

There is one hopeful thing about this nasty oil mess. We are likely to learn a lot of truth about both parties. To be sure the Republicans have had far more opportunity for scandal in national affairs and they have had some crudely brazen practitioners of the parts of corruption. But to claim purity for the Democrats is worse than absurd. What about the war contract frauds? A. Mitchell Palmer's activities as alien property custodian? The Queens borough sewer and paving scandals in New York? Mayor Walker's bus franchises? The bad building of New York's school houses? Tammany's gross election frauds—name only a few cases in which grave suspicion, if not proved wrong doing, attached itself to notable Democrats. It is moreover an admitted fact that your Insulls, Sinclairs and Pattens give to both parties. How much there may be in Governor Smith's connection with Sinclair I don't pretend to know but I recall the common gossip to the effect that Sinclair was friendly enough with a prominent editor of the great Democratic newspaper, the New York World, to make that paper about as slow as any of the other New York papers in wheeling into action to support an investigation first demanded by no Democrat at all but by that great progressive, Robert M. LaFollette.

What we need in New York is some one who will put as magnificent a fight for our water power as Senator Norris has put up for Muscle Shoals. He has at last carried the Senate for his bill for government ownership and operation of the hydro electric plants over which controversy has raged so long. What the House will do we do not know. The power lobby in it is said to be strong. But whatever this house does it is only fair to set on record our appreciation of the way in which George Norris almost single handed first blocked the preposterous scheme to give away Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford and then fought off all other plans for losing the chance to use government operation at Muscle Shoals as a yard stick whereby we can measure the performance of this private companies. Perhaps it is a better comparison to regard Muscle Shoals as the nucleus of a large publicly owned giant power system which we must have if we are to be free from the strangle hold of the private power monopoly.

Socialists have a lot of educational work to do in labor circles on this subject of public vs private monopoly. One A. F. of L. convention out of mistaken desire to please the farmers who were at the time sold to Henry Ford actually endorsed Ford's brazen request that the government dams at Muscle Shoals be handed him on a platter. The other day under what we can only regard as a disastrous misapprehension of some sort President Green sent a telegram endorsing the transfer of the investigation of the power interests from a Senate Committee to the incompetent Federal Trade Commission packed with friends of the power interests. That is, he did the bidding of this power lobby. In the coal fields despite resolutions of the miners convention for nationalization John Lewis is as much opposed to public ownership of coal as any operator. Yet public ownership is the one way out.

It is amazing to observe how strong or rather how well cultivated is the belief that no matter how logical is the case for public ownership that solution is opposed to American traditions and American psychology. Hence we must give away our water power instead of doing with it what Ontario has done. Hence Senator Gooding, the chairman of the Senate's committee now investigating the coal field writes me that nationalization is out of the question. He is

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialists in Wash. Only Opposition

"Progressive" and Communist Organizations Disappear in Northwestern State

By Emil Herman

SEATTLE.—The Socialist Party in the State of Washington, as elsewhere, will be the only vital political labor force on the ballot this year. The reason for this is apparent; it is the only party with a clear and definite program for labor's emancipation while at the same time offering immediate demands which meet the present needs of the workers.

Because they buried the goal of the labor movement in a maze of contradictions which confused even their leaders the Nonpartisan League, The Farmer-Labor Party have entirely disappeared as political forces in this state. This, notwithstanding that the Farmer-Labor Party at one time had the endorsement of and the financial backing of the State Federation of Labor and of many central labor councils.

The Worker's (Communist) Party will no doubt have candidates for Presidential Electors in the field but it never gained any political standing in this state and is rapidly losing what little influence it once had with the workers. Their "nuclei" were first expelled from the Central Labor Councils and are now being expelled from local unions.

These facts, combined with the most acute unemployment situation which has ever hit the Northwest, opens a promising field for Socialist party activities this year. Our only obstacle to a most

(Continued on Page 2)

13 Socialists Placed On Milwaukee Ballot For Aldermanic Board

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

Milwaukee.—The complete vote in the primaries shows that Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist candidate for Mayor, received 42,516 votes, Scallitz 28,851, and Schubert 7,451. Hoan's vote is over six thousand more than the other two candidates combined.

Thirteen Socialist candidates for aldermen of the 22 competing in the race were nominated.

The Socialist nominees are: Al Benson, 2nd ward; Rosario Maglia, 3rd; George Tews, 5th; S. N. Ziebelman, 6th; Ald. John Doerfler, 7th; Ald. Herman O. Kent, 9th; Ald. Carl P. Dietz, 11th; Ald. Paul Gauer, 17th; Ald. August W. Strehlow, 20th; Ald. William Baumann, 21st; Ald. Max J. Elsner, 24th and Ald. Charles C. Schadt, 25th.

Eleven Socialist candidates will participate in the final election for positions on the county board, the primary vote showed.

All incumbents, both Socialists and nonpartisans, were nominated, eight without their names appearing on the ballot.

Supervisor Frederick Heath, Socialist, 3rd district, will be unopposed in the April 3 election.

Supervisor James P. Sheehan, 7th district; Nick Wroblewski and Joseph J. Hirsch, were the other Socialists nominated without a primary vote because each was opposed by only one candidate.

"I appreciate very greatly the fine personal endorsement given me in the primary election," said Mayor Daniel W. Hoan.

Large numbers of voters have been looking for a Moses for many years. Some found him in Moses Roosevelt, others in Moses Wilson, and still others see him in Moses Smith. Thus far Moses has led the voters by the nose and Smith is willing to try his skill at the game.

Call Issued For Socialist Women's Day

British To Have Month of Special Propaganda — Other Activities of Labor Women

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

ZURICH.—When the International Socialist Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1910 decided to institute an annual Women's Day as a demonstration on behalf of the introduction of universal and equal women's suffrage, there was only a single European country where women possessed the right to vote. Today women's suffrage has been realized in many countries. Though political equality has been won in many countries, the need for a Women's Day and for a special propaganda among women still persists.

This difference in circumstances points to the need of a special propaganda for women. We must bring women together and arouse in them the sense of co-operation, of solidarity and of fraternity upon which the whole Socialist movement is based. Let the women of all countries unite therefore in great demonstrations; let them each in their own country advocate the rights of the mother and her children, and the oppressed industrial workers; and beyond this—and more than this—let them each in their own country advocate the rights of the mother and her children, and the oppressed industrial workers; and beyond this—and more than this—let them stretch out their hands to their sisters in all other countries, and feel that they are united with them in the cause of humanity and peace. For such reasons the International Socialist Women's

(Continued on Page Two)

SOCIALISTS URGE AID FOR JOBLESS; CORRUPTION HIT

Doubled Membership By April 14th Is Plan Of New York Socialists

By Jacob Panken

DISCLOSURES of governmental corruption have startled the country.

Corruption is traced to the highest public officials. Cabinet ministers, governors, and even higher officials, have wallowed in the filth of corruption. Both major political parties stand unmasked before the public gaze.

Our government has been made the agent of unscrupulous robber bands. The public domain has been bartered to the oil magnates for campaign contributions and profits to public officials. The government is made the guarantor for profit to the public utilities. The power and authority of the government are used to compel the people to contribute out of their meagre means to swell the profits.

While six millions are unemployed, dividends of the trusts and corporations are increased. Prosperity for them few, poverty and dejection for the many—that is the effect.

The Socialists who were satisfied with merely casting their votes or sometimes making a contribution to

the Socialist Party, are in a measure responsible for the condition. They permitted the Socialist Party organization to be weak. They dissipated the effectiveness of the political factor which a strong Socialist Party could have been.

This is no time for recriminations. It is no time for reproaches. There is work to be done. There is a job ahead of us. We must marshal our forces, muster our army, and prepare for the fight ahead.

To me has fallen the lot to supervise the campaign for an increased membership, for more branches, and an effective Party organization. I have responded to the call. It is my earnest desire to give of myself unstintingly to this campaign. The comrades who are associated with me in the work are loyal and faithful, and are selflessly devoting themselves to this work.

We need the cooperation of every member of the Party. We need the aid of every enrolled Socialist. We need the support of every sympathizer. The plan we have devised for our activities is simple. There is

(Continued on page 7)

National Committee Advances Convention One-Day—Demonstration To Open Session

HILLQUIT WILL BE "KEYNOTER"

Modigliani, Sheppard, Stephen Coming Here For Campaign Tours—Platform, Constitution Drawn Up

PLANS were completed for what promises to be the most inspiring Socialist Party national convention in years when the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party met in a two-day session in New York City last Saturday and Sunday. Prospects for placing Socialist party presidential electors in all but two states were found more than promising. A number of state organizations will put candidates for state offices in the field, National Secretary William H. Henry reported.

A scathing arraignment of the Democratic and Republican parties for their part in the oil and campaign contribution scandals was issued by the committee in a statement on the current political and economic situation. The Coolidge administration was denounced for waging an unauthorized war in Nicaragua. It was pointed out that only the Socialist and the Farmer-Labor parties in Congress had come out against the Nicaraguan adventure. Unemployment relief was demanded. In conclusion, the workers of America were urged to use the Socialist party as the vehicle through which to break the strangle-hold of business upon the nation and the people.

In response to a widespread demand on the part of Socialist supporters who desire to attend the convention as visitors, the National Executive Committee voted to advance the opening session of the convention from Saturday April 14th, to April 13th, when the convention will be opened in the Manhattan Opera House, one of the largest auditoriums in New York City.

The opening session will be in the nature of a mass demonstration. The committee selected Morris Hillquit to be the temporary chairman of the opening session in the Manhattan Opera House. Comrade Hillquit will deliver the "keynote" address. Plans are being made to secure for the keynote address the widest possible national publicity through the press as well as through other agencies.

The committee put in two days of intensive work on a draft of a national platform which had been drawn by Congressman Victor L. Berger, national chairman of the party. It also considered a number of amendments to the constitution of the party. Both the proposed platform and amended constitution will be submitted to the national convention.

Several prominent Socialist leaders of European countries were invited by the committee to come to the United States for lecture tours during the campaign. At the suggestion of Giacomo Valenti, the committee voted to invite G. E. Modigliani, Italian Socialist leader, to come here for a tour. Modigliani is a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. He is now living in exile in Paris where he is in the forefront of the anti-Mussolini forces. It is expected that Modigliani will arrive early this Summer.

The committee also invited Jessie Stephen and Arthur Sheppard, M. P., British Socialists, to come here for speeches and organization work during the campaign. Comrade Stephen has been here before and has established a reputation as an excellent speaker and party-worker. Sheppard is also reported to be a first class Socialist campaigner. He won a seat in Parliament which had been held for forty years by the Conservative party.

(Continued On Page Two)

You've Been Waiting For Just This

FOR some time now, judging from the correspondence received at the office of the *New Leader*, comrades from coast to coast have been waiting for the opportunity to do a constructive piece of work for the cause in which they so wholeheartedly believe. Here is their chance. Between now and the heat of the coming Presidential campaign build up the *New Leader*—your paper—into a strong fighting propaganda organ.

Plans for one of the most extensive campaigns waged by the Socialists of this country since pre-war days are now being perfected. The success of these plans depends very largely upon the strengthening right now of the *New Leader*. With a fighting paper whose every maker is dedicated to the cause, we can go into this campaign with banners flying. Such an opportunity as now presents itself to all of us who want a true cooperative commonwealth may not come again in a generation. The Socialist party alone will offer any sort of opposition to the Capitalist-controlled old parties, sunk as both of them are in the mire of corruption.

Such an opposition can have full force only as it has an effective mouthpiece. This the *New Leader* is ready and eager to provide. It cannot do its full job without your help. It must have those ten thousand new readers and have them quickly. If everyone who reads this does his or her part, the job is soon done, and we go on to new victories.

Send Those Subs Today!

FREE PREMIUMS

With Ten Yearly Subs

"AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY"

By Theodore Dreiser

With Five Yearly Subs

"OIL!"

By Upton Sinclair

With Seven Yearly Subs

"HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT"

By Harry W. Laidler

With One Yearly Sub

"SOCIALISM"

By Bernard Shaw

**SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One Year, \$2.00
Six Months, \$1.00**

(Two Six Months Subs Will Be Credited As One Yearly)

USE THIS BLANK

THE NEW LEADER and AMERICAN APPEAL
7 East 15th Street, New York City.

COMRADES:

Enclosed please find \$..... for which you will send our paper to the following persons for the length of time indicated. According to the subscription offer you will send me

(WRITE IN NAME OF BOOK DESIRED)

Name.....

Address.....

THE PAPER IS TO GO TO THE FOLLOWING:

1 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

2 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

3 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

4 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

5 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

6 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

7 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

8 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

9 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

10 Name..... (Length of Sub.)
Address.....

Hear The Two Burning Issues of the Day Discussed—Admission Free

Unemployment and Transit

SPEAKERS
JACOB PANKEN
LOUIS WALDMAN
ALGERNON LEE
WILLIAM KARLIN
A. I. SHIPLACOFF

PLACE
COOPER UNION
FOURTH AVENUE
And
ASTOR PLACE

TIME
This Sunday
AFTERNOON
March 25th
2 P. M.

Call Issued For Socialist Women's Day

(Continued from page 1)

men's Committee calls upon the women in all countries to organize "Women's Days" in 1928; and through the impressiveness of the demonstrations to afford proof that the movement of Socialist women is marching forward and is able to inspire in those still crushed and deprived of rights the joyful faith that through union among all women the hour of their ultimate liberation will inevitably strike.

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

Maria Juchacz, Dorothy Kuszynska, A. Susan Lawrence, E. Ribbiss Felester, Adelheid Popp

"Women's Day" in England

"Women's Month," to be observed by the Labor Party all over Great Britain in June next. It will be a festival of particular significance, in view of the approach of the General Election, and in view, also, of the pending enfranchisement of some 3,000,000 women under the proposed Franchise Bill. Throughout June the "Women's Sections and Labor Women's Advisory Councils, aided by local Labor Parties will carry out everywhere a remarkable program of effort. There will be house-to-house visit tours (with meetings on the road), and finally, county gala days, with processions, pageants and demonstrations.

Austrian Day March 18th

The Austrian Socialist women intend to begin their "International Socialist Women's Day" on March 18th, which is the day generally used by the German women. This is the first result of the discussion on "Women's Day" at the Women's International Conference at Cologne, December 1927, when the general desire was expressed that all countries which could might gradually bring their date into line with others, so as to move towards a real international day. The Austrian women will hold demonstrations during the last couple of weeks in March, and are issuing a special publication called "Women's Day."

The Joint Congress in Czechoslovakia. At the Congress held by the Socialist Parties of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia, organized women were very well represented. For the presidium of the Congress there were four men and two women elected, the Czech woman Socialist Veselova (Brunn) and the German, Kirpal (Mussig).

Against Hungarian Censorship

Anna Kethly, the Socialist woman member of the Hungarian parliament is well-known to women in the international Socialist movement both in the trade union and political spheres. Her recent action in protesting against the ridiculous censorship in Hungary has won wide support.

Women in Spain

As yet there are very few Socialist women organized in Spain, but the Socialist Party is awake to the need to attract women into the movement, and a series of leading articles is now appearing in the official organ of the Party, "El Socialista" (Madrid), dealing with the position of women in Spain, the history of the suffrage campaign in other countries and the present tasks for women in Spain. We see here the beginnings of an awakening, such as happened fifty years or more ago in other European countries.

James C. Hogan, Veteran Socialist, Passes Away At 67

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

Monroe, N. Y.—James C. Hogan, for many years a loyal Socialist, passed away on March 18th at the home of his sister, Mrs. Clyde Heak of Allentown, Pa., his comrades here have learned.

Hogan was born in New York City August 17, 1861. In 1887 he was married to Miss Abbie S. Faulkner, of Hancock, N. Y. Mrs. Hogan died April 26, 1891. They are survived by six children, five sons and one daughter.

During all his active life, Hogan worked for justice and righteousness in human affairs. He became a radical party prohibitionist when that party was in existence and later a Socialist and his name was known and honored by many thousands throughout the United States and Canada.

For many years Mr. Hogan was an active and widely known Socialist, speaking for the cause in many states. He was a logical, forceful and convincing speaker, many of his speeches were widely circulated. He also won many great debates.

Comrade's Last Thought For The New Leader

Practically the last act of Chas. Nippes, of Newark, an old timer and loved and respected worker in the Socialist and labor union movement, who died last week, was to ask that ten dollars be sent The New Leader promotion fund, with his good wishes.

This was no new thing for Comrade Nippes, he having for years been a most devoted and generous friend of The New Leader, and later of The New Leader—Chas. Manhoff and Geo. H. Coedel represented Local Essex at the act.

cialist Plk, and by a German Socialist woman, Fanny Blatny, representative of the German Socialist women in Czechoslovakia on the Women's Committee of the L. S. I. During the debate in parliament on the question of penal settlements in Czechoslovakia, which the government proposes to extend, comrade Blatny, in a speech which was received with great enthusiasm denounced the present prison system with its obsolete penalties of hard labor involving quite useless tasks.

Prepare For Elections in Austria

To stimulate the activities of women organizers in the Socialist Party prior to the municipal elections, the Austrian women held a week's series of lectures in Stelzmark in January. Such a course is held annually in all the large provinces. Forty-four women attended the lectures, and the lectures included Otto Bauer, Karl Renner, Karl Leuthner and Luitpold Stern. The main subjects of study were the law as it affects the worker, and social insurance.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

nevertheless hopeful that some way which he does not describe will be found to make everybody—operators, miners and consumers perfectly happy. Of course that sort of assurance is political bunk. The committee seems to be playing with an idea of permitting extensive consolidations in the coal fields as the price for some sort of regulation. Now it is plain as day that this is not the logical way out. Regulation means an increase of bureaucracy and is never very efficient. The price under regulation must always guarantee profit on the least efficient managed mine. When an industry is ready for monopolization it is ready for public ownership. Only public ownership will permit us to treat the industry as a whole eliminate the wastes of competition, and the steady drain of profits to absentee owners. Government ownership does not necessarily mean control by a political appointee. Instead we are arguing for democratic functional government of the industry by representatives of producers and consumers. Yet we are told that we must not talk about this one practical way because it is politically hopeless. It always will be politically hopeless unless some one begins to educate the public. Indeed the idea of public opposition to public ownership is carefully nurtured by people who do not want public ownership and are only too happy to keep politics corrupt and inefficient and the public mind befuddled as an excuse for their opposition to the one rational solution of many of our economic ills.

The housing situation in New York is another tragic illustration of the reluctance even of well meaning people to come frankly and boldly to the one thing needed. For example: an excellent committee of social workers has just completed a good comprehensive plan for New York housing. Many of its suggestions, such as those for city planning and the end of piling up business and manufacturing in Manhattan Island, are wholly admirable. Yet this committee fools itself and others by impossible or at any rate impracticable hopes of what limited dividend or limited rental corporations may accomplish with state aid and only admits the possibility of municipal housing on rebuilt slum sites as a last resort. That is, we may ask the city to do what no private builders can or will do, whereupon the enemies of municipal housing will say, "look at governmental inefficiency and the art of municipal housing!" From every point of view it would be sounder wisdom for social workers to educate the people to the superiority of municipal housing under proper conditions than to lead them on with uncertain trust in the sufficiency of private enterprise which has notoriously failed to solve the problem here or in any European city. The amusing thing is that many of these social workers who distrust government honesty and efficiency are very enthusiastic about the "new" Tammany. At any rate, they always support Smith and Walker.

Speaking of housing one of my friends very justly takes me to task for omitting from my comprehensive program last week the importance of the application of excess condemnation and the principle of a higher tax on land values than on improvements in solving the problem of homes for the people. These are features of a comprehensive program which we Socialists have previously endorsed.

The day the thousand fresh marines sail for Nicaragua ought to be a day of mourning and protest. We do not want to send new marines to Nicaragua whence already more than one thousand have been sent back wounded or sick with tropical diseases while others lie in foreign graves. We want to bring back our marines alive and well. It is perfectly obvious that our government is drifting toward a permanent protectorate. It has not even been able to get the endorsement of the Nicaragua Congress for the supervision of elections. Mr. Borah is too busy at the quixotic task of paying back Sinclair to attend to his legitimate job as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and spokesman of liberal ideas. It would be far better for the kind of Sandino whom Carleton Beals describes to run Nicaragua than for us to run it with marines. But that is not the alternative. Sandino's terms as published in The Nation admit supervision of elections by Latin Americans. Since our government must save its face, like all governments, why not utilize a special Latin American conference as Wilson once did to help us get out of Mexico? And, by the way, just how many more American boys must die in order to save the Administration's face?

Miners Refused Aid; "Too Many Like You," Say Red Cross Agents

(Continued from page 1)

THE latest correspondent to return from the far-flung front of industrial warfare, which extends from the Panhandle regions of West Virginia across the Alleghenies of Pennsylvania to Ohio's Hocking Valley, where the strike of miners against millionaires still continues, is Miss Susanna Paxton, secretary of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Miss Paxton visited miners' homes, watched the formation of picket lines, inspected the distribution of relief, and obtained a close-up picture of the whole situation in coal fields during her recent visit. What she saw confirms in every respect the report of the Senatorial investigation committee as to acute suffering among the thousands of striking miners and their families. She saw the victims of police brutality, heard their stories from their own lips, watched the long lines of hungry women and children in front of every relief station, looked through troubled eyes at the insanitary conditions under which the evicted families were forced to live.

Miss Paxton stresses one outstanding phase of the situation, scarcely touched upon in the report of the investigating Senators—the almost universal breakdown of all the customary agencies for relief of suffering set up by state, county, and community. She comes back with first-hand evidence of the refusal of Red Cross agents to do anything to help the innocent victims of this bitter industrial war, of the denial of medical aid to sick and dying members of strikers' families, and for the pitiful dependence of these people upon help from the outside.

"If it were not for the relief that is being sent into the state from outside agencies, there would literally be starvation in many of the camps which I visited," said Miss Paxton. "Such relief as the union can afford is in many instances not enough to keep body and soul together. In some instances there is a lapse in this relief for several weeks, and in all cases the money sent in by the union for the purchase of food is inadequate for the maintenance of any normal standard of living."

"As a consequence of lack of nourishing food and warm clothing, there is a great amount of sickness in the camps, a vast need for medical attendance, which cannot be supplied, or will not be supplied, by local authorities. In many of the camps the only registered physician is in the employ of the local coal company. If, after repeated calls, the company doctor finally consents to treat a striking miner, he invariably takes it upon himself to urge the miner to return to work on a non-union basis. These doctors seem to be more interested in propaganda than in their patients. Time and again I have heard the story of miners going to these company doctors in cases of confinement or extreme illness and being told to go back to work in the mines. Red Cross agents are informing the strikers who come to them for relief, and many of whom have contributed to various Red Cross drives in their community, that there is plenty of work at the mines. Mine officials inform me that district and county nurses, sent to investigate conditions in the barracks and tent colonies of the evicted miners, simply make the most cursory investigation, and report that all is going well. Again, other physicians than the company doctors refuse to treat cases unless there is cash in hand, and there is very little cash in the coal fields these days. The entire situation is one of unrelieved tragedy for these workers who are standing fast for decent American wages. In the long run, suffering and hunger may drive them back to work under non-union conditions, such as prevail south of the Ohio River, where wages in the majority of cases are less than one-half the union scale, where the workers, many of them convicts and negroes imported from the South, are kept under armed guard, and where, in general, feudalism flourishes. There is a great body of evidence, however, which shows that with any sort of relief in the shape of adequate medical attention, food, and clothing, these courageous men and women may win in the uneven struggle against such powerful forces as the banking, railroad, and other interests which are combined against them."

Miss Paxton documented her charges in regard to the failure of conventional relief agencies by giving detailed cases where social and charitable workers had refused aid. At Portage, Pennsylvania, for example, the Red Cross workers tell the miners applying for relief that there are "too many thousands like you, and there is plenty of work at the mines." In Cambria County there are several instances of doctors refusing to attend the children of striking miners, with the result that the union organizer is sending his sick ward into Pittsburgh for treatment. A private physician at Nanty-Glo refused to attend the wife of a miner unless the striker paid in cash, and the child was born without any medical attention. At Harmerville the

mines barracks are built in a swamp, filled with refuse, no other land being available. And here seven hundred men and their families are struggling for existence, with no running water in the camp, in a shanty, with the children running wild like gypsies. A local physician at Renton was called five times, according to Miss Paxton's informant, and flatly refused to attend the case of a sick child until he was paid in cash. It was at Renton that Miss Paxton saw men, women and children with coal-scutes in hand, swarming like flies over a wagon-load of coal which had been sent in for relief. All over the fields the children of the miners are picking over slag-heaps of fuel to keep warm the filthy barracks.

Across the river from Ahrensfield, at one of the highest points of the Alleghenies, where a miners' camp clings to the side of the dark mountain, Miss Paxton came upon workers for the Pennsylvania and Ohio relief committee doing out food to the strikers. There the relief station is arranged cafeteria fashion. Long lines of women and children wait patiently in the cold before the miners' hall. They carry paper bags, baskets, flour-sacks, anything which will take away the sorely needed food. As an applicant enters, she gives her name, and receives a slip endorsed by the local union's relief committee saying how much food she is entitled to. If there are more than two in the family, the relief consists of seven pounds of flour or potatoes, a can of beans, a can of condensed milk, a cabbage or a squash. This is to last for a week. In this camp they have not tasted meat for more than two months. The food has been brought to this remote spot by truck from Pittsburgh, where, at the crowded offices of the headquarters of the Pennsylvania and Ohio relief committees, the officials of the local unions have made known their needs. So far as possible, shipments are made by truck to communities within easy reach of Pittsburgh. But to Ohio and more distant points, shipments must be made by rail. And all this is expensive business, requiring a steady flow of money resources of the relief workers must of necessity be devoted to the distribution of food and clothing. They cannot take on the added responsibility of caring for the sick. Funds for this must somehow be raised from among those liberal-minded Americans who are concerned with the welfare of future generations of American workers. Donations of money or warm clothes sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will be immediately forwarded to responsible workers in the field.

SCHOOL OF NATURAL EYESIGHT
596 Riverside Dr. (137th St.)
Phone: Edg. 9432

We teach how to develop your eye muscles, whereby defective vision is corrected. Glasses permanently discarded—Cataracts, Partial blindness, Crossed eyes, drooping eyelids corrected. Results: Health, Facial Rejuvenation.

Night Bladder Weakness or Pains Relieved Safely with Santal Midy Sold by All Druggists

mines barracks are built in a swamp, filled with refuse, no other land being available. And here seven hundred men and their families are struggling for existence, with no running water in the camp, in a shanty, with the children running wild like gypsies. A local physician at Renton was called five times, according to Miss Paxton's informant, and flatly refused to attend the case of a sick child until he was paid in cash. It was at Renton that Miss Paxton saw men, women and children with coal-scutes in hand, swarming like flies over a wagon-load of coal which had been sent in for relief. All over the fields the children of the miners are picking over slag-heaps of fuel to keep warm the filthy barracks.

Across the river from Ahrensfield, at one of the highest points of the Alleghenies, where a miners' camp clings to the side of the dark mountain, Miss Paxton came upon workers for the Pennsylvania and Ohio relief committee doing out food to the strikers. There the relief station is arranged cafeteria fashion. Long lines of women and children wait patiently in the cold before the miners' hall. They carry paper bags, baskets, flour-sacks, anything which will take away the sorely needed food. As an applicant enters, she gives her name, and receives a slip endorsed by the local union's relief committee saying how much food she is entitled to. If there are more than two in the family, the relief consists of seven pounds of flour or potatoes, a can of beans, a can of condensed milk, a cabbage or a squash. This is to last for a week. In this camp they have not tasted meat for more than two months. The food has been brought to this remote spot by truck from Pittsburgh, where, at the crowded offices of the headquarters of the Pennsylvania and Ohio relief committees, the officials of the local unions have made known their needs. So far as possible, shipments are made by truck to communities within easy reach of Pittsburgh. But to Ohio and more distant points, shipments must be made by rail. And all this is expensive business, requiring a steady flow of money resources of the relief workers must of necessity be devoted to the distribution of food and clothing. They cannot take on the added responsibility of caring for the sick. Funds for this must somehow be raised from among those liberal-minded Americans who are concerned with the welfare of future generations of American workers. Donations of money or warm clothes sent to the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will be immediately forwarded to responsible workers in the field.

mines barracks are built in a swamp, filled with refuse, no other land being available. And here seven hundred men and their families are struggling for existence, with no running water in the camp, in a shanty, with the children running wild like gypsies. A local physician at Renton was called five times, according to Miss Paxton's informant, and flatly refused to attend the case of a sick child until he was paid in cash. It was at Renton that Miss Paxton saw men, women and children with coal-scutes in hand, swarming like flies over a wagon-load of coal which had been sent in for relief. All over the fields the children of the miners are picking over slag-heaps of fuel to keep warm the filthy barracks.

mines barracks are built in a swamp, filled with refuse, no other land being available. And here seven hundred men and their families are struggling for existence, with no running water in the camp, in a shanty, with the children running wild like gypsies. A local physician at Renton was called five times, according to Miss Paxton's informant, and flatly refused to attend the case of a sick child until he was paid in cash. It was at Renton that Miss Paxton saw men, women and children with coal-scutes in hand, swarming like flies over a wagon-load of coal which had been sent in for relief. All over the fields the children of the miners are picking over slag-heaps of fuel to keep warm the filthy barracks.

SOCIALISTS ASK AID FOR JOBLESS; RAP CORRUPTION

(Continued from Page One)

As the plans now stand, the national executive committee will go into session again on Thursday, April 12th, one day before the convention assemblies, to draw up the rules for the convention and complete all other necessary details. The convention will open the following evening at the Manhattan Opera House, 34th street and Eighth Avenue, with speakers of national prominence, such as Hillquit, Berger, Norman Thomas, Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, of Milwaukee, Mayor J. Henry Stump of Reading, James H. Maurer, Reading councilman, Joseph W. Sharts of Ohio, Cameron King of California, and others.

The next morning, Saturday, April 14th, the delegates will buckle down to business at the Finnish Socialist Hall, 2056 Fifth Avenue, near 120th street, which has been the scene of many memorable Socialist conventions, including that which nominated Eugene V. Debs in 1920 while he was in Atlanta penitentiary. There will be morning and afternoon sessions Saturday, to be followed by a reception and dance Saturday evening at which the delegates will be able to get acquainted with each other and with the New York comrades.

Sunday the convention will again hold morning and afternoon sessions. In the evening, the delegates will be guests of honor at a dinner of 1,000 Socialists in the Park Palace, 110th street near Fifth Avenue. Monday and Tuesday the delegates will again be in session, and, if necessary, on Wednesday.

The high lights on the convention program will be the nomination of candi-

Socialists in Wash. Only Opposition

(Continued from page 1)

successful campaign is lack of finances. If this can be overcome we will perfect our organization and conduct a campaign such as will rally the workers and farmers to our cause on election day on a scale not before reached since the close of the world war.

The Western Progressive Farmers, organized in 1921 by the deposed president of the Washington State Grange, William Bouck, has merged its identity in the Progressive Farmers and has now all but disappeared as an organization in this State. This organization at one time had a weekly newspaper with a wide circulation, the editor of which was Ellihu Bowles of Prosser, Washington. Two months ago this paper suspended publication and once again demonstrated the futility of "trying to do something for the farmers and workers." The Socialists view of presenting a program through which the workers can do something for themselves is fast becoming recognized as the only scientific and practical method.

The Union Record, known for ten years as Seattle's labor daily, has suspended publication and is in the hands of receivers. In its last days it was the only labor daily in the English language west of the Mississippi River. It had a checked and stormy career. Its editor, E. B. Ault, had, up till 1910, been a member of the Socialist Party. For seven years The Union Record was owned by the Labor Unions of Seattle and vicinity. When the unions found themselves no longer able to finance the paper it went into private hands and for a time was completely dominated by Communist support. However as the idea of an immediate "World revolution" flickered, this emotional support gradually was withdrawn and a new and more constructive policy was adopted, but it seems that it could not survive the stigma of the period when it was under Communist influence and thus it has passed into history, another monument to the fact that only an honest, consistent, clear-cut, and definite program will permanently attract the average member of the working class. Such a program is that of the Socialist Party. That is why it has survived all the "fly by night" movements which offered "something to the workers now," as well as the internal wounds inflicted by the Communist wreckers and the external wounds made by their capitalist allies.

dates for president and vice-president, which will come towards the end of the sessions, the adoption of resolutions, and consideration of an amended constitution. The proposed new constitution will be submitted for study and examination by Secretary Henry in advance of the convention.

Explaining the changes he proposes in the Constitution, Comrade Hillquit says: "The purpose of the proposed changes is to make membership in the party easier and larger. In the past our popular vote has been altogether out of proportion to our dues-paying membership. Some months ago, I suggested a scrapping of the present system of membership to provide for the organization of Socialist clubs to be affiliated with the party. This scheme seems to be a too drastic proposal."

The changes as proposed now by Comrade Hillquit would establish two classes of membership, general and active. The general membership is to include all who vote a straight Socialist party ticket, while the active membership is to be confined to dues-payers. The dues is to be reduced to \$1 a year, except in communities where branches may voluntarily agree to pay more.

American Oil Co. Flouts Mexican Laws

Mexico City.—The Mexican Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor has confirmed the report that sharp reduction in activities in Mexico are being effected by the Huasteca Petroleum Company. In Tampico 686 workers have been dismissed and the company expects to continue reductions to about 60 percent of its present activities. The Ministry of Industry states that it is not in accord with this course of procedure in as much as the company failed to inform the Secretariat previously of its action as is required by law, nor has it paid three months salaries to the dismissed workers in accordance with the ruling of the Mexican Constitution. The Government through its federal representative in Tampico has begun negotiations with the oil company in order to work out a peaceful settlement of the salary claims.

2-28 **3-28**
IN the upper left hand corner of Page One of your paper there is a little yellow slip. It bears your name and address,—also the expiration date of your subscription. Alongside of your name there are two figures, indicating the month and year in which your subscription expires.

If Your Expiration Date Is "2-28" or "3-28" Your Sub has expired

So that you will continue to receive the paper, return this blank and \$2.00 today.

THE NEW LEADER
7 East 15th Street
New York, N. Y.

Enclosed find \$2.00 for which you will extend my subscription for one year.

Name.....
Street.....
City..... State.....

For Your Children's Sake

Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

EX-LAX is as delicious as the choicest confection, and cleanses the bowels in a most natural, pleasant and painless manner. It is absolutely harmless, and children love it.

10, 25 and 50c a box, at all drug stores.

THE Workmen's Circle
The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence

85,000 MEMBERS \$3,200,000 ASSETS

750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada

Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000

Week benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$1 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$3 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200, or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 9616-6617

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.
ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office: 227 EAST 84TH STREET (Bet. 2nd and 3rd Ave.)
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927, 49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$51,000,000.

No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal.

Workingmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.

No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.

For Further information apply at 227 East 84th Street

A Two Dollar Book for Fifty cents
Druggists Health
A new book by Dr. Joseph H. Greer
253 Pages 75 Illustrations
Health and long life by Natural Means. Money back if not Satisfied.

Send Stamps or Money Order
DR. JOSEPH H. GREER
4114 Michigan Ave., Chicago

Dr. Barnett L. Becker, Inc.
Optometrists and Opticians
213 East Broadway, near Clinton Street
131 Second Ave., corner 8th Street
100 Lenox Ave., near 118th Street
262 East Fordham Road, Bronx
923 Prospect Ave., near 183rd St., Bronx
1719 Pitkin Ave., nr. Rockaway Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PARK PALACE
3-5 West 110th Street
Elegant Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Meetings
ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.
Telephone: Monument 4231
Cathedral 5674

MANHATTAN BEACH HOTEL, N. Y.
Live in a modern, fireproof hotel by the seashore, for less than in the crowded city: \$12 per week for two; homelike comforts; outdoor sports; maid, wait and telephone service; 37 minutes from Times Square, B. M. R. Brighton Beach Station. Phone Sheepshead 3009.

Typewriters all makes Sold, rented and repaired

All Guaranteed Moderate Prices

International Typewriter Co.
1643 2nd Ave., Bet. 85th & 86th Sts.
Open 10 A. M. to 9 P. M. Tel. Regent 1308

No Tip-Union Barber Shop
17 FIFTH AVENUE
Bet. 18th and 19th Streets
NEW YORK CITY
Individual Sanitary Service by Experts
LADIES HAIR BOBBING SPECIALISTS
Open From 8 A. M. to 7 P. M.
Patronize a Comradely Barber Shop

George C. Heinicke
32 Union Square, New York, Room 808
Phone Stuyvesant 1631

United States and Foreign Patents and Trade Marks; 22 Years' Experience; Moderate Prices; Registered United States and Canada

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney,
Evenings and Sundays, 1436 Glover Street,
Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway, Pelham Bay Extension, to Zerega Ave. Station.

JUST OPENED
An Inviting
Rational Vegetarian Restaurant
at 199 SECOND AVENUE — Between 12th and 13th Streets
Near Schwartz's Jewish Art Theatre

We serve strictly vegetarian food, fresh daily.

OUR CAKES ARE BAKED WITH WHOLE WHEAT FLOUR ON PREMISES

MAX WOLFF
OPTOMETRIST AND OPTICIAN
328 W. 125 St., Bet. 8th & St. Nicholas Ave.

THE OIL SCANDALS UP TO DATE

A Week in Washington

Floods may come and floods may go,
Dams may bust, tornados blow;
But always there's the oily flow,
For oil goes on forever.

WASHINGTON.

NOW it seems that not only Will Hays, the censor of our movie morals and William P. Butler, otherwise known as "Fatty" Butler, President Coolidge's boy friend, now Chairman of the National Committee, but even the holy Andrew Mellon, who has been called "the greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton" are all smeared up in the latest developments in the oil scandal.

Andy says that he took a mysterious package of Liberty Bonds from Will Hays who was apparently very anxious to get rid of them and to have from Mellon spot cash that isn't easy to spot, in return.

But, says Andy, when he got home with the \$50,000 worth of bonds, he smelled a rat, said rat being Will Hays, and promptly returned these bonds suspecting very rightly that they might be part of the boodle which Harry Sinclair had stolen from the people of the United States in his crooked leasing of Teapot Dome.

Sinclair being a conscientious robber had decided to split up with the rest of the gang and he had made his contribution to the Republican campaign deficit in the shape of Liberty Bonds. Bonds however are easy to trace and the crafty Hays had run around among his rich Republican friends begging them to take the embarrassing things off his hands and give him cash instead.

The Story Comes Out

Little by little under the skillful questionings of Senator Nye and Senator Walsh, in the course of the investigations into the oil scandals the whole dirty story of how the Big Boys finance their politics is coming out. Sen. Adams wrote a book called "Revelry" which sorely shocked a lot of good people because it intimated that those in the Harding Administration might not have been the honest and conscientious public servants which the old-line papers assured us they were. Adams should now write a sequel in the shape of a mystery story called "Crooks at Large" which would show how mild he had been in his first book and tell the truth about the gentlemen who are running the country today.

Idaho "Progressive" Party Is Expiring; Return to G.O.P. Seen

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

Boise, Idaho.—The Progressive Party of Idaho, which rose on the crest of farmer discontent some six years ago, is going the way of Roosevelt's "army of the Lord" which he drilled against Taft in 1912. The Progressive Party might have evolved into a movement which eventually could have been linked up with a working class movement in the nation, but Idaho Socialists never had any confidence in it because of its timid and opportunist leadership.

The most conspicuous leader of the party was H. F. Samuels who had been its candidate for Governor. He is now giving his attention to his investments in coal mining. Ray McKaig, the party manager, has been lured from the party by his interest in sport and is engaged in promoting a professional baseball team for Boise. It now appears that the remnants of the party will support Republican candidates in the coming elections and this will be the end of the movement.

The party had its origin in wide discontent with Republican reaction in the state. It began by capturing Republican primaries but it was forced to independent party action when both Republicans and Democrats in the legislature put across a new primary law which prohibited independent voters from voting in old party primaries.

Faced with this situation, the Progressive Party was organized and its leaders declared that the old organizations were alike. However, as the Democratic Party was a minority in the state the Progressives arranged for fusion candidates in quite a number of districts. This proved unsatisfactory as all such action has proven in American politics.

In Idaho two years ago the party polled in the neighborhood of 38,000 votes, leading the Democratic vote by about 10,000 and falling short of the Republican vote by about 16,000.

The party is going back to the Coolidge kennel this year, leaving every intelligent farmer and worker who is opposed to the capitalist parties no other way of expressing their views except through the Socialist Party.

Idaho Socialists have through all this period seen their forces dwindle, but a Spartan band held together, confident that the Progressives would eventually do what they are now actually doing. The road is clear with the assurance of a Socialist ticket in the field and the party will again take the leadership in representing the working class in the political field.

Church Takes Collection For Suffering Miners

Watervliet, N. Y.—The Third Avenue Methodist Church of Watervliet, N. Y., of which Rev. Frank W. Vogell is pastor, after listening to a description of the sufferings of the miners' families in the soft coal fields by the pastor at a regular service, took up a collection of almost forty dollars as a contribution and filled a number of barrels with clothing for the families. This is a working class congregation for the most part who know something about the problems of the workers and are glad to assist in relieving privations.

LITTLE OBJECT LESSONS IN AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP



HARRY MICAIAH DAUGHERTY

All he asks is to be forgotten and decent Americans wish he could be. As Attorney General, he was the broker for corruptionists, large-scale bootleggers, in fact anybody who wanted to "do" the government and was ready to split with him.



ANDREW WILLIAM MELLON

Still Secretary of the Treasury. "Andy" took \$50,000 in Liberty Bonds and then smelt a rat. Said rat being Will Hays. He suspected it was some of Sinclair's oil-smeared money. He returned the bonds, so he says, but like a regular Republican, refused to squeal on the boys.

HERBERT CLARK HOOVER

Is our Secretary of Commerce. In the midst of the oil and allied scandals, he kept clean, and quiet. For that he thinks he ought to be president. He says he believes in the principles of Calvin Coolidge. Unfortunately, Coolidge hasn't any principles to speak of.



A lot of them, as a matter of fact, are running away from the country as fast as their trembling legs can take them. Old Sam Insull, for example, the boss of all the public utilities in the Middle West, has gone on a hurried trip to Europe for his health. It was Insull money spent for the election of Frank Smith in Illinois that cost Smith his Senate seat, the fact that a utility man should finance the campaign of a Senatorial candidate being a bit too raw. Maybe when Insull is in Europe he may meet up with Blackmer, the missing oil witness who has been hiding out in foreign parts ever since the inquiry started. And if the investigation to find out just who chipped in to wipe out the Republican deficit and help elect Cal Coolidge keeps up, I suspect a lot more prominent men will be taking trips abroad for their health.

Monk O'Neill

If they visit religious institutions abroad, they may come upon another witness wanted by the Senate Committee, in the person of James E. O'Neill, who is hiding in a monastery in Italy. It was this same O'Neill who was overheard by a waiter in the Bankers' Club in New York to say "Oh Hell, we'll make a hundred millions a year." And if the Sinclair money did not take care of them, namely the naval oil lease swindlers, the Standard Oil would.

All these revelations have, of course, up to last week, been nuts to the Democrats, who think they find in them that long-sought for issue which will carry them through the coming Presidential campaign. This is to be: honesty in elections, and a general pointing of the finger at corruption. Their plans have gone agley a bit, however, because of the charge, which is probably true, that Democratic leaders connived with the Republican leaders in 1922 and 1923 to suppress the names of those who paid

up both old party deficits. There was testimony before the Walsh investigating committee that Wilbur W. Marsh, Democratic treasurer, had called upon Chairman Upham of the Republicans to go into a compact to make no public reports of the cash accounts of either party for the years between the 1920 and the 1924 national campaigns. This puts a crimp into the honesty in elections issue. To be sure, the Democrats do not get so much dirty money as do the Republicans. That's because they're not in a position to deliver the goods. But they get as much as they deserve, and can be counted on to sit in with the bribe-takers across the Congressional aisle whenever any issue affecting the welfare of the public is stated to be killed.

A Tough Week for the G.O.P.

On the whole, it's been another tough week for the Republicans. Tariff Commissioner Edward P. Costigan resigns from the Commission, sending a hot note saying that he is resigning because Chairman Marvin of that ridiculous body is a fanatic on the subject of high tariff, and that there can be no such thing as scientific adjustment of the tariff so long as the Commission is dominated by the Marvin group, and other Republican politicians.

Then again, one of Calvin Coolidge's fair-haired boys, the Honorable John J. Esch of Wisconsin gets a terrible trimming when the Senate, by a vote of 39 to 29, refuses to confirm his appoint-

ment to the Interstate Commerce Commission. It will be recalled that Mr. Esch was one of the most vindictive opponents of the late Senator La Follette in Wisconsin, and was co-author in the Esch-Cummins Act, known as the Transportation Act of 1920, which handed the railroads back to private interests, giving them everything that they asked for. Too bad Senator La Follette is not alive to behold the retirement of this gentleman. One by one the roses fall. Those who were denouncing La Follette as an enemy of the people back in the war days are most of them undergoing either a forced retirement to private life, or are facing some kind of court procedure or jail sentence.

While the memory of republics is notoriously short, there are some in this country who remember that it was La Follette who originally unearthed the oil scandals. It was this so-called enemy of the people who, in a two-hour speech in the Senate, long before Teapot Dome got on the front page, gave the full outline of the crooked transactions involved in the naval oil leases. And incidentally it was none other than Calvin Coolidge who, in his function as Vice-President, presiding over the Senate, heard every word of that speech. For years Coolidge had known the full details of this corruption within the ranks of his own party. But like Andrew Mellon, his noble Secretary of the Treasury, he has chosen to keep his mouth

shut, and has never said one word in condemnation of as extensive a corruption in high places as this country has ever seen.

Will Cal Be Called?

Now Mr. Hoover, the most likely successor to Calvin, says that he will follow Coolidge's policies. There is a great deal of speculation in Washington as to whether Coolidge, seeing in advance the storm-clouds that are now breaking around his party, decided to take no chances on running again, and to duck while the ducking was good. Again there is another group that believes that these exposures are working out to the best interests of the canny Vermont. They maintain that when the Republican nominating convention discovers the essential weakness of Hoover, particularly among the wheat farmers, and the effects upon the public mind of the oil disclosures, there will be a stampede to Coolidge, and he will be drafted as the strongest candidate to save his party's face.

In the meanwhile Senator Borah, who is one of the greatest puzzles in political life, is making a little private hay for himself by running around the country hat in hand, asking the Republicans to chip in on a jack pot for the return of the money which naughty Harry Sinclair donated towards the wiping out of the Republican deficit. This is one of the most amazingly naive per-

formances in recent political history. But at that, it may go over big. Consider the principles involved. A burglar comes to you and gives you a part of his haul. You thank him, and run around the neighborhood getting your friends to hide it up in their private safes. Then a detective discovers that you have been acting as fence, and the case gets into the newspapers. Greatly distressed, you run to these same friends, and ask them to kick in for a fund to give the money back to the burglar, thereby clearing yourself and your outfit of any so-called stigma of shame. There has been a lot of talk of housecleaning in the Republican ranks, and there is a very vague possibility that Borah may blossom forth at the Republican convention as the man who did the trick.

The talk of Senator Borah heading any third party movement is sheer tommyrot. The Senator from Idaho is almost as cautious as our distinguished President, and you may be sure that he finds the tents of the Republican far too comfortable to do any wandering off the reservation on his own hook. He is an interesting type of off-day liberal, who lacks the moral courage and the fundamental philosophy to do anything much about his liberalism except make such vague gestures as this refund business.

Muscle Shoals Goes Through

The oil scandals go so predominately

the political scene that I have not had time to mention the passage of Senator Norris' bill for the governmental marketing of power, developed at Muscle Shoals, the defeat of the Lane Duck bill, that was to be expected, considering that the Senate is now a regular lame duck pool, and the testimony before the Senatorial investigating committee to the effect that both the New York Central and the Pennsylvania Railroads conspired with the mine operators to break up the United Mine Workers of America.

The oil scandals are of great interest to us Socialists, and all other progressives, inasmuch as they reveal in detail the inner workings of the economic forces that dominate our government today. For years we have been pointing out that there is no difference whatsoever in the two old parties, that by the very nature of things both are dependent upon big business interests for their existence, and that there will be no such thing, nor can there be any such thing, as honesty in politics so long as a politician can win the contributions of the rich and the votes of the poor by tactics of terrorism, propaganda and plain downright thievery. The only way out of this mess is the formation of a party of workers—workers in the factories and offices and farms—who are not dependent upon Sinclair and Dohneys for their very existence.

To the formation of such a party the Socialists of this country have pledged themselves. They will meet in convention in New York City on April 15th, and I urge all my readers to follow the proceedings of that convention with the greatest care. For the Socialist party is the only one in the field able to make any sort of opposition during the coming campaign to the oil-smeared, capitalist-controlled, Democratic-Republican conspiracy to deliver the country once more into the hands of a little group of greedy men.

Back-Stairs Spokesman.

An Anti-Injunction Program

By Karl N. Llewellyn

(A report of a lecture under the auspices of the New York Chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy. Mr. Llewellyn is Professor of Law in Columbia University. As Professor Llewellyn's talk was not taken down verbatim he is responsible neither for the form nor the wording of the article here presented.)

AN INJUNCTION is a judicial writ or process of a court of equity, commanding a person or persons named therein, even in advance of wrongful action, to do or not to do a particular thing or several particular things. It is inherited here in America from England, where it was used by the chancellors in equity proceedings to supplement the common law where the law proved inadequate to give a wronged party relief. To cite an example, an injunction might be granted at the request of the plaintiff to restrain the defendant from cutting down and selling trees on the property.

The use of injunctions and the scope of their application have constantly widened. For many years now, injunctions have been granted against the workers in labor disputes. The characteristics of injunctions, and the methods of obtaining them give tremendous power to the employers. To realize their potency we must bear the following facts in mind.

Points Important to Employers
First, a judge may grant an injunction of almost any conceivable nature, may even restrain a person from doing what—apart from the injunction—he would have every legal right to do. The purpose for which an injunction may be given are broad. Moreover, and especially a person may be enjoined from an act which he has not yet committed but is alleged to plan or intend to commit. In labor cases it has often been the practice of the employers' lawyers to draw up long detailed documents enjoining workers from numerous forms of violence which the bosses know very well their employees have no intention of committing. Somewhere in the long document will be a few obscure clauses really hitting the points of vital importance to the employers. The chances are more than fair that even if a number of clauses are struck out the injunction will include the propositions the lawyers are most desirous of including. Psychologically this is a splendid way to tackle even the most honest and unbiased judge. A picture has been drawn for him of anarchy rampant, a freeman deprived of the results of their hard earned efforts. He is emotionally aroused by the citations of all the violence the defendants have done, or plan to do, and he is in quite the right mood to enjoy them very thoroughly indeed.

The second point to bear in mind is that injunctions hold, no matter how long, until they are set aside. Thus an injunction or appeal, may be declared to have been improperly issued, and to restrain the defendants from doing things which were wholly lawful, but, until it has actually been set aside, it must be obeyed. In scores of strikes the losses which may occur due to an improper injunction are enormous. If a strike fails there are involved not only the money losses, but possibly the future prestige and power of the union, and the psychological set-back in the workers' forces in consequence of defeat.

This brings us logically to the next two points. The first of these is that there is no hearing from the defendant's side for the issuance of a temporary injunction. It is issued by the judge, at any hour of the day or night, to go into effect immediately, and solely at

the request, and on the representation, of the plaintiff. The second, and related point, is that a long time may occur between the granting of a temporary injunction and the hearing for a permanent injunction. Meanwhile, of course, the temporary injunction is in force, and a strike may be well lost before the strikers have even had a chance to present their side of the case to the judge.

It takes even a longer time for an appeal to a higher court from an injunction which has once been made permanent. Our courts are always clogged and it may be many months before the case is heard. Time is money to strikers, and more. Imagine what several months' wait may mean to thousands of strikers, living on union grants, and to their families!

A plaintiff always picks the judge to whom he wants to apply for an injunction. It is not at all necessary to think in terms of graft or of bias to realize the great advantage this gives him. The employers' well-paid lawyers pick judges with whose habitual emotional reactions, and with whose history in reference to injunctions and to labor cases in general, they are familiar.

If an injunction is disobeyed, even if the defendant claims it has been improperly issued, he is arrested for contempt of court and brought before the judge who issued the injunction. The judge, in general, sits alone. He has no jury no precedent, no law, to guide or to control him. He can impose huge fines on strikers for disregarding the injunction, or send them to jail. If an appeal impends, he can refuse to admit the men to bail. Meanwhile, how fares the strike with its leaders in cells?

In studying the history of labor injunctions in the United States we find that it has passed through several phases. At first injunctions were issued against strikers themselves, not against the means of conducting strikes. This has fortunately become much less common today. But now we find injunctions used not only against the methods of conducting strikes but also against the organization of the workers into unions.

A corporation is a single person in law. A combination of persons, all of whom are part of the corporation acting as a corporate entity, making plans for their own interests, is not a conspiracy; only "one person" is involved. But a combination of three or more laborers looks different. Each laborer is one person. When they all get together to act in concert, the situation begins to look much like terrorism. A combination of men, determined upon striking all at once, not one at a time, acting in agreement, is pretty awful, a regular conspiracy. Many things which "one person," a corporation, may freely do, such a combination may not do. So the courts used to declare, and to some extent still do. Hence in the past a strike was often enjoined before it was called. Strikes were not possible. Most courts have gotten over this and will admit the right of workers to strike. But in Massachusetts still a strike may be legal or illegal. It is legal to strike for higher wages, but it is illegal, and enjoined, to strike to get rid of a non-union man. West Virginia and Massachusetts apart, at present you can strike in most states for your own purposes, without being enjoined. But, mostly a sympathetic strike, or one to aid the purpose of other unions, is enjoined. That would be a combination to injure the employer without "lawful justification."

Wanted: Labor Strategy to Meet The Strategy of Capital

It is, therefore, legal to strike for the unionization of your shop. However, in most states, as soon as you get to the condition where you have not only your own shop but the whole industry unionized you may be restrained from making your work effective by keeping in line any shop which decides to go into an open shop basis. In Connecticut, and elsewhere, you will be accused of depriving a non-union man of his constitutional right to work at his trade in the neighborhood.

The Hitchman Injunction

The most recent use of the injunction is in the prevention of the organization of workers. In 1917 the owners of the Hitchman mines in West Virginia made its workers sign an agreement not to join the United Mine Workers while in their employ. The United Mine Workers sent men to organize the miners secretly. The Hitchman people decided to do some real enjoining. An injunction was obtained against any union official, delegate or representative coming on the property of the mines. They were to refrain from addressing any person employed in the mines, or even those considering being employed in the mines, with the purpose of saying anything to make them believe that they might gain any advantage by joining the United Mine Workers.

In the Hitchman case it was argued that the organizers were interfering with the mine-operators' freedom of access to the labor-market. Who can reckon the possible damage that this will inflict upon employers? And how could they possibly collect from the laborers who have nothing? (The only thing they overlooked is that it is equally impossible to measure the damage to laborers if they can't organize. How will they collect? You can't enjoin a competitor from trying to get your business even if you are damaged thereby. He has legal "justification" in that he is pursuing his own interest by taking these customers he can obtain. But unionization was not a justifiable purpose. The court was persuaded that the organizers were not trying to help Hitchman miners. They were merely trying to help mine unions elsewhere by enlarging the union. And they had no "justification" in promoting their own interest, because they were not "competitors" of the employer.

Following the Hitchman precedent this policy of issuing injunctions against organization of unions spread like wildfire. The first stop to it came here in New York in the Exchange Bakery case, followed by the two very recent I. R. T. cases.

A Useless Bill

At present there is a useless bill in Congress (Senator Shipstead's) to stop all injunctions for the purpose of protecting "property." There is no chance of such a bill passing. Injunctions are far too important in the business world, in questions of prevention of violation of contract, or infringement of patent rights, copyrights, etc. It is anything but wise for the A. F. of L. to waste money and energy backing this bill. Yet it is vitally necessary that labor do something about injunctions. Those used in labor disputes differ in important respects from other injunctions. In the first place, they work only one way, against the workers. There are almost no cases where the laborers have enjoined the employers. (Not that they never could; but they never do.) Secondly, you don't get injunctions in other cases working always in terms of rich against

poor, haves against havenots. And thirdly, injunctions in labor cases run hand in hand with the use of the police. They get the man the police can't—the man who is not on the street.

Considering these points, and the fact that the vast majority of judges, although honest men occasionally have strange views, and the further fact that the cumbersome machinery of the equity courts is so fixed that strikes can be broken, and organizations toppled by even yellow dog contracts, what can we do about it?

Yellow Dog Is Legal

First, there are some things you can't do. There is no use getting certain laws on the statute books unless you first alter the personnel of the Supreme Court. Back in 1900 legislation against the yellow dog contract was declared unconstitutional. In 1917 Arizona passed an act that no injunction should be issued in a labor dispute of a restaurant keeper, Truax, who argued that the statute deprived him of the equal protection of the law. Other rights could be protected by injunction but those of employers could not be, if this law remained on the books. The Supreme Court said that he was right. The most obvious remedy, therefore, cannot be used.

Many unionists, including Mr. Gompers and the A. F. of L., were bamboozled into thinking the Clayton Act a charter of liberties. It did, however, contain one good clause—that a defendant should be given a trial by jury on facts and on intent, in contempt cases. The constitutionality of this clause was attacked, those opposing it claiming that the equity power resided in the courts and could not be thus limited. But the courts have held this clause constitutional. This induces on way of attack: to deal by legislation with each particular evil of this particular type of injunction.

What Is Possible

Practically something can be done but instead of using a machine gun against all injunctions it is necessary to use a rifle on this particular kind. There is a reasonable, political possibility of getting across the following:

1. Make it possible, by statute, for a

temporary injunction in labor cases, to be issued for only 48 hours.

2. If any injunction in a labor dispute is made permanent, an appeal, by statute, is to have precedence over all other cases, and be heard within a week.

This would cut down the time to 8 days, and time, as we know, is an important factor in strike cases.

3. Legal reasons for strikes might be codified. We have had 60 years of history of strikes and 35 years of laws on the subject. This is a long enough period on which to base a code. You could pass that code so that the most prejudiced judge in the world couldn't issue an injunction in many cases in which he now does. The holes in the code need not be serious. Even an able judge could only get his fist through and not be able to climb all the way through.

4. Another possible remedy would be a law making it necessary for a bench of 3 judges, instead of 1, to pass on the facts to make an injunction permanent.

In conclusion, unions would be well advised to get some good lawyers. There is hope in the fact that such a man as Oliphant was called in to fight the I. R. T. case. There is every reason to believe that the decision in favor of the A. F. of L. will be upheld on appeal. Labor has power. It registers politically. Then the wave recedes, and nothing is left on the beach but a Clayton Act, because of the lack of decent, technical, lawyer-like advice. It is necessary to meet dynamite with dynamite. The Employers' Association in Illinois has been selecting cases in Illinois for 20 years, each one going an inch or two further than the last, to bring up on appeal. Here we have the shaping of law under highly intelligent, sustained guidance—for the benefit of the employers. Unionists must follow suit if they hope to get anywhere. If the A. F. of L. would bring cases on appeal in states like Arizona, for instance, where the precedent of the decisions in New York, in the Exchange Bakery case and in the I. R. T. case is likely to impress the judges favorably, and, until they have set up a current of authority against the Hitchman case, avoid cases when decision is likely to go against them, as in West Virginia, they could equally well develop a far-sighted strategy and build up a strong chain of pro-labor decisions.



Drawn by William Kropf

HAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE AFTER

By Harry W. Laidler
Executive Director, League for
Industrial Democracy

EVERY movement for the social advance has, at various stages in its career, been greatly misrepresented and misunderstood. In the late twenties and early thirties of the last century, groups of working men in New York, Philadelphia and Boston organized into labor parties for the purpose, among other things, to agitate for the establishment of the public school system. No sooner had they organized than the conservative newspapers of those days—among them the New York Post and the Philadelphia Gazette—ran long editorials filled with denunciation.

The establishment of public schools, these papers maintained, would strike at the very foundation of the American Republic; it would lead to a system of "dividing up", forcing the thrifty and the industrious to pay the taxes to send the children of the idle and shiftless to the public schools. The would still the chief incentive on the part of the laborer to work. For, declared these editorial writers, the chief excitement to industry on the part of the worker was to earn a surplus with which to send his children to the private schools and pay the tuition in these schools, and if he was no longer under this necessity, a great premium would be put on comparative idleness. It would produce, the newspapers declared, a dead level, decrease industrial efficiency and would prove totally impracticable.

Labor, assisted by the more enlightened educators, succeeded in their fight for universal, free public school education. Now, owing to various influences, the public school system in America is the most extensive in the world. It is by no means perfect. The ruling economic groups, constituting a minority of the population, are trying to mold it to their own class purposes. But it is far better than if our schools were left in the hands of individual schoolmasters dominated by the profit motive and charging for tuition all that the traffic would bear.

Socialism Also Aligned

The movements for universal manhood and womanhood suffrage, for the abolition of slavery and for other advanced measures have been similarly attacked and misrepresented. And it is natural that the Socialist movement should be subjected to the same treatment. Despite that misrepresentation, however, Socialism has become one of the most important movements in the world today and is vitally influencing the social, political, economic and thought life of the world.

Not only has it made passionate followers of millions of members of the working class, but it has fired the imagination of some of the foremost intellectuals of the last half century—dramatists like Bernard Shaw, novelists like E. C. Wells and Anatole France, philosophers like Alfred Russel Wallace, and Bertrand Russell, engineers of the type of Charles P. Steinmetz, poets like William Morris and Edwin Markham, economists like Sidney and Beatrice Webb, John A. Hobson, and a host of others too numerous to mention.

"To have become a Socialist," declared H. G. Wells, "is to have learned something, to have made an intellectual and moral step, to have discovered a general purpose in life and a new meaning in duty and brotherhood."

What is Socialism? To that question there are at least as many answers as there were given by the blind men who were asked to go out and find out what an elephant was like. One blind man felt the side of the elephant and reported that it was like a stone wall. The second blind man felt the elephant's leg and stated that, from his point of view, the elephant seemed like a tree. The third blind man felt its tail and thought that it was like a rope while the fourth, who felt its trunk, regarded it as a hose. Socialism may be looked upon as a

"Socialism Seeks To Apply the Principles of Democracy To Industry"—What Socialists Are And Are Not

philosophy of history, as an indictment of modern society, as a world movement or a social ideal. As a social ideal Socialism seeks to apply the principle of democracy to industry, to inaugurate in industry a commonwealth of the people, by the people and for the people. More specifically Socialists may be said to have as their aim a social order under which the principal industries will be socially owned and democratically managed, with the ideal ever foremost of social service rather than of private profit.

Opposed To Dividing Up

Socialists are often confused with members of other schools of thought. When I was a small boy, I was brought up by a loyal member of the Republican party in Brooklyn. Hearing for the first time the word Socialism, I asked what it meant. I was informed that Socialists believed in a system of "dividing up"; that, if they had their way, everybody would have to put their money in a common fund, and, after it was all collected, the authorities would count

noses, and divide the wealth equally among all of the people. This, of course, said my informant, would not solve the social problem, as the clever and shrewd would of course soon concoct some scheme to get the money away from the more gullible and conditions would in a short time return to their former state. I agreed, and for a number of years—until I was about to graduate from the Boys High School, regarded Socialists as proposing a particularly stupid solution.

But of course no sane Socialist ever proposed such a division. Socialists are Socialists because they object to the way in which millions of intellectual and manual producers are, under the present social order, compelled to divide up and support absentee owners who contribute but little in human effort to our productive machinery. They would like to end that dividing-up system.

They believe that Abraham Lincoln expressed a great truth when he said: "Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things ought to belong to those whose labor has produced them. But

it has happened in all ages of the world that some have labored, and others, without labor, have enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor as nearly as possible is a worthy object of any good government."

Socialists are not communists in the old sense of that term. The older communists of the utopian variety believed not only that industry should be socialized, but that consumption goods—furniture, libraries, etc.—should be common property and that all private ownership should be abolished. Socialists are Socialists because they want the mass of producers to have more private property in consumption goods, more of the necessities and comforts of life than they now have. Private property in those things that are necessary for the personal well-being of producers—in clothing, furniture, books, houses not used for exploitation—cooperative ownership of machine industry, where the machine is used for exploiting others, is the aim of this group of social thinkers.

Socialism and Industry

Socialists do not demand even that all industry be owned by the community. Under a Socialist state the principal industries would probably be owned by local, state and federal communities. However, a good deal of industry would undoubtedly be conducted by voluntary cooperative groups of producers and consumers, especially in handicraft industries, in agriculture and in intellectual production—in magazines of opinion, experimental schools, etc.—and a certain amount by private individuals with proper regulations regarding labor conditions and prices.

Socialists do not necessarily demand that all workers obtain an equal compensation. They have no objection to a moderate difference of compensation, if it is based on a difference in productivity and industry, and if such difference seems necessary to bring out the best in the workers. What they do object to is a difference of income based on the fact that one group owns the natural resources and prime necessities and that the other group does the work

with little or no share in the ownership of industry.

Socialists do not favor the centralization of all public industries in the hands of the national community. They desire as much decentralization as is compatible with efficiency and there probably would be under Socialism a very great amount of industry run by the local as well as the national community. In some cases a partnership could be worked out between the federal government and the local governments, in some cases the same way that it is now being worked out between the province of Ontario and the municipalities in the generation and distribution of electrical energy.

Socialists believe that the spirit of democracy should be shot through and through the administration of public industry and that the worker, the technical and the managerial staff and the consumer should all be adequately represented on the board of control of the public industries.

More latterly Socialists have favored the development of separate federal and municipal corporations, owned by the

community, organized somewhat after the North Authority of New York, but with representation by consumer, producer and technician all forces who, by their interest and their training, are qualified to participate in management.

Socialism, Anarchism, Bolshevism

It is unnecessary to say that Socialists differ from anarchists and that anarchists in turn—particularly philosophical anarchists—differ from the popular conception of them. The anarchist believes in the absence of law. The Socialist has no objection as such to law or government, but does object to law and government in the interest of a ruling class and looks forward to a time when the sharp class divisions that exist at the present time will be abolished, and when all able bodied and minded men and women will contribute according to their respective abilities to the social product.

Socialists are not bolsheviks. They seek to achieve their ends through trade and industrial unions, through the building of cooperative societies, through political parties of labor and through education. While desiring to see Socialism in our time, Socialists realize that Socialism cannot be achieved in a day and it will take years of the most intensive education, organization and constructive thought and action before we bring about the cooperative order.

Socialists, finally, do not undertake to work out in complete detail a new social order nor do they seek to superimpose that order on society in any final form. The early Utopian socialists made the mistake of regarding society somewhat as an inanimate structure. In constructing a building an architect may make complete plans for every room, every door, every window, and the building goes up according to specifications. But society is not a lifeless structure, made of brick and mortar. It is a living, growing organism, made up of millions of human beings with all sorts of conflicting aspirations. It is possible to study the trend of industrial development and forecast the general lines of future progress but no one can predict just what the majority of inhabitants fifty years hence shall decide to do regarding a particular question under discussion. An infinite variety of experiments in social control will take place in an effort to reach the ideal and there will be a constant shift of opinion as to what constitutes the ideal.

Socialism A World Force

"Nothing is more false," declared Karl Kautsky, "than to represent the Socialist society as a simple, rigid mechanism whose wheels, when once set in motion, run on continuously in the same manner. The most manifold forms of ownership in the means of production—national, municipal, co-operatives of consumption and production and private—can exist beside each other in a socialist society; the most diverse forms of industrial organization of remuneration and of forms of circulation. The same manifold character of economic mechanism as exists today is possible in a socialist society. Only the hunting and the hunted, the struggling, the annihilated and being annihilated of the present competitive struggle are excluded and there-with the contrast between the exploiter and the exploited."

Socialism, then, is one of the great movements of the modern world. It aims at the social ownership and democratic control of industry to the end that waste and poverty and exploitation be abolished, that equality of opportunity and freedom be established and that the personality of the masses be fully developed.

One may disagree with the tenets of Socialism, but one cannot but agree that a movement of such tremendous import must at least be understood, if we are not to act as blind leaders of the blind in the work in which all of us should be engaged—the work of building up a nobler civilization.

The Benevolence of Wealth

By John F. Kellett

WITH that thrilling "human interest" stories do the great metropolitan journals regale us every now and then of the kindly deeds of our worthy friends, the millionaires, in the role of benefactors of mankind. No gift from them to their less fortunate brethren is too trivial to deserve mention. And how the city editor does pride himself on a "scoop" (always front page material) of some benevolent soul who has manifested his good will to the race by the donation of a million or two to Harvard, Columbia or other of our universities, presented a library or hospital to some struggling municipality or subscribed generously to an organization for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen.

Of course the gift is gratefully acknowledged with bravos by the great American public and the benefactor promptly enshrined with the wise and good of the century. He is our hero and friend. Why should we not canonize him who has so felt our suffering that he was willing to give a portion of his hard-earned savings toward its alleviation?

We believe most all we read in the dailies about our millionaire friends, and when we are a bit in doubt as to the meaning of it all we turn to the editorial columns for further light on the subject. Here we learn that these generous gifts were inspired by the loftiest of sentiments—desire for the betterment of the race, sympathy for the deserving poor, etc. Can it be that the city editors have purposely misstated their real convictions, or is it that the

Up In The Air

When we get down to fundamentals the big fact sticks out that all values are produced by useful workers in industry. When we get up into the clouds we vote for the parties of capitalism and thereby vote most of the values into the pockets of absentee speculators, owners, stock exchange gamblers, oil grafters, political crooks, financial spiders and idle libertines. You can approve this with a Republican or Democratic vote but a Socialist vote cannot be so used.



Mr. Ima Hogg, president of the Eat Right Association, lectures on "The Dangers of Over-Eating."

motives underlying the gifts are not quite clear to them and that they have drawn their conclusions from current moral standards.

CONSCIENCE GIFTS

"The guilty conscience" plays its part in these dramas of redemption. Are not the Morgans and the Rockefellers occasionally touched to the very heart when they hear a sermon on the text "That which thou hast stolen, thou shalt repay"? For you know that all of these gentlemen are veteran Christians and pay allegiance to the great institution which aims to serve the masses.

Try and imagine, when you again read of the gift of a million or two to some of our big universities or medical foundations by some captain of industry, the millions of hours of stolen labor that this gift represents. Picture to yourself the bare lives of the men who worked on year after year in order that it should be possible for one exploiter of labor to make this gift.

What do these gifts of which we read so much in the metropolitan dailies really represent? They represent the product of unpaid labor—your labor and mine. They represent the labor of every worker who is exploited in the name of industrial efficiency and progress, and who receives but a half or something less of the real value of his work.

We are living, so the sociologists tell us, in an age of glamor—an era when the chief aim of man seems to be to bury unpleasant facts beneath pleasant exteriors. Sometimes I think, that even we Socialists are taken in by the propaganda of the Capitalist press and believe after all that the exploiters of labor are our real friends. Especially so after we have taken up our morning

paper and read of the gift of one of our numerous millionaires to some favorite charity that happens to lie in our immediate vicinity.

"BLOOD THROUGH EVERY PORE"

When will we learn the truth of Karl Marx's famous epigram "Capital came into the world sweating blood through every pore."? When will we realize that Capital changes its front to meet every change in the social and economic order, but never changes its real purpose—the exploitation of the worker?

I am waiting for some of our learned psychoanalysts to present us with a scientific study of "The Psychology of the Millionaire Benefactor." No country offers to an enterprising researcher so wide a field for study of this particular type as our good old U. S. A. and in no other country is he so provided with material for first-hand study by a courteous pupil and press.

We have had no end of studies by our psycho analysts explaining the causes of social unrest among the poor, the connection of poverty and crime, etc. But never one, so far as I can learn, dealing with the unusual mental state of the millionaire benefactor.

My solution of the riddle as to that of a guilty conscience being a find peace by atonement would be considered a bit old fashioned, if not unscientific by the profession, I am afraid. Yet a man has a right to his opinion.

Although a newspaperman I must confess that I have not had the fortune to meet any of the Rockefeller and Morgan class. My knowledge of their sterling integrity has come largely through reading of one of their recent benefactions in my daily paper.

I have "written up" a retired pharmacist, who was enjoying a comfortable old-age through twenty years sale of 40% medicinal whiskey, and who had merited a front-page story of his activities in connection with a branch Red Cross organization. Several weeks ago I had the pleasure of interviewing a manufacturer who had just stepped into the limelight by the generous gift of \$25,000 to a private tuberculosis hospital where his employees could go to die in peace after they had broken down through overwork and undernourishment. And only

JUDGMENT RESERVED

(After the dam burst in Southern California, killing hundreds of men, women and children, it became known that needed repairs, often delayed by politicians, had caused the disaster. The Los Angeles Times assumed its usual role and asked the people of California to withhold judgement, suggesting that the disaster might have been an "act of God.")

Go easy on the grafters!

They meant no worse like this; They only meant to make their pile, And mixed too well the work with guile, As Judas soiled the kiss.

Go easy on the grafters!

Give them but time enough And they will prove by role and rod The whole thing was an act of God, (On God a little rough.)

Go easy on the grafters!

Have they not well subscribed? And published well their quick relief? Shall they, the foremost now in grief, Be lightly diatribed?

Go easy on the grafters!

But for their enterprise Where would this land of our's be now? And all folks do it anyhow, In this, or other guise.

Go easy on the grafters!

For if one he has failed We can build others just as good, Nor shall we stay the grafters' brood, Though one or two were jailed.

Go easy on the grafters!

The dead are dead, we know, And there will be more work to do; What of a hundred lives or two? We are alive! let's go!

—ROBERT WHITAKER

Socialist Party Plans and Progress Through The States

National

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

Berger's Speech on Income Tax
The speech made by Comrade Berger on the income tax recently was one of the very best he ever made in Congress and that is saying a lot. Every Socialist and every other thinking man and woman will want a copy of it. Anyone that contributes to the fund we are raising can get them in proportion to the cost, which will be about \$4.00 per thousand.

Convention and Organization Fund
The National Office has sent out a call for renewed activity in the collection of funds for handling the expenses of the National Convention and for the purpose of organization. All comrades receiving the call as well as those contributing contribution lists in their possession, should make their reports as soon as possible. Readers of our press should take the matter seriously and send their assistance so the work can be pushed with a vengeance. Our opportunity is here for building the party and for a hot campaign. Write the National Office and state where you stand.

Oklahoma

The Socialist Party convention held in Oklahoma City on Saturday, March 10, was only the beginning of a powerful party in that state, for since the convention the mail arriving at National Headquarters brings the good tidings that comrades are happy to know there is again a real party organization in Oklahoma. There is no doubt but that Oklahoma will soon take its place along with the most organized states for the cause of Socialism.

New England

Boston
Dr. M. J. Konikow is the speaker Thursday, March 22, at a meeting of the Boston and Dorchester branches at 21 Essex street at 8:00 p.m. His subject is "Tuberculosis as a Social Disease."

Sunday, April 8, at 2:30, there will be a meeting on Unemployment at Faneuil Hall. Speakers will include Joseph Bearak, S. J. McBride and Alfred Baker Lewis. Mayor Nichols has been invited to address the meeting and tell what the city is doing to relieve unemployment.

May Day
A May Day celebration has been planned by the City Central Committee. Watch for announcement of place and speakers.

Mass Convention
A Mass Convention will be held Sunday morning and afternoon April 22 at the American House. All members and sympathizers who expect to help in the campaign must be invited to speak. The presidential nominee will be invited to speak.

Newburyport
Mayor Gillis and Alfred Baker Lewis will debate the question. "Resolved, that the Republican Party can be Reformed from Within." on Thursday, March 29 in Newburyport.

Arizona

So many letters have arrived from Socialists in Arizona during the past week that we have become enthusiastic and feel assured that there will be cooperation by all comrades in that state in rebuilding the movement. The National Office wishes to hear from more Socialists in that State right away. Write the National Office and state where you stand.

Delaware

The Socialist Party is being reorganized in Delaware. A new local is in process of organization and within a few weeks we will have things moving towards a real party movement. Next notice will give a State Secretary for Delaware and further details as to how Delaware Socialists can help build the party and cooperate in placing a full ticket for the fall election. Delaware will have its delegate at our National Convention, April 14.

Connecticut

The State Executive Committee will hold an important meeting Sunday, Mar. 25, 2 p.m. at the Workmen's Circle, Educational Center, 438 Oak street, New Haven. The National Convention Agenda will be discussed and the results of the referendum election of delegates to next convention will be announced. Further plans will be made in behalf of the fight which the Socialists of the State have started for an unemployment insurance law.

New Haven
The women of the Workmen's Circle held a very successful package party, Saturday evening, March 17 in behalf of the striking miners. State Organizer of the Socialist Party, Karl C. Jursek, of Greenwich, gave a very interesting talk on the miners strike. A very substantial sum of money was raised.

State organizer Jursek will speak before "The Friday Night Club" at one of the Yale College class rooms, Friday, March 30, at 8 p.m. The Friday night club is mostly composed of former members of the Young Peoples Socialist League.

Hamden
Local Hamden will meet at the home of Gustave Berquist, 28 Mills street, Highwood, Thursday evening, March 22. The members will vote for National Convention delegates. Plans will be made to raise funds to help defray delegates' expenses.

Arkansas
More new members signed up during the week in Arkansas. Socialists of that state all signify their desire to not only have our presidential ticket on the ballot for the fall election, but they intend having a state ticket. A state organization is in the making, and soon we hope to see things moving towards a bigger and more active party.

West Virginia

And still they come. Secretary Higgins informs the National Office of more new members and continued activity on the part of the State Secretary towards the organization of more local and selection of a state and national ticket. A delegate to the National Convention has been elected.

Pennsylvania

Mayor Stump to Lecture
On Friday evening, March 30, Mayor J. Henry Stump will give a public address in the Shillington Fire Company hall on the subject, "Socialists At Work," under the auspices of the Shillington Branch. Speaking will begin promptly at 8 o'clock and the Shillington Male Chorus will render vocal music from 7:30 to 8. No admission will be charged.

To Organize Gibraltar
On Saturday, March 31, the Socialists of Gibraltar will meet at the Fire Company hall for the purpose of considering the formation of a branch organization of the Socialist Party. Birch Wilson, city purchasing agent; William C. Hoveiter, candidate for State Senator, and John A. Aulenbach, county organizer, will be the speakers. All residents of Gibraltar are urged to attend this meeting.

Pittstown
I. L. Weinberg, local secretary, writes The New Leader that much can be done by Socialists if they "get down to business." At Jim Maurer's recent lecture on "What I Saw in Europe," 500 people were present. The audience contributed \$37.50 and literature to the amount of \$25.50 was sold. Speaking will begin promptly at 8 o'clock and the Shillington Male Chorus will render vocal music from 7:30 to 8. No admission will be charged.

Florida
J. D. Mitchell of Mulberry writes The New Leader that a local of the Socialist Party has been organized in this city. "Things are getting started again," he writes. "And everyone connected with our organization is beginning to get on the track of things again, and getting pretty well informed."

Indiana
Greater activity is manifested by Indiana Socialists; money is coming in with every day's mail to assist in the work; more activity on the part of women Socialists in Indianapolis Party organization. This, in brief, is the Indiana State Secretary's news letter.

New Jersey

State Convention
The State Convention of the Socialist Party will be held on Sunday, Mar. 25, at the Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe avenue near Jefferson street, Passaic. The Convention to convene at 10 a.m. standard time. Howe avenue starts at Main street at the Flatiron Bldg., opposite the main station of the Erie R.R. Presidential elections, Governor and United States Senator are to be nominated. Delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Party will be elected, it being impossible to elect by referendum vote. Plans for organization and propaganda work and an intense campaign throughout the state are to be made.

The time and place of the State Convention will be set at the next meeting of the State Executive Committee. It has been suggested that the party morale might be improved by holding it upstate this year. Among places mentioned are Albany, Poughkeepsie and Camp Ganadin, Cold Springs. The State Executive Committee will consider inducements to hold the convention at other places also.

Voting in the referendum on delegates to National Convention will close Mar. 24. Every member is urged to vote.

Mississippi
Who said the Socialist Party could not break into the south? Dr. S. State Secretary W. C. Kennedy, R. F. D. 5, Magnolia, wants to hear from every Socialist in the state. Kennedy is going to make a trip to the state capital to get a line on the situation regarding placing the Socialist ticket on the ballot. Every comrade in the state must help him select the ticket and get the petition circulated when the time comes. Mississippi Socialists should write him NOW.

Idaho
C. H. Cammans, State Secretary, recently had a column in the Boise Capital News which critically analyzed a statement of a Mr. Russell of the late Progressive party in that state. Russell had said that his party had no national "platform" and that if the old parties nominated no satisfactory candidates his following would stay at home. Cammans recalls the labor planks which the Progressive party ditched in 1924 and pointed out that a party that thinks of joining non-voters is absurd. Real political rebels have a chance to vote for Socialists; candidates in Idaho this year.

New York State

The State Office has issued a 50 cent assessment stamp to defray the expenses of the 1928 State Convention. These stamps have been allotted to locals and branches pro rata with membership, and every member will be expected to purchase at least one stamp. The State Constitution of the Party provides that the State Executive Committee may levy an assessment to pay the railway fare of delegates going to and returning from the convention.

The time and place of the State Convention will be set at the next meeting of the State Executive Committee. It has been suggested that the party morale might be improved by holding it upstate this year. Among places mentioned are Albany, Poughkeepsie and Camp Ganadin, Cold Springs. The State Executive Committee will consider inducements to hold the convention at other places also.

Voting in the referendum on delegates to National Convention will close Mar. 24. Every member is urged to vote.

Thomas in Schenectady
Norman Thomas is the speaker at Schenectady's Labor Forum on Sunday afternoon, taking for his subject "Industrial Democracy." The meeting will be held in Redman's Hall, Ferry and Liberty streets, Schenectady, and open at 3 o'clock.

New York City

A mass meeting will be held Sunday, March 25, 2 p.m., in Cooper Union. The object of this meeting is a discussion of national and local problems, such as: Unemployment, the impending seven cent fare and the New York City traction middle. Speakers will be Jacob Panbo, R. C. Vindeck, William Karlin, A. I. Shipplacoff, Louis Waldman, and Chairman, Algonquin Lee. The Hall will open at 2 p.m. Admission is free. It is the duty of all Socialists to be present and particularly to bring with them as many friends and sympathizers as they possibly can.

On Wednesday evening, March 28, a Theatre Party will be held in the Republic Theatre for the benefit of the Socialist Party, New York City Organization. The play is "Porgy" one of the outstanding theatrical successes of the season. The entire house is at our disposal. There are still some seats available. Those desiring to be present are urged to telephone, write or call at the City Office, 7 East 15th street, telephone, ALgonquin 4620 at once.

All branches are notified that votes for the delegates to the National Convention must be reported to the City Office no later than Monday, March 26.

National Convention Souvenir Book
The souvenir book to be published in connection with the National Convention will go to press on or about April 7. Material is coming in every day and the contents promise one of the best books of this character ever published by the Party. An unusually good collection of articles are on hand, many of permanent value. The leading Socialists of the country have contributed. There are a number of articles covering important phases of the American Socialist movement. There will be other features of literary and artistic merit that are now being trimmed into shape by the Editor, William Morris Feigenbaum. An idea can be gotten of the value of the above mentioned material by a suggestion made by Morris Hillquit that many of these articles have sufficient value to warrant printing in a separate booklet for propaganda purposes. Whether or not this will be done, will be decided upon later. For the present a large edition of the Souvenir Book will be published and every comrade who wants one, may obtain a copy for 25c. Henry Gross, who is in charge of advertising, reports that \$1,700 of "ads" are in and there is every reason to believe we may double that sum. There has been an excellent response from Trade Unions, Workmen Circle branches, Co-operatives, Socialist Party Local and Branches, as well as individual members and sympathetic businessmen from all parts of the country. Those who contemplate a complimentary "ad" are urged to send their material immediately to the National Convention Arrangements Committee, 7 East 15th street. (Continued on page 7)

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

PUBLIC OPINION

"YESSIR, I'm a salesman. Been out on the old firing line for fifteen years now. What did you say you did? Oh, a newspaper man? I knew a newspaper man once, a fellow named Murphy worked for Hearst on the Coast. A good smart guy, all right. Had lots of stuff, but boy, how he drank! Too bad, a smart kid like that. Drunk most all the time, I should say. Don't see how he did his stuff at all. You don't happen to know him do ya, a Hearst man named Murphy? I think he was on the Frisco Examiner about fifteen years ago. Or maybe that wasn't his paper. Anyhow he was a smart kid. Too bad he drank. Most newspaper men do drink though, don't they? I can't see how they get away with it. Now if I should walk into the front office back home with just a touch of liquor on my breath, the boss would give me the air. He's radical about things like that. Although o' course he gives me the stuff for our customers. The surest way to close a sale these days is to slip a tough prospect some real good Scotch, fr' example.

"I got some with me right now. Real goods, too. None of that cut stuff with the ether in it that gives ya the old katzenjammer. I got it from a friend of mine who got it straight from the steward of the Berengaria. I brought it up to the boss to sample and he bought some. I'm too old a guy to be fooled on this cut stuff. Would ya like a shot of it? We punished two bottles in here in the smoker last night, and I got a bit of a head this morning. But I always make it a point to take a couple grains of aspirin before I go to bed, and I don't feel as bad as most the next morning. Well, here goes. Up an' down your nose. Excuse me a minute, I'll be right back. The food they serve on these Pullmans is certainly awful. I'll bet that fish I ate last night was poisoned. I feel like I had ptomaine or something. Hold the bottle till I get back.

"Well, I feel better now. What did you say you did? Oh, yes, newspaper man. Said you didn't know this Murphy fellow? Must be an interesting life, newspapers. Get around a lot, doncha? Must meet an awful lot of interesting people. I s'pose you get down to Washington, meet the big guns there. Say, speaking of Washington, what's all this noise about oil scandals and the like of that? I ain't much of a newspaper reader myself. Makes me kind of nervous to read. But I do make it a point to look over the headlines. I think a man in my line oughta take an interest in public affairs—find out what the people are thinking about, and all that. Though I must say I haven't bumped into any one lately that's been all het up about this oil stuff. They're a lot more excited where ta park their cars and the rotten liquor they're getting. Seems like ya can't get anything but that white mule out here. And man, man, doesn't that have a kick! I hid away a pint of it the other night, when I was stuck in Pekin, Illinois (a hell of a tank town, that is) and it was all the boys could do to stop me from going out and slouting the night police one in the nose. Not that I get lit up like that very often. I can take it or leave it," as they say. And if I take a couple grains of aspirin before I go to bed, I wake up next morning with my head as clear as a bell. Excuse me a minute, I'll be right back. That fish was sure poison.

"Now as I was sayin' about these oil scandals. What the hell if the boys did get away with some big money? You gotta think big these days. Everything's done on a big scale now. America ain't what it used to be, full of small-time farmers and all. It's our job to show the world how to do the mass production stuff. I got that line off a speaker from the National Securities League, who gave us a swell spiel at our last convention. He was one smart speaker. He sure did rip into these reds and anarchists and Italian football makers who are running around the country tryin' to get the workers all roused up, just when they were solid on this prosperity proposition. And by the way, speaking of selling, that was sure one grand job the Republicans done when they put their prosperity canvass across. I've sat in on some pretty slick campaigns, but I'm here to say that not since they sold the country on the war has there ever been a wholesale selling campaign put over as neat as that. Why I know a lot of dumb bunnies who are working for twenty-five and thirty dollars a week (I do a lot of installment stuff, you see) who are swelling around as though they were old John D. himself. I can hook almost any one of them on a proposition that runs as high as five hundred dollars, with five bucks down. Sure enough, they may not meet all their payments, but it's up to the house to worry about that. I get my commission anyhow. Now as I was saying, it's surprising to me that a bunch that is wise enough to put over prosperity and Mr. Coolidge should be so dumb as to tip their mitts by passing around dirty oil money. Not that I would say anything against the President of the United States. But between you and I, Mr. Coolidge, when he started out, was just about as unpromising a line as any salesman ever carried. He was what we'd call a sticker for fair. But they put him over, didn't they? Took him out of the 'cat and dog' class, and made an A Number One surefire offer out of him. It was this Will Hays and his outfit did that, all right. And now what is a fast-moving little lad like Hays doing but getting nailed with the goods on him? You woulda thought he coulda hid up those bonds in a lot safer place than peddlin' them around free, wide and easy for any snooping Democrat to stick his nose into. Not that the Democrats are any better, in my estimation, than the Republicans. They're just sure because they didn't get a chance at the big money. And they're trying to make an issue out of this oil stuff, so they can run around hollering about honesty. Honesty my eye. I wish some of the folks out this way could see the Tammany bunch behind Al Smith when they go to work on an election in New York. Why that gang would take the gold crowns off their dead mother's teeth. This whole politics game is just swopping one bunch of crooks for another, the way I look at it. Though of course I wouldn't say anything against our government, or anything like that. This speaker at our convention said that this Socialist, Communist outfit is hollering their heads off about corruption and unemployment and so on. But I'll bet if they ever got down to Washington they'd be as bad as the rest of them. They're jealous, that's all. A bunch o' down-and-outers, who want to split up all the jack in the country, hoping they'll be better off after the divvy is made. The thing is, you can't change human nature. People are people, and they are going to get all they can in this good little old world while the getting is good. Ya can't tell me they're sorer about the way the big boys get theirs. Every man jack of them would do the same thing if he had the same chance. You an' me, for example. Mean to say we wouldn't grab off everything in sight, if we was on the inside like Hays and Sinclair and those fellows? I like to look on a bright side of things. There's

Book Review

By James Oneal

WHEN the "Fathers" accomplished the job of going into business for themselves their representatives met in Congress and with Alexander Hamilton as chief architect they proceeded to their task. From the frontier region of Pennsylvania came William Maclay and from the commercial city of Philadelphia came Robert Morris, both to represent the state in the United States Senate. That body transacted its business for several years in secret and were it not for Maclay, homespun democrat, much that was done would be shrouded in obscurity. He kept a journal for three years which was brought out by a kinsman in 1890 but has long been out of print. A new edition with an admirable introduction by Charles A. Beard has now appeared. (The Journal of William Maclay, 1789-1791; New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., \$4), which makes accessible one of the most charming and illuminating documents in the political literature of the period.

We cannot resist quoting a paragraph of the introduction: "Through the burning glare of its spotlight stalk, amble, or drift all the distinguished personalities of the age, from George Washington to Fisher Ames. It opens the doors of private homes, reporting table talk and gossip, describing the intellectual climate of the time. In one burst of illumination after another, it shoots fire-flares into the workshop behind the splendid facade of Alexander Hamilton's public structure, showing us the great fathers of the republic in their shirt sleeves, planning, caucusing, cutting, fighting, compromising, and deciding. Glowing through its pages are the emotions that called into life the popular party led to victory by Thomas Jefferson in 1800."

Maclay came to the Senate with confidence in his colleague, Morris, and it is instructive to observe how that confidence turned to suspicion and culminated in a positive dislike of the Philadelphia Senator. The two men represented two opposing interests, one the agrarians of the interior of the state and the other the commercial aristocracy of Philadelphia. Each of Hamilton's measures for drawing the support of the moneyed classes to support of the government filled Maclay with disgust and the funding scheme, which taxed \$40,000,000 out of the pockets of the masses and placed it in the pockets of speculators, enraged him. The preference of John Adams for titles, aristocratic ceremony and etiquette; the cautious suggestion of a throne for Washington and his reference to Washington's messages as "His Most Gracious Speech" invoked in Maclay a profound contempt for the Vice-President. Maclay frequently writes him down in his journal as "Bonny Johnny Adams."

He records an interesting incident Langdon, Carroll, Adams and Maclay engaged in conversation regarding the government. Adams expressed doubt "if our new government does well." If it turned out satisfactory "I shall be more surprised than ever I was in my life," he added. Carroll expressed the opinion that the people were enlightened and Adams replied that information and knowledge were not sources of obedience, that "ignorance was a much better source." Maclay wrote in his journal: "I began now to think of what Mr. Morris told me, that it was necessary to make Mr. Adams Vice-President to keep him quiet." In modern parlance, Adams had a tendency to "spill the beans."

In the middle of September, 1789, newspapers arrived from Europe giving the first accounts of the French Revolution and Maclay turned to his journal to record his impressions. "By this and yesterday's papers," he wrote, "France seems travelling in the birth of freedom. Her throes and pangs of labor are violent. God give her a happy delivery! Royalty, nobility, and velle pagnantry, by which a few of the human race lord it over and tread on the necks of their fellow-mortals, seem likely to be demolished with their kindred Bastille, which is said to be laid in ashes. Ye gods, with what indignation do I review the late attempt of some creatures among us to revive the vile machinery! O Adams, Adams, what a wretch art thou!" Maclay expressed the feelings and sentiments of a fighting minority of homespun democrats in Congress but the old colonial aristocracy had its majority and jammed through its measures to the distress of the minority.

There are sidelights on the tricks and deals in Congress, glimpses of powdered wigs and fine ladies, the gatherings at the President's receptions, the social life and opinions of the gentlemen leaders, their attitude toward the mob and their constant association of virtue with wealth, that give the reader an excellent close-up view of the period. Maclay never felt comfortable in this environment, the last record he made in his journal expressing his aversion to it. "As I left the Hall," reads the final entry.

too many of these snarling reds around, making gloomy talk about corruption and all. They got no respect for our constitution. That's what the speaker said. Take another sniffer, brother. It's the real stuff, straight from the boat. I'll have one with ya and then ya'll have to excuse me for a minute. They musta had that fish in the icebox since the first Pullman was invented. You say you didn't know that Murphy man? He was a smart kid. Too bad he drank. I'll be right back."

McAlister Coleman.

ry. "I gave it a look with that kind of satisfaction which a man feels on leaving a place where he has been ill at ease, being full satisfied that many a culprit has served two years at the wheelbarrow without feeling half the pain and mortification that I experienced in my honorable station."

A FEW years ago a history of northern agriculture appeared and several monographs had been written on this phase of economic history. A study of New Jersey agriculture from 1640 to 1890 by Carl Raymond Woodward (The Development of Agriculture in New Jersey, New Brunswick: New Jersey Agricultural Experiment Station) is thorough and its value is enhanced by the many interesting illustrations of agricultural almanacs and journals and the portraits of men associated with the development of agriculture, including Benjamin Franklin, his son, William, the poet, Frenau, J. Hector St. John Crevecoeur and others.

The early agricultural societies were generally organized by "gentlemen" farmers, both in the North and in the South, and not by what we today call the "dirt farmers." Very often farming was mostly an experimental recreation for these gentlemen. They were men of wealth and generally hired their labor in the North and worked slaves in the South.

The aristocratic ideal of the old English gentry was typical of this phase of agricultural history which continued well into the nineteenth century. The author quotes from an editorial in the New American Magazine of January, 1758, which aptly expresses the colonial view. "The Yeomanry of Farmers are the boast of our nation," says the writer. "They have always been, and continue to be, of great consequence and use to us, and a very necessary link in the chain of government; as having an immediate connection with the gentlemen on the one side, and the laborer on the other; by which they are fitted for various offices under the civil jurisdiction: they carry a respect with them, and are of special service in keeping the meaner people to their duty; and being generally men of substance, they are of wonderful advantage to the neighborhood they dwell in, by employing the poor, by affording them comfort and assistance in their sickness and misfortunes."

The psychology of the old world squint and finds expression in this statement and it was typical of the attitude of the old American aristocracy. The work is largely devoted to the technical evolution of agriculture and farmer organizations devoted to the improvement of agriculture. The political ideas and activities of New Jersey farmers do not come within the scope of the monograph. However, it is interesting to observe that the farmer turned to organization when prices were unsatisfactory and neglected it when they were satisfactory. This appears to run through all the history of farmers in this country and it is a fact that must be taken into account by all who think that all farmers may some time become an effective ally of the workers of the city.

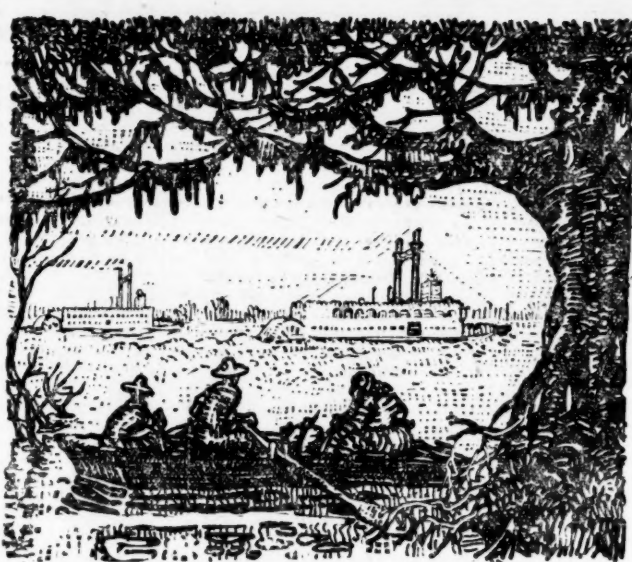
EXCHANGE WANTED

Editor, The New Leader:

Would a reader of your paper be willing to send me his copy week by week, in exchange for the English "New Leader"? I sometimes see a copy of the "Times," but it's unsatisfying to any one who wants to know the truth.

THOS. B. HOWITT.

Edentown, Carlisle, England.



A race on the lower Mississippi Driven by Mahlon Blaine for Alan Le May's "Old Father of Waters" (Doubleday, Doran)

WORKERS EDUCATION IN BELGIUM

FRANS LONGVILLE, head teacher in the workers residential school in Brussels, is in the United States making a study of workers adult education and also of economic conditions.

In an interview with a New Leader representative Comrade Longville gave an interesting account of the intimate cooperation in Belgium between the Socialist Party, the cooperative movement and the trade unions. The three movements maintain workers educational classes throughout the country which are directed by a Central Educational Commission in Brussels. There are about 200 winter classes maintained with regular courses and nearly two thousand lecturers serve these classes.

In each city and town the three organizations maintain local educational boards which direct and supervise the educational work of the classes and the local boards are affiliated with the central organization in Brussels. The whole scheme of workers education throughout the country is financed by the three movements together with a small subsidy which is received from the government.

The Socialist Party, the cooperatives and the trade unions maintain their autonomy in their respective fields but there is intimate cooperation in all their work. Contact of each organization with the others is maintained by representation of each in the central committee of the others. For example, on the executive board of the party there are two representatives of the central executive of the trade unions and two from the cooperatives, while the party has two representatives on each executive of the other organizations.

The party holds itself responsible for a certain proportion of its funds to be devoted to workers education. One-third of its annual income from dues is set aside for this purpose. During the period of elections the trade unions and cooperatives cooperate with the party in electoral struggles and make special financial contributions to the party campaign chest.

It is almost impossible to separate one organization from the other in any important work. If the unions are involved in an important strike the resources of the other organizations, including literature, finances, and speakers, are brought to the aid of the strikers.

The Central Educational Commission in Brussels maintains two monthly publications, one in French and the other in Flemish. The local study classes are continually developing men with special ability to serve the working class in some field of activity and a place is

found for the member who displays his ability. To get the advantages of the workers educational movement one must show a card of membership in one of the three organizations.

Through their cooperation in the political field the Belgian working class has been able to establish the 8-hour law throughout the country with a few minor exceptions. The law is meeting with some protests on the part of the employment classes, but it is not likely that they will be able to break it down.

Comrade Longville will be present at the national convention of the Socialist Party in April and will convey the greetings of the Belgian working class.

Hoover!

Who is the gink without a flaw?—
HOOVER.
The wisest guy time ever saw?—
HOOVER.

Who is the strong, unfearing cuss
Who stood between us and the Russ,
And means to save us all or bust?—
HOOVER.

Who is the man who feeds the World?—
HOOVER.

And, who the red flag braved and
furi'd?—
HOOVER.

Who is the boy who stopt the Hun,
And put the Banishes on the run,
And wiped the spots from off the sun?—
HOOVER.

Who penned the floods up at their
source?—
HOOVER.

The Mississippi to its course?—
HOOVER.

Who saved the Southern peon-slaves
From hunger and pellaran graves,
And spread the bull over all the waves?—
HOOVER.

Who is our only hope today?—
HOOVER.

The life, the light, the truth, the way?—
HOOVER.

Who will we see, when earth-life's done,
If we a golden harp have won,
Enlightening both God and Son?—
HOOVER.

Covington, Hall.

New England's Conscience

UPPER class Boston is a little bit peeved because of the black name Massachusetts won all over the world because of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. The echoes of this state murder are still heard from abroad. Politicians, merchants, capitalists and their legal vassals complain that the nasty notoriety won for the state by Governor Fuller, Judge Thayer, a Lawrence Lowell, Judge Grant and the other executioners "hurts business."

This is the only thing that affects the boasted "New England conscience." Threaten the incomes of Boston's usurers and parasites and one immediately learns that they are after all human, but the itch for profits and dividends appears to be the only thing human about this class.

Residents with some education recall that Emerson said of this class when slavery agitation began to affect their incomes. Watching the conduct of Daniel Webster who was secretly on the

We do not know who put the dough in Doherty or who put the sin in Sinclair or who was responsible for the fall of Fall, but one thing is certain: this oily mess has left Hays in a haze and a certain g-r-e-a-t detective knows that all is not bright that Burns.

Why not advertise in THE NEW LEADER? It won't cost you a cent to say that to every merchant from whom you make a purchase—and it will help your newspaper become an even more powerful force for us poor do them a favor and us a favor and you serve the movement.

You patronize our advertisers, of course, but let 'em know it. Our rates are modest, our circulation large—and when you secure advertisers for us you do them a favor and us a favor and you serve the movement.

payroll of Massachusetts capitalists, and John C. Calhoun, the pro-slavery Senator from South Carolina, Emerson said that cotton thread bound both of them together. Emerson had in mind not only the politics of the two men but the profits of the textile manufacturers. They were interested in cheap cotton from the slave plantations. Some of those who invested in the textile corporations also had investments in southern cotton plantations. Then it is notorious that Boston bankers had considerable deposits of slave owners in their vaults.

It was this upper class crowd that opposed all anti-slavery agitation. Its heirs in modern Boston banks and industries have the same "New England conscience." Then Harvard was a seminary of the northern and southern cotton masters and in Lowell it finds a faithful devotee of the capitalism which today is the master of New England.

Within the past few months the Boston papers have from time to time carried advertisements and articles in defense of New England. One large advertisement in the Transcript declared in bold letters, "New England, established by the Pilgrims, was founded on this blige, that it is unfortunate that the rock did not land on the Pilgrims!"

But this reversion back to the days of the saints who pierced Quaker's tongues and whipped women at the cartail because they differed slightly with the Mathers and others of the Puritan oligarchy, is typical of the mind of upper class Boston. Its members feel that accusing fingers are pointing to them from all over the world and they try to justify themselves to themselves by appealing to the Pullers, Lowells and Grants of three hundred years ago.

This is also evident from another in-

THE HIGH COST OF GOVERNMENT

I AM a taxpayer. Directly and indirectly the government of the U. S. with its sundry sub-divisions takes about 600 shakels out of my sweat-stained jeans per year and annum. However, I am not an irate taxpayer. I am not kicking about what the government does with my money after it gets it. I'm kicking about the high cost of getting the government in the first place. Somebody ought to find a way of cutting down the first cost of government. Or once in awhile there ought to be a fire sale or a bankruptcy sale, or damaged government sale, so as to give a poor man a chance to buy a little government for himself.

Every day I'm reading in the paper about the sale of government to millionaires and billionaires, but never to a poor devil of a sovereign dub like myself. I simply ain't in it. Harry Sinclair is.

Harry organized the Continental Trading Company. The Continental bought oil from Harry, sold it to Harry, and thereby made three million bucks for Harry. Then Harry swapped the three millions for liberty bonds, of which a quarter of a million went to Will Hays to pay the deficit of the Republican campaign committee.

This deficit was incurred in electing the government which gave Teapot Dome to Harry Sinclair, made Will Hays postmaster general and Albert Fall secretary of the interior. So far so good.

But now complications arose. How was that \$250,000 profit Harry Sinclair made out of himself to appear on the books of the Republican campaign committee in such a manner as not to connect Harry, government and Teapot Dome?

Well, where there's a Will, there's a way. And there was a Will—Will Hays. So Will divided Harry's good will offering in neat packages containing ten, twenty-five and fifty thousand dollars worth of liberty bonds, and mailed them to a number of leading citizens, well known for their devotion to law, order and constituted government. In return for these precious packages, the recipient was to mail his check, covering the amount of the bonds, to Will Hays, said amount to appear as a free will offering on the books of Will.

A \$25,000 package was sent to James A. Patten, Chicago wheat king and philanthropist. Patten didn't like the smell of the bundle or suspected trouble germs, so presented the package to the Evanston hospital. However, he had the decency to forward a \$25,000 check to Will Hays, just to express appreciation of the latter's confidence in his honesty and integrity. A less honorable man than Patten might have knocked down that twenty-five grand.

Andy Mellon received a liberty bond bundle of \$50,000. He, too, smelled a rat and returned it with personal check of \$50,000 enclosed just to show Will Hays that he appreciated the confidence bestowed upon him.

Of course, Andy don't need the money. He is one of the three richest men of the country, which explains the hundred thousand starving miners in the vicinity of the Mellon mines around Pittsburgh and perhaps also the rapidity with which federal judges issue injunctions against these starving miners. You see, federal judges are appointed by the federal government and it wouldn't be human nature if these judges were not grateful to the men who bought the government which appointed them.

Among the good patriots whom Will Hays honored with liberty bond bundles were also a number of prominent Chicago citizens, to-wit: E. M. Rosenthal, vice president of Rothschild & Co., \$25,000; William Wrigley Jr., chewing gum crown prince, \$10,000; Edward T. Carey, \$8,000; our old friend Samuel Insull, \$5,000; Rawley Warner, \$4,000; J. Orden Armour, dead, \$10,000 and George F. Getz, coal operator, \$10,000. And say, don't it beat all, how these coal operators can be so liberal with their money in things that do not concern their miners?

Anyway, all the above enumerated pillars of law, order and constituted government obligingly cashed Harry Sinclair's bonds and forwarded the cash to Will Hays, one time postmaster general of the U. S., now guardian of the purity of the film industry.

Now, to fully realize how the first cost of government has soared clear out of sight of us little sovereigns, it is necessary to add that the \$250,000 liberty bonds hard-boiled Harry Sinclair donated to Will Hays represented only the deficit of the campaign which made Gamaliel Harding the first gentleman of this great democracy.

How much that campaign really cost I don't know. It might have been ten, twenty or thirty million dollars, but whatever the sum was, it was contributed by an insignificant minority of perhaps one-half of one-millionth per cent.

And that's how governments of the people, by the people and for the people are made nowadays.

I wish I knew how to bring the cost of government within the reach of us little fellows who, after all, constitute the overwhelming majority of the country. But I don't.

All I can find out from history is that governments have always belonged to the people who owned the productive wealth of that particular time and age. And when it comes to the ownership of the productive wealth (capital) of our times, we little folks are simply not in it, for, according to all data on hand, the 27,680,000 working people of the land of the free, etc., constituting 83 per cent of the gainfully occupied, control 4.0 (four per cent) of our total capital resources, while 321,150 or 0.7 (one seventh of one per cent) of the not gainfully occupied owned 49 per cent of our capital resources.

And, say, ain't it hell to be gainfully occupied when those not gainfully occupied cop all the gains?

But, however that may be, the fact remains that unless a way is found to bring about a more equal distribution of wealth; that is, of power, democracy will remain forever the game of the House of Haves.

Of course, I am not in favor of dividing up. Neither am I in favor of the private ownership of natural resources and basic industries which piles up mountains of unearned wealth on the one side and creates bottomless pits of undeserved misery on the other.

I am a hundred per cent American. I am one of the 27,680,000 gainfully occupied free men who hold a 4% stake in the total capital resources of the country, which by all rules, entitles us to a four per cent ownership in our government. And I guess we're getting it, for don't we gainfully occupied ones occupy all such governmental positions as policemen, jailers, letter carriers, prison guards, janitors and cuspidor jugglers?

Besides, the good books say: "The meek shall inherit the earth" and those who have owned the earth have always owned the governments of the earth. So cheer up. If we're here long enough to see Harry Sinclair in jail in company with Will Hays we may see democracy yet. Goodnight.

Adams Conditiger.

Buttonhole Union Observes 35th Birthday

THE Buttonhole Makers' Union, Local 10, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, will celebrate its thirty-fifth anniversary with a concert and banquet which will take place March 24th at the Park Palace, 110th Street and 5th Avenue.

This union is the oldest local union in the clothing industry. Records of its existence date back as far as 1893. Its executive committee in those days functioned properly. They had a committee for calling and settling strikes and to look after the general interests of the workers.

After the formation of the Buttonhole Makers' Union, Brother B. Goldshall, business agent of the union states that a fight occurred between the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance for the control of the Buttonhole Makers' Union. This indicates that the union was an important factor in the clothing industry even thirty five years ago.

Two types of unions existed in the Buttonhole Makers' industry. One was a union of workers and the other an association of contractors. The contractors were never recognized by the workers. The members of the union very often struck against these contractors. The two elements fought each other so long until they merged and the association bosses became members of the union. When these small contractors came into the union they attempted to use the union to further their own individual interests. The result was a constant struggle within the union between these two factions. This lasted until the period between 1916 and 1918. The causes were numerous and they could not be explained in detail here. Brother B. Goldshall treats them in a series of articles in "Fortschritt."

In 1917 when the U. S. entered the war, the so-called prosperity was in full swing and people who never worked in the clothing industry found employment and earned a living. The Buttonhole Makers were unemployed. This was chiefly due to the nature of the work being done—the military work which came with the war and resulting in the installation of new machines that displaced all kinds of people. The old administration could not cope with the situation and as a result a new administration came into office in 1918. In this administration was Brother Goldshall.

The new administration found \$2.50 in the treasury and \$51,000.00 debts, and most of the members unemployed. The new officers had three problems to solve, (1) to see that the union comprised workers exclusively and not bosses, (2) to place the workers in the shops where military work was being done, (3) and to meet the financial deficit.

This was indeed no easy job to tackle, but Goldshall, with the co-operation of the active spirits and the members have made a splendid job of it. Of course it was not an overnight affair—it took time and they are still continuing to build up the organization.

During the ten years the administration did remarkable work. They did their utmost for Local 50. Though a small local of only four hundred members, it has been progressive, and militant, and one that larger organizations can follow with profit. The members are proud of their officers and of their union.

Greetings to the entire members and the officers of local 50 on their 35th anniversary. Let us hope you will not only light on the economical field, but on the political and for the emancipation of the working class everywhere.

Bronx Labor Lyceum Conference Called For Friday, March 30th

The Socialists and advanced sections of workers in the Bronx are determined that the borough must have a home of its own—a Labor Lyceum.

Workers' circle branches have taken the initiative in a movement which promises to bring a Labor Lyceum to this working-class section of the city before long. A conference has been called for Friday evening, March 30th, at 8:30 p. m., at 1581 Boston Road, the headquarters of the Workmen's Circle and the Socialist Party. Workmen's Circle and Socialist Party branches and other progressive organizations are invited to send representatives to the conference.

THE SOCIALIST CALENDAR

SUNDAY, MARCH 25TH, 2 P. M.—Cooper Union Mass Meeting. Subject: "Unemployment, the Seven Cent Fare and the Tractor Muddle." Speakers: Jacob Panken, B. C. Vladeck, William Karlin, A. I. Shipiloff and Louis Waldman, Chairman, Algonquin Lee.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 28TH.—Republic Theatre—Benefit Performance "Porgy." Some tickets are still available. Write, phone or call at the City Office.

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 13TH, 8 P. M.—Manhattan Opera House. Opening of the National Convention. Speakers: Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee, Mayor J. Henry Stump of Reading, Congressman Victor L. Berger, William H. Henry, National Secretary, and others.

SATURDAY EVENING, APRIL 14TH, 8:30 P. M.—Finnish Socialist Hall. Reception to National Convention Delegates. Grand Concert and Dance. Artists: Madam Dorsha and her troupe; Solomon Deutsch, violinist; Mary A. Gates, Soprano; Finnish Socialist Chorus and a skit by Samuel A. De Witt, McAllister Coleman, August Claessens and the Yipsels. Tickets 75c. For sale at all branches and City Office.

SUNDAY, APRIL 15TH, 5:30 P. M.—National Convention Banquet of 1000 people. Park Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue. Speakers of National Prominence—Musical Program—Carmen Heben, Soprano; Solomon Deutsch, violinist and Schiller's Orchestra. Make reservations for the banquet AT ONCE. Price \$2.00 per person.

PAPER BOX WORKERS RALLY TO UNION

The movement toward a strong consolidated union in the Paper Box Industry is going forward rapidly in spite of the desertion of the union by drivers under the leadership of Joe Paresi, and Paul Deutsch. These two, in an alleged attempt to break their striking comrades, concluded a separate agreement with the employers for drivers only. Their attempt, however, has had an effect opposite to that intended. They have shown workers in the industry the need for a strong union; and membership applications from inside workers have been flooding the union headquarters at 640 Broadway.

The round box workers will meet at the Union headquarters on Wednesday evening to discuss ways and means of increasing the present membership in their branch of the trade.

Cutters and setters up are holding meetings Mondays at the same address.

Union Health Center Calls Conference of All N. Y. Unions

The following Conference call has been sent to organized labor of the city. It is hoped that representatives of our many local unions will take part in the deliberations.

"To labor unions in the City of New York.

"Greetings!
"The New York Locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union A. F. of L., have for the last fifteen years maintained a Union Health Center, which gives health, medical and dental assistance examinations and treatment to their members.

"These health, medical and dental services have proved themselves very valuable to the members. However, our facilities are much greater than we need or can utilize for our own members.

"We have therefore decided to offer the use of our medical and dental facilities to all organized labor and are calling a conference of labor unions in the city to present to them our proposal of converting our Health Center into a Health Center for Organized Labor.

"No financial assistance is solicited. The Dental Department is practically self-paying. The Medical Department was so before and will be so again when utilized to a greater extent. What we wish is the support of labor unions in the City in maintaining and developing this first example of a cooperative health organization.

"Please send one representative of your organization with credentials to this conference, which will be held at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, on Friday, March 30th, at 2 p. m.

"Fraternally yours, Morris Sigman, President I. L. G. W. U.; Abraham Baroff, Secretary I. L. G. W. U.; Julius Hochman, General Manager I. L. G. W. U.; Joseph Breslau, Chairman Union Health Center; Joseph Spielman, Secretary; Harry Wander, Treasurer; George M. Price, M. D., Director."

Beginning the middle of this month and lasting till the middle of April, members of organized labor who are or may be suspected of tuberculosis are invited to come into the Health Center and be examined. This is T. B. Month. A campaign to examine all those suspected of having this disease is carried on by the T. B. Association of New York. The Health Center is ready to do its part toward its own members, and is therefore advising those interested to come and talk it over with Dr. George Price, Director of the Health Center.

One day last week, Harry Green, a member of local 22 of the I. L. G. W. U., became the center of attention. He did not know it, but those in charge of the work did. What caused the excitement, and to some a thrill, was a number—just a little ticket bearing the figure—25,000. To those who direct the Dental Department these figures are significant indeed! For Harry Green is the twenty-fifth thousand patient whom the Dental Department treated during the ten years of its existence. Twenty-five thousand men women and children came to this—their own institution—to be cared for!

Under different conditions, this significant event would have been worthy of a re-union or a celebration at which all of the twenty-five thousand patients could have come and joined in praise of the Dental Clinic. Congratulations are due the Dental Department and the directors, Dr. George and Max Price, for their splendid achievement. It is due to their tireless spirit and courage, that the Union Health Center is weathering the storm!

The Week On Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley SHAKESPEARE TO ORDER

IT is common gossip that "The Merry Wives of Windsor" was written because Queen Elizabeth had expressed a desire to see Sir John Falstaff in love. It is the only play of Shakespeare's that pictures his contemporary England, and so far as we know—the only one that owes its plot to no debt borrowed.

Perhaps it is the fact that it contains no plot ready-formed, full for his hand, that gives "The Merry Wives" a certain thinness, despite the gay coloring and swift joy of the present revival at the Knickerbocker. Not all Henriette Crossman's graceful skill, all Mrs. Fiske's robust vigor and keen enjoyment, could carry us three times through the flouting of Falstaff with unflagging zest. Perhaps, however, it was the excellent performance of Otis Skinner that spoiled the fun; he made the man so real to us that we looked upon him with human sympathy, with fellow-feeling for so natural a scamp; his final treatment seems, therefore, more the pitiful disfigurement of an aging man being re-

minded of his age, than the rollicking rebuff of a rascal that it seemed to Shakespeare's colder blooded times. We have turned Shylock from a buffo a victim; something of the same process breaks the mood, here, with Sir John.

The production at the Knickerbocker is quick and colorful. The English street is admirably executed with appropriate accompaniment. The wordless moments, such as the lighting of the street lamps and the dropping off to sleep of the boy who seeks shelter on a porch, show a sense of harmony, of stage management and design, that adds considerably to the effectiveness of the production, and reflects credit upon Harrison Fiske, the director. The famous wash-basket scene boils with merriment, and Falstaff is another knight of the rueful countenance when it is over. The host of other performers, from page to apothecary, from Parson to lively Ann Page, is thoroughly competent, and any sense of meager substance not repaid in poetry and romping must be laid to the author, or to the change in taste since Shakespeare's time.

Bronx Socialists Honor "Pat" Murphy

Socialists and friends of Patrick J. Murphy met last Thursday night in Ambassador Hall, the Bronx, in recognition of the many years of service given by comrade Murphy to the Labor and Socialist movement. A dinner was arranged and among those who spoke were Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas, Esther Friedman, Leon Rosser Land, August Claessens, Morris Berman, Sarah Volovick, and Marie MacDonald. Samuel Orr was Toastmaster.

Comrade Murphy was surrounded with gifts and in responding to the addresses he urged renewed activity in the Socialist movement and declared it to be the hope of the world.

Comrade Murphy came from Ireland 45 years ago and immediately joined the Furniture Workers' Union, then affiliated with the K. of L. He was active in District 49 of the K. of L. where Daniel DeLeon of the S. L. P. later became a conspicuous figure in the agitation for Socialism. It was at this period that Murphy became a Socialist and joined the S. L. P.

Murphy is old in years but young in spirit and his friends and comrades join in the tribute paid by those who attended the dinner in his honor.

Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK

Sunday, March 25, 11 a. m. Speaker, Judge Jacob Panken. Subject: "Current Events." Huntington Hall, 214 East 2nd Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A. D.

Monday, March 26, 9 p. m. Speaker, James O'Neal. Subject: "The Socialist Movement in the United States." 96 Avenue C. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A. D.

BROOKLYN

Friday, March 23, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Jos. A. Weil. Subject: "Socialism." Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd Street and 14th Avenue.

Friday, March 23, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, A. I. Shipiloff. Subject: "Current Events." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackett Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12th A. D.

FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 9 p. m. Speaker, August Claessens. Subject: "Presidential Campaign and the Socialist Party." Rockaway Mansion, 695 Rockaway Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 18th A. D.

Sunday, March 25, 8:30 p. m. Speaker, Ethelred Brown. Subject: "Capital Punishment in the Light of Recent Executions." 2518 Mermald Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, Coney Island Branch.

Chose Bank Economist To Discuss Radicalism

The Forum of the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 567-691 Eastern Parkway, will have as speaker Monday eve., March 26th, Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson, economist of the Chase National Bank. Dr. Anderson was Professor of Economics at Columbia University from 1911 to 1913 and at Harvard University from 1913 to 1918. The subject of Dr. Anderson's address next Monday night will be: "Modern Social Radicalism." Discussion will follow the lecture.

Tremont Forum Lecture

The Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, announces a lecture for this Friday evening, March 23rd, by L. E. Schlechter on: "Are We Going Forward or Backwards?" The lecture will start at 8:30 sharp, and will be followed by questions and discussions from the floor. All are welcome.

Plumbers Club Aids Miners

The East New York Plumbers Social Club Inc., of 357 R. o. K. way, Brooklyn, has been gathering old clothes for the miners and has shipped it to the Brownsville Labor Lyceum for delivery.

Jewelers Called To Mass Meeting Next Thursday

A mass meeting for all jewelers, setters, engravers, polishers, tool and die makers, press hands and all other workers employed in the jewelry trade will be held on Thursday, March 29th, 1928 at 7 P. M. at Bryant Hall, 725 Sixth Ave., New York City.

This mass meeting will be held under the auspices of the International Jewelry Workers' Union, Local No. 1 and will mark the beginning of an organization campaign having as its objective a thorough organization of all jewelry workers employed in the platinum and gold branches of the trade in this city. Working conditions of the various shops in this city have reached a point where the unemployed problem has become a serious one as the result of the development of the machine process in making jewelry. This has brought with it uncertainty of employment, piece-work, home work and many other evils. The ultimate purpose of this union is the complete elimination of these evils from the trade and the establishing of stable conditions in the trade and shops throughout the city. Prominent speakers will address the meeting and a large crowd is expected to attend.

WEVD Programs

243.5 M WEVD New York City 1220 KC

MONDAY, MARCH 26
1:00 Scholl Hour
2:00 Roland Weber, reading
2:20 Lydia Mason, piano
2:40 Norman Allen, baritone
3:00 Mary Siegrist, Poems of the New Humanity
3:20 Mary Siegrist, Poems of the New Humanity

3:20 Elsa Held, mezzo-soprano
3:40 Professor Thatcher Clark, Elementary Spanish
4:00 Belva Conservatory of Music, soloist
4:20 Johanna Kurlbach, dramatic soprano
4:40 Michael Ingerman, popular pianist
5:00 An Hour of India

TUESDAY, MARCH 27
9:00 Debs Vocal Quartette
9:20 McAllister Coleman, Labor's View of the Week
9:40 Debs Vocal Quartette
10:00 Winifred Harper Cooley, "Problem Dramas"
10:15 Samuel Diamond, sightless pianist
10:30 Rebel Poets, Harold Antor, readings
10:45 Robert Urran, popular baritone
11:00 Elsie Farb and his orchestra, saxophone solos by E. Farb

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28
1:30 Mid-Day Dance Times
1:50 Roland Weber, reading
2:10 Lydia Mason, piano
2:30 Norman Allen, baritone
2:40 Michael Ingerman and his orchestra
3:00 Grace Norton, pianist
3:30 Annie E. Gray, Women's Peace Society
4:00 Elsie Baumgold, soprano
4:20 Master Institute of United Arts, soloist
4:40 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Dramas
5:00 Tea Time Tunes

THURSDAY, MARCH 29
9:00 Helen Devonia, soprano
9:45 The A B C of Socialism
10:00 James Blaine, bass
10:20 Labor Broadcasting a Necessity
10:40 Lillian Dublin, soprano
11:00 Woodhaven Studio Program

FRIDAY, MARCH 30
1:00 Joe Zimmerman, pianist
1:30 Mid-day Dance Times
1:50 Roland Weber, reading
2:10 Lydia Mason, piano
2:30 Elsie Duffield, soprano
2:40 Horace Hulley, editor World Unity Magazine
3:40 Rosalie Erck, contralto
4:00 Negro Art Group
4:40 Ruth Newman, 12-year old pianist
5:00 Sara Newman, readings
5:20 Winifred Harper Cooley, Problem Dramas
5:40 Norman Allen, baritone
11:00 Woodhaven Studio Program

SATURDAY, MARCH 31
1:00 Sylvia La Vine, popular soprano
1:20 Cullen Paige, baritone
1:40 Sara Newman, lyrics
2:00 Utopian Four
2:20 Rebel Poets, readings
2:40 Robert J. Urran, popular baritone
3:00 Michael Ingerman and his orchestra
4:00 Bernard Carp, baritone
4:20 Lydia Mason, piano
4:40 Harold Greenspan, tenor
5:00 Woodhaven Studio Program
5:20 Justine Roberts and her group, Impersonations
9:20 A B C of Socialism
9:40 A. Basil Wheeler, Confessions
10:00 Gene Solniker, soprano and Hope Hern, contralto

AMUSEMENTS

UNVEILED

At the Forrest Theatre a "new play" by Irving Kaye Davis indicates the motives that lead to "Vells." Twin sisters have become criminal and convict-girl; the play then carries the one out of the other into, the nunnery. In its development it follows the device familiar to all readers of the dear old Henry books, of giving one scene to one main figure, and the next scene to the other; except that in "Vells" they cannot come together, for both parts are played by one actress—Elsa Shelley, who reveals a swift versatility, without emotional depth.

There are, in the growth of the drama through its eleven episodes, several that wear a surface effectiveness. The opening in the convent office is quick to catch the attention; the prison scene that follows holds its ground. Yet that prison scene might have been presented without the prologue, and been equally interesting; those episodes which keep the audience concerned do it without reference to a story that is, in itself, trite, and in the telling, obvious. The convent yard was copied from one of those Christmas post-cards that sparkle with ground glass, but some of the scenes more effectively supported the surface story.

Punishing Capital Punishment

For once in a year of jaded nights I sat through an evening and felt thoroughly compensated for the expenditure of time and interest. Here is one good play.

Killers... a drama by L. E. Blisch and Howard Merling, staged by Howard Merling at the 49th Street Theatre, exceptionally well acted, and with a Vitamin F ingredient for any humanist to whom crime, our jury system, and our whole crazy-quilt pattern of law and punishment is an abomination.

The second act, in which we are transported into the sanctum sanctorum of a jury room where twelve men have been deliberating the conviction of a man for murder through two nights and a day, is to my mind the finest bit of dramatic work that Broadway has seen this year. I might have kept the shooting of the third act off-stage and perhaps heightened the emotional tenseness of the last scene and the fruitless break for liberty. The night club of the first act with its crowded episode, and the last scene in the death house, lacked a bit in sustained technique for sense stirring. The acting of the large cast, however, was so well balanced as to successfully hide some of the material defects in this otherwise splendidly handled play.

I hate to butt in here with the plot and episodic narrative. It is interesting enough for those of you who can to cut a radio period and hustle down to the 49th Street Theatre and get the kick I got out of what rarely ever gets to Broadway these days, an honest-to-goodness play on a real problem. And what is more real and recurrent these days than murder, legal and private.... S. A. D.

MUSIC

"L'Amore del Tre Re" last time this season, will open the last week but two of the Metropolitan Opera Season Monday evening with Mmes. Bori, Parisette, Bonetti and Flexer and Messrs. Johnson, Tibbitt, Finza, Bada and Palmirini. Mr. Serafin will conduct.

Other operas next week will be: "La Rondine" on Wednesday evening with Mmes. Bori, Flexer, Alcock, Flexer, Parisette, Falco and Wells and Messrs. Gigli, Tokatyan, Ludlaker, Pico, Wolfe and Palmirini. Mr. Belletza conducting.

"Boris Godunoff" on Thursday evening with Mr. Challaipin, Mmes. Dabry, Gordon, Bourgeois, Wacziarg, and Parisette and Messrs. Chamie, Rothier, Bada, Tedesco, Palmirini, Pico, D'Angelo, Reschlian, Cehanovsky, and Ananian. Mr. Belletza conducting.

"Andrea Chénier" last time, on Friday evening with Mmes. Estess, Alcock, Howard and Falco and Messrs. Gigli, De Luca, Ludlaker, Tedesco, Bada, Pico, Reschlian, Cehanovsky, Gabor, Malatesta and Ananian. Mr. Serafin conducting.

"Fidelio" also for the last time this season, on Saturday afternoon with Mmes. Kappel and Flexer and Messrs. Laubenthal, Whitehill, Bohnen, Schutzendorf, Meisler, Altglass and Gabor. Mr. Belletza conducting.

"Tosca" just this season will the popular Saturday night opera with Mmes. Estess and Flexer and Messrs. Jagel, Gordon, Malatesta, Bada, D'Angelo, Pico and Reschlian. Mr. Belletza conducting.

Senor Arbos will continue his guest directorship of the New York Symphony Orchestra next week with Heifetz appearing as assisting artist at the Friday evening concert in Carnegie Hall (Mar. 29) and Sunday afternoon (April 1) in Mecca Auditorium.

Tomorrow's program in Mecca Auditorium (Mar. 25) will be a repetition of that given by Senor Arbos Thursday.

IN MOVIES

A perpetuating medal award for the motion picture industry was created recently at a dinner at the Hotel Plaza given by the Roxy Theatre Organization in honor of its director, S. L. Rothafel.

The award, to be known as the Roxy Medal, was presented to Roxy by the organization of the theatre in recognition of his achievement in the conception and direction of the Roxy Theatre, the greatest single enterprise in the history of the amusement world. It is in the form of a ten inch silver plaque, modeled by Jukio Kilenyi, bearing a likeness of Roxy and the following legend: "Awarded to S. L. Rothafel for the greatest achievement in the motion picture world during the year 1927."

The conditions contingent with the presentation of the medal provide that Rothafel perpetuate the medal as an annual award which he is to present each year to the individual responsible for the greatest achievement in the motion picture industry throughout the world. The location and manner of achievement is not limited and may embrace any type of activity connected with motion pictures in any part of the world. It must, however, represent the outstanding contribution in the motion picture industry for the year.

The dinner marked the culmination of the first year of operation of the Roxy Theatre during which period all previous records for attendance and receipts were surpassed. The guests of honor on the date included the directors of the William Fox organization, George W. Mc-

THEATRES

5 Nationally famous things in New York -- Statue of Liberty -- The Aquarium -- Museum of Natural History -- The Zoo -- and --

"EXCESS BAGGAGE"

A show chuckful of real entertainment "Better than Burlesque" "Five sun you can't say you know New York if you haven't seen all of them."

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
RITZ
THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS
THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

PORGY

by DUBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD

Republie Theatre

WEST 42nd STREET

Eves. 8:40; Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:40

The Doctor's Dilemma

Week of March 26

LAST WEEK

Week of April 2

MARCO MILLIONS

Guil Theatre

WEST 52nd STREET

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

STRANGE INTERLUDE

EUGENE O'NEILL'S

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE

58th Street, East of Broadway

Evenings only at 5:30

THE Wrecker

with a DISTINCTIVE CAST

"Most thoroughly entertaining shocker that has exploded over the footlights in many months—the authors have achieved their purpose of suspense and shock. It is the most fascinating of backdrops."

—Alison Smith, N. Y. World

AL JOLSON

The Jazz Singer

with MAY McAVOY, WARNER OLAND, Cantor ROSENBLATT

with an elaborate stage program "KOL NIDRE"—RANPAU JAZZ

A Medley of Al Jolson Hits

Roxy Orchestra, Organ, Jazz Band and Chorus

Sunday Concert—11:30 a.m. Roxy Symphony Orchestra

Erno Rapee, Conductor

ALL WAGNER PROGRAM

Assisted by JOSEF STOFK

Violinist

World's Greatest Theatre 4th Ave. & 50th St.

Cleveland, representing the National Broadcasting Company, and other notables in the world of music and the theatre. Frank Moulan presided as Master of Ceremonies and over 800 persons, representing the staff and employees and their guests, attended. The dinner was followed by dancing.

IN BRIEF

Lawrence Hanray, who plays three roles in the Winthrop Ames production of "Escape," was presented in the afternoon, while "John Gabriel Borkman" was given at the evening performance.

Alme Bernstein, scenic designer for the Neighborhood playhouse, is doing the sets for the Civic Repertory Theatre's revival of "Hedda Gabler" which will open at that theatre Monday evening, March 26.

Charles L. Wagner announces that he has engaged Deodora Chard, lately seen in "Mirrors," for the leading feminine role in his forthcoming production of Kenyon Nicholson's new comedy, "Babes in the Wood," in which Owen Davis, Jr. will be featured. Priestly Morrison, who was responsible for the splendid direction of Mr. Nicholson's first success, "The Barker," will stage this new piece. P. Dodd Ackerman has been commissioned to design the setting.

Socialist Party Benefit Performance

WEDNESDAY EVENING, MARCH 28, 1928

at the

REPUBLIC THEATRE

West 45th Street

THE THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION

PORGY

By DuBOSE and DOROTHY HEYWARD

with PAUL ROBESON

The Entire House Has Been Taken by

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW YORK CITY

Tickets Now On Sale At—SOCIALIST PARTY, 7 East 15th Street,

Algonquin 4620

Socialist Party Plans, Progress

(Continued from page 4)

Manhattan

3-5-10 A.D.
The branch will meet Tuesday evening, March 27, in the home of Comrade Lee, 38 West 9th street. Jessie Wallace Hughes has accepted the office of organizer and an effort is being made towards reorganizing and future activities. The first undertaking will be to get in touch with all delinquents and get the branch records in proper shape.

6-8-12th A.D.
This branch will meet Monday evening, March 26, James O'neal will speak on "The Socialist Movement in the United States." Rachel Panken will appear in behalf of the Organization and Membership Committee of the Socialist Action Committee. An effort will be made to get out the best attendance for this meeting.

Russian Branch

The Russian branch has a mass meeting Friday, March 23, 8 p.m., at the Rand School, Room 508, on the subject: "The Eleventh Anniversary of the March Revolution." Speakers: James O'neal (in English), C. Kantorovich (Yiddish), Villazer, Brailovsky and Alexey (Russian). Chairman, Dr. S. Ingerman. Admission free.

Central Branch

A fairly well attended meeting of the Central Branch was held last Tuesday. Letters were sent to about 100 enrolled voters in the 4th A. D. and some of these

IN THE interests of economy no receipts will be sent by THE NEW LEADER and THE LEADER-APPEAL for subscription renewal remittances, except when specifically requested. Watch the date alongside of your name on the address label at the top of page one. The figures will indicate the month and year, respectively, of the expiration of your subscription.

people were present. The branch has met with considerable success in its drive to get delinquent members in good standing and a report of this drive was made. The branch also welcomed three new members, Israel and Nellie Feinberg and Helena Turitz. Inviting enrolled voters will be followed at each of the coming meetings.

Branch Seven
The Branch will meet Tuesday, March 27, at the club-house, 4215 Third avenue. Branch 7 reports that over three quarters of its members voted on the referendum for election of delegates to the National Convention. There are few branches that can report such splendid attendance on important Party matters. At the next meeting, work will be mapped out for the 7th and 8th Assembly Districts. Arrangements are made for mailing. The New Leader to enrolled Socialists in the 8th district. They will be personally canvassed for subscriptions and membership.

8th A.D.
A meeting will be held in the new Amalgamated Apartments for the organization of a branch in that section

of the Bronx. Some seven applications are on hand and there is every reason to expect a good functioning branch in these houses and with sympathetic persons living in the vicinity.

Brooklyn Jewish Branch
Comrade Wechsler strolled into the City Office last week with ten application blanks for new members to be added to the Brooklyn Jewish Branch. This is the first installment as a result of efforts made on the part of our Jewish comrades to increase the membership of their branches throughout the city.

7th A.D. East
An enrolled voters meeting was held last Friday evening. While not successful in attendance, nevertheless, a couple of new members were obtained whose personality shows excellent additions to the membership of this growing branch. Comrades Dobson and Claessens addressed the members.

5th A.D.
Another meeting, to which the enrolled voters were invited, was held last Friday evening in the Freeman Mansion. Comrades Fruchter, Orr and Claessens were present. Several new members were obtained. Another meeting will be held in April with Comrade Panken as speaker. The next meeting will be held at the Bronx Headquarters, 1177 Boston road on Friday evening, March 30.

Brooklyn
2nd A.D.
Enrolled voters in the Brownsville section of the 2nd A.D. are invited to the Friday evening meetings and for Friday, March 23, Eliezer Brown will speak on "The Coming Campaign and the Socialist Party."

4-14th A.D.
The branch will meet Tuesday, March 27, at their headquarters, 377 South 3rd street. Plans will be perfected for a huge organization drive in conjunction with other Williamsburg branches throughout the territory.

5-6th A.D.
The branch will meet Tuesday, March 27, at the club-house, 167 Tompkins avenue. Preparations will be made for cooperation with other Williamsburg branches in the coming membership drive in that section of Brooklyn.

18th A.D.
In the broad lexicon of youth there are no words meaning "stand still." The command is always to move forward and to keep moving. This spirit of progress. The youthful 18th A.D. has outgrown its quarters at 1465 St. Marks avenue and has engaged a new meeting place in the Rockaway Mansion, 685 Rockaway avenue (the Rockaway avenue station of the I. R. T. is but a half block away). The ambitious "Little Giant" of the Socialist movement, August Claessens, will initiate the cultural activities Friday evening, March 23, with a talk on "The Presidential Campaign and the Socialist Party" at our new headquarters. (Klinsky County comrades and readers of The New Leader please take note). Committees are now at work planning for a package party scheduled for April 29 to serve as an official housewarming.

22nd A.D.
M. C. Miller spoke on "The Tragedy of Waste" at headquarters, 218 Van Sicken avenue, on Tuesday evening, March 20.
Slowly and steadily the branch is receiving new recruits who are doing fine work to build up our branch. The work by lectures and discussions are developing good talent for open air meetings. It will not be long when our district will pride itself on a down good speakers.

16th A.D.
The branch will meet Friday evening, March 23, at the W. C. Center, 2316 20th avenue. An intensive membership drive is in progress in the Bensonhurst section and various plans are in formation for work to increase the membership.

Yipselodon
Circle Two Seniors
Sunday evening a very interesting debate brought on a lecture given by Fabian Frisch. Helen Glantz refuted his statements with a very pleasant and strong talk. All had a very pleasant time listening to both parties. Circle Ten Seniors of Flatbush came down on Wednesday evening to the Yipselodon. Sunday evening the Circle will hold a very interesting education program. All members are very welcome to attend our meetings.

Package Party
A package party scheduled by Circle Two Seniors, at 219 Sackman street for Saturday, March 24, has been transferred to the East Side Socialist Center at 24 East Broadway. Comrades are urged to make note of this change and to inform other circle should be re-presented at this affair. A good time is positively assured. All profits will be turned over to the Yipselodon Committee.

Convention Visel Program
Members of the Committee on preparations for a Yipsel Program at the coming Socialist Party National Convention please take notice of the meeting of the committee, Saturday, March 24, at 3 p.m., at the Rand School. Volunteers will be needed to take part in the skit that is being prepared by August Claessens. About 100 Yipsels will be needed to make up a scene of an open air meeting. Comrade Claessens will address the group Saturday, March 24, at 3 p.m. in the Rand School. Those wishing to join may do so by attending the group meeting or writing to the League office. No renewals will be accepted.
Circle One, Bronx, will not meet Sunday, March 25, but will attend the Coover Union meeting.

Circle 13 Dance
The third annual dance of Circle 13, Brooklyn, will be held Saturday, April 28, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The committee in charge is a joyous and the dance is Thillie Rothman, Sam Glicker, Dave Silken, Henry Sapkowitz, and George Berkowitz.

Doubled Membership
By April 14th Is Plan
of New York Socialists
(Continued from Page 1)
room for every member of the Party to do some work. There is a place for every sympathizer in our plan of action.

Each member can bring in at least one member between now and the 14th of April, and each member can bring in at least one member each month between now and election. An endless chain is our purpose.

Every comrade can arrange for a little gathering at his own home, inviting unrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers to break bread with him and meet some comrade comrade. Each comrade can take an allotment of ten enrolled Socialists, who are to be seen by him and with whom he is to become friendly and place himself on intimate terms.

It is not too much to ask for each of the Party members to take a list of ten sympathetic voters, cultivate their friendship and prevail upon them to join the Party.

The present situation in the country presents to us an opportunity to build up a strong Socialist movement, we do more than that—ready every influence for the betterment of conditions. Let every comrade feel himself a member of this Committee on Member-

ship and Organization. Let him act-
petent to present the cause of Social-
ally become such a member.
The members of the Committee on
Membership and Organization and my-
self are ready to cooperate with each
member individually.

This is a call to action!
Some years ago, while I was in Ham-
burg, Germany, a prominent comrade
asked me how many members the Social-
ist Party had in New York. I told him,
and also informed him of the extent of
the enrolled Socialists, and he said to
me, "Surely, you don't think that men
who enroll themselves as Socialists can
be considered as such?" I said that I
thought we could, and his answer was,
"There is only one kind of Socialist we
know in Germany, and that is the or-
ganized Socialist."

That explains the efficiency of
their Party. That explains the influence
that the Socialists have in Europe, and
it also explains our own inefficiency.
I reiterate: This is a call to action.
Let every comrade consider himself a
member of the Membership and Organi-
zation Committee. Let us cooperate with
one another. Let us build up a Socialist
Party deserving of the cause which it
espouses.

BROOKLYN
LABOR LYCEUM
940 Wiloughby Ave., Brooklyn
Large and small hall open for all oc-
casions and meetings at reasonable rentals.
STAGG 3842
Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 24th ST.
NEW YORK
Workmen's Educational Association
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p.m.
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and
Balls. Telephone RECENT 10038

FALK DWORKIN
& Company
Public Accountants
570 Seventh Avenue
Longacre 7214-7215
NEW YORK
Members of Accountants' Union

Workmen's Furniture Fire
Insurance Society, Inc.
Members Please Take Notice!
The assessment for 1928 is ten cents
for each hundred dollars insurance
due from all members since the first
day of January.
It is advisable not to wait for the
assessment notice but to make your
payment now in order to avoid the
rush in April and May.

PANTS MAKERS'
TRADE BOARD
OF GREATER NEW YORK
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Office: 175 E. Broadway, Orchard 1467
Board meets every Tuesday evening at
8 p.m.
All locals meet every Wednesday
NORMAN BLUMENREICH, Manager
HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

Embroidery Workers'
UNION, Local 6, I. L. G. W. U.
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th
Tuesday, at the O.M. 901 E. 161st St.
Micro 7690
CARL GRABER, President,
M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

United Hebrew Trades
175 East Broadway
Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board meets every 2nd and 4th
Tuesday, at the O.M. 901 E. 161st St.
E. GUSKIN, Chairman
M. TIGEL, Vice-Chairman
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

Bonnaz Embroiderers'
UNION, Local 66, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
2 E. FRIEDMAN, President
LEON HATTAB, NATHAN REISEL,
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

Waterproof Garment Workers'
UNION, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Monday
Evening at 7 P. M.
D. GINGOLD, N. MEYER, Sec'y-Treas.

Joint Executive Committee
OF THE
VEST MAKERS' UNION
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Office 175 East Broadway
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday
evening
M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas.
PETER MONAT, Manager.

See that Your Milk Man Wears
the Emblem of
The Milk Drivers' Union
Local 561, I. U. of T.
Office: 508 W. 14th St., City.
Local 564 meets on 3rd
Thursday of the month at
Beethoven Hall, 219 East
Fifth St. Executive Board
meets on the 2nd and 4th
Thursdays at
BEETHOVEN HALL
219 East Fifth street
JOE HERMAN, Pres. & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION
LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 919 Wiloughby Ave., Phone 1621 Stagg
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening
WILLIAM WEINGERT, President
VALENTINE HUNTER, Vice-President
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Sec'y

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners
of America
LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET.
EMIL A. JOHNSON, President
HARRY F. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y

**N. Y. TYPOGRAPH-
ICAL UNION NO. 6**
Office and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.
Meets every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at
SHIELD'S HALL, 67 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN

UNION DIRECTORY

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT
OF NEW YORK CITY
A Cooperative Organization of Labor
Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the
Unions and Their Members.
S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel,
222 Broadway, Rooms 2709-10, New York.
Board of Delegates meet at the Labor
Temple, 213 East 44th Street, New York
City, on the last Saturday of each month
at 8:30 P.M.

WORKERS!
Eat Only in Restaurants
that Employ Union Workers
Always Look **WAITERS & LOCAL 1**
For This LABEL
162 E. 23rd Street
Tel. Gramercy 0843
LOUIS RIFKIN, President.
LOUIS RIFKIN, Sec'y-Treasurer.
Regular meeting every
2nd and 4th Thursday
8 p.m. Beethoven Hall,
1210 East 5th St.

Pressers' Union
Local 3, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board meets Every Thursday
at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK,
Sec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
115 E. Bway.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL GRABER, President
L. KORN, Manager.

BUTCHERS' UNION
Local 171, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
Office and Headquarters:
Labor Temple, 213 E. 44th St., Room 12
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd
Sunday at 10 A. M.
Employment Bureau open every day at
6 P. M.

GLAZIERS' UNION
Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall,
62 East 4th St., Phone Dry Dock 10173
Regular Meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
SAMUEL KAPLAN PETER ROFF,
President
GARRET BRISCOE, J. GREEN,
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y
JACOB RAPPAPORT AARON RAPPAPORT
Bus. Agent Treasurer.

United Neckwear Makers' Union
LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L.
7 East 14th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7632
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday
night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office
LOUIS FELDHEIM, President
ED. GOTTSMAN, Sec'y-Treas.
L. B. BECKER, Manager
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent.

WHITE GOODS
WORKERS' UNION
Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U.
115 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1067
A. SNYDER,
Manager.

Hebrew Actor's Union
Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3350
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

German Painters' Union
Local 499, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINT-
ERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Eve-
ning at the Labor Temple, 213 East 44th St.
PETER ROTHMAN, President
ALVIN HOFSTEINER, Secretary
AMBROSE HAAS, Fin. Sec'y.

Neckwear Cutters'
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
International Union
7 East 14th Street, Stuyvesant 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
Fred Faustland, N. Y. Union,
President
A. W. Winer, Sec'y
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y & Treas.
Wm. R. Chisling, Business Agent

Local 2, Int'l Fur Workers' Union
Office and Headquarters, 949 Wil-
oughby Ave., Brooklyn, Pulaski 0798
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays
M. REISS, President.
JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President.
SAMUEL MENDEL, Rec. Sec'y.
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Sec'y.
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL
CAP MAKERS
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers
of America
OFFICE: 210 EAST 5th STREET
Phone Orchard 5660-1-2
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd
Wednesday
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER
Organizers
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd
Saturday
Executive Board meets every Monday
All Meetings are held in the
Headgear Workers' Lyceum
(Beethoven Hall)
210 East 5th Street

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' Garment Workers' Union
3 West 16th Street, New York City
Telephone Chelsea 2118
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union
LOCAL NO. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
Office 231 East 14th Street — — — Telephone Ashland 7500
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville
Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZLANT, President
N. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
N. FEINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y, L. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
11-15 UNION SQUARE, N.Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6300-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville
Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Brooklyn
ABRAHAM AZLANT, President
N. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
N. FEINSTEIN, Recording Sec'y, L. RABINOWITZ, Treas.
M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Tapscott St., Brooklyn

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
11-15 UNION SQUARE, N.Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6300-1-2-3-4-5
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7690-1-2-3-4
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

International Pocketbook Workers' Union
Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: Phone Chelsea 3084
11 WEST 18TH STREET, N. Y. A. I. SHIPACOFF
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman CHARLES GOLDMAN, Secretary-Treasurer Manager

Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union
Downtown Office: 610 Broadway Phone Spring 4548
Uptown Office: 30 West 57th Street Phone Wisconsin 1278
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening
HYMAN LEDERFARB I. H. GOLDBERG NATHAN SPECTOR ALEX ROSS
Chairman Ex. Bd. Sec'y Sec'y Sec'y
ORGANIZERS: I. H. GOLDBERG, MAX GOODMAN, A. MENDELWITZ

FUR WORKERS' UNION
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hester Point 63
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY REGOON, General Sec'y-Treas.

New York Clothing Cutters' Union
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four"
Office: 41 East 12th Street Stuyvesant 5566
Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East Fifth Street
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager I. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS
OF AMERICA, NEW YORK LOCAL NO. 1
Offices: AMALITHONE BLDG., 205 WEST 17TH ST. Phone Watkins 7704
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at
ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARKS PLACE
PATRICK HANLON, A. J. KENNEDY, Frank J. Flynn, Frank Schel, Treas.
Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y Ex. Sec'y

U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers
LOCAL UNION NO. 165, OF NEW YORK CITY
Office 2835 Fifth Avenue Phone: Harlem 4878
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 213 East 84th Street
MATTHEW J. MORAN, President JOHN WALSH, Vice-President
FRED DEGAN, General Secretary TIMOTHY HOPKINS, Secretary
GEORGE MEANY, DAVID HOLBORN, JOHN BASSETT, PAT DREW
Business Agents

N.Y. Joint Board, Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
Headquarters: 621 Broadway (Room 523) Phone Spring 2528-2538
G. GOOZE, Manager H. ROSENBERG, Secretary-Treasurer
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.
Board of Directors meets every Monday.
Local 243-Executive Board meets every Tuesday.
Local 246-Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248-Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

Carpenters and Joiners of America
LOCAL UNION NO. 808
Office Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone Stagg 3274
Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HARKETT, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Sec. Secretary
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418
of Queens County, New York. Telephone, Stillwell 6291
Office and Headquarters, 210 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
Regular meetings every Wednesday at 8 P. M.
MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President.
JOHN W. CALLAHAN, Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM McHEAT, Recording Secretary.
CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE FLANAGAN, Business Agents

Furrier's Joint Council
of N. Y.
Local 101, 105, 110 and 115 of
THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION of U. S. & C.
28 W. 31st Street Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m. Penn. 1328
EDW. F. McGRADY, Manager

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS
OF AMERICA — LOCAL 2163
Day room and office, 160 East 63rd Street, New York. Phone: RHINELANDER 3339
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M. W. J. COUDRY, Rec. Sec'y
JOHN A. HANNA, President, J. J. Dalton, Vice President, W. J. COUDRY, Rec. Sec'y
THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. BAER, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261
Office:
62 East 10th Street
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street
ISADORE SILVERMAN, NATHAN ZUGHAFT,
Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of
America, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and
National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 160 East 56th Street
Telephone Plaza 4100-4116, Clarence H. Harmon,
Secretary

Schools - Lectures - Forums

The Community Church
Park Avenue and 34th Street
SUNDAY, MARCH 25, at 11 A.M.
Morning Service
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"UNDERSTANDING THE CONSERVATIVE MIND"
8:00 P.M. Community Forum
SCOTT NEARING
"RUSSIA AND CHINA"
Questions, Discussions—Admission Free
HARRY A. OVERSTREET
Professor Philosophy, College of the City of New York
Author and Lecturer on Philosophic Subjects
THURSDAY, 8:15 P. M.
March 29—"SALVAGING THE ADULT"
Admission 75c
DR. WILL DURANT
THURSDAY EVENING, 8:15 P. M.
in a Course of Lectures on
"Philosophy"
April 5—"Is Progress Real?"
April 12—"Our Changing Morals"
April 19—"The Nature of Love"
April 26—"The Quest of Happiness"
Single Admission 75c Course Ticket \$2.50
Course tickets may be procured in advance at Office of the
Community Church 12 Park Avenue.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE
At Cooper Union At 8 O'Clock
SUNDAY, MARCH 25
MR. HORACE BRIDGES
"Some Superstitions of 'Advanced'
People"
TUESDAY, MARCH 27
PROF. ROY CLARK HANAWAY
"Mexican Policies Since 1917"
FRIDAY, MARCH 30
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN
"The Psychology of American
Nationalism."
Admission Free
Open Forum Discussion
At Muhlenberg Branch Library
299 West 23rd St. (n. 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 O'Clock
MONDAY, MARCH 26
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Hardy"
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28
DR. IRVINE H. PAGE
"The Significance of Membranes in
Cellular Functions"
THURSDAY, MARCH 29
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"Is Evolution Progress?"
SATURDAY, MARCH 31
DR. HORACE M. KALLEN
"The Dilemma of Indeterminism."

BUY YOUR TICKETS NOW!
for the
DEBATE
SCOTT NEARING — NORMAN THOMAS
Subject: **Communism vs. Socialism in America**
Chairman, ROGER BALDWIN
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 30, 8:15 P.M.
COMMUNITY CHURCH
34th St. and Park Ave.
Tickets: \$1.00, \$1.50—A few at \$2.00
For Sale: COMMUNITY CHURCH
RAND SCHOOL, 7 E. 15th St.
or by Mail—New Masses, 39 Union Square ALGonquin 4115

FORUM
BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER
667-691 Eastern Pkwy — Brooklyn, N. Y.
MONDAY, MARCH 26th, 8:15 P. M.
DR. BENJAMIN M. ANDERSON
Economist of the Chase National Bank
"MODERN SOCIAL RADICALISM"
MONDAY, APRIL 2nd, 8:15 P. M.
JULIUS HENRY COHEN
Prominent New York Attorney
"1928—Religious Tolerance in America—
The Jew's Part"

When You Buy
Cloth Hats and Caps
Always
Look for
This Label
1334260 A
CLOTH HATS AND CAPS
MADE IN AMERICA

WHEN YOU BUY
FELT or WOOL HATS
ALWAYS
LOOK FOR
THIS LABEL
THE UNITED HATTERS
OF AMERICA
REGISTERED

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
People's House, 7 East 15th Street, New York City
Telephone ALgonquin 4622-3

Editor.....JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON

Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger
Abraham Cahan
Harry W. Laidler
Joseph E. Cohen
Clement Wood
John M. Work
Joseph T. Shipley

Morris Hillquit
Algerman Lee
Norman Thomas
Lena Morrow Lewis
Wm. M. Feigenbaum
McAlister Coleman
Cameron H. King

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	United States	To Foreign Countries
One Year	\$2.00	\$3.00
Six Months	1.00	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles 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 24, 1928

The Magyar Despots

ADMISSION of white Hungarians to dedicate the monument to Louis Kossuth last week in New York City is no ordinary event in our history. The government officials at Washington know these ruling Hungarians. They must know that in all history there has been no more cruel and bloody despots than these Magyar brutes. They have enjoyed the killing of Jews and the tortures to which their political opponents have been subjected surpass in atrocity anything done in the Middle Ages. There are details of these tortures that are so foul and beastly that they are unprintable. One of the difficulties in telling the full story of the rule of these brutes is that the tortures are so horrible and disgusting that descriptions cannot be sent through the mails.

It is these scoundrels who were given passports by the State Department to come to New York where they desecrated the name of Louis Kossuth by paying homage to the Hungarian Liberator. Kossuth represents everything which the Magyar murderers oppose. Those who carry on the best traditions of Kossuth's liberating creed are still hounded by this ruling gang of Hungarians. Many of them were tortured to death by this clique during the post-war years. Karolyi, who in his ideas and personality represents the Kossuth tradition, is an exile from Hungary. Karolyi had to wear a gag on his lips while in this country while the Magyar scoundrels were permitted to speak at the foot of Kossuth's statue.

These facts are ominous. They register the views of the ruling classes and their politicians in this country. The democracy of the old era is not even a shadow. Our capitalist politicians deliberately choose despots, monarchists, low brutes and medieval cliques for favors. The liberator of whatever type is a suspect in this country. He is muzzled if he is admitted and if he has been here for years he is likely to be deported because of his views. There are even those who favor continuous police espionage and registration of those who come here to make the United States their home. Our ruling classes are cowards. Their retainers do not think and they hate everybody who does.

Add these facts to your political philosophy. Without them you are not likely to understand this world "made safe for democracy."

Our Socialist Policy

THE story of Emil Herman on another page in this issue confirms what we said in these columns two weeks ago regarding alleged third party movements in the West. The New Leader sincerely wishes that there were a growing movement of the working class outside of the Socialist Party for independent political action, a movement which Socialists could co-operate with, but there is no such uprising. The Socialist Party raises no sectarian banner, but its quarter-century of service in which it has kept its organization intact, in which it has inspired nearly a million voters to desert the corrupt parties of capitalism, is a record of loyalty to principle that gives it a moral leadership in any independent political movements that may appear.

Since the year 1922 when the Socialist Party initiated the movement which finally culminated in the LaFollette movement in 1924, the party did its utmost to gather the revolting forces into a permanent movement of the workers for independent political action. Socialists have seen this movement, once so promising, disintegrate. Even while the third party movement in 1924 was hurling its forces against Coolidge and Davis certain leaders in various states were secretly writing bargains with capitalist politicians.

Since the election four years ago most of the non-Socialist elements have given up the struggle. Indeed, most of them have returned to the parties of capitalism. Here and there a little band raises its voice for a third party alliance against the capitalist parties but this voice is not the roar of 1924. Now that the two-party alliance of the ruling classes has been re-established the revolters of 1924 find that both the Republican and Democratic parties are smeared with the graft of the oil thieves. The insurgent farmers and workers find that they have returned to their old homes only to find them filled with filth.

The Socialist Party is the only national political movement of the workers with its record clean, its hammer untarnished, its purpose unchanged, and with nothing to apologize for in its conduct. We stepped back to a hesitating army in 1924 to march with it and in the hope that it would make more advances. We shall not retreat a single inch. We shall move forward and those who think at all, those who have a sincere desire to fight the bankrupt parties of capitalism this year, will march with us.

A Serious Thinker

AN address by John E. Edgerton of the National Association of Manufacturers at Jamestown is

characteristic of the middle class mind hatched in the period of the 'eighties. His organization represents chiefly the lesser manufacturers who fear the working class below them and the big capitalist kings above them. It is compelled to fight both in an endeavor to make government and society represent the interests of its class.

Edgerton objects to the increasing cost of local government just as he has for years barked for the "open shop." He wants cheap government for his class and cheap labor for the establishments owned by his class. His fear of the greater capitalists is recorded in the statement that at the present rate of the concentration of capital, "it will not be ten years before a few corporations own the nation, and our government will be helpless to control them."

But he must also attack the radicals and Socialists and when he reaches this stage in his argument the big corporations undergo a wonderful transformation. He declares that there is an average of one stockholder to each family in industrial corporations, so that it may be said "that in the most essential sense American industry has already been thoroughly nationalized."

From all this one may understand the capacity of one head to carry conflicting ideas. One moment we have nationalization of industry and the Socialists are sent flying in defeat; the next moment the great corporations, now "nationalized", are a menace because within ten years "the government will be helpless to control them."

Here is a serious thinker and we have no doubt that he measured up to the intellectual capacity of the local manufacturers who heard him. His class has often been referred to as the "backbone of the nation." That backbone would not bring a dime for fertilizer in the market.

Oil Vice and Sewer Virtue

LIKE a herd of rats in a dark cellar into which a strong light has been thrown the national party brokers are scurrying about, the Republicans showing panic because of the smear of oil and the Democrats fearful that some of it has smeared them. Senator Borah stands cap in hand pleading for alms in the hope that he will get enough contributions to wash the smear away. This performance is about the most ludicrous thing that has ever been staged in American politics. He is really serious about it while those who appreciate genuine humor are enjoying a huge laugh.

A poll of the Democratic party nobles in the various states adds to the humor. These nobles represent their respective provinces on the National Committee and the New York Times has taken the poll. The net result is that every member is in favor of virtue and opposed to vice. All are shocked, properly shocked, because of Sinclair's sin. A number of them courageously assert that "Al" Smith is the boy for us this year and that the issue is "honesty in government." We are sure that Tammany Hall will add its solemn resolutions in support of virtue.

Meantime New York City is staging, or trying to stage, a probe into a Tammany sewer graft mounting into millions and sewer rats have scurried to cover in New York as oil rats have in the other case. Thus far the sewer grafters, thanks to a clever attorney, have been able to avoid having the case come into court. We are inclined to think that the game is to keep stalling and dodging in order that disclosures will not be made public till after election day. If Tammany's prize exhibit can be slipped into office before the sewer stench mingles with the oil stench virtue will have had its reward.

At any rate, the issue of Tammany virtue vs. Republican vice appears to be shaping out of the politics of capitalism. If attorney Steuer will only keep the lid on the New York sewer till after the votes are counted in November virtue will come into its own. But if that lid blows off? Even Borah the alms-gatherer will be forgotten.

The Democratic Tail

IT cannot be said that the American Federation of Labor leads in any conspicuous issue. It is more led than leading. Corporation lawyers, bankers and capitalists through the Civic Federation have led it into a dark alley on old age insurance. Men of the same class are sought by Matthew Woll to discover some magic formula by which Labor and Capital may treat each other as brothers. In politics it awaits the pleasure of the Democratic national convention, takes what few crumbs the Democratic brokers may offer and then offers an endorsement which carries no weight and which delivers no votes. The visit to the Republican convention is merely formal and everybody knows it. By long usage the American Federation of Labor has become a humble follower of the Democratic party.

The result is stagnation, lack of influence, sapping of morale and the departure of the crusading spirit. The political policy of labor is tested not when sentiment is swinging to the Democrats but when it is turning against them. Wilson was supported by the A. F. of L. in 1912 and was elected. Was this union endorsement responsible for the result? The vote shows that Wilson received 100,000 less votes than Bryan did four years before. Wilson was elected because the Republicans were split, not because of union endorsement. He was re-elected by a narrow margin because for the first time there was a real issue—war or peace. The big test came in 1920 when Cox was endorsed. The tide was turning against the Democrats. Did the union endorsement stay the tide? Not at all. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of the electorate due to women's suffrage, Cox received only 20,000 more votes than Wilson did in 1916 while Harding received over 16 million.

The conclusion is obvious. The political policy of the A. F. of L. has no influence whatever on national elections. When the trend is for the Democratic party the union endorsement does not help and when the trend is against that party this endorsement does not stay the avalanche. Yet for many years this political policy has made the unions, so far as formal endorsement can make it, a tail to the Democratic kite. When the kite soars it carries the tail with it; when the kite falls the tail falls with it. And it is because it is a tail that the trade unions of this country have no influence in politics. The small financial contributions collected from the unions for many years in support of this policy also show that it does not invoke the spirit and enthusiasm of the members. Paralysis faces the unions. The crusading spirit is gone. Members are asking questions, but another year is to be wasted in the role of a tail to the Democratic kite.

SOCIALIST NATIONAL COMMITTEE DENOUNCES WAR IN NICARAGUA, DEMANDS AID FOR UNEMPLOYED

(A statement issued by National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party in Session in New York City, Sunday, March 18th.)

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, meeting in New York City, sends greetings to the members and all those engaged in the struggle for a better world. Never before in the history of the American people since the Civil War have clear vision, devotion to ideals, and willingness to sacrifice been so necessary as now. The two-party machine of capitalism which rules at Washington was never before so supine in serving the corporate oligarchies that rule the republic. No fundamental issues divide the parties. Both party organizations are kept by the great interests and they are owned by those who keep them.

Never before has the republic been degraded to the low level it has reached in recent years. The bribes of oil swindlers have debauched men in public office. Members of the Cabinet have bartered great natural riches to notorious grafters. For years the millionaire corruptionists have eluded punishment.

Even more shocking than this demonstration of the power of predatory wealth, is the cesspool revealed by the investigation of campaign contributions. High public officials of both old parties accept proceeds of the attempted oil thefts. Portions of the theft have been traced. Others are yet to be disclosed. Meantime the go-between in this plot has for years served as the censor of the movies to insure that the "morals" of the nation will not be corrupted.

Old Parties Silent On Nicaragua

While this corruption has dragged its slimy trail through the courts and investigation committees, the Administration, without the consent of Congress, has been waging war on one of our neighbor republics. With pious declarations of good will for the people of Nicaragua, American bombing planes and machine guns have destroyed the lives of Nicaraguans. No party as such, except our Socialist representative and the representatives of the Farmer Labor Party has raised opposition in Congress to this dangerous usurpation. The lives of American boys have been sacrificed in this adventure in the service of American bankers and investors.

While millions of dollars are squandered and human lives wasted in an illegal war against another people, men, women, and children in one great section of a basic industry, starve, freeze and die. For nearly a year the miners in the bituminous coal fields have been forced to live in tents and in sheds erected for animals, reduced to starvation rations, by judicial decrees denied the right to make their cause known, and assaulted on the highways by hired mercenaries of the mine owners. This awful situation is allowed to drift.

Seven months passed before Congress took notice of this tragedy. A Senate committee has visited the Pennsylvania fields. Its members have been duly shocked. It is taking testimony and ere long another report will be printed to accumulate dust with many others. Congress will bring no relief to this disorganized, anarchic, and

profiteering industry and no hope to the wretched miners and their suffering families.

This stark picture of debauched politics, of a two-party alliance in Congress, of war on an inoffensive people, and indifference to the suffering of our own workers in a basic industry has a dark background in the millions of the unemployed.

Economic Crisis Foreseen

For years western farmers have endured terrible hardships and have lost their homes. Some have become wanderers and others have crowded into towns to compete with the urban workers for jobs.

To this distress is added the increasing millions of unemployed in the cities. Capitalism is again facing one of its periodical breakdowns with consequent suffering for millions who feed, and house, and clothe the people of this country. The two-party alliance in Congress sees no call for statesmanship in this national economic tragedy. The nation drifts. The comprehensive powers of the national and state governments that might be employed in public works to relieve distress remain inactive. Millions for a war against Nicaraguans; nothing for the welfare of those whose useful labor makes civilization possible.

The parties of capitalism are hopelessly tied to the masters of industry. There is no hope from these parties for the toilers of the nation. A shift to the Democratic party would be to turn from one party of capitalism to another. There would be a transfer of offices but no change of program or of policy.

There is wide dissatisfaction, deep unrest, and a growing desire for a real political change. The awakening is the most hopeful sign in many years. We appeal to the thinking workers of the United States to join with the Socialist Party in creating a real political opposition to the parties now serving the banking and capitalist oligarchies.

The Socialist Party Is Your Party

Our organization is rapidly extending into every state. The Socialist Party appeals to the men and women of the working class and to all others who would preserve economic freedom and civil rights; who would avert the dangers of a ruthless policy of military conquest abroad, to join with us in securing labor representation in all legislative, executive and political bodies. An informed, active and well-organized working class alone can bring idealism, knowledge and statesmanship into our government, and retire the degraded politics of our modern history.

Yours is the opportunity; yours is the solemn duty, and the Socialist Party is your agency through which to work.

The

National Executive Committee;

James D. Graham, Montana;
Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin;
Morris Hillquit, New York;
William Van Essen, Pennsylvania;
William R. Snow, Illinois;
Joseph Sharts, Ohio;
James Oneal, New York;
William Henry,

National Executive Secretary.

From The New Leader Mail Bag

NEGROES AND THE SOUTH

Editor, The New Leader:

Reference is made to Mr. Seligman's article in your issue of March 3rd, entitled: "America's 8 Million Voted Citizens."

The South does not, it is true, accord the negro the franchise. There are several perfectly good reasons for this disfranchisement, that is the way we look at it. One is that it has only come to pass within very recent years that the Southern Negro has displayed much desire to vote except in exceptional cases. Also, if I should grant that the negro has advanced far enough now to entitle him to suffrage, you won't mind acknowledging that this advancement has come in very recent years. It must be borne in mind that in some parts of the South the colored man is numerically stronger than the white man, therefore under universal suffrage the control of local government would accrue to the colored man. In course of time, neither of us may live to see it, the white man and the negro will cast his ballot equally. However until that time shall come it behooves the colored man to bend his energies toward the enlightenment of his race and to prepare himself for the privilege of the franchise when it shall be extended him.

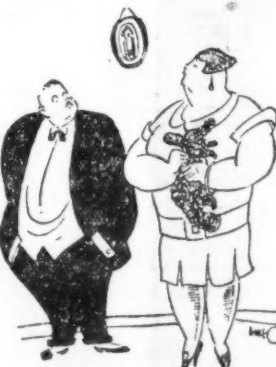
The Northern press may say a lot about the way the South treats the Negro, however I am of the opinion the South after all is the best friend of the Negro, you may extend him the opportunity to cast his vote but we will without fail provide the means to fill his stomach.

I think you have an excellent paper.
S. N. RICHARDSON,
A Subscriber.

We understand the difficulty which Mr. Richardson stresses and we are firmly convinced that it would immediately arise in any community in the North if Negroes were in a large majority. Our correspondent, however, is mistaken in the view that the Negro is discriminated against because he has not "advanced enough." There are hundreds of thousands of illiterate whites who vote without being molested and they are considered "advanced enough" to thus exercise the suffrage.

Fundamentally, therefore, the Negro is discriminated against because he is a Negro. There is nothing to be gained by ignoring this fundamental fact and in asserting it we also declare that many northern communities would react against the Negro as the South now reacts if they faced the same relative population between whites and Negroes. We have no illusions regarding northern fairness in this matter.

EDITOR.



"Have you shaved yourself?"

"Yes."

"Have you brushed your teeth?"

"Yes."

"And manicured your hands?"

"Yes."

"Then you may kiss Fido."

ALEXANDER NOT A SOCIALIST

Editor, Leader-Appel:

Permit me to correct a statement appearing in the Leader-Appel dated March 10th and written by Murray King to the effect that Morton Alexander of Arvada, Colo., editor of Humanity, is a veteran Socialist writer. Morton Alexander is not a Socialist but represents one of the two factions of the so-called Farmer-Labor groups in Colorado. In 1924 the Socialist Party of the United States endorsed the La Follette party. I was one of those who worked hard for the La Follette party at the time, thinking as many other conscientious Socialists did that at that time that it might

open a way to bring the workers together for the first time. We were mistaken and here's hoping we will never permit ourselves to be deceived again along that line.

Morton Alexander was one of those whose name appeared on a dual La Follette ticket in Colorado at that time. I have been a dues paying member of the Socialist Party for more than 25 years past and I believe I know who the real Socialists in Colorado are. Comrade King should find out hereafter who the veteran Socialists are before boosting them in the columns of the Leader-Appel.

T. J. BROWN,
Denver, Colo.

TO REPRINT EDITORIAL

Editor, The New Leader:
Your editorial on the "Spiritual Decadence of Trade Unionism" is excellent and to the point. I think it should be placed in the hands of as many trade unionists as possible. Could you arrange to reprint this editorial in the form of a leaflet? If so, I would be glad to contribute a dollar.

Another labor man has just told me that he would be glad to send you a dollar for this purpose.

LABOR-SOCIALIST.
The New Leader will be glad to mail as many copies of the editorial as contributions permit.

THE CHATTER BOX

Atlantic Ocean Anthology

Rodman Wanamaker

YOU left just enough money

To deserve inclusion
In my book of In Memoriams.

An estate of seventy five million dollars
Is enough significance
To give a fellow passing notice
Even in so opulent a land
As ours.

And then besides the mere possession
Of money, you were a patriot
During the war, a philanthropist
After a fashion, and the head of America's Finest
Department Store.

Two days before you died
I wandered into your place
And shopped for a suit of clothes
And sundries. The ad. announced
"Special Sale of Men's Wear. . ."
I did not buy that day. . .
I hardly ever buy in a Department Store anyway.
There is something hard, and cruel to me
In every emporium like yours.
The place is agitter with wares
And a-bustle with folks. . .
But behind the counters are girls,
And white collared lads. . .
I once worked with them, long, long ago.
I once tottered through a Christmas holiday season
With them, once long, long ago.
You paid me exactly fourteen dollars and eighty-seven
cents.

For eight-days work with six hours overtime for
each day. . .
That was long ago. You pay more now, I understand.

But you are dead now, so why talk about by-gones.

What I wanted to say was, that two days later
You died, and your place closed up.
And I surely thought. . . there, there was the end
Of a great Department Store. . . No more Bargain
Sales.

No more bustle and glitter. . .
For weren't you gone. . . you the genius of industry,
You the brains of it all, you the bread-giver to so
many

Thousands on thousands of men and women. . .
Your loyal employees.
Three days later, the place opened up again.
The advertisements offered Bargain Sales again,
People bustled, and merchandise glittered
All over the stores and floors. . .
You might have been a Pharaoh dead
And buried these three thousand years
For all you really mattered here in your own place. . .
You being dead, I thought then of your living em-
ployees,
And the seventy five million dollars you left.

It wasn't that by half when your father died
And left you his fortune. . .
And your father made his millions by selling good
goods cheap,
And buying good girls and boys cheaper. . .

And you kept up the policy, and it made those
millions for you.
Really you were a smart fellow. You might have
gone

To the Great White Way and night-clubbed the for-
tune away

On gold diggers and such. . . Instead you were a
patriot,
And a philanthropist. . . You kept paying your help
as little
As public decency allowed, and you kept selling
good goods
At a fair price. All the time not forgetting to buy
cloth
And flesh as cheaply as you could. . .

So everytime I think of the seventy five million dollars
You left, I think of the fourteen dollars and eighty
seven cents

You once paid me for standing on my feet fourteen
hours a day

For eight days during the Holiday season.
And always I am thinking of the thousands of docile
weaklings

Who have stood behind your counters, these millions
of hours.

Sold and packed and delivered your goods,
While you were in Palm Beach, or Europe, or making
patriotic

Speeches, and I'm still trying to figure out how your
thousands

Of employees have managed to keep living on,
While they were piling up the millions of dollars
You now leave so foolishly behind.

It's all a puzzle to me anyhow. . .

I'm still thinking of this Christmas and other holidays,
This year and the years gone. . .

I'm thinking how thousands of us stood
And shovelled from over and under the counters
A heap of gold that now measures seventy five mil-
lion. . .

Our eyes were almost blind, our arms half paralyzed,
Our feet numb. . . Heart and brain just sick with
work. . .

Shovelling up money for you that you could never
spend.

In a lifetime, or take with you to the tomb. . .

And we all, salesmen, salesladies, checkers, packers,
Drivers, cleaners, sweepers, elevator men and wo-
men. . .

Cashiers, office help. . . we all going home too tired
For rest. . . too dull for work again. . . with just
enough

In our pay envelopes to pay last week's bills,
And to-morrow's rent. . . And we all the time
Shovelling up a heap. . .

Here, I must break down with laughter. . . loud nasty
Laughter. . . too irreverent for even you. . . or
your kind. . .

To me a millionaire is a monstrosity while he lives. . .
He is something pathetically funny when he dies. . .

You and your millions. . . you dying and leaving them
behind you

That is pitifully comical. . .
But your employees still at it, shovelling the millions
higher

And higher, for your heirs. . . without a whimper,
Without even laughing at the joke you tell them in
your will. . .

Yes from out of your grave. . .
That should make the oceans and the constellations
roar

With some sort of cosmic haw-haw. . .

Yes, you left just enough money
To be included in my book
Of In Memoriams. . .

S. A. de Witt.