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Devoted to the Interests
of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

NEW LEADER

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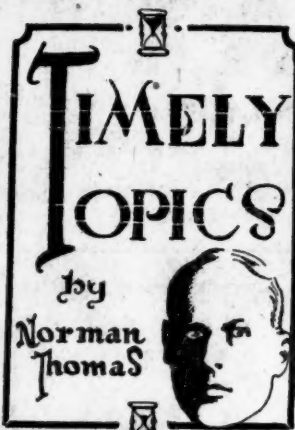
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CONSIDER my friends the Grand Old Republican Party, the party, to be sure, of Abraham Lincoln, but also and more recently, the party of those eminent patriots who constituted the Cabinet of the illustrious Warren Gamaliel Harding. There is Dougherty, corruptionist extraordinary, saved from jail by one juror; Fall of the oil scandals, so far saved from jail by smart lawyers; Hays, the eminent Presbyterian and purifier of the movie industry, who committed perjury on the stand about the Sinclair contribution to the party deficit and concocted a neat little scheme of hiding these Sinclair contributions behind the dummy contributors; Weeks, Secretary of War, who consented to be one of the dummy contributors; Denby, Secretary of the Navy, who complacently gave Teapot Dome to Fall to loot and who can be acquitted of knavery only by assuming that he was a fool; and last but not least, the great Andrew Mellon himself who knew all about Hays' attempt to use Sinclair and kept still. No man of Mr. Mellon's intelligence could have failed to suspect that these bonds were somehow connected with the oil scandal and no public official and leader of his party can decently argue that his moral obligation was fulfilled by not taking any of the bonds himself.

Then there is "Hell and Maria" Daves, now Vice President of the United States and candidate of the bankers and second choice candidate of many farm organizations for president. It is a matter of court record that he was implicated in the Lorimer bank scandal in Illinois and the only argument has to do with the degree of his moral guilt in the matter. What connections he may have had with campaign contributions or the Continental Oil Company or some other phase of the unsavory profits is yet to be seen.

Next consider Jim Watson's and the Ku Klux Klan's state of Indiana. One Governor has just got out of jail and the present Governor, Jackson, has just escaped jail not by reason of innocence but by reason of the statute of limitations. The Springfield Republican lists 14 other prominent Republican officials indicted or convicted in the Hoosier state.

It ought to take more than Borah's protestation, more than any other signs of faint-hearted, belated, and forced contrition to cleanse the party of "prosperity" from these stains. But will it? It must, be said that as yet the public is not boiling over with indignation. Mellon is still the hero of the average Babbitt who wants nothing more than "to be a little mellow and with the mellow stand."

Indeed the morality of the party is the morality of the business world. Even the pious Rockefeller who as a philanthropist and patron of decent housing has many admirable qualities has not used his power and influence to force Col. Stewart out of the presidency of the Standard Oil Co. of Indiana or to keep Sinclair and Doherty off the board of the Petroleum Institute. Yet these men in varying degrees haven't only set the government of their country at naught but have cheated their own stockholders in the Continental oil deal. Such are the morals of capitalism.

Of course we have the Democratic Party to fall back on. Would that be an improvement? Don't make me laugh. A well known editor in Boston recently told me that there was a difference in atmosphere between the Republican Party and the Democratic. To which I replied yes, that the atmosphere of the Republican Party was tainted with oil and that of the Democratic Party, at least in New York, with sewer gas. Since the glorious days of A. Mitchell Palmer the Democratic Party has had few chances at national graft but ask the Borough of Queens how well it has done locally! Ask Tammany whether it has forgotten how to steal elections! Even the New York Herald Tribune and the New York World discovered with pained surprise that the "new" Tammany knew a few election tricks in the 17th Senatorial District where a Republican was the victim. But neither the New York Tribune nor the World has done anything about the far grosser and more extensive frauds which deprived Jacob Panken of reelection as Municipal Judge. He was a Socialist.

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Socialists of Oklahoma Re-Organize

Forty Attend Convention In Oklahoma City—Permanent State Body Created

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

OKLAHOMA CITY.—Some forty delegates from all parts of Oklahoma met in state convention at Oklahoma City, Saturday afternoon, March 10th, at the call of the National Secretary—the National Socialist Party being present. It was an inspiration to find so many comrades paying their own expenses to attend the convention to reorganize the Socialist Party of Oklahoma. We did not expect so many to attend. The comrades were enthusiastic and were glad to have the opportunity of getting together again and start reorganizing the party in Oklahoma.

National Secretary William Henry was elected chairman of the convention. Comrade Freda Hogan was elected secretary of the convention. The National Secretary made an address, pointing out the necessity of organization and giving an optimistic report of the development of the Socialist movement in other states. After a general discussion by the delegates, it was the unanimous opinion that a state organization be formed at once and work begun. They elected a State Executive Committee, consisting of seven members, as follows:

L. A. Stanwood, Route 1, Stroud; Dr. Armstrong, Oklahoma City; Sam Flint, Route 2, Lamont; Dr. W. L. Russell, Box 203, Mount View; W. W. Moore, Route 1, Box 328, Henryetta; S. C. Thompson, Elk City; Dr. A. C. Jenner, Durant.

A motion was made and carried that a temporary secretary be elected to serve until a meeting of the State Executive Committee, which will be held at the call of the temporary secretary for the purpose of selecting a permanent State Secretary, and also to select electors for the national ticket and candidates for state offices for the state of Oklahoma.

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Thomas Jefferson Is Banned in N.Y. Schools, Head of Board Says

Morris Ernst, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, arguing before a sub-committee of the Board of Education of New York City on the matter of free speech in the schools, brought up the matter of a passage in one of the Union's pamphlets which was a paraphrase of a letter written by Thomas Jefferson urging the right of revolution. This passage, the Board of Education wanted the Union to "recant".

"But that is practically what Jefferson said," exclaimed Ernst.

"We can't stand for what Jefferson said, in the public schools these days," remarked Chairman Somers of the school board.

French Socialists To Contest 500 Seats In Coming Election

Paris.—Over 500 Socialist candidates will be presented at the forthcoming General Election in France in a total of 602 constituencies.

This announcement was made at a meeting of the enlarged Executive of the French Socialist Party. The decision to contest so many constituencies results from the majority resolution passed at the last Congress of the Party requiring each local branch to furnish a candidate at the General Election unless absolutely prevented from doing so by financial reasons, and even then only to abstain from direct participation in the election after consultation with the Party Executive.

Newark Socialists Call Conference On Unemployment

Local Essex County, Socialist Party, New Jersey, has issued a call for a conference on the unemployment situation. All trades unions and allied radical organizations in Essex County are invited to send two delegates to this conference which will meet at Socialist Party headquarters, 53 So Orange avenue, Newark, Sunday, April 1st, 3 p. m.

Will the Senate inquiry into the deplorable conditions in the striking coal mine area result in the usual investigation for the benefit of the investors?

Reading Socialists Draw Fire

Socialist Administration Calls Huge Voters Meeting To Make Reply

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

READING, PA.—The Socialist administration of Reading has already drawn the fire of the capitalist press through the Reading Times which professed to have discovered a "secret government at the city hall." This was to be expected as the Socialists have no desire to obtain the support of newspapers that could stand for the old gang ousted last November.

This backfire, however, only contributes to wide publicity for the Socialist administration, wider than the Times anticipated. The Socialist organization will organize a big mass meeting in the Orpheum Theatre Sunday where Mayor J. Henry Stump, James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder will speak. At this meeting the Socialist officials will report their work to the citizens, a policy which they will continue. These meetings not only provide an opportunity for the Socialist officials to answer attacks but to also reveal many delinquencies of the old gang.

Meantime the Berks County Executive Committee is proceeding with campaign and organization work in the county and systematic contributions are being solicited from all members and friends.

Funds Being Raised

The raising of funds is the first step necessary to put across the kind of a fight for legislative offices which is being planned by the Socialist executives. Having gained control in Reading, the party is now ready to devote more activity in the rural districts to the end that not only two assemblymen from Reading but a senator and at least one county member of the lower house will be Socialists.

The Socialists of Reading are certain that their chances are unusually bright for the election of a State Senator this year. With William F. Hoverter as the party's candidate for

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HOAN SWAMPS OPPONENTS IN PRIMARY POLL

MILWAUKEE.—Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist, who has served as Milwaukee's Chief Executive for the last twelve years, polled 13,000 more votes in Tuesday's primary than Sheriff Charles Schallitz, who was nominated to oppose him at the election April 3. The third candidate for Mayor, Edward Schubert, was eliminated.

Sheriff Schallitz carried only three of the twenty-five wards. He received 28,427 votes to the 41,991 polled by Mayor Hoan. Schubert received 7,381.

One of the surprising features of the election was the fact that Mayor Hoan, a Socialist, carried the Eighteenth ward. This is believed to be the first time in Milwaukee's history that a Socialist has carried the so-called "Silk Stocking" ward. His vote in that ward was 250 in excess of that of his two opponents.

Large Party Meeting Hears Campaign Plans; Transit Rally March 25

BEFORE an audience of Socialist Party members that filled the Debs auditorium of the Rand School Wednesday night, was unfolded the plans of the Committee of One Hundred which is engaged in strengthening the party.

August Claessens, Executive Secretary of the party, presented a brief resume of plans and expectations and then presented Morris Hillquit, chairman of the committee.

The report of chairman Hillquit revealed the most ambitious and extensive enterprise in Socialist organization work that has been offered in this country. The committee is so confident of its plans and prospects that it has decided to recommend its organization and work to Socialist organizations throughout the country, especially in the larger cities. Hillquit observed that the time is propitious for this work as there is marked evidence of old time activity and spirit. There had been an immediate response to

the plans of the committee and as it took up its task, its work grew and the committee divided into sub-committees, each under a responsible chairman.

B. Charney Vladeck, of the Jewish Daily Forward, heads a committee on individual contributions; Abraham Ship-lacoff of the Pocketbookmakers is chairman of the committee on Trade Unions; Norman Thomas of the committee on Publicity and Literature; Jacob Panken of the committee on Organization and Membership; M. Weinberg of the committee on Sympathetic Organizations; Harry W. Laidler of the committee on Outside Groups; Louis Waldman of the committee on Public Mass Meetings.

Topping all this subdivision into committees is their union in an Executive Committee, of which each chairman is a member, and the election of an Executive Secretary, August Gerber. The committees have been at work several

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Power Trust Buying Up Calif. Papers

Copley, Agent of Insull, Capturing Public Prints To Fight Government Ownership

By Lew Head

LOS ANGELES.—The Pacific Coast is about to be invaded by another sort of "crime wave." This time it comes in the guise of the "power trust bandits." One Ira C. Copley, commonly known as "Colonel" in Illinois, about a "five timer" in Congress from Illinois, is leading the procession.

Copley was a large owner of private utilities in northern Illinois up to about four months ago. These included electric, gas, heating and street railway companies. In addition, he owned a string of newspapers in the same area, which included such cities as Aurora, Joliet and Elgin—one chain to protect the other. He is said to have sold these utility interests to Samuel Insull, the largest private utility owner in the United States, for \$25,000,000. As a matter of fact, it is understood that he did not sell his utilities, but merged them with the Insull interests, accepting an executive position with the Insull outfit.

Copley then purchased the Springfield, Ill., State Journal, a staunch supporter and white-washer of the notorious "Senator" Frank L. Smith, who "failed to take his seat." Copley is reported to have been a contributor, along with Insull, to the gigantic Smith campaign corruption fund. Since his purchase of the Illinois State Journal, that paper has painted Smith as pure as a lily and is actively supporting him for reelection to the Senate. Copley paid, it is said, \$1,000,000 for a paper that is estimated to be worth about \$500,000. You can surmise the motive. This purchase was less than two months ago. Springfield owns its own water and power plants and Copley's first editorial promise was that he would "take a live interest in the city's affairs." We can visualize that, too.

Buys Three Papers

The next step by Copley was to purchase three San Diego papers—the Tribune, Union and Independent. He is said to have paid \$3,000,000 for the first two and \$35,000 for the Independent, which later he junked. It's a long jump from Illinois to California. Copley's appearance in this section that will be vitally affected by the passage of the Swirc-Johnson bill for the development of the Colorado River, is also a significant bit of evidence. The fact that he scrapped the Independent, the only morning competitor in San Diego that stood for the principle of public ownership is more interesting. Copley, upon taking over the San Diego papers, again promised to "take a live interest" in San Diego's affairs. He probably will.

The next brilliant move of this partner of Samuel Insull, purchaser of seats in the United States Senate, was to buy a long chain or group of suburban papers in Los Angeles County, known as the "Kellogg group," which step carries additional evidence of his sagacity. Each of these Kellogg papers is in a city that will be affected by the operation of the Metropolitan Water District measure passed by the last California Legislature. This measure serves as an enabling act to pave the way for these suburban communities to secure their own water and power from the Colorado River, when the Boulder Canyon project is completed. Each of these communities will be called upon to vote for bond issues to meet the cost of transmission of municipal water and power. What position do you think, will this man Copley take, when the campaigns for these bond issues are launched? Copley is said to have paid \$4,000,000 for about a dozen papers, a sum believed to be far in excess of their real value.

The emissary of Samuel Insull, "Colonel" Copley, recently is said to have made an offer of \$2,000,000 for the Los Angeles Evening Express, which was at one time partly under the control of Fred W. Kellogg, later owner of the Kellogg string. This offer is said to have been declined. Instead, I am told, Copley was permitted to audit the books of the Express, with the purpose of securing it at a "fair price." Nobody in Los Angeles doubts for a moment where the Los Angeles Express stands on public ownership, and its acquisition by Copley, if it is acquired, will in all probability further entrench the assailants of the city's publicly owned water and light department.

Prior to dickering with the Express, Copley is reported to have made an effort to purchase the illustrated Daily News of Los Angeles. The price was said to have been too

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THE CAMPAIGN IS ON!

—AND WE ARE WINNING ALL ALONG THE LINE.

Not the Presidential campaign — not yet. But the campaign for new subscribers for the NEW LEADER, the ten thousand additional subs that we must have between now and election day, if we are to make the NEW LEADER the powerful propaganda weapon that we all want it to be.

You intend to work for the party ticket during the coming campaign. Make speeches, perhaps, distribute literature, canvass your neighbors, generally spread the message of Socialism.

Do you realize how much easier your work will be if you go out and get us those new subscriptions for the NEW LEADER now?

There are evidences everywhere that the people are awaiting the sort of information which the NEW LEADER carries week by week. Our news and special features deal with those vital matters which affect the happiness and welfare of every worker. The more we reach today, the larger will be our vote in November, the more effective our opposition to Capitalist corruption.

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League, Dry Law on Agenda Of Convention

Agenda Committee of Socialist Party Makes Public Proposals Received From Members

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Chicago.—The agenda committee of the Socialist Party has made public a series of recommendations it has received which will come up for action at the national convention in New York City beginning April 14. There are several proposals dealing with internal reorganization, with foreign relations and with prohibition, among other subjects.

The agenda, as made public by National Secretary Henry, includes the following proposals:

Platform

Local Menziesville, California, recommends that the platform be restricted to the fewest possible planks, leave out reference to prohibition and all immediate demands, and give a definite statement of fundamental Socialism. Should be short enough to be printed on a postcard with the Socialist emblem and motto.

Agenda Committee recommends that these suggestions and others that may be submitted be referred to a platform committee of five members to be elected by the convention.

Prohibition

Local Rochester, N. Y., submits the following resolution:

"Resolved, that we recommend to the consideration of the convention that the problem of the liquor traffic and its prohibition is something outside of and unimportant to the economic issues in which we are interested, and that it is poor political tactics for us to get into conflicts among ourselves over this problem or allow it to divert attention from the important issues in which we are interested; we therefore urge that the Socialist platform omit all reference to the subject."

Agenda Committee recommends consideration of the statement of New York State Socialists on prohibition, which condemns the private production and sale of liquors as debauching elections and as an injury to society and favoring control and distribution as a substitute for the admitted evils of the present illicit traffic.

Insurance Plan

Local Horicon, Wisconsin, recommends establishment of an insurance plan for the benefit of sick and disabled members:

"Dues to be 50 cents per month; members to hold a 30 day policy before receiving benefits if sick and disabled, the 30 day wait to give the Party time to arrange the funds to finance the company. Dues may be raised or lowered as committee sees fit."

Considering that a committee of the last convention will present a report on a similar matter, the Agenda Committee recommends that this suggestion and others of its kind be referred to that committee for consideration.

Agitation Among Women

State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill of New York submits the following suggestion:

"That a special committee of five be appointed to formulate and submit to the National Executive Committee for appropriate action a plan for bringing the message of Socialism to the women of this country, and for the organization of women into groups for systematic work in the Presidential campaign."

Agenda Committee recommends election of such a committee.

Technical Bureau

The State Committee of New York recommends that the National Office organize a technical bureau, which it outlines in the following statement:

"1. The National Secretary of the Socialist Party shall from time to time communicate with men and women qualified for membership in the Technical Bureau, and shall have power to enroll them as such, keeping a record of the education and qualifications of each member, which record shall be open and available to all elected Socialist officials whether National, State or Municipal.

"2. The National Executive Secretary, with the advice and consent of the National Executive Committee, shall appoint a Board of Directors for the Technical Bureau, which shall appoint a constituted of eleven or more Directors as follows:

"A lawyer familiar with corporation counsel duties; a physician familiar with public health requirements; an architect familiar with city-planning, building, codes, public building construction, etc.; a paving expert; a telephone expert; an authority on relations with public service corporations; a teacher or person with school-board experience; an expert on financing and accounting; a statistician and expert on office organization.

"3. Any technical problem referred to the Bureau shall in turn be referred to the particular Director to whom it is most familiar, and he may pass it along the Bureau deemed most competent to advise as to its best solution, or may furnish the required advice himself.

"4. The National Executive Secretary may act as secretary of the Bureau or may provide it with a special secretary as required."

Local Jamaica, N. Y., places the following resolution on the agenda:

"Considering that the League of Nations is a fact and that as the working class of the nations acquire more political power in their respective nations the workers will have more and more influence in shaping the League and making it a genuine instrument for preserving the peace of the world; and

"Considering that this is the policy of our Socialist comrades abroad who live in the midst of unsettled conditions, policies and rivalries that menace the labor and Socialist movement; that they want support for the League; that American Socialists cannot afford to take an isolationist position in this matter; be it

"Resolved, that the Socialist Party

declares in favor of the United States joining the League of Nations; that we believe that its imperfections no more justify remaining out of the League than imperfections in our own system of government justify citizens in refusing to use their rights of suffrage.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

Corruption like this cannot be cured by the services of a few great investigators like Thomas Walsh or by the rise to power of more decent or more circumspect men within the old parties. No reform is without value. But no reform will get very far until the workers are thoroughly aroused to conditions. And when they are aroused they will have to have a new party with ideas and principles as the weapon not alone of their wrath but of their constructive purposes for the future.

It looks as if no indignity, no number of discharges of its men for the crime of unionism, could force the amalgamation to call a strike on the I. R. T. in New York. Well, they are playing the game and they know what cards they hold. If they can win without a strike, God bless 'em. Only if the union officials count very heavily on political cards they may be fooled. Mayor Walker, for instance, may prove a joker in more senses than one.

It seems that the people of New York City who need housing protection most are to get none at all. At Albany and the City Hall the Master's voice is the voice of the real estate board. The emergency rent laws are to be allowed to lapse because the State Housing Board says that technically there is no longer an emergency in the sense of a shortage of rooms. The dwellings house law in spite of amendments for the worse will not pass. The Walker-Heck-scher plan for new housing for the poor amounted to nothing but pre-election talk and the Smith Housing Board plans have been little more effective. This is the way the old parties take care of the children of the city.

What every great American city needs is a comprehensive housing plan which none of them has. In New York City it would have these elements: (1) Extension of the rent laws as a matter of permanent protection to low income groups. (2) Passage of a comprehensive dwellings act more rather than less stringent than the one which the Legislature has buried in committee. (3) Slum clearance by the city beginning with the oldest and most unfit of the old law tenements. (4) Steady encouragement of the cooperative housing which is the one reasonably hopeful feature in the present situation. (5) Municipal housing under a non political authority using public credit to provide decent housing at cost.

These steps toward proper housing should all be carried on with a view to the decentralization of the city and the end of congestion of business, offices and factories on Manhattan Island. With it should go a definite scheme of parks and playgrounds.

It has also been proposed that certain changes be made in the housing law for the greater encouragement of limited dividend companies. To the operation of such companies when carried on with intelligence and good faith we should have no objection. We must insist that there is no evidence here or abroad that they can or will solve the situation for those who most need help. Even cooperative housing is not likely to solve their problem. We must add municipal housing.

If this program requires a constitutional amendment, let's go after it. What else have the old parties to offer instead of this Socialist program?

It is good that the Senate Committee is calling public attention to the tragic conditions of Western Pennsylvania. Once more we repeat that while these tragic conditions may be alleviated they cannot be cured without taking the chaotic, overdeveloped bituminous industry out of the hands of its private owners. That is one of the things that John Brophy and other opponents of the Lewis machine in the United Mine Workers of America want to do. There may be Communists among them but to want to organize the unorganized workers and to nationalize the coal mines is not Communism. At present it is the meetings of the anti-Lewis factions of the miners which are being broken up and it is their speakers (including Brophy himself) who are being arrested by the police without any protest from the Lewis machine! Senator Gooding of Idaho, chairman of the Senate's investigating sub-committee, has an anti-Red complex going back to the days when he was Governor of Idaho during the Moyer-Petibone trial. That may help to explain the very rhetorical passage in his report denouncing what he calls erroneously "the Ohio and Pennsylvania Relief Society."

Whether he meant to or not, his comments on that organization which efficiency in relief he admits, came close to inviting the police to aggressive action against it. Surely there are some Senators who will see that civil liberty in the coal fields is more than a matter of liberty for the Lewis machine.

Power Trust Busy in Calif.

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high for the alleged unsatisfactory earnings. Only a few days ago, press dispatches announced that the San Francisco Bulletin had mysteriously changed hands, tentatively. By some means close to the newspaper fraternity of California, this deal is believed to have been made with the knowledge, consent, advice or money of Copley, using a bunch of dummies to take his place as the purchaser.

Phila. Labor Institute Makes Rapid Strides; Workers' College Planned

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

PHILADELPHIA.—The Labor Institute was built through the efforts of the Workmen's Circle and the Jewish labor unions of Philadelphia. It was an undertaking involving a lot of money and it is due only to the untiring efforts and inexhaustible energies of the individuals connected with it that it has been able to come through all of its difficulties and make the progress that it has made.

Aside from beginning the center for union offices and meetings, the Institute at the beginning of this season started an educational program which is a credit and a source of pride to every Socialist. In the course of the season it has conducted a series of twenty-four Sunday afternoon lectures which had an average attendance of about six hundred and on occasions when exceptionally popular speakers spoke the doors had to be shut and hundreds of people turned away. When Bertrand Russell was here fifteen hundred people were in the hall and about a thousand were turned away.

Among those who spoke at the Forum during the season were H. N. Brailsford, Rennie Smith, James Murphy, B. C. Vladeck, Paul Blanchard, Robert Moss Lovett, and a host of other Socialists. The season was wound up this Sunday with a debate between Norman Thomas and Max Eastman, when several hundred people had to be turned away because of lack of room.

In addition to the English Forum the Institute has also conducted a Jewish Forum which was not quite as successful as the English one. Perhaps the greatest share of the credit for the success of the English Forum is due to Comrades Simon and Mrs. Libros, both veterans in the Party and who for several years were in charge of the Forum conducted by the Young Democracy of this city.

Another venture which the Institute is just entering will be greeted with enthusiasm by the old timers in the movement. Philadelphia at one time had the best Socialist Book shop in the country. At its high peak it did twenty-five thousand dollars in business a year. During the War and the internal fight the book shop was forced to close. Within a few weeks the Institute will again open a Socialist and Labor book store and circulating library and it is hoped that

it will again become the best in the country.

In connection with the Forum, plans are being made to open several classes and study groups for the next season. No effort is being spared to make these classes and study groups as much as a success as the forum is.

There are also two dramatic groups now functioning in the Institute. Both groups are new. Yet during the winter they have served as a great help in arranging entertainments for various unions, Workmen's Circle branches and other friendly organizations. The Jewish group has given performances for about a dozen organizations during the winter while the English has given about six. For the coming season arrangements are being made to furnish performances not only for organizations in Philadelphia but also in the smaller towns near Philadelphia. These performances are furnished without any charge to the organization except for the actual expense involved.

It is hoped that within a comparatively short time the Labor Institute will become a second Rand School in the field of workers education and even more. The work was hampered a great deal because those at the head of the Institute had to devote most of their time to raising the money necessary for meeting the mortgages. During the winter a campaign for wiping out the mortgage was conducted and as a result the financial burdens have been considerably reduced.

If any readers of the New Leader have any books that they want to dispose of the Institute Library will appreciate any contributions that they can make. There is no request for money contributions. Only books. They can be mailed to the Labor Institute Library, 810 Locust street, Philadelphia, Pa.

It is particularly interesting that the educational part of the Institute's activities is almost entirely conducted by members of the Socialist Party. The governing body of the Institute is elected by a convention of Labor organizations held once a year at which the Party has representatives. About ninety per cent of the members of the Board of Directors are members of the Party. The president of the Board is Comrade Berger, the local manager of the Forward.

Socialists Draw Fire In Reading

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that offices, there is more hope for a county victory than ever before. However, the gains of the Socialists from all sections of Berks and also received the commendation of liberals and labor groups in all parts of the nation for his stand against the fee system in city hall. The voters have not forgotten that he volunteered to reduce his salary of upwards of \$20,000 to \$6,000 per year when it appeared that he was elected to the office of city treasurer. They appreciate the spirit of Hoover's stand and will listen with interest to what he has to say as a campaigner this year.

With Jesse George, business agent for the Plumbers' Union, and Andrew P. Bower, one of the vice presidents of the State Federation of Labor, as the city candidates for general assembly, the Socialist and labor forces feel that they will go into the fight against both old parties with confidence and respect of Reading's voters. Both men are lifelong residents of this city, both have clean records in private and public life, and both are splendid campaigners. On the other hand, it is recognized that the old parties will make a stronger effort than ever before to diminish the prestige of the Socialists in Reading. It will be a stiff fight but the Socialists are optimistic about the result.

Socialist Vote Jumps 200 Per Cent. In Potsdam

Another good sign for the coming Reichstag elections in Germany was registered last Sunday when the Socialists made gains of about 200 per cent in the municipal election in Potsdam, one of the Berlin suburbs counted as a reactionary stronghold.

The Socialists increased the number of their Aldermen from five to fourteen, while the Nationalists, their principal opponents, had their nineteen Aldermen reduced to sixteen. The Communists lost one of their three seats on the Board.

That organization work is proceeding hand-in-hand with campaign preparations is indicated by a report in the Berlin Vorwaerts of Feb. 23, showing the dues-paying membership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany on Dec. 31, 1927, as \$68,591, against \$23,520 on the same date the preceding year. Only members in good standing are counted in this report.

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Mayor Stump Will Speak For Socialists In Phila. March 25

Philadelphia.—North Philadelphia Socialists have arranged a supper for the evening of March 25, beginning at 7 o'clock with J. Henry Stump, Socialist Mayor of Reading, as the principal speaker. The supper will be given at the Labor Institute, 800 Locust street, and the charge per plate has been fixed at 75 cents.

This affair promises a corking good time for Socialists and their friends and those who wish to share in an enjoyable evening should order tickets of Marie Hodgson, at headquarters, without delay. Mayor Stump should be greeted by a big crowd of Socialists and sympathizers.

Connecticut Socialists Busy With Many Activities

Connecticut Socialists find plenty to do in this period of awakening. Bridgeport Socialists held a monthly social Saturday evening, March 10, which attracted visitors from other locals. Short addresses were delivered by President Brewster of the Central Labor Union, George Moffatt of the Stamford Painters, Walter E. Davis of Hamden, former alderman Cederholm, and Jasper McLevy of Bridgeport.

The Jewish Socialist Verband of New Haven also held a banquet in Dorchester Hall Sunday evening, March 11, with a hundred couples present. Morris Rice acted as Toastmaster, and the secretary, organizer of the New England Bureau delivered the chief address. Members of the Verband were present from Hartford, Ansonia, Waterbury and other cities. A large sum of money was raised for the Socialist press and organization.

The Mothers' Club of the Workmen's Circle of New Haven will give a package party for the benefit of the striking miners Saturday evening, March 17, at 438 Oak street.

Socialists at Stamford will soon add another local to the state organization. Prospects should get in touch with George Moffatt, P. O. Box 646, Stamford.

"Sandino's men kill 4 marines." It looks as if Col. Lindbergh's good-will flight was one of those arco-NAUGHT-ical successes.

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Socialist N.E.C. Meets in N. Y. On Saturday

CHICAGO.—The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party holds a special session in the Rand School of Social Science, New York City, Saturday, March 17. This announcement is made by National Executive Secretary William H. Henry, following correspondence with the members of the committee. The meetings will consider final arrangements for the national convention which meets in New York City on April 14 and act upon some matters that have arisen since the last meeting of the committee in Philadelphia. Organization work in many states will also be considered by the committee.

The monthly financial report of the national office shows a substantial sum contributed during February to organization and educational work. Small sums are still coming in from the sales of the Debt voluntary assessment stamps and this item, together with sums received as monthly pledges, organization and sustaining funds, shows a total of over a thousand dollars for the month. The national office is in need of more funds contributed direct by party members and sympathizers and Executive Secretary Henry urges them to communicate with him.

Illinois Convention May 13th
The national office has also issued a new pamphlet bearing the title "The Farmer's Problem," written by the late John C. Leheny. The pamphlet is a popular presentation of the problems of agriculture as they have evolved in the past hundred years. The booklet is of pocket size and sells for five cents a copy.

Illinois is the next State to announce a state convention of the Socialist Party. The convention has been called to meet in Chicago on May 13. A complete state ticket and list of presidential electors will be nominated. The progressive movement in Illinois was ditched within a few months after the election of 1924. A few men at the head of it had been intriguing with capitalist politicians even during the campaign for La Follette and those who are disgusted with the parties of the capitalist class in Illinois will have to vote for Socialist candidates if their votes are to count for anything worth while this year.

The National Executive Committee will meet in New York City March 17. There is considerable work being done by the party in the field of organization. This and preliminary work in connection with the National Convention needs the attention of the committee.

Literature to Chinese Socialists

Socialists in the National Labor University at Kiangwan, Shanghai, China, order a good batch of Socialist literature and ask for information to further the work of propaganda and education among the workers of their city.

A New Pamphlet

A new pamphlet called "The Farmer's Problem," written by John C. Leheny, is now off the press and ready to be mailed out. This is a very timely piece of literature, written by a man who had considerable experience on the farm. In other words, he was a farmer who farmed the farm. This is a 38-page pamphlet, suitable for carrying in the pocket. Price: 5 cents a single copy; 50c. per dozen; 3c. per hundred. We urge our comrades to put this pamphlet to good use—place it in the hands of the farmers so that they may more clearly understand their actual situation. Order from the National Office. Address at the head of this column.

Socialists of Okla. Reorganize

(Continued from Page 1)

The meeting of the State Executive Committee was called to meet in Oklahoma City on April 15th, at the office of the temporary secretary, Miss Myrtle Blackwell, 507 N. Hudson street, Oklahoma City.

The convention was not only an enthusiastic one. All those who were not yet members of the party signed application cards and paid their dues. A new local was announced in Oklahoma City. A number of delegates promised reorganization of locals in a number of places as soon as they could get back to their homes.

There is no doubt but that Oklahoma will soon have a good fighting organization. The sentiment is ripe; the comrades are determined.

The convention also passed a motion empowering the State Executive Committee to fill any vacancies that might occur, and then elected two delegates to represent Oklahoma in the National Convention. The delegates are Dr. M. Shadid of Elk City, and L. A. Stanwood of Stroud.

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ECONOMICS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

By Louis Stanley

THE announcement by Clem Shaver, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, of the contributors who helped wipe out the campaign deficit of 1924 affords an opportunity to analyze the economic structure of the Democratic Party.

Clem Shaver with much satisfaction was able to inject his announcement into the unfavorable publicity that the Republican Party was receiving in connection with Teapot Dome and the Republican campaign deficit of 1920. He was able to state that \$508,500 had been contributed or pledged and that the next campaign would probably be able to start with a surplus of \$250,000. That was a far cry from the poverty that the Democratic Party had suffered since 1924, when it even had difficulty in keeping open its Washington office.

Of the half million dollars more than half can be accounted for by contributions from southern states. More than half of the southern money came from the city of Houston, where the Democratic convention will swear this year. The Solid South is still solidly Democratic. This is undoubtedly due to tradition to a very great extent but had not tradition been reinforced by economic necessities, it is doubtful whether it could have survived. There has, of course, been the bitterness against the Yankee inherited from the Civil War, while the uneasiness about the Negro has done much to close up the ranks of the white southerners. Still when all is said and done, prejudices would have been allayed, had they come into conflict with the demands of the economic life of the South. The situation before the Mason and Dixie line has been a case of even more than the compatibility of economics with bad feeling. It has indeed been the supplementing of the one by the other. The South despite much talk about its industrialization has remained essentially agricultural, a one crop region with that crop cotton. It has depended upon cheap finished commodities in order to get the most out of the cash or credit it has received from the sale of its cotton. Competition of foreigners with American manufacturers has been necessary to keep American prices down. The low tariff has, therefore, been demanded by the South. Only recently has there been a ray of light in its ranks. The up-start manufacturers, many of Northern origin, and the sugar interests of Louisiana have demanded protection but their clamors have not yet made a deep impression. Meanwhile, the rest of the South still pledges its loyalty to the Democratic Party. Industrialists, merchants and financiers are still too dependent upon the basic agriculture to tear themselves away from the low tariff advocates.

The Democratic contributors outside of the South may be divided into two classes: those profiting from local Democratic politics and those benefiting from the national activities. Public utility interests being in the first group. There are, for instance, Thomas Fortune Ryan and Owen D. Young. Ryan is an old war horse, past the three quarter century mark. He hails from Baltimore, a southern outpost. He is Catholic. As long ago as 1874 he became a member of the New York Stock Exchange and soon began to manipulate corporation stocks and bonds with the end of controlling and consolidating the street railway and lighting systems of New York and other cities. Here he had to tie up with Tammany Hall. His allegiance to the Democratic party is due

to his local not national interests. In 1886 he consolidated the street railway system of New York upon conditions favorable to his group and the politicians behind them. His allegiance with the Democratic party was further strengthened by his activities in the southern railway field. He reorganized the Richmond and Danville into the Southern Railway. He carried out his plans with regard to the Central of Georgia Railroad and Banking Co. He obtained control of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad. One of his exploits was purchasing control of the Equitable Life in 1905 and then selling his interest to J. P. Morgan six years later. It was Ryan's large financial dealings that led him to use his efforts successfully in swinging the Democratic convention of 1904 to accept Parker's declaration in favor of

the gold standard. Ryan contributed \$50,000 to the Democratic fund. Only Jesse H. Jones, of Houston, Texas, director of finance of the Democratic National Committee, and chairman and treasurer of the Committee on Arrangements, gave an equal amount, and the latter was a southerner interested in boosting Houston before the Rotarian world.

Owen D. Young's gift amounted to \$2,000. As a director and vice president of the General Electric Company he is playing his part of the game, just as the Republican directors are playing theirs. The General Electric thru its subsidiary, in fact if not in law, the Electric Bond and Share Company, of which Young is a director, has enormous holdings in the power companies of the South. Through the Alabama Power Company

and an especially created association of southern companies, the General Electric, for example, tried to seize Muscle Shoals. Now state regulation could be and is relaxed a good deal, if the Democratic administrations of the Southern states know who their friends are. Young is also a director of the Dallas Electric Company in Texas and of the Adirondack Power and Light Corporation in northern New York. If the General Electric could finally bring about the private operation of publicly owned hydroelectric power in New York state with the operation in its own hands, a \$2,000 contribution would be cheap enough.

Other local interests that stand to gain by contributing to the Democratic party nationally are contractors, realtors and lawyers identified with these and public

utility interests. William F. Kenny of New York City followed Ryan and Jones on the list by giving \$25,000. Kenny is president and director of the William F. Kenny Co. and the Hickey Contracting Co., both firms prominent in New York City. Henry Morgenthau of New York City is credited with \$2,000. He is president of the Central Realty Bond and Trust Co., Henry Morgenthau & Co., and the Herald Square Realty Co. Besides he has not forgotten that he owes it to a Democratic president that he had had the opportunity to represent the United States in Turkey and propagate the famous legend of the Potsdam conference, where the Kaiser latched the World War. Among our lawyer friends are John W. Davis, remembered as the Democratic presidential candi-

date of 1924, and his partner, Frank L. Folk, once under secretary of state during Wilson's administration. Each showed his appreciation of the Democratic party by contributing \$10,000 individually.

A group from West Virginia, from which state John W. Davis and Clem Shaver come, requires some explanation. West Virginia, since it was split off from Virginia illegally during the Civil War, has voted Republican. There has only been one Democratic governor during the entire history of the state, J. J. Cornwell by name. He served from 1917 to 1921. Now he comes across with a contribution of \$500. He, like Senator C. W. Watson, the coal baron, who presented the Democratic party with \$25,000, is interested in minimizing the regulation of the railroads within the

borders of West Virginia. Railways and highways have been the bone of political contention in West Virginia, with the Republicans responding in part to the public demand for state control.

A significant section of the contributors consists of importing interests concerned about securing a low tariff. Herbert H. Lehman, New York broker, of Abraham & Straus, and Franklin, Simon & Co., department stores, contributed \$10,000. Jesse Isidore Straus, president of R. H. Macy & Co., department store, with controlled companies in Toledo, Ohio, and Atlanta, Georgia, gave \$5,000 each. Nathan Straus, Jr. of Abraham & Straus sent in \$1,000. Nathan and Jesse Isidore are also directors in Dallas Straus & Sons, importers and dealers in chinaware. Silas H. Strawn, chairman of the board of Montgomery Ward & Co., mail order house, contributed \$1,000.

Manufacturers of machinery with which there is no foreign competition desire to remove the tariff wall. They do not need the protection of high duties. The tariff only increases the cost of living which makes their workers demand higher wages and raises the price of such finished articles that they employ in the process of manufacturing their own product. Furthermore high tariffs induce foreign countries to take out their revenge upon the American imports. Thus the machinery sent abroad has to leap tariff barriers. The International Harvester Company, manufacturing agricultural equipment and the Hurley Machine Company, putting out electrical home labor saving devices, are cases in point. The chief proprietor of the first, Cyrus H. McCormick, of Chicago, contributed \$2,500, while the head of the latter, E. N. Hurley, of Shipping Board fame, was set down for \$1,000.

Lastly, there are the cattle and lumber interests. They have nothing to fear from foreign competitors in the domestic market and they hold their own in foreign fields. Indeed, one section of the cattle men want to encourage the importation of lean cattle to be fed up in the United States, while among the lumbermen there are those who want to facilitate the admission of the rare woods. William Thompson Kemper, Kansas City banker and director of the Kansas City Stock Yards Co., gave \$5,000; Melvin A. Traylor, of Chicago, connected prominently with various live stock and cattle loan organization, \$1,000; and Patrick Quayle, of Kemmerer, Wyoming, coal operator and officer of the Live Stock Loan Company, \$1,000. John H. Kirby, big lumberman of Houston, Texas,—to return to the south for an illustration—contributed \$15,000, while Robert A. Long, lumber operator of Kansas City, handed over \$1,000 to the Committee.

The contributors here analyzed are but a portion of those who generally support the Democratic party with financial contributions in return for favors. These are only persons who aided in wiping out the campaign deficit of 1924. The list is typical. There are those who fundamentally are not interested in national politics at all but give their money because the Democrats are entrenched locally. On the other hand there are those who throw their influence in the direction of a low tariff. That is the economics of the Democratic Party. The electioneering is just bunk.

Dictator Horthy Sends Us Pilgrims

By Ferenz Gondor

(A monument to Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian liberator of the last century, is being unveiled in New York City as The New Leader goes to press. The New Leader asked Ferenz Gondor, Hungarian Socialist editor of "Az Ember," to throw some light on the personalities sent here by Dictator Horthy as part of the "Kossuth Pilgrimage" which is taking part in the ceremonies on Riverside Drive.)

THE monument, at last, stands there on Riverside Drive. Around it one sees the swarming, pushing and declaiming crowd of those whose only bond of union with the glorious figure of Kossuth is the fact that they have spent a lifetime denying and defaming the ideas preached by Kossuth in flaming words. Kossuth is undoubtedly the most noble figure of Hungarian history, the glorious revolutionary and patriot, the mail-clad knight of Hungarian liberty, who fought in the very front for the liberation of the Hungarian masses.

Not only the Hungarian nation, but all civilized nations of the world make a reverent bow before the never-fading memory of the man who once "threw himself on his knees before the greatness of the Hungarian nation." The liberator of the serfs in Hungary, the man who decried the Hapsburgs, went into exile with unspooled and unbroken revolutionary virtues and remained an emigre until the flame of life died away in his great heart and great mind. And to this man, who up to the last hour of his life remained a fighter for liberty and a defiant exile, they erected a monument in New York City and before it they hold a sacrilegious and Pharisaical commemoration. These are the same men who have imprisoned the real representatives of the political ideals of Louis Kossuth; the men who are keeping the whole of the Hungarian nation in political slavery; who have deprived the oppressed Hungarian peasants and laborers of their right of franchise; who have been shameless enough to pass the monstrous bill called "numerous clauses," who have organized pogroms, intro-

Perpetrators of Bloody White Terror Pay Hypocritical Honors to Louis Kossuth

duced corporal punishment, killed thousands of innocent people, kept tens of thousands in prisons and penal colonies only because they held different political views, and who are even today the most servile lackeys of the Hapsburgs.

Pilgrims of Liberty, Forsooth

Never has a more cynical lie dared to raise its head publicly on the streets of New York. Never has this city seen such an immoral, cynical and shameless demonstration as the unveiling of the Kossuth Monument on Riverside Drive. We see before the monument and at the head of the "pilgrims from Hungary" the same Baron Sigmund Perenyi, who was the leader of the Awakening Magyars, a band of murderers, and the high patron of the counterfeiters of French francs; we see Bela Tomcsanyi, the bloody and sordid "Minister of Justice" and advocate of corporal punishment; there we see M. Karl Wolff von Wolfenau, the most submissive of the Hapsburg lackeys and the preacher of religious hatred and active anti-Semitism.

There we see, among others, men like Eugene Sipocz, the unworthy Mayor of the proud City of Budapest, who forced the best brains of the city administration out of their jobs because of their religious or political convictions; Julius Pekari, the heavy-weight champion of political reaction and active anti-Semitism, and—to give the whole farce a pathetic touch—there we see, before the monument of Louis Kossuth, the notorious bandit and murderer Ivan Hejjas.

There are hundreds among the "pilgrims" from Hungary, who during the past few years have trampled down the high ideals of Louis Kossuth and those men who dared to remain faithful to these very ideals. These are the people who surround the monument on Riverside Drive, while the real upholders of the Kossuth ideals keep themselves aloof from the shameful festi-

ties. This is the reason, why we miss from these festivities the most noble and most noteworthy of Kossuth's political ideas: Michael Karolyi.

How the Movement Started

When the movement to erect a monument to Kossuth in New York City started, this writer took the attitude that it was impossible to put up a fight against this movement even though it was sponsored by elements unworthy of the memory of the great liberator. The movement had been launched by the editor of the Hungarian Daily in New York, a notorious hirling of the regime of the White Terror. We tried to control our repugnance and forced upon ourselves an artificial objectivity by saying that we must not make war on the idea of a Kossuth monument in New York, even if the movement was launched by men unworthy of heading it. We considered it our duty to take the attitude of benevolent neutrality. The fact that the first group to line up against the Kossuth movement was that of the Hungarian Communists, a notorious set of business-politicians who have done so much damage to the Socialist movement among the Hungarians, only strengthened our conviction as to the correctness of our attitude. Not only because we are violently opposed to Bolshevism and because we hate the Red Terror just as much as we hate the White Terror, not only for reasons of political conviction did we put up a fight against the Bolshevist propaganda, which under the cover of an anti-Kossuth movement served merely purposes of their own business. We turned against this group because it threw dirt upon the memory of Kossuth and with astounding ignorance attacked the glorious figure of Kossuth, the revolutionist and liberator.

The so-called "bourgeois" wing of the Hungarian Communists in New York, the "Anti-Horthy League," found this writer violently opposed to its methods of warfare. Under such circumstances it was natural that the paper turned out by the Bolshevists was bold enough to say that I sold myself to Admiral Horthy and that I, who have been and am still the most hated enemy of the White Terror and the exposé of its atrocities, have become a hirling of the Horthy regime.

I did not pay any attention to these vulgar and humorously stupid lies and was loth to stand up against the idea of a Kossuth monument in New York. In the meantime, however, the American organ of Admiral Horthy published the list of the Hungarians who were to arrive in New York to attend the unveiling of the Kossuth Monument. The list contained a legion of names which recalled the memory of the most ghastly atrocities of the White Terror. It was impossible not to see the Hungarian Government wished to make the heroes of the White Terror participants of this farcical commemoration. Thus it has become my moral duty to voice my protest against this shameful attempt. I felt that if Kossuth himself could come to life today he would be the first to disperse these people from the base of his monument.

The Horthy Case

The most notorious figures of the White Terror and political persecution and oppression will be present at the unveiling festivities on March 15th, while the representatives of the Hungarian laborers and of the Hungarian Socialist Democratic Party will not be present, the latter having refused to participate in this Pharisaical commemoration. The event that decided the attitude of the Hungarian Socialists and Liberals was the same that prompted me to turn against the Kossuth-farce: the monstrous sentence passed by a

Hungarian court against Baron Ludwig Hatvany. This brilliant writer and Liberal publicist has been sentenced to seven years imprisonment for having written a few articles in which he attacked the atrocities of the White Terror. This sentence was passed at the moment when dozens of White Terrorists were being sent by the Hungarian Government to America to celebrate the memory of Kossuth, the liberal and the revolutionist. It was too much to swallow. The sentence provoked the indignation of the whole civilized world and made it impossible for every decent and progressive man to participate in a Kossuth-commemoration arranged by the high patrons of reaction. The decent, sober and liberal elements of the Hungarians in America decided to boycott this farcical comedy of "Kossuth-festivities," which will thus be reduced to a house party of governmental hirelings, murderers, terrorists and their political patrons. This fact will not be changed by the circumstance that these gentlemen, in order to cover their intellectual nudity, have forced some of the Hungarian liberals to join them.

By stating, however, that those who will organize the memory of Kossuth are diametrically opposed to everything ever preached by the great revolutionist, I also wish to say that neither I nor my friends have anything to do with those Hungarian Communists who intend to attempt to thwart the unveiling of the Kossuth monument by provoking scandals on the streets of New York and by creating an atmosphere of terror. I am opposed to any kind of terror and can never identify myself with those elements which are out to drown the Kossuth-comedy into a free-for-all fight. I condemn these experiments in terrorism as devoid of any moral justification. The Bolshevist terrorism is directed against the freedom

of speech rather than the falsification of the memory of Kossuth.

Free Speech Urged

The same elements, which are now out for street-riots and scandals, have attempted to emasculate freedom of speech in every case. These very men have rioted against Michael Karolyi, Oscar Jaszi, John Hock and have made unsuccessful attempts to silence the present writer. I am, unconditionally, for freedom of speech and demand this privilege for everybody, and cannot go hand in hand with habitual and professional organizers of street riots and supporters of terroristic methods. At the same time, however, I wish to emphasize that we despise and detest those men, who in their native land confiscate every right of the masses, suppress all opposition opinion, crucify every idea ever preached by Louis Kossuth, imprison the followers of the great liberator, force the real Kossuthists into exile, and then dare to come here and make a hypocritical bow before the monument of Kossuth.

The followers of Kossuth will boycott the commemoration of the 15th of March. We will hold at some later time a commemoration of our own. This celebration will be the real unveiling of Kossuth's monument. The first, the official, celebration, will be a hypocritical farce arranged by the heroes of the White Terror. The real pupils of the Great Kossuth will not be seen either among these attending the unveiling ceremonies nor among the participants of noisy street riots. With the patient silence of the martyrs they will retire into the ivory tower of their dolorous and suffering, but unshakable faith.

Mussolini keeps the pot boiling and himself on the front page by making faces at the League of Nations, in a speech answering criticisms of Italian administration in the South Tyrol. However, the League has had so many faces made at it that it has decided that a few more won't hurt, and still continues to go on its placid and ineffective way.

OUT OF FOCUS AGAIN

By Emrys Hughes

ACCORDING to a message received by the "Manchester Guardian" from its special correspondent at Moscow, Mr. Arthur Ransome, the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International at its meeting Saturday, Feb. 17th, unanimously adopted a resolution giving instructions to the British Communist Party as to the tactics which it has to follow at the next General Election.

The Communist Party is to be instructed to put into the field a maximum number of Communist candidates, and to fight constituencies "not only where they have a chance of winning" (sic), but in "those where their intervention may be enough to prevent the election of Labor leaders of the Right."

The British Communist Party, up to Feb. 17th at any rate, appears to be divided on the question of the wisdom of such a policy, although the "Times" reports that after Moscow had laid down the law, "the British delegates, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Brown guaranteed that the 'lks' would not be disappointed, and Mr. Gallagher promised to be loyal and energetic."

The current number of the "Communist," the monthly organ of the Communist Party, contains a long statement. "The thesis of the Central Committee Communist Party of Great Britain, which was endorsed at a recent meeting of the Central Committee by a substantial majority. After several pages of copious quotations from the works of Lenin and a great deal of prefatory dialectic against the sham left elements of the Wilkinson, Maxton, Lansbury type, the Committee comes to the conclusion that "even in the case of MacDonald, Thomas, Henderson & Co., the party cannot (1) advise the workers to vote Liberal or Tory, (2) advise mere abstention, (3) put up a candidate who would let in the Liberal or Tory."

British Communists' View
The views of the majority of the British Communist Party were, at any rate, up to last Saturday definitely against the Moscow policy.

Says the C. P. G. B. Thesis:
"The proposition that the Party should run candidates against Labor candidates cannot facilitate the task of the Party in winning over the mass of the workers,

Moscow's Telescopic Diagnosis Confounds British Communists—Ordered to Oppose Labor Party Candidates

but, on the contrary, will actually impede it. To come out and oppose Labor candidates that have the backing of the local Labor movement is nothing to the independent role of the Party, but will only have for its result the creation of an unnecessary barrier between the Party and the mass of the workers standing behind the Labor Party, whom it is our duty to win for Communism. It is not a tactic calculated to strengthen the Communist Party, but, on the contrary, a tactic calculated to strengthen the reformist leaders against the Communist Party.

"If our Party opposed Labor candidates on a wide scale, without winning the support of the local Labor movement, it would be regarded not as a blow to the reformist leadership, but at the Labor Party as such, and thus its working class supporters. The consequence of this policy would be to drive away support from our Party in the Trade Unions, as well as in the Labor Party, and would, therefore, have the opposite result from what is intended."

Such a policy, it concludes, "would consolidate the rank and file workers against us, and would ensure the complete defeat of those Party candidates who are running under more favorable conditions elsewhere."

Helping Russia?
But Moscow apparently will have none of this. Mr. Bukharin, who at a recent conference in Moscow reproved the leaders of the Minority Movement for not being severe enough in their criticisms of Labor leaders (!) evidently knows better than the C. P. G. B. what is good for it, and so Gallagher, Campbell, Brown, etc., promise to be "loyal and energetic" to a policy which the majority of the British Communists believe "will strengthen the reformist leaders against the Communist Party."

Obviously, if the majority of the members of the British Communist Party believe what they state in the "thesis" it published in February, they cannot do anything else than inform Moscow that Mr. Bukharin should again resume his studies through which he studies conditions in the British Labor Movement, and think again.

What Mr. Bukharin and his colleagues think is to be gained by transferring

money from the pockets of Russian peasants to the British Capitalist Government in the form of a large number of forfeited £150 election deposits we do not profess to know.

Certainly Russia has nothing to gain if, as a result of such tactics, another Baldwin-Jin Government is returned with a mandate to refuse to trade with Russia and prevent Russia getting the raw materials for her machinery and for her Russian industry needs. For whatever the last Labor Government did or didn't do, it did at least open the door to Russia, officially recognized its Government, and was turned out of power largely because it advocated an agreement guaranteeing Russia the opportunities for securing the credits necessary for the recovery of Russian trade.

Election Possibilities

If this policy is to be carried to its logical conclusion, there will be no doubt interesting developments. For the Communist Party believes that the leaders of the I. L. P.—the Maxtons, the Lansburys, etc.—are the most treacherous enemies of the British proletariat, and so attacks on the worst enemies would, of course, have to come first, while the less treacherous—the alleged Right Wing candidates—would be left alone. But if, as the "Daily Herald" suggests, the electoral gain to the Labor Party would be considerable because Communists in the field would take the attack off the Labor Party, then the Communist Headquarters will on the eve of the next election be inundated with frantic requests from Labor candidates wanting to know why there isn't a Communist candidate in their particular constituency and demanding that Moscow isn't playing the game if it does not send on the candidate and money at once.

At any rate this new development in tactics will convince everybody who knows the British Labor Movement that if Moscow wants to hasten the advent of the World Revolution and the smashing up of the British Empire its wisest course would be to tell the British Communist Party to wind up at once.

THE PROGRESSIVE FARMERS

By Murray E. King

(This is the third of three articles about the Progressive Farmers written for The New Leader by Comrade King.)

WE ARE both political and economic. We are not a political party—but a political machine. We are building up a fundamental cooperative organization having for its base direct trading. Those who join pledge themselves to use their economic and political power to eliminate capitalism and uphold a cooperative commonwealth based upon production for service and not for profit.

This is the way a leader in the Progressive Farmers organization described to me the nature and purpose of his movement. The organization is based upon the family. The head of the family pays \$5 initiation fee to the organizer. When ten or more families have joined in a given locality a local group may be organized. At each meeting an educational program is conducted by the educational leader of the local.

Statement of Principles
Here is the preamble of the constitution adopted first in the state of Washington:

"First, the purpose of this organization shall be:
"First, To unite all progressive economic forces in the United States under one head.
"Second, To establish a system of education to promote the principles of social and political economy and equality and to advocate the return of all public utilities and natural resources to the use of all the people through public ownership and democratic management, and to seek to accomplish these ends, THROUGH THE RIGHT USE OF THE BALLOT.
"Third, To establish a just system of values for the producer."

At the first national convention of the Progressive Farmers in Minneapolis, December, 1926, a political program was adopted containing the following demands:

A system of land tenure that will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and secure the land for the users of land. Government issuance and regulation of money and use of money and credit by all on equal terms. Government ownership and operation of all means of transportation including railroads, merchant marine, canals, pipe lines, telegraphs and telephones on the basis of equal terms to all citizens. Government ownership and operation of all monopolies. Abolition of unearned incomes. No war to be declared, except to repel invasion, until the question has been submitted to the vote of the people. Elimination of waste in production and distribution

by cooperative organization. Realization of the above program through education and organization for the intelligent use of the ballot.

"Just what do you say Progressive Farmers mean when you say that you are not a political party, but a political machine?" I asked an official of the organization.

This is the substance of his reply: "If we were merely a political party we would seek a following based on those who accepted our principles. This would not only exclude the large majority of working farmers and workers as things stand in America today, but it would exclude many of the more enlightened factions with slightly different methods and aims who are on the whole aiming at the same general objectives. In such a situation our only recourse as a political party would be to slowly corner that vast mass of workers outside of our organization to our methods and program. We would be under obligation to run a complete set of candidates in opposition to all other candidates of other factions of the producing class and before we could hope for success we would have to elect a majority of our candidates over all other candidates of the producing class."

"As a political machine, we are enabled to operate in the whole field of working class political action, and operate in the direction of a clear and fundamental class alignment. As a compact, organized and trained movement within this large field, we are able to maintain without compromise our principles, our purposes, our education, our program, and to try to make this the program of the whole working class as fast as the working class can be educated to accept it. At the same time, we are enabled by our compact organization to meet the larger movement half way without fear of losing our purposes and principles. As long as the program of the larger movement represents progress in the right direction, we can join the larger movement and consistently work for it, knowing that with our well organized enlightened movement, it cannot draw us backward, while we are fully equipped to draw the larger movement

forward."

This explains the political activities and plans of the Progressive Farmers. They are not trying to organize an exclusive political party, but are aiding very actively the development of a farmer-labor party capable of including the largest alignment of workers and working farmers possible. They will not balk at a farmer-labor party of this kind that begins with a reform and contains merely political "progressives." Within such a larger movement they hope to continue their fundamental education and organization. They see in such a movement a better field for propaganda and organization than they would find facing a divided, baffled and confused working class. They hope in such a field ultimately to develop an organization clear enough and strong enough to educate the whole working class movement in fundamental principles.

Can such a thing be put over? Are we at last on the threshold of an agrarian movement that can develop real radicalism in effective force among "dirt farmers?"

Results that have been described to the writer sound encouraging. There are actually hundreds of farmer locals organized within the past few years in the Northwest that are responding enthusiastically to this fundamental appeal. I have been informed by representatives of the movement. The Northwest is a field where there have been many plowings and sowings of advanced ideas. The desperate condition of the majority of the farmers and their deep-seated resentment over conditions may be preparing the soil for just such a movement.

On the other hand, the success of such a movement undoubtedly depends very much upon its ability to progressively utilize farmer psychology. A foolish persistency for holding fast to clinging proletarian revolutionary phrases, and terms and methods confusing and repugnant to the farmers, such as I have observed in articles written by extremists in this movement, can easily destroy this movement before it begins to take root.



"Guess I'll be a Capitalist Bill. They seem to have all the money."

FASCISM'S NEW FLOWERS OF EVIL

THE CREED OF FASCISMO

Dictator Mussolini Consolidates Power At Home By Decrees Aimed at Professional Classes

By G. E. Modigliani

FASCISM looks for glory to international politics, but it is from internal politics that it expects consolidation. Abroad it collides with other policies; at home it alone is master. Accordingly, to examine what it is doing towards its own consolidation is to examine the main spring of its action.

In the first place one must note the increasing indications of bureaucratic system that grows ever more irksome. It is in the very nature of the fascist regime to regulate everything in order to supervise everything; and this supervision has the aim of subjecting everything to its domination. An artificial system of patronage is becoming more and more the feature of Italian industry. But it would take too long to note everything, and I will merely quote one of the most striking cases. The wireless industry was not thriving, for it is a product of easy circumstances and to a certain extent marks a certain level of education. Fascism is not working in this direction.

All the same there are plenty of people in Italy who like wireless, and of course there are capitalists who are glad to profit by it. So then a Decree of November 17th, 1927 has established a wireless monopoly (for the benefit, of course, of a limited company) and grades of compulsory subscribers (in Italy every thing is compulsory). From the smallest districts (which will pay 50 lire a year) to the largest (which will pay up to 20,000), all are to have wireless sets. In theory these sets are to be for use in schools, where there are schools, during the eight to ten months of term-time. In addition the compulsory subscribers will include hotels, cinemas, clubs, even if the sets do not work or if the transmission is altogether irregular. And, not to lose a good opportunity, the law authorizes the police to search your house at any hour on the pretence of seeing that you have not got an authorized set. This indeed might be expected; for the inviolability of the home being only a guarantee of freedom, it is necessary to be able to trample on it at any time,

on the slightest excuse.

With a similar nonchalance, Fascism pursues its great trade union reform against the freedom of professions defined as "free". By a Decree of August 26, 1927, No. 1787, professional accountants—who in Italy enjoyed corporate system similar to that existing everywhere for lawyers—have undergone (like Italian lawyers for two years past) a reform of their corporate representation which hands it over to the caprice of those members who have set up a Fascist union. This latter it is which elects one half of the corporation (art. 4), the other half of them being "freely" elected by all members, including the Fascists. But it will no longer suffice to be a first rate accountant, and an expert even in demand in order to enter the corporation; for art. 1 excludes from it "all those who have expressed any activity contrary to the national interests" i.e. to the Fascist regime. And as in the case of the lawyers, the maneuver against any competitor or rival is ingeniously framed; for by article 14 the Fascist union is entitled to nominate one of its members to exercise, in the investigation and proceedings relative to an exclusion, the functions of the Attorney-General.

Now since in Italy, in the north especially, the accountant is often adviser and administrator to all societies and enterprises of a certain importance, and even of private fortunes; it will thus suffice if he has given advice to a Socialist cooperative (while such still existed) or to any individual subject of anti-Fascism, to become exposed to legal persecution at the hands of some competitor less known, or perhaps very well known as a rogue—though of course a bigwig of the Fascist union. And exclusion from the body means starvation, just as the threat of it is the blackmail used for the most dishonest ends.

After the accountants come the engineers and architects who by Decree of October 27th, 1927 (No. 2145) are subjected to a treatment quite equal to that of the accountants. I will take good care to mention no names; but abroad especially it is notorious that the ar-

chitects and engineers who have won for their country the greatest glory, may well expect to be struck off. But Fascism will not dare to do this; and once again its law will operate at home only to do the dirty work of unscrupulous competitors and to clip the wings of the young who are trying to make themselves independent of the Fascist grip.

Lowering Higher Education

But there is something better than that. Henceforward even higher education can only be imparted by teachers who have consented to be the tools of the regime. This appears broadly from article 12 of the Decree of 23rd October, 1927, No. 2105, whereby the right of holding university classes may be withdrawn from readers and private tutors, "if in consequence of manifestation shown in connection with their functions—or even without such connection—they no longer afford all the surities for the faithful performance of their duties or else if they render themselves incompatible with the general political line of the government." Seeing that private teaching is, so to speak, the entrance to university teaching, the latter will henceforth be open no longer to free and unfettered spirits, quite identical provisions can be found in article 9 and 10 of the Decree 27th October, 1927, No. 2135, which remodels the regulations of higher education in agriculture, forestry and veterinary science, which in Italy are not classed as a part of university instruction, and hence requiring to be separately muzzling. It is also worth pointing out that the first of these two last decrees establishes at Perugia a "Fascist Faculty of Political Science." There is no need to be amused, for article 22 informs us that the professors for this faculty may be chosen even outside university grades and irrespective of the existing laws and regulations. The door of university teaching which is closed against men of knowledge and integrity is opened wide to the servants and hirelings of Fascism.

To turn your adversaries out of every public institution, to prevent them from exercising any "free" professions is not enough. Against them there must be no

FOE OF FASCISM



G. E. MODIGLIANI
Socialist leader and member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies now living in exile in Paris

bounds; their spoliation, even materially, must be carried out to the uttermost. Before the triumph of fascism there had arisen in Italy cooperatives with the object of building for their members a little house or converting part of larger buildings. Such existed among the railwaymen, journalists, employees and small middle-class people. Naturally, both as to building and the purchase of land, such societies enjoyed certain advantages as to taxation and the opportunity for cheap loans from public funds. Naturally also, several of them had bought their land and set about the building; thus they had rights and property acquired in the regular way. Now we find a Decree of 29th July,

1927, No. 1765, authorizing the Minister of Public Works to dispose, without any guarantee of appeal, the cooperators in question, whenever "they have in any way departed from the political directives of the Government (article 2)."

The land bought, the building work begun, will pass to others, and their Fascist successors will only have to refund the price. In the case of land sagaciously chosen in years past which may have doubled or tripled in value, it is not the rightful owner who will profit by the increase which (article 3) will fall into the pocket of the Fascist stepping into his shoes. And naturally, among those who will reap the highest profits, there will be found the lowest types of Fascist journalists, who for months past have been working for the dispossession of such of their colleagues as have not yet recanted their anti-Fascist ideas.

Famous Soldiers Penalized

And here is something more distressing still. By virtue of a whole series of laws and decrees, ex-combatant railwaymen enjoyed certain advantages in employment, wages, etc. All these provisions have been reduced to uniformity by a Decree of August 19th, 1927 (No. 1711). The opportunity seemed timely to the Fascist government to deprive at one stroke of all these privileges ex-combatant railwaymen who during their war-service were convicted, "even if it be a conviction covered by an amnesty" (article 3). This means bringing to life dead and gone convictions, merely because these generally related to purely military offences often committed by left-wing elements who have remained the foes of fascism. Thus it is a retrospective consideration of crimes now, according to the amnesty, cancelled, offences whose moral gravity is in inverse ratio to the enormous sentences pronounced under military law.

The same article inflicts forfeiture of the same advantages on ex-officer railwaymen who have lost their rank, not through convictions, but by mere administrative decisions, which is true of all open anti-Fascists. This implies that for political opinions alone, certain former officers and combatants will forfeit certain advantages regularly enjoyed hitherto. To have fought for your country no longer counts in the case of those who have fought against Fascism.

Finally, here is a ray of light which allows one a glimpse into the depths of the social forces most interested in maintaining Fascism. All over Italy one finds surviving "rights of custom" which entitle the dwellers in certain districts to gather firewood in the local woodland, to graze their cattle on the hill-side and meadows, and even to till some little area of land. Needless to say the populations concerned have always defended these rights against the owners of the property bearing the aforesaid privileges. The consequent conflicts have always shown that such rights were only vestiges of communal ownership usurped by unscrupulous owners, and so long as freedom and democracy were more than worthless memories, no government ever dared to inflict any grave infringement of these public rights. But Fascism was before all else the political instrument of the most ferocious land-holding reaction, so that in this matter especially it could not halt or give way to scruples. And by a law of 16th June, 1927, it has taken steps to liquidate these "public rights."

It is impossible and useless to enter into details. The law has rendered more radical and serious an attempt begun by previous acts. It will be very easy for the owners to evade all compensation; but wherever they will be liable to compensation, this will consist in the transfer to the district authority of a portion—which may be a tiny one—of the land freed from public rights. And the procedure contemplated is the one most calculated to realise re-purchase as quickly as possible. And since all the lands transferred to district authorities will be the object of long-leased concessions with the right of acquisition (article 19, 20, 21) it is really the most "public rights" as valuable to the poorest peasants, which is being effected by this Fascist law.

This will not be forgotten in the Italian countryside. And when Fascism is spoken of as an evil memory, more than anything else the peasants will remember the end of the "rights." But alas, the landholders—the Italian "Kulaks"—will recollect it also, as a good haul in return for all their expenditure for the benefit of the regime dear to their hearts.

(Continued on page 5)



"With stilletoes between our teeth and bombs in hand, our hearts scorn danger."—Benito Mussolini in address on February 6th, 1928.

A Rat's—Eye View of the Universe

By Felix Grenden

TO THE man in the street Behaviorism is simply the latest fad among bob-haired University Extensionettes or "little groups of serious thinkers." To the specialist it stands for a new point of view in psychology. To Dr. Berman, who, not so long ago, won golden spurs with "The Glands Regulating Personality," it is more than a passing fad, or another offspring of the Ph. D. incubator, or the latest sensation in pseudoscience, or even a new method calculated to drive the psychoanalysts and introspectionists from the ruling roost in the field of psychology. Dr. Berman calls Behaviorism a religion. Or rather, an irreligion. His reason being that it is a make-shift religion for essentially irreligious people. Dr. Berman's point is that the first need of a genuinely religious man is to identify himself with a purpose, infinitely mightier than a merely one-man purpose. But the Behaviorist can see no purpose in life save only his own purpose of pursuing the proper study of mankind. An exception for which we might forgive him much, if he did not spoil it all by restricting the scientific study of human behavior to man conceived as having foreseen his divinity, surrendered his consciousness, and completely lost his mind—if indeed he ever had any.

"Mind Is A Myth"

Now let us hasten to admit that most of us behave like this a good deal of the time. But the Behaviorist declares that we all behave like this all the time. He holds that, for a full scientific explanation of human behavior, the hypothesis of a mind, of a mind which purposely directs the body, is an absolutely superfluous one. The scientist must categorically reject this hypothesis. Why? Well, what the eye don't see, the mind don't grievet. Don't ask him why. To say that there are mental or psychical phenomena which cannot be measured or charted by the same technical apparatus with which we classify physical phenomena is, he claims, to indulge in a piece of blazing nonsense, itself

*The Religion Called Behaviorism. By Dr. Louis Berman. Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927.

The Behaviorist School of Psychology Envisages a World Which Can Be Fashioned For Any "Desired End"

a final proof of the Behaviorist's theory that mind is a myth.

This claim puts me in mind of an experience in a composition class during my schooldays in England. It was the practice of the teacher to arrive at a pupil's mark in composition by striking an average of his percentages in the several departments regarded as integral factors of composition craftsmanship. Now there was a boy in the class whose marks, computed on a maximum of 100 for each subdivision, ran something like this: spelling, 30; punctuation, 30; diction, 50; grammar, 20; rhetoric, 10; imitation of a given model, 40. Out of a possible 600, this totalled 180 which, when divided by 6, yielded a percentage of 30, a figure that consigned the youngster to nearly the lowest place in a fairly large class. So far, all was in order. But at stated intervals the Headmaster would appear on the scene and command us to do a composition at sight on some imaginative theme, each improvisation to be subsequently read aloud to the whole class. Again, from time to time we were invited to write competitively for a prize. Well, on all these impromptu occasions, the dunce startled us by an apparently unaccountable reversal of form. In originality of conception, piquancy of treatment, richness of color, and fire of feeling, nobody else could touch him. He stood in a class by himself. Our 30-per-center might not know a gerund from a hole in the ground, but when it came to the test of tests, he could write all our heads off.

To our composition master, this phenomenon was as disconcerting as it was unpalatable. Here was a boy who, by every rule of Behaviorist addition, should have been a disgrace to his school, his country, and his flag; yet he actually carried off all the most coveted prizes, and clinched his triumphs by holding his schoolmates and his teachers spellbound. The fellow was actually greater than the sum of his parts! Clearly, his behavior was a flagrant defiance of the laws of mathematics and of all the other log-

ical sciences. And if our teacher—who was a born Behaviorist, without knowing it—had not been too timid to affront the distinguished gentlemen who had acted as judges and awarded the prizes, he would undoubtedly have denounced our 30 per cent. classmate as a freak of nature and hence the one unpardonable exception to the rule.

Nature A Super-Factory

In next to no time, Dr. Berman could have delivered the composition teacher from his bewilderment by explaining that my schoolfellow's behavior was entirely normal. True, being a genius, this particular boy was a bit of a freak. But it was not his virtue of his genius that he transcended the sum of his parts. Every intelligent being transcends the sum of his parts. Why this is so we can no more tell than we can tell why life itself is a ceaseless process of change. We believe it. And all sound human sense instantly subscribes to the belief. Now it is against this belief—which Dr. Berman champions on behalf of the German experimenters of the so-called Gestalt school—that the Behaviorist dashes his head with might and main. To him 2 and 2 always and forever make four. And he passionately advances this strictly additive view against the Gestalt view that in life, as distinct from mathematics, 2 and 2 always foot up to 4 plus. In brief, he admits of no essential difference between the unity of a human being and the unity of a machine. He sees man and machine alike as an orderly assemblage of parts, with the invariable characteristic that the sum of the parts will exactly equal the whole, no less and no more. Useless to protest, in the words of prophet and poet, that the eye is an instrument for seeing through, in addition to seeing with; or to point out that the life of an organism, which comes from within, transfigures the several parts of the organism, as the life of the machine, which comes from without, can in no wise transfigure the sev-

eral parts of the machine. Your Behaviorist, being unable to measure transfiguration in metric symbols, has no use for it. He doesn't, he tells you, admit it to his vocabulary. He plumes himself on his ability to give you with precision the "specifications" of a tiger cub or a new-born babe, as though it were the latest Ford model, priced P. O. B. Detroit, and assembled in Times Square. Blake's "What immortal hand or eye dared frame thy fearful symmetry?" strikes him as so much rhetorical fireworks. He knows exactly how the parts of the Ford car are assembled, and although he does not know exactly how the tiger and the baby are assembled, he confidently assures the publisher that he is assembled, any living work of Nature being incomprehensible to him except as the product of a kind of super-Ford car factory.

As Simple As Christian-Science

But if a living creature is merely an assemblage of parts, someone or something must nevertheless have done the assembling. Who or what is this agent? The Behaviorist adroitly gets the point blank question with the smooth and self-sufficient rejoinder that living creatures are never assembled with an end consciously in view, the proof being that no Behaviorist has ever detected in the assembling process anything that bears the remotest likeness to a purpose or a plan. It follows that organisms contrive to assemble their parts by mechanical, chemico-physical, and muscular responses to environment—stimuli—a practically infinite series of such responses extending over nobody knows how many millions of years. And not only all the physical activities of life, but also the mental activities of life, hark back to one or other of these myriad responses. There you have the Behaviorist reply in a nutshell. If it has no other merit, it is at least concise, convenient, and comprehensive. At one blow, it banishes mind from every nook and corner of the universe.

Here, a curious parallel may be drawn between the Behaviorist, who begins the study of mental phenomena by banishing mind, and the Christian Scientist, who begins the study of material well-being by abolishing matter. Both positions have the same sweeping simplicity. In one case, matter, in the other case, mind, is regarded as the sole reality. Each holds the others reality to be a deadly error. The Behaviorist contends that mind—what there is of it—is only a normal by-product of matter. The Christian Scientist asserts that matter—such as it is—is only an abnormal by-product of mind. One has a morbid horror of the spirit; the other has a morbid horror of the flesh. The latter would have us look on the body as a by-word and a mocking; the former would persuade us that a man's soul is nowhere, or, at most, where Shakespeare's Thersites found it, in a man's clothes. Well, as we survey these two doctrinaire reputations, can we honestly say that the Christian Scientist's denial of the visible world is more superstitious or more unscientific than the Behaviorist's denial of the invisible world?

Mind And Matter

To Dr. Berman, as to Samuel Butler and a long line of sturdy thinkers before him, both positions are not merely repugnant to common sense, but are fundamentally irreligious. He points out that poets and philosophers have always intuitively grasped a truth which 20th century science is now proceeding to verify, the truth, namely, that mind and matter are concurrent and inseparable expressions of one and the same thing. That one thing is life. The soul of life always manifests itself in a body, though that body be as evanescent as a snowflake on the river or as intangible as an electron in the atomic dance. It follows that even an electron has a soul and even an ion has a body. Does not modern chemistry tell us that every atom has a mind of its own. If you

Northwestern District

Emil Herman, secretary of the Northwestern District, is completing his list of dates on his way east to the National Convention. He will arrive in Portland, Oregon, on March 25 and expects to spend several days there and reorganize the local. Other dates are being arranged in Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

Tennessee

State Secretary Braun writes that by the middle of March he will be on the job with both feet, rounding up the forces for a state ticket. Comrade Braun says there is no doubt that the Socialists in Tennessee will have a full ticket this year. Nothing should bar Braun when he once gets started.

Mississippi

W. C. Kennedy, the acting State Secretary, writes the National Office that he is ready to give his time and experience in building the party in Mississippi, and especially placing a state and national ticket on the ballot. Kennedy is one of the hardest working Socialists in the southern states and knows how to work.

New York State

Buffalo

On Thursday, March 22, at 8:15 p.m. Esther Friedman, of New York City, will speak at the Banquet Hall of the Elmwood Music Hall, on "Unemployment, the Cause and Remedy." This lecture will be free to the unemployed. All readers of The New Leader will kindly take notice. We expect a great turnout of Socialists and sympathizers.

Study Class meetings are progressing wonderfully. They are held at the East Side Labor Lyceum, 1644 E. Genesee street, near Doat, on the second and fourth Fridays of each month. They are becoming very popular. Mrs. M. Klein and Mrs. Elizabeth Roth are helping make them a success. Coffee and doughnuts are served free. Comrade Ehrenreich's lectures are along the lines of evolution, as propounded by Professor Joseph McCabe.

(Continued on page 7)

Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

Readers in unorganized communities desiring information on how to organize local divisions of the Socialist Party may obtain instructions, leaflets, charter applications, membership cards, application cards and all other necessary information by addressing William H. Henry, National Executive Secretary, 2633 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Information regarding speakers, literature, platforms, etc., may be obtained from the National Office.

Ohio

State Secretary Willert starts off the campaign in Ohio by addressing the Socialists in the state through a circular letter, urging them to get their forces organized right away. Willert knows what a big job there is on hand to get more than 20,000 signatures to place a ticket on the ballot. Ohio is one of the key states, and we hope every Socialist in that state who reads this will write Willert and tell him what part he can play.

Texas

David Curran, state organizer, sends an enthusiastic report showing old members of the Party paying up dues and new ones coming in. Not only that, but contributions are coming into the State Office to push the work. We are developing a fine organization in Texas and it is encouraging to note that the comrades are working together with a fine spirit.

West Virginia

Comrade Higgins, State Secretary, writes that a local with 12 members, has been organized at Philippi. Unemployment in West Virginia is about as bad as elsewhere. Some comrades are getting in on exempt stamps, which is just what we want them to do when they are out of employment. There are no dead weeks in the Socialist work in West Virginia.

Nevada

W. H. Cordill, State Secretary, is extending his work in getting Socialists throughout the state lined up to place a ticket on the ballot and to gather the necessary signatures. Cordill is an enthusiastic worker and never quits.

Kansas

The Socialist movement in Kansas is going right on. State Secretary Magill keeps right after the work, even though he has not been feeling well, due to an attack of the "flu." He writes that the comrades are getting ready to organize at Wichita. Magill is planning to make another trip where further organization work is promised.

Illinois

State Secretary Snow announces that Illinois will send its full quota of delegates to the national convention and that the party state convention will meet in Chicago May 13 and nominate a complete state ticket.

German Kommunefer

The German Socialists will hold their annual "Kommunefer" in Fleiner's Hall, 1638 N. Halsted street, Saturday, March 24, 8 p.m.

The Cook County Central Committee of the Socialist Party is cooperating with the Jewish Daily Forward in raising funds and collecting clothing for the striking miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Yipsels

Chicago Yipsels are making a special

effort to elect M. V. Haluska a member of the nation to the House of Representatives. A letter urging his election has been sent to members and branch secretaries. The 28th Ward Br. has contributed \$10 to the circle. The first received from the recent appeals for funds.

Pennsylvania

Darlington Hoopes, State Secretary, whose office has been at Norristown, has moved to Reading where he has established his law office at 26 N. Sixth St. He will maintain his office at Norristown, and will continue to receive correspondence should be sent to his Reading address.

Distribution of Literature
This week Reading Socialists will distribute a special edition of the Labor Advocate which will contain a complete survey of what the Socialist administration has done and will try to do in the coming months. A copy will be placed in every home in the city, a job which shows how seriously the Socialists are carrying on their work.

Saye
Burton Bowman, who for many years has done his bit for the Socialist move-

ment, recently lost his wife. Comrade Bowman has been a Juv Higgins with little help in his community and Pennsylvania Socialists sympathize with him in his great loss.

New Jersey

Newark
The Socialist Women's Study Club of Essex County has taken up work of helping the striking miners. The club is arranging a bazaar and card party at party headquarters, 22 S. Orange avenue, Saturday, March 24, to help the miners. The Socialist women send out an S. O. S. call for help. They ask for contributions—groceries, clothing, shoes, etc.—which may be sent to the headquarters or will be called for if the club is notified. The committee in charge are Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. Anna Marr, and Mrs. Annie C. Kane. Everybody should help the women comrades to help the miners.

Delaware

As we go to press, word is received that Delaware is swinging into line with a promise of organization, a state ticket, and a delegate to the national convention.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

NOSES, AMOEBAS AND CROWNS

BONI AND LIVERIGHT, the publishers, announce that they are bringing out a book this month by Charles Nessler called, "The Story of the Hair, Its Purpose and Its Preservation." Of course you girls know who Charles is. But for the benefit of my man reader I will inform him that Charlie is the author of the permanent wave.

The permanent wave is well-known to men who have married straight-haired girls. It cost fifteen bucks. It takes about a day. It consists of a combination of hanging your wife's hair on wires all over a shoppe that is usually run by a lady named Modom (who addresses everybody as "Dearie") and then burning her with hot irons until her hair begins to curl from sheer pain. The big catch in this process comes in the word "permanent." If the waves that Charlie thought up are permanent then I am Horace Kallen. And honest, I'm not Horace Kallen.

But now that the outline business is going into new markets, having saturated the fields of history, philosophy, knowledge, art, science and ptomaine poisoning, Charles Nessler's opus gives us an idea.

We are busy writing a book called, "The Story of the Nose. Its Rise and Fall Through the Ages."

We hope to have it ready for publication this coming Fall when the public becomes nose-conscious with the first approach of winter. Much of our source material comes from a monograph written last Summer by Morris Ernst, entitled, "Smells," and dedicated to the Department of Justice.

The first chapter will be called, "The Rise of the Proboctus" and will treat of the nose in pre-history. We will show how the amoeba got his nose by making snoots at scientists who describe him as "the lowest form of life." Having met an awful lot of Republicans, we have always figured that this was mighty tough on the amoeba.

This brings us into a pretty heavy discussion of the Lamarckian theory as to whether the nose grew on the amoeba as the result of the stimulus of the scientists or whether it just got there as the survival of the fittest. This is sure to start a controversy and will give our advertising copy-reader a chance to ring in that stuff about "A controversial work that is bound to create a furore."

Then there will be a whole lot of chapters written in popular style such as "The Noses that Bloom in the Spring," "The Noses for News," "The Nose that Sunk a Thousand Ships," "J. P. Morgan's, the Nose of a Century," etc.

The book will retail for \$2.50. There will be a limited edition of this book, signed by the author and printed on paper made out of handkerchiefs. The price of this will be twenty-five dollars, which is mighty low considering the high cost of handkerchiefs these days.

But the big news of the week is what happened to us.

You many not believe it, but we are now an official crowned head. And not crowned the way you think.

The other morning we tottered down to the mailbox to find an advertisement for a summer camp, a night-club, a Keely cure, a little reminder from the Sheffield Farms milk company and a most impressive looking document all covered over with crowns. Also an invitation to send ten dollars to the Sabbath Day Alliance.

When we opened the great big document, what do you think we found? Ooh, a diploma, like the kind we should have gotten in school if there had been any appreciation of true merit on the part of our teachers.

This diploma reads as follows:
"COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
King's Crown
King's athletic Award."

This is to certify that McAlister Coleman has been awarded the Gold King's Crown for distinguished service in non-athletic activities."

There. What do you think of that? Now we can go around king's crowning you boys and girls because we are a distinguished non-athlete.

It is nineteen years since we went to Columbia and our memory is getting a bit vague as to what we did to distinguish ourselves up there except writing insulting editorials about Nicholas Murray Butler. But we are no George Washington. You don't catch us refusing any crowns.

Crowns are as rare as jobs these days. A good crown would probably hock as high as \$8.50 at a place right around the corner from where we live. Unfortunately they didn't send the crown along with the diploma, which causes hoarse laughter on the part of our loving friends when we show them the document. They say, "Aw, for God's sake. They just want you to send them some jack." But we feel such levity is ill-timed. There are too many skeptical people in this world as it is.

As a matter of fact I'll bet I can go to pretty nearly any reputable crown-maker and get one made to order on the strength of this award. There's a firm near us which is called, "Melinovsky and Davidow, Rulers." That sounds promising. They probably supply their rulers with crowns or coronets. What do they care about that poem, "Kind hearts are more than coronets and simple faith than Norman Thomas?"

So the next time you see us, you will probably think we are the King of England, if it wasn't for the Beard.

Maybe you have to have a beard to wear a crown. We recall now that all the pictures of the crowned heads of Europe show gents with beards or goatees or mustaches.

Well, all right, we'll grow a beard if necessary. Boardman Robinson looks all right in his.

With a beard and a new Spring crown we ought to be quite a sight. If people won't come to listen to our speeches on the coal problem the way we look now, we ought to be able to turn them away with a front like that.

Think of how big we will go when we start street-speaking next Fall. As a rule you take your hat off when you make street speeches but that can't go for crowns.

You simply adjust your crown to the right angle, part your beard and begin, "If the dear little children will stop throwing tin cans, this meeting will start." Yes sir, the sight of a Socialist speaker wearing a crown on the corner of Second Avenue and Tenth Street ought to be one of the big features of the coming campaign.

McAlister Coleman.

Book Review

Max Eastman's "Venture"

By M. H. Hedges

MAX EASTMAN has written poetry of hard, bright color. He has written an eloquent book about poetry; and has written—often shrewdly—and always incisively about economic polity. Now he has published a contemporary romance that has in it all three distinguishing elements of his work, poetry, criticism and political asseverations. ("Venture," by Max Eastman, Albert and Charles Boni.) "Venture" is about Jo Hancock, happy warrior, who enlists in the ranks for the duration of the class war. By making Jo Hancock a poet after a fashion, living in Greenwich Village, a friend of George Forbes, Wall Street financier, and a playmate of big Bill Haywood, Eastman enables the reader to see opposing principles in the class struggle; and it seems the novelist's intent to depict the consanguinity of the big capitalist and the masterful labor leader. Forbes, who more nearly approaches a creation than any in the book, dreams of erecting an aristocratic class upon an enslaved order of mushheads. And Hancock under the inspiration of Haywood, and Haywood's beautiful confederate, Vera, finally dreams of erecting an order of "selected democrats" upon unexploited masses. Until the end, it is not certain to whose vision Hancock will give his allegiance; and it is no wonder, for, though too long, Forbes's conversations are brilliant and bedazzling, and furnish quite the best reading in the book. Unlike most pictures of capitalists in American novels, Forbes is neither a caricature, nor a monster. He has his loyalties, and idealisms, his fineness and his dreams. He speaks tumultuously out of unconscious stores of truth. And he looks platitudes, and hypocrites.

Unsatisfactory Alternatives

The reflective reader must wonder if society will choose either of the alternatives offered in this novel. Either Forbes or Hancock. It is true, that antagonists, bitterly battling, tend to take on like characteristics, and this is one of the strongest arguments against making the class motive the main-spring of every revolutionary move. In seeking to set up a more just order of society, revolutionists, in their zeal, seldom guard against setting up only another order of society. Judged by the vision of life reflected in "Venture," Eastman sees no cyclic turnover in human affairs.

Sidelights on History

By James Oneal

TO THE books on American economic and social history must be added one that probably was not intended for this class, a work by Marion Nicholl Rawson (Candle Days, New York: The Century Co., \$3.50). The sub-title, "The Story of Early American Arts and Implements," aptly suggests the theme. For years the author has talked to old folks in New Hampshire, making notes of their reminiscences of "candle days," days when blacksmiths and carpenters, shoemakers and tanners, and the women of the household produced the things which gave comfort to the people of the colonies. This simple order lasted well into the nineteenth century, especially in the small towns and villages of New England. Mrs. Rawson also spent years in gathering old tools and utensils identified with the work of the older generations, learned how they were used, and for what they were used, and in a charming narrative she reconstructs the home-life of the people, the trades and arts, the costumes and furniture, the dyeing and baking, spinning and weaving, and other phases of the workaday life of a period that is now past history. Thirty-one illustrations of her curious treasures add to the value of the book.

Imagine the blacksmith often being called upon because of his physical strength to pull teeth, the barber to do the bleeding recommended by physicians, the footstove with its glowing coals ready to be carried to Meeting, the itinerant shoemaker coming to your home to make the shoes and remaining as a boarder till the work is done, and the wheelwright making his annual rounds peddling his wool wheels to anxious dames. Then there was the suggestion of communal help in the employment of the "sheep-pastor," the "cow-herd," the "cow-herd" and the "calf-keeper," whose duties are suggested by their names; the "hog reeve" who looked after loose hogs, saw that they were marked and their noses properly ringed, and the "pound-keeper" who arrested stray animals, collected a fee from the owners or sold the animals at auction.

It is impossible to enumerate the many quaint and curious things to be found in this book. It supplements reading in economic history and makes more vivid the social life, habits, customs and

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place in the battle between the old and new orders, for the disinterested intelligence, and the social-minded and disciplined public servant.

I know well enough that a novelist has no obligation to put everything in creation in his book, except what the frame demands, but it is my impression that the frame of "Venture" demands the presence of the social engineer. And this structure brings me to certain other troublesome questions. Why is it, in so-called social novels—in the work of Upton Sinclair, Floyd Dell, and now Max Eastman—we find so little of social emotion? "He (Hancock) was drunk with the great things he was going to do, drunk with egotism." And this is the spirit of Jo Hancock, and everyone else in the book. Perhaps I am laboring under a delusion. Perhaps there are no social emotions, and no such thing as social intelligence. But if there are not, I think we ought to drop the term "Socialism" from our vocabularies for socialists are only erecting another rationalization, a mask for the savage, egotistic desires, which lust to exploit and enslave.

The True American Escapes

I find "Venture" a romantic, yes, a religious, conception of the war of the classes. It has the drive, throb, and destiny of immature fiction. The true American scene—the creeping paralysis of machine production, mechanized lives and philistine indifference to things of the spirit—is never captured, not even suggested. Even the women are romantic swallows. They give themselves so readily to Hancock—a damnably fascinating man that—and they impose no conditions. Though loving him, they refuse to burden him with their unwelcome presence—an act of renunciation scarcely conceivable in the predatory female of today.

Still—though I think these strictures serious—they do not mar the book for me. There is much of warmth, sheer joy of living and glowing courage in this novel. It should advertise the fact that there is more in economics and politics than George Jean Nathan thinks there is. And it should hearten everyone who believes that a new order, a different order, of society, must eventually out of the present jungle tangle. For it imparts a sense of change—tremendous presence—an act of renunciation scarcely conceivable in the predatory female of today.

foikways of people who lived in the pre-capitalist epoch of history.

There is an interesting view of another sector of American life presented in The Travels of William Bartram, edited by Mark Van Doren, (New York: Macy-Masius, \$2.50). Bartram was a botanist and a lover of nature and the book is his account of his travels from Philadelphia to Charleston, S. C., and from there through Georgia and to Flor-

A RAT'S-EYE VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE

(Continued from page 4)

the same exact control, scrupulous observation, and clinical objectivity with which he measures animals. Not, Men like Gods but Men like Animals, that, he maintains, is the true watchword of the dispassionate experimenter.

Experiments Made Easy

When the Behaviorist reaches this conclusion, a heavy load drops from his chest. If men behave precisely like animals and animals behave precisely like men, then the problem of obtaining laboratory specimens is at once enormously simplified. With almost unlimited supplies of "rats and mice and such small deer," the Behaviorist need no longer court nervous prostration in the search for men and women who, as clinical subjects, are apt to be uncertain, coy, and hard to please. Rats are cheap? or as well as more tractable. And so the student of human behavior fills his clinic with cats, dogs, apes, guinea-pigs, and rats to his heart's content, and launches into orgies of animal experiments that would have made a 19th century vivisectioner green with envy. Behold him, then, charting the curves of human nature and probing the secret places of the human heart and mind by dint of a billion or so experiments performed on the persons of our close kinsmen and camp followers, the rat, the bed-bug, the cockroach, and the rat-all-too-human rat. Nor does he confine himself to the modest business of compiling statistics of the conduct of men, or of rats that behave like men. Presently his rat studies will have taught him so much about men and women, he will have taken their measure so completely, that he will be able not merely to predict human behavior but to control it. He himself says so. He will quite effectively control the behavior of human beings, if not to their satisfaction, then certainly to the satisfaction of employers, major-generals, admirals, and other important persons in need of standardized robots and plenty of them. What could be simpler, while rats behave like men and men behave like rats?

Meeting A Demand

Do not imagine for a moment that this rat's eye view of the universe has few admirers or that its popularity is a mere fluke. Every religion wins the converts it is fit for. If you surrender civilization to the parasite and the profiteer, and depend for the propagation of the species chiefly on the fecundity



William Bartram, author of "The Travels of William Bartram," third title in an American Bookshelf, edited by Mark Van Doren and just published by Macy-Masius

idea near the close of the eighteenth century. Florida was a region little known at that period and the book is important as a source of information regarding its resources, and the life of the settlers and Indians. The book was first published in Philadelphia in 1791 and was highly praised by Coleridge and Carlyle. The reader almost envies the young botanist as he records his various finds, sometimes indulging in rhapsody to express his joy.

While in the South a young man who had accompanied him left Bartram and his account reveals the old struggle between ideal and the economic motive. His fellow traveler, "not relishing the hardships and dangers, which might perhaps befall us, chose rather to stay behind, amongst the settlements. His leaving me, however, I did not greatly regret, as I could not consider it a disadvantage much to my disadvantage at the moment. Our views were probably totally opposite; he, a young mechanic on his adventures, seemed to be actuated by no other motives, than either to establish himself in some well-inhabited part of the country, where, by following his occupation, he might be enabled to procure, without much toil and danger, the necessities and conveniences of life; or by industry and frugality, perhaps establish his fortune. While I, continually impelled by a restless spirit of curiosity, in pursuit of new productions of nature, my chief happiness consisted in tracing and admiring the infinite power, majesty, and perfection of the great Almighty Creator."

So Bartram travels on and makes notes of trees, moss, flowers, roots, and herbs; crocodiles, serpents, frogs, otters, crows, herons, curlews, jacksaws and Indians. There is something of the poet in him, as he eagerly records his treasures. This, for example of the "cupressus disticha" which "stands in the first order of North American trees. Its majestic stature is surprising; and on approaching it, we

are struck with a kind of awe, at beholding the stateliness of the trunk, lifting its cumbrous top toward the skies, and casting a wide shade upon the ground, as a dark intervening cloud, which, for a time, excludes the rays of the sun. The delicacy of its color, and texture of its leaves, exceed every thing in vegetation."

We do not know what became of the young mechanic, or if he turned to land speculation, or in other ways accumulated a fortune, he certainly never lived as richly as William Bartram, enchanted by the plumage of birds, recording some rare moss, and marveling at the "perfection of the great Almighty Creator."

On Imperialism

Particularly timely, in view of the recent disturbing events in Latin America, is the announcement by the Vanguard Press of a series of studies in American Imperialism, under the editorship of Professor Harry Elmer Barnes. Three titles on press now and scheduled to appear early in the month of March, are: "The Americans in Santo Domingo," by Melvin M. Knight; "The Bankers in Bolivia," by M. A. Marsh; "Our Cuban Colony," by Leland H. Jenks. These books are serious researches into the nature of American investments abroad, and are as colorful as any travel books describing strange countries. The attitude of the representatives of the Dominican Republic towards the revision of the Pan-American Union shown at the Havana Conference is based on the peculiar relationship of Santo Domingo to America, the unusual details of which can be found in the first of this series, "The Americans in Santo Domingo," to be issued on March 1st. There will be a slight departure from the usual standardized Vanguard fifty cent price and format in these studies of Imperialism. The books will be of regular 12 mo. size, well bound in attractive cloth of superior quality, printed on fine paper, and will sell for the very low price of \$1.00 each.

Two Deaths Sorrow

Swiss Socialism

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Berne.—The Swiss Labor movement has suffered two serious and sudden losses, one immediately following the other. On Jan. 7th, Dr. Naum Reichenberg died from apoplexy in his 61st year. He was a Russian by birth but had completely settled in Switzerland and was for very many years ordinary Professor of National Economy and Statistics in the University of Berne, one of the few Professors in Switzerland who belongs to the Socialist Party. In spite of his complete association with Switzerland the Berne police refused him naturalization in 1922, a fact which was only known after his death. The workers of Berne expressed an impressive funeral ceremony in thanksgiving to their great teacher. Four days later they had the shock of another unexpected grief. Karl Durr, the Secretary of the Swiss Trade Union Centre died from blood poisoning on Jan. 15th, after a few days' illness. He also was an immigrant in Switzerland; in 1903 he came to Basle as a German metal worker and very quickly won the confidence of his colleagues.

st forgets to tell us. He simply boasts that, despite his present limited equipment, he can take a child of high or low degree and, "by processes of control" known only to Behaviorists, rear it at command to be rich-man, poor-man, beggar-man, thief, or lawyer-merchant-Indian-chief, as may be desired. This proud boast loses much of its sensational effect, if we remember that there is astonishingly little moral difference between rich man and poor man, between merchant and thief, in a competitive society in which, by the showing of its own prison records, these categories are so often and so readily interchangeable, and that without the least clinical-help from any professor of human behavior. At bottom, the boast is a rather crude one, for it is only too easy to divine its origin in the thought born of the Behaviorist wish. Accept the dogma that man is the helpless, prostrate, mechanically responsive creature of his environment, and you speedily cultivate a state of mind in which the environment (as in Hardy's novels), becomes a deity far more cruel, blind, and implacable than the Jehovah of the Pentateuch. As a consequence, you sink into a bottomless pit of despair and writhe in an agony of gloom and pessimism until you are ready to listen with respectful docility to anybody who will hold out the faintest gleam of hope. This is the cue for the Behaviorist, who now steps on the scene as the expert student of environmental stimuli, the specialist par excellence of nature and nurture, the pontifex maximus of "Zeus the stimuli producer."

All hail, then, to the Behaviorist. For he is not the only one who can mediate between man and his surroundings, between the robots and the wrath to come? Who but he is the High Priest of this new Moloch, the environment? And who but himself will direct the medicine men to stupify the monster with antiseptic fluids and comfort it with serums and injections? The Behaviorist, naturally enough, looks on this sequel with no end of satisfaction. But Dr. Berman regards it with undisguised scorn. He refuses to believe that the human race will better its lot by jumping into the fire of Behaviorism. He boldly declares that the Behaviorist world might do—for a rat or for an automaton. It is not a world that would be tolerated for a minute by a Julius Caesar, a Goethe, a Shelley, or a Bernard Shaw. Dr. Berman and his friends, the Gestaltists, will have none of it. Let the Behaviorist ballyhoo do its worst.

Moulding of Men

Observe how that little slip about predicting human behavior and controlling it, gives the whole Behaviorist show away! Dr. Berman rightly marvels that the Behaviorist, who does not believe in the human will, much less in the power of that will to shape the material world to its own purposes, should nevertheless claim that he "will soon be able to control human behavior to any desired end." End desired by whom? By Standard Oil, the National City Bank, Mussolini, the Kuomintang, or Stinnes, Dupont, Krupp and Co.? The Behavior-

OH, SHOOT!

GUNMEN, machine gunning out of closed car, kill two striking miners. Marines shoot five Nicaraguans. Nicaraguans shot five marines. English aviators drop bombs on offending cattle of cantankerous African tribesmen to get even with tribesmen. French aviators drop bombs on Rifian market town disrupting business and Rifians. United States Senators visiting mining camp in Pennsylvania join striking miners singing "Nearer My God to Thee" in defiance of injunction. Breadlines lengthening daily. Four millions of unemployed. Prosperity bigger and better than ever. All in a day's work, as mirrored in a day's news.

I read and ponder. What is it all about? Why do respectable Christian coal operators employ assassins to murder poor coal diggers? They were striking coal diggers, of course, and being such they were the best friends of the coal industry, for are there not too many miners? Too many mines and too much coal? It is over-development and over-production that brought the coal industry to its present sad state. Well, then, why shoot men so truly patriotic as to voluntarily starve themselves, their wives and kids to reduce the over supply of coal?

Why did the Marines travel three thousand miles to pop off those Nicaraguans? Did they have a grouse against them. Did those five Nicaraguans have something the Marines wanted? A new breed of cooties, for instance. And why, oh why, did the Nicaraguans shoot those five Marines? They are ragged, barefooted and starving bandits, we are told. Think how many pounds of chili beans, how many pairs of reed sandals, how many pairs of cotton pants those leaden beans would have bought if it is true that it costs \$25,000 to kill a man, as statistics from the late world war indicate. Multiply twenty-five thousand dollars by five dead marines. Multiply five dead Nicaraguans by twenty-five thousand dollars and you have the staggering sum of \$250,000, or enough to supply a bowl of bean soup to each and every one of the four million unemployed in the United States of America. What a criminal waste of soup bones and beans. And for what? Search me!

England, too, has its unemployed problems. Two and one-half millions of the "Lion Whelps" are out of work, starving or near starving on doles. Would it not have been sensible to set some of these starving Lionites at work making corn knives, butcher cleavers, milk buckets and cream separators to supply far off Africans with the wherewithal of getting more out of their cows in exchange for beef? But no, the energy of the Empire is expended on bombing planes, bombs and gasoline. The cows are turned into hamburger for the delectation of African buzzards and Britain keeps on starving for lack of beef, and keeps on beefing about the decay of English trade.

The French are a polite people. Oh, yes. Oh, sure. But is it polite to drop bombs on Rifian lady shoppers? Could not have France, the polite, send shipment of Paris frocks to those Rifian market towns and thus separated the Rifian ladies and their providers from all they had, as is done in the fashion marts of every civilized country? Why spoil innocent lady shoppers with jagged iron splinters and thus lose them forever as customers? Between mining camp and mine, stands an humble house of the Lord in which striking miners occasionally sing the praise of the Lord, much to the annoyance of the lords of the mine and also the strike breakers, who must pass the house of the Lord on the way to the mine. So the government of the country, in the august person of a federal judge, padlocks the house of the Lord and the lips of the singing miners in behalf of the good and the glory of the lords of the mine.

But glory be. Senators of the good old U. S. A. are still immune from injunctions—may still sing the praise of the Lord in the Land of the free and the home of the brave without fear of being yanked to the hoosegow for contempt of court, and four senators sing "Nearer My God to Thee" near the padlocked house of the Lord betwixt mining camp and mine in the free state of Pennsylvania. "Nearer My God to Thee" thou are, dear Senators in Pennsylvania than in Washington, D. C. Behind rock and underbrush surrounding the humble house of the Lord, proud armed mine guards, thugs, and gunmen with nervous fingers on hair triggers. What a dumb, crazy, hypocritical world. What an insane mixture of piety, piracy and lunacy. And still they call men the crown of creation and prate about Christian civilization!

100% For 100% Enforcement

La Guardia, swarthy Congressman from New York and wet as New York, rose in Congress demanding \$250,000,000 for prohibition enforcement. Dry Congressman Green of Florida, which is even wetter than New York on account of close proximity to Bermuda, Cuba and other moist islands, protests and La Guardia's motion is rejected. Dry vote against thorough prohibition enforcement—167. Wet vote for thorough prohibition enforcement—39.

Motion being lost La Guardia moves appropriation of \$75,000,000 for near thorough prohibition enforcement. Dry reject near thorough prohibition appropriation also. Then kill third La Guardia motion seeking \$25,000,000 appropriation for not so near thorough enforcement.

For my part I am thoroughly committed to thorough prohibition enforcement and like a good wet, I am willing to bear my share of a \$250,000,000 expenditure, for it is my firm conviction that nothing can kill prohibition save 100 per cent enforcement. As it is, all too many people make their living and even fortunes out of partially enforced prohibition. Think of the billions of moonshiners, bootleggers, con rum runners, who are fattening on near prohibition. Think of the millions of sleuths, dicks, snooters, enforcement officers and prohibition lobbyists, who are lining their pockets on near prohibition enforcement. Think of the myriads of hamlet, village, town, city, county, state and federal officials whose incomes as near prohibition enforcers far exceeds their legal and statutory incomes.

No, folks, there is only one way to abolish the prohibition nuisance and that is by 100 per cent enforcement, irrespective of cost, and nobody knows this better than the dry brethren, themselves, hence their frantic opposition to thorough prohibition enforcement. What, kill the goose that lays the golden egg? Not they, not they.

Another, and perhaps the fundamental reason why prohibition can not be enforced is that for some reason or other Providence put alcohol into virtually every plant that grows on earth. For instance:

"There was a young lady of Ryde
Of eating green apples she died
Within the lamented
They quickly fermented
And made cider inside her inside."

Be there you are.

Adam Coaldigger.

Central Trades Will Confer on Unemployment

Injunctions Will Also Be Discussed at Conference Next Week-end

UNEMPLOYMENT and the menace of injunctions will be discussed at a week-end conference conducted by the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and vicinity on March 24-25 at the Washington Irving High School, 40 Irving Place.

On Saturday afternoon and evening, injunctions will be discussed by Matthew Wolf, vice president of the A. F. of L., Congressman Nathan D. Perlmutter, counsel for the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employees, and Prof. Thomas I. Perkins of Columbia University. The chairmen will be Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Central Trades and Labor Council, and John Sullivan, president of the State Federation of Labor.

On Sunday afternoon George Soule of the New Republic and the Labor Bureau, Inc., and Prof. Horace Taylor of the economics department, Columbia University, will discuss unemployment. Hugh Frayne, general organizer of the A. F. of L., will preside.

Gov. Alfred E. Smith and Mayor James J. Walker, have been invited to attend the conference.

Every union interested is urged to send three delegates, for whom there will be a registration fee of \$1 each. All union members in New York and vicinity are invited to attend, but only accredited delegates may speak from the floor. Discussion leaders will include A. J. Muste, dean of Brookwood Labor College; Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Workers Education Bureau; and A. Lefkowitz, chairman of the C. T. L. C.'s educational committee. The afternoon sessions will be held at 2:30 and the evening session at 8 o'clock.

Waldman To Discuss Injunctions Before Summer School Students

There will be a conference of the Bryn Mawr and Barnard Summer School students on Sunday, March 18th, at 218 Madison avenue (corner 36th street). The first session at 10:30 A. M., will discuss "Unemployment". The second session at 2:30 P. M., will be led by Louis Waldman, on "The Injunction". These meetings are open to all who are interested.

WEVD Programs

245.5 M WEVD—New York City 1220 Kc

MONDAY, MARCH 19

1:30 School Hour
2:00 Workers Ethical Community Center, talk
2:20 George Regal, bass
2:40 Mary Siegfried, Poems of the New Humanity
3:00 Lydia Mason, piano
3:20 Norman Allen, baritone
3:40 Professor Thatcher Clark, Elementary Spanish
4:00 Belgian Conservatory of Music, soloist
4:20 Oahles Hubbard, the Civic Repertory, Children's Stories
4:40 Michel Ingemann, piano
5:00 An Hour of India
11:00 Woodhaven Studio Program

TUESDAY, MARCH 20

1:00 Margaret Fry, lyric soprano
1:20 Roland Weber, reading from Shelley
1:40 Kitty Greed, coloratura soprano
2:00 James Hudson, English dramatic tenor
2:20 Workers' Ethical Community Center, talk
2:40 Lydia Mason, piano
3:00 Dr. Charlotte Peck of N. Y. U. Reading from German literature
3:20 Helen Devonia, soprano
3:40 Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger
4:00 American Laboratory Theatre, reader

4:20 Norman Allen, baritone
4:40 Harry Roth, violin
5:00 Marie Yunge, lyric soprano
5:20 Bernard Carp, baritone
5:40 Frances Weber, coloratura soprano
6:00 Debs Vocal Quartette, Old French Songs

6:20 McAllister Coleman, Labor's View of the Week
6:40 Debs Vocal Quartette, Request Group
10:00 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
10:15 Lydia Mason, piano selections

10:30 Rebel Poets, Hermann Spector,
10:45 Robert Urran, popular baritone
11:00 Ernie Farb and his orchestra; saxophone solos by Ernie Farb

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 21

2:00 Joe Zimmerman, popular pianist
2:20 Mid-Day Tunes, popular airs
2:30 Grace Vianova, soprano
3:50 Workers' Ethical Community Center, talk
4:00 Master Institute of United Arts, soloist
4:20 May Waldron, lyric soprano
4:40 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Drama
5:00 Tea Time Tunes
11:00 Woodhaven Studio Program

THURSDAY, MARCH 22

1:00 Workers' Ethical Community Center, talk
1:20 Jennie Munschlegel, popular soprano
1:40 Harold Hecht of the American Laboratory Theatre, reading
2:00 Mrs. L. G. Haas, German dramatic soprano
2:20 Henry Hubbard, reader
2:40 Belgian Conservatory of Music, soloist
3:00 Anne S. Mahland, soprano
3:20 Helena Bloom, reader
3:40 Lydia Mason, piano
4:00 Norman Allen, baritone

THE CALENDAR OF SOCIALIST EVENTS

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 25TH, 2:30 P. M.—Cooper Union. Mass Meeting on "The Seven Cent Fare, the Tram-Middle and Unemployment."
WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 28TH, 8 P. M.—Republic Theatre. "Porgy". Socialist Party Benefit Performance.
FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 13TH.—National Convention Opening Mass Meeting. Hall and speakers to be announced.
SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 14.—National Convention Delegates Reception—Concert and Danish Socialist Hall, 2956 Fifth Avenue. Program—Dorothy and Her Theatre of the Dance; Solomon Deutsch, Violinist and other numbers. Schiller's Orchestra. Admission 75 cents.
SUNDAY, APRIL 15TH, 5:30 P. M.—National Convention Banquet—"Dinner of One Thousand." Park Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue. Concert and Speeches at 8 p. m.—Two dollars (\$2.00) per plate.
APRIL 16TH TO 20TH.—National Convention, Socialist Party, Finnish Socialist Hall, 2956 Fifth Avenue.

Hebrew Butchers Union Thanks Louis Grabel For Years of Service

The Hebrew Butcher Workers Union at a special general meeting March 2nd, adopted a resolution by unanimous vote thanking ex-president Comrade Louis Grabel for the faithful and unselfish service which he rendered the Butchers Union for six years as its chairman. Due to family obligations he was unable to accept the nomination at the last election. He has given and will give his best efforts to the organization even though he will not be our chairman. The union wishes publicly to thank Grabel through the press.

Paper Box Union Denounces Separate Peace by Drivers

THE following statement has been issued by the Paper Box Makers Union of Greater New York, 640 Broadway: "The agreement under which a section of the striking paper box drivers returned to work today is outside the authority or knowledge of the Paper Box Makers Union. This Union has carried on for more than two weeks a strike in which 1500 men and women fought without a single break, for recognition of their union and a moderate basic wage and work week.

"Unknown to this union a group of men, unauthorized by the Paper Box Makers Union, made separate agreements with the employers. Five men, under the leadership of Joe Paresi, met with the bosses while they pretended to be working with this union.

"More than one third of the affected shops had already signed with the Paper Box Makers Union and there was every reason to suppose that a complete settlement would have been accomplished within a day or two.

"The Paresi agreement provides for a \$30 minimum instead of the \$32 demanded by this union. This union demanded a 46 hour week with arbitration in six months; no hours are mentioned in the present agreement. The Paresi 'union' also gave up the demand for legal holidays off time and a half.

"It is further noted that under the terms of the agreement signed today only employers belonging to the Independent Paper Box Manufacturers Association are included. This includes only about 80 of the 200 shops in the metropolitan district. Paresi has demanded that drivers now working for employers not affiliated with the Association, who have already signed agreements with the Paper Box Makers Union leave their work. This is absolutely without the authority of the Paper Box Makers Union."

200 Colored Women In Forefront of Strike of Laundry Workers

The saying that women are hard to organize, especially colored women, does not hold true in the case of the colored workers in the steam laundries of New York City. Over 200 of them have been out on strike during the last three weeks for the recognition of the Laundry Workers' Union and so far not one has backed out. Most of these women are married and have one or more dependents.

The conditions under which these women labor remind one of the days of the sweatshop. Most of them work in the mangle and folding departments. Their hours are from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. and sometimes longer, without any pay for overtime. Their wages are from \$12 to \$14 a week. The highest they can hope to earn is \$15 a week. They are fired at the slightest pretense. They are obliged to work in rooms filled with steam, which is highly injurious to their health.

The strike was the result of the sudden discharge of the president of the Laundry Workers' Union. A similar number of men, most of whom were employed as drivers, also walked out on strike. To date the employers have refused to negotiate with the union.

The New York Woman's Trade Union League is aiding the strikers morally as well as financially. The strikers are directed in their picketing and demonstration by the able Miss Sadie Reich of the League.

4:20 Mina Shakman, American dramatic soprano
4:40 Rosa Kovar, contralto
5:00 Hints from Suzanne
9:00 Cecile Orlando, dramatic soprano
9:20 Dr. Harry W. Laidler "Socialism and Evolution of Industry"
9:35 Alexander Maliss, piano
9:50 A. Basil Wheeler, "Conflicts: The Meaning of Current Events."
10:05 Maurice Pollack, violin
10:25 "Unemployment and Prosperity"
10:40 Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger
11:00 Woodhaven Studio Program

SATURDAY, MARCH 24

2:00 Utopian Four
2:20 Rebel Poets Reading
2:40 Robert J. Urran, popular baritone
3:00 Michel Ingemann and his orchestra
4:00 Bernard Carp, baritone
4:20 Professor Jesse H. Holmes, "What War Costs and Who Pays"
9:00 Justine Roberts and her group, impersonations
9:20 Carl D. Thompson, "Public Ownership in Springfield, Ill."
9:40 Theodore Marvel, baritone
10:00 The A B C of Socialism
10:20 Cora Wold, soprano, diseuse
10:40 George Fields, "A Radical Paper for Radical Youth."
11:00 Debs Variety Hour.

The Week On Stage

FREUD UNSUSPECTING

By Joseph T. Shipley

LAURETTE TAYLOR's new vehicle, "The Furies," at the Shubert Theatre, does a curious half-turn in the last act and becomes a study in abnormal psychology. Before that, it had been one act of bright comedy, and one act of mystery-melodrama. Laurette Taylor comes on late, but keeps the stage stirring while she plays.

Eugene O'Neill is indirectly responsible for a few car-loads of poor attempts at the good truck—all tricks are poor the second and the third time; then they are as unquestioned as the pony ballet. One of the valid recent appearances of the monologue, however, is that, with which John Cumberland and Zoe Akins open "The Furies"—well devised by the playwright, excellently handled by the actor. At times, too, in a manner quickly caught, various of the characters speak to themselves out loud. The returning aside, in fact, is much like its grandfather, whom the well-made playwrights hooted off the stage; Oliver in "As You Like It" reveals his nature and his interests no less than Harvey Bel Smith in "The Furies"; only what once was design is now desire, what was intention, wish.

It is interesting to note that of the three males Zoe Akins takes any time about, one is a vainglorious fool, one a cowardly scamp, and one an insane murderer. Of the other sex, she has fewer harsh things to say; but Laurette Taylor ensures sympathy for any part.

"The furies" summoned to give the play a strong title are those demons of modern psychopathology which have turned so many a mind from its proper course that we must not be surprised they have done the same to a play.

"WITHIN THE LAW"

Chamberlain Brown, who sends his permanent company on tour next week while he tries a new show at the Cosmopolitan, is this fortnight reviving Bayard Veiller's "Within the Law." Much of the power that once drove this play into record run, has seeped from between the lines as the years drove on; its chief interest today is that it gives theatre-goers a chance to observe how the drama has "improved" since Jane Cowell's first great triumph.

The history of the play is one of the many tales of curious turn-overs along the theatre-lanes; William A. Brady, after trying it out in Chicago, sold it cheap to the new firm of Selwyn & Co.; Grace George declined the leading role; and the author instead of trusting in royalties, sold the play outright! As sheer melodrama the piece is more adapted to the movie-audience than to the theatre-goers of today, but as a thrill to tyros, or as reminiscence to oldsters, it still may serve.

IF WISHES WERE STALLIONS

"The Bachelor Father," by E. C. Carpenter, now at the Belasco—probably for a long time—is a play about what most men might dream of in the odd moments when the pressure of our industrial civilization prompts them to disregard their social conscience (if such things be, any longer) and to soar as young Lotharios or Don Juans, multi-millionaires strewing caresses and children about the globe. To Sir Basil Winton, V. C., K. C. B., K. C. G. M., K. W., there comes, after an adult life of reckless sowing, the strange whim to reunite his children under his single roof.

Accustomed to having his whims indulged, Sir Basil detaches his young attorney from otherwise pressing affairs, and sends him to Manchester, to Florence, and to New York, in quest of his children.

Picture the heterogeneous lot an imaginative playwright could put together by this simple device; add the surly and opportunity for cross-play and by-word when three young folk, two young women and a promising young man, discover that one man, stranger to all three, is their father; The device

PARTY MEETING PLANS CAMPAIGN

(Continued from Page 1)

weeks and reports made by them Wednesday night evoked hearty applause, Comrades Thomas, Karlin, Berman and Panken reporting for their groups.

The reports show that \$10,000 is already pledged and the committee on Individual Contributions promises \$10,000 more before the end of the campaign. A dinner of Socialist workers in the trade unions will be held March 27; several leaflets are being written; a number of mass meetings are being planned, the first in Cooper Union on March 25 on the transit situation and another on April 13, the day before the national convention is called to order; a banquet and dance April 14; a souvenir convention journal is rapidly assuming shape; a number of debates and entertainments are on the program for this year, and a systematic drive to enlist all enrolled Socialist voters in the party organization is unfolding.

As desert for this menu, August Claessens read a dispatch from an evening paper announcing that Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee had swept the primary election with the biggest majority ever given to a Socialist candidate in Milwaukee primaries. A tribute was paid to Max Pine who for many years had been an active soldier in both fields of the labor struggle and who recently died. The members stood in silence for a minute at the suggestion of chairman Hill, quit.

itself is enough to insure comedy of situation even though its opportunities are slighted; but with the irascible old bart played by C. Aubrey Smith, the young Italian (who must have a passionate affair to bring out her voice) of Adriana Dori, the smooth yet ardent young attorney of Geoffrey Kerr, and the pert young compound of slang and complete frankness that sparkles in June Walker (whose part in the play, at least, is as truly of this town as is our mayor); what with these players in the given story, "a good time is had by all."

Nonetheless, the play weakens toward the end. Playwrights have been so carefully heeding the famous admonition embodied in the book "How's Your Second Act?" that at times they grow careless with the third. But we just knew he wouldn't have the heart to kill June Walker—especially behind the scenes.

THE GREAT NECKER

At first blush (and there are many) we suspected "The Great Necker" to be a sort of Emiliudwigian drama of the great mortician, William Necker. Yet there is something akin to funeral directing in that excessive comedy by Elmer Harris at the Ambassador.

Arthur Pomroy, millionaire movie producer and lady-killer, spends a lot of time burying his philandering past, after he falls more or less seriously in love with the young and innocent Pansy, daughter of an Antoinette Comstock member of the Censorship Board. Mrs. Hawthorne is her name, and she is the third in the side of Pomroy's partner Adolph Cohen, a movie producer. Later it turns out that this moral mentor is nothing but sensuousness bored.

In the mean time, the middle-aged Pomroy is up to the neck in love with Pansy Hawthorne. All this sentimentality Madame Estelle, Pomroy's intimate decorator and friend in-deed, a pain in the neck. He makes considerable wayward and his marriage to the pure young thing about to be consummated. But the doddering play-boy has a collegiate nephew who discovers that Pansy knows her wild oats, and the triangle is complete. In the third act Pomroy (Taylor Holmes) is panic-stricken when Pansy reveals herself as a budding Tiger Lily who chatters fluently about Freud and cross pollination and declares herself for Teddy Ferguson, the virile nephew.

The dialogue is replete with wise cracks that grow irritating at times. Mr. James B. Carson's interpretation of Cohen, the movie mogul, was grossly exaggerated.

If the District Attorney's rubber neckers refrain from slipping the nose over "The Great Necker," we predict a long run, for it is a comedy that appeals to those whose "necker" needs to be behind the neck, and those who sport Windsor neckties.

B. B.

IN BRIEF

John Meehan has been chosen by Chamberlain Brown to direct the fourth coming production of "A Lady for a Night," the first new play to be given by the Theatre Guild. The play, written by John Meehan, is a comedy in three acts. It is a story of a woman who is seduced by a man who is a member of the Theatre Guild. The play is a comedy in three acts. It is a story of a woman who is seduced by a man who is a member of the Theatre Guild.

Charles L. Wagner announces that he has engaged a company of actors to produce a new play, "The Silent House," at the Theatre Guild. The play is a comedy in three acts. It is a story of a woman who is seduced by a man who is a member of the Theatre Guild.

Luis Alberni, who plays an important role in "The Silent House," at the Theatre Guild, is a student of the Spanish theatre and his first experience as an actor was in Barcelona in the dramas of great Spanish playwrights.

James B. Fagan's production of "The Cherry Orchard" in English will have but two weeks to run at the Theatre Guild, beginning next week. These will be given on Thursday and Friday afternoons. The schedule has been cut from four performances to two in order to relieve the strain on the members of the cast, all but two of whom were now playing in other attractions and who, under the original schedule, were forced to give twelve performances weekly.

Charles L. Wagner announces that he has accepted for immediate production a new comedy by Kenneth Nicholson entitled, "Babes in the Wood." Mr. Nicholson, of course, will be remembered as the author of "The Barker," and co-author with Samuel Behrman of "Love

A Great Spanish Actress and the People

THE death of Madrid on Jan. 23 of Donna Maria Guerrero not only closes the greatest career in the contemporary Spanish stage, but removes a personality who was in a quite unusual degree beloved by the working-class of her country. In this affection they recognized the exceptional sympathy for popular endeavor which the late actress displayed throughout her life.

Born at Madrid in 1868, of humble parents, Maria Guerrero made her debut on the stage of the capital in 1885, being at once well-received by the public; subsequently she spent some time in Paris to study under Squelini and Sarah Bernhardt. Following her return she went through a long course of apprenticeship in various theatres, slowly winning the recognition and respect of the public without difficulties, to a position of supremacy in the world of Spanish acting. Her versatility enabled her to precede on such an occasion, through the streets of the city as mourners at Maria Guerrero's funeral, are preparing to commemorate her name in connection with a People's theatre there.

Is Like That.

Owen Davis, Jr., who scored so solidly as Chris in the Chicago company of "The Barker," will be featured.

Winthrop Ames announced yesterday that his production of John Galsworthy's "Escape" will be his New York run in the Booth Theatre on Saturday night, March 24, and begin a tour of the east the following Monday night in the Plymouth Theatre, Boston. "Escape" opened here on October 26 and will have played five months in the Booth Theatre, totaling 176 performances. The production has shown a consistent profit and might continue through the spring, but as Leslie Howard's contract with Ames ends June 1, the producer has decided to send the play on tour now, rather than to sacrifice the benefits of a tour of cities where Galsworthy's name has a proven drawing power. The play will be visited in addition to Boston are Hartford, New Haven, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Toronto and Montreal. The tour will end on May 26. Frida Inescort will continue as leading woman in "Escape."

Constance Collier witnessed the making yesterday of "The Merchant of Venice" which George Arliss and Peggy Wood are acting in the Broadhurst Theatre. "The Merchant of Venice" ends its eight-week season in New York on Saturday and begins its spring tour in Washington on Monday night.

Maurice Schwartz, America's outstanding Jewish actor and director of the Yiddish Art Theatre on 12th St., and Second Avenue, has been rehearsing a new comedy entitled "American Chastity," which he will offer as his next production this Friday evening, March 16. It has been written by Chune Gofely, author of last season's successful musical comedy "Mamele," which Moishe Picon starred for many months.

IN MOVIES

One of the outstanding numbers of the Anniversary Week program at the Roxy Theatre next week will be a Revue called "ello, Everybody." The Roxy Orchestra of 110 musicians, all the members of Roxy's "gang," the Ballet Corps, the Roxyettes, the Chorus and the Ensemble, to which 100 new members have been added, will participate. To these, Mr. Rothafel has added Renoff and Renova, the former a guest artist of the Chicago Opera Company, and the latter premiere danseuse with the Metropolitan Opera Company, who have been specially engaged for an adagio dance. Lillian La Tongue will interpret a "Dance of the Flame" with a living one-candle birthday cake as a background, and Frances Mann and Frederick Carpenter will contribute a specialty dance number.

Corrine Griffith's first United Artists release, "The Garden of Eden," will open at the Paramount Theatre next Saturday. The picture is presented by Walter Morosco, and Lowell Sherman, Louise Dresser and Charles Ray are in the cast. The story is taken from the play which was a success here and abroad. The movie has been made into a modern thriller of Montmartre night life with gorgeous settings at Monte Carlo.

John Murray Anderson's "See Saw" will be the stage attraction at the Paramount next week, a novel melange of beautiful Foster girls, talent and the Paramount stage band with Mandy Baez, back with the stick.

"The Legion of the Condemned" is an aviation picture, but different from Wings, though made by the same director, William Wellman. Wellman knows his stuff when it comes to aerial shing and has made another 'natural' production. The story was written by John Monk Saunders, who also wrote the story "Wings," but don't get the idea that they are anything alike, except for the sensational air fighting and aerial stunts of its flyers. "The Legion of the Condemned" has a great love story, is made up of strong characters, and is exciting and romantic enough to hold a audience from start to finish. The picture is scheduled for a long run at the Rialto Theatre. Fay Wray and Gary Cooper have stellar parts in the production.

Douglas Fairbanks as "The Gaucho" is going over big on his first run at popular prices at the Rivoli Theatre. "The Gaucho" opened to record business a week ago and is scheduled for a four-week-run at Broadway's popular moving picture theatre.

The translation of the Civic Repertory Theatre's forthcoming production of "Redda Gable," by Henrik Ibsen has been made by Julie Le Gallienne, the well known journalist, mother of Eva Gabor, and Paul Leydson, prominent member of the Civic Repertory Theatre's permanent company and translator of much of Hans Christian Andersen's work.

Enrique Fernandez Arbos, conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra, will assume the direction of the New York Symphony Orchestra, following Oscar Fried's final concert in Mecca Auditorium tomorrow afternoon (Sunday, March 18). Fried's program today will include Brahms' Symphony No. 1, in G major, Stravinsky's L'Oiseau de Feu and Ravel's Daphnis et Chloe.

Arbos will remain as guest conductor until the debut of the season, April 1, conducting five concerts. They are scheduled for Thursday afternoon (March 22) in Carnegie hall, Saturday afternoon (March 24) in Brooklyn, Sunday afternoon (March 25) in Mecca Auditorium, Friday evening (March 30) in Carnegie hall and Sunday afternoon (April 1) in Mecca Auditorium.

THEATRES

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Week of March 19

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MARCO MILLIONS

EXTRA MATINEE ON WEDNESDAY

Week of March 26

BERNARD SHAW'S COMEDY

The Doctor's

Dilemma

Guild Theatre

WEST 52nd STREET

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

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Soloists: MARCEL GARRISON

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MUSIC

"Mozart's 'Così fan Tutte' last of Mr. Gatti-Casazza's promised 'revivals' of this season, will be given next Saturday afternoon with Mmes. Easton, Bori and Fletcher and Messrs. Meader, DeLuca and Ludikar. Mr. Bodansky will conduct.

Other operas of the week will be: Fucini's "La Rondine," Monday evening with Mmes. Bori, Fleischer, Ryan, Paristette, Falco, Alcock, Wells and Fletcher and Messrs. Gigli, Tokatyan, Ludikar, Malatesta, Wolfe, Picco, Paltrinieri and Altglass. Mr. Bellezza conducting.

"Faust" as a special performance Tuesday evening with Mmes. Lewis, Dalossy and Howard and Messrs. Chamlee, DeLuca, Chalaphin and D'Angelo. Mr. Hasselmanns conducting.

"Gianni Schicchi" and "Pagliacci" on Wednesday evening, the former with Mmes. Moore (first time as Lauretta), Howard, Ryan and Tiffany and Messrs.

Tokatyan, DeLuca, Pinza, Gabor, D'Angelo, Gustafson, Malatesta, Ananion, Paltrinieri and Reschilian the latter with Mmes. Lewis and Messrs. Johnson, Basola, Tibbett and Tedesco. Mr. Bellezza will conduct both operas.

"Die Meistersinger" on Thursday afternoon, the sixth of the Wagner Cycle—with Mmes. Mueller and Howard and Messrs. Kirchhoff, Whitehill, Schutzendorf, Meader, Bori, Gustafson, Ananion, Wolfe, D'Angelo, Gabor, Chavonovsky, Bada, Bloch, Altglass and Paltrinieri. Mr. Bodansky conducting.

"Madama Butterfly" and "Così fan Tutte" on Thursday evening, the former with Mmes. Guilford, Ryan and Falco and Messrs. Jagel, Pinza, Bada, Wolfe, D'Angelo, Picco and Paltrinieri. Mr. Schutzendorf conducting; the latter with Mmes. Talley, Guilford and Alcock and Messrs. Diaz, D'Angelo, Pinza, Reschilian and Paltrinieri singing and Messrs. Gabor and Deleporte and Messrs. Kosloff, Bartik, Bonfiglio, Sweet, Barone and Casanova dancing and Mr. Bamboschek conducting.

On Thursday evening, the former with Mmes. Guilford, Ryan and Falco and Messrs. Jagel, Pinza, Bada, Wolfe, D'Angelo, Picco and Paltrinieri. Mr. Schutzendorf conducting; the latter with Mmes. Talley, Guilford and Alcock and Messrs. Diaz, D'Angelo, Pinza, Reschilian and Paltrinieri singing and Messrs. Gabor and Deleporte and Messrs. Kosloff, Bartik, Bonfiglio, Sweet, Barone and Casanova dancing and Mr. Bamboschek conducting.

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

SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1928

The Spiritual Death of Trade Unionism

NEVER has the labor movement of this country suffered the spiritual degradation that has come to it in New York City in the past few weeks. What has happened in the attempt to organize the serfs in the service of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company is a symptom of the weakness that has come of archaic policies and methods. Those in charge of the Amalgamated and who have been trying to help the men who have joined it have faced huge handicaps. The cards have been stacked against them from the beginning and it is now time to consider what has occurred.

In the first place there is a Tammany Mayor in office who bears the official stamp of the Central Trades and Labor Council. Associated with him in the Board of Aldermen is an overwhelming majority of Tammany Aldermen also bearing that stamp. What have these gentlemen done in a great crisis that involves the welfare and freedom of thousands of workers in the transportation service? Absolutely nothing.

The vague "agreement" which the Amalgamated had with Mayor Walker last year had no more substance than smoke. Walker himself left the city twice. His smug features appeared in the papers, revealing his enjoyment at New Orleans and later at Washington, while the workers on the lines were involved in a desperate struggle to be released from the coils of the snake Hedley calls a "union."

Then what of those Tammany Aldermen who have the official approval of the city parliament of organized workers? Has any one of them moved a finger or said a word that brought aid and encouragement to the Amalgamated men? Not one. If there was a labor group in the Aldermanic chamber that body would have been the scene of stirring action and protests against Hedley and Quakenbush. A great struggle like this in any English or European city would have brought the Labor and Socialist members of the municipal body to their feet and there would be some concerted action in behalf of the thousands of men seeking emancipation.

Moreover, Hedley and Quakenbush have been so confident that no obstruction to their plans would come from Walker and the Tammany Aldermen that they have heaped humiliation after humiliation upon the Amalgamated and its members. Hedley and Quakenbush have taken a delight in kicking the organized workers in the face. Not once, but many times. They discharged members every few days and taunted the Amalgamated, practically dared it to call a strike.

Finally, of the 53 members of the Amalgamated who have been discharged, 28 have sent a letter to Mayor Walker, the most humiliating document that has ever appeared in labor history. They appeal to the "agreement" of last year and add: "We have suffered gross indignities. We have been compelled to wash dishes and do menial services for strikebreakers. . . . When we protested we were discharged."

This is not only spiritual degradation for the trade unions. It is spiritual death. Who is responsible for this terrible abasement? Those trade union leaders who have for many years urged and supported the policy of "rewarding friends" in Tammany Hall must bear their full share of responsibility. The Tammany Mayor and Aldermen are absolutely useless to the organized workers in such a struggle. Votes of organized workmen that result in other organized workers being forced to wash dishes for scabs, are the ripe fruits of a political policy that means death to all the best hopes of labor.

Moreover, each such humiliation and disaster make it more difficult each year to induce the men to make more sacrifices for trade union organization. Workers in the ranks of the unions should speak out. Spiritual death stalks in their midst. Tammany politics in the union means Tammany fall bearers of unionism itself. Another strike is lost. It is a hideous price to pay for Tammany mayors and Tammany Aldermen.

Degradation of the Republic

AS a general rule we get a clear perspective of a period in history only after the passing of years, sometimes only after decades. We do not have to wait years or decades to understand the present United States. Certain glaring facts tower mountain high and only the blind, the stupid, or the mercenary will fail to interpret the story they tell.

Every ruling class in the world's history generally begins its dominion with a certain code of honor and idealism. In its old age it becomes stupid, corrupt, and essentially, parasitic—even criminal in some respects. Its politics descends to the mire of a pig-pen, to the drivel of fat-wits, and its actions measure down to its political and economic ideas.

Long ago it took two political parties into its service, two parties that once were so far apart that its leaders found it difficult to speak to each other. Today they are two souls with but a single thought

—service to the masters of American life. Its swindles and graft, its measureless greed and arrogance, have been written in investigation after investigation by committees of the Congress which it owns.

A few men in Congress think that by prying into the secrets of our capitalist masters and their political agents some of the pristine honor and idealism of an old era may be restored. Vain hope. The republic under the dominion of this class is as rotten as Rome in the days of Nero. One need only recall the election to the presidency of a small town man with the mind of a grocery boy, bringing to Washington as dirty a gang of mercenaries as ever disgraced a nation, he to be succeeded by a phonograph whose disc recorded the wishes of textile usurers and Pennsylvania feudalists.

The oil graft in all its ramifications and the loot from this thievery which found its way into the treasury of the Republican National Committee represent the complete degradation of the republic to the swine ethics of that party and its grand duke backers. While the smell of this mess rises to heaven the other wing of capitalist politics is preparing to put across a prize exhibit of the Tammany machine, a machine which has debauched elections in New York City, which has enriched many of its leaders, and which recruits the thug and the floater as raw material for its power.

Even as this thing is contemplated Tammany contributes an item of looting that recalls the worst days of its former leader, Tweed. Appropriately enough, it is a sewer graft involving many millions of dollars. If the oil swindlers have swined their way through legal chicane and dodged the penitentiary, the same dodging is exhibited by the Tammany sewer grafters.

Other aspects of the two systems of looting are similar. We know that some of the oil loot went to the Republican brokers but how much of the sewer graft went to Tammany is unknown. Records of the oil swindle have disappeared and the same thing is true of the sewer graft. Grafters in both cases have also disappeared. In New York City burglary has been resorted to and important records have been stolen. In Washington the office of Senator Nye, one of the oil probers, has been entered a number of times and attempts have been made to rifle his mail.

It is impossible to consider all phases of this descent to degradation. Our comparisons show that the two party machines have reached the nadir of corruption and servility to a handful of ruling oligarchs.

You toilers on the farms, in the shops and factories, in mines and stores are summoned to a solemn duty. Yours is the class with the power to sweep the rats out of power. The Socialist Party is your agency for a needed change. Use it for your purposes before the rats deprive you of any opportunity to drive them into oblivion.

These United States

THE grim tale of a capitalism unable to guarantee workers what the cave-man centuries ago enjoyed—adequate food and shelter measuring up to current standards—is being unfolded in news items throughout the country. The jobless still seek in vain for work and the statesmen at Washington drool away their time while misery stalks day and night.

Chicago provides a number of interesting and tragic items. While the ass who presides as mayor of that burg continues to clown as a "patriot" by defying the British Empire to invade Chicago, a man drowns two of his children in order to reduce the number of mouths to be fed. John Thomas, out of work for six months, shot himself as his wife gave birth to a child. Destitute and without hope, Thomas thought it best to pass on and leave his problem to others. Jimmy Capasso, a boy of 15, his father out of work, his brothers and sisters hungry and cold, walked out into the street and shot himself. One less mouth to feed, said Jimmy.

So these hideous tragedies rise to accuse the top hat gentlemen who stuff their paunches and talk nonsense in legislative halls. Capitalism is fat and sleek in the upper sections of society while in the lower depths actual hunger is the portion of many.

Human Commodities

MR. William O'Neil, president of the General Tire and Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, offers some advice to Congress regarding the rubber problem in the Philippines. He observes that cheap labor isn't available in the islands and American corporations have to meet the competition of British and Dutch corporations who pay wages of twenty cents a day. Naturally, he says, in this matter of labor "we want to buy the commodity as cheaply as possible."

Exactly. Labor power is a commodity and American masters of corporations want to get it at as low a rate as possible. It is all the same whether it is labor power, iron, ore, rubber, coal, or any other commodity. The Dutch and British purchase their labor power for twenty cents a day but it isn't that cheap in the Philippine Islands. Will Congress please do something about it?

We wonder if Mr. O'Neil would not be happy if he could get the living commodity in the United States as cheaply as the British and Dutch get their labor commodity. If that could be realized we could imagine O'Neil and Coolidge yodling an anthem to prosperity from the upper porch of the White House some beautiful moonlight night.

Crude Will Hays

When Colonel Stewart of the Standard Oil took the witness stand before the Walsh Committee, he was in a belligerent mood. He snarled at Walsh and said, "Do you know what I would do if you asked me the sort of questions you have been asking these other witnesses?" Senator Walsh gazed at the bellicose oil man mildly and replied, "No, but I'm going to find out in a minute, because I'm going to ask you exactly the same questions." And now Stewart is cited for contempt for failure to answer those same questions.

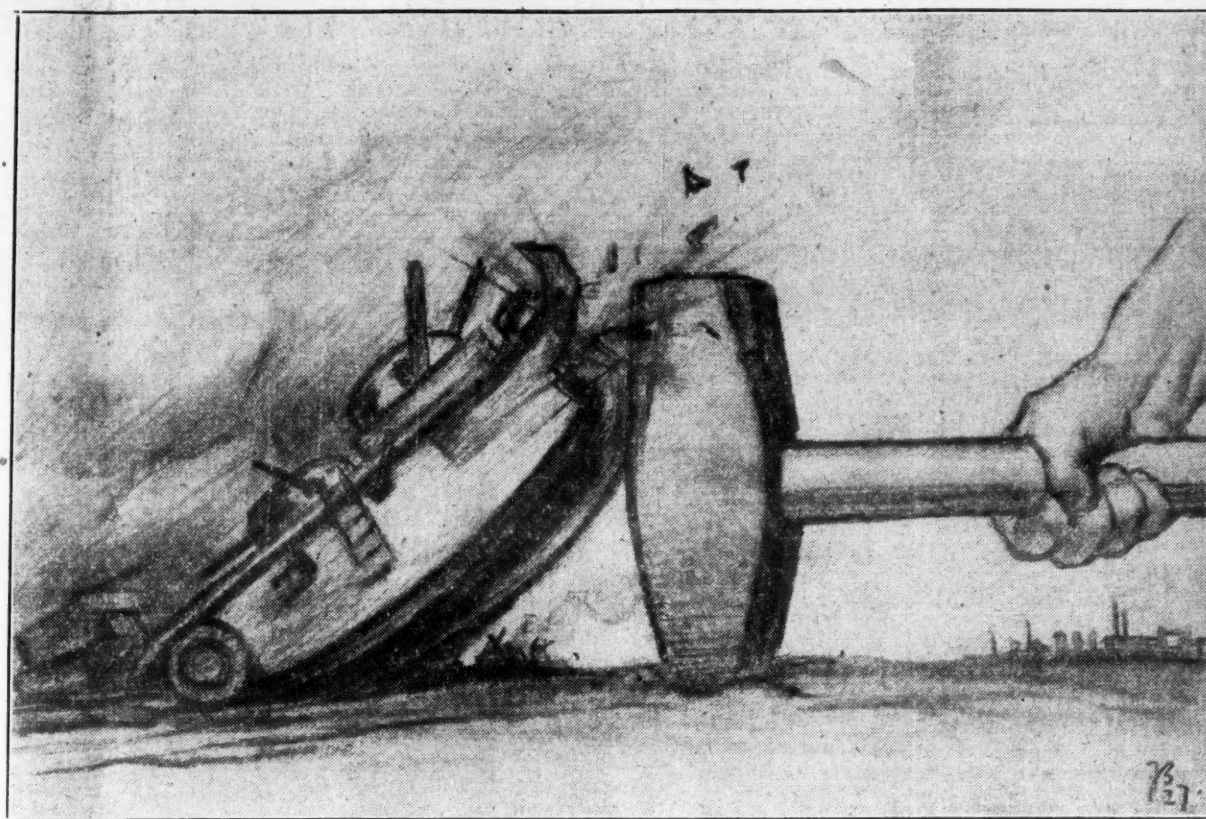
How do you tell a New York subway express? It has a redlight in front, and a green conductor behind.

G. O. P.—Got the Oil Plunder.

Senator Borah's suggestion that the Republican grafters give back their oil bonds reminds us of the time the Hudson Duster gang took up a subscription for the widow of a rival gangster who they had bumped off.

Will Hays is not only a liar but a crude one. A crude oil liar, in other words.

IF THE WORKERS ONLY DARED!



BEST MINDS GONE TO SEED

"Andy" Mellon Joins The Oil-Stained Ranks

WASHINGTON.

SCANDALS are popping right and left, a brand-new war has broken out, more unemployment increases, the stock market takes a fantastic leap upward, and all the candidates for the two old parties successfully avoid saying anything about any real issue.

On the whole, it has been a bad week for the business interests which control all of us under the name of the Republican Party. Not that the Democrats are any better, only they have not had the opportunity for getting at the big money, of which the Republicans have taken such notable advantage.

What everybody has long suspected, namely that Will Hays, who was campaign manager for the late lamented Harding, is a crooked little liar, has now been definitely proved. This go-getter, whose slogan during the Harding campaign was "Boys, get the money," is as you know the custodian of the morals of those who attend motion picture shows. He is the fair-haired boy who tells us what we can and what we cannot see on the screen. At one time he was in the Cabinet as Postmaster-General. Now it appears that he led the way to the Congressional Committee investigating the oil scandals about the amount of dirty money which he took from Harry Sinclair, who, God be praised, seems to be nearer the cell in which he has been long overdue.

Hays says he forgot about a little matter of \$260,000 in Liberty Bonds which he got from Sinclair, and which Sinclair in turn got out of the naval oil leases.

What a convenient forgetter Mr. Hays has. Just a mere matter of \$260,000 between us boys. Why drag that up? As Moran says to Mack, "I don't wanna talk about that." And what a crew they have all turned out to be, the Republican outfit that were to give us back industrial stability, that were to bring prosperity to the workers, that were to set our feet in the straight and narrow paths that lead to financial heaven.

The Best Minds

There was Harding, a small-town chippy-chasing poker player, his pal Harry Daugherty, a rough-neck hi-jacker, Denby and young Roosevelt of the Navy Department, two of the most inveterate morons that ever entered public life, old man Fall, taking Boodles from Sinclair and Doheny in black bags, Will Hays sticking up rich suckers the country over and Calvin Coolidge, a silent accomplice after the fact. Now we must add "Andy" Mellon.

And along comes Mr. Hoover, who is most likely to be our next President, and who was a member of the inner circle while all this skull-duggery was going on, and announces that he will carry on Coolidge's policies, which were inherited from Harding and the Ohio Gang. The whole affair is so sickening that we would gladly turn to more pleasant subjects provided we could find them.

We do find one Republican, at any rate, with some courage, in the person of Senator Norris of Nebraska, who has presented a resolution questioning whether the President has the power to use the army and navy for the purpose of supervising the coming elections in Nicaragua. Senator Norris caustically asks whether, if the President has the power to use the Army and Navy to supervise elections in foreign countries, he has the same authority to use the armed forces of the United States to supervise elections in different states in the union. He also wants to know whether such use of the Army and Navy would be advisable in cases where the Senate has official information of corruption taking place in State elections. And finally, he and the other insurgent senators call upon the administration to get the marines out of Nicaragua.

The Exchange Goes Wild

While the unemployed through all the agencies for relief, and search in vain for jobs, Wall Street gamblers rush to buy the stock of General Motors to such an extent that by sheer trading that stock gained in a single day in open market value \$150,950,000. During the course of the last week, the expansion of General Motors stock amounted to more than \$387,000,000. On March 9th, the day's trading was the second heaviest in the New York Stock Exchange, with a turn-over of more than four million shares. Four millions is, incidentally, the number of those unemployed in America today.

While unemployment is being used as a weapon by the politicians, as note the speech of Senator Wagner, of New York, in the Senate, very little seems to be done about getting idle workers jobs. To be sure, there have been reports on the situation, made by competent authorities, which have completely

shattered the myth of Coolidge prosperity. We now know that that prosperity is mainly confined to such rich bankers, brokers, and big industrialists as can afford to speculate in General Motors, for example. We know, too, that it has no general distribution. We Socialists maintain that such hectic scenes as were witnessed on the Stock Exchange this past week, with vast sums of money hanging on the turn of a ticker wheel are but fever symptoms of a system which is rotten sick at the core. There will be no cure for this patient so long as workers are kept by the millions from productive tasks. If anyone requires evidence of this, let him look at the condition of our basic industries today. Even the hard-bolled Senators of the Investigating Committee, who have been around the coalfields lately, were shocked at the horrible conditions under which the striking miners are living. They found there the most abject misery, on the part

of workers who are supposed to provide us with the coal which gives us light and heat. Driven out of their homes by armed guards, living in filthy barracks and wretched huts, these miners in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio, who are striking for a decent American living condition, present as startling a contrast to the picture of the screaming gamblers on the New York Stock Exchange as does the dreary army of the unemployed, shuffling up and down in front of the employment exchanges on Sixth Avenue.

The coal chaos will never be ended until there is nationalization of the mines, and social regulation of the entire industry. Until that time comes, and it may not be so far off, all that we as individuals can do is to send needed relief to the miners who are holding out so valiantly against the powerful forces dominated by the Mellons and Rockefellers.

Back-Stairs Spokesman.

THE CHATTER BOX

Song For An Impossible Lady

(Written simply enough for most of the Possible Ones to read and understand. . .)

I dream of the loveliest lady,
Ay, nobler than all that be;
And I wish that the real, real ladies,
Were half as rare as she. . .

Wistful and wise, I see her,
Kind in the quietest way;
Warm in her touch and her phrases,
Soft as a dawn in May. . .

She keeps me without possessing,
She holds, yet I dance with the sea;
A mistress, a bride, a companion;
She holds. . . and yet I am free. . .

Alas and awoe! to be knowing
How a loveliest lady would seem,
And never, ah, never to find her
Save here in the void of a dream. . .

From the above you will no doubt conclude, that I am of those red-blooded he-men from such open spaces as the air-shafts and dumb-waiters. I refuse to fall for the Feminist fol-de-rol. This woman's rights—Lucy Stone—Peaches Browning—Ruth Elder, and "Queen of Diamonds" matter doesn't get across heavy here in my neck of the bottle. This woman's equality is all right as far as it goes; but like free speech, there is such a thing as license if it goes too far, and a license is exactly what I would refuse to give most women, after seeing what they did with the vote—we Socialists fought, bled and cried to win for them. They just got up the morning they were enfranchised, walked to ballot boxes and voted into office the very leather-necks that had been keeping them on a plane with idiots and criminals since Washington refused to tell the fib of the Cherry Tree. Now wasn't that just like women, to scratch the hand that freed them. Sometimes, when I walk through the city or travel through the country, or just sit down and eat at the Rand School Cafeteria, and listen to both conservative and radical ladies, I fall upon that ancient conclusion that there is something fey, or mad, or just abnormal about the fair sex. Books, learned books have been written by learned men to trace this phase of strangeness about women how the ancient savage first perceived it. How he built up a whole religion of rite and taboo about her queernesses. How to this day, gallantry, hat tipping, gentle treatment, and alimony are just the defense mechanisms of a taboo-bewitched male element against the Circes, the Didos and Morgan le Fays of our time. I thought that perhaps with this newer life of economic and sex freedom, evolving out of hip-flasks and the Charleston, the mania for possessing, dominating and destroying men would diminish on the part of our womanhood. At least so I hoped. That was why I went in for bigger and better debates on Free Love, Companionate Marriage, and the Electric Chair vs. Sashweights. I felt that an open discussion of these vital phases of our modern emotional life might ease up the murderous psychology women have borne toward us poor males since fig trees shed leaves large enough to hide their shame. Alas, nothing availed. Philophy seems to have had the effect of a tissue paper blanket flung over the crater of an erupting volcano.

Oh, I have heard these liberated ladies tell of how no man meant enough to their broad minds for

them to snap a finger over. . . how they have become self-sufficient, and how the equality of living should enter into all phases of existence including the freedom of body and will from that of another. . . and a whole lot more such sublimated platitude. And oh, I have learned with what tenacious ferocity they clutch on to their mouse-like husbands and boy-friends. . . how they plot and plan, and whisper and giggle and gossip, and just stir up all the witch-pots in Troubledom to keep what they so outwardly disdain. Of course, as a Marxian disciple I might give an economic interpretation of this phase. Not so much on the matter of material gain afforded by slaving males for parasite dames. . . ah, lie on such thought. These ladies I speak of are not of the conservative, home-building, kitchen swabbing, washing and breeding machine variety. The ones I have reference to here, are the secretaries, social workers, professional and business women, whose swains were the kind who would not marry until, well . . . until the lady friend got a raise. . . . And let me remark right here that a husband gotten under such circumstances is no cheap bauble to be lightly held and easily flung away. . .

Oh you on the outside, you with your smug ideas about things, living happily ever afterward, in the comfort of your homes, and in the love of your families. . . you will never understand, how scarce honest, certificate-signing husbands are, in this desert of matrimony, called America. I mean husbands fit for women of minds, intellectual persuasions, and all that. . . . Thus the disinterested observer can understand why modernized woman is so tensely sensed with possessiveness. I for one, am happy to find however, that the young and older ladies of the day have become aware of their value in this market. In them, I see the hope for a complete freedom for men from female domination. Now that the omnivorous husband hunters are buying theatre tickets and paying for restaurant checks and in other ways reversing the conditions of twenty years ago, when I courted in the ancient manner, there is still hope for the day when husbands will be taking out life insurance on the lives of their wives, and fill up the tabloids of to-morrow with sash-weight murders in which the long neglected husband is the death house hero. . .

I realize dear readers what a storm this erudite essay on Woman, Her Importance and Her Future, will have on the female circulation of this journal. I stand aghast even now, at next week's mail with its thousands of protests and yells for their money back. Yes, I realize it all. But I have crossed the Rubicon, my back is against the wall, and I can't give up the ship. And above all I will be reminded by hundreds, that while what I say might apply to many, there still are exceptions. . . . That is the sad part of this question. . . . Only the exceptions are rare and beautiful. . . . and so few. . . . and so happily married. . . . Ah. . . . vain sighs and no more for them. . . .

Now fellow readers and ladies tolerant enough to hear the rest of this historic harangue, above I have set my important opinions on an increasingly important subject: Woman, Husband, and Possession. I refuse to retract one word of it; on this record I offer my candidacy for President on any ticket; on this and from this let my epitaph be written. . . I have done. . . .

S. A. de Witt.

P.S. . . . Remarks from a certain possessive and most interested lady immediately upon having read the foregoing: "Hm, such a nice article. . . . why don't you write some more about Russia. . . ."