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TIMELY PICTURES

By Thomas

TWO of them settled on the last few days. No victory for the workers, a tragic defeat. They will doubtless be followed by charges and counter charges within the organizations most affected. It is not a happy situation to contemplate.

Tragic defeat has been the portion of the heroic British coal miners. At long range I do not feel competent to discuss questions of the leadership of the strike, the support it got or failed to get from other unions, or the effect of the mishandling of the great general strike. What is apparent to everybody is that the miners lost all along the line. They lost on hours and wages; they lost on the very important question of a national agreement. In the course of their strike ancient guarantees of civil liberties in British industrial struggles were thrown to the winds. Under the emergency acts miners and, in some cases, their wives, were arrested only less freely than in similar industrial struggles in the United States.

The tendency of this defeat will be to force down wages and working conditions for all coal miners. German and American miners who profited somewhat by increased work during the British strike from now on must face the competition of cheaper British labor in normal times and wholesale importation of cheaply mined British coal during their own strikes.

In some quarters it is the fashion to argue that Ford and other great industrialists have developed a type of American capitalism based on high wages and otherwise vastly superior to that which prevails in Britain.

The nature of this difference between British and American capitalism and its permanent importance has been greatly exaggerated. So far as coal mining is concerned British history is being repeated with no fundamental variation here in the United States. We, too, have to pay unjustifiable royalties. Consumers and workers here are burdened by overcapitalization, overproduction and chaotic competition. We use more machinery here than in England and we kill more miners. The men are less well organized and the United Mine Workers officially has less spiritual hold on them and less intellectual grasp on the situation than was the case in Britain. Brophy's fight for the presidency of the United Mine Workers is calling some attention to these conditions. The strike which is bound to break out next April in the soft coal fields will call the attention of all of us to the situation. It can be set down as certain that, when the strike comes our governmental agencies will be as partisan, as prejudiced and as incompetent as Stanley Baldwin's government has been in England. But England has what we lack, a Labor Party of size and strength. It is still possible that by use of the political weapon the British miners and workers may yet recover what they have lost in this industrial struggle. Neither in England nor in America will nationalization through political action be a sure panacea. It is, however, a necessary step. There can be no solution of the problem while private individuals own and manage for profit the coal that God or Nature intended for us all.

In comparison with the British coal strike our own cloakmakers strike in New York was small. Nevertheless, it was big enough and the issues involved were important enough to make the agreement with the inside manufacturers a matter of general significance to the labor movement. The terms of that settlement will be discussed elsewhere in The New Leader. On the whole I think they constitute a defeat for the workers, but not a tragic or catastrophic defeat. As usual the greater part of the rank and file showed a courage and an endurance worthy of better things. Their demands were sound. Nevertheless, looking backward, it may be doubted whether the strategy of the situation warranted a strike against the inside manufacturers. Negotiations with them on the basis of the Commission's report and a strong drive against the jobbers might have gotten as good or better results at less cost. Certainly the conduct of the strike left much to be desired.

Gangsterism raised its ugly head. The employers for a long period of time made the police their tools. I have praised the courage of the rank and file, but it must be admitted that there was a good deal of secret scabbing by nominal members of the union. It must also be admitted that the workers did not use their ballots as effectively as they might to render an impressive protest against the political party responsible for the injunction and the wholesale arrests of peaceful pickets. Under these circumstances negotiations were inevitable and the union

Polish Labor To Fight Dictatorship, Leader Says

Trade Union and Socialist Spokesman Now Visiting in This Country

THE organized workers of Poland, whose general strike last summer assured the success of the revolution which ousted the reactionary Witos ministry, stands ready again to use their economic power to thwart any attempt by Marshal Pilsudski to arrogate to himself the role of a dictator. This is the declaration made by Sigmund Zulawski, general secretary of the Polish Federation of Labor, now visiting in this country.

There are definite indications, Zulawski declared in an interview with The New Leader, that Pilsudski would dissipate the gains of the democratic revolution and erect in their place a dictatorship of the right, or reactionary, elements. While the trade unions and Socialists of Poland gave Pilsudski the fullest support in attaining the revolution, they have now broken with him because of his dictatorial tendencies and the breaking of promises he made during the days of the revolution.

As well as being the leader of the Polish trade union movement, Zulawski is the spokesman, in and out of the Diet, of the Polish Socialist Party. A member of the executive council of the International Federation of Trade Unions, he has just returned from Mexico, where he was the guest of the Calles government and of the Mexican labor movement. He plans to deliver a number of lectures in the United States and start for home on December 15.

Zulawski laughed off reference to the criticism so often made against the Polish Socialists that their movement is nationalistic in character. His movement has been misrepresented and misunderstood in this respect, he said. "I have just come from Mexico," said Zulawski. "Of that country we have had little reliable information in Europe. We were invited to Mexico specifically to learn for ourselves the truth about that country. And we found that the press of the world has been full of

untruths concerning the Mexican people.

"The same thing is true of Poland and particularly of the Polish Socialist and labor movement. Many people speak of our 'nationalism,' but they are misinformed. In the Polish Socialist party we all work together—the German Socialists, the Polish Socialists and the Bund, which, as you know, is composed of Jews. In elections we all stand together. There is the closest harmony between the German and Polish elements in our party, and this, despite the fact that the two countries are in antagonistic frame of mind toward each other."

Questioned concerning the possibility of uniting the differing political factions of European labor in the American International, Zulawski replied:

"On this question my views coincide with those of the other members of the executive of the Amsterdam International. The question of uniting with the Russian Communist unions is not the most pressing before us at this time. Our disagreement with the Communists is based on a deep-seated difference of principles.

"At this moment the question of uniting with the Pan-American labor movement, with the movements of the United States, Mexico and the South American countries interests us much more. Next year there is to be held the first congress of Asiatic unions. From this will evolve very likely a Pan-Asiatic federation of labor. In this development Amsterdam has a tremendous interest.

"The Amsterdam International would further internationalize itself by winning the affiliation of the American and Asiatic workers. Then he will be ready to turn to Russia and take up that problem. If they will be ready to recognize the principle of democracy there should be few difficulties in the path of their joining the International labor movement."

Zulawski declared he did not believe the overthrow of Zinoviev and the reorganization of the Third International will make any appreciable difference in the Russian attitude toward the labor movement of the other countries.

SOCIALIST DEFIES PASSAIC MILL GEN. FRIES SETTLES

D. C. Teacher Arouses the Ire of "Patriotic" Opponent of Free Thought

WASHINGTON.—Fascist bullying of modern-minded teachers in the high schools of the national capital, attempted by Amos A. Fries, major-general in the army, chief of the chemical warfare service and commander of the American Legion in the District of Columbia, has met a setback.

The board of education, in executive session, has refused to act on a demand by Fries that Harry Flury, teacher of biology in the Eastern High School, be dismissed. The offense alleged against Flury is his authorship of a definition of Socialism, printed in The Forum for October.

Superintendent of Schools Ballou received a letter from Fries signed "Major-General, Commander of the American Legion," etc., calling attention to this definition and protesting against Flury's being retained as a teacher. Fries denied the truth of the indictment drawn by the teacher against American industrial society, which read:

"Socialism is a big question mark. It asks why, with all the wonderful productive machinery and improved methods of organization, the workers are still slaves. It asks why civilization is so cruel and ugly. It asks why little children still toil in factories. It asks why those who create do not enjoy the advantages of what is created, why those who build automobiles walk, those who build Pullmans ride in box cars, those who build palaces live in hovels. It asks: Is not the industrial civilization we have created a Frankenstein that has made itself its master?"

Fries wrote Superintendent Ballou that these sentiments were "in only slightly different form the statements of the Communists that our government is bad and should be overthrown, is necessary by force and violence. This is just the type of un-American radical that the American Legion and other patriotic organizations are bitterly opposed to."

Ballou called in Flury and asked him to explain his own opinions as to American industrial society. Flury asked Ballou whether he was being questioned by a plain citizen or by the Superintendent of Schools. When Ballou said he spoke in his official capacity Flury smilingly replied that he never discussed his political, re-

First Break Comes in Ranks of Textile Factory Owners in Jersey

PASSAIC.—Passaic Worst Spinning Co. has settled the nearly 19 months old strike of its employees, now organized in Local 1603, United Textile Workers' Union. This is the first break in the ranks of New Jersey wool textile mills, which have been tied up by the strike of 15,000 men, women and young workers. W. W. Ghent represented the mill management and James Starr, vice-president U. T. W., the strikers in negotiations and formulating the agreement.

Immediately 250 workers return to the mill, to be followed by the remainder of the 700 formerly employed as fast as the machinery can be put into action. The right of the workers to organize in legitimate organizations is recognized. The workers' right of collective bargaining in case of dispute is agreed upon. The closed shop is not demanded. If any other demand cannot be agreed upon, the workers' representatives, management representatives, choose an outside third party to join in arbitration. This will probably be the case in the matter of wage adjustments—whether the workers shall regain the 10 percent lost in the last wage cuts which brought them on strike.

"PROSPERITY" IN NEW ENGLAND PASSING

Official of Amalgamated Finds Industry Slowing Up Considerably

COOLIDGE "prosperity" is going into the pot. This is the conclusion of Leo Krzycki, a general executive board member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, after a visit to the New England of Coolidge and Butler.

Krzycki brings first-hand information of accumulating distress in Massachusetts, which is typical of what is going on in other states in New England.

Chicopee is a typical industrial city of Massachusetts. Here the Dwight Manufacturing Company, a big textile concern, since the year 1920 has reduced its force of over 4,000 workers to 700. This has been accomplished by "speeding up" the workers and by labor-displacing devices. "Efficiency" sweats more values out of the workers, has reduced the number employed, and increased the number of families dependent on alms.

The Fisk Rubber Company in the same city last week discharged the first group of 300 workers for an indefinite period with all indications that more are to walk the plank in the coming weeks. Apprehension broods over the homes of many workers in this city as winter approaches.

The grave situation is being noticed by the Springfield papers. The Springfield Daily News last week stated that the funds in the municipal relief department were far from being adequate to care for the families thrown upon charity as a result of increasing unemployment. The same story declared that private charity organizations, anticipating the increasing calls for aid, find it necessary to begin a special drive for funds. If acute suffering is to be avoided next winter.

Workers Poorly Organized

The workers of Chicopee are poorly organized. Not much enthusiasm could be aroused by telling them the story of the Passaic strike but later when the first break in the employers occurred the news gave the Chicopee workers hope. It is having a favorable effect and a new spirit is likely to appear among the textile workers of Chicopee.

Last Sunday Krzycki addressed 6,000 Passaic textile strikers in an open air meeting. It was the first general meeting after the settlement and the spirit was wonderful. Krzycki declared that the strikers had suffered more from the actions of the public officials than from any other source. The brutalities of the police and imported thugs was brutal enough but the use of the fire department in turning a cold stream of water on men, women and children, from which many contracted illness, is remembered as the most brutal savagery of the authorities.

Krzycki was in a reminiscent mood in his interview with a New Leader representative. He recalled that in 1919 there were strikes in six industries in Milwaukee which involved 16,000 men. The Socialists controlled the sheriff's offices and deputized 75 union men to keep the peace. Krzycki was acting sheriff at the time and went to the headquarters of the strikers and obtained 75 men of good character and judgment.

At the same time the outlaw switchmen's strike occurred on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul and the Chicago and Northwestern railroads. Railroad officials joined in a request that Krzycki provide protection for the railroads and again he appointed union men as deputies. The result was an absence of the disturbances that occurred in other areas of these strikes and keeping out the gunmen and thugs who are generally imported to break strikes.

Cloak Pact Follows Smith Plan Despite 21-Week Walkout

22,000 MINERS MAY STRIKE IN PENN.

Hudson Coal Co. Inviting Walkout of Union in Anthracite District

By Art Shields

SCRANTON.—Hudson Coal Company, whose breakers spot the northern anthracite field for many miles, is threatened with a strike of its 22,000 employees. The general grievance committee of the 22 local unions involved says that unless the management remedies one of the many grievances that have been hanging fire so long it will call a strike in the latter half of November.

Hudson Coal—a subsidiary of Loree's Delaware & Hudson Railroad—has the worst labor record in the hard coal region. The particular grievance that brings the threat of war is only a last straw on the camel's back. Yet the facts of this local grievance are worth telling, because they will illustrate the company's methods.

In the Grassy Island Colliery the payment of the tonnage miners for rock removal has been slashed more than two-thirds. This rock is a strata in the middle of the coal vein. Removing this rock took up so much time of the piece workers that they were formerly allotted a substantial time allowance. Every bi-weekly pay they were credited with 40 hours, or five shifts at the daytime rate of \$6.95 a shift, totaling more than \$40 for this form of "dead work."

Three years ago the management slashed this forty-odd dollars to a flat five, six and seven dollars, depending on the man and the work place. The union protested that the company, under the agreement, had no right to change a rate until the agreement expired. The case went to the conciliation board representing operators and union for the hard coal region. It went on to Empire Nellie. The umpire agreed in principle with the union, but failed to fix a rate. He asked the union and the company to get together and do this. Again the weary round, through the conciliation board and back again to Nellie, who has, had the case three months. The company argues—falsely the union says—that part of the forty-odd dollars formerly went for other kinds of "dead work" now compensated for under other headings. But no records are shown to prove this assertion.

Encouraged by the delay the company recently cut rock rates again to \$3 a bi-weekly pay, allowing \$5 to exceptional hard kickers. And aggravated by the delay the grievance committee threatens strike at a time when the coal trade is booming.

There are a host of other grievances: Numerous arbitrary discharges; unjust docking of piece workers; general speed-up of day men and in some cases laying men off after five or six and seven hours, to make them speed up in the morning to catch up with lost time.

Overshadowing other grievances—with those who suffer from it—is the contract system that is being extended, making one miner the profiteer over many others. The union has traditionally been opposed to the contract system, and from time to time has rebelled against it and either wiped it out or curtailed it. But in the last three years Hudson Coal, among other operators in the northern field, has been extending it.

Perhaps most serious of all to the union's present welfare is Hudson Coal's latest move, forbidding organizers the right to come on its properties, and backing this up with a declaration that the union does not have the right to a closed shop.

National Office Enthused By Big Socialist Spurt

Judging from the sale of dues stamps and the general activity of the Socialists of the United States, they are determined to do justice and honor to our good comrade, Eugene V. Debs, by doubling their efforts toward the building of the party to which he gave his life. Not only is there greater activity in party work, but the receipts in contributions, in subscriptions and in bundle orders for the American Appeal almost doubled during the last week.

SWISS WORKERS ASK NEW TRIAL FOR SACCO

The workers of Switzerland have joined in the protests being made all over the world against the refusal of Judge Thayer to grant a new trial to Sacco and Vanzetti. The Berner Tagwacht of Oct. 30 printed on the front page the text of a cablegram addressed to the President of the United States of North America. It read as follows:

"The undersigned executive officers of Swiss labor organizations, in view of the press reports about the execution of the two innocent men, Sacco and Vanzetti, protest energetically against this proposed legal murder.

"In the name of the organized workers of Switzerland.

"SCHUERCH, For the Swiss Federation of Labor. REINHARD, For the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland."

There is no reason to doubt that this message reached the White House, but thus far the "authorities" there have not seen fit to make it public.

POLICE FIGHTING BOX STRIKERS

Union Demands Interference End—Open Food Kitchens

THE three thousand paper box workers who are now entering the seventh week of their strike for decent conditions and a living wage are now more determined than ever to continue their struggle until the employers grant their modest demands. The workers feel confident that their employers will have to yield, as the shops are empty and the scabs are few and unskilled.

In fact, they believe the strike would have been over by now if the New York Police Department had not given its full strength to aid the employers in their attempt to break the union.

As one of the employers' bulletins recently said: "Through concerted association efforts the full co-operation of the Police Department has been secured. . . . The union sent its protest to the Police Department more than a week ago and has as yet received no reply. The following is the letter sent to Police Commissioner McLaughlin:

"On behalf of fair play, your attention is hereby called to the co-operation extended to the Paper Box Manufacturers' Association by the Police Department. On each and every wagon a policeman sits alongside the strike-breaking drivers, making it totally impossible for our own drivers, who have spent years in the paper box industry, to approach and talk to them with a view of convincing them that they are doing an injustice to the strikers.

"The paper box industry is, without exception or doubt, the most backward industry in this great metropolis of ours. The earnings of women, after many years of experience, do not average more than \$18 per week, and some not more than \$10 throughout the year; and those of men, outside of the cutters, do not average more than \$25 per week. The hours are from 46 to 63½. If you will have an investigation made on Wooster, Mercer and Greene streets you will find that the sanitary conditions are positively the worst under which human beings can possibly work.

"That the Police Department should not at least keep neutral in this fight is something more than can be understood by the paper box workers. We do not mean that they should allow violence to go unchecked or any crime by anyone who chooses to run amuck be left unpunished; but we do wish to impress upon Your Honor that we are being fought not only by the manufacturers but by the Police Department as well. To quote from the association's circular of November 5, 1926: 'Through concerted association efforts the full co-operation of the Police Department has been secured,' etc.

"One need not doubt any longer that these workers are certainly not getting a square deal to which every citizen is entitled. Were this a public utility in which the public safety or even welfare were immediately involved, there would be some justification for crushing the complaints of a few thousand workers in the interests of the community as a whole. But in this particular case . . .

\$3,000,000 Struggle Fails to Win Better Agreement for Workers

By Louis S. Silverstein

TO BEGIN WITH, THE CLOAK-MAKERS' STRIKE IS NOT YET OVER and, therefore, all comments must be made with reserve. Only the organized inside manufacturers banded together in the Industrial Council of Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers have settled up. That involves some seven thousand workers. The sub-manufacturers organized in the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association employ around fifteen thousand. Independents account for ten thousand more. There have been, of course, many separate settlements.

II. THE STRIKE, HOWEVER, WAS NOT AIMED PRIMARILY AT THESE EMPLOYERS but at the jobbers. The latter employ hardly any labor themselves but supply work to the sub-manufacturers who have direct contact with the workers. The jobbers claim they are not employers but merchants; hence, the title of their organization, The Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association. (Some inside manufacturers do some jobbing also.) The chief purpose of the strike was to secure control of the jobbers to enforce a system of limitation of sub-manufacturers. The jobbers at this time of writing have not yet settled with the union. Their agreement will be crucial.

III. THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMISSION FOR THE CLOAK, SUIT AND SKIRT INDUSTRY, NEW YORK CITY, WERE IN FACT, THOUGH NOT IN NAME, THE BASES OF THE SETTLEMENT WITH THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL. It will be remembered that the union had rejected while the inside manufacturers had accepted the recommendations.

IV. THE UNION'S MAIN OBJECTION TO THE COMMISSION'S ADVICE WAS THAT IT WAS BAD POLITICS. Objections to specific points were, of course stated, but the New York Joint Board of the Cloak, Suit, Dress and Reeler Makers' Union, recently won by the "lefts," could not accept the mediation of a "capitalistic," "class-collaborationist" commission. It had to stage a revolutionary struggle. Logically, it should have rejected the recommendations on the grounds of principle, but it did not.

V. ANALYSIS OF AGREEMENT: A. Sixth clause. . . . "A joint committee composed of representatives of the parties hereto and all other organizations subject to the machinery herein established shall be organized and charged with the duty of checking up the sending of work to and production of garments by non-union or sub-standard channels. Such committee shall be headed by the impartial chairman hereinafter mentioned.

"An accountant shall be permanently attached to the staff of said impartial chairman for the purpose of making, with or without formal notice or complaint, investigations under his direction in any establishment in the industry, in order to ascertain whether the contracts entered into between the parties are being carried out."

This is practically the recommendation of the Commission: " . . . the advisability of a joint committee, headed by the impartial Chairman and charged with the duty of checking up on the sending of work through unauthorized and sub-standard channels." The provision for an accountant follows the Commission's recommendations word for word.

The union, however, had demanded " . . . examination of the employers' books and records by representatives of the union and by other methods, and suitable penalties should be provided for such violations."

REMARKS: In the final agreement the investigation is under co-operative auspices, with, of course, the impartial Chairman having the decisive voice. The method of penalization of its members by the Counsel itself, provided for in the old agreement, is retained.

B. Eighteenth Clause. "From the date of the execution of this agreement and until the first Monday of June, 1928, a week's work shall consist of forty-two (42) hours in five (5) week days. After the first Monday of June, 1928, a week's work shall consist of forty (40) hours in the first five days of the week . . ."

The Commission in its first report

In The New Leader Next Week "New Paths For Socialism"

BY
W. J. GHENT
In Two Articles

I—The Weakness of American Socialism
II—A New Policy for American Socialism

(The first article will appear in the issue of November 27th and the second in the issue of December 4th. New Leader readers will be given adequate opportunities to present their views on the matter.)

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had stated: "We do not recommend the request of the union for a reduction of the hours of labor from forty-four hours a week to forty hours a week. We do not believe that such reduction is advisable at this time."

REMARKS: Insofar as the provision for time and a half (and in some instances double time) for overtime is retained, this is a real gain, though a compromise. It must be noted that the clause falls within the formula of the Commission. The Joint Board thought the forty-four week so important a political talking point that two weeks before the end of the strike it approached the members of the Industrial Council to settle on the basis of the old agreement with the only concession to be made with respect to the working week. The forty-hour week is, of course, inevitable in the needle trades.

C. Twentieth Clause: 1. Provision is made for new MINIMUM weekly rates of wages. 2. The wage increases recommended by the Commission are, in our opinion, inadequate, at least with respect to several crafts. They are furthermore based on classifications of crafts that are at this time meaningless or misleading in some instances. We therefore request a revision of the Commission's recommendations with respect to proposed wage increases which would take into account the condition and the needs of each craft.

REMARKS: These are advances over the old scale as well as over that recommended by the commission. There is a greater leveling upward of some crafts. In several important instances the minimum is below the actual average for 1925.

3. Another paragraph in the twentieth clause states: "The wages of workers and the regulation of the use of labor-saving machines, such as pressing, basting, felling and button sewing machines, shall be adjusted by the Council and the Union through the processes provided in this agreement."

The union had presented a long detailed request for specific arrangements with respect to the use of machinery in the operations mentioned above.

REMARKS: The present agreement leaves the regulation of labor-saving devices to future adjustment through the impartial chairman, instead of having the details inserted into the agreement.

3. Still another paragraph provides for the unionization of examiners. The commission had decided that "the question of whether a craft should be unionized is primarily a question of union policy."

The union, acting on this basis, declared "that the examiners and the designers in the industry are unionized."

REMARKS: The final agreement makes no provision for the designers. Again, the union might have gained the unionization of one of these crafts on the basis of the commission's recommendations. A previous finding of the Commission in 1924 had not favored the unionization of designers.

D. Twenty-sixth Clause: "The parties hereto agree to adopt a system of limiting the number of sub-manufacturers employed by the members who do 'jobbing.' Contractors, as defined in this agreement, are not sub-manufacturers within the meaning of this clause and do not come within the operation of the same."

"Upon the execution of this agreement, the parties hereto shall appoint a joint committee to work out the details of a system of limitation in conformity with plans put into effect generally in the outside system of production."

"If the bureau of research established that the contracting system is menacing the industry, then the same procedure shall be adopted as is herein provided with reference to the limitation of sub-manufacturers."

The commission had stated: "With this in view, we recommend that the parties adopt a system of limitation of sub-manufacturers with whom a jobber may do business. At definite intervals every jobber shall, in accordance with a standard to be agreed upon between the parties, select and designate the sub-manufacturers he needs to handle his production, leaving him the necessary freedom in securing samples and in changing sub-manufacturers for cause shown he shall not give work to other sub-manufacturers when his designated sub-manufacturers are not busy and shall adhere, so far as practicable, to a policy of equitable distribution of work among the sub-manufacturers designated by him. The administration of such a system would, as cases arise, be subject to equitable interpretation through the impartial machinery."

The union had defined its position as follows: "We accept in principle the recommendation of the Governor's Commission with respect to limitation of sub-manufacturers upon the understanding that definite and effective provisions will be elaborated upon the basis of the principles laid down by the Commission."

REMARKS: Any provision with respect to limitation of sub-manufacturers has force only if it applies to the jobbers. This agreement but refers to inside manufacturers who do some jobbing. The principle is accepted. The details await a settlement with the jobbers. The references to the contracting system will only acquire meaning in the indefinite future. The Commission's recommendations offered a definite technique of control of sub-manufacturers.

E. TWENTY-EIGHTH CLAUSE: "An Employment Bureau is to be established under impartial direction. Placements and replacements are to be made through such bureau."

The Commission had recommended: "the establishment of an employment office under the direction of the trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Placements and replacements should be made through this employment office."

The union had stated that it "proposes to establish an employment office under the direction of a manager especially appointed for that purpose."

REMARKS: The agreement takes away from the union sole control over placing workers.

F. THIRTY-FIFTH CLAUSE: ADDITIONAL REORGANIZATION RIGHTS. THIRTY-FIFTH: ADDITIONAL REORGANIZATION RIGHTS. All members of the Council having a regular force of 35 or more employees, members of the Union, from the date of this agreement and until the first day of June, 1928, and thereafter a regular force of 40 or more of such employees, and who during the period preceding the reorganization, dates hereinafter mentioned shall have given to such employees in

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Communists Seek To Hide Defeat By Reviving Feud

WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY
DISTRICT 2
INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENT
108 E. 14th St.
NEW YORK CITY

November 12, 1926.

Dear Comrade:

In view of the important developments in the cloakmakers' situation, we are calling a meeting of all Party members in the I.L.G.W.U. for this Sunday, 1:00 p.m., at 108 E. 14th Street.

You realize how much is at stake in our having a clear policy on this situation and the right wing propaganda that is being spread, and how important it is to prepare for the meetings that will be held to approve the settlement made with the Industrial Council. There can be nothing more important for you at this time than to attend this meeting. We will check up on the attendance.

We are calling a meeting of the League members at 6:00 o'clock. Please inform all you may meet.

Admission will be by membership book.

7:00 p.m.

Fraternally yours,

Joseph Zuck.
Secretary
Industrial Department
District 2.

P.S. Mr. Z. Foster will be present at this meeting.

HAVING concluded an agreement for which even the totally irresponsible Communist paper "Freiheit" hesitated to urge a vote of acceptance, the Communist-Left Wing leadership in the Cloakmakers' Union has been working with might and main to revive old factional conflicts and thus raise a smoke screen to conceal the wreckage they have caused.

As predicted in The New Leader last week, the Lefts are seeking a scapegoat. At first they sought to make the Amalgamated Clothing Workers bear the blame. That organization had been too close with its money, was the complaint. But as it became known that the Communists had at their disposal \$2,000,000—and did dispose of every cent of it—the charges of niggardly conduct against fellow labor organizations appeared too ridiculous.

The Communists then trained their mud-guns on the International officials who, during the strike, had left no stone unturned to further the interests of the walkout. Thus far they have been unable to draw any response in reply to their provocative attacks. The International officials and the Right Wing in the New York Joint Board have refused to join issue in this new war of slime and slander. They insist the members shall be given an opportunity to judge the Communists by their deeds. And their latest deed is the agreement they have secured out of their store of revolutionary wisdom and tried Communist tactics.

The mass meetings ostensibly called to give the members an opportunity to voice their feelings on the agreement gave the Communists the first opportunity to begin work on their smoke screen. In anticipation of these meetings a call had gone out to Communist party members to meet and lay plans for the raising of the bar. Remembering this, it was not surprising to note on Monday that halls which had been deserted for many weeks toward the end of the strike were in some cases packed to capacity. Nor did the presence of Communist members of the carpenters' union, bonnaz embroiderers' union, machinists' union, etc., cause any surprise. For all of the faithful had been summoned to be present at this ceremony of "submitting the agreement to the rank and file."

The "explanation" of the agreement was invariably prefaced—and sometimes confined—to a recitation of how the American Federation of Labor,

placated down by the Commission."

REMARKS: Any provision with respect to limitation of sub-manufacturers has force only if it applies to the jobbers. This agreement but refers to inside manufacturers who do some jobbing. The principle is accepted. The details await a settlement with the jobbers. The references to the contracting system will only acquire meaning in the indefinite future. The Commission's recommendations offered a definite technique of control of sub-manufacturers.

E. TWENTY-EIGHTH CLAUSE: "An Employment Bureau is to be established under impartial direction. Placements and replacements are to be made through such bureau."

The Commission had recommended: "the establishment of an employment office under the direction of the trustees of the Unemployment Insurance Fund. Placements and replacements should be made through this employment office."

The union had stated that it "proposes to establish an employment office under the direction of a manager especially appointed for that purpose."

REMARKS: The agreement takes away from the union sole control over placing workers.

F. THIRTY-FIFTH CLAUSE: ADDITIONAL REORGANIZATION RIGHTS. THIRTY-FIFTH: ADDITIONAL REORGANIZATION RIGHTS. All members of the Council having a regular force of 35 or more employees, members of the Union, from the date of this agreement and until the first day of June, 1928, and thereafter a regular force of 40 or more of such employees, and who during the period preceding the reorganization, dates hereinafter mentioned shall have given to such employees in

(Continued on page 9)

TEACHERS LOSE CITIZENSHIP, IS RULING

Union Offers Reply to Charges Made Against Abraham Lefkowitz

TEACHERS in the New York public schools have not the ordinary rights of American citizens. It has been ruled in a report submitted to the Board of Education by its Board of Superintendents.

The ruling, written by Associate Superintendent Edward Mandel, comes in the course of a report on the case of Abraham Lefkowitz, labor leader, who has been refused promotion in the school system because of his progressive views.

After referring to Mr. Lefkowitz's belief that he has the right to express his legal views on politics, labor, etc., outside the classroom as long as he performs his school work satisfactorily, the report continues:

"A teacher may not have one set of opinions for the classroom and another for the public platform. As a school teacher he has not the same rights as other citizens to print, publish or declare his thoughts and opinions. He is no longer at liberty to 'freely write, speak or publish.' This is not an interference with his rights as a citizen. His rights are as 'free and untrammelled as they ever were.' He may at any time 'emancipate himself from the shackles of the department and exercise his full rights as an American citizen' by resigning his position."

"Master of Teaching"

In other sections of the report Mr. Mandel concedes that Mr. Lefkowitz "is master of the technique of teaching; he knows how to present his subject and arouse and hold the interest of his pupils. No doubt he has a thorough knowledge of his subject-matter."

In another interpretation of the reasons for refusing promotion to Mr. Lefkowitz, Superintendent Dr. William J. O'Shea says the labor leader's slighting references to the Republican and Democratic parties pained the Board of Superintendents and caused it to deny Mr. Lefkowitz his advancement.

The Teachers' Union, in a letter to the Board of Education, questioned the propriety of making public Mr. Mandel's rambling and unsubstantiated attack on Mr. Lefkowitz's personal character and activities. Mr. Mandel prepared the report "in the spirit of personal bitterness and an antagonism which characterized his conduct in the hearing given Dr. Lefkowitz on this same matter."

"None of the charges in the report have been submitted to the test of legal examination in a trial," the union declares. For the most part the material used in the report was gathered by the notorious Aaron I. Dotay, who has distinguished himself by organizing a snoop squad to listen at keyholes and otherwise spy upon teachers.

Charges that Mr. Lefkowitz used the words "dago" and "sheeny" in a malicious manner is answered with a reference to the fact that the accused is himself a Jew and would not have libeled his own race. Other remarks attributed to Mr. Lefkowitz were found, upon examination of his entire class, never to have been made, the Union says. As to his alleged sympathy for Bolshevism, the union points out that Mr. Lefkowitz has been a strong opponent of Communism in the trade unions.

In conclusion the Teachers' Union says:

"The publication of injurious and untested charges against a teacher who has served the city efficiently and with distinction for twenty-two years constitutes an offense against public decency that calls for a challenge from every public-spirited citizen. That the Board of Education is perhaps unwittingly a party to this offense is at least occasion for regret. The Teachers' Union urges your board to take immediate steps to remedy the wrong you have done by investigating at once the conduct of the Board of Superintendents in this affair, and especially the conduct of Associate Superintendent Mandel."

POLICE FIGHTING BOX STRIKERS

(Continued from page 1)

Industrial struggle there is nothing else involved but the interests of a couple of hundred manufacturers pitched against a couple of thousand workers.

"We, therefore, beg of you to maintain a neutral position, giving our boys the right and opportunity to do their lawful picketing. And this can only be achieved by removing the policemen from the wagons."

"PAPER BOX MAKERS' UNION OF GREATER NEW YORK."

"FRED CAIOLA, Manager."

The paper box workers' conditions have always been so poor, their wages so miserably low, that many of the workers would have faced privations by this time if the union had not opened kitchens to feed them.

The first kitchen was opened this last week by the union at the strike headquarters in the Church of All Nations, 9 Second Avenue. The first day that the kitchen was opened over two thousand strikers were fed. The Bakers' Union, Local 169, of the Bronx, agreed to supply the bread to the strikers free of charge. Other unions are sending donations to aid the strikers.

The Cloakmakers Pact and the Labor Movement

By Abraham Beckerman
Manager N. Y. Joint Board, Amalgamated Clothing Workers

(Through the courtesy of the editors of "Advance," The New Leader is enabled to present this article to its readers simultaneously with its appearance in that journal, the official organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.)

THE twenty-week strike of the New York cloakmakers has been partially concluded with the signing of an agreement with the Industrial Council. No settlement has as yet been obtained with the jobbers—the largest unit in the industry—and the outlook in that respect is not over-bright. A frank and searching discussion of the nature, conduct and settlement of the strike is pertinent at this time and will constitute a wholesome and valuable education in labor union tactics for trade unionists everywhere.

For two years trouble has been brewing in the cloakmakers' industry. About six months ago a commission selected by the Governor submitted certain recommendations as a basis for negotiations. The International president of the union, Morris Sigman, suggested that this recommendation be used as a basis for negotiations, and expressed the belief that several modifications and improvements could be realized as a result of such negotiations.

The leadership of the Joint Board, posing as more revolutionary and working under the direct control of the Communist party, were opposed to such negotiations and declared a strike. The running of the strike was then completely placed under Communist leadership by the action of the strike committee in defeating at its initial meeting the nomination of Sigman as head of their committee.

Walkout Is Effective

The walkout was magnificent. The entire industry was completely tied up. When the strike was about five weeks old a conference took place with the Industrial Council at which conference Mr. Finder, head of the Council, indicated that the question of hours could be met and that wages could be raised to a higher level than that proposed by the Governor's Commission, but there was to be no compromise on what has become known as 10 per cent reorganization. The conference broke up. The strike was still on.

What were the principal objects of the strike? As outlined prior to the strike, one of the outstanding desires of the union was to establish what is known as limitation of contractors, mainly upon jobbers and to a lesser degree on the members of the Industrial Council. Another was the guarantee of 36 consecutive weeks' employment, and third, absolute resistance to the employers' demands for reorganization, which last was embodied in the Governor's Commission report. The question of hours and wages, as has already been explained, could have been gotten before the strike had assumed any great proportions. The original demand for the abolition of overtime was forgotten. The demand that was introduced at the last convention, "that there should be no provision in the agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike," was forgotten. The outstanding positive demands were limitation of contractors and the guarantee of 36 weeks work. The outstanding struggle was against the employers' right to reorganization.

How was the strike conducted? A successful strike is supposed to have the effect of preventing manufacturers from making their garments, thus preventing them from making profits; in fact, is supposed to have the effect of saddling them with heavy losses. The most notoriously conspicuous fact is that the strike failed to accomplish this purpose. It is a sad reflection on the leadership of the cloakmakers' strike that they failed to prevent the manufacturers from making their garments to a sufficient degree to injure their business or their profits. It is a conspicuous fact that the jobbers, against whom the strike was originally planned, and who, as the strike progressed, have been virtually overlooked, made more profits during the past season with the strike than ever before; and it is a sad commentary that those houses that were settled independently laid off their people earlier than usual because of OVER-PRODUCTION IN THE MARKET. How can they, whose business it was to prevent the manufacture of cloaks and suits, explain this phenomena of over-production?

Can they explain why, after calling out 40,000 people in a magnificent walkout, they were unable to prevent the manufacture of garments by manufacturers on strike? The answer lies in the leadership of the strike. The Communists are apparently at home in sowing the seeds of dissent, at meetings and in shops, in acting as eternal critics of all who administer unions, but are failures at the very elementary task of preventing the manufacture of garments during a strike.

And so the strike went on. The Industrial Council, against whom there was little complaint, became the target of the entire strike, while the jobbers were forgotten. Independent manufacturers settled here and there and more than 15,000 people went back to work as a result of these settlements. The settlements made with these independents included the 40 hour week, increases in wages higher than those gotten from the Industrial Council, the 36 week employment guarantee and limitation of contractors.

The Reorganization

The tragic part of the settlement that was made for the 7,000 members working in the Industrial Council shops, is that these 15,000 members who had been settled prior to the 7,000 will now have to accept the latter settlement and will have to work two hours longer, may have to relinquish some of the wages, will have to forget about the 36 week guarantee if they ever knew of it, for the union never attempted to collect the 10 percent of the payroll which was supposed to act as a guarantee of the 36 weeks work, and will have to give up the idea of limitation of contractors.

In the Governor's Commission Report, which the "revolutionary" leadership of the cloakmakers rejected as a basis for negotiations, the manufacturers were allowed a 10 percent reorganization during two years of an agreement. An interpretation of the Governor's Commission Report would mean a 10 percent reorganization in June, 1927, and when the next reorganization would be due, the agreement would then have expired and the organization could, at that time, take any action it might see fit.

Under the present reorganization, the manufacturers are permitted three 10 percent reorganizations totaling 30 percent of the workers in each shop during the period of 15 months between June, 1927, and December, 1928. This means that within these 15 months 30 percent of the workers in the shops may be changed at the will of the manufacturer. It means, in other words, the right to fire in wholesale quantities. True, a clause prevents discrimination on race, religion, but those of us who have had some experience and some knowledge of the labor movement and the practical workings of impartial machinery know that rarely can it be proved that a worker was discharged for union activity, that invariably other reasons are given for his discharge and in this case when 30 percent may be discharged at the will of the manufacturer, what form of union activity can be expected? "It may not be necessary," said Mr. Finder, in an interview following the settlement, "for the manufacturer to enforce the complete reorganization plan." No, probably not. The mere knowledge that the manufacturer has the power to do so will be sufficient to crush all union spirit in the shops.

Another "revolutionary" innovation which this settlement has secured for the workers is a joint labor bureau. This bureau is to be administered under the joint supervision of the manufacturers and the union. For example, workers who are to be sent up to shops to replace workers who may be left out as a result of reorganizations, will have to be passed upon by both the employer and the union. In unions which are not so "radical," for instance in our own union, the decision as to who is to go into a shop to work is made by the union without the kind co-operation of the employer.

At Bosses' Mercy

What a marvelous improvement for the union as a whole! What a victory achieved after 20 weeks of starvation through the strike, following 10 weeks of idleness. Yes, indeed, what an improvement over even Governor Smith's Commission recommendation.

For having conceded the manufacturers the right of reorganization, the union has obtained a guarantee of 32 weeks wages, which includes any overtime which may be worked. In view of the fact that statistics of the Industrial Council shops indicate that the average wages in those shops prior to the strike were 38 weeks a year, based on 44 hours work. The concession exacted of 32 weeks a year based on 42 hours and later 40 hours can thus be recorded as meaning exactly nothing. So far as the increase in the minimum wages, in various operations, above that of the Governor's report, it might be well to note that this will affect a total of about 800 of the 7,000 people employed in the Industrial Council shops, also a very negligible thing. As far as the 42 hours are concerned, that could have been gotten as a result of conferences, without the necessity of bloody sacrifices on the part of the membership. On the question of limitation of contractors, there is to be limitation of contractors in the Industrial Council provided limitation can be gotten from the jobbers. Since, so far, no real strike has developed against the jobbers, there is scant hope for this being accomplished.

The settlement, thus, resolves itself into the following: The right to fire in wholesale manner in the periodic reorganization is given to the employer. The right to hire is also to be passed upon by the employer. The control of bundles is destroyed by the failure to secure limitation of contractors. What is left for this "revolutionary" union is only the name.

The leaders of the strike claim that their strike was sabotaged by the right wing labor movement. What is there to this cry? How was the strike supported? During the course of the strike nearly \$2,000,000 has already been spent, almost half of which was for actual strike work, independent of strike benefits, a colossal and unparalleled expenditure. No strike in the history of labor battles in the United States has received as much co-operation and support as this strike, from unions everywhere and particularly from our own union. Extraordinarily pathetic, therefore, is the manner in which the Communist leaders attempt to cover up their own shortcomings by the cry of sabotage. The Amalgamated specifically was charged with making scab work in their shops and with failing to properly assist financially.

The Amalgamated's Part

The facts are these, whenever the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers called up our Joint Board, which occurred two or three times, calling our attention to the fact that work was being made in some of our shops, the

shops were immediately stopped. In other cases, where our organization discovered such work being made, the work was stopped and the Cloak Makers' Joint Board notified. So much for scabbing. Financially, we contributed \$27,500 in cash and co-operated in obtaining a loan for the cloakmakers' organization of \$175,000. In addition we have levied a \$1 assessment upon each of our members.

We have been unfavorably compared with the Communist needle trades union, the Furriers, whose donations we were informed were about \$50,000. It may interest our membership and the members of the cloakmakers' union to know that the \$50,000 was only part of the sum which the Furriers still owe the Cloakmakers' Union today as a result of the Furriers strike. In other words, despite the urgency of the situation the Furriers Union has not even repaid its debts to the various locals of the Cloakmakers' Union, amounting to over \$100,000.

It may also be interesting at this point to mention that it was called to the attention of the Furriers' Union officers that many of their members were making fur collars and cuffs on cloaks that were being made in scab shops. This was never stopped and, strangest of all, is the fact that no criticism has been made against the officers of the Furriers' Union. Communist blood, apparently, is thicker than the blood of trade unionism.

We shall proceed no further. We shall not humiliate the officers of the old Cloakmakers' Union by comparing the agreement they have signed with the agreement that was signed six months ago by the Joint Board of the Amalgamated, and which received such severe condemnation from the Communist press, their supporters.

But just this word in conclusion. At a mass meeting held several weeks ago for the purpose of attacking our union, two leaders of the Cloakmakers' strike found ample opportunity to be present in the role of speakers and have the active presence of members of the picket committee, who, it seems to me, might have found much more useful work to do. We feel that their energies could better have been utilized for the conduct of their own strike in the interests of their members. However, perhaps that is unethical in revolutionary unionism.

"By their fruits ye shall know them."

RUMANIAN UNION PLAN ORGANIZATION CAMPAIGN

Steps toward building up the trade union movement of Rumania taken at the September Bucharest convention of the Rumanian Federation of Labor included a drive for the organization of the thousands of workers still outside the unions and appeals to the dissident Communist groups to drop their fratricidal tactics and unite with their fellow unionists under the banner of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The 117 delegates, representing 28,604 unionists, passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a national workers' educational committee to look after the cultural and physical training of the workers along Socialist lines. The work of the committee is to be financed by 10 per cent of the national dues and special contributions by affiliated unions.

The convention adopted resolutions demanding absolute freedom of association in trade unions and a great deal of progressive labor legislation.

Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sunday, November 21st

8 P. M.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

"Has Socialism a Future in America?"

11 A. M.

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL

"The Fine Art of Appreciation"

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1201 Boston Road, near 160th Street

Sunday, November 21, 1926

8 P. M.

Rev. Leon R. Land

FRANCIS OF ASSISI

9:00 P. M.

OPEN FORUM

ROBERT W. DUNN

The Challenge of Company Unionism

Admission Free

The Proletarian Study Group

Next Lecture of the Course on

Illusions of All Civilizations

A Critique of Class Ideology

by

LEON SAMSON

at THE CARLTON

6 West 111th St. (near Fifth Ave.)

Wednesday, November 24, 8:30 P. M.

Ethical Illusions

An Analysis of Slave Morality

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

5 P. M.—Continuing Literature.

DR. WILL DURANT

"Carl Sandburg"

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"Can American Radicals Be Thankful?"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—

J. MALCOLM BIRD

"The Present Status of Psychology"

ADMISSION FREE

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION

AT 6 O'CLOCK

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 21st

G. F. BECK

"Democracy at the Cross-Roads"

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 23rd

S. H. CLARK

MORE WORKERS JOIN JEWELERS' STRIKE

Surrender of Bosses Confidently Expected by Union

THE workers of two of the most important shops in the novelty jewelry trade have swelled the ranks of the strikers in the last few days. The entire force of twenty-three workers of the Leading Jewelry Company, of 328 East 150th street, Bronx, as well as all of the workers of the La Mode Jewelry Company of 27 West 38th street, who employ fifteen workers, came out and joined the union.

The employers who are resisting the union have formed an association through which they are making every effort to prevent the industry from being organized. The association is issuing all kinds of propaganda in a desperate effort to induce the workers to come back to the shops. In various leaflets they have issued and mailed to the workers' home they try to create the impression that the strike is lost and that they have secured all the strikebreakers they need. But the workers on strike are not influenced by these meagre attempts. They know that the largest employers in the industry have already yielded to the union's demands and signed up. Among them are concerns that employ as many as 200 workers. They also know that while the employers say in their leaflets "that nine out of ten workers in this industry are not striking and do not want to strike," that at the same time the employers are running the following help wanted ads in the press:

STONESETTERS, jewellers, polishers wanted in 24 shops in New York City. Apply by letter, stating experience and where last employed. Steady positions, working 44 hours week, with good pay, wanted by Novelty Jewellers Manufacturers' Association, Incorporated. R. N., 432 World, uptown.

All the workers now appreciate that it is only a question of a short time when the employers will have to yield and grant the very modest demands of their union. Another favorite argument the employers try to use on the workers is to tell them that the union is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The union has nailed this contemptible lie by showing that the union is affiliated as Local 17 of the Jewelry Workers International Union, which is at the present time negotiating re-affiliation with the A. F. of L.

Anthony De Santis, one of the pickets who was arrested, received an enthusiastic reception on his release after serving a ten-day sentence at Blackwell's Island by the strikers.

The executive board of the union decided to place an assessment of 10 per cent of the wages of the strikers that have returned to work. The number of workers who will be affected total about 500 that have returned to work under union conditions. This money will be used to carry on the strike, and the union is also planning, if necessary, to open a co-operative shop that will employ such workers as are discriminated against by the various employers.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

The following paying stations will be maintained beginning with the 3d of January, 1927, for the accommodation of members residing in Hudson County and that portion of Bergen County attached to the Home Office:

EVERY MONDAY from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, **FRATERNITY HALL**, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

EVERY THURSDAY from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, **SWISS HALL**, West and 23rd Street (Oak Street), Union City, N. J.

Members are urged to take notice of this and avail themselves of these facilities.

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

**You Are Invited to the First
NEGRO LABOR DINNER
GIVEN BY THE
BROTHERHOOD of SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
At YORKVILLE CASINO
86th St., Near Third Avenue
Tuesday, Nov. 30th, at 7:30 p. m.**

SPEAKERS:
SAMUEL UNTERMYER
NORMAN THOMAS
JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
EUGENE KINKLE JONES
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

Reservations at \$2.00 per plate should be made at 2311 Seventh Ave., or by Telephone, Bradhurst 0454

**SAVE
FRI.,
DEC. 3**

**For the Jazziest, Peppiest Dance of the Year
PULLMAN PORTERS' BALL**

See the Black Bottom and Charleston as it SHOULD be Done. John C. Smith, Jazz Potentate of Harlem, will supply the Music. Enough said. The place, Manhattan Casino, 155th Street and Eighth Avenue. Admission \$1; Boxes, \$5; Loges, \$35.00.

Get Your Tickets at 2311 7th Ave. Call Bradhurst 0454

Queen Marie's Roumania Is Heading for Fascism

Now, with Queen Marie safely "in our midst" and being slobbered over by representatives of the great American snobocracy, ranging from the sob sisters of the yellow press to Lord Calvin in Washington, it is timely to throw a little more light upon the political situation in Roumania. As is well known to readers of *The New Leader*, and even to that part of the public dependent upon the bourgeois papers for information on foreign affairs, the beautiful middle-aged queen, whose lovely affairs have furnished a piquant subject of conversation in Europe for nearly a generation, represents a ruling class which for bloodthirstiness and cynicism is rivaled only by the Horthy while terrorists in Hungary. The following article by a leading Roumanian Socialist shows how the movement toward a Fascist dictatorship is developing:

By Dr. Jacob Pistiner

ROUMANIAN Fascism has borrowed certain elements and phrases from abroad. But per se it is an indigenous growth, and just as its home, the Roumania of today, is full of contradictions, so also is Fascism. The provinces are today more estranged from one another than seven years ago. The fact that the pillars of the system hail from the Old Kingdom and that the barbarities and the spirit of corruption had their roots there, kindles against the Old Kingdom intense hatred, when many people belonging to the new provinces rapidly adopted like methods. If, indeed, anything has already become unified, it is this very corruption, and herein the freshly assimilated elements out of the new provinces outstrip their models in the Old Kingdom, because they lack that tradition which knows how to keep within bounds and how to discriminate.

Transition is in Progress
Roumania is in transition from a landed feudal system to a capitalist system, and thus by the side of a capitalism evolving indigenously there are present all the elements of colonizing capitalism. The defective transport system and the high customs dues favor indigenous capitalism. Its enterprises are of modest scope and in the main planned for application to small geographical areas. Despite unfavorable conditions of credit, it is developing swiftly.

The system of colonizing capitalism dominates heavy industry. The process of transformation and, no less, the land reform offered opportunities for the acquisition of great fortunes, while through the land reform, however much this may have been distorted in practice, the great land owners were deposed from political sovereignty, a class of nouveaux riches sprang like mushrooms from the soil. Money created political influence, and political influence was converted into money. The ante-chambers of ministers became brokers' dens, and the laws were framed in the Bank of Roumania (Banca Romaneasca).

The history of the rise of great fortunes in Roumania has not yet been written, but it is alive with startling vividness in the memories of all. It is rather a tale of robbery and theft, to some extent also of blackmail, than one of mere exploitation. At the back of every step in this history we find political influence being turned to account and official position being misused. Nowhere else probably did politics become so completely a channel for personal enrichment.

Poverty is Widespread
But at the same time large strata of the population are impoverished, especially the civil servants and a section of the army officers. Saving was achieved at their expense so that their salaries are far below the gold parity whereas prices have far exceeded it. But the farmers lack working capital for the development of the soil which they have obtained. Moreover the carrying out of the land reform has been distorted. Not only has it become a source of wealth for many middle men and politicians; it has also become officially a pawn in the political game. In particular the Magyar gentry have sold their support at elections in return for concessions in the land reform. They have become "loyal citizens," since their possessions and country houses have been spared.

This system, compounded of corruption and brutal violence, created feeling against the old methods of government. And because it was perceived that the elections were merely

a continuation of such methods, that the corridors of Parliament and even the Chamber itself had become a sort of stock exchange that even the party spokesmen whom the government had advanced to the position of members of Parliament had no influence on public affairs, that the very votes in Parliament were falsified—because of all this there arose an atmosphere ripe for Fascist dictatorship.

Thus it arose not as a reaction against a regime of democracy parliamentaryism, or, indeed, freedom, but rather out of revulsion against the rule of the "Liberal" banks. None the less, in Roumania, too, Fascism remains a reactionary movement, for it is based upon the reaction of militarism and the lower middle classes against the phenomena resulting from the capitalist system.

That it has three distinct roots was shown for a long time in its organization. The oldest root is that of the anti-Semitic section under Cuza, a University professor of political economy who became notorious through a lawsuit in which the Socialist journalist Sochor proved that his teaching manual was plagiarized. He has been a member of Parliament several times, now he is for the first time the leader of a group of his own in the Chamber. Roumanian anti-Semitism was linked with the peasant movement in 1907, which was originally directed against Jewish small holders, but soon turned also against the Roumanian big landowners. Since in old Roumania the Jews could not be ground landlords and since the land reform has been carried through, the program of the Cuzists confines itself to promising to the peasants, the Jews' businesses, to the petty bourgeoisie their houses, and to the students their expulsion from the country. That is insufficient, for the peasants in particular, very inefficient, and thus in old Roumania the Cuzists made less way than anybody.

Anti-Semitism a Factor
The second stream of Fascism has more of a political program. It also is anti-Semitic in tendency, but it stresses the capitalist function of the Jew and draws its strength from the peasants' hatred of the Jewish publican, money lender and dealer. It is at home in the old Austro-Hungarian provinces. Whereas Cuza has sworn brotherhood with the "Awakening Hungarians" in Budapest, this second group stands against all national minorities and thus against the Hungarians also. It is jingoist, imperialist and anti-capitalist, but in line with the aims of the petty bourgeoisie. It has won its successes in semi-proletarian districts, amongst those masses who are no longer peasants but not yet proletarians. Its hero is Mussolini.

The third current of Fascism has many adherents in the army, and has already on several occasions been ready for a purely militarist coup d'etat. It draws its strength from the dissatisfaction against underpayment and corruption. Of the three it is the least anti-Socialist, but on the other hand, stands openly for a military dictatorship. For some time past all these currents have been fused in a single organization. This latter, however found in existence already other organizations, which paved the way for it: a scout organization under court protection, and an athletic association, which under a very centralized administration unites in itself the most diverse elements and performs also the Socialist ones, but which yet as a whole is dominated by Fascist influences. Moreover for years past the successive governments have not only by means of militarization held the railwaymen apart from the trade unions but have bred in them a spirit of Fascism, partly by means of the apprentice homes attached to the railway workshops.

In addition to all this, the present Minister of the Interior is planning to militarize the universities. These latter, which have been hitherto a focus for anti-Fascist demonstrations, are now to supply militants to organize Fascism.

These few remarks show that Fascism is by no means limited to the Fascist Party. The Averescans also, who are at present the Government Party, are Fascist, though as yet they do not possess the strength to set up a Fascist regime. The Minister of the Interior works hand in hand with the Fascists.

The "Liberals" alone, sympathizing with the Fascist tendencies in the banks, form a check against the universal Fascist tendency. A very insignificant check indeed, but the only one, while the labor movement remains so weak. In the background of the struggle between the individual movements within Fascism the working class will have to undertake its own organization and gather about it all the democratic elements in the country.

Socialist Defies General Fries

(Continued from page 1)

religious or economic views in his capacity as a public school teacher, since that was clearly improper for a biology teacher. Ballou then told him to write the board of education on his position, since the Fries letter would be sent to the board for action in executive session. Ballou remarked that Fries was confronted by a "serious situation," and asked whether he had read Scott Nearing's book, "What Happens to Teachers Who Think." He was astonished when Fries replied that he had; in fact, Scott Nearing had been his instructor in economics at the University of Pennsylvania.

A month passed. No word from Ballou to Fries that he was safe. No word from any one.

PATERSON MILL UNION REGAINS STRENGTH

**Workers Respond to New
Organization Drive of
the Associated Silk
Workers**

By A. Ramuglia
Organizer, Associated Silk Workers
of America

PATERSON, N. J., spells a heroic chapter in the history of labor struggles in America. The silk workers of that city have fought some brilliant battles. Yet today there is no large effective organization among the broad silk workers in Paterson. There is an organization in Paterson. The Associated Silk Workers. This organization is not a new, untested conglomerate of enthusiastic men, but a tried and fairly solid union comprising the best elements of the silk workers in Paterson. The Associated was established seven years ago. In the Associated Silk Workers are found many ex-I. W. W., A. F. of L. and A. T. W. members who have been through every strike and organization campaign since 1911. In the Associated Silk Workers this element conducted a splendid strike in 1924. Certain conditions were won; while some of the demands of the bosses were repulsed, no effective union was established. Furthermore, the principle of labor solidarity was once again violated by certain crafts of the trade in that fight.

Two years have passed since that memorable strike of 1924. In these two years the conditions of most of the silk workers have deteriorated to the level of 1910. The eight-hour day won in 1919 and maintained till 1924 has become a memory. There is no limit to the working hours in the silk mills of Paterson today. The only limit is the endurance of the particular workers. The piece prices have been shaved and clipped and slashed down to the bone. These thousands of men and women who weave fine, soft, glittering silk cannot dress in cotton. The boss in the mill is the absolute master. The good old American freedom of working for what you are offered, take it or leave it, is rampant in the Paterson silk mills. The boss sets the price, he sets the hours, he assigns the number of looms each worker is to operate. He measures the silk woven at the end of the day, he is, in fine, THE BOSS. The workers are hired, "gypped," and fired at will.

In the midst of this glorious American area there is a non-American sector, stubbornly beating off the "Americanization" influence that tries to envelop it. This sector is the domain of the Associated Silk Workers. There are a good number of organized shops in Paterson. The workers in these shops have the eight-hour day. Hiring and firing is not a simple process, and "gypping" on the yardage of silk woven is not customary in these organized shops. Yet these union workers do not enjoy the conditions that a union shop should give, because of the conditions surrounding them.

It became clear to the organized workers in Paterson some time ago that the best defense is an offensive. They realized that in order to protect their conditions from being dragged down to the level of the others, they had to raise up the conditions of the unorganized silk workers.

And so an organization campaign has been started, and so once again in Paterson the bee of working class activity is humming. This campaign aims not only at bringing back the eight-hour day, at raising wages, at establishing rights for the workers in the mills, but at establishing once and for all a compact disciplined and militant union that, like a well constructed battering ram, is to pound away till the silk workers break down the opposition of all the forces that keep them in want, and emerge out into the sun-bathed field of a living wage—a saving wage, security of the job, respect and power.

The campaign is progressing well. Workers are coming to the office of the union and joining. Some blushing attempt to explain away their dropping out. The Italians come in and refuse to admit that they are to blame in part for the conditions that have come upon them. They talk of the fights they have been in. The Jews come and rejoin and state that they have always been for the organization, and give you to understand that if this trade was wholly a Jewish trade it would have been organized long ago, and point to the garment trades in New York as evidence. The Americans come, slowly, skeptically, with a little air of superiority. But they come. The Poles are coming, too. There are not many Poles in the trade, but enough to matter a great deal. The women, the worst exploited, as usual, stand back waiting for the men to act. The old-timers are not very optimistic, but they answer the call for active work and visit this fellow and that, and renew all acquaintances and preach organization. There are some fine young fellows on the organization committee who are the hope of the whole situation. They are busy with organization work six nights a week. They are on the go all the time. They stop an hour before quitting time, to help the organizer persuade the workers of a shop to come to a meeting. These young workers distribute literature; they attend all meetings and breathe the breath of life into the meeting.

And so once again there is an agitation among the silk workers in Paterson. Conditions, more than anything else, have awakened the workers to the need of action. What will this

SOCIALISTS GAIN 300 NEW SEATS IN BELGIUM

**Municipal Elections Give
Party a Marked In-
crease in Votes**

By Jos. van Roosbroeck

Following the municipal elections in Belgium on Oct. 10, loud peans of rejoicing went up in the bourgeois and Communist press at what was termed the defeat of the Socialists. The following article by the General Secretary of the Belgian Labor Party shows that this jubilation was a little premature and that the Belgian Socialists actually made a gain in votes and councilmen elected.

AN EXAMINATION of the situation a week after the elections, allows us to say that the Labor Party can rejoice at the result.

In order to understand the significance of the result one must recall the tragic events of the last few months: the defeat of the Socialist-Democratic-Christian Government by forces outside Parliament; the collapse in the value of Belgium money, as a result of various events happening in the international sphere, and above all as a result of the campaign led by the anti-democratic forces; the increase in the cost of living, the economic depression, the general discontent of the people.

One must not lose sight of the fact that the Socialists, participating in a government of national restoration, were bound almost necessarily to suffer from the dissatisfaction aroused by the difficulties that have occurred since last January. There was reason to fear an extension of the Communist danger. The Communists had indeed exploited in a most brazen and unscrupulous manner the discontent of the workers.

In spite of the systematic activities on a vast scale initiated by the bourgeois parties against the Socialists, in spite of the Communist campaign, the Labor Party emerges from this important test not only intact, but enlarged.

The elections of Oct. 10 were to replace the councils in the 2,264 municipalities of the kingdom. The party was represented in 806 municipalities. It held the majority in 213 of them and there were 2,964 Socialist municipal councilors in the whole country. The final results will give us about 300 additional members. The majority was lost to the party in 24 municipalities, but it secured a majority in 30 others, while maintaining it in 189 other councils.

In all the constituencies it won seats. In Nivelles, which is agricultural, it won 41 seats; in Anvers it won 19. In Greater Brussels the Socialists—in spite of the three seats won by the Communists—obtained an increase of 28.6 per cent of their poll in 1921. In 1921, 83,805; in 1926, 108,225. In all it would appear that the Socialists have realized a gain of more than 62,000 votes since 1921.

The Communists campaigned in 64 municipalities. In 48 they did not obtain a single seat and in the country as a whole they won 26, a poor reward for their misdeeds. In certain places, notably at Ghent, they prevented a Socialist victory by capturing from the Labor Party some thousands of votes. Moreover, they have caused the loss of Socialist majorities to the sole advantage of the reactionary parties and without gaining the least advantage for their own party. But in the country as a whole the Communists suffered a defeat, the more painful, as their ambitions were the more soaring.

The reactionaries—and the Communists—are trying to prove a Socialist "setback" by comparing the results of Oct. 10 with those of April 5, 1925. This comparison is not possible. First, because the motives which guide the electors at the municipal ballot differ essentially from those which influence them in the parliamentary elections. For the latter, it is ideas which count; for the municipal elections personal considerations predominate. Further, and this is a reason of the first importance, women took part, while they do not participate in parliamentary elections. That being so, any comparison is impossible, seeing that women in Belgium, a Catholic country, are, in the majority, influenced by the conservative attitude of the church. The number of women electors (2,488,841) is higher than that of men electors (2,361,362).

lead to? An organization. That's the point in everyone's mind this time. An organization—a good strong union. With a good strong union go all that make the life of the worker bearable. If it is in the cards that a good, stiff fight must be made before the strong organization is achieved, this good stiff fight will be had. What are the other crafts in the trade, the skilled crafts, doing? The organization committee has not lost sight of that important consideration. There will be solidarity in Paterson next time anything happens among all the workers. Old timers—take courage! Young people—heed the call of the organization! In union there is strength. Come to the mass meeting and you will see for yourselves that new life has come to the silk workers of Paterson. The mass meeting will take place Friday evening, November 19, at 7:30 p. m. in Carpenters' Helvetia Hall, 56 Van Houten street. There will be well-known speakers. Demonstrate on that evening that twelve hours a day and a miserable wage are not for you.

Peabody Surrender Places Other Operators on Defensive

CLEARFIELD, Pa.—Defeat of the Peabody Coal Company and the Erie R. R. by the central Pennsylvania miners has put open shop operators on the defensive. The Shawmut Mining Co., a neighboring concern with 600 workers, has posted notices that the union scale will hereafter be paid—a raise of 33½ per cent. over the 1917 scale. This company, unlike the Peabody, withholds union recognition in favor of a company union, but U. M. W. of A. organizers are pressing on it hard and expect to have it in the fold soon. One of its four mines has been on strike since it broke its contract months ago.

Another company embarrassed by the union drive that President Brophy has initiated is the Allegheny River Mining Co., with a thousand employees.

MORRILL ASKS RECOUNT

**Mass. Socialist Lost by
118 Votes in Haver-
hill Elections**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

H AVERHILL, Mass.—Ex-Representative Charles H. Morrill, Socialist, staged a near comeback to the Legislature from the district which was thrice gerrymandered to keep him out. He was defeated by 118 votes. Lack of finances to wage an efficient campaign made the result close. Mr. Morrill petitioned for a recount, the result of which will become known too late to announce in this issue of the New Leader.

The gerrymander came on October 15th and caused all candidates to run on stickers or posters, the time left before election being too short to permit primary or independent nomination papers. In some precincts the Morrill stickers were stolen and in some other precincts were hidden. The sentiment was so strong that he would easily have won had a sticker been placed into the hands of all voters who voted and who favored him. But it was found impossible to man all thirteen precincts every minute from 6 a. m. to 4 p. m. A self-serve box was left on a table in each precinct except one where the officials refused to allow a table. However, this precinct was manned nearly every minute and all other precincts were manned part time at least. The entire city alone was made a triple district.

From a field of nine candidates, forced to pay for their own stickers, three were elected. From the time of receiving the result of the first precinct until that from the last precinct arrived at 2:15 a. m., third place was always in doubt between Morrill and Estabrook. In the last precinct to arrive at City Hall, ex-Mayor A. L. Bartlett outpaced Mr. Morrill by 14. Mr. Bartlett was the candidate whom Mr. Morrill defeated by 21 votes when he won his first election as representative in November, 1909. The defeated candidate was reputed to be the strongest candidate in Ward 5, which alone was a representative district. He had formerly been the city superintendent of schools and after this defeat later became several times an alderman and mayor. Mr. Bartlett was defeated by 194 and Mr. Morrill by 118 at the recent election.

BRITISH LABOR PLANS PEACE CONFERENCE

**United Object to Ward
Off Hostilities Urged
on International So-
cialism**

By Rennie Smith, M. P.

LONDON—A world conference of the Socialist parties and the trade unions of the world to lay plans for concerted action to halt wars that may threaten was urged by the British Labor party at its Margate conference.

Labor and Peace
The Independent Labor Party, as well as a number of Labor Party branches had presented the following resolution:

"This conference, simultaneously with its advocacy of Labor's peace policy, calls upon the workers to make clear to their governments that they will meet any threat of war by organizing general resistance, including the refusal to bear arms, to produce armaments or to render any material assistance. It urges that steps should be taken to convene, at the earliest suitable moment, a world conference of the Socialist, Trade Union and Co-operative International to prepare concerted action on these lines."

This resolution, moved by the general secretary of the I. L. P., and seconded by Arthur Ponsonby, the late under-secretary of Foreign Affairs in the Labor government, could not be discussed by the conference on account of shortage of time. On being put to the vote, however, without discussion, it was unanimously adopted. The resolution reflects the growing pacifism of the Labor movement and a growing determination to use all the power at its disposal, both industrially and politically to prevent the outbreak of any war should that unhappy emergency arise.

It is impossible within the compass of a short article to indicate the wide variety of other subjects which were discussed, such as the resolution relating to the situation in China, Imperialism and the treatment of native races, and birth control, which provoked a lively and acrimonious discussion. There was no mistaking the temper of the conference. The disastrous industrial dispute has given added strength to the political Labor party. The sense of Labor approaching power was felt throughout the conference. I do not think there was a delegate present who had not a very lively apprehension that he was participating in the deliberations of the most important political party in the country. Among so many well-tried and well-experienced veterans it was good to see a large percentage of younger men and women among the ranks of the delegates, and to perceive how on all important issues a practical common sense and rationality gave a solidarity to the whole proceedings. Everyone present felt that here was something solid in the life of England, something it was good to be a part of, something to work with and to live with.

An outsider, I am sure, must have been impressed with the personal ascendancy of the leader of the party, the late Labor Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald. He sat with the chairman throughout the whole proceedings,

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A Book on Its Own Feet

By McAlister Coleman

HERBERT GEORGE WELLS has done it again. This time he has written *The Outline of a Modern Liberal* in two fat volumes. He calls it "The World of William Cissold" and George H. Doran sells the double-decker for five dollars. You must certainly have it for your own. Wells writes beautifully in spots (one part called "From a Window in Providence" is a breath-taking bit of sheer prose glory); he writes sloppily in others; but always the man writes interestingly. He "lets" (to use his own expression) ideas in vital matters that touch the modern man and women at every approach to life.

Wells begins with a preface in which he demands that the reader shall not look upon this mass of ink and paper as an autobiography but rather as the record of the thought-stream of the principal character, an Englishman at the age of fifty-nine who has lived fully and colorfully in his complex world. The character of Cissold, Wells assures us, is purely fictitious and is not Herbert George in disguise. But the author protests this point too much. Very soon it is evident that Cissold's world is the world of the little round man with the bristly mustache who can bring alive on his pages pretty nearly every subject worth intelligent discussion. Cissold is excited and excites the reader about such matters as Social, the origins of the State, the chances for an ordered world, the development of modern advertising, the love of a man for a maid, marriage, the Catholic Church, about almost everything but art which is oddly missing from these pages.

Fabianism Renounced
Some critics have bemoaned the fact that every now and then Wells seems to take up notes that could not be fitted into "The Outline of History" and throw them into the midst of his new book mindless of where they landed. And to be sure the story which begins with the reveries of a man of fifty-nine looking back on a world that shifts so rapidly as ours, does run back and forth in a bit bewildering manner. But so do all reveries. They are not sequential, even when most consequential. Recollections follow no such biographical order as is demanded by a compiler of "Who's Who." It is getting under the skin of himself or his "fictitious character," whichever you prefer, that was the trick and Wells does it magnificently.

Of course no Socialists can be expected to take his renunciation of his belief of the Fabian days and his proposed substitute for Socialism too seriously. He tells us that the old "liberal Socialism" is dead; that Karl Marx had an inferiority complex, a bad liver and an offensively long beard. "Socialism" ceased to be a creative movement and it became an outlet of passionate expression for the inferiority complex of the disinherited. So it remains to this day. Now this is all pretty old stuff for Wells to be rehashing. Everyone who reads him knows that he doesn't like Marx. He has an oddly inconsistent way of calling aloud for a systematic and orderly way of life and then announcing that he does not believe in any systems anyway. There is no such thing as capitalism *per se*, says Mr. Wells. Salvation is to come through what seems to this reviewer, at any rate, the miraculous alliance of Big Business and universal education.

Business the Savior!
Now it so happens that many of our own intellectuals have apparently lately come to this same belief in the ultimate virtues of "Big Business," large scale operations and the like. You hear it on all sides. Changes, they tell us, will come from the top and not from the people below. As soon as they have rubbed off some of their crudeness these counting-house Olympians will be smitten with an ecstasy for "Service" such as descends upon a Rotarian dinner and they will then make over the world for us. I wonder with what sort of "Big Businessmen" these intellectuals mingle. At one time or another while working for old-line papers, I have interviewed a bulk of these new-found gods and if they ever sit down and dream of a world state where affairs shall be ordered and scientifically controlled I have never caught them at it. They have the mental attitude towards most ideas that do not concern their immediate business, of a dressed-up huckster. If they knew with what



H. G. WELLS

A Methodist Gone Mencken

By Bert MacDonald

IF this genteel and learned nation were only like that ever bibulous gent who could take it or let it alone, religion would not be a problem for us, like hog cholera or traffic congestion. But as the Union is constituted, its citizens remain either sickeningly sober or get putridly drunk, the great exception being the mellifluous state known as mildly stoned. Thus it is that a state like Missouri can produce a fervent Klansman and a Herbert Asbury, whose first book, "Up from Methodism" (New York: Knopf, \$2), has just been published.

By this we do not mean that Mr. Asbury is the town sot of Farmington, Mo., whence he came, but the more bitter passages of "Up from Methodism" sound rather like that delightful tirade against the government which Mark Twain put into the mouth of Old Man Finn. Perhaps bitterness—blind, acrid bitterness—is just the slave to fold up the wet blanket of evangelical theology, but even the Christ has said: "A soft answer turneth away wrath," and we, who do not profess to be a god-head, believe a chuckle, a guffaw or a deep belly laugh is more efficacious in flattening the Stratus and Upshaws than is a bolt hurled from Pisgah.

The book Mr. Asbury has fashioned definitely shows that many of the lessons of Methodism have remained with him despite his renunciation of the Wesleyan creeds. He is as dogmatically emancipated from Christ as the sisters back home are from the devil. He attacks with that elastic regard for truth that characterizes the least of Wayne B. Wheeler's utterances. He is as impervious to the charming conceits of Farmington as Farmington is to the charms of Satan in Manhattan. Now all this is set down by one to whom religion has been something to be taken or let alone. The antics of Straton, Sunday and Upshaw have furnished many an entertaining hour, and the luxury of high mass at St. Patrick's always seemed to us a much more complete and sensuous performance than Morris Gest's "Miracle." As one of the few New Yorkers born in New York we have been able to view the theological battle of the wilderness with great equanimity. Perhaps we are just another Rome fiddling as our beloved Rome burns, but even though we remember the story of that holocaust, we also remember the eternal city rose from the ashes even more beautiful and that after Cromwell came the Restoration.

Mr. Asbury has done a good job, nevertheless. He has made even such a poor hater as us hate the snoopers who made his boyhood miserable. That he came through the hosannas of Farmington and still remained a civilized person is just another mystery. And, of course, being one of those persons who dotes on taking the clergy and other pious folk in high crimes, his anecdotes of holy peccadilloes stir huge laughs in our pagan being. In brief, here is another good attack on the church, but we believe the church must be shattered by insinuations into the sub-consciousness of the acolytes rather than by a mass assault on its credos.

reverence Wells and the rest approached them, they would get a loud, long laugh out of the thought that anyone took their blasé about "service" seriously. They know well enough that changes are made when a determined group of persons with a program want a change passionately. And they do not happen to comprise that group. In fact they are working day and night to keep that group flat on its collective back.

The same holds good about the Magnificat which one of Wells's characters sings over the glories of modern advertising. Here it may be only fair to suspect Wells of putting his tongue in his cheek now and then. When his man tells us that in the long run everything is advertising, "that flowers are advertisements for bees," when Wells has him drop into the ad man's jargon about "media" and "honesty in advertising," it sounds painfully like some virgin copywriter's essay for "Printer's Ink." But while Wells may be kidding a bit here it is evident enough that in his heart he admires the dubious business of extracting the shekels by means of plain and fancy lying. He cannot really believe that a World Republic is going to be built by the Halleluiah Boys or the Pyrotheorists.

Notice, however, that all the while you are heatedly disagreeing with many of the new ideas of Mr. Wells's you are reading right along through page after closely printed page. It is a book out of a thousand, this "World of William Cissold," because it works with rare dexterity across a great canvas. Compare it with some recent novel you have read dealing with the love affairs of some inhabitant of Bohemia and you have a hint of its real stature. It stands up four-square calling for all who are interested in other than a purely subjective, selfish world to come and read.

A Gloomy Hegel

Spengler Sorrows for the Western World

By Benjamin Stolberg

IN THESE days of easy learning, when anecdotes about philosophers are peddled as a brilliant history of thought and simple emulsions of Historia—children cry for it—are hailed as tonics of knowledge, it is somewhat difficult to rise to the decline of Oswald Spengler. But if one manages the difficulty it has its compensations. One rediscovers the fact that all the tabloid "outlines" are, after all, quite in the same class with the tabloid press; and that there is a difference between the learning of a profoundly cultivated mind and the eternal sophomore who would be sophisticated before he is civilized.

Spengler is sophisticated, and not in the sense of impressing the professional moderns. He seems to know everything—deeply, astutely and in context. His personal civilization is so ripe that, in his introspections, it is decadently mature. Hence the "Decline," which one need not follow too precipitously. What followed, indeed, if one has the minimum of formal training and the flexible informal wit to follow Spengler, is a personal education, which is enough and therefore good in itself.

Spengler is duality. He is terrifyingly German. In philosophical German duality, expression is not a matter of lucidity but of ineluctable preciseness, which renders it at once definitive but also ponderous in all its modifications. Spengler is in this grand and turgid manner of the post-Hegelian, be it Marx or Eucken or General Treitschke. Like all of them he is congenitally romantic (in the technical sense). He thinks in pictures, which fuse into one grand picturesque conception of "world-history," a canvas which is apt to arouse the sceptical aversion of Anglo-American realism. But he is also German in the infinite patience, in the monumental yet delicate erudition with which he lays every notion with innumerable facts, until their cumulative weight seems to render even his more imaginary flights irresistibly persuasive—in the reading.

The Cycles of Culture
He re-unfolds an organic society. "Cultures are organisms and world history is their biography." Society to him is a group of disparate, closed organic systems. Specific cultures arise, grow, fatten, effloresce in anti-climax, ripen into climax. They back in a brief golden age, when their spiritual effluvia is at its richest and maturest. Then they rigidify, grow cold, conventionalize themselves into the innumerable outward, lifeless expressions of "civilization," in which the forces of decay set in and finally triumph. Civilizations are dried up, sclerotic cultures, whose artificial lives have merely the feverish flush and bustle of decadence. Civilizations are as meaninglessly conventional as the patterns of an originally creative design which, through endless sophistication, has lost its original symbol. Hence civilizations are so highly intelligent, so glittering, essentially bereft of living traditions, fluidly restless, nervous, clever, unfruitful, cynically objective and materialistic, "religionless." The Periclean Athenians, the Jews of Leviticus, the Puritan American pioneers, no matter what abominations one may uncover in their psyche, are culture peoples, citizens. The Greeks during the rise of Rome, the Jews under the later dynasties, Imperial Rome, the contemporary metropolis dweller are merely civilized—artificial mound dwellers with sanitary plumbing, smart, moving with polished pseudo-astuteness in a labyrinth of customs whose original option they have lost. They use the human relations of their age without the slightest insight into their folk significance. They use human relations like they use the telephone or radio, without the least understanding of the creative physics which extended their artificial prattle across continents.

The "World View"
Now, there is nothing new in either the organic conception of society or in the view of the decadence of civilizations; though I cannot think of anyone who has held so strictly to the pluralistic organicity of society. The point is that either of these views is trite or brilliant according to its hold. Probably we are bound to think of social processes in homologies or analogies from the natural or physical sciences; just think of Comte, Hobbes, the German idealists, Spencer, or our contemporary sociologists who mouth such terms as "community organization" and "social engineering." Spengler is certainly aware of the danger in identifying analogies. And in typical German fashion he tries to avoid this danger by lifting his organic conception of cultures into an entity of its own, into an abstraction of metaphysical functions and relations, into a world of social ideas with a terrifying life of their own. He expects from these abstractions nothing more mystical than the legitimate enlightenment which comes from all good abstractions, namely, an empathetic insight into the processes under scrutiny. The behaviorists and pragmatists and other such "realists" are always setting up a holler of "metaphysics," "poetry" and other such terms of skeptical abuse at the Spengler view; which after all need not bother anyone. It is they, paradoxically enough, and not he, who blindly insist that social processes are a matter of "science" and "reactions." The important thing about Spengler is not his logical or scientific convincings, but his enormous investment in cultural history, from which his opinions and imagery flow like a well-earned and luxurious incense.

Socialism Dismissed
We look, then, at nature thus uniquely because we are culturally unique. Our "science" is part and parcel of the same spirit which gave us our architecture, from the Cologne Cathedral to the Bush Terminal; which gives us our view of marriage as an experiment, which gives us our modern musical composition theory, all our arts, customs, every bit of our way of life, every nuance of our day dreams. We can no more live outside our culture complex than we can breathe outside our skins.

Spengler's picture is complete, and one can easily think of loopholes. His brilliance enters when he tries to meet every objection, to seal every exit. Some of his images are extraordinarily fruitful. Thus "contemporaneity" to him does not mean coevalism in time, but the spiritual correspondences in the different culture-cycles, or pre-culture periods. The Australian bushman is not our contemporary but the contemporary of the prehistoric Eurasian aborigine. Descartes was the contemporary of Pythagoras; Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau were the contemporaries of Socrates and Democritus; Kant and Goethe were the contemporaries of Plato and of Aristotle. The Acropolis was the Greek form of Rome. And in our materialistic capitalist-socialist ethics he sees the same "decline" as in Indian Buddhism, in the Hellenistic-Roman Stoicism after 200, in the practical fatalism of Islam after 1000.



OSWALD SPENGLER

To review Spengler's "world view," whether it be in review or in criticism, this side of a lengthy essay is impossible. All I shall try to do is to convey the temper of his thought.

To him, each culture has its own phantasies, gods, arts, crafts, foods, styles of love, play and evasions, its own means of understanding, not merely appreciatively, but even in the sciences, including mathematics. Each culture complex has a life all its own, whose inwardness is untranslatable into any other culture. A culture is essentially intransigent. Whatever of it is adopted is really spiritually killed, and whatever of it is adapted is really spoiled.

Three Culture Types
The whole volume is really a detailed argument of this central position. He stresses three culture types: the Classical, the Magian (roughly, the Semitic), and the Western culture. The latter he calls the Faustian culture, for in the Faust Saga, especially as immortalized by Goethe, he discovers the essence of Western man—restless, sceptical and hapless. The Faustian world is the stress of the individual in the storm of his social order, an order of doctrinal tempests and their "scientific" tamings. In the world to-morrow, for the sake of illustration let us follow briefly his effort to analyze the uniqueness of the Classical and Western cultures, respectively. The interim between these two cultures, by the way, is not a transition, but is filled with a welter of other closed cultures, whose disintegrations are scholastic relics in our arsenal of life and learning. Only energetic simpletons like Wells, in Spengler's view, can behold a "scientific world view," an integration and evolution of human societies, whose unique spiritual "secrets" they are too naïve to fathom.

In other words, the classical culture is really a closed world to us, whose outer forms and conscious expressions we can gather into a classical education, but whose inner meaning and unconscious significance we cannot catch, because of its total disparity from the life of our own times. We cannot even comprehend the moving spirit of the classical mathematic. Thus the Greeks had no notion, and could have none, of irrational numbers, of the unending decimal fractions and our other farfetched notations which are forever tempting us into infinite mathematical abstractions. Euclidean geometry, the arithmetic of Archimedes have no hint of our functional mathematics, which expands into series, and these in turn into infinite series. Classical mathematics deals with the logic of surfaces, with given time periods, with the physics of perceptions. Western mathematics is in the pure sense metaphysical, restlessly imagining the relations and functions of enigmatic notations. In short, the classical mathematic is characteristic of the Greek logos and ethos in general. It falls into spiritual line with Greek sculpture, which is all form; with Greek music, which knows no harmony; with the Greek gods, who care for nothing but the present, pleasurable, precious, polished moment, only more precisely or powerfully than their Greek fellow citizens. Greek culture was the only true liberal culture, for it sought its ends in the means. Even the idea in Plato was but the ineffable experience.

In Western culture, and in its contemporary civilized degradation, mathematics is the cult of relations, of stress and strain and their functions. Our geometry configures astronomical dimensions, none complete. Each new discovery in physics is a new abstraction in the relation of the tugs and pulls of matter. Our arithmetic is typified by the chronic restlessness of the differential calculus. Twice two is four was, to the Greek mind, a solution. In Western mathematics it is a problem, which leads on and on to the theory of aggregates, which to Plato would have seemed utterly insane and unmathematical. Our biology more and more posits an abstractly perfect body in an abstractly perfect environment, thus making us theoretically immortal. We die because the bio-chemistry between organism and environment is faulty. And thus we turn the doom of death into the discipline of medicine.

Socialism Dismissed
We look, then, at nature thus uniquely because we are culturally unique. Our "science" is part and parcel of the same spirit which gave us our architecture, from the Cologne Cathedral to the Bush Terminal; which gives us our view of marriage as an experiment, which gives us our modern musical composition theory,

all our arts, customs, every bit of our way of life, every nuance of our day dreams. We can no more live outside our culture complex than we can breathe outside our skins.

Spengler's picture is complete, and one can easily think of loopholes. His brilliance enters when he tries to meet every objection, to seal every exit. Some of his images are extraordinarily fruitful. Thus "contemporaneity" to him does not mean coevalism in time, but the spiritual correspondences in the different culture-cycles, or pre-culture periods. The Australian bushman is not our contemporary but the contemporary of the prehistoric Eurasian aborigine. Descartes was the contemporary of Pythagoras; Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau were the contemporaries of Socrates and Democritus; Kant and Goethe were the contemporaries of Plato and of Aristotle. The Acropolis was the Greek form of Rome. And in our materialistic capitalist-socialist ethics he sees the same "decline" as in Indian Buddhism, in the Hellenistic-Roman Stoicism after 200, in the practical fatalism of Islam after 1000.

We, to Spengler, are living in the "winter" of the Western culture, in its decadence, in its civilization. Our "logicians" are Academicians, our "psychologists" are Peripatetics, our "scientific socialists" are Stoics. Our gigantic skyscrapers are as decadent as the gigantic buildings of Luxor in the XIX Dynasty of Ancient Egypt; as the gigantic fora, thermae, colonnades and triumphal arches of declining Imperial Rome; as the gigantic buildings of the Mongol period in India. Our music, architecture, painting are transformed into mere "craft arts" corresponding to the display of the "craft arts," which these same periods in the decline of other cultures showed. The system of Great Powers of the XIXth Century with its annihilation wars is gradually declining into Caesarism, into ever more primitive political forms, into a world of spoil, until savage social conditions will gradually thrust themselves into our civilized mode of living—all of which phenomena Spengler traces with infinite detail in the corresponding "contemporary" epochs of past civilizations. "Each culture has its own mode of spiritual extinction." The Faust of the first volume germinally contained and poisoned the Faust of the second volume. The Faustian culture of a restless, tragic and noble curiosity of life is gradually rigidifying into the civilization of the clever, irreligious, uncreative capitalist-socialist rationalism.

"An Artist in Social History"
To Spengler capitalism and socialism philosophically are essentially the same. Socialism will win out because it is capitalism made "democratic," just, distributive, money mad, scientific, efficient, rigid and barbaric. The religion of Ethical Socialism is "dialectics," and its homologies is "journalism." There is no essential difference between Stalin and Mussolini. Stalin is another Marius, and Mussolini is another Tiberius. Incidentally, one must not mistake Spengler for a professional anti-Socialist. He certainly is not bitter. He does not care. The capitalist-socialist economy is to him of a piece, like the Judaeo-Christian tradition. To him both competitive capitalism and ethical socialism smell to heaven with the same stench.

His theory is macroscopic. His outlook is microscopic. The whole thing is appalling. He destroys, quickens, arouses new insights, reevaluates old understandings. Whether in acceptance or rejection or a mixture of both one is forced to think with him vividly, somewhat phantastically. In the end one straightens out one's world as one does after one is through with the Brothers Karamazoff or the Heart of Darkness. For essentially Spengler is a great artist in social theory.

FAREWELL PARTY TO BE GIVEN COMRADE SENDER BY N. Y. GERMAN BRANCH

The German branch of the Socialist Party will give a farewell party to Tony Sender, the Socialist member of the German Reichstag, who has been lecturing in this country, on Saturday, November 20, at 8:30 p. m., in Room 8 of the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street.

An interesting musical program has been arranged, refreshments will be served. All comrades are invited to be the guests of the German Branch on this occasion.

Mutual Aid League Plans Theatre Party

The League for Mutual Aid will give a theatre party on Thanksgiving night, November 23, at the Provincetown Playhouse. The play will be Gozzi's "Princess Turandot." Tickets are on sale at the League office, 70 Fifth avenue, or at the theatre, 123 McDougal street.

Friday Dec. 3, 9 P. M.

NEW MASSES Workers' and Peasants' COSTUME BALL

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Opening Celebration of I.L.G.W.U. Educational Year

The opening celebration of the I. L. G. W. U. educational season will take place Friday, Nov. 19, at 8 p. m., in the auditorium of Washington Irving High School, 16th street and Irving place. A concert has been arranged which will be given by the famous Saleski Trio, members of the New York Symphony Orchestra, and Mme. Jeanne Sorocca, European opera singer.

Saturday, Nov. 20, at 1:30 p. m., Emory Holloway will discuss "A Social Study of American Literature" in room 530 of Washington Irving High School. Sunday, Nov. 21, at 11 a. m., A. J. Muste will discuss "Current Events in the Labor and Social World."

Books for the Vanguard

THE purpose of the newly-organized Vanguard Press—to publish and sell at the low price of 50 cents classics of the labor movement and new works of social significance—will be well fulfilled if all of the publications are at a level with the first volumes The New Leader has received. These books are attractively bound and printed in large type on excellent paper. In a word, they offer the best possible book investment a workman can make. The following notes are on Vanguard publications:

WAR-PATRIOTISM-PEACE, by Leo Tolstoy.
In this book of essays Tolstoy lines up a crushing argument in condemnation of war. A peasant woman's hen laid an egg in her neighbor's yard, and from the dispute arising out of this, men were jailed and publicly flogged, and half of the village burned down. Such is the theme of the first essay, "Neglect the Fire and You Cannot Put It Out," and such, says Tolstoy, is the nature of war, which may arise from an apparent trifle, spreading and gathering volume until it reaches the proportions of a gigantic mass-murder.

Other essays in this volume are: "Christianity and Patriotism," "Two Wars," "Letter to a Corporal," "The Soldiers' Memento," "The Officers' Memento," "Patriotism and Peace," "Patriotism and Government," "Shame," "Carthage Delenda Est," and a letter written in 1896 to Ernest Howard Crosby, American author, lecturer and worker for civic reform, who tried to live according to the ideals of Tolstoy.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY, by Henry George.
The tradition of the family of George that no abridgement of his writings should be permitted was wisely abandoned a short time ago, and a somewhat condensed form of "Progress and Poverty" was prepared. It is this abridgement which has now been reissued by the Vanguard Press. There can be no doubt that this will lead to a wider reading of his works and a greater interest in Single Tax.

"Why is it," George asked himself, "that under conditions of great material progress, where population is densest, wealth greatest and the machinery of production and exchange most highly developed, there is found also the deepest poverty and the sharpest struggle for existence?" The answer he found in the fact that land, the source of all wealth and the field of all labor, is monopolized. To extirpate poverty, to give the laborer his full earnings, common ownership of land must, he decided, be substituted for individual ownership. This is the essential thesis of his book.

Included in this volume also are chapters on "The Central Truth" and on "The Problem of Individual Life."

THE JUNGLE, by Upton Sinclair.
This book is said to have accomplished more tangible results in a brief period than any other book has produced in the same amount of time. It led to an investigation of unsanitary conditions in the Chicago slaughterhouses by order of President Roosevelt and to the revision of the Federal meat inspection laws by Congress. After several years of hardship, persecution and disillusionment something comes into Workingman Jurgis' life which changes his entire attitude. To escape for a few hours from the terrible cold of the Chicago streets, Jurgis attends a public meeting. Here he listens to an inspiring address on Socialism, and for the first time sees the world from a new angle. For four years Jurgis has been wandering in the wilderness, and now a hand reaches down and lifts him out of it to the mountain top, where he can survey it all. Sinclair, in this revision of "The Jungle," has held to the ideal which he expressed in the book when it was first published.

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The Folly of Power

By Louis S. Stanley

CATEGORICALLY speaking, Lion Feuchtwanger's "Power" (N. Y., The Viking Press, \$2.50), no doubt, belongs to the class of historical romances. It is, however, more than those fascinating stories engendered by an age that is gone that have made Dumas and, in our own day, Sabatini exciting adventures in reading. It is not the mere surprises and suspenses of the narration that have made this volume, called "Jud Suss" in the original, a sensation in Europe. Nor would Willa or Edwin Muir have undertaken to translate it from the German had they merely been enthralled by the unravelling of a gripping tale. "Power" is much more than that. It is the crafty interweaving of history, psychology and romance.

Lion Feuchtwanger raises the curtain before the duchy of Wurtemberg in the early eighteenth century. The nobility, the bourgeoisie and the peasants are found alive, as wriggling pieces of humanity. They appear with an almost painful reality. The author achieves directly what others have sought to accomplish through symbolism, the portraiture of a whole society, an entire country, in short, the landscape is not put in for the sake of a cataloguing completeness. It exists and evolves as a part of the bones and flesh and souls of people. There is an earthen effect. The social structure is reared before us not as a sociologist would do, piece by piece. It is there whole. We feel the presence of social groupings. It is mass, even better, class manifestation.

Had not Feuchtwanger seized upon the significance of the economic, his picture would have been an empty fantasy, a train of superficialities, a flitting with the reader's interests in breezy moments. The author, however, knew his theme much better than that. His very attempt to relate the life of Suss, the great Jewish financier of the period, led him into a contact with the vital elements of living. So we have a succession of court intrigues, religious debates and rapes, yet we are made to realize that adequate funds postulate and motivate the whole. Therein is the secret of Suss' climb to the pinnacle of power. His financial genius makes the duke and everyone else succumb to him as an unavoidable malediction.

Then comes the fall. Suss, the cynic, the rake, has a daughter through an early romance, whom he treasures as an oasis and refuge of purity and innocence. He has her hidden in a house in the midst of deep woods. But the duke finds her and, while pursuing her to satisfy his passion, causes her accidental death. Thereupon, Suss is broken. His power he finds empty. He drags the duke down to ruin. He contrives to have himself sentenced and publicly hanged. His self-abnegation knows no limits. He can save himself by turning Gentile or even more easily by proving that his father was a famous Christian general, but his pride and obstinacy and at the same time his humility and surrender prevent him from doing this. So Suss dies, and European Jewry mourns his death. This self sacrifice of the Jews, really a protective clanishness, is apt to confound the anti-Semitic reader and inspire the young Jew.

Lion Feuchtwanger in "Power" proves himself a literary organizer. The fullness and harmonization of his tones abound us. There are major movements and minor ones. Little themes are dropped and picked up again. The story rumbles, roars, clatters, is cool as a flute, grows calm, is silent, then bursts into thunder. We are looking forward to other organ compositions of the author.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Thoughts on the Death of Debs

GENE Debs is dead and now even those who bully-ragged him the most are saying nice things about him, which means that human nature is the same perverted thing it was when, bruised and bleeding, Christ dragged His cross up to Mount Calvary.

Ever so often, but not alarmingly often, some fine spirit rises from the human muck heap, who in the jargon of the masses is almost too good to live, wherefore, we do the next best thing by making life so miserable for him that he will be glad to die.

In the good old times when men were still worse brutes than they are now, which is saying a mouthful, they didn't even wait until nature took back one of her choicest sons. So we stoned prophets, burned seers, hung savants and crucified saviors.

The crime of the near-gods and god-like has always been that they differed so greatly from the increments of the hooligan stew into which fate had cast them, that there was nothing left but to cast them out. Hence the term outcast.

Name one great soul, one shining light on the road of destiny, one pathfinder in the jungle of thoughts who was not persecuted and despised by his own time and I will present you with a collection of dry water, cold heat and square balls.

The all embracing motto of mankind has ever been: "Please go away and let me sleep." Anyone who disturbs our slumber is as welcome as a skunk in the meeting house. So we have little but "scats" and rocks for the fellow who "rileth up the people."

At the time when Gene Debs entered the stage of history the denizens of the Land of the Free had about reached the end of their long, sweet honey-moon snooze. Chattel slavery had been abolished. King Capital had mounted the throne vacated by poor King Cotton. The West was rapidly settling up. Virgin land, mountains of minerals touched by the magic hand of labor, poured out golden streams. A high protective tariff and huge government grants made industry and transportation grow in leaps and bounds. Never in the history of any country was there such a growth in population, wealth and power. And thus the dream of boundless opportunity, boundless acres, and boundless prosperity for each and everyone for all eternity.

Then the alarm clock went off. The eight-hour movement of the Knights of Labor rent the nation. The A. R. U. strike gave it another jar. King Capital, made grumpy by the rude awakenings, hung the Chicago "anarchists," who, in reality, were but the spokesmen of an infantile labor movement. Grover Cleveland sent federal troops to Illinois over the protest of Governor Altgeld, who soon was branded an anarchist himself, although he was only one of the last great state-right Democrats.

Then came government by injunction, followed by the jailing of laboring men who foolishly believed that the strike was a legitimate means in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

Meanwhile, the new born farm owners on their Western homesteads had also struck a few snags. The railroads built by land grants and government subsidies, but strictly privately owned, proceeded to shake down the horny-handed husbandmen through excessive freight rates. The Eastern banking brothers mulked them through excessive interest rates while budding monopolies charged them all that the traffic would bear and paid them as little as they could. Thus, the Populist movement arose and soon combined with the rebellious wage earners of the cities.

In all these movements, Gene Debs played an important part. As leader of the A. R. U. strike, he became the prisoner of Woodstock, the first victim of government by injunction. From the Populist movement he graduated into the Socialist movement of which he remained the foremost spokesman until his death.

And wherever he was he "rileth up the people" until THE people, whose names illuminate the pages of Bradstreet and Dun, sent him to prison for the second time.

The crime he had committed was that of opposing America's entrance into the world war in the same manner that Abraham Lincoln had opposed our war with Mexico—that is, by speaking against it. But times had changed. When Congressman Lincoln raised his voice against the Mexican adventure, public officials were still regarded as the servants of the sovereign people. The constitution, including the first amendment, was still the fundamental law of the republic. The dogma of the infallibility of Congress and the immaculate conception of presidential notion were yet to be proclaimed. All of which may or may not explain why War Objector Lincoln landed in the White House while War Objector Debs landed in the Atlanta Penitentiary, which, judging mankind by past performances, may yet become a holy shrine.

So, true to form, the bird of liberty had become a jail bird again. The one outstanding American with enough guts in his body to stand for the precious right of a people to criticize the acts of their servants was safely behind prison bars and—so was your old man—American Democracy.

I never could bring myself to feel sorry for Gene Debs in prison. I know he was freer and happier there than on the outside, because when all is said Gene was a saint and saints are never happier than when in company of sinners. Remember Christ and the harlot, Christ hanging between two thieves? And all three were there. The harlot in the garb of Justice, the two thieves—Palmer and Daugherty.

Besides, what's the use of putting a soul behind iron bars? You could lock a soul in a soap box and the next thing you know she would communique with Archangels in heaven and two minutes later converse with devils in hell, while soulless men, the kind that sent Gene to Atlanta prison, are but walking prisons trying to escape from themselves.

It finally dawned upon the prisoners in Washington that Debs was too free in the Atlanta penitentiary and so they turned him out. He received his "pardon" from the Ohio Gang, working through the divine instrumentality of Harry Daugherty. Ah, friends, there are more jokes 'twixt heaven and hell than most people imagine and the most brilliant of all of them undoubtedly was when Harry Daugherty forgave Gene Debs for keeping faith with all that's good and true and brave—with all that raises man above the predatory brute.

Well, good-bye, dear Gene, seer, poet and lover of man, a Schubert love song drowned by jazz; Good Friday music at a lynch mob, freedom's torch in the Catacomb; pearls in the barnyard muck. I cannot weep at your passing. All I can say is that wherever you go, be it up or down, there let me go also. For, knowing you as I knew you, I know that in your corner beyond the Styx I'll find the best.

Adam Coadigger.

Syndicalism--The Militant Minority

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Socialists Unite: Syndicalists Discuss Relationship

AT the Congress of Amiens in September, 1906, the question of the affiliation of the trade union movement with the Socialist party again came up for discussion. The question had at that year taken on a different aspect than in previous congresses. The International Socialist Congress in Amsterdam in 1904 had urged the French socialists to come together if possible into a unified movement. As a result of this action in April, 1905, a Congress of Unification was held, and the Parti Socialiste de France and the Parti Socialiste Français formed the Parti Socialiste Unifié. At its first congress in October, 1905, the unified party claimed a dues paying membership of 35,000 members in 3,000 groups. In the elections of 1906, some 54 socialists belonging to the party, were elected to Parliament. With this union of socialist forces, one of the reasons for the action of the confederation for originally holding aloof from political organizations of workers thus disappeared. M. Renard, secretary of the Federation of Textile Workers, urged, at the instigation of his union, that permanent relations be established between the two groups. Side by side with the economic struggle, the political struggle, Renard asserted, should be carried on, for the purpose of securing labor legislation for the workers. The Socialist party had always proposed and voted for laws having for their object the amelioration of the working class as well as their emancipation, and was the logical party to support.

If a revolution were to occur today, he added, the syndicate, with their present organization, would not be able to carry on industry without the use of the governmental machinery, and from this point of view also the Socialist party was useful to the economic wing.

M. Renard declared that he had no intention of introducing politics into the union. Politics had already been introduced. Whenever an anti-militarist resolution was urged before the syndicate, when electoral abstention was preached, there was politics.

Both reformist and revolutionary elements, however, fought the resolution. The Textile Federation was defeated by a vote of 724 to 371, and the C. G. T. declared itself "independent of all political schools." In the declaration of principles adopted at the Congress, it declared for a day to day struggle for better conditions and maintained that the syndicalists were also preparing the way for the emancipation of the workers to be realized only by the expropriation of the working class. The Congress again commended the general strike as a means to that end and declared that it regarded the syndicate as the future basis of social organization. Every syndicalist was free to participate outside of his organization in any political movement he deemed best but he was not to introduce his ideas into the union.

The 1910 Strike and Aristide Briand

Strikes and rumors of general strikes and frequent arrests characterized the years of 1907 to 1909. On October 10, 1910, a railway strike started on the system Paris-Nord. The following day, the strike committee ordered a general railway strike, and on the twelfth the western division went out. Briand, former ardent advocate of the general strike, then in the ministry, arrested the members of the committee and placed the railway men under the colors, thus establishing a condition of martial law. Although a second strike committee took the place of the first, the back of the strike was broken. The new committee failed to function energetically and there was little response from the workers on

the eastern and southern railway divisions. By the end of the week, the strike was practically abandoned, and on October 18, the committee ordered that work be resumed.

The revolutionary members of the Confederation attributed the defeat to the hesitating tactics of the reformist leaders, while the latter maintained that the action of the left wing in ordering the strike on the northern railways had led to too hasty action. The defeat was a definite blow to the prestige of the Confederation, although it had not been directed by this body.

During the succeeding years before the war, the Confederation conducted a campaign against the inadequate old age pension act, against the wave of militarism and nationalism that swept the country following the Agadir incident in the summer of 1910 and for shorter hours. The growth of the national unions during the decade far outdistanced that of the bourses, and at the end of the period, the national unions were consequently far more powerful in the Confederation than were the bourses.

During these years the syndicalists' philosophy also gained adherents among the workers in some of the other countries, notably in Italy and Spain in Europe. In the United States the Industrial Workers of the World breathed much of the syndicalist spirit.

The war, however, put a temporary quietus on the syndicalist movement. Here, the militant anti-patriot, and other leaders of French syndicalism became a part of the war machine, and, following the war, there developed a sharp cleavage between the communists who gave their adherence to Moscow and the pure and simple syndicalists who refused to have a political party, no matter how revolutionary, dictate their policies. Many of the old syndicalists, formerly regarded as the revolutionists, were now attacked

as conservatives. Undoubtedly the communist movement deprived the syndicalists of some of their most active spirits and captured many of the younger men who would otherwise have joined their ranks.

Reasons for Syndicalism in France
Many reasons have been given for the remarkable growth of syndicalism among the workers in France during the last years of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth century.

The youth of the trade union movement in France (it had only been rendered a legal movement in 1884); the small scale on which industry is conducted in France as compared with other industrialized countries; the French tradition of insurrection and of change by quick, sudden revolt, centering in the capital city; the historic demand—found in much of French literature for generations—of an economic freedom based on the very considerable influence of the anarchist philosophy and their concept of a society of free groups or communes; absence of tyranny in the workshop; the conspicuous betrayals of the workers by brilliant leaders who began their careers in parliament as socialists (among them Briand, Millerand and Viviani), and ended as opponents of labor; the dominating place occupied by "intellectuals" in the political working class movements and the proletarian against the domination; the poverty of the trade unions and their inability to finance long drawn-out strikes; the psychology of the French workers, the fact that, on the one hand, they "act" method, persistence and foresight, while, on the other, they are sensitive, impulsive and combative; and the love of the French to find a fundamental philosophic justification for their actions which the necessities of the moment dictate—have all undoubtedly played their part both in the adoption of syndicalist tactics and philosophy by such a large proportion of French trade unionists.

Murders, Cats And Queens

I HAD an awful time thinking about what I should write in this column. And then I saw that somewhere in the neighborhood of 118 witnesses were about to testify in the Hall-Mills case, including a Pig Woman, who was to be brought in on a stretcher.

So long as the public is exercised over the testimony of 118 witnesses concerning the murder of a high church Episcopalian and his inamoratum, why should we worry about such trivial matters as the public ownership of natural resources, collective ownership of tools, and industrial democracy?

Dr. Hall has pushed Dr. Browning clear out of the picture, despite the fact that the Daily Graphic still publishes pictures of "Papa" doing his bear stuff.

Intelligent people have asked me to meet with them to devise some way in which we can put our propaganda across. I have come to the conclusion after reading the tabloids that the only way to reach the majority of people in this country is to do it by pictures.

We might get out, for example, a picture sheet in which we would show the economic necessity for the arising of the proletariat. The proletariat could be pictured, as they are always pictured, as a man with a square white hat on shaking his fist at a high-hatted capitalist. But instead of this usual picture, the proletariat might be busting a capitalist in the nose. Or in other words, knocking him for a loop. Gazing upon this festive scene, the proletarian readers of said Graphic might be encouraged to go out and do the same.

There could be no propaganda better than encouraging the underdog to rise up and smite his master. At the present time, led by the intellectuals, the underdog population seems to have acquired a certain respect for the few who are on top, which acts as a break upon any sort of progress. This undue respect for those who have made their pile streams to all classes of society. Will Durant, for example, tells his audience that after all there is a brilliance connected with money making. H. G. Wells in his new book says that the salvation of the human race resides in the big business men. I have from time to time heard from many Socialists that the big thing in life is to make your money and then turn to public affairs.

If you could make your money honestly and then devote yourself to public matters this philosophy would be fine. But unfortunately in the process of piling up your jack you lose everything that is worth while spiritually and mentally. By the very act of accumulating what is known as a fortune in these days you go through so much dirt that inevitably some of it clings to your garments. This is no alibi for failures. It is possible to make money and still keep your spiritual self intact. But not the way the "tired radicals" tell you. They compromise themselves out of all use for anything that stands for progress. They are dangerous to anything that is forward looking and are to be avoided at all cost. Men like John Spargo, William English Walling, Frank Bohm and their like have done more harm to the Socialist party than any amount of disruptionists.

So the trip of the Queen of Roumania has turned out to be a flop. Her old man has told her to come home by Christmas. It seems that he can't hang up the royal stockings unless Marie is around. She gave away the whole game when she broke down over the radio and announced that unless she got the forthcoming Jack her trip was a failure. Night after night we have gone to bed weeping over the sad plight of the Queen of Roumania. Our black cat Isabelle is similarly afflicted with grief concerning this pitiable condition. She refuses all food including liver, to which she is ordinarily partial, and remains remote from all our advances.

When interviewed by your reporter for the New Leader Isabelle said as follows:

"I am disgusted with the way in which America has treated our royal visitor. All us cats are accustomed to royalty from ancient times. 'A cat can look at a king' is the slogan with us. My friends who frequent Broadway tell me that the reception accorded to Queen Marie was less cordial than that given to a common Channel swimmer. While I myself have little use for regal titles and that sort of thing, I do think that the presence amongst us of a genuine queen should be given more notice than that which was accorded Queen Marie."

On the other hand, Funny Face, Isabelle's daughter, who is essentially a democrat, has little use for the Queen of Roumania. When interviewed by your reporter she said:

"What is this country coming to? The entire membership of the Rotarians, the Kiwanians, the Elks and the Go-Getters generally swarmed right into the streets to do homage to a foreign queen. They gave the impression to the country at large that this was a nation of 'buffs.' A buff is a person who hangs around a fire engine house and when the alarm is sounded dashes after the engine. As a matter of fact, comparatively few decent persons went out to see the queen. Those who did go were of the same type as those who hang around excavations and stand open-mouthed whenever the steam shovel begins to do its stuff. Personally, I'll take Funny-Face's word for what happened when the queen went by. She gets out more than her royalty-loving mother and hardly an automobile crashes into another but what Funny-Face is on the spot taking notes and getting the full details of the accident."

Day after day she sits in our window watching with eager brown eyes the progress of pedestrians past our door. Nothing that happens on East 15 Street is beyond her notice. And the fact that Mr. Rodman Wanamaker with his high hat personally conducted the Queen of Roumania through our street was not unnoticed by this most observant of cats.

McAlister Coleman.

GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

(Continued From Last Week)

GAYLARD's story made a deep impression on Dan. It increased his perplexity, and deepened his despondency. He began to see that he was afraid of men, or to go deeper, of the crowd. He recalled the attack upon Goodwin on the Senate floor, and further back, the near riot at his own meeting during the last campaign, and he was afraid. When men undertook to work in such uncertain stuff as elemental human nature, they were playing with high explosives. They were usually destroyed. Now Gaylard. The old landmark, he who had ridden a score of political storms was swept out—to become just a tiresome old raconteur, going the rounds from office to office telling how he once had done it.

As he considered these things, he remembered his brother Hugh. Hugh hated him. Why? They were blood brothers, yet they did not speak. They had played together, yet they were separated by high walls of antipathy. . . . He felt sad. Life seemed a vast welter of meaningless experience. . . . There was his own vote on the power bill. He could not forget it.

Dan got a note from Rakov dated at Singapore. Dear Minturn (it ran): This is a great country, and I'm glad I came. The kid is well. Lots of color and romance. India is seeking underneath; the king of the world legend is awake, and these Gandhian heathens may decide to conquer the western world by something more than non-violent non-cooperation. . . . No matter to me. I like their women, just like children, and I am tired of sophisticated wenchery. . . . India has something you damn Occidentals (excuse me, save one Senator Daniel Minturn) never feel, a consciousness of the whole human family. It's quite different from the economic internationalism we hear preached so much in America. And the western world has something these folks never thought

of, the scientific spirit. Heigho. The women are gracious—none of your damn airs. I live within the shadow of a temple which is said to be filled with beautiful women, but into which no man penetrates. See the possibilities for adventure. Au revoir, Rakov.

One night in late autumn when the crisp air and golden moonlight had enticed him outside for a brisk walk, Minturn happened upon a crowd passing in and out of an auditorium. He went in. He found that there was something pleasant in submerging himself in that nondescript mass of humanity. It enveloped him. It laved him round with little waves of force. He soon discovered that the crowd was working-class, laborers and farmers, in overalls, and toll-stained clothes, looking grim and uncomfortable as they waited for speakers.

Dan was on the point of going, when men appeared upon the platform. He stayed to hear announcements. Girard and McMurray were to speak.

Girard, the Great Organizer, came forward confidently, his hawk-like face grave and commanding. He was not in a hurry to begin, and stood looking into upturned faces, until stillness filled the room. Abruptly he shot out: "If there is a man among you who doesn't know himself to be a fool, he will before he leaves this hall tonight." There was laughter and hand-clapping. He told how he had begun going up and down the Northwest talking to farmers about organization, how everywhere he was met with opposition from the "money crowd"; how the opposition flowered into violence; how he himself had been a farmer, and was stubborn to give up rights; how the farmer "was broken on an ill-made economic system, and a government callous to the needs of the unorganized classes."

All that he said was underlaid with a deep and corrosive irony. Girard had a mordant wit that played over the complexities of politics and economics with singular simplicity.

He never stooped to flattery, but he cut and stung his hearers with tormenting words. He was like nothing so much as a male fury lashing the pride and conscience of his audience with ironic blows.

As he continued, Dan's mind ran back to those gray days spent on the steamer Northland, when he and Agatha were launched on their wedding journey, and to that gray figure reading Nietzsche at the prow.

"Let us have not contentedness, but more power; not peace at any price, but warfare; not virtue but efficiency. The weak must perish. That is the first principle of our charity, and we must help them to do so."

Girard was thundering. "Don't be slaves. Snigglings, grumbling slaves. Be men. Help yourselves. Organize." The proletarian aristocrat! McMurray was like a gentle shower of rain after thunderbolts. There was something youthful, enlightened, affectionate, and even radiant about him. You could no more escape the charm of him, Dan found, than you could escape Girard's percussive irony.

To McMurray, politics was but a collective way of doing business. To him, government was a great enterprise in co-operation, a fulfillment of the prophet's dream of good fellowship, or the pioneer's habit of neighborliness. Politics was sordid, now, he asserted, because it was debased by "unscrupulous and grafting bosses" and by "self-interests" who invaded it for selfish ends.

All that he uttered was soaked in a common humanity. He spoke of little children, old mothers, broad-backed fathers, and above all else of youth, youth seeking to fulfill itself, "egoistically perhaps but mysteriously and quietly too that the race might go on."

As he spoke some note in his voice, some imperceptible bridging the distance from him to Dan, made Minturn, his late opponent, pass in thought to his mother, and thinking of her, he forgot his jealousy of McMurray, his own blind and aggravating pain and bewilderment, and his ambition. When

McMurray had finished, he found himself applauding vehemently with the rest.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Summer Vacationists of I. L. G. W. U. Unity House Will Have Reunion Dance

An arrangements committee has been chosen by last summer's Unity House vacationists of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to plan for a reunion of all Unity's past and future guests and of friends of the "Unity" ideal. The committee has already arranged for a dance to be given on Lincoln's Birthday, Saturday evening, February 12, 1927, in the Grand Ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House, 34th street near Eighth avenue.

This dance will offer old friends an opportunity to renew old friendships, and to others to form new friendships. Reserve Lincoln's Birthday—Saturday evening, February 12, 1927—for the dance. For further information apply to the Educational Department of the I. L. G. W. U., 3 West 16th street.

Friendly organizations are requested not to arrange affairs for the same night.

Rand Fellowship Party

The Rand School Fellowship extends an invitation to all to attend an entertainment to be given at the school Sunday, November 21, at 8 p. m., in the studio of the school, 7 East 15th street. David P. Berenberg will read poetry and James Phillips, baritone, will sing.

ENTERTAINMENT AND DANCE
GIVEN FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CHILDREN OF
THE EXILED HUNGARIAN SOCIALISTS
Living in Vienna

Thanksgiving Day Eve., Nov. 24th

— AT THE —
FINNISH SOCIALIST HALL
127th Street and Fifth Avenue

HIGHEST CLASS HUNGARIAN AND ENGLISH PERFORMERS
HUNGARIAN UNION ORCHESTRA

AN ENJOYABLE EVENING ASSURED TO BOTH OLD AND YOUNG
HELP THE POOREST AND MOST PERSECUTED CHILDREN IN THE WORLD

ADMISSION: \$1.00

Arranged by
THE HUNGARIAN BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

THE RAND SCHOOL FELLOWSHIP
Invites You to a
Concert and Dance
Thanksgiving Day Eve.
Wednesday, November 24
at 8 o'Clock
RAND SCHOOL AUDITORIUM
7 East 15th Street
ADMISSION SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS
Proceeds Rand School Scholarships

Autumn Flowers

Fall is coming
And the twilights
Now grow shorter,
Mellow, clear,
Dahlias flame in
All the gardens,
Crimson, tawny,
Yellow, sear.

Best I like the
Tiny pink ones,
All one-sided
They unfold;
With their clutching
Petals fingers
Loath to leave
The heart of gold.

As a child might
Clutch a penny,
Clasp it tight lest
It be lost,
So the dahlias
Clutch their treasure
Tight against the
Thyianh frost.

Minnesota Trade Unions And Labor Party Frame New Legislative Program

The Field of Labor

DESPITE extremely unfavorable conditions the Minnesota labor movement has been able to hold its own rather well. At the last executive council of the State Federation of Labor the members reported on the respective territories which each is supposed to cover. Several things stood out in their statements. There was industrial depression and unemployment in the Northwest because of adverse agricultural conditions. This has resulted in the continual migration of skilled union members from one place to another seeking work. The non-unionists have been left behind. Consequently organization work has been very difficult. Still a consciousness of this problem has enabled union leaders to grapple with the situation intelligently and prevent wholesale losses.

Organized labor in Minnesota is playing an important part in the Farmer-Labor Party. The last election, however, was in some respects a disappointment, the prohibition question having bedeviled the issues. Still the State Federation has proposed an ambitious legislative program for the coming year:

- (1) Teachers' tenure.
- (2) One day's rest in seven.
- (3) Improvement in compensation for disabled workers.
- (4) Unemployment insurance.
- (5) Regulation of employment agencies.
- (6) Against State constabulary.
- (7) In favor of national child labor amendment.
- (8) Opposed to efforts to destroy the effectiveness of the laws for the protection of women workers.
- (9) Opposed to extension of prison labor in competition with free labor and legitimate industry.
- (10) State-owned printing plant.
- (11) Plumbers' State Sanitary Code.

Minnesota has its difficulties but at least it is trying to meet them squarely.

WANTED: MORE LABOR DIRECTORIES

We know of no other labor directory that is like that which the State of Massachusetts publishes. Every year since 1902 (except 1903) the Department of Labor and Industries of that State has published an annual directory of labor organizations in Massachusetts. The twenty-fifth, for the year ending November 30, 1926, is now at hand. It contains (1) a list of national and international unions in the United States, indicating which are affiliated with the A. F. of L. and which are not, and giving address and secretary's name; (2) state, district and trades councils of Massachusetts with time and place of meetings, addresses, telephone number and names of president, secretary and business agent; (3) similar information for central labor unions and local councils, arranged by locations; and (4) ditto for local trade unions. In all fifty-three pages are consumed. It is a pity that the A. F. of L. does not publish periodically such information for the entire country. It does publish a list of national, international, State and city central bodies. Of course, it pays no attention to independent organizations. The "American Labor Year Book" is of much service. Anyone who has ever tried to circulate trade unions or find out their place and time of meeting knows that difficulties are encountered. There is a handful of persons whose stock in trade is just such lists which they have accumulated after diligent research. Would the labor movement be hurt by such publicity?

A RELIC OF FRATERNAL DAYS

It is amusing how we are constantly being reminded of the origin of trade unions in fraternal societies. The benefit features go back to early days when persons of a craft, because they were well acquainted with one another, would form benevolent associations for their mutual welfare. Inevitably trade action would come up for discussion. After a while we find struggles being waged between the faction which favors only the fraternal aspects and that which is interested only in trade protection. Eventually, as we know, a compromise was reached combining both features with emphasis on the latter. Still, several of the old fraternal societies exist to this very day that have lost all connection with economics.

In keeping with the fraternal side

The Old Reliable Place to Buy
M.J. Roth
INC.
Third Ave. at 84th St.
Large Assortment of
STATIONERY, PHOTO, DOLLS,
BOOKS, TOYS, SPORTING GOODS
Special Bargains in All Departments
VISIT OUR STORE

ENGEL FRED'K W. F.
315 East 83rd Street
TELEPHONE LENOX 4081
Funeral Home
Undertaker for
Cremation Society, Branch 1, 3 and 27
Member of the Workers' Sick Bene-
fit Society.
Undertaker for all Progressive Organizations
FUNERAL, INCLUDING CREMATION,
\$46.00 UP

of trade unions there were, of course, elaborate rituals, secret proceedings, grips, signs and passwords. The Knights of Labor lost its prestige in large measure because of the decline of interest in such ceremonies. It was always an objection to the admission of women that they would have to be imparted the knowledge of these masculine rites. Several unions today still retain reminders of the old days. An example is the American Flint Glass Workers' Union. It has published an appeal for the passwords before 1922, which seem to have been lost. These were issued at the close of each annual convention by the National President and entitled members to sit at meetings of local unions. The passwords selected were connected with some event, for example:

- 1892—Memorial.
- 1897—Unionism.
- 1899—Amalgamation.
- 1902—Harmony.
- 1909—Unity.
- 1919—Confidence.
- 1922—Maryland, My Maryland.
- 1923—Obedience to the Majority.
- 1924—Machinery.
- 1925—Smile.

No doubt the Flints would be exceedingly loathe to give up their custom of passwords.

TYPOS FACE ARBITRATION PROPOSAL

It is with a good deal of curiosity that we looked forward to examining the official proceedings of the seventy-first convention of the International Typographical Union held at Colorado Springs, Colorado, the middle of September. We had read the references in the press accounts to the adoption of an arbitration agreement with the publishers and we wanted to know exactly what it was all about. The minutes of the sessions are now available. They show that the Executive Council in a supplemental report had submitted the proposition of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to the delegates. It must be remembered that the former arbitration arrangements had been allowed to lapse in 1922 after having been in existence for twenty-one years. The break had come because the publishers had insisted and the union had refused to arbitrate the laws of the International Typographical Union, embodying the gains of previous years. The agreement now proposed judiciously omits all direct reference to the most question. It simply states that "an arbitrable difference or issue is raised (a) when either party creates any change in existing working conditions affecting the other and without the consent of the other, or (b) when a written request is made by either party presenting in detail changes in conditions desired, and not in contravention of the local contract." Formerly the arbitrability of any proposition was determined by the president of the I. T. U. and the chairman of the special standing committee of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. The Executive Council asked that the convention approve of the agreement and at the same time refer it back to the Council with instructions to secure an amendment specifying the procedure to be followed in case local publishers and local unions cannot agree as to what may be arbitrable and if such an amendment be secured to submit the whole agreement to a referendum vote. Those who opposed the recommendation of the Council claimed that the proposal would be embarrassing to the incoming administration headed by Charles P. Howard, the "Progressive," which takes office on November 1, that it bound the local unions and that it subjected the laws of the International to arbitration unless it could be definitely stated otherwise. President Lynch and his supporters denied that they had any intention of annoying Howard and his friends, and asserted that the agreement was optional with local publishers and unions, that the international laws were not being sacrificed, and that if peaceful methods were not going to be used, the union might as well build up a big war fund and rely solely on its economic power. The Executive Council was finally upheld by a vote of 160 to 133.

A good deal will, therefore, now depend on what amendment the new administration can secure in spite of the fact that it was not anxious to go into the negotiations. It seems too that the determination of the arbitrability of any subject will be left to local officials who may thus contravene international law. On the other hand a local may wash its hands clean of the whole agreement although the very fact that one exists may still exert some pressure. As for the economic power of unions, as a general labor gets no more in arbitration proceedings than its strength and not the justice of its cause demands. Therefore, war chests are always in good form.

WORKERS! Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers!

Always Look
For This
LABEL

Waitresses' Union
LOCAL 1
162 E. 23rd St.
Tel. Gramercy 0843
LOUIS RIFKIN, President
WM. LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer

Buy Direct From Manufacturer
O.W. WUERTZ & CO.
PLAYER-REPRODUCING
PIANOS
Standard of Quality Since 1895
RADIO-GRAMMOPHON-RECORDS
ON EASY TERMS
TWO 3RD AVE. COR. 85TH ST
STORES 3RD AVE. COR. 152ND ST

THE ELECTRICAL WORKERS STORY

By LOUIS STANLEY SILVERSTEIN

IV. Recent Progress (1913-1926)—Part 2

The Council on Industrial Relations

ANOTHER activity of the Brotherhood on a national scale is its co-operation in the formation of the Council on Industrial Relations for the Electrical Construction Industry. Somehow or other this experiment, though six years old, has not attracted the wide attention of either employers or employees that other developments have. The radicals, for example, have quite overlooked it. Yet every agreement since 1920 must contain a clause subscribing to the declaration of principles of this council governing the relations of employers and employees.

Within the National Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers there was a group of about twenty-five so-called liberal employers who had formed a Conference Club for the discussion of trade problems. These persons had become tired of the perpetual wrangling between themselves and the union and began to work out an arrangement for peaceful settlements. A joint committee of ten representing the Conference Club and the Brotherhood met early in 1919, and after much discussion adopted the famous Declaration of Principles as a basis for establishing the council they had in mind. In July, 1919, the National Association of Electrical Contractors and Dealers in convention assembled gave their approval to this statement by a narrow margin despite the fact that labor questions had been taboo for years in order to prevent the disruption of the association.

The following September the convention of the Brotherhood did likewise. A referendum vote gave the final assent. In 1920 five representatives of each side met and organized themselves into the Council on Industrial Relations for the Electrical Construction Industry of the United States and Canada. Active in the organization of this body was Louis K. Comstock, an electrical engineer, who has been the chairman of the Council from the beginning. He recognizes that there is an antagonism between labor and capital, but works of the theory that adjustments can be made much more economically and satisfactorily by negotiation rather than by war. To what extent his colleagues share his views we do not know. At any rate, the fact remains that there has not been a single strike in the electrical construction industry since 1920.

The Declaration of Principles states, among other things, that—
" . . . Close contact and a mutually sympathetic interest between employee and employer will develop a better working system which will tend constantly to stimulate production while improving the relationship between employee, employer and the community."
" Strikes and lockouts are detrimental to the interests alike of employee, employer and the public, and should be avoided. . . ."
" The right of employees and employers in local groups to establish local wage scales and local working rules is recognized, and nothing herein is to be construed as infringing that right."

When the Council was organized it formulated an underlying law. To begin with, it said that—
" Mediation—the settlement of disputes by reason instead of fighting—is the function with which the Council is generally and closely associated. The prime interest of the Council, however, is not mediation, but the discovery and removal of the causes of disputes which call for mediation. Causes are discovered by a study of effects, by research and diagnosis, and for that reason the Council has placed itself at the service of the industry as mediator. By rendering this service the Council promotes its own ends, for mediation affords it an opportunity to deal with realities and add to its fund of factual knowledge."

The following a number of fundamental ideas upon which the members of the Council agree. They are in the spirit of the Declaration of Principles, but interesting especially are these:
" . . . Local leadership must be greatly improved."
" The mere display of power is the last thing in the world that insures the success of an association."

Soccer Game to Aid Rand School

THE greatest soccer game of the year will be held next Saturday afternoon, November 27, at 3 o'clock, between the New York Giants and the all-star Spanish team, "Gallicia."

The interest in the game is increasing daily, due to the fact that the powerful Giant team, which has in its line-up five of the Hakoah players, the all-star Jewish-Austrian team of last year, headed by its former captain, Moritz Hausler.

The "Gallicians" a few weeks ago played a draw game with the "Spartans," the famous Czech-Slovakian team that holds the championship of Europe, having conquered the strongest of them all. The game has made the Gallicians one of the contestants for international honors. The American team will, therefore, have the opportunity to place itself in the forefront of all the other American soccer teams with a victory against the Gallicians, which will mean a game against the Spartans and a chance at the international championship, the hope of all soccer players.

The four Hakoah players on the Giant team besides the captain, Moritz Hausler, are Erno Swartz, Bella Gaultman, Egon Pollock and Mark Green-

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Partly because of the success accompanying the council's activities, more because of the necessity of dealing effectively with huge organizations in the electrical industry, the last convention of the Brotherhood (1925) enacted a law giving the international president and the international vice-president "power to negotiate and enter into working agreements with any company, corporation or firm who do an interstate business in electrical construction, to cover the entire jurisdiction of the Brotherhood, consistent with the working conditions of the various local unions in whose jurisdiction a job or jobs may be located. This does not take away the right of a local union or its officers to assist other labor organizations."

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been active in other ways. It has taken a leading part in the fight for the preservation of the hydro-electric power resources of this country. In June, 1923, President Noonan represented the American Federation of Labor at a Super Power Conference held in London, England. Last summer an Electrical Workers' Institute at Brookwood paid special attention to the problem. During the agitation for a labor or progressive party the I. B. E. W. threw its influence in favor of such a step. The organization has also encouraged workers' education and has established scholarships at Brookwood Labor College. In the fall of 1925 an intensive campaign was set afoot to unionize the unorganized electrical workers. The facts were gathered very carefully and a vigorous campaign has been conducted. Today the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers stands third highest in membership in the American Federation of Labor, paying a per capita tax on 142,000 members. In recognition of its position, President J. P. Noonan was elected a member of the Board of Awards for the Building Industry at the Building Trades Department Convention late in 1924. When William Green was elected to the presidency of the A. F. of L. about the same time, President Noonan was elected to the Executive Council in his place as eighth vice-president. The importance of electricity and the alertness of the union in meeting its problems augurs well for the future of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

THE PAINTERS' BENEVOLENT CLUB

of the Painters' Union, Local 917, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Invites You to Attend Its Annual
ENTERTAINMENT and BALL
Saturday Evening, November 27, 1926

at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum,
21 Sackman Street, Brooklyn

Broadway Talent Will Appear
Music by a Union Double Band

Admission, Including Wardrobe, 75 Cents

Saxon Labor Divided But Is Still On Top; Rumanian Drive Planned

Labor Doings Abroad

DESPITE a falling off in the total vote of about 180,000, compared with the Diet elections of Nov. 5, 1922, and the confusion in the ranks of labor caused by strife among Socialists, Communists and the reform Socialist group calling itself the "Old Social Democratic Party," the Saxon bourgeois parties failed to win a majority in the Diet contest decided on Oct. 31. The "Red Kingdom" is still red, although the tints are somewhat mixed.

Out of a total vote of 2,347,699 the various labor parties polled 1,198,280, divided as follows: Socialist, 758,142; Communist, 342,112; Old Social Democratic, 98,026. The new Diet is made up of 31 Socialists, 14 Communists, 4 "Old Social Democrats," 14 German Nationalists, 12 People's Party men (big business), 10 Economic Party men, 5 Democrats, 4 Revalorization Party men and 2 National Socialists (extreme reactionaries). In the old Diet there were 17 regular Socialists, 23 "Old Social Democrats" and 10 Communists. The German Nationalists, the People's Party and the Democrats lost heavily to the middle class groups labeled Economic Party and Revalorization Party.

The come-back of the Communists from their 294,448 votes in the Reichstag elections of Dec. 7, 1924, is attributed to the dissatisfaction among the rank and file of the Saxon labor voters at the somewhat vacillating policy of the National Socialist organization in matters of party discipline and the failure of the Socialists in the Prussian Diet to fight to the limit against the recent settlement of property claims, under which the ex-Kaiser and his family are to get about \$2,750,000 in cash and 167,000 acres of land. While the Prussian Socialist Deputies put forward a plausible explanation of their reasons for abstention from voting on the settlement bill, saying that they felt that at present there was no chance of forcing a national confiscation bill through the Reichstag and that if the Hohenzollern Prussian courts the ex-rulers would get much more than under the Diet agreement, the masses of the workers apparently did not agree with this view point and showed their resentment by staying home or voting Communist.

Furthermore, the economic crisis in Germany that has hit the Saxon textile industry pretty hard helped swell the Communist vote temporarily. In the Reichstag elections of May 4, 1924, when conditions were especially bad, due to the first effects of the stabilization of German currency and business, the Communist vote in Saxony was 373,103 and the Socialist vote only 797,783, against a Socialist vote of 1,060,247 and a Communist vote of 266,864 in the Diet elections of November, 1922, when the inflation "boom" was still on.

Now that the dissident Saxon Socialists, who refused to obey the National Executive Committee's orders to quit the coalition Cabinet last winter, have found out that they had overestimated their following among the rank and file, they are likely to make overtures for readmission to the party. The chances for the formation of a Saxon government of any stability are poor in view of the divisions among the bourgeois parties and the hesitancy of the Socialists on the matter of entering a coalition with any of the non-labor groups. New Diet elections in the near future are not improbable.

BIG GAINS ENCOURAGE SWEDISH SOCIALISTS

Full reports of the elections for the "Landstings" (Provincial Diets) held in Sweden on Sept. 19 show that the gains of the Socialists were larger than indicated by the early returns. The number of seats captured was 444, against 368 in 1922, and the popular Socialist vote rose from 287,119 to 461,028. This increase of strength in the provincial legislative bodies means that the Socialist membership of the Swedish Senate will rise from 52 to 61 out of a total of 150.

While the various bourgeois parties also increased their popular vote, they lost many seats in the Diets, with the exception of the Peasants' Federation, which added one member to its former total of 162. The Communists' vote fell from 39,006 to 37,094, and the number of their Diet seats from 32 to 14. The Conservatives have 324 seats and the Bourgeois Left 181.

Gustav Moeller, secretary of the

Swedish Social Democratic Party, summarizes the results of the elections as follows:

"The Conservatives must for the present bury the hopes they entertained of gaining an absolute majority in combination with the Peasants. The decline of the Bourgeois Left continues steadily, since their percentage of the poll has sunk lower at every election since 1919. The Communists are on the road to complete annihilation, while the forward course of Socialism cannot be checked. The capitalist parties joined for the first time in an endeavor to crush Socialism. We have not only beaten off this attempt, but have also inflicted severe losses on both the Conservatives and the Bourgeois Left."

HILLQUIT TO LECTURE ON 'LABOR AND THE LAW' AT THE RAND SCHOOL

THERE is no question of greater importance to the American labor movement than the attitude of the courts toward labor. In order that the ordinary worker and layman may understand in a non-technical but authoritative way all of the issues involved in this vital question, the Rand School has secured Morris Hillquit for four lectures on "Labor and the Law." There is no man in America better qualified to handle and present, in his very clear and logical fashion, this vital subject. Mr. Hillquit begins his course on Thursday, December 2, at 8:30 p. m., at the Rand School and continues for four successive Thursdays, closing December 23. No one who is active or interested in the labor movement can afford to stay away.

On Wednesday evening, January 5, Margaret Bondfield, the only woman member of the Ministry in the recent British Labor Government, will speak at the Rand School. She will have just arrived from the country of tremendous social upheavals, and she brings firsthand facts and views on "Labor Struggles in Great Britain."

Those who were at Camp Tamiment last summer and had the pleasure of listening to Prof. Broadus Mitchell, of Johns Hopkins University, will appreciate the pleasure the Rand School feels in announcing that Prof. Mitchell has consented to give six lectures at the school. "Industry Makes Politics in America" is the title of his course, which will start on Friday, January 7, at 8:30 p. m., and continue till February 11.

V. F. Calverton, who completed a very well attended six-lecture course two weeks ago, needs little introduction to Rand School students or to readers of the New Leader. Beginning on Friday, January 7, at 8:30 p. m., he will give a second course of four lectures, dealing with "Sex Expression in Literature," which is the subject of his book just off the press.

As usual, there will be no classes on Thanksgiving eve and night, Wednesday and Thursday, Nov. 24 and 25. This means that all students, former students and other friends of the Rand School are to come Wednesday evening to the concert and dance to be held in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, under the auspices of the Rand School Fellowship.

LECTURE CALENDAR

Manhattan
Sunday, November 21, 8:30 p. m.—Ethelred Brown, "Debs, the Apostle of Socialism." East Side Center, 204 E. Broadway.

Bronx
Tuesday, November 23, 8:30 p. m.—Jesse Wallace Hughan, "Workers and the League of Nations." Bronx Forum, 1167 Boston Road (near 167th street).

Brooklyn
Friday, November 19, 8:30 p. m.—Norman Thomas, "What May We Expect of the American Labor Movement." Musical program by Leon Goldman, violinist. Educational Center, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

Friday, November 26, 8:30 p. m.—Arthur Garfield Hays will lecture on "Russia of Today."

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W. J. Ghent to Open Discussion On Future of Socialism in U. S.

It is a commonplace truism among Socialists that the United States presents a special problem in Socialism. It is also generally agreed that post-war America differs from pre-war America and that new problems face us.

There is a welter of opinion regarding proper organization, agitation and policies for a successful Socialist movement, but no one has attempted to present a complete survey and criticism of our problems. Such a survey is essential to an intelligent discussion, and The New Leader is glad to announce that, beginning with the next issue, the first of two articles attempting such a survey will appear.

Mr. W. J. Ghent is the author of these articles, and a word regarding him will be timely. He was a member of the old Social Democratic Party, organized in 1898, and was also a member of the Socialist Party since its organization in 1901 to the period when the United States entered the World War. Ghent disagreed with the party's position regarding the war and resigned, but he did not, like some others, desert the Socialist cause. He remains a Socialist and writes as a Socialist, although not a member of the Socialist Party.

Mr. Ghent is the author of a number of books. He is the master of an English style that is marked for its clarity and force. He has certain criticisms to offer and certain suggestions to make. He writes from an independent point of view, and we are sure that his views will provoke a discussion that will be helpful and stimulating.

After Mr. Ghent has had his say the forum will be open for discussion in the columns of The New Leader. How long it will continue we cannot say at present, but we promise our readers that so long as we receive contributions that are confined to the questions raised we shall be glad to continue the discussion for at least several months.

We shall insist that all contributors observe some necessary rules. No personalities or questioning of motives will be permitted. Contributors should not write on both sides of a sheet and should use a pen or a typewriter. As near as possible contributions will be printed in the order of their receipt.

Watch for these two articles. You may not agree with what is said, but they will make you think. On the other hand, you may find some views in accord with your own. The discussion will be timely. Tell your friends.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

might have done worse. Before the strike, in these columns, I expressed my fear lest the question of the strike should be decided from the standpoint of a factional interest rather than the good of the union. The result, unfortunately, has justified that fear. One of the lessons of the strike is that it is dangerous to decide issues of union strategy on the basis of highly emotional factional controversy. It is easier to talk revolution than run a strike.

It is a relief to turn to the Passaic situation. On Armistice Day the first of the Passaic mills settled with the union and ended, so far as it was concerned, the heroic strike which had been continued since the end of January, 1926. The agreement that the Passaic Worst Mill has made with the United Textile Workers is not a complete victory for the strikers. It does, however, recognize the union and establish collective bargaining. For the last few months that has been the outstanding issue in Passaic. To win that recognition was the very foundation of further progress. We congratulate all parties involved in this heroic struggle—those who initiated the strike, the U. T. W. leaders who took it over and carried it on, those who gave moral and financial support during the long struggle, and, most of all, the rank and file of the workers themselves. Eagerly do we hope that the example of the Passaic Worst Mills will soon be followed by the larger mills in Passaic. Meanwhile, relief must be continued.

Against what I suppose he would call radicalism, our friend Matthew Wolf has an almost perfect batting

record. At a critical moment he came out with a statement nicely calculated to sabotage the Passaic strike and relief for it and to embarrass President Green. Then, like some Pope, he absolved Al Smith and the Democratic party of all responsibility for the acts of Democratic judges and police in the garment strike. Now, in his capacity as acting president of the notorious National Civic Federation, he issues an attack on the advocacy by the Eddy party of the recognition of Russia—an attack which even the editors of the New York Times find too extreme. Yes, it is a great record for consistency, but what a record for a labor leader!

He must be an optimist who could take stock of world conditions on Armistice Day and find much progress toward peace. The one bright spot, of course, is the enormous improvement in Franco-German relations, to which undoubtedly the existence of the League of Nations has contributed. In spite of Mussolini and the lesser dictators, there has been progress in Europe toward more rational international relations. Progress is less obvious when one turns to the relation of the stronger powers to weaker peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A typical British Liberal enthusiast for the League of Nations like Gilbert Murray makes a sorry mess of things when he tries to show that the League—or the great powers which dominate it—has done much of any value for China, Syria or the mandated territories generally.

But we Americans have no right to throw stones. The temper of our own country on Armistice Day showed all too clearly that America is not passionately devoted to the preservation of peace. We are not waging peace as once we waged war. Time is weakening our resolve that never again shall millions of the finest young men pay in agony for the follies of nationalism and the greed of profit hunters. President Coolidge's Armistice Day address and the country's reception of it help to prove my point.

Particularly disquieting were the President's utterances on war taxation and the conscription of men and money in the next war. The President first said that in the event of another war we cannot depend wholly on taxation, but must resort to "the use of the national credit." A little later he declared for an all-inclusive policy of conscription. Nothing more contradictory than these two statements can be imagined. The one effective way to conscript wealth under the capitalist system is to pay out of taxation the whole cost of war. Actually it is impossible to defer the cost of war. We pay for war as we go in men, munitions and money. The resort to credit merely means that certain classes of bondholders in the community and their children after them are favored at the expense of other classes. They loan money which later generations of workers must repay. To talk about continuing this system of paying for wars by loan and at the same time to talk about conscripting wealth is utter nonsense. The President, and it is to be feared most other advocates of wholesale conscription, do not really intend to conscript wealth. The bill now before Congress only assumes to control wealth. Conscription under a capitalist government will be for labor and its purpose will be to give the war machine absolute power in the country. Nothing more dangerous can be imagined. The President ought to substitute a policy of paying for war by taxing the rich for this misleading talk of "all inclusive conscription."

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Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.
Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
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Amusements



DRAMA

Intellectual Theatre

Luigi Pirandello's "Naked" Stirs Minds at the Princess

INTELLIGENT playgoers are always alert for an opportunity to see a play of Luigi Pirandello; though the earlier translation of his works have (for that reason) won no financial triumphs, they have proven him the most suggestive and most intellectual of modern Italian playwrights. The present production of "Naked" by Augustin Duncan at the Princess Theatre gives the first English presentation of that analytical drama, which builds interest out of authors' material.

In "Six Characters in Search of an Author," Pirandello depicts the loneliness and later adventures of certain characters whom an author had conceived for a story and then abandoned; what were these half-born things to do? In "Naked" he presents an author who gets an initial situation for a story from real life, who then—as authors have a way of doing—lives with his characters. This author, Signor Nota, takes his heroine into his house—only to find that she is not the heroine he had imagined when the newspaper clipping caught his fancy; nor does she—despite a proud or coquettish desire to move in a better world—rise to become the figure he had fancied; instead, she and the other persons involved in the tale sweep the poor author off his feet with the surge of their passions. (Are we not told that in every good tale the characters run away with the author?) Nota thus becomes a philosophical spectator, at first slightly annoyed that things have taken themselves in hand, then entertained and alert to draw beauty from the events of life, so that from painful reality shall rise something art. When events come to their tragic conclusion, the author achieves his victory; in an epilogue he assures us that he shall ignore the facts and supply a happy ending when he actually writes the tale.

When Madame Simone presented "Naked" here two seasons ago, she drew attention to the girl whose tale intrigues the novelist, whom he takes in. Mr. Duncan's company, more restrained than the French players, are less personally emphatic, which is as it should be, for the interesting thing in a play of Pirandello's is not any star, but the idea around which he has evolved his incidents, to which he has given dramatic expression. There is, of course, more in the play than the mere dramatization of literary criticism; the story which illustrates the point—which is lived in spite of the author—is a gripping one, if a bit talky; and much of universal social import is touched on, and left for the mind's development. The nature of, and the necessity of, lies; rather, the inevitability with which life leads us into them; the need humans have of a pleasant picture of themselves for the world to watch, so that they are not exposed in naked truth to others; these are some of the stepping-off spots held out to the quick and eager mind that turns for stimulation to Pirandello, in the performance of "Naked."

J. T. S.

Gordon's 'La Locandiera' Next Civic Repertory Production

"La Locandiera," a comedy by Goldoni, will be offered by the Civic Repertory Theatre as its fifth production Monday evening at the 14th Street Theatre. The production is in the last week of rehearsal. The cast will include Egon Brecher as the Cavalier di Ruffaterra, Savre Crawley as The Marquis di Forlipoll, Paul Leyssac as the Count d'Abbasfortia, Eva Le Gallienne as Mirandolina, the mistress of the inn; Alan Birmingham as Fabrizio, Beatrice Terry as Ortensia, Beatrice de Neergaard as Desjanira, and Barlowe Borland as the servant. The play will be presented after the manner of the Golden period, with antique settings and furniture obtained in Venice during the summer. The costumes, which were designed by G. E. Calthrop from originals in the Golden museum, were made in Florence. "La Locandiera" will be repeated Wednesday matinee and again on Thursday and Saturday nights. Ibsen's "The Master Builder" will be played on Tuesday evening, while Techev's drama, "Three Sisters," will be given Wednesday and Friday nights and Saturday matinee.

Sidney Howard's New Play Opens Monday at the Golden

Next Monday night the Theatre Guild will present its third production of the season, Sidney Howard's new play, "Ned McCobb's Daughter," at the new John Golden Theatre on West 58th street.

In the cast are Alfred Lunt, Clare Eames, Earle Larimore, Margalo Gilmore, Edward G. Robinson, Albert Perry, Philip Leigh, Philip Loeb, Maurice McKee and Morris Carnovsky. Philip Moeller directed the production and Aline Bernstein designed the costumes and settings.

"Broadway," the Philip Dunning and George Abbott drama of Broadway night life, at the Broadhurst Theatre, will reach its seventy-fifth performance this Friday.

SIDNEY HOWARD



The author of "They Knew What They Wanted," will be represented on Broadway next Monday when his play, "Ned McCobb's Daughter," opens at the John Golden Theatre

Yale to Dedicate New Theatre with Play by Student

Yale will place the drama side by side with architecture, painting, music and sculpture as one of the fine arts, in opening the new University Theatre at New Haven on December 10, 11 and 12. This is a novel step in the history of universities of the world.

This will be the first time that a university building specially built for a department of drama has been opened with a play written and produced by students, the work to include scenic and costume designing and lighting.

Professor George Pierce Baker (who was responsible for "47 Workshop" at Harvard), chairman of the Department of Drama, stated that the opening play would be "The Patriarch," written by Boyd Smith of Elkins, W. Va., a student in the department. It was chosen, he added, because it thoroughly represents the methods of the department. Written last year in the advanced work in playwriting, it had a very successful "tryout" before a small, selected audience invited to watch all productions of the department. The members of the audience sent in written criticisms of the play, which was revised last summer in the light of these comments. The theatre seats 700 persons.

"Up the Line" Coming To the Morosco Theatre

Richard Herndon will offer "Up the Line," the Harvard prize play by Henry Fisk Carlton, at the Morosco Theatre, Monday night. Florence Johns and Louis Calhern will play the chief roles. The play has been directed by Allan Dinehart. Others in the cast include Dorothy Estabrook, Pat S. Bassett, Barry McKim, Carlton Macy, Harlan Briggs, Lynne Berry, Daniel Kelly, Elizabeth Wragge and Lydia Willmore.

Miss Rambeau in "Just Life" At the Bronx Opera House

Thanksgiving week at the Bronx Opera House will have Marjorie Rambeau in her latest production, "Just Life." John Bowler's comedy, which has been playing at the Morosco Theatre for some time.

Other members of the cast include Clyde Fillmore, Boyd Marshall, Ethel Wilson, Lea Penman, Elaine Ivans, Jane Burby, James A. Boshell, Myra Bellair and Earle Stanley.

"Is Zat So?" will be the following attraction.

A. H. Woods announced that the Honorary Committee of the Theatre, under whose auspices Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printemps will make their American debut at the Chanin Theatre in December, will have Ethel Barrymore as chairman.

TOM MOORE



With Corinne Griffith in "Syncopating Sue," a new film, coming to Moss Broadway Theatre on Monday

Winter Garden's Hit

"Gay Paree" Gorgeously Gay and Dazzlingly Swift

THE 1926 edition of "Gay Paree" chortles and swirls through as lively an evening at the Winter Garden as that home of lively shows has ever known. The star of the evening is an accelerated phalanx of some three dozen gay and gracious maidens, linked under the title of "Gay Paree Girls"; for there is no doubt that the outstanding feature of the revue—despite an array of first dimension stars—is the chorus. The dances, staged and apparently conceived by Seymour Felix, swing with all the precision of army maneuvers, and with a variety of four-part movements and simultaneously shifting graceful sweeps that make the work of these well-trained girls a joy to behold. They are given full measure of time upon the stage, in accompaniment to other activities and in solo numbers; whether it be in the revelatory gyrations of "The More We Dance the More You See," or as the long line of Zulu maidens swaying down and up the forest path, or in that triumph of beautiful color and body, the "Moro-rocco Drill" with its contrast of red and white—the chorus moves with a harmony that builds to beauty of rhythm and form and holds the audience delighted. The final tribute to this body of swirling girls comes from the play itself; a group of six of the male stars gets together at the end, singing a song to justify the title—and the most effective of its points are parodies of the choral dances.

The stars themselves are not small in number, nor do they let the chorus, excellent as it is, keep them in the shade. Chic Sale is his usual peerless self in three humorous skits and in a bit of sob-stuff over Lincoln that wrings patriotic tears from the sentimental—as who is not? Several of the sketches of the evening are fairly lengthy, but most of them, whether brief or more protracted, whether it be "Mrs. Craig" picking her husband's stenographer or Chic Sale waiting at the doctor's, use the technique that became spectacular with the Italian futurist Marinetti: the playlet built around a swift climax, like a wise crack, or a practical joke. Frank Gaby's gab moves many of these along; Al Wohlman, Max Hoffmann, Jr., help materially in the swift patter; Chester Fredericks lives up the foot-steps, while Alice Bouden carries much of the lyric singing, and Winnie Lightner sings with a zestful abandon that carries all hearers along. The balanced acrobatics of the Rath brothers are exceptionally well done; the movie scene, the dead scene and many others make madcap merriment.

These swift numbers are set in a general amalgam of sumptuous costuming and staging that sets a costly standard for other shows and makes rich reaching for beauty. Several scenes, given for but the customary moment's glimpse as the gorgeous finale of a number moving to that climax, vie with tableaux that come to life for a languorous dancing, in the display of graceful groupings of feminine form. The tradition of the past few seasons, that gave these half-minute glimpses gull nudity, has surged past; but the scant covering permits a longer vision of the groups. They rise in lavish splendor, rich scenes of girls, gowns, and gossamer, amid the swirl of gaiety and the whirl of brilliant humor, in an entertainment that is everything that it pretends to be—and something more.

W. L.

MOSS' BROADWAY

Joe Browning, presenting "A Timely Sermon," Herman Berrens and Mile. Fif, in a skit by Herman Timberg titled "Ten Dollars a Lesson," will headline on the vaudeville program next week at the B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday.

The photoplay presentation will be Corinne Griffith in "Syncopating Sue," with Tom Moore as her chief support. Others in the cast include Marjorie Rambeau, Rockliffe Fellowes, Joyce Compton, Lee Moran and Sunshine Hart.

PALACE

Theodore Roberts, in association with Hardee Kirkland, in "The Man Higher Up," by William C. DeMille; Trini, with her own company and marimba band; Marion Sunshine, with Peter Larkin, Jerry Moore; Roger Imhof and Company; "The Pest House," with Marcelle Corene; Adler, Well and Hermann; Glenn and Jenkins; Frankson; and Ross Irene Kress and Company.

HIPPODROME

Walter L. Rosemont's Hispano-American revue; Four Camerons in "Like Father, Like Son"; Bert Gordon and Company with Vera Kings-ton; Charles Sargent and Burt Lewis; Big Rosie; Grace Adler and Company; and Fred Kinsley.

Walter Hampden will continue indefinitely in his Robert Browning romance, "Caponsacchi," at Hampden's Theatre. "An Enemy of the People," by Ibsen, recently announced as his third production, is now in rehearsal, and will be presented at special matinees along about the holidays.

FLORENCE JOHNS



Has a leading role in the Harvard prize play "Up the Line," which Richard Herndon will present at the Morosco Theatre Monday night

Strong Drama

"The Squall," with Blanche Yurka, at the 48th Street

THE characters in Jean Bart's strong drama, "The Squall," now playing with Blanche Yurka at the 48th Street Theatre, will agree with the proverb that it never rains but it pours. For the squall brought into the Mendez household as pretty a mess of trouble as could well come into a single place, in the form of Nubi the gypsy. The central theme of the play is a study of the havoc that can be wrought—and here, on three happy couples, is wrought; by a woman as willing as she is wise, and as pretty as she is seductive. Nubi, come on the wind of the squall for shelter, claims that she has been stolen by the gypsies, and is not of their blood; she begs for shelter also from their cruelty. The family decides to hide her; when her master, El Moro, comes, they deny her presence. He turns for the truth to the priest who is dining there; with characteristic Catholic ability, the padre pulls himself out by replying: "Nothing that belongs to you has come into this house." Once ensconced as a servant in the household, Nubi begins to employ her body as a means to fuller ease and sly delights; she plays with the engaged man servant, seeks to allure the loving father, and what she does to the newly engaged son can only be presented dramatically. This "The Squall" effects with, granting the circumstances, considerable power and conviction.

The play is well woven, Ida Mülle and Romney Brent bringing good store of comic balance for the heavier portions of the melodrama. Blanche Yurka has the most difficult portion, as the beloved wife and mother; for she sees the catastrophe coming in all its base horror; yet she must remain silently waiting, for she knows that to send off the gypsy would be to set forever in the hearts of the men the glory of an unrealized, unattainable romance; she must wait, hoping that they will come to see the truth. Is it too late when they do? Her part, therefore, calls for a fire and a restraint that Blanche Yurka sustains in their conflicting harmony, in excellent playing. The whole cast is, indeed, both gifted, and well organized under the direction of Lionel Atwill, who staged the production of a stirring play and a good study of a suffering woman. . . . It is interesting to note a new attractive and valuable feature of the program: a partial list of other stage appearances of the persons in "The Squall."

J. T. S.

Broadway Briefs

Ethel Barrymore, in "The Constant Wife," is announced to open at the Maxine Elliott Theatre on Monday night, November 29. The play is a comedy by Somerset Maugham, and is being produced by the Charles Frohman Company.

Noel Coward's comedy, "This Was a Man," will open at the Klaw Theatre Tuesday night, produced by Basil Dean, with a cast including Francine Larimore, A. E. Matthews and Nigel Bruce.

"The Constant Nymph" will be presented Thursday night, December 9, at the Selwyn Theatre. The play is a dramatization of Margaret Kennedy's novel, by Miss Kennedy and Basil Dean, and is being produced here by Mr. Dean and George C. Tyler.

"Two Girls Wanted" will move next Monday night from the new John Golden Theatre back to the Little, where it was first presented. "Seed of the Brute," now at the Little, will be transferred to the Comedy Theatre.

Brook Pemberton's production of "The Ladder" will be transferred from the Mansfield to the Waldorf Monday night. Then "The Ladder" moves, by Ibsen, recently announced as his third production, is now in rehearsal, and will be presented at special matinees along about the holidays.

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COSMOPOLITAN THEATRE

Direction MESSIS SHURET Eves. 8:30. Mat. Next Week—Thurs., Sat. Matinee THANKSGIVING DAY

LAST WEEK



In the Musical Comedy Hit NAUGHTY RIQUETTE

MONDAY NITE

at THE MOROSCO THEATRE West Forty-fifth Street RICHARD HERNDON will present the Harvard Prize Play "UP THE LINE"

by Henry Fiske Carlton with Florence Johns Louis Calhern and a Distinguished Cast Staged by Allan Dinehart

Matinees Wed. and Sat. SPECIAL POPULAR PRICE MAT. THANKSGIVING DAY

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FLORENCE REED in THE SHANGHAI GESTURE BY JOHN COLTON The greatest melodrama in the world

CHANIN'S 40th St. Mat. Wed. & Sat.

cast, including Antoinette Perry, remains the same.

"The Little Clay Cart" is now being played at the Neighborhood Playhouse, and will be continued without interruption until December 12.

Sepp Morscher will be musical conductor of Gilbert and Sullivan's "The Pirates of Penzance," which will succeed "Iolanthe" at the Plymouth Theatre Monday, December 6. Morscher recently served in a similar capacity with "Deep River." Louise Clifford will arrange the dance numbers, and Woodman Thompson designed the settings.

On their initial appearance at the Mansfield Theatre Monday evening, November 29, the Moscow Theatre Habima will present "The Dybbuk" as the first offering of their repertoire. The version used here will be the one staged by Eugen Vachtangow.

Robert Keith will have the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon," which the Actors' Theatre will present the first week in December.

Charles Chaplin's "A Woman of Paris" will comprise the Film Arts Guild screen repertoire program at the Cameo Theatre on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday. Adolphe Menjou and Edna Purviance are the featured players. The last half of the week, Wednesday to Saturday, will be devoted to "The Last Laugh," featuring Emil Jannings.

THEATRES

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

Opening at the JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE

58TH STREET, EAST OF BROADWAY Next MONDAY EVE. at 8:30

Ned McCobb's Daughter

A Comedy by SIDNEY HOWARD

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"The Judge's Husband" ranks easily as the best of all the Hodge plays. . . . Mr. Hodge is doubly welcome this season."

—Stephen Rathbun, Sun. Special Mat. Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 25

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JUST LIFE

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"THE LAST LAUGH"

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CORINNE GRIFFITH

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"SYNCOATING SUE"

and a gala holiday bill of

BEST VAUDEVILLE

TUES. EVE—GRAND FINAL OF

REARER BLACK BOTTOM CONTEST

"The Pearl of Great Price," the spectacular drama, moved to the Casino Theatre Monday night, following a two-weeks' engagement at the Century Theatre.

MUSIC

Opera Comique Season Opens At Jolson's Monday Night

FRENCH Opera Comique, interpreted by the real French artists, will begin a ten weeks' season, Monday night, at Jolson's Theatre, beginning with "Girofle-Girofla," by Le Coq. This opera will be presented in French on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and in English on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Thanksgiving Day matinee and night will be in English. There are two distinct companies of the French-American organization, with separate casts of equally distinguished artists. Mlle. Marcelle Evard is prima donna of the French cast, opening the season, and on Tuesday night Miss Irene Williams sings the same role in English. The artistic direction is in the hands of E. Thomas Salignac and Max Bendix, both well known figures in the musical world.

"Girofle-Girofla" is well known on the continent, and played quite often by light opera groups. It is based on a story of girl twins who are to be married to two swains; one of the girls disappears and the papa tries to marry the remaining twin to both of the men, with complications. The tale lends itself to French music and mimicry.

The repertoire of the French-American Opera Comique will include, besides the opening opera, "La Mascotte," "La Pille de Madame Angot," "Les Cloches de Corneville," "Veronique," "La Belle Helene," "La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein," "Orpheus aux Enfers," "La Perle," "Madame Favart," "Barbe-Bleue," "Lakme," "Manon" and "Mireille." E. Thomas Salignac, the French director, formerly tenor of the Metropolitan Opera, will have in the French group Mlle. Marcelle Evard, Mlle. Jenny Syril, Mlle. Sonia Almy, Mlle. Suzanne Laugier, Mlle. Andree Moreau, M. Georges Foix, M. Hiri-garay, and M. Servatius, all noted members of the Opera in Paris. M. Julien Clemmandt of the Gaite-Lyrique will act as conductor.

Among the principal members of the American branch are Irene Williams, Hazel Huntington, Anne Yago, Nina Pipzet, Ruth Betzner, Geraldine Samson, Jefferson de Angeles, Charles Hart, Bertram Peacock, J. Earl Weatherford and Francis Tyler.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic Orchestra resumes its concert at Carnegie Hall this Sunday afternoon, when Mr. Mengelberg will conduct the first American performance of Johan Wagenaar's overture to "The Taming of the Shrew," along with Charpentier's "Impressions of Italy," Stravinsky's "Fire Bird" suite and the "Mephisto Waltz" of Liszt. Wagenaar is director of the Royal Conservatory of Music at The Hague and is known abroad as a composer of music in lighter vein.

A Tchaikovsky program is scheduled for the Philharmonic Carnegie Hall concert of Wednesday evening and Friday afternoon. The "Pathetic" symphony, the Serenade for string orchestra and the "Rococo" variations for cello and orchestra are to be played, with Hans Kindler as soloist. The Wednesday evening concert takes the place of the usual Thursday evening subscription event.

The fourth students' concert in Carnegie Hall Saturday evening will include Wagenaar's "Taming of the Shrew" overture, Charpentier's "Impressions of Italy," Stravinsky's "Fire Bird" suite and Liszt's "Mephisto" waltz.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Wagner's "Walkure" will be given a second performance by the New York Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Walter Damrosch in Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon. Act I in concert form will be presented with Elsa Ales singing the part of Sieglinda, Rudolph Laubenthal, Siegmund, and Frederick Patton, Hunding. The performance will be preceded with explanatory comments by Mr. Damrosch at the piano.

Next Friday evening, in Carnegie Hall, Damrosch has selected Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 4 in F Minor as the major number. Lewis Richards, harpsichordist, will be the assisting artist, playing Haydn's Concerto in D major. The Suite de Ballet from "Iphigenia in Aulis" by Gluck, is the third number. This program, with Richards as soloist, will be repeated in Mecca Auditorium Sunday, Nov. 28.

Josef Knitzer, a thirteen-year-old violinist who is being sponsored by Leopold Auer, will make his debut at the children's concert in Carnegie Hall next Saturday morning. He will play the last two movements from Mendelssohn's Concerto in E minor.

Music and Concerts

N. Y. SYMPHONY

WALTER DAMROSCH Conductor
MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sun. Aft., Nov. 21
60th Anniversary Performance of Wagner's "WALKURE"
Act I—Complete in Concert Form—
This performance will be preceded by explanatory comments at the piano by Mr. Damrosch.
Also: RIDE OF THE WALKYRIES and FIRE
MUSIC from WAGNER'S "WALKURE"
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PHILHARMONIC

MENGELBERG, Conductor
CARNegie HALL, THIS SUN. AFT., at 3
Wagenaar, Charpentier, Stravinsky, Liszt
Garcia HALL, WED. AFT., Nov. 24, at 8:30
FRI. AFT., Nov. 26, at 8:30
ALL-TCHAIKOVSKY PROGRAM
Carnegie Hall, Sat. Ev., Nov. 27, at 8:30—Students' Arthur Judson, Mgr. (Rialway Place)

EVA LE GALLIENNE



Will play the Mistress of the Inn in the Goldoni comedy "La Locandiera" which opens Monday night at the 14th Street Theatre

Mexican Tipica Orchestra Give Debut Concert Next Saturday

The Tipica Orchestra of Mexico, will make its bow to a New York audience at Town Hall Saturday afternoon. This orchestra was organized some ten or twelve years ago and became the official orchestra of the former Mexican President Alvaro Obregon. Every member of the orchestra is a graduate of the Mexican Conservatory of Music, and the conductor, Jose Briso, is one of the most eminent of Mexican musicians and a composer of note. The instrumentation of the orchestra will prove rather striking for Anglo-Saxon symphonic conceptions. No wind-instruments are used. The backbone of the orchestra is made up of violins, saleros, marimbas and other instruments of the plucked-string variety. There are also cellos, bass-violins, a harp and a guiro, a typical Mexican instrument. The programs draw largely on Spanish and Mexican sources, but standard compositions are also included. The orchestra also offers a vocal quartet as soloists, who sing songs of the Mexican ranchers.

Music Notes

Martha Graham will give a dance recital at the Klaw Theatre Sunday evening, November 25, to music by Debussy, Ravel, Scriabin, Ernest Bloch and de Falla.

Evel Belousoff, Russian cellist, will appear in recital at Aeolian Hall Monday evening, November 29.

Doris Niles, the dancer, will give her second Carnegie Hall program on December 6.

Max Rosen will give a violin recital Monday evening in Carnegie Hall.

Genevieve Cadie, soprano, will give a recital Tuesday evening at Town Hall.

Joseph Sziget is scheduled to give a violin recital Tuesday night at Aeolian Hall.

Bertha Harmon, soprano, will make her debut Wednesday afternoon at Town Hall.

Frances Berkova will make her first American appearance in violin recital at Aeolian Hall Tuesday evening.

Jed Harris is casting a third company of "Broadway" for Chicago. The other two are the Los Angeles and London companies.

Bronx Dramatic Group of

The Bronx Free Fellowship

All young people interested in dramatic work under an unusually fine director are invited to the organization meeting of this group at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Sunday, November 21, at 4 p. m. Interest in dramatic work is one outgrowth of lectures on drama and literature at the Fellowship Wednesday evenings.

Special Notice!

All party officials sending party news to The New Leader are notified that all such items must be in the New Leader office next week not later than Tuesday noon. We will go to press one day earlier next week. Items not received by Tuesday noon cannot be published.

KLAW THEATRE

W. 45TH ST. Matinees Thurs. & Sat.
Moving Monday to Wallace's Theatre
A TRIUMPH!
T. C. Murray's Great Irish Play

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with JOHN L. SHINE
JULIE HARTLEY-MILBURN
"The art and the gift of Mr. Shine and his company are those of international concern. The production that has brought them to New York is a genuinely extraordinary exhibition of the drama as it can be, and fourth—minds, affections, true."—E. W. Osborn in "Eve. World."

Cloak Pact Follows Smith Plan

(Continued from page 2)

wages earned, for regular wages paid and/or overtime, the equivalent of at least 32 weeks of employment at the regular rate of weekly pay during the preceding year (with a corresponding one-season measurement for the period preceding the first and third reorganization) shall have the right to reorganize their shops, provided that such reorganization shall not cause a total displacement of more than 10 per cent of such workers in any shop at any reorganization period, and provided further:

(a) That any workers displaced by such reorganization shall be replaced through the Employment Bureau.

(d) That all workers discharged in pursuance of such reorganization shall receive a week's pay.

(e) That such reorganization rights shall be exercised only in the months of June, 1927; June, 1928, and December, 1928.

(d) Members of the Industrial Council who are "inside manufacturers" exclusively, i. e., who make all their garments of materials directly purchased by them and produce all such garments which their workers ordinarily produce on their own premises, and who give their employees the equivalent of 32 weeks' wages in a year or corresponding earnings in the one-season periods as above defined shall have the reorganization rights herein provided regardless of the number of workers employed by them.

(e) That there shall be no unfair discrimination for union activity in connection with such discharge.

The wage equivalent of employment shall be calculated on the basis of the total amount of wages paid to all permanent workers in the employ of employers who are in the employ of such employers at the beginning of the season and who have been retained or have remained in such employ up to the time of reorganization. Workers engaged during the year shall not be exempted from discharge in connection with such reorganization.

New firms admitted to membership in the Council shall not be granted the privilege of such reorganization until they shall have

been members of the Council for at least six months.

The term "union activity" as herein employed shall not be construed to have reference to the position of the discharged worker in the union or in the shop, but to activities of such worker not connected with the manner of the performance of his work in the shop.

The Union agrees that the new reorganization will not be granted to any employer operating under individual contract with the Union.

The commission's statement on this point follows:

The commission recommends, therefore, that in addition to privileges accorded in existing contracts, all manufacturing establishments having a regular force of thirty-five or more employees be given the right to reorganize their shops once a year at the beginning of a season, provided that it shall not in any one year cause a total displacement of more than ten per cent of the workers in any shop, that workers affected shall have either a week's notice or a week's pay, that there shall be no unfair discrimination, and that any workers displaced shall be replaced through the employment bureau.

This right should be accorded only to establishments which are parties to the collective agreements and under the jurisdiction of the impartial machinery.

The union has asserted that it adheres to its established policy of opposition to arbitrary discharges of workers under any circumstances.

Remarks: (1) This is the most important clause of the agreement. Upon it hinges the meaning of everything else. It abolishes the cloakmakers' "right to the job." On the other hand, it does give encouragement to the inside shops, which have the better working conditions and are easier to control.

Discharge, as under the old agreement, may still take place for incompetency, misconduct, insubordination, breaking of reasonable rules jointly established and soldering on the job. Reorganization, as formerly, is still permitted when "necessitated by a permanent curtailment of his (employer's) business or a fundamental change in the character of his business." The new reorganization rights go further. In the specified classes of shops employees may be discharged at stated periods for any cause except union activity. The commission's recommendation had been broader: "no unfair discrimination."

Remarks: (a) This is not a guaranteed period of employment nor does it pretend to be. It simply gives a certain advantage to the shops with steadier employment. The number of weeks, thirty-two, is less than the average of almost thirty-seven and a half worked now. (b) As for the wage equivalent, that involves great dangers. It is a lump sum. It includes overtime. It makes no provision for the worker who has the lowest wages or works the least number of hours.

The higher paid and the more steadily employed overbalance the average. The result is a thirty-two weeks wage equivalent for the more fortunate only.

(3) There is no deposit set aside as security, as demanded by the union.

Reorganization may have two possible effects:

(a) Subduing of active union members on pretext not involving unionism.

(b) Speeding up.

The first is only to be feared in proportion to the union's weakness. On the other hand, the union is here to stay and the manufacturer must contend with active members. The second is more serious. Everybody, not only the leaders, but the entire rank and file, will have the sword of discharge hanging over his head unless he produces sufficient work to please the "boss." This will be an adequate discipline under the week work system now prevailing. The smaller number of hours of work and the higher minimum wage rates must be considered in relation to such a compulsion. The same threat may also lead to secret deals between employees and employers, which are even now not uncommon.

(2) The wage equivalent of thirty-two weeks of employment must be discussed in relation to the union's oft repeated assertion, stated officially as follows: "All workers employed in the industry shall be guaranteed 36 full weeks' employment during the year or the payment of their established wages for such a period. Such guarantee shall be secured by a deposit of an adequate sum of money weekly by the employer to be accounted for at the end of the guaranteed period and paid over to the worker or returned to the employer as the case may be."

The commission had made no recommendations on this matter, leaving the road free for negotiations. Its statisticians, however, showed that the average number of weeks worked in the shops of the Industrial Council was 37.4.

Remarks: (a) This is not a guaranteed period of employment nor does it pretend to be. It simply gives a certain advantage to the shops with steadier employment. The number of weeks, thirty-two, is less than the average of almost thirty-seven and a half worked now. (b) As for the wage equivalent, that involves great dangers. It is a lump sum. It includes overtime. It makes no provision for the worker who has the lowest wages or works the least number of hours.

The higher paid and the more steadily employed overbalance the average. The result is a thirty-two weeks wage equivalent for the more fortunate only.

(3) There is no deposit set aside as security, as demanded by the union.

(4) The Commission recommends one reorganization a year; the agreement provides for one in 1927 and two in 1928.

(5) Discharges may all be made from one craft, as, for example, the operators.

V. GENERAL REMARKS:
A. The agreement provides for the selection of the impartial Chairman by the Governor. If the parties cannot agree upon a choice. The Governor, of course, is the "capitalistic," "strike-breaking," "Al" Smith.

B. The Unemployment Insurance Fund is continued as heretofore, with contributions by employers and employees. The "lefts" had demanded—though unofficially—that contributions should come only from the "bosses."

C. The "lefts" had come out for no provision in an agreement depriving the worker of the right to strike. (See writer's "Lefts Right About Face," NEW LEADER, March 20, 1926, page 3.) The present settlement ignores this thesis.

VI. CONCLUSIONS:
We can best summarize in quoting from our statement in the NEW LEADER at the time when the commission made its final recommendations:

"To this observer, the recommendations of the Commission seem on the whole eminently fair. The union, of course, has not had all its demands granted, but it has had its main claims upheld—that the jobbing sub-manufacturing system must be restricted and, if possible, replaced by the inside shop. What else the union leaders can hope to gain depends entirely upon their estimate of and confidence in their economic strength. If the union is weak, even the best of recommendations will go unenforced. Moreover, there is a certain strategic advantage in accepting the suggestions in principle. It will mean the backing of the Commission and the enlistment of 'public sympathy,' which is a factor in making or breaking the morale of one side or another."

Twenty weeks of strike have led only to an agreement that could have been had before the outbreak of hostilities by accepting the report of the Governor's Commission as the BASIS of negotiation. In the words of Morris Rubin, electionist of the "lefts," when he acted as chairman of the shop chairman's meeting which ratified the agreement: "Theory is one thing, and practice is another."

Assembly, Frank Rosenfarb, has elected an educational committee which plans a number of forums in each school district. August Claessens has promised to be the first speaker. Requests are coming from many parts of the district for speakers.

The 24 A. D. also desires to extend thanks through The New Leader to the Bealy Circle of the Yipsels for the splendid co-operation given in the campaign. The branch meets each Friday night at 420 Hinesdale street.

Yipseldom

Circle 13

Circle 13 last Sunday celebrated its third anniversary and Henry Sapkowicz, who was organizer at the time, delivered a talk on the history of the circle. There has been a marked increase in the membership. Our Yipsels are interested and eager to support the cause of Socialism.

At every meeting there is a fine educational program. At the last meeting, Meyer Applebaum delivered an oration on "Child Labor." George Berkowitz spoke on "Science." Frank Rosenfarb will continue his series of lectures on "Why I Became a Socialist" Nov. 21, at 7 p. m., at 420 Hinesdale street, Brooklyn.

Circle 1

Members who have not as yet received tickets for the dance of Circle 1, Bronx, this Saturday, Nov. 20, should get them. Remember that not only a good time is assured you but the proceeds will go to a worthy cause. Tickets can be obtained from members of Circle 1, and at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. Fifty cents is all they cost.

Members who would like to assist in the work of the Y. P. S. L. by acting as leaders or directors, and to help in the educational work of our young people's movement are hereby invited to a class and conference under the direction of Algon Lee organized for this purpose. For further information write or call Young People's Socialist League, 7 East 13th street.

Circle 1, Juniors

Circle 1, Juniors, will hold an important meeting on Friday evening, Nov. 19, at the Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken avenue, Brooklyn. Very important business will be discussed. All newcomers are invited. An interesting program has been arranged with Charles Schuchman as speaker.

Circle 4, Seniors, Bronx

Under the energetic leadership of Irving Basoff, the circle is developing activity in the right direction. A very interesting discussion took place last Sunday on the question of "Prohibition, is it a failure or a success?" with Harry Davis as leader. Almost every member took the floor, and the debate had to be adjourned due to the late hour, until Sunday, Nov. 28.

This Sunday, Nov. 21, at 3.30 p. m., the circle will meet as usual at 4215 Third avenue, corner Tremont, two flights up. Comrade Basoff, the organizer, has prepared a literary program, consisting of recitals, short story and humoresque. All young folks are welcome.

Dorothy Steinberg was elected financial secretary and treasurer.

Circle 3, Juniors, Bronx

This Friday an interesting program has been arranged by Sidney Hertzberg, the organizer, and every member should be on time, as the meeting will adjourn at 10 o'clock sharp, to allow the Social Welfare Group of the Bronx to hold a special conference.

This Social Group will consist of Bronx Yipsels, regardless of what circle they belong to, who desire to develop and to practice public speaking. Beginners will be given personal assistance and guidance by the director, Comrade Desant, as well as by Harris Davis, who is chairman of this group.

It meets this Friday night at 1167 Boston Road, Socialist Party Headquarters, one flight up.

Junior Yipsels

The Juniors are running a declamation contest and dance Friday, Nov. 26, at 62 East 106th street. Admission 35 cents. Everyone invited.

The Junior central committee will meet Saturday, Nov. 20, at 8 p. m., at Rand School. All delegates are urged to attend.

All returns for tickets for the dance must be in by Tuesday, Nov. 23, at the very latest. Safety first. Send them to the C. C. meeting by a C. C. delegate, or to Lillian Kaplan, 355 West 37th street, New York City.

Three Circles Meet

On Friday, Nov. 5, Circle 1, Juniors of Brooklyn, Circle 6, Juniors of Harlem and Circle 1, Intermediates of Brooklyn, met at 218 Van Sicken avenue, headquarters of Circle 1, Juniors. An excellent program was prepared but could not be entirely performed because of a sudden call to attend a package party given by Circle 2, Juniors, at the Labor Lyceum.

Comrade Rubin is the organizer of Circle 1; Comrade Miller the director. Comrade Schuchman, keeper of buildings of Workmen's Circle Center 355, at 21 Van Sicken avenue, is of very valuable assistance.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

Socialists Prepare for Work

From many parts of the United States letters arrive telling of plans for organization work. Socialists are taking new hope and are looking forward to the city elections of next year, and then to the 1928 campaign. Reports on organization, measured by dues stamps sold for last month, show a good increase. Now is the best time to organize stronger and prepare for the work ahead. Not one Socialist should be without a paid-up membership card and not one reader of the American Appeal or New Leader should be without a membership card. Any information desired may be secured by writing National Headquarters, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Herman's Meetings

Emil Herman is having some good success on his organization tour across the continent. He is creating new activity in local organizations and getting some of them to reorganize. He is selling books, getting subscriptions to the American Appeal, besides collecting funds to defray expenses of the tour.

Illinois

The Executive Committee of Cook County has set Monday evening, Nov. 29, as the date for the City Convention of the Socialist Party to nominate working class candidates for the spring election. The convention will be held in the Douglas Park Labor Lyceum, Kedzie and Ogden avenues. Comrade Romualdi, secretary of the Italian Federation, has promised to secure a large delegation from the Italian Branch to be present at this City Convention.

Utah

All readers of the American Appeal and others who are interested are requested to meet at the Public Library, Salt Lake City, Friday evening, Nov. 26, to arrange a program for the winter months to advance the cause of the party.

Emil Herman, National Organizer of the Socialist Party, will speak in the Labor Temple Sunday evening, Nov. 28. All together for a bigger and more militant movement in Salt Lake City and the State.

Idaho

Clear the decks for reorganization of the Socialist Party in this State and for Socialist national and State tickets in 1928. We must regain our official standing. We must secure six thousand (6,000) signatures of legal voters. The last Idaho campaign demonstrated that the three senatorial candidates all sang the same song, namely, protective tariff for the farmers. Thus the mask was torn from the so-called Progressive Party and their candi-

dates' speeches revealed conclusively that their party was only a Borah appendix to the Republican Party in Idaho. Although Progressive (?) leaders have for over three years claimed that the Idaho Progressive (?) Party was "the Socialist party under another name," said leaders by their votes on labor measures in the Legislature showed that that party was the enemy of men and women of toil.

Write to C. H. Cammanns for information how to organize Socialist Party locals and to secure petitions for a place on the ballot. Send donations along, so that postage, printing and envelopes may be provided to obtain desired results. Do it now. Do not delay. Address C. H. Cammanns, Box 31, Boise, Idaho.

Indiana

The Socialists of Terre Haute will meet at Reinbold's Bakery, 426 Ohio street, at 2.30 p. m. Sunday, Nov. 21, to plan organization work. All readers of the American Appeal and New Leader should be on hand.

New York City

The well-attended meeting of the City Central Committee was held on November 16th. Comrade Joseph Weil was elected chairman in the absence of Julius Gerber, permanent chairman. The minutes of the Executive Committee of October 12th and November 9th were read and adopted. These minutes contained the following important information, and decisions: Sixty-six new members were admitted into the Party; that a charter had been granted to the new Porto Rican Branch of Harlem and to a Jewish Verband Branch in Brownsville; that monthly meetings of all new members be called for a social gathering in some room in the Peoples House and that a sub-committee of the Executive Committee be selected to arrange these gatherings; that a meeting be called of the new Harlem Porto Rican Branch to install its membership; that a speaker representing the Socialist Party be sent to the Sacco and Vanzetti protest meeting in Madison Square Garden; that \$50 be donated by the city office to the 20th Congressional Campaign Committee; that Comrade G. August Gerber chairman of the Committee on Organization and Comrade Lee on the Committee for the Y. P. S. L. report progress and that a committee will be selected to assist the Bronx County Committee in the promotion of the success of their annual ball on January 30th.

Comrade G. August Gerber was elected Recording Secretary of the City Central and Executive Committee. On roll call of branches Comrades Wenger, Rigaldi, Bela Low, Dr. Ingemann, H. Bassen, G. Bernstein, F. Paulfich, Samuel Orr, J. Sugar, F. Rosenfarb, S. Schneider, R. Brody, Halpern, S. Wolff, A. Student, Mergerlin and W. Herman reported on past and future activities of their

branches. The Executive Committee was asked to consider the possibility of having Socialist talks broadcast throughout the year. Comrade Sarah Volovick resigned from the City Executive Committee. Comrade Jacob Bernstein was elected to fill the vacancy.

Fraternal submitted,
G. A. Gerber,
Rec. Sec'y.

New York State

State Executive to Meet

The State Executive Committee will meet at Peoples House, New York, Sunday morning, Nov. 21, at 10 o'clock, and will take up for special consideration the matter of winter educational and propaganda work. The members are Arland Westchester, Feigenbaum of Kings, Gerber of New York, Hilsdorf of Monroe, Kobbe of Rensselaer, Newkirk of Oneida, Orr of Bronx, Sander of Onondaga and Mrs. Wiley of Schenectady County.

State Secretary Merrill announces that campaign receipts of the State Office were the largest since 1920, but the total amount of \$4,508.44 donated and collected for the campaign of 1926 is likely to be overtopped by its expenses when all bills have been disposed of. It will be recalled that 1920 was a year of ouster proceedings when unusual interest was taken. The fact that almost all the contributions to the campaign came in during the latter part of October makes last month a record for the State organization in the matter of receipts and disbursements.

Bronx

A general party meeting is called to meet on Friday evening, November 19th at the Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. The principal order of business will be the effecting of a proper organization for the carrying to success our annual ball on January 30th at Hunsdpoint Palace. Spurred on by the success of our last year's affair every effort will be made to make for an even greater success this year. A splendid concert is being arranged for the afternoon program and Dan Barnett's radio orchestra will begin the dance music at 7 p. m. One attractive feature of this year's affair will be the giving away of a prize to the lucky ticket holder of an honest to goodness automobile—an Essex Six Coach Sedan, now on display at 1339 Boston Road. This is a very handsome prize and it should stimulate a considerable interest in this affair. Every effort must be made to turn out the largest crowd in the history of our Bronx organization.

A Forum is now being conducted by the Central Branch at its headquarters, 1167 Boston Road. A goodly crowd was present at the second lecture held on November 9th when Comrade Samuel Orr spoke on unemployment. Comrade Orr substituted for Darwin J. Mererole and although the evening was a wretched one the attendance was excellent in spite of

the rain. Branch No. 7 is making plans for the conduct of a successful forum in their headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue. Comrade August Claessens has been obtained to open this forum with a series of lectures beginning on Friday, December 3rd.

Interpretive Dancing Class
If you have a little girl in your home who loves to dance, then listen!

At the request of several comrades a class in esthetic and interpretive dancing for children will open at Local Bronx headquarters, 1167 Boston road, on Sunday, Nov. 21, at 11 a. m.

Local Bronx has been fortunate to obtain the valuable services of Minna Donn, well-known teacher in the art of rhythmic and interpretive dancing, who for several years has studied with Bird Larson.

Two classes will be formed—one for beginners and one for advanced pupils. To defray the expense of these dancing courses of ten weeks each a small charge will be made. Register your child now at Local Bronx headquarters, 1167 Boston road, or address Esther Friedman, 1930 Harrison avenue, Bronx.

Brooklyn

6th A. D.
The members of the 6th A. D. at a special meeting Tuesday evening, Nov. 9, at their club house, 167 Tompkins avenue, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we express our heartfelt appreciation of the splendid campaign just concluded, conducted by the City Committee, under the management of our City Executive Secretary, August Claessens.

"The campaign, rather than the encouraging results, convinced us of the revitalization of our movement in New York and the happy indication of an early recovery of recent losses."

The 6th A. D. also adopted appropriate resolutions expressing the profound sorrow of the members over the death of our late Comrade, Eugene V. Debs.

2d A. D.
Believing that we must strike while the iron is hot, the 2nd A. D., which surprised other branches by its

THE NEW LEADER

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributions are requested to be 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, NOVEMBER 20, 1926

THE CLOAKMAKERS

IT is a ghastly tragedy that the cloak-makers face in the recent settlement and yet one that will eventually lead to clarity and solidarity. A sick industry, like a sick human being, is subject to disease germs and it is not surprising that the Communist disease attacked the union and became a virulent infection in the past two years. There were honest members who listened to the Communist "slogans" and placed a large measure of power in the hands of Communists.

To change the metaphor, like a group of amateur surgeons these leaders experimented with the union. They were to show how to win a strike. They had their way. They acted on the assumption that a strike is a simple thing instead of a complex and hazardous weapon that involves many factors, each of which must be studied before venturing to use it. Regardless of differences of opinion, the whole membership responded to the strike call and the leadership was given a free opportunity to work its mysterious magic.

The results are evident in the disastrous settlement reported in this issue of The New Leader. It repeats the story of the settlement of the furriers' strike, also under Communist leadership. In both cases, some advances that had been won by many sacrifices and intelligent generalship over many years of bitter struggle have been wiped out. No amount of special pleading by the Communist leaders can avail against the facts. Thousands of workers are compelled to pay the price of incompetent leadership. The "slogans" are as flat as bladders emptied of wind while those who bear a heavy responsibility for this disaster are doing their utmost to avoid a whirlwind of resentment.

Yet something like this had to happen to convince some members that the healing of a sick industry is not to be found in the importation of a patent balm from Moscow. The ladies garment industry is a special problem. In fact, it presents a maze of problems unlike anything to be found in any other industry. These problems are many and complex, some of them so deep-rooted in the economics of the industry as to constitute a chronic disease. To assume that some universal formula can be applied to the industry and enforced by a strike is to indulge in childish thinking. Only time, patience, study and intelligent generalship can ever attain an approach to a settlement of some of these problems to say nothing of a solution.

It is little short of criminal for a group of fanatics to juggle with the lives of thousands of workers and hazard the achievements of a generation by a reckless gesture, but the evil is done. It remains for the members of the union to profit by this experience. They should not lose heart. The magicians have played their last card. It is time to ignore them and proceed to build.

"JUSTICE"

THE trial of Fall and Doheny will begin next week. The charge is conspiracy to defraud the government. Another charge is bribery but this will not figure in the trial and this disturbs the editorial staff of the New York World. The World states some history and asks a question: "It is thirty-three months since Edward L. Doheny admitted under oath that he sent \$100,000 to Albert Fall. It is thirty-two months since the President was authorized and directed by Congress to institute criminal proceedings. It is twenty-eight months since the bribery indictments were returned. It is nine months since a single move has been made by the Government in these cases. Why?"

The answer is simple. It isn't Tom Mooney, or Sacco or Vanzetti who is facing indictment and trial. That makes all the difference in the world and it should be apparent to The World. Sacco and Vanzetti are even denied access to certain government records which, it is believed, will materially strengthen their plea of innocence. These documents it is alleged show that agents of the Department of Justice helped to "frame" the case against these two Italians. The Department of Justice has refused to open its files to prove the truth or falsity of the accusation. Two agents of the department have sworn to affidavits regarding their activities in the case. Robert Morss Lovett has just appealed to President Coolidge to permit access to these records.

Here is a comparison of how "justice" works in the case of the rich and powerful and the poor and weak. The comparison establishes a contrast. The contrast is an answer to The World's "Why." The two cases are not exceptional. They are joined with so many others that the conviction is

overwhelming that property gags justice while the cards are stacked against the workman.

DEBS AND THE UNIONS

THE New Leader has received from a number of readers copies of the November Bulletin of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L. which carries an editorial on the late Eugene V. Debs with the request that it be answered. The editorial concedes that Debs "was loved and revered by those with whom he most closely associated and even those in the trade unions movement who were opposed to his policies and methods."

Nobody will quarrel with this statement but it is preceded by a few sentences that are surprising. The editorial declares that Debs "was an opponent of the trade union movement" and "led a picturesque life but wholly impractical." The Bulletin might just as well declare that the Civil War was not fought in the sixties. It is a commonplace fact of labor history that Debs gave years of his life to organizing the locomotive firemen and the trainmen. In the early nineties he gave much of his time to aid in organizing trade unions in Terre Haute and to organization of the Central Labor Union of that city. Moreover, it is doubtful if Debs ever made a speech in his life in which he did not strongly emphasize the need of economic organization of workingmen and women.

The trouble with some representatives of our trade unions is that they cannot tolerate an opinion differing with theirs on the matter of policy, methods and structure of unionism without assuming that such difference is evidence of hostility to unionism itself. This appears to be the sentiment back of the declaration that Debs was an opponent of the trade unions. The statement is in stark contrast with the facts. An otherwise good editorial is marred by this ungenerous and untruthful statement.

As for Debs being "impractical," history alone can give the answer. The pioneers who organized trade unions in the thirties only to have them collapse in the following decade could just as well have been charged with being "impractical." No doubt there were men living who witnessed this collapse who considered the pioneers "impractical." History has given another judgment. As for ourselves, we believe that the life of Debs was the most fruitful of any in our generation and we have little doubt of what the final verdict will be.

RADIO ROBOTS

GIVEN an economic system where possession of wealth carries with it social prestige, economic mastery and governing power for a class, the ruling class will be able to control the sources of information and education. The evolution of radio broadcasting presents a striking example of this truth. Its evolution, unlike the newspaper, has been so rapid that within a few years it has developed from an experiment to a giant business that reaches almost as many people as the post-office does.

H. V. Kaltenborn of the Brooklyn Eagle, the most noted broadcaster of "current events," recently offered some observations on the evolution of radio. "Radio is influencing public opinion by what it excludes even more than by what it gives," he said. "Our present tendency is toward uniformity rather than toward diversity in the material that is broadcast. Small stations are giving way to large ones. Super-power is succeeding low power. Multi-station hook-ups are replacing single station programs."

In other words, the radio is following the economic evolution that has occurred in many industries, a development from the simple small business through competition to the complex corporate enterprise of modern capitalism. The little vassals are gathered in by a few great oligarchs and the material that is broadcast becomes as standardized as the product of a Ford factory.

Of course there are still attempts at competition. Of this Kaltenborn states that only a few years ago Socialist candidates who were excluded could with an outlay of \$10,000 establish a station. They may even do so today but "the high-powered stations would drown them out." In other words, genuine competition, as in the oil industry, is impossible. Broadcasting is a matter of the investment of a large amount of capital. That is, it has become a monopoly of big capitalist investors just as the powerful daily newspaper is.

A few Socialist speeches were broadcasted in New York in the recent campaign but it is also true that they were practically drowned out by the number broadcasted by candidates who are representative of the existing economic order. The radio as a result of all these conditions, as Kaltenborn himself aptly says, "is making people think in union. It is doing more than any other agency to develop the lock-step in public opinion." This analogy with the coercion of prison regime is fine. Unless more diversity of views is permitted we may easily become a race of brainless Robots. Perhaps that is what our ruling classes and their twin parties want but unthinking Robots may prove dangerous in days of a social crisis when important changes may be necessary even to give a new lease of life to our ruling classes.

Disarmament

When the sword shall be turned into ploughshare,
When the sons that brave women have borne
Shall no longer march out under banners
To be slaughtered and blinded and torn.
When those in the seats of the mighty
Shall count only power worth while
When its wielding brings not desolation,
But causes the green lands to smile.

When life as a whole shall be counted,
When nations and nations shall come
Like children of one close-knit family,
With the world for their great, common home;
Then, then—and then only—shall mortals
Stand up, to the God image grown,
While earth chants the psalm exalted,
"Man at last has come into his own!"
—Modeste Hannis Jordan.

The News of the Week

Utilities, Klans And Politics

The Ku Klux Klan appears to be a mental disease that finds a cultural lodgment in all sorts of bourgeois organizations. In the South it finds fertile lodgment in rural ignorance and Democratic politicians. In the North it is equally at home as the partner of corporations and Republican politicians. Everywhere it subscribes to the Nordic idiosyncrasy. It is anti-evolution, pro-fundamentalism, and leads the race back to primitive hatreds based on racial and national prejudices. It is expressive of mental starvation and the monotony of rural and small town life. Its main recruits in the large cities consist of those who fear that the Pope is going to annex the glorious republic to his vast properties. The latest adventures of the night shirts appear to be some sort of a mysterious connection with some big utility corporations in Indiana and their Republican lieutenants in public office. An injunction suit filed in Indianapolis to prevent a hearing by the Indiana Public Service Commission of the petition for a merger of two local electric power companies declares that campaign contributions were made to Republican candidates last year by public utility agents of Chicago and Indianapolis. These candidates were expected to retain individuals on the Commission favorable to utilities. Samuel and Martin Insull, involved in the Illinois primary scandal; D. C. Stephenson, Koo Koo Dragon, serving a life sentence for murder; the Koo Koo Governor, and others are involved. It is a nasty mixture of utility corporations, Republican brokers and night shirt heroes, a peculiar compound only possible in the United States. Capitalism is the mother of strange and wonderful things.

Farmers Confer On Problems

Two national conferences of farmers this week suggest that they are a little puzzled about Coolidge's "prosperity" and are anxious to locate it. For several years bankers, railroads, elevator companies and gamblers in farm products have been taking not only the values produced by the farmers, but have taken the farms livestock and other items lying around which represent the labor of many years. The farmers have not learned the magic of how this robbery is committed, but they are interested in getting started again. So are the parasites who live on their labor, for they have voracious appetites and hunger for more. In St. Louis delegates from six Southern States and from eleven Northern States are meeting this week to consider "common agricultural problems." The problems are general, but they are not common in the sense that they are alike. For the first time in many years the Southern farmer has met the Northern farmer in conference, and this indicates that agricultural problems are not uniform throughout the country. There are a number of regional agricultural areas, each with its distinct economic problems, and this makes it difficult for the farmers to get together on a common program. There is the further fact that those farmers who have any stake in land at all will have their views determined by the belief that they have a fundamental stake in the present economic order. At St. Louis it appears that the one thing the farmers can agree upon is support of the principle in-

Native Revolt In East Indies

When a native revolt, which was apparently suppressed by the Dutch military authorities, flared up in Western Java a few days ago, the press of the world hastened to tack a Communist label on it and to rehash the usual mixture of fact and fancy about the "enormous" progress of the "red" propaganda in the East Indies. While it is true that the Communist International has been doing some propaganda work among the native and foreign workers under Dutch colonial rule in the Far East, reports from Batavia during the last few months indicate that hard-boiled Dutch officials are mostly to blame for the latest outbreak. Frightened by the stories of the growth of the so-called

Indonesian Communist Party, which represents a strange combination of religious fanaticism, nationalism and vague social policies, the agents of the Hague Government have been busy trying to weed its agents out of the native colonial army and police and have banished several native "Communist" leaders and Chinese journalists accused of fomenting sedition. Furthermore, they have tried to break up the whole labor movement, both native and Dutch, in the East Indies under the pretext of fighting Communism. There have been loud protests in Holland by labor and Socialist leaders at the high-handed acts of the colonial administration and there is likely to be a sharp echo in Parliament of this latest incident. According to The Hague's version of the uprising, one European, one Chinese and seventeen natives were killed before it was put down, but reports from Java itself make the cost in lives much higher.

Plan for Peace As Storm Rages

While Europe continues to be agitated by stories of riots, plots and near-dictators in half a dozen countries, representatives of political, industrial and labor organizations from twenty-three nations are in Geneva attending the second session of the Preparatory Committee for the International Economic Conference, which some of the leading spirits of the League of Nations hope to see come together some day and work out practical plans for the maintenance of world peace. Tariffs and immigration problems are the most important points under discussion. Although the United States is still outside the League, it has a couple of representatives at this meeting. Among the labor leaders present are Leon Jouhaux, head of the French Federation of Labor, and Jan Oudegeest, one of the secretaries of the International Federation of Trade Unions. France is having a busy time jailing Catalan revolutionists caught along the border and trying to get more definite information out of Riciotti Garibaldi and Francisco Macia, the Catalan leader, about the plots—real and otherwise—being fomented in France against the Italian and Spanish dictators. In the meantime decent Frenchmen are inclined to wish the fate of the Kilkenny cats upon the so-called Fascists and the royalists who had a fight in the office of L'Action Francaise, the notorious royalist paper, over personal differences between their chiefs. Mussolini, while apologizing to France for attacks upon French consulates and railroad men by his superheated followers and trying to abate anti-Italian sentiment in Yugoslavia by ordering the release of Deputy Wilian, a Slav minority representative from the "redeemed" territory, continues to issue more drastic rules for his prison house and to supply all his Fascists with rifles and ammunition. In Hungary the National Assembly has been dissolved by Horthy. A new one will be elected within a few weeks. In Poland Pilsudski threatens to dissolve the Sejm if his press gag law is disapproved.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton
Tar

THE mid-west has come into singular prominence in American fiction. The old school, led by Hamlin Garland and Booth Tarkington, prettified it with the trimmings of morality and melodrama. The new school, led by Sherwood Anderson, Glenway Westcott, John T. Frederick, Ruth Suckow—and not to forget the late Herbert Quick, and the author of "Prairie"—have depicted it in more realistic and intimate fashion. Their task has been not to make the mid-west live as a romantic setting for pleasant narrative, but as the background for revealing study in character and profound interpretation of environment.

Sherwood Anderson has been the unquestioned leader of this school. In "Poor White," "Windy McPherson's Son," "Winesburg, Ohio," "Horses and Men," "The Triumph of the Egg" and "A Story Teller's Story" he has concentrated his attention upon this mid-western territory. "Many Marriages," too, was laid in similar milieu, but its theme was so removed from its background that it can scarcely be chalked in the same category. "Poor White" and "A Story Teller's Story" afford the most vivid pictures in our literature of the small mid-western town before the invasion of industrialism and after the effects of new age had changed the soul and tempo of its life. No American novel, not even "The Octopus," has caught the spirit of the changing west of the 70's, 80's and 90's in such apt and quickened phrases as "Poor White." The evolution of an industrial age, the transformation of agricultural countries into manufacturing, the ideal changes wrought in the minds of the people seized upon between the fall of one and the rise of another civilization, are given an almost epic delineation.

In Anderson's new novel "Tar," N. Y. Boni-Liveright, \$2 the same mid-western motif reappears. In "Dark Laughter," Anderson had returned to the environment of New Orleans, and in his "Notebook" he had caressed and dandled with the miscellaneous. "Tar" is a weak successor to "A Story Teller's Story." Enticing as an autobiographical picture of Anderson's boyhood, it discloses nothing new about its background and adds little to the Sherwood Anderson we met in "A Story Teller's Story." From the latter volume, the personality of the author arose clean and distinct, intensely glowing and active. The inexpressible naïveté with which he told of his own craving for admiration, his childish mimickings of Bell Hart, his simple affection for beer and dreams—these things live as nothing in "Tar" does. In "Tar," we glimpse Anderson in his youth, are touched by his infantile fears, and moved by the tender pathos of his early love for his mother and the curious changes in his later sex-life. Yet a certain realism is absent. We never seem able to believe in "Tar" as in "William Clissold," never seem able to forget the author's Foreword:

"The teller of tales, as you must all know, lives in a world of his own. He is one thing, as you see him walking in the street, going to church, into a friend's house, into a restaurant, and quite another fellow when he sits down to write. While he is a writer nothing happens, but that it is changed by his fancy, and his fancy is always at work. Really, you should never trust such a man. Do not put him on the witness stand during a trial for your life or for money—and be very careful never to believe what he says under any circumstances."

The book suffers severely from an utter lack of symmetry or organization. There is nothing, spirited in the entire volume. "A Story Teller's Story" had been a vital, electrifying narrative. "Tar" is a slow, excessively introspective, undynamic account of the experiences of the author's boyhood. In so many places it is unentirely reminiscent of his former works. Dick Moorhead is the same character as the father in "A Story Teller's Story," the same as Windy McPherson, the same as Tom Appleton in "The Sad Horn Blowers." There is the same love of horses, the same interest in hands. It is this ever-growing sameness that has developed into a serious defect in Anderson's recent work.

"Tar" scarcely adds color to the fiction that has grown up about the mid-west, nor does it reveal new values in the environment. It does add details to Anderson's autobiography, but not details that are unforgettable or significant.

Foes of Prof. Ely Form Education Protective Ass'n

CHICAGO—Sworn to expose "one of the largest incubators of economic error in history, the so-called Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities," a number of single taxers and others have formed the Education Protective Association. It is directed principally against Prof. R. T. Ely, head of the research institute at Northwestern University, and is organized "to guard our educational system from corrupting influences and to stem the rising tide of propaganda in schools, colleges and universities designed to advance the special interests of a few at the expense of the many."

George A. Schilling is president, Emil O. Jorgensen secretary and Otto Cullman treasurer, with offices at 1344 Alameda street, Chicago. On the national committee are, among others, Upton Sinclair, Gilson Gardner, Louis F. Post, Carl D. Thompson, Benjamin C. Marsh, Robert Morse Lovett and Herbert S. Bigelow.

THE CHATTER BOX

The Two Weavers

In Kurdistan
A weaver man
Sits at an olden loom
And threads and weaves
Patterns of roses,
Magical leaves.

Someday
A silk bearded merchant
With tongue of floss
Will buy the carpet
And ride it away . . .

There will be no loss
Though the loom become empty.

The weaver is old,
And will have need
Of the pieces of gold.

A weaver sits in autumn time,
In a great green room
By an old loom.

And he too
Is threading a rug
On a ground of blue.

His hands
Pull strands
Now up now down,
Laughing red
Brooding brown;

Glints of yellow,
Purpled strains,
Mingling with scarlet
And russet stains.

Patterns radiant,
Patterns dull,
As shapeless as God,
As beautiful . . .

Some night by moon,
Some day by sun
The weaver will rest,
His carpet done . . .

And out from the North,
The harrying North
Barbarian hordes
Will sail forth . . .

On countless camels
Grey and white,
They will ride by day
Nor rest at night,

A ghastly and a glittering host
With pennons of silver
And pikes of frost.

The wind will fife,
The wind will drum
And the weaver will know
That never they come
To trade or buy;

They are no ilk
Of fine fingered men
With tongues of silk . . .

Their manners are raw,
And harsh, and cold,
Nor do they jingle
Pieces of gold.

And comes the day
When the rug is seized
And carried away;

Hidden or sold
Or utterly lost;
And who may question
The spears of the frost.

Yet the Weaver must know
Where his carpets go . . .
He smiles benediction
On camel and thief;
With never a grumble
Or word of grief . . .

For he is rich
And wise and old;
And owns many looms
And mountains of gold . . .

Someone, William Cullen Bryant, or Phoebe Cary, we forget which, called autumn "the melancholy days." Perhaps they are to those polyanthus who sniff over lush roses, and sing oozingly about gloomings and June twilights. To us it is the high season of vigor and verve. The air holds a whiplash against the ever indolent flesh. The wind trumpets a mounting march, and the liberated leaves are like a mad army of sans-culottes dizzily dancing over the highways to an utter freedom. Somewhere, we once said about these leaves, so often bemoaned by Rotarian poets and tinpan alley songsters—that they go gladly . . . only so because they are . . . More credulous than men . . . I wish we shared their gay belief . . . In coming back again . . . Rather might we weep for the sense lulling days of summer, when the rebel in us sleeps, because the sense is weaker than the soul.

Autumn Evening

The tired trees shed their leaves, slow, one by one;
The slender grace of twig and curving branch
Thru' thinning veils is slowly brought to view.

So have I seen a tired woman's face
When in the fall of life the flesh withdraws,
Show day by day the spirit shining through.
Delia H. Biddle.

We have at last found new family quarters, after eleven years of pre-war rentals opposite Crotona Park on the North, Bronx. Always we had planned to change into a home of our own, with open fire place, spacious library, and a mortgage. We have ended by moving into a two-family house, with temperamental steam heat, occasional hot water, and an almost impossible rental. But one must consider the neighborhood. Right opposite, another row of nice brick two-family houses, and a stone's throw from the New York University Hall of Fame. Now we are settling down to an adulthood of decent, God-fearing, and "keeping-up-with-the-Joneses" neighbors, and if our years to come are indulgent, we may yet write the "Annals of a Quiet Bronx Neighborhood." All of which is contingent however on our ability to keep paying the rent. Just at present, the hardware side line is going fairly enough, but should it lag, we shall be compelled to sell a sonnet here and there—and that prospect gives us premonitory shivers. However, wish us luck, we will need it. Heaven alone knows.

Which reminds us, that we ought to do something pretty soon about running a little get-together party for all our own Chatterbox contribs. Would it be asking too much from any and all of you who want to horn in on a rather questionable repast to send in your full names and home addresses for our records, and your invitations? All those who have appeared here are eligible. Arrangements will be made and announced after all or most of the names are in. Gastronomically yours,

S. A. de Witt.