of the power interests to keep on charging extortionate rates. They fear nothing quite so much as to have the American people get it into their heads that they are being robbed on their electric bills. A daylight investigation that hit the front page of the newspapers would add fuel to the flames of popular indignation now beginning to burn.

A New York friend sends me his electric bill for January. He paid the New York Edison Co., of which Mr. Cortelyou is a director, \$4.80 for 36 kilowatt hours. The public plant of Cleveland, which generates by coal in New York, would have charged him \$2.28 for that bill. In Toronto, water power production, he would have paid \$1.41. Down in Birmingham, the Alabama Power Co., water power production, would have charged him \$5.05.

You can see the spread and begin to figure what that means when applied to the whole American nation. Store-keepers and hotels and small power users likewise pay extortionate rates to private companies. On my table are the proof sheets of a new league bulletin which came in from the printer as I dictated the last paragraph. I quote:

"At Ontario light rates the total American light bill for 1926 including domestic, commercial and street lighting, would have been less by \$713,000,000."

"Oh yes," says some wise boy who has read the propaganda articles by Mr. Frank Bohm in the New York Times or his recent pamphlet sent out by Cortelyou's Joint Committee to deceive the American people. "Oh yes, but Ontario gets cheap domestic service because of the high rates charged industrial power users. Industrial power is much cheaper in the United States than in Ontario."

I quote again from this forthcoming bulletin the following table:

INDUSTRIAL POWER, TOTAL, 1926		
	KWH Sold	Revenue Per KWH
Entire United States	35,154,000,000	\$1,018,200,000.66 785c
Entire Ontario	638,486,973	12,987,676.01 2299c
Hence, at Ontario power rates the American power bill would have been less by		\$28,819,000

I have listed seven other reasons in a hurried cast-up as to why Saint George and the Knights of Power do not want a searchlight thrown into the back end of their tents but these three will be enough to justify all of the thousands to come here, all the newspaper advertising to choke off publicity and all the rest of it from their point of view.

Viewed alone from the political standpoint, there is no such single menace to democratic government in the United States today as this power combination now hooked up with the street car and gas interests. They are seeking to control everything from town councilmen to the United States Supreme Court. They have succeeded the railroads as the biggest economic factor in political control. In Maine last summer a keen observer said "During the first part of the last century the government of Maine was lumber. In the last half it is railroads, today it is water power." And this indicates the trend of every state in the entire nation and of the nation itself.

Max Pine Dies In N. Y. At 62

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Pants Makers' Union, and when the post of walking delegate became vacant he received it. Three weeks later the 1,000 members of the union went on strike and Pine led them to victory.

The terms he won for his followers seem beggary today, but they were welcome then. Wages were raised from \$8 a week to \$12 and hours decreased from thirteen and a half to ten. Ever since this strike, Max Pine had been engaged in improving the conditions of laborers and of the unfortunate members of his race by his executive ability and by his articles in newspapers and magazines.

He was an organizer of the People's Relief Committee to succor overseas Jews. As a Commissioner of the American Joint Distribution Committee of Funds for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers, he visited the Ukraine and Moscow in 1920 with Judge Harry Fisher of Chicago, Chairman of the committee, and laid the foundations for the relief activities of distressed Jews in Russia. The story of sufferings that he brought back swelled the total of the relief fund making real to the Jews of America the plight of those overseas.

When news of Pine's death was known, August Claessens, on behalf of the Socialist Party, said:

"The Socialist Party and the Trade Union movement have lost one of their most valuable members. Max Pine was an untiring worker, a man of rare ability, a speaker of great power and eloquence, a personality of charm, character, honesty and high idealism. In his job, the Socialist and labor movement has lost another of its great pioneers. Max Pine has now joined the company of our great immortals, Debs, London and Hanford with whom he was a kindred soul."

Circles nine seniors, and one junior, of East New York, meeting at the People's Lyceum, 212 Van Sicliema avenue, Brooklyn, expressed "heartfelt sympathy to the labor and Socialist movement for the loss of one of its most stalwart champions, Comrade Max Pine. To the bereaved family we extend our sincerest condolences and we are sure that the memory of Comrade Pine will remain in the hearts of the Comrades of the Socialists and labor movements, forever."

Shirts Heads Ticket In Ohio

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present administration in its unlawful warfare in Nicaragua.

Resolution No. 3, pledging unceasing efforts to secure the liberation of political prisoners; not forgetful of the unfortunate victims of capitalist terrorism in different parts of the United States, notably the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti, who were put to death by the Massachusetts courts; condemning the continued imprisonment of Mooney and Billings and the Centralia outrage, and calling attention to the still more deplorable condition in Soviet Russia, where thousands of Socialists whose only offense was the holding of opinions, like our own, in favor of democracy and democratic methods instead of dictatorship and rule by a few; torn from their homes and loved ones by the Communist dictatorship and are now in the Soviet prisons and convict camps of Siberia.

A letter was received from the so-called Workers (Communist) Party, asking for a united front. The convention points out the insincerity of the American Communists, who take their orders from Moscow, showing their professed intentions for a united front were not honestly made, but that their tactics have always been toward the disruption of every political and economic organization of labor in this country.

John G. Willert was re-elected State Secretary.

Victor Berger Article on Foreign Relations Placed In Congressional Record

Washington—The recent article contributed by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, Wisconsin, to the Current History magazine's symposium, Hands Off Europe's Wars, has been ordered reprinted in The Congressional Record on the motion of Representative George S. Middleton, Democrat, Alabama.

Berger was one of seven American statesmen and international authorities who contributed to the symposium. The others were Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat, Montana; Representative Theodore E. Burton, Republican, Ohio, president of the Interparliamentary union; Dr. Philip M. Brown, professor of international law at Princeton University; former Ambassador David Jayne Hill; former Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, and Senator Frank E. Willis, Republican, Ohio.

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

ure of alleviation though not of cure for this terrible disease of unemployment which brings so much suffering and misery to human beings even in the best of times in the midst of the potential plenty which our machines can produce.

This paragraph is written before it is known whether or not there will be a strike on the Interborough subway lines in New York City or not. If there is a strike with its consequent inconvenience to the public, the people should know just where responsibility lies. It lies at the door of the company which at every possible opportunity has sought to exploit both the workers and the public. It lies at the door of the company which at this moment is seeking in the federal courts to upset the five cent fare, laid down by solemn contract and to deny the right of the city to recapture the lines it now operates. It lies at the door of the company which fired 21 bonafide union members and refuses even to submit to arbitration the question why they were fired. It lies at the door of the company which for days past has been recruiting an army of strikebreakers, none of whom is properly examined or properly instructed for the responsible task of guarding the lives of thousands upon thousands of people in subway and elevated trains. Unless it be some of the coal companies I know of no capitalist organization so essentially lawless, so contemptuous of public rights as this same I. R. T. The city administration is notoriously cramped by laws and courts unduly tender of property interests. Nevertheless if Mayor Walker was as earnest and eager in this matter—as he is in selecting his clothes and having his picture taken a way might be found to use the police power of the city to bring the Interborough to terms instead of as a potential strikebreaker against workers who seek what even our courts have declared is their elemental right to join a union of their own choice.

Speaking of strikes it is not often that any union gives a more gallant demonstration of labor's power to rise again after defeat than the paper box makers of New York. With the drivers in the lead, once more the workers in that industry are fighting for reasonable conditions and for recognition. Already more than 20 shops have settled. It looks as if the workers were again about to establish themselves as a recognized union in an industry which without a union will remain one of New York's worst examples of a sweated trade. The same public sentiment which rallied impressively but too slowly to the support of the workers in the strike which they lost a year ago should be more quickly asserted in their behalf at this juncture.

Once more Senator Borah who says so many wise things has disappointed us when it comes to doing the right thing. His reply to Senator Dill's inquiry concerning the Senatorial investigation into Nicaragua which Senator Borah himself had once proposed was worthy of Coolidge or Kellogg himself. The powerful Mr. Borah, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, has done nothing and apparently intends to do nothing to investigate the intolerable situation in which American boys kill Nicaraguan boys in the grim warfare of the remote hills and jungles of Central America for reasons that have never been officially exposed and which have far more to do with the profits of Wall Street and the prestige of our bungling diplomacy than with the flimsy excuses offered by the Administration. If Senator Borah has been as earnest in action as he often is in speech long ago he would have won an investigation of our financial relations in Latin America which might have saved the lives of a score of American boys and no one knows how many hundreds of Nicaraguans.

This failure of the unattached and irresponsible liberal is another reason for insisting on the necessity of our organizing a powerful labor party with a clear cut anti-imperialist program. The chief factor in working for such a party is our own Socialist group. The Socialist Action Committee recently formed in New York has more of the old time fire and fervor than I have seen for some years and it is proceeding on sound lines. Our main job is to reorganize our own party, to work for issues, and to pioneer for the larger labor party which is to be. Candidates however, are not unimportant and I rise in this column to repeat a nomination which I made in Philadelphia the other day. My candidate for President is James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Socialist Councillor of Reading, Pennsylvania, old in experience, young in courage, wise in counsel. No nomination we could make would so completely prove to the workers that we mean exactly what we say when we talk of the need of a genuine labor party. I know it is not the business of the New Leader to nominate candidates but I claim the right of the columnist to express my own convictions on this subject. Who will second the motion?

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WHO LET THE BREAD TRUST ESCAPE?

By Louis Stanley

WHO let the Bread Trust escape from the clutches of the law just when it was caught red-handed two years ago? Another explanatory hint has been dropped by Senator Walsh of Montana in his examination of Will H. Hays, ex-Chairman of the Republican National Committee, on the transmutation of oil into Republican campaign funds.

It was last Thursday at the end of a grueling cross-examination of Hays by the Senate Public Lands Committee that the revelation about the Bread Trust came. Senator Walsh suddenly put this line of questioning:

Q.—Mr. Hays, when were you appointed director of the Continental Baking Corporation?

A.—I do not remember.

Q.—Were you a member of the board during the years 1925 and 1926?

A.—Since one year ago last fall.

That was all. Hays claimed later he did not know what the purpose of the questions was and Senator Walsh would not explain.

A Little History

A little history is very illuminating. On January 30, 1926 there was incorporated in the State of Maryland the Ward Food Products Corporation with a potential capitalization of two billion dollars. On February 8, 1926, the United States Department of Justice filed suit in the Federal District Court at Baltimore, asking for an injunction against various defendants to prevent "a huge combination in the baking industry." It was charged by the Government that the Ward Food Products Corporation, the Ward Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation, the Continental Baking Corporation, the United States Baking Corporation, William B. Ward, Howard B. Ward, William Deinger, Paul H. Helms, J. W. Rumbough, B. E. Peterson, George G. Barber, and George B. Smith had all conspired in violation of the anti-trust laws. They had formed the Ward Food Products Corporation.

"... to cause that corporation to acquire, in exchange for its shares of capital stock, or for cash realized from sale of its capital stock, or at least a controlling interest, in the outstanding capital stocks of the Ward Baking Corporation, the Continental Baking Corporation, and of such other baking companies engaged in production and sale of flour, meal, yeast and other ingredients used in the production of baked goods, including all manner of baking machinery and equipment, as may be available. The result of such stock acquisitions will be to eliminate all competition between the other corporate defendants, the largest, the best organized and best equipped wholesale baking concerns in this country, and to create a virtual monopoly of the wholesale baking business in the United States."

The Trust Is "Dissolved"

On April 3, 1928, the Department of Justice announced with much triumph that the Bread Trust had agreed to

dissolve itself. A consent decree had been entered by Judge Morris A. Soper in the United States District Court at Baltimore ordering the Ward Food Products Corporation to surrender its charter within 30 days. The Ward Baking Corporation and the General Baking Corporation were to decrease their capital stock, while the seven baking concerns named in the Government's suit were to dissolve any common connection. A director in one concern might not serve as a director in another nor acquire stock in any other bakery engaged in interstate commerce.

On the face of it the government had won a great victory. Attorney-General Sargeant prided himself upon the speed of action and pointed to the procedure of his department as demonstrating the effectiveness and economy of consent

decrees as compared with prolonged litigation. Both the Attorney-General and the Federal Trade Commission took special pains to state in their annual reports that they had dissolved the Bread Trust even before it had begun to prey upon the public.

Actually the facts of the case were these:

1. Section 13 of the consent decree dismissed the charges against the Continental Baking Corporation because the Federal Trade Commission was considering them in a complaint filed on December 19, 1925.

2. On April 2, one day previous to the entry of the consent decree, the Federal Trade Commission dismissed the complaint against the Continental Baking Corporation, to take effect when the consent decree became operative.

3. On the afternoon of April 2 the Federal Trade Commission informed the Attorney-General of its action.

4. Two of the three commissioners voting for dismissal were appointees of President Coolidge.

5. Commissioners Nugent and Thompson in a written dissent pointed out that the Ward Baking Corporation, the General Baking Corporation, and the Continental Baking Corporation are holding companies only and as such are not engaged in the baking business. The consent decree did not prohibit them from acquiring the capital stock of two or more baking corporations where the effect of such acquisition might be substantially to lessen competition between such corporations nor did it order the three mentioned defendants to divest

Coolidge Appointees Are Willing

6. The dissenting commissioners also pointed out that the defendants, William B. Ward, Paul Helms and George G. Barber, were required to dispossess themselves of all voting shares of the capital stock in any of the defendant corporations and the companies controlled by them but that did not prevent them from transferring their shares to members of their families or to the other defendants. There is evidence that this loop-hole has been utilized by the defendants.

7. Abram F. Myers, special assistant to the Attorney-General in the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice, who conducted the Bread Trust case for the Department was appointed a member of the Federal Trade Commission on August 2, 1926.

A Forged Carbon "Copy"

8. A majority of the sub-committee of the Senate Committee of the Judiciary, which investigated the circumstances surrounding the entry of the consent decree, condemned the action of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission in letting the Continental Baking Corporation go scot-free while pretending to dissolve the Bread Trust in the form of the Ward Food Products Corporation, which only existed on paper. The investigators concluded that the two billion dollar corporation had been formed only in order to be dissolved. The provision in its charter for the disposal of excess profits for philanthropic purposes was to blind the public.

9. Commissioner Myers presented to the sub-committee early this February

a letter which he had sent to Judge Soper, calling attention to Section 13 of the consent decree, which it will be recalled had dismissed the case against the Continental Baking Corporation on the ground that the complaint was being taken care of by the Federal Trade Commission. Two weeks later Judge Soper testified that this was not the letter he had received. Myers subsequently admitted that his secretary had submitted the "wrong" carbon copy to the committee. Senator Borah characterized what happened as "not only lying but forgery." Myers called the committee's report "villainously unfair."

10. Will H. Hays, ex-chairman of the Republican National Committee, became a director of the Continental Baking Corporation in the Fall of 1926.

It appears, therefore, that the Republican machine was working strenuously to protect the Bread Trust, while quieting the public clamor by fake court proceedings. The big baking corporations, controlled by the Ward interests, are still carrying on. They have practically monopolized the baking industry.

The Failure of Workers' Education

By Abraham Epstein

The Movement Loses Sight of Its Aim "To Change the Social Order"

IN ANY attempt to evaluate the present movement of workers' education, consideration of its historical aims and purposes is paramount. It is only through this earlier perspective that we may pass judgment upon the present tendencies and prognosticate the future possibilities. What then were the aims and purposes of the early pioneers of this movement? The late Arthur Gleason, who unquestionably was one of the best exponents of the early aspirations of the Workers' Education movement, clearly distinguished workers' education as "its own kind of adult education, and not to be confused with university extension, evening high schools, night schools, public lectures and forums, Chautauques, Americanization, education by employers, and U. S. C. A. industrial courses. Labor education is inside the labor movement, and cannot be imposed from above or from without. It is a training in the science of reconstruction. It is a means to the liberation of the working class, individually and collectively. In pursuing that aim, it uses all aids that will enrich the life of the group and of the worker in the group, and that will win allegiance of the worker to the group."

These aims and purposes were not only the motivating forces of the intellectual also outside of the labor movement but were also true of the labor leaders most actively and most energetically identified with this movement from its very inception. As redefined by James H. Maurer at the last conference in Boston:

"Underlying the purpose of workers' education is the desire for a better social order. It is this desire on the part of the workingman for a richer and fuller life individually and collectively that gave the movement its birth and at all times must remain its treasured inheritance. Labor education aims at

the ultimate liberation of the working masses.

"To Change the Social Order"

"The Workers' Education Bureau was not organized for the purpose of duplicating the work done by the public schools, universities, correspondence schools, and so on. It is distinctly not to be confused with the numerous existing forms for adult education. It is designed for the most part, either to give a bit of culture to the student, or else to lift him out of his present job into a higher one. That is not the purpose of workers' education. It is education that will stimulate the student to serve the labor movement in particular and society in general, and not education to be used for selfish personal advancement."

Even Mr. E. C. Lindeman, who is perhaps somewhat detached from the actual working class, agreed that "if it is truly workers' education, it also seeks to change the social order. Workers' education may be conceived as the germ of a new people's movement. Its function is to inject a new principle, a new method, and a new spirit into the age-long struggle for justice."

The above definitions and enunciation of principles are clear and unmistakable. That workers' education has a special social function is recognized by all. And these aims were not only the hopes and aspirations of the earlier pioneers of the movement but are apparently still considered essential requirements for a true workers' education.

tion movement. In view of this it is, I think, entirely proper and propitious to stop for a moment and to examine the extent to which these principles are still applicable to the present official movement of workers' education.

Now, of course, I am fully aware that no movement as significant and as vitalizing as workers' education can be adequately appraised after a period of but 7 or 8 years. Its meaning and significance can hardly become crystallized in this short space of time. Its actual accomplishments may not mature for many years. Not unmindful of these criticisms, I still maintain that inasmuch as the official movement for workers' education in the United States has during the past seven years taken definite shape and followed identical processes which throughout have been consistent and constant, even this short period of its existence warrants at least a hasty examination or appraisal of its accomplishments and an evaluation of its tendencies and future possibilities. What are some of the facts?

A Rapid Development

In the Spring of 1921, when the first conference on workers' education was held, there was no organized national movement guiding and directing the scattered workers' educational experiments throughout the country. There were altogether less than one hundred educational classes of all sorts. Their methods and programs were as varied as the organizations which sponsored them. There was confusion both in content and policy. But underlying all of them there was a definite and concrete purpose which inspired and fused them all into one aspiration. Whether they were sponsored by trade unions, Socialist, Communist or independent intellectuals each and every one had aimed at an educational process which would guide and inspire the labor movement to greater heights, profounder vision and ultimately toward the liberation of the working people from their present social and economic positions. There was an unmitigated ideology pervading them. It was the cherished hope of expanding and consolidating these aims and ideals which made possible that remarkable gathering in the Spring of 1921. Within less than two months from the issuing of the call and without any funds whatsoever, about 200 men and women journeyed to New York City from many states in order to help launch a more consolidated and invigorating movement of workers' education.

While I am not familiar with the present developments of the Workers' Education Bureau, I note from the reports to the Boston Conference and to the last Convention of the A. F. of L. that under the guidance of the W. E. B. educational committees had been instituted in practically all of the states; that 270 local education committees had been appointed by as many central labor unions; that, thanks to the generosity of the Carnegie Corporation a W. E. B. press has been incorporated; that the budget of the Bureau amounts to approximately \$35,000 a year and that membership dues are paid by 52 national and international unions, 32 State Federations of Labor, 68 Central Labor Unions and 360 local unions. This, I submit, is quite a formidable list and a remarkable achievement.

This steady growth and development, it seems to me, warrants us even at this early date to take stock of the meaning and significance of this expansion. While seven years may not be a sufficient period upon which to base definite conclusions, seven years of drifting and dangerous procedure without stock-taking is by far too long a time. Such an examination is imperative to the very existence of any movement even as it is to an ordinary corporation. In the final analysis the only way to tell of the efficacy of a certain method is to look in the profit and loss column. If the balance is in red the stock holders must know that regardless of the wonderful theories of the superintendent or management the methods simply did not work profitably. Let us then very briefly take a look at the balance sheet of this great corporation, the American Labor movement.

The Labor Movement Declines

In 1920-21 when the Workers' Education Bureau was initiated, the American labor movement was at its peak; its membership was the highest on record; it had a prestige hitherto never attained and its growing power made it

the terror of the forces of darkness. The workers' education movement was to give it increased power and more intelligent guidance. But parallel with the growth of the W. E. B. and increasing population and industrialization, the membership of the A. F. of L. has declined to one of the lowest records in the past two decades. In 1927 it had a total membership of considerably less than 3,000,000 and many members were so only figuratively speaking. But what is even of greater significance than the decline in the membership is the vanishing leadership, the diminishing vitality and the almost total absence of any profound philosophy capable of meeting present day emergencies—the very contributions workers' education was to make.

Indeed, one of the most startling revelations in this hasty stock-taking is that side by side with the obvious spread and growth of labor education, both labor statesmanship and vision have become conspicuous by their total absence. Not only has labor lost its power and prestige; not only has its leadership dwindled to the lowest level, not only have company unions spread to an extent never dreamed of before, but the American labor movement has never before faced its fate with more equanimity, with less resistance and with such utter complacency as today. Even as sympathetic a student as Mr. Lindeman is forced to remark: "in fact, candor compels one to hesitate to speak of a workers' education and a labor movement in this country since a movement is presumed to move."

During the past seven years American industrialism let hardly a month slip by without the proclamation of some new theory and some new discovery of the blessings and virtues of capitalism. During the same time American labor, when it did not go in reverse, has either stood still or has drifted from one untenable position to another. At its best it has merely tried to imitate American industrial leadership along certain lines of business and financial activities. In the maze of new theories enunciated by representatives of American industry, I am not conscious of a single contribution which came from American labor. Industry in the United States has expanded beyond all expectations in the past decade; production has increased so enormously that thousands of workers

are being displaced from their jobs by the increasing productivity of machinery. Has any constructive suggestion of meeting this most important problem been proposed by American labor?

A Single Bright Spot

It took industrial captains, such as Brookings and Henry Ford, to discover the theory that increased purchasing power on the part of the workers makes for greater and more steady prosperity. And American labor leaders have been religiously advocating it ever since. It took Henry Ford and a reporter of the New York Times to enlighten American labor leadership upon the advisability of the five day week. And they have been happy to fall in line. There is a growing problem of unemployment in the United States. It took Governor Smith and the Democratic Party to stress this as a national issue. Let us hope American labor will also give consideration to this question now that it has become a public issue. There is the entire problem of social insurance and the insecurity of the American workmen against the hazards of modern industry. The nation is awakening to these problems, but the official American labor movement still takes its cue not from the workers' educational movement but from the National Civic Federation and from the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. There is the problem of the mining industry. But American labor contents itself with appeals for relief. Oh yes, American labor has been busy fighting labor injunctions for the past quarter of a century and the number has grown by leaps and bounds.

Indeed, in the whole realm of recent theories and industrial philosophies not one new thought is discernible on the part of American labor. All it aspires to now is to the National Civic Federation's ideal of cooperation between the workers and employers. Instead of war or eternal vigilance, it seeks eternal harmony and profound peace and collaboration. All efforts are being exerted to convince the employer that it is to his benefit to recognize the labor union because it will pay him to do so. Through this cooperation productivity will be increased, conflict eliminated and prosperity will prevail. In return the new labor leadership will see to it that the unemployed and the hapless shall remain unmolested by the malcontents and the unmanageable Reds of whatever degree of color they may be.

In the entire field of workers' education, I can detect only one bright star, only one speck in the desolate firmament which is generally pointed to with pride

and satisfaction in the reports of the W. E. B.—the Philadelphia Labor College. Only this school has lived up to the true aims of workers' education, has sought a redefinition of values and a newer understanding of the more recent problems confronting American labor. It has sought guidance and understanding of the fundamental problems which have arisen in the past decade. Its conferences have been both original and fruitful and the very success of this experiment is a clear illustration of what real workers' education could have meant. For its accomplishments have been definitely a result of true workers' education. It may as well be admitted that the Philadelphia Labor College is but Jack Lever and Israel Mufson and these two are but Brookwood transplanted on Philadelphia soil. By producing Lever and Mufson and a number of other active workers like them Brookwood has shown the real significance and purposes of workers' education.

What Accomplishments?

Judging by these results, what light can we get from the history of workers' education since the war? Simply that we still wait to see what workers' education can really accomplish. According to Mr. Lindeman, a study of the contents of workers' education classes reveals that more students are interested in learning how to become public speakers and debaters than they are in understanding the economic and social order in which they live and labor. My own answer can only be that of my friend Benjamin Stolberg: "Five years ago Workers' Education meant the education for working class leadership. Today, where in hell is the movement which promised so well? By and large, when we are discussing workers' education, we are discussing cultural opportunities for wage earners, not workers' education."

The New Apostles

(From the Republican Journal, Ogdenburg, N. Y.)

Binghamton, Feb. 10—(AP) "A Bath Tub for Every Minister and a Clean Methodist Ministry," is the slogan of the Rev. George S. Connell, superintendent of the Binghamton District of the Wyoming Episcopal Conference.

The superintendent is urging all rural congregations to install bathrooms in their parsonages. Reports show that only 13 congregations have failed thus far to comply with his request.

Superintendent Connell declares that he hopes to win the delinquent congregations into the bath tub ranks before the close of the conference year.

Who's who in Hoover? It's the same old hoodoo Big Business.

Communist Efforts Among Farmers Come to Naught

By Murray E. King

STUDY of the Progressive Farmers has convinced the writer that this organization has the most radical economic and political program among the American Farmer and farmer-labor organizations. It asks for socialism.

Economically, the foundation of the organization is a connected system of buying groups endeavoring by means of direct purchases in carload lots from wholesalers, and manufacturers whenever possible to obtain supplies at the lowest possible cost to the members. There are quite a number of these buying organizations, but the convention a year ago which launched the national organization at Minneapolis voted to stress educational work for the present, rather than economic action.

This educational work is education in class conscious action for emancipation. Two papers at least of the Progressive Farmers, which I have seen, are of a fundamental and valuable character. I refer to the Western Progressive Farmer, President Bouck's own paper, published at Frosser, Washington, and Humanity, of Arvada, Colorado, of which Morton Alexander, a veteran Socialist writer, is editor. I am told that The United Farmer, published by editor Knutson at Bismarck, North Dakota, another Progressive Farmer paper, is a straight class-conscious radical organ. Through this press real radical education is going out to many thousands of farmers.

Communist Efforts Opposed

It need not surprise some that in an organization as radical as this there are Communist activities. I have made considerable inquiries to ascertain if there is any probability that there is a Worker's Party attempt to transform this movement into an adjunct organization or a mask for the Worker's party, like the abortive Federated Farmer-Labor Party organized at Chicago which died "aborning" and the grotesque Farmer-Labor party organized at St. Paul, which was born dead.

I have received replies and facts from tried and true Socialists and Farmer-Laborites in the organization, who favor a fundamental program, but are strongly opposed to Communist tactics and will have nothing to do with them. According to these replies, there are some Communists in the organization, but the active majority including the real leaders is cognizant of what Communist tactics are and will never tolerate them. Communist "cells" will be eliminated wherever they may manifest themselves. Communist control is impossible, because

there are active intelligent and experienced elements in the organization who know what Communist control is and will never tolerate it. The Progressive Farmers are parading no "ism" as such. They are avoiding terms and phrases calculated to arouse the prejudice of the average farmer and wage worker. They are building up an independent organization free from any outside control and are teaching the straight principles of class emancipation and industrial democracy, without labels. At least this is what prominent Socialists and Farmer-Laborites in the organization have told me within the past three or four weeks.

Communist Secretary Ousted

Here are some facts they have given me to support their contention. The president or director of the organization is William Bouck. Bouck was present as a delegate at the Communist-controlled "farmer-labor" convention at St. Paul in 1924. He accepted nomination for vice-president by that convention. Duncan McDonald was the presidential candidate. These two candidates were dropped like hot potatoes by the Communist elements as soon as their "farmer-labor party" faded and regular Workers' Party leaders were put in their places without so much as an explanation or an apology. Outside of this episode, Bouck's record is fine and clear, and he never has and does not now advocate anything but a straight farmer-labor organization free from all outside control. But Bouck was not the only farmer-laborite taken in temporarily by the "strategic" maneuver of the Communists at St. Paul. Quite a number of Socialists and farmer-laborites, now openly opposed to Communist under-cover methods were temporarily taken in and harnessed to the Workers' Party cart.

At the convention in Minneapolis in December, 1926, which launched the national Progressive Farmers organization, a member of the Workers' Party was elected national secretary.

He soon proved to be a traitor to the movement, according to information I have received from some of the leaders. He refused to send out literature and supplies and finally closed the Minneapolis headquarters on his own initiative. This they believed was a deliberate attempt to wreck the organization at the instigation of Minneapolis politicians and representatives of big business. He was removed from his position by the Board of Directors and H. G. Teigen was appointed to fill his place.

Teigen is above suspicion. He was for years secretary of the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota. Before that

he was a leading North Dakota Socialist. He was for years one of the leading spirits in the national Nonpartisan League movement and later the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party. He has always remained an honest, faithful, intelligent worker for the farmer-labor cause. He is distinctly a constructive Socialist in belief and has always opposed extremist methods and tactics.

"Capture" Seen As Impossible

I have been told that President Bouck has been told that there is a Communist danger but that the organization is now sufficiently forewarned to prevent the Progressive Farmers from ever being used to promote the Workers' Party. Two of the members of the Board of Directors are Communists, but the Communist influence they say, is distinctly on the wane. Any real effort to control would undoubtedly lead to a general house cleaning such as has happened in the labor and farmer-labor movements of Minnesota.

The efforts of the Progressive Farmers are in fact rapidly leading them away from all possible contacts with the Workers' Party and toward straight farmer-labor affiliations. The Progressive Farmer movement is the most active movement this year in the promotion of a general farmer-labor political alignment. To this end it is working in cooperation with consciously non-Communist elements. It backs and has the backing of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which has had experiences with the Workers' party which have placed it entirely in opposition to Communist tactics and entirely on guard against the Workers' party. The so-called national Farmer-Labor party with headquarters in Denver, which stands so far to the right that it is seeking the formation this year of a combination of political elements against the old political parties, however much they are merged in property interests, or however much they are wedded to the present system,—this organization,—has formed a close alliance with the Progressive Farmers of Colorado, and the National Progressive farmers will send delegates to its convention in Milwaukee in May.

These necessary and practical alliances, Progressive Farmer leaders tell me, preclude the possibility of any Communist "capture" of their organization, and insure a speedy elimination of any Workers' party influence that may exist in the organization now.

Next week I will conclude my series of articles on the Progressive Farmers by describing their interesting political principles, program and plans.

WAGES FOR A LIFE OF TOIL



Cold weather is roughest on the aged poor. Here are a group of aged workers who, during the snowstorm a few weeks ago in New York, roamed the streets without an overcoat until charity took care of them.

48 in prosperous America have made a beginning at making provision for men and women grown aged in industry. So reactionary a group as the National Civic Federation has admitted that there are at least 2,000,000 aged Americans in poverty. Socialists and honest progressives demand that the state take care of its men and women who have given their youth in industry, through a system of old age pensions. Toward this end Congressman Victor L. Berger, Socialist, has introduced a bill in Congress

INSIDE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

"The Bolsheviks Have Undermined the Masses Confidence In the Coming of Socialism," Balabanoff Writes

By M. Phillips Price

With this article Comrade Price concludes his story of the life of Angelica Balabanoff, veteran Italian Socialist leader who was the first Secretary of the Communist International.

The economic and ideological blockade of Russia now began in earnest. Angelica Balabanoff's work for the re-establishment of the International was for the time almost impossible.

"I looked around greedily for some new sphere of activity. But I came up against unexpected hindrances. No one wanted to give me any work to do in the land of the Revolution. One felt the existence of hierarchy above, which I had never thought possible. It was all a question of rank and name. Every attempt to offer your services as a comrade in arms was looked upon as false modesty by a new bureaucracy in the making. . . . I was first offered the task of acting as secretary to the Russian Women's Organisation in place of Madame Kollontay. . . . After a time, however, I saw that this was only a move to get rid of Kollontay and put me in her place, so I refused."

With the help of Lenin, who was always a sympathetic friend to her, she came in contact with Rakowsky, the head of Ukrainian Soviet Government, who took her with him to the Ukraine, where she worked in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. She was recalled to Moscow by telegram, for in the meantime some representatives of Socialist Parties in Western and Central Europe had succeeded in breaking through the blockade and getting into Russia. It was at once decided to have a conference of these delegates to see what should be done to reconstitute the International. Balabanoff, as secretary of the Zimmervald Commission, which had kept the flag of International Socialism flying during the war until her expulsion from Switzerland and till the blockade of Russia was wanted in Moscow. This is her description of what happened, and it is interesting, as it is an account of the way in which the Third or Communist International came into being.

"In three days we reached Moscow and found the conference already begun. But with the exception of a few comrades who had got through from Germany, it consisted mostly of former prisoners of war who were in Russia. . . . The proposal to regard this conference as an assembly for constituting a new International was at first rejected by all the German delegates. . . . But then there arose an Austrian comrade who had been living some time in Russia and had become a Communist, an honest but highly impressionable man, a printer by trade. In a fiery speech he spoke of the enthusiasm for the Russian revolution among the European masses. His speech ended in a demand to found immediately a new International. It is typical of what has happened since that in the newly-founded Communist International he, who was largely instrumental in seeing it born, the enthusiastic Austrian comrade, has now left its ranks and has returned to his printer's trade and, like so many others who have remained true to the original ideas of the new International, has refused to co-operate with those who have abused their trust. . . ."

"That a new International had to be formed, that it had already been formed in Zimmervald and was being further developed in this conference in Moscow, no one was clearer about than I was. All that was wanted now was a comprehensive organization to function for this new International. And where else but in Russia, where the fundamental ideas of Zimmervald were being put into practice, should the home of this International be. Only the question of the opportune moment was doubtful, but when this was decided by the speech of the Austrian comrade, I felt it my duty to support it in the name of the original Zimmervald Commission. . . . I declared that although the blockade of Russia prevented me from consulting the Zimmervald groups in Europe, I felt I could speak in their name and join up with the new International in Moscow. Zimmervald had done its duty. It had during the war held aloft the banner of the proletarian International and encouraged the masses to the fight for Socialism. The time had come when Zimmervald could go."

When the conference was over Balabanoff thought of returning to the Ukraine to continue her work in the Foreign Commissariat there. But both Lenin and Trotsky persuaded her to stay in Moscow, on the ground that her knowledge of the European Socialist movement would be invaluable to the new International. Everyone in Mos-

cow now was persuaded that the old Second International was dead. It had failed to function since the disaster of August, 1914. Yet now of all times when a revolutionary Government was in power in Russia, and the sufferings of the working masses were greatest, there was urgent need for an International.

The Russian Communist leaders were determined to put all their best effort into the new International and to attract all the live elements of the West European Socialist movements towards it. The idea was widespread too in Russia that without an extension of the revolution in Europe, Russia could not hold out alone. It is obvious that the best elements in Russia should have taken over the control of the work of this new International, if it was going to be a success. But, unfortunately, Lenin and the other big Russian Communist leaders were too busy with the work of the difficulties and dangers that surrounded it, organizing the Red Army, feeding the masses, fighting hunger and placating the peasants, to pay much attention to the detail work of the new International. So Balabanoff went to her new task with the blessing of Lenin, but with no guarantee that her colleagues she would have to work with would be equal to their task or indeed would have to work with would be equal to their task or indeed would be the least idea of how the European Socialist Movement was to be attracted towards the new International.

She was appointed secretary of the International. "On the following day," she writes, "I heard Zimov had been appointed its chairman. This did not arouse my interest particularly, except that I had heard the rumor that he had been relieved of his post as President of the Petrograd Soviet, because the workers there were very dissatisfied with him, and one wanted to compensate him by putting him in where he would be less harmful. But already in the first days of my work with him I began to feel that something was wrong.

"Before the founding of the Communist International there was a small bureau in Moscow for keeping up the connections with other European movements and circumventing the blockade. Zimov's first act was to suppress this bureau. Everything was to be swallowed up in the International. This was to be done without Comrade X, one of the most able and devoted of the old Bolshevik guard, who was at the head of this bureau. . . ."

"The Policy of Splits" "Later the question arose on the Executive of the International of the number of delegates which should appear at the next Congress. The matter was of no very great importance, but when a difference of opinion developed between me and Zimov, as to the number which we thought desirable, Zimov wrote a note and handed it to a neighbor of mine, asking him why I insisted on this number. It was not just why, but what was my object. This was the whole nature of this man, who saw an ulterior motive in everything. He could not conceive that anyone wanted to get at facts from an objective point of view, everything must be done for a personal object and for the attainment of this object any method is justifiable. It was on the basis of these principles that the first President of the Communist International chose his people to work with him.

"Only when this is realized can it be understood why the wrong appointments were always made, why the policy was followed of attempting to split the other European Socialist parties, in order to get the movements there controlled by inferior, unimportant, morally corrupt types of persons. On the other hand those who are the most capable of leading a workingclass movement, those who had the real interest of the Russian revolution at heart were eliminated, because their honest devotion to the cause of the revolution and the experience and confidence which they enjoyed among the masses made them enemies of such methods and systems as he was determined to build up. Consequently the honest ones were only used as decorations. Their name, influence, and authority was to be placed at the disposal of the Communist International, but never were they to have the least control over policy or insight into the activities of the leading clique.

"Foreign Socialists, of course, can, with difficulty, see through these machinations. Many of these foreign comrades were content to occupy an honorary post on the Communist International, because their sojourn in the land of the revolution set them in such a state of enthusiasm that they honest-

ly thought they would help Russia by occupying a decorative post on the International. But they were quite ignorant of the fact that they were covering with their names and authority deeds which they would never have countenanced in their own country. . . . When, however, one of the foreign comrades began, as they sometimes did, to demand an insight into these activities or to object to certain methods, Zimov at once began an attempt to quiet them by giving them some new and more lucrative office; or if this did not succeed, they were dubbed as counter-revolutionaries and Social Democrats, they were deprived of all their offices, and the whole apparatus of espionage and denunciation was let loose on them.

"The Honest Revolutionists Leave" "So it happens that nearly all the honest revolutionaries of different lands, who joined soon after the founding of the Communist International, have now left its ranks altogether. It is the system which is set up by the leaders which excludes all possibility of combating the scandalous state of affairs in the inside of the organization. "Only when one knows the psychological background can one understand how it is possible for a very small clique to stultify a great movement which had immense possibilities and to which, in spite of all, the future belongs. It is an empty phrase that methods must not be confused with objects. But who is it for whom methods have become objects in themselves? How is it when those who control the methods, automatically control the resources of the State and wield the most dangerous weapon by the most unscrupulous use of money and subsidies so get into their power human beings who become creatures of their will? It is true no International can exist which does not have a certain degree of discipline and power to enforce its decisions, but in order to attain that end the decisions must be made by free discussion of all and by general agreement or majority vote. But as it is with the Communist International now, it would be more honest to say that the leader of the Russian Communist movement is also the controller of the policy of the International. "A small group carries out all Moscow executives decisions in the Com-

munist parties outside Russia blindly and without any discrimination of their own. These are people who have not belonged to the movement for long, have no idea of a world outlook, are mostly products of the war and the after-war period, who value in the Russian Revolution only its Socialist Democratic and new ones elected in their place, who in their turn are expected to be pliable elements in the agents' hands. . . . For the creation of a class consciousness among the masses, social and economic conditions are the determining factor. For the creation of an influential political party prestige is all important. Nothing damages the prestige of a party more than lies and intrigues.

"The tragedy of contemporary Socialism is that the Second International destroyed not only its own work, but also undermined the confidence of the masses in the world emancipating idea of Socialism; the Communist International, on the other hand, has not only undermined the belief of the masses in revolutionary action of any kind, but has severely damaged the prestige of the Russian revolution and weakened the belief of the workers in the release of mankind from capitalist slavery. Before the breakdown of the Communist International was as apparent as it is to-day, the more naive and honest of the foreigners, who sympathized with it and even belonged to it, tried to explain away this state of affairs by attributing it to the lack of information of the Russian leaders of affairs outside Russia. With tragic similarity they have all abandoned their hopes. They went to Moscow to inform, but had at last to realize that the system was the cause and that was what they were up against. They were compelled to see that it was not information from abroad that was wanted. Reports from abroad of a certain kind were wanted. Everything else was rejected as "Social Democratic." The confidential and irresponsible agents are sent abroad in order to seek back reports of the type that are wanted by the Russian leaders. As long as the leadership of the Communist International is in the hands of the present persons, there will be no sound Communist movement abroad."

"Steering Committee, Formed" Balabanoff then describes in considerable detail her own experiences as secretary of the Communist International.

Lenin and Trotsky persuaded her originally to give up her work in the Ukraine and come to Moscow and be secretary to the new International. But soon after Zimov, who had been relieved of his job in Petrograd, because of his unpopularity there, became President of the International and began to intrigue against her. She was ordered to go back to the Ukraine to work there, and someone was put in her place as secretary who had never had any experience of the Socialist movements outside Russia.

A special committee was created inside the Executive of the International which was charged with the task of seeing that the International carried out the decisions of the Russian Communist Party. This was done during her absence in the Ukraine, and when she was compelled to return to Moscow, owing to the fact that the Denikin Whites were invading the country in the summer of 1919, she found that all this had been done behind her back.

When she protested that the confidence of the West European Socialist Parties would not be won by honeycombing the International with committees of the Russian Communist Party or by filling these committees with inexperienced instruments of Zimov, she was told that she could go on a holiday on account of her "health." She appealed to Lenin who managed to put Zimov in his place again. But as she was on the point of taking up her work, again as secretary and of preparing for the reception of the Italian and British Labor delegations, which were just now coming to Russia, following the relaxation of the blockade, she received a notice to the effect that the International was sending her on a long journey to Turkestan and Central Asia to carry on Communist agitation among the Mohammedans. She had never been in the East in her life, spoke none of the languages and knew nothing about the movements and traditions of the people. The plot was clear. She was to be got out of the way, because she knew something about conditions in the West and especially about Italy, and if she was in Moscow she might spoil Zimov's plan of splitting the West European Socialist movements. After much trouble she managed to get this new intrigue of Zimov's quashed, only to hear that he had revenged himself on her by formally dismissing her from her post as secretary to the International. After a while she was, however, as compensation, appointed as member of the Executive.

"Spying on the Visitors" The British and Italian Labor delegations came to Russia in the summer of 1920. About the British delegation Balabanoff says that most of them really were sympathetic towards Soviet Russia. "They understood the heroic struggle she was making and the sufferings she was undergoing for the great idea of proletarian emancipation. Among this type she includes men like Tom Shaw, Ben Turner, Clifford Allen, and Wallhead. But all of them have been more or less estranged by the demagoguery of the leaders of the Communist International." Mrs. Snowden, however, she puts into another category of those who were far more interested in the file of the church, of the clergy, and of the Tsarist nobility than in the conditions of the Russian workers and peasants.

But it was with the Italian delegation that Balabanoff had the most to do. She managed to get herself appointed as guide to the Italian Socialist Party delegation, her former colleagues. Soon she became aware of the fact that Zimov had appointed a young Russian Communist who had no knowledge of Italian or of the Italian movement as "assistant" to her but really as spy for himself. He was to report to the Executive of the International about the doings and impressions of the Italians, and not she. "On the report of an agent of the Russian Party, who had had no experience of the Italians, the splitting of the Italian party was to be prepared behind the backs of everyone by intrigues and corruption. On one thing I was clear, that I was not going to play a double role towards the Italian comrades or act behind their backs."

The Italians left Russia and Serrati insisted on his policy of not splitting the Left Wing from the Right Wing in the Italian Socialist Party. The time might come when this would be necessary, he said, but if it happened now, it would only assist the Italian reaction. Then came the attempts to occupy Italian factories. At first the Communist leaders expressed to Balabanoff grave doubts as to the wisdom of this step. As soon, however, as the Italian workers were defeated and Mussolini triumphant, the Russians began a wild attack on the Socialist leaders for not having done more thoroughly the very thing which they themselves expressed some doubts about the wisdom of. Could demagoguery go further? The Italian Communist (Continued from page 5)

THE NEW RACE

Perfect Products Discovered

By Raymond Fuller

NEITHER of our firms would stand for it.

Our 1928 "Light-running Dachshund Eight" personalities may when fully warmed up exhibit certain trifling defects, but flooding the carburetor is not one of them. Though we are equipped with 4-wheel brakes, we seldom need them, and though accessorized with Unbreakable Glass horn-rims, flexible pho-phobogen steel handshakers, and laminated underslung shoulderblades, we look not upon the high-test stuff when it is pink. That's that.

What we saw, we beheld. That no one else has reported in anything like it, means nothing to me, nor, I am sure, to Jones. We just discovered something—same as, well, Eve.

We were stopping at the Chief Osceola Hotel in Jacksonville with our spring samples. Quite by change, happening to meet in the lobby near the entrance to Ye Toothsome Cookie Jar, we improve the shining hours between dinner and midnight "talking-it business" together over Sally Lunns and buttermilk. At the zero hours, there being no reason why we shouldn't, we whimpering to walk up the three flights rather than inconvenience the elevator boy who was reading. That's why it happened that on the mezzanine, passing one of the hostelry's convention rooms and seeing the doors ajar, we paused to peek in. There were perhaps 300 men (and a few women) inside whom a speaker was speaking from the farther end. Nothing unusual. I started on. But Jones plucked the sleeve of my Kuppenheimer and whispered "Look!" His face was a startled white.

"Who . . . who are these people!" he gasped. I peered again thru the smoke startled atmosphere.—I never had seen such a gathering in my life.

Splendid creatures, cleancut as cameos, complexions like schoolgirls, heads of hair such as Tomaso himself might have carried—and not a bald-pate nor a gray. Not a man over 35, not a woman who

could have remembered McKinley. As they hung upon the speaker's words, their gaze was as keen as a blooded pointer's. —Men of keen judgment, smoking out the facts, I thought. And their clothes were such dreams as a style-creator might have dreamed after having just bought a Stock Exchange seat at a new high.

No one hindering, we slipped into seats beside the door. So rap were we in our contemplation of these demi-gods that I may tell you we noticed that not a word the speaker was saying. Though we were surrounded by the audience there was not one bodily odor to be detected, and not the slightest trace of halitosis tainted the Muriel-scented air. On those commanding faces neither ache nor worry had wrought a sign.

"Thoroughbreds, by gad!" muttered Jones in my ear. "Thoroughbreds if I ever saw them."

All compelling to radiate in a subtle though appealing aura that undefinable sense of Pep which only a lifelong diet of the Right Sort of breakfasts could have imparted. Here and there the half-parted red-blooded lips that drank in the wisdom pouring out to them, gleamed pearly teeth without a film. What matter, I marvelled, if our busy modern life is a round of choosy food and crunchless manna, these teeth have defied plink-toothbrush and Black Plaque Pyorrhoeal Science is great; there is no god but Science! I calculated their dietetic stand-by. Obviously they "ate more bread," ditto apples, ice cream, raisins, sun-shot oranges, and, of course, yeast.

That matchless conversation must flow from those lips! Scraps of the world's best poetry, epigrams of the ancients, thoughts from the Great Thinkers. French as the French use it, German as the Germans say it. I glanced at some of the faultlessly shod feet within my vision. Corns could be to such extremities only academic allusions, and prosituted arches would be to them an architecture-base as the cloven hoof.

These reflections actually took but a few seconds to make. Inevitably the question arose: What words could such

The Orator



From a Woodcut by Franz Masereel

beings be listening to, save the ultimate words of genius and success? I caught such names as Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Confucius, Elbert Hubbard, Buddha, Guest, Roosevelt. Divining my effort, a gentleman at my right slipped into my hand a marked program and a cigarette. "From Menes To Menckes" was the topic. As for the cigarette, I demurred, whispering, "My throat is raw." "Ah," indulgently smiled my courteous friend, "Belasco, Jenny Lind, Grover Whalen and Kreisler also have throats"—and he snapped on his pocket lighter,—"these are Stoutmother Cigarettes."

Through the haze I finally made out a triumphant placard near the speaker's platform. "Conversations with our delegates show that 189 out of 202 use and prefer Nutmeg Facial Soap!" It read. There were other placards, too, which I could not decipher.

More mystified than ever, I gave it up and, nudging Jones, crept out. "I must find out, Jones, Oh, I must." And we stepped down again to the lobby to scan the daily bulletin board. It was there in gilt lettering, "Annual Convention Of Associated Advertising Agencies Of America." And below it the motto: "Progress, Education, Truth! . . . We Believe What We Say!"

Dictators

Why They Never Last

By Morris Boschwitz

DICTATORSHIP is not big, great or grand, but pretentious, corruptible and small. It files in the teeth of all historical precedent, directing its leading spirits to the precipice of death. The dictator clothes himself in a garb of power and rules his dynasty without let or hindrance. Sooner or later must come the dreaded moment when the power of enforced greatness slips from the despot's hands, and lo and behold, the cross, material power that was is no more.

Maximilian Robespierre and Benito Mussolini stand out in relief in their roles as dictators. The former lived at a time when revolution was the order of the day. France was about to put its king to death. Robespierre appeared upon the scene at this time, loudly proclaiming the necessity for revolutionary dictatorship. Not content with merely urging upon the public mind the death of the royal element, he filled his retainers with violent hostility toward every form of opposition. "Death to the Traitors of the Revolutionary Cause" was the outcry of this man and his cohorts. He sent the king, Danton and numerous other peaky individuals to their doom. In one of his speeches he said "the newspaper writers who desire to contaminate public opinion need their mouths stopped for them." In his ardor for the revolutionary cause he cruelly sacrificed human hostages. Robespierre did not seek to play the role of tyrant. In fact he was filled with the profound conviction of a French Republic, and of liberating the French peasantry from the bondage which hereditary monarchy consigned it to. Not gross mammon but the fine precepts of social justice inspired him. But he essayed the impossible. He could not carry on a struggle of such stupendous magnitude without falling a prey to the lust for power. The masterman of the revolution swirled him about in a labyrinth of mutations and social changes. Fire and sword he repelled with blood and decimation. He created the Revolu-

tionary Tribunal that was destined to send him to the guillotine. The snare for others unreluctantly snatched him as a victim.

Thus ended the career of a man whose life was spent, in the main, to free the French people from monarchical despotism, but who was altogether free from personal passion. Since the war a demagogue of a different type has usurped the power of dictatorship in war-ridden Italy. He has learned nothing from French history. Swayed solely by personal ambition he seeks nothing but personal glory. Robespierre he has emulated every agency of opposition, even resorting to murder, rapine and assassination. Matteotti, the Italian Socialist Deputy, was thus sacrificed to make this self-imposed oligarch doubly secure. But alas the events which made him will undo him. Pomp and vainglory are like burnished metals. Use despoils them of their glittering sheen. What is left is the sullied, tarnished alloy.

New York State

Buffalo's Delegates

Secretary Schnabel of Local Buffalo, has advised the State Office that James Berridge and Dan Donnelly, representing the 10th, or Erie County District, as delegate to the National Convention of the Socialist Party. Charles H. Roth is the alternate. Local Buffalo is arranging to have Esther Friedman speak at a meeting in Elmwood Music Hall on the 22nd.

The State Secretary Merrill has advised such locals as have not designated candidates for party position to be voted on at the spring primary to take measures to have names written in on the primary ballot on April 3rd. The State Secretary announces that suggestions should be made to the State Office for candidates to be nominated by the Executive State Committee for electors of President and Vice-President for the Socialist Party. Suggestions will be transmitted to the State Committee. Forty-five electors are to be chosen. Candidates for electors can run for public office at the same time.

The National Convention Agenda was discussed at the last meeting of Local Schenectady, but no action was taken to instruct the delegate from the Schenectady District.

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, charters, applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2453 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Kansas Ross Magill, State Secretary, has proven that it can be done. Another week's report shows he has added twenty-five more members to the party, sold a number of "Walls and Bars" and other books, besides giving out a considerable number of leaflets and taking care of his office duties. This kind of work can be repeated in twenty other states that need attention. The organized states can do better.

Nevada Carson City livens up again. Seven comrades send in their contribution to help organize in the weak states. The old timers in Nevada are on the job again.

Texas State Secretary Taylor sends for more dues stamps and forwards contributions to help the National Office in its effort to organize other states. They also received a charter application from members coming from the railroad workers.

West Virginia Comrade Higgins, State Secretary, reports a number of new members and repeats his previous statement that the Party will be well organized before he is through.

Rhode Island An effort will be made to put up a state and national ticket. Any Socialists in the district who will help are asked to write to the District Office, 21 Essex Street, Boston, Mass.

Maine Comrade Wendell F. Farrington of Livermore Falls has consented to put up a ticket and do organization and campaign work in Maine. Comrades who will help are urged to write at once to the district office.

Massachusetts Lewis' Speaking Dates Wednesday, March 7, Worcester Central Labor Union. Subject "Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance." Friday, March 9, at Wellesley Forum, Wellesley College at 4:30 p.m. Subject, The Socialist Campaign Issues.

Indiana The State Secretary of Indiana again reports increased enthusiasm. More old time members becoming active again and paying dues; more new members affiliating with the party. An organization campaign through letter writing is being kept up.

Montana Local Whites of that city met on March 1 and made preliminary arrangements to have a full city ticket for the election that takes place on the first Monday in April. There will be a conference of Socialists at Miles City in the near future, making plans for a county convention to be held May 8.

Wisconsin The Socialists of Milwaukee are now in the midst of their campaign, but the West Side Woman's Club remembers the work of the National Organization and sends in \$25.

Pennsylvania Last week we reported \$25 collected for the National Office by Anton Zornik of Harrisburg and he sends another list of names accompanied with \$23, a total of \$47 from this hustler to date. Go thou and do likewise.

Virginia Local Potomac has held two excellent propaganda meetings and is getting in to its stride of former years. Councilman James H. Maurer of Reading will lecture on "What I Saw in Russia" in Pottstown on March 11.

Reading The borough of Shillington has been granted a charter by Local Berks County and the new branch starts with 29 members. The branch will meet each Tuesday evening at 141 Elm Street and sympathizers in this locality are invited to attend the meetings.

To Organize Gibraltar A request for a public meeting in Gibraltar has been received from a member of the Socialist Party residing in that town. Local Berks is informed that a

sentiment exists in Gibraltar which will make the organization a party branch there an easy matter. Gibraltar was the seat of a party organization several years ago and the Socialist Party will be given attention as soon as possible.

Oklahoma New members are being added to the list with every day's mail which makes us feel confident that Oklahoma will continue to develop in a Socialist way until it will be one of the best organized states in the union. The State Convention called for March 19 at Oklahoma City, in Musicians' Hall, 219 1-2 North Broadway, will be well attended.

New York City Delegates to the National Convention All branches in the five counties of New York City now have their quota of ballots for the election of delegates to the National Convention. It is essential that these ballots be voted upon at the next meeting of their branch or at a special meeting called for that purpose. The last day for voting is March 24. The organizers of branches must send in their

reports to the City Office no later than March 28.

Theatre Party Socialists of Greater New York should reserve Wednesday evening, March 28 for a Theatre Party at the Republic Theatre. The entire house is engaged and the play is "Porgy," the most successful production of the Theatre Guild in many seasons. Seats range from \$1.10 to \$3.85. Choice seats can be obtained at the City Office, 7 East 15th Street, or at branch and county offices. Those desiring to be present are urged to get their tickets now.

General Party Meeting A meeting of the membership of Local New York City is being called for Wednesday evening, March 14. The principal order of business will be the report of the recently organized Committee of 100 and a discussion of matters pertaining to the National Convention and Campaign. The Committee of 100 has divided its forces into many sub-committees and several of these are already actively at work. The reports of the Chairmen of these committees will be the basis for discussion and action. (Continued on page 7)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

ISABEL, A PONEY, AND BILDAD

IT'S been quite a while since we have said anything in this column about Isabel, our black cat. We have held back details as to her private life because we were afraid she would get too conceited about all this publicity.

She has been high-cattin' her daughter Funnyface, her granddaughter The Bear, and her grandson Jacob Fanken ever since her picture appeared in the New Leader.

In fact, she hardly ever passes The Bear without attempting to sly-rap her, as they say in our better sporting circles. She leaves Jacob pretty much alone, as he is growing into a great big enormous cat these days. He would be a tough customer if he ever got really mad. Fortunately, however, his disposition is quite sunny, and when Isabel spits at him in transit, he merely gives her an inquiring look and goes on his way.

On a sunny day of last week, the windows in our home were open, and through them Isabel must have caught the first faint hints of approaching spring. At all events, much to everyone's amazement, she rushed up and down the house with a strange lumbering gallop that was evidently an attempt to recapture the first fine careless rapture of her kitten days. When you figure that the old lady is going on ten years of age, and that that is equivalent to about ninety in a human, you must realize that these rejuvenated performances are a very surprising thing. Will Durant said recently that no one could really know the passion of love after thirty; but we wish he could be around when Isabel glimpses from her airy perch on the window-sill in the third floor a rather rakish Maltese gentleman who lives in the yard below.

She was very much interested to read about the talking dog, and became quite snippy about the whole business. "Just like an old dog!" she remarked scornfully, "to go around talking his head off when everyone knows that the chief charm of animals is their persistent silence. Now I suppose we'll have singing cats sitting up nights smoking Lucky Strikes for their throats' sake, and guinea-hens will be giving concerts, and horses making political speeches."

Isabel, you see, once knew a pony in Wilton, Connecticut, who could tell time by pawing on the ground. She didn't see much in this. After all, she figured what is time to a pony in Wilton, Connecticut? All you need to know about time is the hour of the arrival of the chopped meat from the butcher, and if you are a vegetarian like this Connecticut pony, even that happy event has no significance.

Vegetarianism is another subject upon which Isabel has decided views. Even milk fails to interest her much these days, and she frequently attempts to shut the door of the icebox when someone goes there for a milk-bottle.

In this respect we are with her. To us, nothing is much more uninteresting in a world not particularly crammed with interesting things or people than a vegetable dinner. We know that it is very good and healthy, and that we would lose our emerging waistline, and might even get to look like an Arrow Collar athlete, if we went around nibbling lettuce. Rabbits we understand, thrive famously on such a diet. But the world is well supplied with rabbits, and red juicy steaks are far more appealing to us than any amount of garden truck.

We lately visited one of these health fiends, and from our standpoint the entire visit was an utter flop. He looked very gloomy as we smoked a cigarette before breakfast, but with these health johnnies, breakfast is so trivial an affair that you can smoke before and after, and yearn for what is not. Not coffee, for example. An imitation thing that must have given its first name to Battle Creek. Then a greenish mess in a big bowl, some sort of salad. And our idea of anything to eat before nine-o'clock in the morning hardly embraces salad. Of course, as he pointed out, it is very convenient to be able to grouse around the back yard and root up your meals in the manner of Bildad the Shuhite, or whoever was the gentleman that was turned out to grass in the bible. It may have been Nebuchadnezzar, although as we recall it, he was the man who sold his wife, poor wretch, for a pair of shoes. "And when the shoes began to wear, Nebuchadnezzar began to swear." However, if we go into this private history of great biblical characters, we are liable to get snarled up in a discussion of companionate marriage. And we still want to maintain our record of having been the only person, outside of an Osage Indian in Oklahoma, who drives his two wives around in a white hearse, who has not aired his views on this contentious subject. It's bad enough to have all the vegetarians get mad at you, without talking on the Lindseyites or anti-Lindseyites.

To go back for a moment to the vegetarians, they all of them have the rather distressing habit of talking setting-up exercises. They do this, they explain to you earnestly, in order to keep fit. But fit for what? Carrots, broccoli, and canned asparagus tips. And this practice becomes a bit more prevalent, and such junk is to be the chief end of life, we intend to emulate the late William J. Bryan, and die of over-eating on pork chops and fried chicken.

McAlister Coleman.

A Song For Wall Street

IN Nicaragua, my Nicaragua,
What can you buy for a penny there?—
A basketful of apricots,
A water jug of earthenware,
A rosary of coral beads
And a priest's prayer.
And for two pennies? For two new pennies?—
The strangest music ever heard,
All from the brittle little throat
Of a clay bird.
And, for good measure, we will give you
A patriot's word.
And for a nickel? A bright white nickel?—
It's lots of land a man can buy,
A golden mine that's long and deep,
A forest growing high,
And a little house with a red roof
And a river passing by.
But for your dollar, your dirty dollar,
Your greenish leprosy,
It's only hatred that you shall get
From all my folks and me;
So keep your dollar where it belongs
And let us be!

SALOMÓN DE LA SELVA

Mexican Peons Celebrate Freedom in Song

(The Mexican people commemorate the great events of the day in simple songs and tunes which may be heard in thousands of public squares. Here is the "Tragedy of the Canal of the ejido of The Garrapata" in which a laborer tells the story of the digging of a canal, and, quite incidentally, the story of the whole agrarian revolution in Mexico. The illustration is by Diego Rivera, who has drawn hundreds of pictures in the spirit of the Mexican work songs.)

The Digging of the Canal

This is the second part
Of the irrigation canal:
To all my comrades
I dedicate this composition.

The twenty second of September
I remember the date,
For then was begun the canal,
First we made the opening.

The engineer Galindo
Came to this group
To direct the work
On the Irrigation Canal.

When this engineer came,
It gave us great hope,
Now we're going to have water
Enough for everybody.

Some were dubious
About seeing the water come,
But they gave their help,
Performed their duty.

When I see my comrades
Coming to work—
Well, they take off their sombreros
And get right to work.

When I see my comrades
Working all in line,
With their crow-bars,
With their picks and shovels—

Dry fields,
At last the water is coming.
Don't get frightened
Those of you who were doubtful.

The agrarian law has given us
Equal rights to all,
That's why the water comes here
To irrigate the dryfields.

The water that has been brought
From the River San Felipe;
That say it is the landlord's
Just let him come and try to take it.

Now I have composed my song
With good will and care,
You know that I've always been
A loyal comrade of yours;

And with this I say good-bye,
Because I'm going to work;
Accept this song
Of Florentino Aguilar.



Drawn by Diego Rivera

ST. COLOMBA AND THE RIVER

BY THEODORE DREISER

Astonished, admiring, heartened, the three of them jumped forward and lifted him. Against the small breach, through which the water was pouring, they held him, while others ran off for more bags. Henderson and Laverty and the ironworkers, amazed and amused and made braver themselves because of this very thing—filled with admiration, indeed, by the sheer resourcefulness of it, stood by to help. But then, if you believe it, when they were holding him there, and because now there was nothing but water above it, one end of the shield itself—yes, that great iron invention—was lifted by the tremendous air pressure below—eleven or thirteen or fourteen inches, whatever space you can imagine a medium sized man being forced through—and out he went, McGlathery, and all the bags, up into the river, the while the water poured down and the men fed for their lives.

A terrific moment, as you can well imagine, not long in duration, but just long enough to swallow up McGlathery and then the shield, having responded at first to too much air pressure, now responding to too little (the air, pressure having been lessened by the escape), shut down like a safety valve, shutting off most of the water and leaving the tunnel as it was before.

But McGlathery! Yes, what of him? Reader—a miracle!

A passing tug captain, steaming down the Hudson at three one bright December afternoon was suddenly astonished to see a small geyser of water lift its head some thirty feet from his boat, and at the top of it, as it were lying on it, a black object which at first he took to be a bag or a log. Later he made it out well enough, for it plunged and belloved.

"For the love of God! Will no one take me out of this? Git me out of this! Oh! Oh! Oh!"

It was McGlathery right enough, alive and howling lustily and no worse for his blow-out save that he was suffering from a fair case of the "bends" and suffering mightily. He was able to scream, though, and was trying to swim. That old haunting sensation—he had had it this time, sure enough. For some thirty or forty

seconds or more he had been eddied swiftly along the top of the tunnel at the bottom of the river, and then coming to where the air riddled upward had been hustled upward like a cork and literally blown through the air at the top of the great volume of water, out into space. The sudden shift from two thousand pounds of pressure to none at all, of nearly none, had brought him down again, and in addition induced the severe case of "bends" from which he was now suffering. But St. Colomba had not forgotten him entirely. Although he was suffering horribly, and was convinced that he was a dead man, still the good saint must have placed the tug conveniently near, and into this he was now speedily lifted.

"Well of all things!" exclaimed Captain Hiram Knox, seeing him thoroughly alive, if not well, and eyeing him in astonishment. "Where do you come from?"

"Oh! Oh! Oh!" bawled McGlathery. "Me arms! Me ribs! Oh! Oh! Oh! The tunnel. The tunnel below, av course! Quick! Quick! It's dyin' av the bends I am! Git me to a hospital, quick!"

The captain, truly moved and frightened by the groans, did as requested. He made for the nearest dock. It took him but a few moments to call an ambulance, and but a few more before McGlathery was carried into the nearest hospital. The house physician, having seen a case of this same disease two years before, and having meditated on it, had decided that the hair of the dog must be good for the bite. In consequence of this McGlathery was once more speedily carted off to one of the locks of this very tunnel, to the amazement of all who had known of him (his disappearance having aroused general excitement), and he was stared at as one who had risen from the grave. But, what was better yet, under the pressure of two thousand pounds now applied he recovered

himself sufficiently to be host here and tell his story—another trick of his guardian saint, no doubt—and one rather flattering to his vanity, for he was now in no least danger of dying.

The whole city, if not the whole country, indeed, was astounded by the accident, and he was a true nine days' wonder, for the papers were full of the strange adventure. And with large pictures of McGlathery ascending heavenward, at the top of a geyser of water. And long and intelligent explanations as to the way and why of it all.

But, better yet, four of the happiest weeks of his life were subsequently spent in that same hospital to which he had first been taken relating to all and sundry his amazing adventure, he being interviewed by no less than five representatives of Sunday editors and eleven reporters for city dailies, all anxious to discover just how it was that he had been blown through water and air up through so great a thing as a river, and how he felt while en route. A triumph.

Rivers may be smart, but saints are smarter, thanks be.

And, to top it all, seeing that his right hand and arm might possibly be crippled for life, or at least an indefinite period (the doctors did not know), and in grateful appreciation of the fact that he had refused to deal with various wolfish lawyers who had now descended on him and urged him to sue for a large sum, he was offered a substantial pension by the company, or its equivalent, work with the company, no less, at good pay for the rest of his life, and a cash bonus into the bargain, a thing which seemed to solve his very uncertain future for him and put him at his ease. Once more the hand of the saint, you certainly will admit.

But, lastly, there was the peculiar spiritual consolation that comes with the feeling that you have done your duty and that a great saint is on

your side. For if all these things did not prove that the good St. Colomba had kept faith with him, what could? To be sure the river had attempted to do its worst, and had caused him considerable fear and pain, and perhaps St. Colomba did not have as much control over the river as he should or as he might like to have, or—and this was far more likely—it was entirely possible that he (McGlathery) had not at all times deserved the good saint's support. But none the less, in the final extremity, had he not acted? And if not, how would you explain the fact that the tug Mary Baker was just at hand as he arose out of the water two thousand feet from shore? And why was it, if the saint had not been trying to help him, that the hospital doctor had seen to it that he was hustled off to a lock just in time—had seen, indeed, just such a case as this before, and known how to handle it? Incontrovertible facts all, aren't they?—or if not, why not?

At any rate McGlathery thought so, and on Sundays and holidays, whether there was or was not anything of importance being celebrated in his church, he might have been seen kneeling before his favorite saint and occasionally eyeing him with both reverence and admiration. For "Glory be," as he frequently exclaimed in narrating the wonderful event afterward, "I wasn't stuck between the shield and the tunnel, as I might 'a' been, and killed entirely, and sure, I've aften thought 'tis a miracle that not enough water come in, just then, to drown 'em aal. It lifted up just enough to let me go out like a cork, and up I went, and then, God be praised, it shut down again. But glory be, here I am, and I'm no worse fer it, though it do be that me hand wrenches me now and then."

And as for the good St. Colomba— Well, what about the good St. Colomba? END

INSIDE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Party was now formed which made confusion worse confounded.

"The Italian party was the first victim of the fateful, suicidal policy of the leaders of the Communist International. . . . The whole Italian question was to be brought on to the level of a personal quarrel and by methods which had nothing to do with Socialist principles. . . . All sorts of stories were concocted about Serrati's personal character and his past career, in order to rouse feeling against

him. On the other hand the relations between the Russian Soviet State and the Dictator Mussolini steadily improved. . . . 'oth had a common interest in the destruction of the Italian Socialist Party.' On the day when the martyred remains of Matteotti were being buried, representatives of the Soviet State in Italy were having an intimate conversation at lunch with Mussolini. . . . Finding that it was hopeless to work with the Communist International, Balabanoff left Russia and returned to Italy where she worked once more on the "Avanti" with her former colleagues under the terror of the Fascist regime. Finally she had to fly for safety to France, where she has written these memoirs. Since she left Russia the mighty Zinoviev has fallen. . . . "The President of the Communist International has fallen a victim to the very methods which he himself created and by means of which he sacrificed thousands of honest Socialists to his personal ambitions. . . . The case of Zinoviev shows in a peculiarly drastic form in what a frivolous way the Bolshevik leaders have sinned in their duty towards the masses and have undermined their confidence in the coming of Socialism. . . . When Zinoviev wanted to get rid of Trotsky, whose influence he feared, and partly because the latter and the audacity to remind him of his

unheroic past, he used his position to denounce Trotsky as 'Menshevik' and a 'reactionary'. . . . When on Zinoviev's orders the masses were made to doubt Trotsky's service for the Russian Revolution, his work in founding the Red Army and all the other feats which he performed in the crisis of the Revolution, the masses were torn with doubt. Who then should they believe? . . . Yet now their confidence is altogether destroyed when this very Zinoviev who started the campaign against Trotsky is turned out of his post, and declares that the greatest mistake he ever made was to attack Trotsky."

Balabanoff ends her memoirs by pointing a moral to this unedifying history of the Communist International: "The tragic situation in which the Russian Revolution finds itself, has been used by the leaders to foster sectionalism in the workers' movement throughout Europe and so keep these leaders in power. Both the Second and the Communist International live by the mistakes and fallings which the other has committed towards the workers. The result is that the great masses in Europe are becoming disillusioned and apathetic. . . . The events of recent years have convinced me more than anything else that only one way leads to Socialism and that is the way of Truth."

The Poets' Tribute To SACCO and VANZETTI America Arraigned Edited by Lucia Trent and Ralph Cheyne \$1.10, Postpaid Order through the New Leader Fifty of America's leading poets register a fiery protest that will live "Good propaganda and good poetry." The Nation. "A terrible indictment—a fine piece of work"—Countee Cullen. "A great book."—Leonard Abbott.

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ABOUT THE BIG TOWN

Chapter I.

The Rapid Transit of New York

Some city, New York, I mean. Have been here almost two weeks and haven't seen all of it yet. The thing that strikes me most in New York is its marvelous transportation system. A fellow can travel anywhere above ground, on ground or below ground and get there almost as fast as walking.

Take the subway for instance. As indicated by the syllable "sub," the subway is a labyrinth of underground burrows, traversed by electric trains traveling at incredible speed. Ever so often there are openings going down in these burrows, which also serve as openings to come out of them. On the walls of these burrow entrances and exits are signs such as "Down Town," "Up Town" and also arrows showing the stranger whether he is coming or going. Having charged my battery with this information, I decided to go down town. I was then up town on 34th street which is down town from 42nd street. My destination was 10th street, where a dinner engagement was waiting for me. (Walking distance twenty minutes.)

After depositing my nickel in the slot of the turnstile, I caught a down town train for Eighth street, which is two blocks nearer to 10th street than to 14th street. When the train arrived at Eighth street it kept on arriving until it arrived in Brooklyn.

The young lady with a tabloid in her hands and her elbow in my solar plexus to whom I confided my troubles cheered me with the news that by keeping going in the wrong direction, I would presently arrive at the right station where I could catch a train taking me in the direction I was coming from. I did and caught the right train—only it happened to be the wrong train because it was a local train. And dinner was growing cold.

However, after a long and intensive study of the New York underworld I landed on Eighth street and, being in extreme haste, decided to walk the short distance from Eighth street and something to 46 East 10th street where I arrived only an hour late. Fortunately, as I have learned since, six meals seven in New York, so I found hostess and dinner still warm.

May I add here the caution to strangers in New York never to ask a native New Yorker for directions? In the first place, there are no native New Yorkers and in the second place if there are such rare animals it is much easier to try every possible wrong direction, being sure to find the right direction when all the wrong directions are exhausted, than it is to find a native New Yorker who knows New York. Perhaps the subway guards know where all the subway trains are going to and why, but it's no use to ask them. Those who speak English are too stuck up to answer and the others can't.

Chapter II.

Calling on Jimmie Walker

I had heard so much of Jimmie Walker, the sprightly mayor of New York, and seen so many news reels in which he was shaking hands with visiting celebrities that I thought I'd give him a chance to have his picture taken with me. But he wasn't in. The blond stenographer who runs New York City during Jimmie's absence told me he was out of town and would not be back until I was gone, but that if I left word he would sure be glad to give me an interview if not otherwise engaged or meet me by chance anywhere we might run into one another, be it Paris or Berlin.

That blond was a right smart girl and a mighty fine locker and accommodating as could be. No wonder the New Yorkers who call on Mayor Jimmie on business don't mind it when they find him out. I would have stayed with her myself quite a spell longer to talk over New York's traffic problem, but she had to go into conference over the purchase of a new subway. So I shook hands and she shook me.

Chapter III.

A Visit to Al Smith

From the City Hall I went up to Tammany Hall to have a chat with Al Smith. This time I must have caught the right subway by mistake for I landed within a few blocks of that celebrated hangout of Democracy. I was a little surprised when the young woman in the glass box at the entrance of Tammany Hall charged me a dollar to get in. But I always was a hero worshipper and if there is anything more heroic than a man who is willing to lead the forces of Democracy up Saek Creek I'd like to know it. So I plunked down my dollar and was ushered to a seat in the second gallery.

The reception started with a piece of near music by a jazz band. Then a curtain went up, displaying two dozen bathing beauties who displayed everything but clothes. However they could dance some and didn't sing so bad, so I didn't mind the preliminaries to the main bout. The bathing beauties were followed by two fellows getting off wise cracks. Then came a dog and pony act, with a donkey in the leading role, followed by more singing and dancing and then the curtain went down and everybody walked out. Me, too. I discovered later that there are two entrances to Tammany Hall, one to Tammany Hall proper and the other to a burlesque show improper. And that's how I missed seeing Al Smith.

I hope some black-hearted Republican don't use this information and have a picture taker of Tammany Hall and those bathing beauties, labeling the former national headquarters of the Democratic party and the latter Al Smith's campaign committee. Circulating a picture like that in the Solid South would ruin Al down there. The women would rise en masse against Al and every male with one of those pictures hidden in a handy hollow log would do the same, making Al's defeat just about unanimous.

I don't want Al Smith to go down in inglorious defeat on an issue of abbreviated one-piece bathing suits vs. elongated Mother Hubbards. I don't want the intelligent electorate of this glorious republic to get all riled up over the question of whether a man who has his private office under the same roof that shelters a burlesque show is fit to become president of this pious nation. Another, a greater, a more important issue must be found to fight the coming election on.

And, fortunately, such an issue is in sight. Herb Hoover has already come out with a ringing endorsement of the Coolidge policies. Why can't Smith just as ringingly endorse the policies of James Buchanan. Neither had any. Thus sheer nothing could be opposed by total absence and a good time could be had by everybody.

Adam Coaldigger.

There's a break in the clouds, there's a gleam in the sky,
There's a beautiful star, brightly shining on high,
That heralds the dawn of a long promised day,
When right shall be might and shall flourish far aye—
When man in the strength of his manhood shall stand,
To enjoy and possess and replenish the land!
CHARLES MACKAY.

L. R. T. Workers Are "Let Down"

(Continued from Page 1)

our present law, with or without the "yellow dog contract", the I. R. T. had the legal right to hire and fire anybody it pleased for any reason whatsoever.

Mayor Walker failed to arrange a meeting between the company officers and the union's representatives. Indeed the I. R. T. company union through its spokesman "Pat" Connelly, threatened to strike if the suspended men were reinstated.

There is no doubt about it that the I. R. T. has been provoking the Amalgamated into striking. Not only would it mean coming to economic grips with the union at a time when the company was prepared with trained strikebreakers from within and without its ranks, but also place the I. R. T. in a sufficiently precarious financial position to give substance to its cry for the 7-cent fare.

Colored Women Workers Called To Mass Meeting

A mass meeting for all colored women workers such as hotel, restaurant and domestic workers, is being called to continue the work of organizing a union.

Those among the speakers who have been invited to address this meeting are the Rev. Ethelred Brown, S. E. Grain, Field Representative of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, Frank Pore, Educational Director of the Painters Union; Rev. P. E. Batson, President Painters Union; G. French, Miss A. Ellsabeth Hendrickson, Mrs. Fanny R. Austin, President of the Colored Women, and Victor C. Caspar, Secretary of the Painters Union.

Rebel Poets Holds An Open Meeting Tuesday, March 13

The Rebel Poets, an organization of poets and poetry lovers "formed to help create the cooperative commonwealth by serving the labor, feminist and anti-militarist movements and opposing racial and religious intolerance," will hold a "Rebel Poets Night" at the Poetry Forum, conducted by Anton Romatka in the Labor Temple, 244 East 14th street, Tuesday, March 13th, at 8 p. m.

Injunction Against Iron Workers Union Is Again Denied

Supreme Court Justice Edward J. Byrne granted the motion of Garman Iron & Bronze Works Corp., of 53-59 Davis street, Long Island City, Iron and bronze manufacturers, that the company be given another opportunity to show cause why an injunction should not be issued against the union to stop picketing and all other acts in connection with the conduct of the strike against the Garman firm.

The new request for an injunction was based upon new allegations of assaults committed by union representatives, strikers and pickets against strikebreakers employed by the Garman Iron Works which had been affected by a strike during the past six weeks.

Specific denials are made of each and every alleged act of violence contained in the motion papers for an injunction. In the course of his argument, Karlin stated to the Court that Garman had instituted the forty eight hour week in violation of an agreement with the union providing for a forty four hour week, and that the forty eight hour week was not instituted to replenish losses sustained by Garman on iron work but on unfortunate real estate deals.

The present denial of an injunction by Judge Byrne is regarded by the union officers as a knockout for the firm and a speedy victory for the union is now looked for by them.

Box Striker Is Stabbed

(Continued from Page 1)

anything else of the success of the walkout. The paper box strikers are enjoying the support of the drivers 100 per cent. Delivery of boxes is impossible or so expensive that the employers cannot under any circumstances continue it for many more days.

"We have them beaten," Clarina Michelson, secretary of the striking union declared "and no amount of police and gangster strong-arm tactics will break our spirit. Our ranks are holding fast." Thirty-two firms, many of them members of the employers' Association, had settled with the union.

As instances of violence against the workers Mrs. Michelson cited the invasion of the union office at 610 Broadway early this week when plain clothesmen, without search warrants, entered the headquarters and roughly searched and bullied all those present. No arrests were made and no reason given for the illegal act.

WEVD Programs

- 12:30 Weissmantel's Entertainers
1:30 Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox
MONDAY, MARCH 12
1:00 School Hour
2:00 Workers Ethical Community Centre, talk
2:20 George Rael, bass
2:40 Mary Siegrist, "Poems of the New Humanity"
3:00 Doris Sprague, soprano
3:20 Rebecca Kemelman, 12 year old pianist
3:40 Prof. Thatcher Clark, Spanish
4:00 Belgian Conservatory of Music, violinist
4:20 Johanna Karlebach, dramatic soprano
4:40 Johanna Karlebach, dramatic soprano
5:00 Michel Ingerman, pianist
5:40 Art Hays, India
TUESDAY, MARCH 13
1:00 Margaret Fry, lyric soprano
1:25 Workers Ethical Community Centre, talk
1:45 Kitty Creed, coloratura soprano
2:00 James Hudson, English dramatic tenor
2:20 Roland Weber, reading Walt Whitman's poems
2:40 Jean Waters, piano
3:00 Cecile Orlando, dramatic soprano
3:20 New York Tuberculosis and Health Association, talk
3:40 Lydia Mason, piano
4:00 Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger
4:20 American Laboratory Theatre, reader
4:40 Bernard Carp, baritone

The Week On Stage

RAREST FRUIT

By Joseph T. Shipley

At long last the American theatre has found some one both appreciative and bold enough to produce Anton Tchekov's masterpiece, "The Cherry Orchard", now running, under the production of James B. Fagan and Lee Shubert, for special matinees at the Bijou Theatre.

"The Cherry Orchard" is a picture of the disintegration of the landed aristocracy of Russia, but it might be in many other lands, so far as the social shift is concerned before the advance of the industrial age and a triumphant bourgeoisie risen from the peasants. Its story is a whole structure—seems incidental to the apparently haphazard grouping and presentation of the folk about the household of Madame Ranevsky; each person moves with the individuality, with the separateness of aim that makes the stir most natural; yet the whole shapes into a meticulous and tightly snared inevitability—even to the sheer "accident" that leaves the old servant locked behind.

Furthermore, every character is caught in a portrait that brings it completely to life in the mind. The technical device that ensures this realization of the persons is rather labeling than realization, but this manner of indication is raised to a fine art; the "Yes, Mama" trick of Oscar Wilde's minor figures becomes the repetition and variation of an apt motif. Combined with the poetry of the diction, and a dialogue that reveals the inner self in a manner Eugene O'Neill strives for and falls far short of in "Strange Interlude", the effect of this character portrayal is to infuse into the play a sense that it is out of a background of culture, of elusiveness, not calm of soul and clearness of understanding that rise above the outward disintegration and collapse.

The play, as has been pointed out, moves in a casual manner that leaves every person apparently moving independently; at times conversation crosses, instead of resending. Thus there are times when different actions are going on at the same time; and the integration of these into an organic unity is a problem of direction that is skillfully handled. While some of the acting lacks the polish claimed for the Moscow Art Theatre in its performance of the play, it must be admitted that the present offering is much more comprehensible—despite the fact that the translation at times leaves us with the surety that Tchekov had found truer poetry—and he playing is always competent and occasionally distinguished. It has taken eighteen years for this play to reach New York; the question remains whether New York is yet deserving it.

DELIBERATE DANCING.

In these self-conscious days, when introspection and auto-analysis absorb the uncreative hours of the artist, when his creation itself is less the spontaneous flow of rhythmic feeling than the deliberate order of a sought design, it is to be expected that the dancer, as well, will seek expression after a theory wrung from the time. Such a manifesto has been issued by Tamiris, whose latest dance recital featured a group of American dancers from the American Theatre, now in the Broadway Theatre, in New York City, wear monochromatic dresses, of course, is one of the most famous of monochromatic dancers, and Tamiris, who acts, Bassano, and Sydney Booth, who plays Salario, also sports the wicket single lens. Kinnell is an Englishman, and Booth is an American, the son of the famous actress, Agnes Booth, and nephew to Edwin Booth.

"Art is international, but the artist is a product of a nationality and his principal duty to himself is to express the spirit of his race. . . . We must not

- 5:00 Joe Zimmerman, piano
5:20 Dance Tunes
9:00 Elsie Duffield, soprano
9:10 Florence G. Knowles, Saving Santo Domingo
9:40 Elsie Duffield, soprano
10:00 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
10:20 Lydia Mason, piano
10:25 Rebel Poets
10:45 Robert Urann, popular baritone
11:00 Ernest Farnon, orchestra, dance program, saxophone solos by Ernie Farb
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14
2:00 Joe Zimmerman, popular piano
2:30 Mid Day Tunes, popular airs
4:00 Master Institute of United Arts, Jeannette Simon, pianist
4:20 Workers Ethical Community Centre, talk
4:40 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
5:00 Tea Time Tunes
5:20 Woodhaven Studio Program
THURSDAY, MARCH 15
1:00 Workers Ethical Community Centre, talk
1:20 Jennie Muehschlegel, popular soprano
1:40 Harold Hecht, of the American Labor Party, readings
2:00 Gertrude Fuller, Mezzo soprano
2:20 Mary Hubbard, reader
2:40 Belgian Conservatory of Music, soloist
3:00 Viola Branchay, coloratura soprano
3:20 Helen Bloom, reader
3:40 Lydia Mason, piano
4:00 Harry T. Chapman, "The Railway Labor Act"
4:20 Mina Shakman, dramatic soprano
4:40 Rosa Kovar, contralto
5:00 Hints from Suzanne
5:00 Lydia Mason, piano
9:10 Dr. Harry W. Laidler, "Socialism and the Evolution of Industry"
9:30 Gertrude Lyons, sibilant coloratura soprano
9:45 McAllister Coleman, Labor Looks at the Week
10:00 Samuel Diamond, sibilant pianist
10:20 Robert E. Fried, "Declarations of the Criminal"

In Brief

Three members of George Art's company in "The Merchant of Venice", now in the Broadway Theatre, in New York City, wear monochromatic dresses, of course, is one of the most famous of monochromatic dancers, and Tamiris, who acts, Bassano, and Sydney Booth, who plays Salario, also sports the wicket single lens. Kinnell is an Englishman, and Booth is an American, the son of the famous actress, Agnes Booth, and nephew to Edwin Booth.

In Movies

Barclay Sydney and Mary Ellis and the Garrick Players have been invited to bring their modern dress "Taming of the Shrew" to London. The invitation was extended to them by Leon Lyons, lessee of Wyndham's Theatre. Mr. Sydney and Miss Ellis are seriously considering this opportunity to take to London "The Shrew" which in its 21st week in New York has broken all Shakespearean production records.

AMUSEMENTS

THEATRES

IF YOU HAVEN'T SEEN "EXCESS BAGGAGE" BY JOHN MCGOWAN AT THE RITZ THEATRE 48th St., W. of Eway Mats. Wed. & Sat.

As the only theatre in town now offering an Ibsen play, the Civic Repertory Theatre will in connection with the Ibsen Centenary, celebrate the anniversary of his birth March 20th, by presenting two of his plays.

Dorsha announces that a repertoire bill of old and new dances will be presented at the Theatre of the Dance, 116 West 45th street, every Saturday evening in March—curtain to rise at 8:40.

MUSIC

Beethoven's "Fidelio" will be added to the Metropolitan Opera Season's repertoire by General Manager Gatti-Casazza next Wednesday evening with Mme. Kappel (first time here as Leonore). Others in the cast will be Mme. Fleischler and Messrs. Launenthal, Schorr, Bohner, Schutzenfod, Meader, Bloch and Gabor. Mr. Bodanzky will conduct.

"The King's Henchman" will open the week on Monday evening with Mmes. Easton, Alcock, Bonetti, Flexer, Egan, Egener, and Pariseite and Messrs. Johnson, Tibbett, Gustafson, D'Angelo, Meador, A. Angles, Bloch, Picco, Marshall, Gabor, Chohanovsky, Valda, Anania, and Wolfe. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

"The Tales of Hoffman" will be given for the last time this season on Thursday evening with Mmes. Morgan, Lewis and Mario, Howard Wakefield and Messrs. Tokaylan, Ludlaker, Deluca, Rothier, Meador, Palmieri, Gustafson, Chohanovsky, D'Angelo, Gabor and Wolfe. Mr. Hasselmann will conduct.

"Mignon" on Friday evening with Mmes. Bori, Talley and Dalossy and Messrs. Gabor, D'Angelo, Bada and Anania. Miss Lewick will dance and Mrs. Hasselmann will conduct.

With Maurice Ravel conducting his 1st concert in Mecca Auditorium tomorrow (Sunday, March 11) the baton of the New York Symphony Orchestra will pass on to Oscar Fried, former conductor of the Berlin Symphony Orchestra—a guest conductor last fall at La Scala.

One horse in Hollywood does, and how! Rex, King of Wild Horses, Universal's famous equine player, doesn't have to take a back seat to any human player when the letters from admirers are counted. The animal star is said to receive more mail than any other four-footed actor—or actress—in the film colony. He has yet to receive a "mash" note, however.—What mare will speak first?

Arrangements will be completed by Universal this week for the purchase of the screen rights to "Sutter's Gold," the dramatic story of the California gold-rush days written by Blaise Cendrars.

"LET'S SEE A SHOW!" Let Us All See One Together WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 28, 1928 at the REPUBLIC THEATRE West 45th Street THE THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION PORGY By DuBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD The Entire House Has Been Taken by THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY Tickets Now On Sale At—SOCIALIST PARTY, 7 East 15th Street, Algonquin 4620; and all Socialist Party branch headquarters. Seats from \$1.10 to \$3.85.

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Health Center Urges Sale of Certificates

The following letter was sent out by the Union Health Center to all those who hold Certificates. The letter speaks for itself—further comment from us seems unnecessary.

"Last season you received a number of certificates from the Union Health Center to be sold to your members in the shops. The season then, however, was not such that made it possible for you to do so. We must, therefore urge you to sell these certificates now—while the season lasts.

"The Union Health Center must be saved. You can save it. If only you will use your power and your good will. Please explain to your members that buying a certificate entitles them to an examination in either the Medical or the Dental Department of the Union Health Center. It is not a donation. It is paying in advance for what he may need in the future. Please return all money you may have from last season, and the money you will get from the sale of certificates during this season, to the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, on or before April first. All certificates not sold should also be returned on the above date. Now is the time, and this is the hour to act in behalf of the Union Health

Center! Don't wait for tomorrow." A call for a conference of labor unions for the 30th of this month will be issued by the directors of the Health Center. This conference, it is hoped, will prove of interest not only to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Health Center but to organized labor as a whole. The call will be published in next week's issue of The New Leader.

Arrangements to present the new policy of the Union Health Center, are now being made with the Executive Board of the Central Labor Union, the Paper Handlers' Union No. 1, the Jewelry Workers Union, The United Hebrew Trades and many others.

Brother Breslow, the new chairman of the Board of Directors of the Health Center, took a hand last week in distributing more certificates to the business agents of the I. L. G. W. U. He told them, in no uncertain terms, that these will have to be sold before the season is over—if the Health Center is to continue. Brother Etkins and members of local 22 have already responded to his call. On Saturday Brother Etkins came to the Health Center with the results of his sale of certificates—may his tribe increase!

Hunting Savivors

Those farmers who have been chasing around in the parties of capitalism for forty years looking for a savior had better find one soon or they will not be able to pay their funeral expenses.

Socialist Party Plans, Progress

(Continued from page 4)

This branch will meet Monday, March 12, at 8:30 p. m., in Room 402 People's House, 7 East 15th street. Important items will be the election of delegates to the National Convention. Ballots will be at the meeting. Jessie W. Hughan will be present. She has returned from a trip around the world and will be of great interest to hear what she says about conditions abroad. Several new members will be adopted into the party. Immediately after the business meeting August Claessens will speak on some question of interest to the Party.

This branch will meet Monday evening, March 12, at 8:30 p. m., in an envelope address, 1243 Southern Boulevard. Ballots for election of delegates to the National Convention are on hand and several other National matters will be taken up. Immediately after the business meeting August Claessens will speak on some question of interest to the Party.

On Friday, March 16, at 8:30 p. m., an envelope address, 1243 Southern Boulevard. Letters inviting voters of the 5th A. D. will urge voters to come to the meeting. The speaker will be Samuel Orr, August Claessens and Henry Fruchter.

The membership of the 18th A. D. is now above 70 and with the members diligently at work canvassing enrolled voters there is every hope of attaining the goal of 200 members by May 1, which was set for itself some weeks ago. Meetings continuing and the discussion group which has developed as a result of our educational programs will constitute an excellent nucleus for a school which we are in the heat of the campaign.

The talk by Frank Brodsky on the "Economic Interpretation of History" was interesting and the discussion following was up to standard. A new member of the discussion group has been acquired in the person of Gilbert R. Sackman, an old timer who has rejoined the party, and who is an asset of which we are exceedingly proud. At the meeting March 9, at 1463 St. Marks avenue, voters on delegates to the National Convention will take place, followed by the resumption of the discussion on the Agenda of the National Convention. Members and friends are cordially invited.

Members of the 18th A. D. are circulating a petition among voters and against the Navy Appropriation Bill now pending in the United States Congress.

August Claessens, Dr. W. B. Robinson and M. C. Miller will address a meeting of enrolled socialist voters which will be held in our headquarters, 218 Van Sicken avenue on Tuesday, March 13, at 8:30 p. m.

Having had good results from our previous enrollment meetings, we expect a big turnout. The annual ball held by this branch happened last Saturday evening and we are glad to announce that it was a very successful affair. The membership worked hard and with success, and every Brownsville member happy about the outcome.

On Monday evening, March 12, Dr. Edward Cohen will give the first of a series of talks on the "Cooperative Movement in America."

The branch meets every Monday evening at the Beethoven Hall Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Circle One, Bronx, met last Sunday afternoon and elected the following officers: William Dancis, organizer, Abe Kaufman, Educational Director, Johanna Rjwsky, Recording Secretary, and Y. Rubinow, Recording Secretary. A motion was passed to donate one dollar a month to the sustaining fund of W. E. V. D.

Four lectures this week. The first by George Ross on "India" will be delivered Sunday, March 11, at Circle 13's meeting, 420 Hinds street, on March 16, Pierre De Nio will speak at Circle 8, Juniors, meeting on "Co-operation" and George Ross will lecture at a joint meeting of Circle 8 Juniors, and nine seniors, at 219 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. The fourth lecture is by Julius Hochman, general manager of the I. L. G. W. U. on "The Communist in the Trade Unions" at a meeting of the Bronx Yipseld on 1167 Boston Road, Sunday, March 25. All four lectures are extremely interesting and all Yipselds should attend.

Sunday, March 11, 11 a. m.—Speaker, Jacob Panken, subject, "Current Events," Ethelred Brown, guest speaker, Huntington Hall, 214 East 2nd street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A. D.

Thursday, March 15, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers: Samuel Orr, subject, "Unemployment," Freeman Mansion, 1243 Southern Boulevard. Auspices, Socialist Party, 5th A. D.

Friday, March 9, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers: Samuel Orr, subject, "Necessity of the Socialist Press to the Labor Movement," Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 2nd street, subject, "Unemployment," Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A. D.

Friday, March 9, 8:30 p. m.—Speakers: Charles Solomon, subject, "Crime and the Criminal—A Challenge to Society," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 3rd A. D.

Sunday, March 11, 4 p. m.—Speaker: McAlister Coleman, subject, "The Peoples Stake in Coal and Oil," Workmen's Circle Center, 7319 20th avenue. Auspices, Bensonhurst Forum, 16th A. D., Kings.

Monday, March 12, 9 p. m.—Speakers: Dr. Edward Cohen, subject, "Socialism," Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

August Claessens, the Executive Secretary, Socialist Party of Greater New York, will deliver a lecture Friday, March 10, on "Genius, Heredity and Environment" under the auspices of Tremont Educational Forum, at 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx.

Judge Jacob Panken, who was announced to lecture at the above forum on Friday last, on "The Philosophy of Law," will deliver this lecture, at the above address, next Friday, March 16th, at 8:30 sharp. Owing to some mistake, he could not appear last Friday, having previously been booked for another organization in Brooklyn. He will surely appear on March 16th.

All for Oil

We have announced the oil candidates for Republicans and Democrats a number of times and we hope that delegations are being instructed for these candidates. Remember the ticket and the emblems. For the Republicans, Fall and Sinclair with an oil can at the top of the ballot; Debeny and Burns for the Democrats with an oil derrick for the party emblem. Each for oil and oil for each.

Don't Mention It

You know it is a terrible thing for Socialists to even hint that there is such a thing as a class struggle in this country. What those striking miners in Pennsylvania should believe is that the injunctions, the evictions, the clubbings and the starvation are blessings for mine owners and miners alike and that Socialists who think otherwise are the enemies of society.

A Poor Majority

The working class is a majority in every election but power means nothing to a giant if he does not try to use it for himself.

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.

Members Please Take Notice! The assessment for 1928 is ten cents for each hundred dollars insurance due from all members since the first day of January.

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

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.

Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 351, I. U. of T.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 168

Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.

Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION OF U. S. & C.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA — LOCAL 2162

Day room and office, 160 East 65th Street, New York.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C.

Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Wiloughby Avenue, Brooklyn.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 160th Street

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Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.

1 East 15th Street, Tel. Stuyvesant 3637

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 121, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.

Hebrew Actor's Union

Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7678

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union

CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 168

Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.

Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION OF U. S. & C.

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The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

LOCAL NO. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Embroidery Workers' Union, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.

Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.

United Hebrew Trades

175 E. 4th Street

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 67 of I. L. G. W. U.

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

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LOCAL UNION NO. 808

Schools - Lectures - Forums

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Park Avenue and 34th Street

SUNDAY, MARCH 11, AT 11 A. M. Morning Service

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES "SHALL CAPITAL PUNISHMENT BE ABOLISHED?"

ANNA LOUISE STRONG "CHINA AFLAME"

PARKER MOON Tuesday, March 13, at 8:15 P. M. "AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION"

HARRY A. OVERTREET Professor Philosophy, College of the City of New York

March 15—Revitalizing The Citizen Is the prevailing apathy toward citizenship explainable and perhaps justifiable?

March 22—Building World Mindness Can we expand the mind beyond habitual localism?

March 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 11 DR. ALFRED ADLER "Common Errors in Education"

TUESDAY, MARCH 13 MR. SILAS BENT "Journalism as Big Business"

FRIDAY, MARCH 16 MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN "Our Preoccupation with Reform. Comstock as a Type of American Righteousness"

SATURDAY, MARCH 17 DR. HORACE M. KALLEN "Freedom and the Psychology of Spirit"

DEBATE

Companionate Marriage MONDAY, MARCH 12TH, 8:15 P. M.

FOR Mrs. Bertrand Russell

OPPOSED Mrs. Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale

United Lodge of Theosophists No. 1 West 67th Street

"On Sowing and Reaping" Wednesday, 4:15 to 5:15 P. M.

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THE UNITED HATTERS' GUILD

NEW LEADER

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

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SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1928

The Socialist Party and Alleged Third Movements

FROM present indications there is no likelihood of a break on the part of any influential section of the trade unions or even the farmers for political action in opposition to the Republican and Democratic parties.

The New Leader correspondent in the West has given our readers much important information of conditions in that section yet it does not appear that discontent is assuming any large political proportions of an independent political character.

There remains the Socialist Party which will have a place on the ballot in all but a few states. Within the past few months The New Leader has received an occasional letter from the West written by former party members who declare that what is wanted is another party name and everything will be lovely.

We have no objection to a growing and powerful political movement of the working class under any other name than that of the Socialist Party, but we also know that if it becomes powerful it will invite all the names that have been given to the Socialist Party.

This is our answer to those who think that party names are of tremendous importance. We observe, also, that the many Farmer-Labor parties organized in the states some years ago no longer exist outside of Minnesota and the so-called Progressive party of Idaho is now a remnant and is being delivered to the Republican politicians of that state.

Our industrial system has been in its adolescence, now that it is approaching maturity we must see that it is to shoulder its proper duties to society. It must be socialized, it must serve social rather than private ends; it must begin to use honest and socially useful incentives rather than harmful ones; and it must continue to grow in its productive capacity so that a proper material basis of life can be supplied.

Promoting Congressmen

FOR years it has been a practice of many Congressmen after having served in Congress to accept a job as lobbyist for some big interests. They apparently regard Congress as a training school for promotion to private corporation service.

Now there is a proposal to wipe out this promotion and there are those who have passed the grade who feel indignant about it. It seems that a Nebraska Congressman who does not understand the way we noble freemen do things has drafted a bill to bar the way to advancement for ambitious Congressmen.

There are always those who hate to see ambitious chaps in the world. Because a man has faithfully served the capitalist class in Congress should not bar him from serving that class in a higher sphere. When he is promoted he gets more money and that is the only difference, but it is a difference that means something to the ex-Congressman.

Mr. George B. Lockwood of Washington, scout master of the Republican troops, has sent a questionnaire to papers throughout the country asking them to report Republican candidates for President in their respective localities.

Death

I cannot tell what Death in his closed hands Holds fast: if Life within some ampler round, Yet still to limit and occasion bound.

Let's Smash The System

By Clarence C. Senior

LET'S wipe out the whole capitalist system, then we can talk about rebuilding! This remark by the lecturer in a so-called workers' education class the other evening is typical of the attitude of many present day radicals.

The first step of one who calls himself scientific must be to understand the nature of the system which is to be changed, if this is done adequately, some trends may be found which will help in the necessary reorganization.

Production has increased about 35 per cent. in the past dozen years. Tugwell finds nine general causes for this, including educational advances, urbanization, and division; and twenty-two technical or specific causes, such as personal work, elimination of waste, standardization of sizes, scientific management, research, serialization of machines, more careful planning, tendency for unions to organize industrially and the union's interest in management.

In spite of all this increased productivity, an honest observer must record some barriers to a better life for everyone. Depressions still throw men out of work; coal, textiles, and farming are weaker even in times of "prosperity" education, while widely spread, is mainly conservative, and trained technicians are trained only in their little field of activity so that we see such examples of expertness as that given by the engineering society which recently gave its support to the power interests fighting Boulder Dam legislation; large sections of the population are living in poverty; the inheritance from Adam Smith in the laissez faire doctrine blocks every attempt to modernize social legislation.

Our industrial system has been in its adolescence, now that it is approaching maturity we must see that it is to shoulder its proper duties to society. It must be socialized, it must serve social rather than private ends; it must begin to use honest and socially useful incentives rather than harmful ones; and it must continue to grow in its productive capacity so that a proper material basis of life can be supplied.

At present, "we flounder. The industrial system is like a ship with plenty of power, but with no rudder, no compass, and no captain." At last it is becoming impossible for an economist to say such things about our sacred capitalist system and not lose his status! Perhaps those who have become conservative after a few vain attempts to introduce a realistic economics will be heartened by this attempt and come out of their shells, but the habits of years can not be so easily broken; those who have fought the reactionaries and died in the fray will not be able to derive the satisfaction they could from this book, but it is to be hoped that this is the forerunner of many others of its kind which will give strength to those in the field of economics who entertain the revolutionary idea that man should control economic forces.

Socialist Party Makes Big Gains In Polish Election

Warsaw.—The Socialists have come out of the elections last Sunday with 63 deputies in Parliament, a gain of 22. Polish elections are conducted on a basis of proportional representation. The election shows a drift away from reaction as it appears that the Socialists and progressive groups have generally gained.

Socialist Party Makes Big Gains In Polish Election

There were 33 parties or groups represented in the electoral contest and Pilsudski's bloc of parties and groups will hold 140 mandates and will probably be able to rule in the Sejm. The Nationalists, which include the National Democrats, the National Minority, and the Right Wing Peasants, have suffered a heavy loss. They have about 70 deputies compared with 230 in the last Sejm where they formed the bloc which supported Premier Witos.

Of the other parties, the Communists will have five deputies compared with the two they had in the old Sejm. The Radical Peasants have won 80 seats which is an increase of ten. The Pilsudski Government, despite its demonstration of power in the elections must look to either the Conservatives or Socialists for support. There is a growing feeling that Pilsudski can no longer rule without Parliament, as formerly, especially since his pledged supporters form the biggest single Sejm caucus. The Nationalists are too embittered to lend their support, while the Socialists are demanding what the Government financially is unable to grant.

Bethlehem Steel Corporation announced the advance of base prices for bars, shapes, and plates \$1.00 per ton. The next stroke is a wage cut for the steel workers and the picture is complete.

THE LAW OF THE COAL FIELDS



Drawn by "Flambo"

Woodward Avenue — Detroit

THERE are streets as well as cities that have an atmosphere of their own. New York has its Fifth Avenue, Chicago has its Boul Mich, but the most human of all thoroughfares, the one that best reflects a city's spirit and tempo, is Detroit's Woodward Avenue.

One can take an evening's walk along Woodward and commune with his fellow-mortals, aware of every word they speak, following every click of their thoughts as they whiz by in their tin lizzies.

"Yup, she's a swell bus. Yuh damn tootin' she is. She's knocked off twenty thousand miles an' never a cent for repairs. Goes nineteen on a gallon. How'd I get'er? Traded in a radio, a seventy-five dollar equity one lot in Homeyhill subdivision an' fifty bucks tub booz. Some buy, what? Let's cut loose. Whoa! Jesu, I didn't see that traffic cop. Wait'll we pass the Boulevard an' I'll step on

er. Mmn, boy; she certainly can sing. Lookater she's hittin' thirty. Forty now. Some boat, eh kid? Gee, them hot dogs smell good. Let's pull upon 'em git some. Naw! let's wait till we git down to the Eight dancehall; yuh kin git some swell chill there. An' say—just 'round the corner there's a joint that has some swell hootch. Believe me it's the real thing. I know the guy who runs the dump an' take it from me he's a prince. Straight as they make 'em too. Well, I pass'er. An' let me tell yuh somethin' else. I uster have a motorcycle an' every once in awhile I'd pick up a Jane but as far as I ever got with them was holdin' hands in a movie. But say, since I got a lot of extra an' a new coat of duco on the lil' of bus most any road'll fall fer it. I'll say it was a good buy."

One is never alone on Woodward Avenue. The busses and trolley-cars jolt and creak, screech and scrape along the six mile stretch from the Detroit River to the eerie lights of Ford's where an army of robots bend to their tasks. Past decayed mansions with cold-drink holdg fronts and garbage can backs. Past boot-leg joints, past shops with stocks salvaged from seas of shoddy, past churches with electric Sell-Jesus-to-the-world signs. Past Pay-as-you-wear-'em stores, past auto sales rooms with preening salesman school graduates, past the spot where a couple of highjackers were bumped off a week ago, past efficient ladies of the evening slowly cruising in smart coupes, past...

So one walks along Woodward Avenue enveloped in the odors of frying foodstuffs, gasoline, raw whiskey, burning rubber and cheap perfume, aware of the spoken words of his fellow citizens—aware of every click of their thoughts.

BEN BLUMENBERG.

THE CHATTER BOX

Pilgrimage

Over the way of Winter's wrath Over the frozen wineglass path They follow the Spring. . . World wanderers bewildering— Weary of waiting, faint to start Down at the heels—Sick at heart They follow the Spring. . . In winding mirrors of thawing snow Broken lives half-mended show They follow the Spring. . . LEONE.

Mythology To-Date

In our shop, where they make steel ribbon for wagon-springs, a new kid was hired. You know, another kid to work the bellows. He was short and stocky and his face was in an eternal grin. Funny that grin. He smiled at nothing at all, and his face lit up in a terribly impish way. And I watched him in the smoke and grime—just to see how he'd work— He seemed as outa place there as a dove in a flock of 10-ton motor trucks. But he was strong, that kid, and near four o'clock—when they begin to run the heavy stuff— when we begin to sweat and curse— HE WAS SINGING! MIND you! SINGING! in the smoke and soot—SINGING! With the red from the roller tables reflecting on his half-naked body so that he looked like an Indian god Singing. . . But when he sang, I felt that he wouldn't come back no more. Finally I called to him— "Hey Mike!" I said, "D'ya like it?" "My name ain't Mike," he answered— "It's Pan."

THE OFFICE BOY.

I notice that Henry Harrison, of late fame in the village and later aspiration toward publisherhood is reviving the Grub Street Club on Monday Nights at the Greenwich Inn, East Eleventh street, near Broadway. . . Many a poet has had his start there toward fame or infamy. . . Many a one will find himself there after a half dozen sessions or so. For a university course in self-discovery, let me recommend all scribes to the Grub Street Club. And if you are beyond the self-revelation, at least you can always find there, the voices of Eli Siegel, the Congo Yodler, Maxwell Bodenheim, the Ikon smasher, and Henry Harrison, Chairman, Patron, Poet, and anything else he tells you he is. You pay fifty cents for tea and toast. Remember Henry loses on every customer in the audience. But he makes up through the quantity of business. Things have been going great recently, I gather. For those of you who visit the city from the open spaces, try and make your entry on Mondays, so that you can visit the Grub Street Club of Poetry nights; the only spot left out of what was once the Latin Quarter of the City. . .

And may I also advise those of you who can come, that on Tuesday evening next, March 13th, at the Labor Temple, 242 E. 14th Street, N. Y. City, Mr. Anton Romatka's Poetry Forum will allow the Rebel Poets of America to hold forth. . . It will include some of the best poets of the land, whose verse protests against the evils of the economic order, and sings to usher in the New Day. S. A. de Witt.