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of the Socialist and
Labor Movement

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SOCIALIST FORM GO IN

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FINLAND goes to the bat with a minority Labor Government, following the resignation of the Labor Cabinet in Denmark.

On December 11, the day after it had been announced from Copenhagen that M. Madsen-Mygal, a Liberal chief, would try his hand at running the Danish Kingdom, with Conservative support, a Helsinki dispatch reported the decision by the Finnish Socialist Party to form a cabinet and put its program of reforms before the country so that there would be a definite lineup in the general elections scheduled for next summer.

The Socialist cabinet is made up of the following members: Prime Minister, Vaino Tanner; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Professor Vaino Volonmaa; Interior, Judge Rietti Ikonen; Finance, Dr. Hannes Ryoma; Education, Dr. Julius Allio; Transportation, Professor Vaino Vuolijoki; Commerce, Vaino Huippi; Defense, Kalle Heikonen; Agriculture, Mauno Pekkala; Social Affairs, Judge Dr. J. Heio; Justice, Judge Vaino Hakala; Assistant Social Affairs, Milna Sillanpaa; Minister without Portfolio, Matti Paasivuori.

The Agrarian-Conservative Finnish Government, headed by Premier Kyosti Kallio, quit on November 24 when it failed to convince the Chamber that it had done much toward stamping out graft in army contracts and lost a vote of confidence by 193 to 84. The attempt by the Finnish Government to build up a native army, largely for the purpose of holding down the country, which seethed with resentment after the wholesale slaughter of "Reds" by the bourgeois victors aided by German troops in the civil war of 1918, had been tied up with grafting from the beginning and it finally proved the undoing of the capitalist government.

At a meeting of the General Council of the Finnish Socialist Party last September a resolution was passed providing for the entry of Socialists into a coalition cabinet in case the bourgeois government were overthrown, so it is possible that in organizing his Cabinet the new Socialist Premier may invite some of the Progressives or Swedish Partyites to help him carry on until the coming elections. The Socialists only hold 60 of the 200 seats in Parliament, so they will need the support of other groups. There are 18 Communists (labeled Laborites), 17 Progressives, 23 Swedes, 38 Conservatives and 44 Agrarians in Parliament, so it is clear that a Labor Government can do little more than use its temporary power for propaganda purposes in the hope of winning the approval of a majority of the voters in the next election.

Back in 1914, when Finland was still a Grand Duchy under the Russian Czar, the Socialists won a majority of three seats in the Diet and Oscar Tokol, now an editor of Ralva, of Fitchburg, Mass., was made Premier of a Socialist-Liberal Cabinet. Following the freeing of Finland by the Russian Revolution of 1917, some of the "Left Wingers" were not satisfied with the slow but sure tactics of the Socialists and rushed the country into a civil war that resulted in the crushing of the forces of labor by the White Guards and the German soldiers of General Mannerheim.

The Whites took a fearful revenge upon the workers and for some time all Socialist and trade union activities were suppressed. Since the relaxing of the iron regime as a sequence of the end of the World War and the political revolution in Germany, the recovery has been rapid, despite the modified terrorism that prevailed for several years, and now it looks as if labor's chances for a real victory are bright.

TIMELY TOPICS

By NORMAN THOMAS

Will Appear in

THE NEW LEADER

Next Week as Usual

Broach Fights Hard to Reorganize Union of Electricians Here

Many Workers in Trade
Complain They Can-
not Gain Membership

By Louis S. Stanley

THE impression that has gone forth that Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has at last opened its books to membership must be modified in view of recent events. The two thousand individuals formerly associated with the Electrical Workers' Association who were supposed to have gained entry into the regular union last summer seem to be just as much outside of the organization today as they ever were. Their leader, Carl Brodsky, has become an organizer for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as the choice of his followers, while the latter have remained practically no better off than before. Consequently, these have reformed their association and at mass meetings held on December 10 and 15 they have considered steps to attain their original objective or to form their own dual union.

The I. B. E. W. Plan

On April 1, 1925, H. M. Broach, international vice-president, set up in New York City an Organization Committee to unionize the large number of electrical workers in that metropolis to the extent of 50 per cent. Local 3 never wavered up to the idea, its officers and members fearing that a surplus of organized electricians would result and weaken their bargaining power. The Local 3 men are primarily interested in the attractive work on new buildings, where affiliation with the Building Trades Council gives them the backing of other unions in enforcing the closed shop, irrespective of organization efforts of their own. The plan of this Organization Committee was to induce electrical contractors to permit the unionization of one-half of their force. In this way there was some assurance that an excess of electricians in relation to available work would not follow. Naturally, the "bosses" that were sought out were those who did a substantial enough business to ensure the employment of a more or less permanent number of workers.

About the same time the unorganized men who had been seeking admission into Local 3 formed an Electrical Workers' Association, to the presidency of which there soon came Carl Brodsky. Joe Criss became organizer. The organized efforts of this group resulted in enough pressure upon the Organization Committee and Local 3 that by the end of July Brodsky was able to report an agreement whereby the members would gain admittance into Local 3. The discontented men now say that they paid little attention at the time to the fact that Brodsky had negotiated the terms without being accompanied by another member, presumably Joe Criss, a rule which had been in practice at that time. Now they see significance in this incident. So jubilant were the members when Brodsky announced to them very dramatically that he "had brought home the bacon" that few questions were asked.

The Agreement with the Men

The conditions of affiliation as explained by Brodsky and later by Broach, were understood by the men to be as follows:

1. Instead of the usual two-hundred-dollar initiation fee the new members were to pay one hundred and fifty.
2. They were to pay fifty dollars down as a start.
3. Thereafter they were to pay six dollars per week if mechanics, and three if apprentices, which amounts were one-half of the usual sum.
4. Then they were to seek employment and try to organize non-union shops. When two such attempts failed they were to be entitled to work in a union establishment.
5. When one-half of the initiation fee had been paid, namely, seventy-five dollars, a man was entitled to his examination, preparatory to becoming a full-fledged member.
6. In the meantime, all were to work on temporary cards as had been the custom previously.

The Grievances of the Unorganized

Complaints of the former Local 3 members against Local 3 as testified orally and in writing are specifically these:

1. Most of them met their monetary obligations to Local 3 and are still out of the union. (The public utility

(Continued on page 3)

L.I.D. CONFERENCE NEXT WEEK

Students Will Discuss
Labor Problems in
N. Y. C. Dec. 28-30

SCORES of college students interested in social problems throughout the country are planning to attend the Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, to be held in New York City from Tuesday to Thursday, December 28-30, 1926. Most of the sessions will be held in Philosophy Hall, Columbia University.

The conference will be opened with reports of delegates on Tuesday afternoon, to be followed by a reception to delegates and the witnessing of the film of Passaic strikers Tuesday evening.

At the Wednesday morning session, December 29, Jerome Davis, professor of practical philanthropy of Yale Divinity School, who has recently returned from a trip to Russia and who spent many years there in Y. M. C. A. work, will speak on the Russian situation. His address will be followed by those of several college students who went to Russia last year.

The Wednesday afternoon session will be devoted to a symposium on "Liberalism, Socialism and Communism in America," led by Arthur Garfield Hays, New York attorney; Norman Thomas, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy; and Solon DeLeon, editor of the American Labor Year Book.

(Continued on page 2)

EUROPE PLEADS FOR MEXICO

Coolidge Asked to Pre-
vent Breaking Off of
Relations by U. S.

WASHINGTON.—President Coolidge has received the following cablegram:

"All friends of peace and progressive organizations in the civilized world express their anxiety at the possibility of a rupture between Mexico and the United States.

"We cordially invite your Honor and responsible authorities of the United States to abandon the policy of interference toward Mexico and allow her to attain the political, economic, social and cultural emancipation to which she is entitled as an independent entity.

"The cabled news, undenied by the State Department, regarding the proposed lifting of the embargo on the introduction of arms into Mexico increases our anxieties. We respectfully urge you not to consent to such measures. Such a step would amount in its effects to a violation of international law and would involve the peaceful people of the United States in unjustified and useless sacrifices.

"We strongly and respectfully protest against any aggressive measures against the Mexican people, whose just cause is universally recognized by eminent intellectuals and progressive labor organizations. We hope the U. S. Government will pursue a policy of moderation lest the whole world accuse the United States as the author of a great injustice.

"FOR FRANCE: Henri Barbusse, Georges Pioch, Authors; Albert Fournier, Member Parliament.

"FOR ENGLAND: Ellen Wilkinson, A. A. Purcell, Wailhead, Tinker, Thurtell, Lansbury, Compton, Saklatvala, Members of Parliament; W. N. Ewer; Fenner Brockway, I. L. P.; Ben Tillet, Trade Union Congress; Colonel L'Estrange Malone; Frances, Countess of Warwick.

"FOR GERMANY: Georg Graf Von Argo, Professor Oestreich; Pastor Franke Muenzenberg, Member Parliament; Professor Heinrich Zille, Artist; Rudolf Leonhard, Author; John Hartfield, (Continued on page 2)

6,000 WIN STRIKE AGAINST MILL IN PASSAIC

Aid Is Needed to Carry
the Fight of Others
Through to Victory

PASSAIC.—Nearly eleven months' struggle to win recognition as an organized body has been won by Passaic wool textile workers of the Botany and Garfield mills. About 6,000 of the strikers who have fought so valiantly through every sort of opposition are returning to their jobs in these two mills with recognition of their right to organize in the United Textile Workers union, to bargain collectively, to no discrimination in returning, and to preference in getting jobs over outside workers. The closed shop was not asked finally and both workers and mill management agree to arbitrate future differences with an outside third party.

Settlement by Botany and Garfield Mills, both under control of the Steehr interests, takes the largest single group of workers on the strike. The fight began in the Botany mill last January in rebellion against a 10 per cent wage cut and intolerable working conditions. But settlement by Botany, following that of Passaic Worsted Spinning, leaves about 8,000 workers still striking for the recognition from other New Jersey mills of this district.

Four thousand workers of the two Fortmann-Huffmann Mills are fighting one of the severest employers, who maintains his company-union fiction and has repeatedly vowed he will never deal with any bona fide trade union. About 2,000 workers are striking still from Gera Mills and New Jersey Worsted Spinning—both under the same management. Possibilities that a little better with Botany are a little better with Gera. Workers who struck against abominable conditions and low wages at the United Piece Dye Works are keeping up the fight and the 500 silk workers of Dundee Textile Mills feel sure that their employer will have to settle soon if they can hold out.

With these thousands still striking, relief is urgently needed to carry the fight to a satisfactory conclusion all around. The 10-day bazaar the strikers are holding with the co-operation of New Jersey and New York trades unionists is bringing in funds to buy food and clothes for the fighters, shoes for the pickets and milk for the babies. But even more money is needed in this critical time. Funds for the defense work are equally necessary, with 11 men who have been held in jails by high bail for two months nearing trial. The bomb charges framed against them must be smashed. The Passaic textile workers union, local 1603 United Textile Workers, says in appealing for aid for these imprisoned workers. With their own spirits buoyed up by the settlements, Passaic strikers hope that their friends in the labor movement will respond likewise and help them over these last trying days. Facing the holidays with slim larders and no new clothes is not so hard for the strikers as the thought that they may not win if they do not have the necessary outside aid.

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The New Leader

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Cloak Strike Ends; Communists in Rout Before Labor Drive

These Communist "Demonstrations"

Following the taking over of the criminally misled cloakmakers' strike by the international officers of the Garment Workers' Union, a crowd of 1,000 men and women visited the International office and later on the office of the Jewish Daily Forward. This crowd posed as "cloakmakers" and went through the gestures of making a protest against the action of the International Union.

In the crowd were recognized several hundred Greek gangsters, elevated to the standard of "union men" by the Communist leaders of the fur strike who are now leasing these mercenaries out to terrorize cloakmakers who refuse to accept the orders of the Communists. Another part of the "cloakmakers" was recognized by an official of the Jewelry Workers Union as being a group of Communists in his own Union.

A taxi-driver, an ex-Communist, came into The New Leader office the next day. As he stepped out he met a Communist official of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union in the corridor.

"Hello," said the latter. "Were you at the demonstration?"

"What demonstration?" the hackman asked.

"The cloakmakers' demonstration yesterday," the embroidery worker replied. "We were all there."

"Fill Up the Jails to Kill Injunctions," Maurer Urges

The Week's Crop of Injunctions

WASHINGTON.—August Dorchy, Kansas labor leader, must go to jail for ordering a strike at a coal mine in that State, the United States Supreme Court has decided.

Dorchy, who was convicted for violating a section of the act creating the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, was sentenced to pay a fine of \$500 and serve six months in jail. He appealed the case to the Supreme Court, which recently decided against him. His counsel then filed a motion for a rehearing, and this the court has denied.

The Consolidated Railway Workers' Union of New York, which was an outgrowth of the subway strike in July, was enjoined by Justice Delehanty in New York, pending trial of an action brought by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, from trying to induce Interborough employees to join its organization, now a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Three injunctions against labor unions and their members were granted by Supreme Court Justice Delehanty in New York. Two were against the Joint Board of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada. These were applied for by the Fifth Avenue fur houses of A. Jaekel & Co. and H. Jaekel & Sons, Inc.

The third was obtained by the Real Embroidery Company against the officers and members of the Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 65, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, on similar grounds.

Restraint from picketing or any other strike activity, the Cap-makers' Union in Minneapolis is awaiting a court test of the injunction. The writ was obtained by the McKibbin-Stevenson combination of employers and is in effect at the Stevenson plant.

WASHINGTON.—Present restrictions on the admission of near relatives of aliens lawfully admitted to the United States are removed by the provisions of a bill introduced today by Representative Victor L. Berger, Socialist, of Wisconsin. Wives and minor children, dependent parents, and minor brothers and sisters of aliens who have declared their intention to become American citizens are classified as non-quota immigrants in Berger's bill, and are made admissible outside of the quota.

In a statement he issued, Berger recited the cruelties to which immigrants, who are punished enough when they are obliged to leave their native countries, are exposed when they are prevented from bringing their wives and children, their dependent parents, and their young brothers and sisters to this country. Under the present law only the wives and minor children of citizens are exempt from the quota.

Besides the moral considerations, Berger pointed out that there are many millions of dollars going annually to foreign lands to support dependent relatives. This money is being diverted from American channels, he said.

Penn. Labor Head Wants Revival of Old-Time Socialist Barnstorm- ing Days

THE need for systematic education that will inspire as well as inform the active members of the labor movement was urged by James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, at the Labor Age dinner.

Maurer, recognized by a humorous way of speaking in the old days of Socialist barnstorming and soapboxing, expressing the belief that a new return had to be made to these methods in the fight against present day reaction. He further called for a militant policy in challenging the injunction, which he termed "the greatest menace that faces labor today."

"Fill the jails," he said, "and you will kill the injunction. That is the only way in which it can be killed. We are jailed and beaten on the picket line, anyway, and we should determine in a systematic and organized way to go to jail by the thousands to defeat once and for all this instrument of autocracy."

Defiance of the injunction was also emphasized by Abraham Lefkowitz, of the Teachers' Union, who supplemented this suggestion with the advocacy of legislation curbing the courts, such as is proposed by the New York State Federation of Labor. "But the real remedy will never be found until the workers make up their minds to elect their own judges. This will insure a permanent solution of the injunction question."

A spirited reply to the employers' tactics today was made by Louis Francis Budenz, editor of Labor Age, who stated that organization can be accomplished if the unorganized are fired with the idea that they can win. He spoke of his recent experiences in talking to unorganized workers of the Standard Oil Company at Bayonne, the Bethlehem Steel Company at Lackawanna, N. Y., and the General Electric Company at Lynn, Mass., and of his trip through the West last year. Everywhere he found that the unorganized were open to the message of unionism if they could be made to feel that they could achieve organization successfully. He urged the development of a psychology among the unorganized along that line, through widespread and aggressive union publicity in the daily press by local labor groups. The approach to the workers throughout the country must be on the basis of their American background.

Company unionism was attacked by Robert W. Dunn, who gave specific examples of the failure of these organizations to prove even poor substitutes for trade unions.

Arthur V. Cook of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain stressed the value of political action to the British movement, stating that a real challenge existed there by reason of the reactionary character of the Tory government and the "loss of the coal strike."

Abraham Beckerman, in participating in the discussion, stressed the need for labor men to widen their contacts by keeping in touch with forces and sources of information outside of their particular craft or industry. A. J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College presided.

Paper Box Strikers Drop
Lefts—Labor in Three
Cities Bar Their Meet-
ings

UNIONS EAGER FOR
N. Y. CONFERENCE

Pocketbook and Italian
Dress Unions Back
Sigman—Sacco Com-
mittee Repudiates
Communists

By Laborite

THE war against Communist interference in the trade unions instituted by the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions has spread out on a front as large as the entire labor movement. Outstanding developments of the past week are:

1. International officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union took the strike in that industry out of the hands of the Communist leaders. The International also took charge of the Joint Board.
2. Within twenty-four hours after taking over the strike, the International concluded a settlement with the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association which will result in the return of 10,000 workers, 4,000 of whom were locked out by the Association.
3. The Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, acting with the leaders of the Paper Box Makers' strike, forced Communists to withdraw from the strike. The Committee thereupon turned over \$1,000 to the strikers to be used for relief purposes.
4. At a conference with President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, officials of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions received assurances that the A. F. of L. is behind the committee in its move to eliminate Communism from the labor movement.
5. The general labor conference called by the committee for next Tuesday, Dec. 21, at Beethoven Hall, broadened out on a national scale as labor bodies in Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia announced the election of delegates.
6. Simultaneously with the uprising of New York labor unions against Communism, organized labor in Chicago, Baltimore and Boston took similar action. Meetings called by the Communists were taken over by the labor movement with the approval of the workers who had assembled.
7. Local One of the International Jewelry Workers' Union adopted a set of special rules forbidding, in effect, members to carry on Communist Party activity either in their own union or in any other.
8. The Joint Board of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union suspended two of its Communist members. At the same time, the Joint Board adopted a resolution endorsing the International office of the Garment Workers' Union in their efforts to rebuild their union.
9. Information received by Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions from the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston revealed the fact that collection of Sacco-Vanzetti funds by Communist agencies is unauthorized and requests for accountings of funds collected by these agencies have been refused.

Cloak Strike Ends; Communists Ousted

Declaring an emergency, resulting from the Communist conduct of the 25 weeks' cloakmakers' strike, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, through its General Executive Board, has taken over the exclusive management of the strike, as well as direction of the affairs of the New York Cloakmakers' Joint Board following appeals from the cloakmakers' rank and file to save them from continued subjection to a strike policy "which has resulted in misery and suffering for 40,000 men and women and reduced the New York unions to a state of ruin."

At a meeting of the General Executive Board, Morris Sigman, President of the International Union, read his report on the Communist conduct of the strike in which he charged Louis Hyman, Julius Fortnoy, Charles Zimmerman and Joseph Bouchewitz,

the leaders, with accepting direction of the strikes from the Communist Party for purely political purposes and in criminal disregard of the welfare and interests of the workers. He further charged that these Communists, "through their irresponsible tactics and their methods of brutal violence have alienated the sympathy and support not only of the public at large but also of the great body of legitimate trade unions."

With the ousting of Hyman and the other Communist leaders in the present emergency, the General Executive Board of the International promptly set up its machinery of provisional committees to take over the various local unions comprising the cloakmakers' Joint Board as well as the Joint Board machinery itself. These committees will meet during the course of today (Tuesday) at International headquarters, 3 West 15th Street. Provisional Joint Board headquarters were also set up at the International office.

Immediately, the Provisional Settlement Committee of the International Union went into conference with the American Association. After a session lasting five hours it was agreed to end the strike by arbitration. The decision of the arbitrators—Prof. Lindsay Rogers, Judge Bernard L. Shientag, and Herbert Lehman—is to be rendered not later than December 24. Under the agreement, 8,000 workers who were locked out as the result of a deadlock between the Communist leaders and the Association have already returned to work. There remain 10,000 workers whose shops have not been settled. They will return on the handing down of the arbitrators' decision.

It was not until President Sigman had made an effort to learn what the Communist program on the strike situation was that the General Executive Board took its drastic action. The program of the Communists was to keep the workers, already out 24 weeks, on strike on the theory that the employers, faced with the loss of their business to settled shops, would eventually be forced to sign with the union. President Sigman stated that the strikers were in no condition to stand out any longer and that the Communist program would invite wholesale scabbing. He thereupon determined to have the International take over the strike.

Communists Out of Paper Box Strike

The Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions scored its first decisive victory and one that it considers a valuable precedent when it forced the elimination of the Communists from all connection with the Strike of Paper Box Makers in New York City. With the aid and guidance of the Committee, the strike will not be fought to a conclusion.

The paper box strikers had called a conference (which was held Monday night), to organize relief work for the 100 strikers. George Powers, a Communist, who was head of the strike relief committee immediately placed the interests of the strikers in jeopardy by sending Communist groups and paper organizations investigations which would permit them to pack the relief conference. This they succeeded in doing. When the conference convened at the Labor Temple, the credentials committee reported, making objection to the inclusion of the Workers Party delegates. This produced a storm of debate, representatives of the unions objecting to the presence of Communists, while the clubs and some left Workers' Circle branches defended the Communists. On a vote, the Communist paper organizations succeeded in carrying the question.

About 35 representatives of labor unions immediately rose to leave the hall, refusing on any consideration to sit with representatives of the Communist Party. Fred Calola, leader of the strike; John Burke, president of the strikers' International union, and even Powers had demanded the Communists retire and not force a break in the conference. This the Workers' Party delegates would not do. As the labor union delegates began to leave, they suddenly became acutely aware of the ruin they were bringing down upon the paper box strikers. One of the Communist delegates jumped to his feet and agreed to retire if only the labor unions would agree to remain.

In these few tense moments

Wars on "Lefts"



A. I. SHIPLACOFF
One of the leaders in the movement to end Communist interference in the trade unions.

there was revealed the pervading power of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions. Acting in accordance with the implied policies of the committee, the labor union delegates at the conference had refused to sit with the Communists. There were the representatives of the Workers' Party eliminating themselves, a recognition of the committee's principle that they have no place in the labor movement. A few more such incidents and the fight against Communism will have been won.

There was an aftermath to the conference of Monday evening. Defeated in their attempt to have Workers' Party delegates sit in a labor conference, the Communist paper organizations showed so little understanding of the situation as to brazenly "capture" the executive committee of the relief conference. The to-be-expected revision was quick in materializing. Manager Calola was informed the next morning that the Communists, having "captured" the executive committee, could run it by themselves or that the labor unions would run it without the aid of the Communists.

Calola chose the labor unions. In accordance with his agreement with officials of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, at a meeting Tuesday evening, he brought about the retirement of the five Communist members from the executive committee. The next morning the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions threw its full power into the scales on the side of the strikers. A check for \$1,000 to feed the strikers and their families was turned over as a donation. The committee also began to set in motion plans to secure a satisfactory agreement for the union.

Green Behind Fight On Communism

Reporting to a meeting of trade union officials called by the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, Abraham Beckerman, manager of the N. Y. Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers told of a conference with President Green of the A. F. of L. on the formation of the committee. President Green expressed his approval of the work the committee has undertaken. Representatives of the A. F. of L., as well as of the State Federation of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Congress, will be present at the committee's conference in Beethoven Hall.

Addressing the meeting called by the committee, President Sigman of the Garment workers was cheered when he denounced the Communists in his union.

"They are not representative of the beautiful ideal of Communism," said Sigman. "They are not Communists, but Fascists. Aspiring to Sovietize the United States, they have begun with the tailors. What a wonderful ideal! In their work they have destroyed the most beautiful organization in the needle trades. They have built up new scab markets. They have turned the industry over to gangsters who have terrorized cloakmakers into submission."

Abraham I. Shiplacoff, manager of the

Pocketbook Workers' Union, assured the International that it was not fighting alone in the present conflict with the Communists. He gave promises of the fullest moral and financial support of organized labor to the International office.

Chicago, Baltimore, Boston Join Fight

Communist leaders, Ben Gitlow, Ben Gold, of the N. Y. Fur Workers, and others found themselves faced by a solid labor opposition this week when they made attempts to hold Communist meetings in Chicago and Baltimore. In Boston other Communist leaders found it impossible to conduct meetings in the face of the determined opposition of the labor movement.

In Chicago two attempts to hold Communist meetings failed. The first was taken over by John Fitzpatrick in the name of the Chicago Federation of Labor. The assembled workers then elected Samuel Levine, leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Joint Board, chairman. Gold, Gitlow and Saeche Zimmerman, Communist leader of the ill-fated Garment Workers' strike, did not even attempt to enter the hall.

Locked out in Chicago, Gold and Gitlow journeyed to Baltimore. There a similar greeting awaited them. At the meeting called there by the Communists, the audience would not hear Gold and Gitlow. Instead, Hyman Blumberg, a member of the general executive board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, took the floor and conducted a meeting which devoted itself to a round denunciation of the Communists and their interference in the trade union affairs.

Again the Communists attempted to hold one of their old-time rallies in Chicago. And once more the audience would have none of them. This time Leo Kryszek, general executive board member of the Amalgamated, assisted by Sidney Rissman, took charge of the meeting. The meeting called to glorify the Communists ended up by severely censuring them.

Boston was the third city outside of New York to give the Communists a body blow, under a series of which they are now staggering. A meeting called by the Communists asked all needle trades workers to convene, and demonstrated against the International office of the garment workers' union. The needle trades workers came to the meeting, but refused to listen to the Communists. The meeting was taken over by the Central Labor Union, and Julius Hochman, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, became the principal speaker.

The United Hebrew Trades of Chicago has elected Morris Siskind to be its delegate at the New York conference of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions. Local unions in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore have also elected delegates. Though called as a local undertaking, the committee has thus been forced to extend its organization to a national scale.

Jewelry Workers Caution Members

Local 1 of the International Jewelry Workers' Union took steps at a meeting in Webster Hall to put an end to Communist attempts to dictate the union's policy and procedure. A set of rules was adopted providing (1) that no member can call a meeting of jewelry workers and that no member may attend such meetings as are not called by responsible union officials; (2) that no literature shall be distributed at meetings of the union except such as may be authorized by the union, and (3) that no personal attacks on officials of the union will be countenanced except around election time, when officers are being contested.

Local 17 of Jewelry Workers' Union, through its executive board, has expressed opposition to joining a fight against the Communists at this time.

Pocket Book Unions Back International

A meeting of the joint board of the International Pocket Book Workers' Union has adopted a resolution denouncing the Communists for their mismanagement of the garment workers' strike. Support is pledged to the International office.

At the same meeting the joint board suspended two Communist members for infractions of union rules. Sam Lederman was suspended for signing a statement in a Communist paper which placed the position of the union in a false light. The union has a rule prohibiting members from signing unauthorized statements which purport to speak for the organization.

The resolution adopted follows: "Whereas, Forty thousand cloakmakers were ordered out on strike by the joint board of their union without having been authorized by their membership and against the advice of their international; and

"Whereas, The strike was conducted for over twenty weeks by a group of unskilled and inexperienced adventurers who refused to hold themselves responsible to anyone but the Communist Party, a political party which has nothing to do with the trade union movement and should have nothing to do with it; and

"Whereas, During the long weeks of the strike, while the thousands of cloakmakers and the wives and children dependent upon them have been suffering want and privation, these emissaries of the Communist Party have been squandering hundreds of dollars in ways heretofore unknown in the struggle of the labor movement; and

"Whereas, At the same time that these misleaders have been calling upon other unions for financial help, they at the same time antagonized all bona fide organizations by all sorts of outrageous attacks against the true and tried leaders of these organizations; and

"Whereas, Through these wild and

The News of the Week

Doheny-Fall Patriotism

As the Fall Doheny trial closes in Washington intelligent readers have set before them a dirty combination of petroleum, graft, patriotism and politics. Since the triumph of capitalism over the old slave oligarchy we have had repeated examples of this in our history. Doheny appears in the role of the noble patriot who gets information from a navy official of the secret intentions of a Pacific power to invade the nation. Doheny waves the flag, obtains the notorious oil contracts and—God be praised—we are saved from the malevolent designs of the aggressive power. Just why a navy officer should confer with an oil pecksniff with itching palms to save us from the bowwows when government is supposed to serve that purpose passes our comprehension. President Harding, who consented to the deal, is portrayed as a saint by the defense, a "silent witness" who approved the oil policy and, therefore, there can be nothing wrong about it. To this the prosecution properly answers "bunk" and declares that Doheny is the role of patriot is "moonshine." Fall did not have the courage to go on the stand and readers can draw their own conclusion as to why silence is his defense. A volume of Coolidge's speeches has just appeared and that collection of sanctimonious platitudes will be contrasted with this contribution of capitalist policies to American history.

As we go to press news comes of the acquittal of Fall and Doheny.

Latin-American Pot Still Boils

With the recognition by Mexico of the Saco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the reactionaries in Nicaragua and the United States recognizing the reactionary Diaz, our imperialism is for the first time challenged by a southern nation. Diaz has become frantic and has issued a manifesto charging Mexico with aiding the Liberals, directly accuses Calles, asserts that the latter seeks a "Bolshevik" regime in Nicaragua, promises amnesty to the revolutionaries and appeals for the world's support. Henceforth no dummy in Latin-America will be considered as fully equipped for his job unless he has a "Bolshevik" spoke ready for emergencies. Vaca, the Liberal agent in Washington, declares that Diaz has "never done anything but to encour-

pericious methods they have to a great extent demoralized the ranks of one of the finest labor organizations in this country:

"Therefore, although fully cognizant of the fact that under ordinary circumstances each organization is responsible for the destinies of its own members, yet realizing that the Communist Party and its offspring, the Trade Union Educational League, organizations that have no moral right of interfering in the direct economic struggle of the workers, have through their people in the joint board practically taken possession of the organization and its funds and brought the cloakmakers to their present unfortunate position, we, the Joint Board of the International Pocket Book Workers' Union, consider it our moral duty to express our condemnation for the members of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union responsible for the present chaotic and disastrous condition in the Cloakmakers' Union, and we further resolve to give our material and moral support and unstinted allegiance to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its heroic effort to save that splendid organization from the influence of those who have attempted to wreck it."

Communists Hit By Sacco Committee

The Communist party has solicited funds ostensibly to aid in the defense of Nicola Sacco and Bertolomeo Vanzetti, Massachusetts radicals now in jail on murder charges, without the authority of the official Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee in Boston. It was charged by the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions.

Acting on the request of affiliated unions, the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions sought to ascertain the exact status of the Communist party and its defense organization, the International Labor Defense, with regard to the raising of funds for Sacco and Vanzetti. The trade unions have been repeatedly solicited by the International Labor Defense in the name of the imprisoned radicals, it was said.

In reply, the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee of Boston said it had made repeated vain attempts to obtain reports of collections and disbursements made by the two Communist organizations. The Boston committee further states it has no official connection with the Communist fund-raising efforts. It outlined its position in the following statement received today by the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions:

"At a meeting of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee it was unanimously voted, after careful consideration, to make the following statement to clarify the relationship between the committee, the International Labor Defense, the Communist party and the Sacco-Vanzetti Conferences:

"The Defense Committee is being continuously questioned as to the relationship existing between the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, the International Labor Defense, the Com-

marksmanship prizes, remarked that it was necessary to "militarize" the citizens in order to secure peace among the nations.

Allies Easier On Germany

Control of military conditions in Germany by the Interallied Commission is to cease on January 31 and is to be replaced by the direct authority of the Council of the League of Nations. This is the result of negotiations at Geneva by the Foreign Ministers of Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy in which, according to Gustave Stresemann, the German Minister, the part of mediator was played by Emil Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist Minister. So even if the special national convention of the Belgian Labor Party to be held on Dec. 25 and 26 to decide the question of the four Socialists remaining in the Belgian Cabinet should order M. Vandervelde and his comrades to leave their posts, he will be able to look back with a certain satisfaction upon his work as Foreign Minister. The Polish politicians feel somewhat aggrieved at the ignoring in Geneva of their contention that the German fortifications along the Polish-German border ought to be leveled at once in the interest of Poland's safety, but, as this point is to go before the Ambassadors' Council again before Jan. 31, and work on the fortifications is to stop in the meanwhile, it is to be supposed that the Poles will have another chance to voice their protests. The Fascist regime has become so menacing to Italian citizens known to be against Mussolinism on principle, that Filippo Turati, the veteran leader of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers, and several other Socialists, including a director of L'Avanti, the Maximalist Socialist paper, have made their escape from the big jail by way of a tiny motorboat and sought refuge in France. The death of Nikola Pashitch, the octogenarian Serbian politician, just as he was about to take control of the Government of Yugoslavia for the "tenth time, together with the common hatred of Fascist Italy felt by practically all the contending races in Yugoslavia, may help the hoped-for racial reconciliation. Count Bethlen is holding what he calls Parliamentary elections in Hungary, but they are branded as bloody farces, even by the correspondents of the bourgeois press.

Chile Facing Labor Crisis

The sharp decline in the exports of nitrate from Chile, due principally to the big increase in the manufacture of artificial fertilizers in Germany during the last couple of years, has placed the Chilean Government before a desperate situation, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Santiago (which, incidentally, was not featured in the "great" metropolitan press). More than 20,000 nitrate workers are out of employment, most of whom have sought food and shelter in the towns of Antofagasta and Iquique, where they are existing, with their wives and babies, under terrible conditions. The Government has shipped several thousands of Northern workers to the South where there is said to be work for them on the farms and some 5,000 others are being transferred there, but even then the influx from the shut-down mines is so heavy that the problem remains almost as difficult as at the beginning. The settling of the British coal strike is also likely to have a depressing effect in Chile where quite an export trade in coal had been built up during the stoppage of British exports. Apparently the Ecuadorian Government is somewhat nervous, as a dispatch from Quito tells of the expulsion of a Peruvian named Alberto Cardenas, because he was an "agitator among the working classes." The authorities say they will drive out all foreign labor agitators. In Peru Dictator Leguia, in distributing

which ended with much applause. He was followed by Fortunato Schifano, Antonio Fatta and others from the "rank and file."

The following resolution presented by Fortunato Schifano and seconded by Rose Rao was unanimously adopted:

"We, union members of Local No. 59, I. L. G. W. U., at this meeting held on Friday, December 10, 1926, at the Women's Trade Union League, 247 Lexington avenue,

"Considering the critical situation which our union is going through, after the disastrous strike of the cloakmakers led by the criminal incapacity of the so-called 'leaders' at the orders of the Communist party;

"Considering the treatment especially received by our Local by the actual leaders of the Joint Board, who, in trying to humble us to their will, have stopped at nothing to produce dissension and ruin by calling undisciplined strikes in the largest dress shops composed mostly of Italian element, by neglecting adequate measures which would have insured the success of said strikes, by the total lack of interest in organization work in the Brooklyn and Harlem districts, where open shops with Italian workers abound, by taking the control of Italian business agents, by not taking into consideration the wishes expressed at meeting by the affiliated members of our Local, the last example being the appointment of the business agents;

"Considering that for the salvation of our union it is absolutely necessary to free ourselves of the interference of the Communist party in the affairs of our organization and that the workers' organization in order to prosper must stop with all the strength at its command the interference of foreign groups and parties;

"Be it resolved to support with all our enthusiasm the administration of our Local in the present battle led by the General Office of the International, to draw our International out of the chaos in which it has unfortunately fallen, to give our union an administration of the unionists, by the unionists and for the unionists to protect the integrity and independence of our Italian Local from the conspiracy of the traitors."

Capitalism is breaking down or crippling the home wherever it prevails, and poisoning society with the decaying fragments of what was the spring-house of life. —Professor Rauschenbusch.

L. I. D. Conference In N. Y. Next Week

(Continued from page 1)

In Industry and Labor Disputes," of "Military Training" and of the "Art of Making Social Sciences Real." Among the experts in the audience who will discuss the matter will be Paul Blanchard, author and field secretary of the L. I. D.; John Nevill Sayre of the fellowship of reconciliation; Professor Emile J. Hutchinson of Barnard College, Robert Morris Lovett, Felix Cohen, William P. Spofford and others.

A supplementary session will be held on Thursday afternoon, December 30, on "What Students Can Do for Democracy After College Days." A. J. Muste, director of Brookwood Labor College, will speak briefly on the opportunities for students in the trade union movement. Lewis Gannett, associate editor of The Nation, will talk on "International Relations," and Nathan Fine, formerly organizer of the Farmers' Labor Party, on "Labor Politics." Kenneth Lindsay of England and Harold Bing, secretary of the British Federation of Youth, will also participate in these sessions.

The conference will close with a one-act play given by New York students entitled "I Used to Be One Myself" and a dance at Brinkerhoff Theatre of Barnard College.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler and Dr. Norman Thomas, executive directors of the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, will be glad to furnish further information regarding the conference.

Europe Pleads For Mexico

(Continued from page 1)

Artist: Professor Resch; Gerhard Pohl, Artist; Roseberry D'Arguto; Dr. Kurt Hiller, President German Peace Society; Otto Lehmann Russwoldt, German League for Human Rights; Professor Alfons Goldschmidt; Johannes B. Becher, Author; Erwin Piscator, Artist; Ernst Toller, Author; Professor Gruenberg; Dr. Helene Stoecker, Women's League for Peace; Dr. Gen. Freiliger Von Schoenbach; Alfons Paquet, Writer.

"We look to your spirit of justice, which has always distinguished your career, to co-operate with us to insure avoidance of this new injustice against the Mexican people."

(Signed)
"LEAGUE AGAINST COLONIAL AGGRESSION, Berlin."

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

Park Avenue and 34th Street
Sunday, December 19th
11 a. m. CHRISTMAS SERVICE
"What Does Jesus Mean to the World Today?"
Lewis Browne, John Haynes Holmes and John Herman Randall
8 p. m. COMMUNITY FORUM
Mass Meeting
"France, Syria, and the League of Nations"
Mrs. Herbert Sumner Owen, William B. Seabrook, I. Kahil and Mattia Akrawi
ALL WELCOME!

THE EAST SIDE FORUM

CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS
3 Second Avenue
Sunday, December 19th
8:30 P. M.
Professor H. F. Ward
President American Civil Liberties Union
ON
THE WHITE PERIL IN THE ORIENT
ADMISSION FREE

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 190th Street
Sunday, December 19, 1926
8 P. M.
Rev. Leon Rosser Land
"What Evolution Is Doing to Religion"
9:00 P. M.
OPEN FORUM
Dr. Harry Hibschman
(Challenge Lecture)
"Are We Going Back to the Jungle?"
MUSIC — 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, December 22nd, 8:30 P. M.
Philosophical Illusions
A Critical Survey of Metaphysics
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue
THIS SUNDAY
5 P. M.—Contemporary Literature.
DR. WILL DURANT
"Marcel Proust"
ADMISSION 25 CENTS
7:15 P. M.—
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
"Is the United States an Empire?"
ADMISSION FREE
8:30 P. M.—
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
"The Rights of Man versus The Rights of Men—A New Reading of Democratic Ideals"
ADMISSION FREE

DEBATE

CLARENCE S. DARROW VERSUS DR. WILL DURANT
Famous Debater and Lawyer Author of "Story of Philosophy"
Subject: IS MAN A MACHINE?
DARROW says YES! CHAIRMAN TO BE ANNOUNCED DURANT says NO!
SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 8:30 P. M.
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Will Lecture as Follows:

At 8:30

Tues., Dec. 21—Nine Days That Shook Britain.
Tues., Dec. 28—The Epic Struggle of the British Miners.
Tues., Jan. 4—Labor's Bid for Power in Britain.

Fee for Course, \$1.00. Single Admission, 50c.

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SCHOOL
7 East
15th St.

Reserve January 30
BRONX BALL
Socialist Party

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION
AT 8 O'CLOCK
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 19th
DR. EARL BARNES
"The Future of the Teaching Profession"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21st
DR. L. PIERCE CLARK
"The Origin of Religious Beliefs as Illustrated in the Monothelistic Religion of Akhshun"

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 24th
NO MEETING
Christmas Holidays
ADMISSION FREE
Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL

AT 8 O'CLOCK
MONDAY, DECEMBER 20th
MARK VAN DOREN
Literary Criticism of Our Civilization
"Robinson Jeffers"

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 22nd
SCOTT M. BUCHANAN
"A Metaphysical Doctrine—Proving the Theorems"

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23rd
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"The Validity of Knowledge"
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 25th
NO MEETING
Christmas Holidays
ADMISSION TWENTY-FIVE CENTS

BRITISH PAPERS HONOR DEBS

London Herald and New Leader in Tributes to Great American Socialist

EULOGIES of Eugene V. Debs continue to appear in the British labor press.

The London Herald said: "Eugene Debs has died, as he would have wished, a martyr for the cause to which he had given fifty years of his life. For there can be no question that it was his long imprisonment which killed him. He went into Atlanta Jail a man in sound health; he came out physically broken."

"He has his assured place in the roll of those great pioneers to whom the ultimate triumphs of the working class will be so largely due. He was not a great thinker, but he was essentially a great prophet—a man who, by his own passionate conviction, could convince and inspire others."

"To his deep sincerity he added a fine courage. As a young man he went to prison because he scornfully refused to obey a court injunction which would have broken a strike. As an old man he deliberately challenged President Wilson to jail him. It was wrong, he said, in his simple fashion, that he should be at liberty while obscure workers were being imprisoned for saying what he believed."

"Those two acts give you the measure of the man and the secret of his power. He has gone—a gallant, head-high fighter to the last, and the labor movement the world over joins with the American workers in paying tribute to their lost leader and lost friend."

The London New Leader says: "Twenty years ago four figures stood out pre-eminent in the international socialist movement—Jean Jaures, August Bebel, Karl Hardie and Eugene Debs. Debs was not known because he was the leader of a strong party, nor was he a great thinker or statesman. He was revered solely because of his sincerity, his humanity, his courage, and the beauty of his character. He graduated to socialism through trade unionism, as Hardie did (indeed the two were much alike). His actual conversion to socialism occurred in prison, whilst undergoing a year's sentence for leading the railway strike in 1894. He has stood five times as socialist candidate for the Presidency of the United States; on the last occasion he was nominated whilst in prison during the war. It is worth quoting James O'Neal's description of the deputation which waited on him to ask him to stand: "Debs was the coolest man in the prison. Never was there anything like this. A man dressed in the garb of a convict, caged behind prison bars, being notified that he was the choice of a political party to occupy the office of the man who was largely responsible for him being in gaol. The atmosphere, especially during the period when we were waiting for Debs, was painful. It is impossible to describe the emotional tension which we labored under as the minutes dragged while we waited."

"But Debs himself relieved the tension as he appeared down the corridor talking earnestly to the guard who accompanied him into the warden's office. So far as Debs was concerned, we were meeting him in his own home."

"Debs was serving a term of ten months' imprisonment for making what was regarded as a seditious speech. He made the speech deliberately, maintaining that he had no right to be out of gaol while there were others imprisoned for saying what he thought. The I. L. P. chose their words rightly when they called the American Socialist Party: 'We mourn with you the loss of a Socialist hero.' A Socialist hero he was."

ONE OF THE GREATEST EVENTS of the Season for FREEDOM-SEEKING PEOPLE A COSTUME

Ball and Bazaar For the Benefit of the ROAD TO FREEDOM will be given at the HARLEM CASINO 100 WEST 116th STREET NEW YORK

Saturday, Dec. 18

ARTICLES FROM MANY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES WILL BE ON SALE Admission ONE DOLLAR

For RHEUMATISM URACIDOL

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PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society The following paying stations will be maintained beginning with the 2d of January, 1927, for the accommodation of members residing in Hudson County and in 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

Is a New Socialist Party Needed?

Gustavus Myers on the Problems of American Radicals

By Gustavus Myers
Author: "History of Tammany Hall," "History of the Great American Fortunes."

LACKING the time to deal at length with an analysis of the Socialist party's predicament, I shall have to confine myself to a few salient points.

Radicalism and liberalism in the United States, including the Socialist party, have so pestiferously identified themselves with a carping, jeering and destructive criticism of America, its people and institutions, that they have become highly offensive to the mass of the American people. This kind of criticism was used by the reactionaries of the world to discredit America's democracy from its beginnings, and a train of imitators have kept it up to this day. Hence in using it radicals and liberals are employing (without in the slightest realizing their position) an ancient reactionary method. The proper course of dealing with a people is to study its historic backgrounds and traditions and cultivate a true and sympathetic understanding of its spirit. Instead of looking to these sources for inspiration to encourage the American people to continue in the path of progress, Socialists have slavishly followed theories and formulas of European origin. Each country has its own mode of development, and this is peculiarly true of America, the political, social and industrial life of which has charted itself in its own original way.

AMERICAN INFLUENCE ABROAD In pursuing its own distinctive course American civilization has been so powerful that in many vital respects it has not only influenced Europe, but the entire world. With an understanding of its depth and impetus, a party in harmony with its aims could respond to its natural drift and guide it to further achievements. Looking to European formulations for guidance, the Socialist party has failed to understand these realities, and has sought to inculcate a school of literature which has no relation to American historic mainstays or to American conditions.

The entire tenor of American na-

tional life from its inception show that the American people are their own best critic and have their own effective method of searching and constructive self examination. Thousands of congressional, legislative and other reports exposing corruption and other abuses sufficiently attest this. Here we have explored into our evils; in other countries the power of ruling classes suppressed investigation. But the kind of self-criticism that this is the natural American way of proceeding is a very different thing from the ranting fashion of indiscriminately condemning everything American. The genuine student of American history knows that these investigations led to highly constructive results in the enactment of many remedial laws and in the establishment of new social, political, moral and ethical conditions.

To have moral and political influence with the American people a party must have native leaders imbued with American traditions and spirit. Leaders of alien birth, upbringing, especially during the period when we were waiting for Debs, was painful. It is impossible to describe the emotional tension which we labored under as the minutes dragged while we waited."

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PIONEER YOUTH AGAIN OPENS WINTER CAMP Pioneer Youth of America has again this year announced the Winter Camp, which will be held at Queensboro Cabin in Bear Mountain Park on December 27 to January 2. There are accommodations for 23 campers, besides the counselors. The organization is repeating the experiment because of its remarkable success last year at the same place.

The camp is a snug little cabin with big, open fireplaces and plenty of heavy blankets for the bunks. The cabin is situated in the valley between some of the most picturesque hills of the region and is fronted by a lake. Places for skating, tobogganing and skiing are to be found at the front door, while hiking and snow-shoeing trails make up a large part of the local map. The evenings are occupied with improvised entertainments, which run from poetry readings and doggerel on camp activities and spontaneous drama to every kind of discussion.

Winter Camp is only one of the many activities offered by Pioneer Youth to the children of workers. In the three years of its existence it has reached through its clubs and camps more than 800 children, conducts 30 children's clubs in New York City and Philadelphia and conducts also the Summer Camp at Pawling, N. Y., and another at Media, Pa.

In general the art of government consists in taking as much money as possible from one part of the citizens to give it to the other.—Voltaire.

RADIOS and VICTROLAS

\$1.00 PER WEEK Come and Hear the New Orthophonic Victrola

The greatest invention in musical instruments of the century.

\$49.00 AND UP Complete stock of German Records

PAUL HELFER 1539-1541 Third Ave. Between 86th and 87th Streets

What Do You Think, Reader? The New Leader Invites Its Readers to Take Part in This Discussion on the "PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM"

Other Articles in the Series Will Be Written by
LEWIS S. GANNETT Editor, The Nation
CHARLES E. RUSSELL Author, "Why I Am a Socialist"
NORMAN THOMAS Director, League for Industrial Democracy
JOSEPH SHAPLEN Famous American Journalist
V. F. CALVERTON, DAVID P. BERENBERG, ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, JULIUS GERBER, WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM and others

bringing and ideas are incapable of knowing the people whom they try to influence. To speak the same language is not enough. The life of a people constitutes much more than language. The character of leaders is also of the greatest importance. If they are judged by their leaders, if they profess one thing and practice another the performance throws discredit upon the entire party. To protest against rule by money, and to strive at the same time to acquire as much wealth as possible, is a contradiction the effect of which is demoralizing. The whole history of the American people in all their great actions shows that moral caliber, the quality of showing sincerity by personal deeds, including self-sacrifice, has been of the highest importance.

POLITICAL PARTIES FLEXIBLE

American political parties are flexible, and represent elasticity natural to American thought and methods. They have to keep in touch with changing conditions and issues. If it is necessary for a political party to die and be replaced by a new party it dies, as did the Whig party when it was supplanted by the Republican party. We have had a number of lesser political parties that went out of existence when the occasion for their agitation passed.

The Socialist party is formed on rigid, orthodox and dogmatic lines unsuitable to native requirements. To its members its doctrines are a faith. Nevertheless, the cant of formulas came to count more than live issues; phrases and vanity of theoretical beliefs were more important than admissions of error and recognition of new conditions. Any party that falls into such a groove buries itself. This is not to be construed as underestimating the force of live principles nor as advocating opportunism prompted by expediency.

The American people need directing onward to the adoption of new principles of social, industrial and individual action. But this can only be done by those who understand the past as well as perceive the present of American life. American industrial and social conditions have progressively changed; especially in the last ten years the change has been enormous. But Socialist writers and speakers continue to repeat an obsolete terminology. They talk about a "proletariat" to a population which undeniably has risen hugely in the standard of living and enjoyment of rights. They discourse of a "class war" as applied to a people whose whole history has been the gradual abolition of class distinctions. They interpret classes here by the definitions laid down in Europe where fixed, arbitrary class lines prevailed long after they were being broken in America. They use the old text books applying to labor at a time when labor union banks have a collective total of \$105,000,000 deposits, and organized labor has an entirely different view and status than it had even a few years ago.

"THE FATE OF EXTREMISTS" The Socialist party has shared the fate of all parties which go to extremes. The basic motive of many of its members has been the altruistic or idealistic one of bettering social conditions. Socialists have been pre-eminent idealists. But as a party and influenced by the philosophy of that party, they have been led to placing an inflexible economic interpretation upon every human motive and act. This is extremism. It is both unsound and untrue. A most valuable work has been done in enlightening society to the influence of economic considerations. But it is everywhere when carried to the point of ignoring other factors—intellectual, moral, spiritual, ethical and cultural. It results in the starkest kind of fanaticism and materialism. The exclusive appeal to economic

December 19, to meet our National Executive Committee members and to hear their report relative to the status and prospects of the Socialist Party throughout the United States.

This meeting will be restricted to Socialist Party members only and every Socialist in Greater New York and the surrounding territory of Westchester County and upstate, as well as the Socialist Party members from New Jersey and Connecticut will be invited to this meeting. Remember the date! Sunday afternoon, December 19, at 3 p. m. in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street, New York City. Admission by membership card.

Thursday, Dec. 17—8:30 P. M.—Esther Friedman—"The Changing Social Order." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. Auspices Socialist Party, 23rd A. D.

Bronx Fellowship Forum Mitchell Gold, editor of "The New Masses," will speak at the Bronx Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, Wednesday evening, December 22, on "Bourgeois vs. Proletarian Culture." The lecture will begin at 8:30 o'clock.

The great crusade of the Labor Movement is to transform politics, to moralize industry and commerce, and to divert science from base and destructive uses to human ends.—Canon Donaldson.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN Sunday, Dec. 19—8:30 P. M.—Jessie Stephen, of the British Labor Party, subject, "Women and War." 204 East Broadway; auspices 1st and 2nd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Sunday, Dec. 19—8:30 P. M.—August Claessens, subject, "Are Human Beings Naturally Lazy?" (third lecture of the series on "Human Nature in Social Problems"). 137 Avenue B; Auspices Y. P. S. L. Circle Eight.

BRONX Friday, Dec. 17—8:30 P. M.—August Claessens—"The Cultured Forces" (Second lecture of the series on "The Elements of Social Progress") 4215 Third Avenue (corner Tremont

Meeting Notice Notice is hereby given that the annual meeting of the Harlem Socialist Center Association, Inc., will be held on Tuesday evening, December 21, 1926, at 8:30 p. m., at 62 East 106th Street, New York City. Officers and members of the Board of Directors for the ensuing year will be elected at this meeting.

DAVID GRANDOFFER, President. SOPHIE SAGOLITZ, Secretary.

essay for a political party to die and be replaced by a new party it dies, as did the Whig party when it was supplanted by the Republican party. We have had a number of lesser political parties that went out of existence when the occasion for their agitation passed.

The Socialist party is formed on rigid, orthodox and dogmatic lines unsuitable to native requirements. To its members its doctrines are a faith. Nevertheless, the cant of formulas came to count more than live issues; phrases and vanity of theoretical beliefs were more important than admissions of error and recognition of new conditions. Any party that falls into such a groove buries itself. This is not to be construed as underestimating the force of live principles nor as advocating opportunism prompted by expediency.

The American people need directing onward to the adoption of new principles of social, industrial and individual action. But this can only be done by those who understand the past as well as perceive the present of American life. American industrial and social conditions have progressively changed; especially in the last ten years the change has been enormous. But Socialist writers and speakers continue to repeat an obsolete terminology. They talk about a "proletariat" to a population which undeniably has risen hugely in the standard of living and enjoyment of rights. They discourse of a "class war" as applied to a people whose whole history has been the gradual abolition of class distinctions. They interpret classes here by the definitions laid down in Europe where fixed, arbitrary class lines prevailed long after they were being broken in America. They use the old text books applying to labor at a time when labor union banks have a collective total of \$105,000,000 deposits, and organized labor has an entirely different view and status than it had even a few years ago.

"THE FATE OF EXTREMISTS" The Socialist party has shared the fate of all parties which go to extremes. The basic motive of many of its members has been the altruistic or idealistic one of bettering social conditions. Socialists have been pre-eminent idealists. But as a party and influenced by the philosophy of that party, they have been led to placing an inflexible economic interpretation upon every human motive and act. This is extremism. It is both unsound and untrue. A most valuable work has been done in enlightening society to the influence of economic considerations. But it is everywhere when carried to the point of ignoring other factors—intellectual, moral, spiritual, ethical and cultural. It results in the starkest kind of fanaticism and materialism. The exclusive appeal to economic

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Interests has proved the most slippery, unstable and illusory of appeals. It is based upon the presumption that the worse conditions are the more people will flock to your standard. Then, conversely, when times are prosperous, they will desert. Self-evidently, a different kind of appeal is needed to implant that permanent conviction which alone guarantees enduring results. Anyone who has open-mindedly rid himself of preconceived ideas and has studied American history deeply knows that a whole succession of great religious, social, political, racial and other changes were accomplished without any appeal to the economic motive. They may be rightly classed as idealistic accomplishments, although, of course, having their varied underlying aspects.

A NEW PARTY NEEDED? When the doctrines of a political party become a new brand of ecclesiasticism persons of independent minds revolt. Freedom of thought is the most precious and transcendent right. The whole scheme of the Socialist party with its imported system of discipline and its other repressive organization features has repelled the general American mind. From the point of making the decisions of committees sacred and supreme to the point of proscribing questioners and dissenters is only a step. Given governmental power, such a system might well be used for terrorization purposes.

From enthusiasm the feeling of many who were members of the Socialist party changed to one of aversion. They see no reason for encouraging economic bigotry any more than they would encourage religious bigotry. And so long as they do seek to participate politically, they see there is far more freedom of thought in the old political parties than there is in the Socialist party. In those parties corruption does exist. But there are worse kinds of corruption than money corruption. Mental corruption is more pernicious and mental strangulation more abhorrent.

It is not for me to make any suggestions as to whether the Socialist party should or should not continue. That question is for its members to decide. As one addicted to writing truth I have found by experience that the spirit of free inquiry meets with as much opposition from hide-bound radicals as from hide-bound conservatives. But considering that there are undoubtedly many who yearn for some political agency to which to attach themselves, I shall leave this parting thought:

The Socialist party may well consider whether, heavily encumbered as it is with its dogmatic and other paraphernalia, it has any useful reason for functioning longer. It reeks of the past and of other places and conditions. Its war record has hopelessly discredited it in the eyes of the American people. These are facts.

And since there is a commendable disposition to face facts, the further question arises whether the formation of an entirely new party is not a necessity. If so, it must be a fresh undertaking, with new ideas and standards, democratic concepts, with leaders commanding attention and respect, with a method of organization adapted to American thought and ways, and with a new school of literature reflecting American conditions and aspirations.

As we go to press, we are able to report that at the meeting of the resuscitated Electrical Workers' Association held on December 15, Carl Brodsky appeared to present his side of the question at the request of the new Executive Committee. The most he could promise was that the men would be taken in as fast as the contractors could be organized and as the reorganization and rehabilitation of Local 3 permitted. Even his eloquence could not sway the discontented men. The next move, it is presumed, will be to ask the resignation of Brodsky as the representative of the E. W. A. in Local 3. The new officers of the organization are Max Kronowitz, president; Samuel Katz, vice-president; Max Lasky, treasurer; and Wekstel, financial secretary.

BROACH FIGHTS TO REORGANIZE LOCAL 3

Many Workers in Trade Complain They Cannot Gain Membership

(Continued from page 1)

men have been placed in Local 203. 2. They have been denied employment in union shops. 3. They have induced contractors to sign agreements with the union and then found that such agreements had been abrogated on the ground that the employment the contractor was able to offer was inadequate or irregular. 4. With a few exceptions they have not been granted the right to appear before the examining board to qualify as mechanics or helpers. 5. Applications for membership have been refused since November 1. Against Brodsky these grievances have been directed:

1. He made the agreement with the union without the presence of another member of the E. W. A. 2. He has taken the side of Local 3 rather than his former associates, especially with respect to interpreting the agreement. 3. He has not insisted upon the rights of the rank and file, so that only a small number, with the former members of the Executive Board of the E. W. A. as a nucleus, have secured their examinations. 4. He has consented to the dissolution of the E. W. A., whereas the members had intended to perpetuate it as a means of protecting their rights. 5. He has not insisted upon representation of the E. W. A. on the examining board. 6. He has expressed the sentiment that if the discontented men "don't like it" they can "run off another association."

The Prospects Naturally this situation has not been pleasant at all for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. H. M. Broach has been able to get very little co-operation from Local 3. Yet the International Office is anxious to unionize New York City. Broach has proposed that Local 3 be broken up into five local unions, one for each borough of New York City, to which men would be assigned according to their place of residence. The membership is objecting strenuously. Broach is trying to break down this opposition by bringing charges of non-union conduct for which he has evidence against recalcitrants. How far he will succeed is doubtful. Meanwhile the unorganized are knocking at the door.

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Shaw Considers Business Men as Rebuilders of the World

By Bernard Shaw

(From a Lecture Before the Fabian Society in London)

WHAT we have got to understand is that we are not facing a shrinking world; we are facing a colossal expanding world, with its difficulties enormously increased by the fact that all the diverse peoples in the world have been put within reach of one another in a way that they never had before.

Now, how are we facing that problem, that enormously increased world? We are facing it with the moral and legislative equipment of a medieval village, tempered by the regulations of a tribe of wandering Jews, made at a time when Moses, although he was within a few miles of his objective, had to keep them wandering in the desert round and round about for forty years, until all the people who had come from Egyptian slavery had died out. Even then the results of getting them into the Promised Land at last, after all that toll, were not too encouraging from the point of view of the historian.

My special subject is International Culture. What is a culture? A culture, I take it, is a body of thought common to a large number of people. As a result of that, it is a body of moral institutions, common beliefs, and the ideal culture would, of course, be a body of thought founded on a body of knowledge, real, scientific, genuine knowledge, and resulting in certain common standards of conduct. It is true that a culture could be founded on a body of thought, a body of knowledge, but unfortunately it can also be founded on a common body of superstition, folly, romance, ignorance and error. I am afraid that that is the description that applies in a greater or less degree to almost all the cultures that we have in the world today.

However, no matter; we say culture is founded on genuine knowledge. I said, by the way, a moment ago, scientific knowledge, but as the scientific knowledge of today is about the most romantic thing that human credulity has ever imposed on the human race, I prefer genuine knowledge, and knowledge which has some remote kind of correspondence to the facts of life. In any community, whatever its culture may be, you have to have government, order and organization. As a result of that you have to have a dogma, a good deal of dogma, and you have finally to have a dogma of infallibility.

Now let us get a little closer to the question of culture as I have defined it. Let us take some historical examples of culture. There are two great religious cultures very familiar to us—the culture of Christendom and the culture of Islam—Mohammedanism, as we call it. These cultures you may contrast with two other cultures—Feudalism and Capitalism. We are looking forward to what our friend Trotsky advocates so strongly, feeling, as he does so strongly, the need of it, and that is a new culture which he calls a proletarian culture. . . .

When you come to feudalism you have had large bodies of people, at one time a very large body, practicing feudalism and really believing and acting on all the assumptions of feudalism. It is astonishing how many of those people still exist among us. You will find them even in Parliament, and even in the Government, and that peculiar stratification of society which is called feudalism is the one on which they habitually act and in the terms of which they habitually think.

When you come to capitalism you are still harder down on the facts. Capitalism got away from the theologian and invented the economic man; and you know he is really a fact. The economic man, crudely conceived, is a man who will pursue his own advantage, who will make as much money as he can. Evidently that is not true of all. You will find men, for instance, who have had to choose between making a great deal of money, say, by stockbroking, promoting, underwriting, shall I say, and making hardly any money at all as poets. Nevertheless, they refuse to become stockbrokers on any terms, and they insist on being poets at all hazards.

Nevertheless, they do not cease to be economic men, because, once they have made a decision, once a man has become a stockbroker or a poet, he will make as much money by his stock-

broking as he can or as much money by his poetry as he can. There are occasionally startling exceptions. At the last meeting of the Fabian Society I had to sit in a state of great confusion, not knowing exactly what to do, whilst the whole audience congratulated me on having received a large sum of money, which, as it happened, I had just handed back and had not got at all. I was not precisely acting as the economic man on that occasion, but you may regard that as being a very transient aberration.

I make as much money as I possibly can habitually out of my plays and novels. I insist on doing that rather than pursuing what may be called an honest trade; but there it is. You have this fact, as I say, that these economic cultures do come down very much more on the actual facts of human nature.

The consequence is that curious hopes are arising of an economic culture. All the time that we have been in this room studying these questions in a very large way, a sort of running accompaniment of our meetings has been kept up by Mr. H. G. Wells in the shape of a number of volumes about a gentleman named Clissold. Clissold is a man who believes that, after all, the capitalists—or, rather, the men of Big Business, the financiers, the big employers, the organizers—these are the men who are going practically to thrust Parliament and the churches and all sort of rubbish to one side, and they are going to take the world in hand and organize it. . . .

I think there is no doubt that this Clissoldism, as it were, is getting into the air. Already you find in fiction people like the gentleman in one of my plays called Undershaft. You find this idea of the great millionaire, the great organizer. Mr. Wells thinks it is possible to educate them. I was particularly careful to show in my play that Mr. Undershaft would have nothing to do with any partner who was educated; he insisted on getting somebody who had escaped that process.

Since that is really the international culture which is in the air at present, and which is exciting some people, I want just to go a little this evening

into its difficulties. My business tonight will be very largely to raise difficulties. That is all the use I am really in this world. Culture, in the sense in which I have been using the word—bodies of thought founded on bodies of knowledge or on bodies of superstition or on bodies of romance, or bodies of anything you like that possesses men's minds—there are several of them in the world; but when you get a perfectly genuine definition of culture, such as I have given you, you begin to perceive that the boundaries between these cultures are not vertical boundaries like war.

Cultures exist in strata. You have a top stratum and then you have one underneath that. If you take the ocean, for example, you have a stratum of water at a certain depth, a certain pressure of water; then you have another stratum under that, and another under that, and another under that. The fish that can live in one stratum cannot live in another. If you get hold of a fish in the lower stratum and bring it up to the top, it bursts promptly; and that is exactly the case with a culture. If you take a man from a low culture and bring him up to the top culture, he bursts, more or less, figuratively; mentally and intellectually he does burst, or bodily occasionally.

You will see that I am now getting to the question of internationalism, because these strata are international. Let us borrow from the military gentlemen their classification—C-1, C-2, C-3. You have heard a lot of these, and it is a very good way. You can take C as meaning culture; C-1 is the top stratum, C-2 is the one underneath it, C-3 is the one underneath that. These are all international in the sense that, no matter where you go in the world, you will find C-1 people, C-2 people and C-3 people. That is the way you must think of the matter. You must not think that there is an English culture, and a French culture, and a Chinese culture, and begin to consider how you can bring them all together. As a matter of fact, you will find in China the C-1 man and you will find in France the C-1 man; and you will find that these cultures really correspond to grades of human ability. . . .

The C-1 people are all right. Les beaux esprits se rencontrent, which means, the choice spirits finds one another. Therefore, if the C-1 people were left in control of the world, the world might get on pretty well. But before I go into that question I must want to point out to you, that when you envisage these strata, C-1, C-2, C-3, and so on, you must not think of that as being always a fixed thing. You must not think of men as being always the same, a man having a certain character and keeping it under all conditions. . . .

We are all C-1 people—at least we had better pretend we think one another so—but we have not a very powerful and commanding share in the affairs of the country. When you have a Signor Mussolini firing cannons at little children in Corfu, because he said the Italians wanted a strong gesture; when you think of the sort of things that happened in my own country, that really you did not manage to make Ireland what they call the Free State until you had done a frightful lot of murdering and burning.

"Nothing to Dublin" I remember, when I went out to Flanders during the war, and they showed me Ypres, and I looked at it, and they said: "What do you think of it?" I said: "It is nothing to Dublin." You should see Dublin, the city where I was born. The walls of Ypres are standing. I remember telling Commander Haig at that time: "What you want is an explosive that will act laterally. Your explosives leave the walls standing." But they did not leave the walls standing in Dublin. They took the whole centre of Dublin, and practically there was hardly a wall left standing; and that was only a part of a campaign of fire and murder of the most horrible description, quite equaling the sort of things that Alva used to do in the Netherlands.

Remember, the man who was mainly responsible for what was done in Ireland was a minister, Sir Hamar Greenwood. Do you look on him with anything of the sort of horror that, if you are a good Protestant, you are supposed to look back at Alva with? ("Yes"). A gentleman says yes; I assure you that gentleman that Sir Hamar Greenwood got

18,000 votes up in Sunderland without the slightest difficulty. There was no reaction against him politically whatever, as far as I could make out, but his electoral chances were rather improved.

I need not remind you of the atrocity of Denshaw—one of those hideous blots on the face of history, but which never shook the credit of Lord Grey in the slightest degree. Nobody ever bothered particularly about it, and the people who did not bother about it I dare say really thought they were C-1 people; but they were not. On the whole, when you look at that kind of thing, and then when you look at what this was all done under the war strain—when you come to consider what is done under the religious strain, things do not get in the least better. . . .

All these cultures, which are represented by these religious movements, are really and fiercely nationalist and imperialist cultures—hated of the foreigner, rivalry with the foreigner; hatred of the man who disagrees with you in religion; hatred of the man who has got £20 a year perhaps more than you, which is a very strong feeling—the refusal to allow your children to play with him, to allow your daughter to marry his son and so on. All these class feelings are very strong. It is only the C-1 man who gets out of them.

The question comes. What is the remedy, if you want to make a move, since the C-3 people and the C-2 people are an obstacle to real international union and culture of any kind? There is the eugenic remedy, the first one which suggests itself to some people. They say, breed out the C-2 and all the lower strains, and breed in C-1. Let us have a population, not of C-3 or C-2 people, but consisting exclusively of C-1 people. Unfortunately, we have not got the remotest idea of how to set about it or how to get it—not the slightest.

You go to your eugenic societies and all that. I once went to address the Eugenic Society, and I unfortunately began my address by saying that the object of the Eugenic Society was to breed a better class of human beings, and I nearly wrecked

the society. They went into hysterics; they said that such an infamous idea had never entered their head. Why they joined the society I do not know; perhaps on the off chance of hearing a speech from Dean Inge. I grant you that that is a very good reason; still it was not a eugenic reason. It still remains that the only step that we dare take. We know nothing about the subject. If you want to get better people the only thing to do is to extend the field of sexual selection, and the only way you can do that is by giving everybody the same income; and we are not very close to that as yet.

When you give up eugenics you say, What is to be done? Admitting that the C-1 man is a happy accident, not like myself, and that the C-1 men and women will be in a small minority, then comes your remedy. Why not entrust the government of the world and the management of diplomacy and international affairs—why not hand that over to the C-1 people? Some such idea as that always has been a little in the minds of men. There has been always a sort of habit, when you have got a government, or a priesthood, or a communion of saints, or any sort of people, to look up to and obey them. People always do their best to persuade themselves that these persons are C-1, but we who look a little more closely at politics and know how things are done, know that they are not C-1, that that thing has not come about, that somehow or another the C-1's are on the whole much more likely to get crucified than to get into the Cabinet.

You find that Demos—that is a convenient term to describe C-2, 3, 4, 5, and 6—Demos does not like C-1's. C-2 never does. He fears them in some way. It was a curious thing, but remember that we are speaking of grades of ability, and higher grades of ability have something rather terrifying about them; and when you fear a thing you hate it. Almost all hatred in the world comes from fear. C-1 people have to spend half their time in intimidating people without in the slightest degree meaning to do so, and during the

other half they are trying to get out of the mess that they have got into by intimidating them, not knowing exactly what is wrong. But, at any rate, it is out of the question at present to entrust international relations to C-1's, for the simple reason that the C-2 and C-3 people will not allow it. . . .

So that really you are driven out of this idea. Democracy won't let you carry it out. What would be a third thing? I think the third leads us back on our tracks. Why not go back to laissez faire and trust to Clissold? Well, there is a movement, as I said, in that direction. There is this idea that Mr. Wells is not really advocating but is only putting it as the point of view of a man who is handling affairs on a big scale.

One of the things that shows you how it has been in the air is that quite a large society has grown up in the midst of late years, a body called Rotarians. Their object is to raise the employer, the business man, who is a mere vulgar tradesman, to raise him to professional rank, to make him an idealist, seeing that so much of the government of the world has passed into his hands, to try and make him worthy of his destiny; in fact, the ideal that is put forward in Clissold. It is, at any rate, worth teaching to the employers, trying to raise them to this particular height.

I myself on two occasions addressed the Rotarians. You know the way they met. They have a midday lunch all together in the various cities. There is supposed to be one representative of each business, and that is how the club is made up. As a matter of fact, I found in them a great many representatives of a particular business. In the printing business, for instance, you had the machine represented, and the printing represented, and the paper represented, and I do not know what else; at any rate, it is perfectly easy to get as many men who are virtually printers into clubs as you like.

In Liverpool and Edinburgh—That does not matter; the more the merrier. I, in my eloquent manner, the manner in which I am at present addressing you, and in my lucid manner, I put the ideal before them; and I never saw men more astonished in the whole course of my life. I tried first in Liverpool, and then I tried in Edinburgh. It is quite true that these men came together, and that they lunched, and told one another funny stories, but I really could not see that any of them had any idea in their heads that the Rotarians had any other object or purpose; and I am afraid that the ideal with which the thing was formed never really has succeeded in getting well into the head of the business men. . . . Capital at the present time is running away with the whole world, and these

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Business Is Business, Even in Russia

By Wm. M. Feigenbaum

The Amtorg Trading Corporation, 165 Broadway, New York City, is doing business in the United States for the Soviet Government. It describes itself as the "Sole Representative in the United States of America of State Import, Export and Industrial Organizations of the U. S. S. R." and it deals with the Chase National Bank, the Equitable Trust Company, and similar revolutionary proletarian institutions.

The snappy, up-and-coming, he-business men of 165 Broadway, New York, would no more attend a Communist mud-slinging festival on the East Side than they would allow a lot of "nuclei" to serenade the stately Singer Building with Gipsy Svobodnoi Rossi, or to march down to Wall Street with red banners proclaiming the usual "down with" and "long lives."

I have before me Exhibit A, the Special Russian Number of the New York "Journal of Commerce," dated September 29, 1926. The "Journal of Commerce," which forthwith devotes 48 pages to a glorification of Soviet Russia, and even carries the Communist Hammer and Sickle on Page 1, is not a revolutionary proletarian paper. It is, according to the legend on the top of the editorial column, "America's Leading Business Daily Newspaper." There are no advertisements of lectures by "Chaver" Gitlow and "Tovarisch" Foster, of mass meetings and balls and rallies and courses in the Workers' School on "How to Throw Mud Effectively." Oh, no. The advertisements are of the Chase National

Bank, the Equitable Trust Co., agents of great American (non-union) textile mills, farm equipment companies, cotton exporters, insurance brokers and steamship agents, and many pages of ads. of the various official Soviet business organizations.

The whole section is devoted to the thesis (there's a good Communist word) that American business men have a fine profitable field of investment in Russia. The story is told in articles by Soviet officials, who explain how, for example, "Bank for Foreign Trade of the U. S. S. R. is filling a Great Economic Need in Russia." "Russian Trade Had Found Credits Sufficient to Make Great Strides in Last Few Years," "Making Russian Industry Stand on Both Feet," and other revolutionary subjects.

Russia has been playing the part of a great friend of labor in every country; the large contributions to the British miners' strike, for example (of which more in a few moments). Here we have a huge double page spread ad. of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, announcing that it is "transacting commission business, buying in the United States for shipment to U. S. S. R., all kinds of machinery and merchandise. Its chief lines of export are—"

And we find among the firms with which Revolutionary Russia does business the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Company, and the Robert H. Hoe Company, all three among the bitterest, most relentless enemies of organized labor in the world.

Parentetically, it is interesting to recall that President Calles of Mexico, whom the Communists rejoice in blackguarding, told a luncheon table full of American business men that Mexico under his presidency would buy nothing from the United States, from a tank hammer to a locomotive, unless it had a union label on it; and he made the business men like it. He is, of course, not a "revolutionary" like Stalin, and he doesn't buy advertising space in Wall Street sheets to boast of relations with Gary's slave trust, nor does he subsidize agents to disrupt and destroy trade unions in other countries. That's why the Communists hate him.

All this time the revolutionary sentiment at home in Russia has been fading out—but it still exists in a diminished degree. Came the British miners' strike. Came large contributions of

gold "chervontsi." Came much discussion pro and con. Came the cat out of the bag.

During the entire period of the British coal strike the official Communists never tired of blackguarding the official labor movement in Great Britain. During all that time, when MacDonald and Henderson and Clynes were too reformist to deal with, Tory members of Parliament sat on the board of directors of the Independent Oil Distribution Company, a subsidiary of the All-Russian Naphtha Syndicate, which is a subsidiary of the Soviet government. And while the strike was going on agents of this Naphtha Syndicate, which has what it claims is a substitute for coal, were traveling all over England urging British business to start using their product and "thus dispense with coal forever." And the contributions to the miners thus served two purposes; one, to be a grand little talking point for the Communist "Chaverm," and second, to keep the strike going longer and thus make it possible for them to persuade the British industrialists to consider a coal substitute.

The Communist press has been making a great noise about the British strike; they have made a hero of its leader, A. J. Cook. They have not, however, even mentioned the fact that Comrade Cook sent some protests to Moscow against these traveling salesmen of the naphtha concern that must have burned up the cables with their blazing indignation.

There you have a general scenario of the situation. The Russia of 1917 is fading out. A new, powerful, industrial Russia is coming in. All the reminders of the old revolutionary days are being dumped into the ash can like so much excess baggage. Every year there is less and less contact with the labor and revolutionary movement. Every year it tends more and more to become a dogma, like a religious litany, repeated, but only with the lips. And as the capitalist world today likes brutal dictatorship, so we have Stalin ruling with a rod of steel and with no nonsense about the ideals of the revolution.

Marx said that economic considerations explain pretty nearly everything that goes on in nations. Marx was right. Marx also said that the liberation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves. Marx was again right, and that is now the order of business before the Russian workers. They are dealing with an industrialist, capitalist country. They are slowly finding it out. They will act accordingly.

There is one kind of patriot who waves a flag, but a far higher kind is the man who blushes every time he sees a neglected child—Dr. Garnet Baker.

NEW TACTICS OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Big Parade

HAVE you seen "The Big Parade"? Well, if you haven't, don't miss it. It's a great picture. Perhaps the greatest movie ever produced in this country. And, if art is defined as something so nearly perfect that anything added or taken from it would spoil it, then "The Big Parade" is a work of art too. Anyhow the only improvement I could suggest would be the addition of the smells of war to all the other horrors of war, so realistically portrayed in "The Big Parade."

Like all works of art, "The Big Parade" is built around a very simple theme. A barkeeper, a structural iron worker, the lovable good-for-nothing son of a rich manufacturer, and a French peasant girl, are the principal characters and victims of the play. Of course, there is the inevitable love, death, and the climax kiss-clinch. But outside of that, it is just war; dirty, filthy, stinking, beastly, useless war, and therein lies its tremendous educational value.

If I had the re-christening of "The Big Parade," I would call it "The Taming of the Brute." And, by brute I mean the average moving picture audience with its predilection for flag-bamboozle and martial saint vices. In the opening scene of "The Big Parade," there is a great deal of the marching and flag waving, so dear to the heart of the moron, and so the customary rounds of applause. There even was some hand clapping in the scene where the brand new captain smilingly tells the French officers who cautioned him to dig in as the woods in front are full of machine gun nests that "they had left their shovels at home." An enemy sniper shot out of a tree, raised a few more scattering and half-hearted claps, but that was the end.

No more clapping as the funeral parade enters the fatal woods. Deadly silence as the boys fall, one by one, before the fire of the hidden foe. No sign of enthusiasm for the bloody game when at last the reserves rushed to the rescue of the thinning lines. No joy in sight of the raised hands of surrendering enemies. A creepy shudder when the advance breaks before the second line of defense and wind-rows of dead and dying men stretch through the forest of horror.

For here was war. War stripped of claptrap, tinsel and swindle. War in which white-eyed shivering men drag reluctant limbs toward death-vomiting machines operated by terror-stricken hands. Essen bullets piercing the hearts of the children of Pleasant Valley, Pittsburgh steel, tearing the bodies of boys from Freudenburgh for the glory of bankrupt politicians, and greedy traders gambling for reputation and money with the heart blood of other men.

But why try to describe a picture in words? A fellow might just as well try to paint the fragrance of the rose or measure harmony with yard sticks. These things have a language of their own and cannot be expressed in other languages. So, don't miss "The Big Parade" if it comes within a hundred miles of your domicile. It's a great picture, which in the ultimate, will do more for peace than millions of half-hearted sermons on human brotherhood.

Incidentally, "The Big Parade" has tremendously boosted my rapidly diminishing stock of patriotism. A nation that can produce a picture like that is something to be proud of. While I fully realize that our movie producers are turning out an immense amount of unqualified trash and that some of the finest films have come from abroad, it still seems to me that "The Big Parade" stands unsurpassed in its line. And whenever my country starts out beating the world in doing good count me among its first and foremost jingoes.

Talking about war and peace, brings me naturally to our relation with Mexico. Brother Kellogg has written a note to Calles, telling him where to get off. From what I can make out it's about "our interests" which are jeopardized by certain clauses in the Mexican constitution. Being a rather busy man, I don't know any more about the Mexican constitution than the average hundred percent knows about our own. But, I do know that my "interests" in Mexico don't require the backing of the armed forces of this republic. I haven't lost anything down there and it is my firm belief that the overwhelming majority of my fellow citizens are in the same boat.

I wish they would can the diplomatic chatter about "our interests." When an American oil company operating in Mexico declares a seven hundred percent dividend, I don't even get an honorable mention. The checks are always made out in the name of parties who wouldn't speak to me if they met me on the street.

"That 'our interests' in Mexico reminds me of the partnership between two fellows who had found a cigar. 'Let's divide it,' said the party who had seen it first to the party who held the cigar. 'Sure-thing,' replied the latter, 'I smoke and you spit.' Well, the Sinclair and Dohenys get the big smoke and I get indignation by robbing my stomach of saliva."

Now that oil is again disturbing the relation between "us" and "ours" westerly republic across the Rio Grande, I am awfully sorry that Brother Calles has gotten himself into that scrap with the Catholic church. Breaking the political power of a religion always increases its spiritual power, as is amply demonstrated in this country. The Protestant sects are politically so powerful, that most politicians shake in their boots when Pope Wheeler of Antislavery fame cracks his whip. The Catholic church, on the other hand, is politically so weak, that even such a popular and eminently successful politician as Al Smith may find himself barred from the presidency for no better reason than that he is a Catholic. But while the political parsons are filling jails by creating more laws and law breakers, the Catholic brethren are filling churches. And it seems to me that from the religious viewpoint, full churches ought to be preferable to the full jail. So, if friend Calles succeeds in destroying the political power of the Catholic church of Mexico, he most likely will strengthen its influence over the Mexican masses. In other words, it looks to me like he is playing heads I lose, and tails you win. And that is no game for a man who lives next door to an "altruistic" crusader like Uncle Sam.

When I see the scare headlines in our newspapers engendered by Kellogg's note to Calles and observe how they tune down the news of the Fall and Doheny trial, I sometimes wonder if these black clouds do not render excellent service to the heroes of the black strait. Anyhow, wouldn't it be amusing if in the hullabaloo over Doheny's oil interests in Mexico, we should forget all about our oil interests in Teapot Dome and the Naval Oil Reserve, which Payriest Doheny purchased from Payriest Fall for \$100,000 cash, nine cows and a blooded bull? And, say, wouldn't it be some contribution to the hilarity of history, if this nation would go to war with Mexico in behalf of gentlemen accused of robbing and debauching their own government?

Anyhow, see "The Big Parade" before another Big Parade goes under way. Pictures of that kind will not be tolerated once tom-toms beat and brains rattle, because truth, whether in word or picture, is the worst recruiting sergeant imaginable.

Adam Coaldrigger.

Forces Contributing to Guild Socialism THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

IT WAS during this period that the guild Socialist movement, with its ideal of a social order midway between syndicalism and the older Socialism, with its emphasis on producers' control and its criticism of too great a development of State functions, began to take root. The guild Socialist school of thought was a resultant of the foregoing political and industrial situation, and of various other forces. These included:

1. In the nature of the case, the general Socialist movement, with which most of the guildsmen had been closely identified. The Socialist attack on the wage system and its advocacy of a system of production not based on profit were fundamental to the guild philosophy.

2. The social thinking and writing of John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, William Morris, and others who detested the ugliness and monotony of machine production and who regretfully looked back to the time when the independent guildsman of the Middle Ages took pride in creative work and produced works of art for which the Middle Ages were famous.

3. The French syndicalist movement and the theories of the American Industrial Workers of the World, with their bias against the State and against political action and their shibboleth of "all power to the producer."

4. The writings of such anti-collectivist as Gilbert K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, who saw in much of the recent collectivist legislation in Great Britain the beginnings of a "servile state," and who proposed as

their ideal a "distributive state," largely composed of peasant proprietors, where the "instinct of ownership" would be satisfied. These writers maintained that much of the collectivist legislation, by making the workers physically comfortable, was rendering capitalism endurable, and that it was at the same time more restricting the freedom of trade union action. Would a strike, they asked, be permitted in a state-owned industry? This question was given special point by the attitude of the Fabian Society in 1907 in approving the treaty which Lloyd George "imposed upon the railroad industry," in his attempt to settle a threatened railroad strike. "In the case of the nation's principal means of land transport," declared the Fabians, "resort to the characteristic trade union weapon of the strike was 'such a national calamity that no responsible statesman could nowadays treat it as a private matter. The nation can no more afford to let the railway industry be interrupted by the claims, however just, of the railway workers, than by obstinacy, however dignified, of the railway directors.'"

5. The school of anti-state political philosophers, led by the Reverend J. N. Figgis, who was engaged in brushing aside the "myth" of the sovereignty of the state. In his writings, Father Figgis maintained that there were certain associations residing in the state churches, trade unions among them—whose lives were independent of the state, and whose personalities were inviolable from state authority. The state "could recognize and guarantee . . .

the life of these societies—the family, the club, the union, the college, the church; but it no more created life than it created the individual, though it orders his birth to be registered. Consequently, 'the theory of sovereignty, whether proclaimed by John Austin or Justinian, or shouted in conflict by Pope Innocent or Thomas Hobbes, is in reality no more than a venerable superstition . . . As a fact it is as a series of groups that our social life presents itself, all having some of the qualities of public law and most of them showing clear signs of a life of their own, inherent and not derived from the concession of the state.' Political authority, in brief, is 'an association, not a lordship.'"

In this view Father Figgis followed the historian Maitland, who had maintained the thesis that other groups than the state possessed legal personalities. It was not a far cry to the conclusion that associations residing in the state should not only be able to preserve their personalities from state encroachment, but also should be permitted to assume new duties at the expense of the state. This is what the guild socialists attempted to prove. Figgis' lectures, appearing at the time that the guildsmen were finally formulating their doctrine, had a distinct influence on guild thought.

The guildsmen, following the first formulation of their theory, were also influenced by the "functional principle" theory enunciated by the Spanish Journalist, Senor Ramon de Maetzu, a theory which maintained that there are no natural rights, but only "objective rights," conditional upon performing some useful function by the

individual or group claiming them. R. H. Tawney later elaborated on this theory in his "Sickness of Acquisitive Society," insisting that property should be "functional" and that industrial control should pass out of the hands of functionless owners into those of the workers who rendered actual service.

We might mention also the influence on the later guildsmen of J. M. Paton's theory of "encroaching control," with its demand that the employer be gradually pushed out of the control of industry through aggressive trade union action and of the Major Douglas' credit scheme, which will be discussed in future pages.

Reckitt and Bechhofer, summarizing these various currents which went to make up the guild movement, thus succinctly expressed it:

"We should find the craftsmen's challenge and the blazing democracy of William Morris; the warning of Mr. Belloc against the huge shadow of the servile state and, perhaps, something also for his claim of the individual's control over property; the insistence of Mr. Penty on the evils of industrialism and its large scale organization, and his recovery and best quest to us of the significant and unique word 'guild.' We should find something of the French syndicalism, with its championship of the producer; something of American industrial unionism, with its clear vision of the need of industrial organization; and something of Marxian socialism with unparaphrasing analysis of the wage system by which capitalism exalts itself and enslaves the mass of men."

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Wow! Zowie! Hoopla!

THE above ejaculations are indicative of our extreme joy over the signing of the agreement between the management of the Botany Mill at Passaic, N. J., and the striking textile workers.

Last Monday was a red letter day in the history of the American labor movement. Make no mistake about that. When the apparently implacable Col. Johnson put his signature on that agreement, which recognized the rights of his workers to organize in unions of their own choosing he made a notable surrender to as courageous and fine-hearted a group of men and women as have ever fought for labor's fundamental rights.

To our intense disgust we now find certain congenial glooms marching around town telling everybody that the settlement doesn't amount to much after all, that the Botany is still an Open Shop and that the rank and file of the Passaic workers are disappointed with the upshot of their ten months' strike.

We wish that these professional pessimists had been with us in Passaic the night after the settlement with Botany was announced. We wish they could have looked into the faces of the workers packed into the halls so tightly that many of them had to find bare clinging space on the edges of the platforms. Disappointed? Why, you never saw a happier bunch in your life. When a loom-fixer strode out on the platform at the meeting at Belmont Park and started to play on a wheezy accordion the fighting song of the strikers, "Solidarity Forever," there was a full-lunged response that shook the rafters. Everyone slapped his or her neighbor on the back, everyone banged big, toll-hardened hands together each time a speaker stopped for breath. The workers had won a glorious victory and they knew it. Their countless sacrifices, their manifold exhibitions of courageous persistence in the face of overwhelming odds had not been in vain. In Passaic it was a memorable night, no matter what certain "sophisticates" in New York might have to say about the settlement.

When the "shouting and the tumult dies," what are the bare facts about the settlement? Critics say that Botany is still an Open Shop. So it is, in name. As a rule Botany employs some 5,000 workers. It is estimated that there are now about 1,000 non-union men and women at work in the big mill. These are for the most part unskilled. Of the thousand at least six hundred are worthless. They have simply loafed during the strike and were brought in for propaganda purposes. Now the agreement provides that the strikers will be re-employed without discrimination of any sort and, best of all, when they go back, they go back with a strong union behind them. This is the direct reverse of the ordinary Open Shop, where non-union workers always predominate over the few members of a weak union. Furthermore, some weeks ago Botany announced that a new wage scale was being put into effect, abolishing the wage cut which caused the walkout last February and granting a small increase in wages. When the strikers go back they will go on this scale.

So much for the dollars and cents of it. Far more important is the psychological effect. The whole trouble at Passaic started at Botany. This was the mill that announced a 10 per cent. wage cut a year ago and it was from Botany that the first workers came pouring out the day the strike was called. Col. Johnson, who has managed the strike for Botany, was one of the bitterest opponents of the strikers. Most of the anti-union propaganda issued from his office. Time and again he announced that he would never recognize any union. It was under the walls of Botany that the police charged the workers and in their shadows that much of the street fighting took place. Botany was the keystone in the arch of the textile baron's structure. And now it is Botany that agrees to the principle of collective bargaining and still there are those who would sneeringly discount such a significant victory in order to alibi their defeatist opinions expressed at the beginning of the strike to the effect that the Passaic workers could never win. From all such phony Cassandras the good Lord deliver us.

But don't let us forget for one moment that the Botany agreement does not mean the ending of the strike in Passaic. There are still five struck mills employing about six thousand workers. We must keep on sending relief to these six thousand and their dependents. They cannot be cared for by the workers who are returning under union terms because these workers are flat broke and in debt after the long struggle. Relief work must go on with more vigor than ever. It would be disastrous to desert those still on strike because of the Botany victory. No true friend of the workers will stop his work for Passaic relief until every mill signs agreements similar to that made with Botany.

Loie at Engdahl has written a piece about us in The Daily Worker. We understand that it is not complimentary to our intelligence and that he makes the awful charge that we once did publicity for the Committee of Forty-eight. When we heard the bad news we went out with heart bowed down, to get a copy of this dread indictment. But as we couldn't find one anywhere in town we can't give you an, details beyond the above as to what a dirty, yellow ignoramus we really are.

From California, Lena Morrow Lewis, who recently ran for Lieutenant-Governor of that benighted state on the Socialist ticket, sends word that Warren K. Billings, who is still a prisoner in the Northern California prison at Repressa (significant name), has been reading about Isabel, our black cat. Billings writes to Comrade Lewis:

"There was also another short article in the clippings you sent me about the sympathetic nature of cats, and although I haven't noticed anything overly sympathetic in our new kitten as yet, I must say he has some other qualities. In the first place, he is a high tenor tom cat. He is just ordinary black and gray-streaked in color, but he is about the liveliest kitten I have ever seen. He runs and plays all day long, but he plays a lot harder than he thinks he does and he has me all scratched up."

"Things are getting so crowded here that there are two of us in each cell now and naturally I picked out a chess player to be my cell mate, and so we've been playing chess and talking and getting better acquainted and I haven't so much time for letter writing."

It's a lovely civilization, boys and girls, that coops up lovers of the underdog (and undercat) like Mooney and Billings and let as unconscionable a gang of crooks as ever appeared in public life direct its tortuous course.

McAlister Coleman.

The New Books

"Revelry" Annoys

WASHINGTON is seething with discussion—chiefly cynical in tone—of the scandals that attended the Harding regime and the period when Calvin Coolidge was trying to stave off the investigation of the graft and corruption which marked the return of the Republican party to power in the capital. For "Revelry" (N. Y., Boni & Liveright, \$2.00), a historical novel of that time, has appeared. Samuel Hopkins Adams, who has thrown into a book a hodgepodge of veiled reference to all the chief characters in the sordid drama of the Ohio Gang and Teapot Dome and the Department of Justice. The effect is as nauseating as the most disillusioned citizen could expect. The White House is shivering in disgust.

Willis Markham is the handsome, easy-going, stand-by-my-friends politician whom a crooked lobbyist has shoved into the presidency of the United States. He plays poker, drinks heavily, finds congenial company among criminal characters who love him as a friend and make use of him as a tool with which to rob the government and the public. Their private morals are on a par with their gutter vocabulary, and in the mysterious little house on Blue street they gamble and quarrel and fight. There is the "suicide," the oil stock deal, the cabinet member who last year was unable to pay his taxes, but who suddenly is able to buy a great ranch.

"Revelry" is not a novel in the literary sense, nor is it historical in the sense of truth to events. But it is a performance which turns up to the reminiscent postils of the American people all of the rotting relics of the Harding-Coolidge term. Whether it is published in order to annoy the White House and its satellites, or to stimulate further research into the doings in the Little Green House on K street and in the McLean house on H street, as described before Senate committees two years ago, the author does not explain.

"There came, too," he says in the deathbed scene, "the Vice-President so soon to be President, who looked indubitably at the dying man out of his fishy eyes and assured him that the Markham policies would be faithfully adhered to. Vice-President Elliot did not know what the Markham policies were. Nor did Markham. Nor anyone else. But it made a hit when sent out over the news association wires."

Laurence Todd.

A Seditious Gibbs

YOUNG Mr. Gibbs' "Labels," A Hamilton Gibbs, Little, Brown & Co., \$2.50, published in 1926, but written, say, in 1919, "Labels" as literature is just about that. When you try to label neatly and package your characters so conveniently ("just fits the hand," etc.), they tend to be of the patent medicine type, and not one of Nature's prescriptions. As a burning exposition of convictions that came to three young Britons, a captain, D. S. O., a conscientious objector and a nurse, as a result of their war experiences, however, the book is incandescent.

Sedition (U. S. brand) crops out on every page. It would be a rare treat to watch our Lord High Tuff-Hunter A. Mitchell Palmer forcibly given a hair single with these pages! About everything that a street corner Red with a good vocabulary could say on May Day to a Hyde Park audience is here put into King's English for everyone to read. Gibbs will not be deported, for he comes of too illustrious a family (and besides lives in England)—but

Ruling the College

By Joseph T. Shipley

ANOTHER of the stimulating studies in the New Republic Dollar Books is J. E. Kirkpatrick's analysis of "The American College and its Rulers." This book is a keen and thorough discussion, with historic background and present comparison, of the status and trend of the colleges of the United States, with the proposal of the general remedial movement the author sees.

The early history of several of the Colonial colleges is given, showing in each case how control came to move from the persons directly in charge of the instruction to an outside board, until the theory of direct democratic control was itself supplanted by the notion of responsible trustees. These, in turn, through various forces, especially financial, connected with the support of the institution, grew to depend upon one man as chief force on the board, until it is no fiction to state that such and such a university is run from a Wall Street office or from a room in Chicago. With this growth the function of the president of the college has changed; from being a live force expressive of the combined will of the faculty, he has become the money-getter, then the representative on the campus of the money power. Although a prominent president has complained of the impotence of men in his position, it is not because he is

he will not be knighted as his brother Phillip was, whose "Now It Can Be Told" is only washed out water-colors, compared to the feelings done in burning oils by Hamilton.

We can't have too much of this sort of thing, this "good" debunking propaganda, even if in the guise of literature—especially produced by those outside the usual deadline of radicalism. And it will set us all thinking along a variety of lines about the ways of wars and wars. It's almost as good pamphletting as Upton Sinclair does—and its convictions about the futility and imbecility and deceit of war are real ones, arrived at by a real human!

Raymond Fuller.

Rose Macauley's Best

THAT entertaining lady, Rose Macauley, has written a new book which she calls "Crews Train," a title gouged from an obscure quotation after the newer manner of the sophisticated novelists. Which word-painter started this custom of snatching titles from esoteric bits of verse or prose, we do not know. Let it suffice that it has become an annoying custom and that Miss Macauley is an old offender, having "Told by an Idiot" against her record. That first choice was particularly happy. Probably it was the most inspired of these newer titles, but this latest—ah well, alack-aday.

Here, however, criticism of this good English lady must cease, for however unfortunate her title may be, the book is the best novel she ever has written. This, no doubt, sounds rather left-handed, but it is not meant to be so. Her works heretofore, with the exception of that tour de force, "Orphan Island," have been studies, rather than novels, and this is the first novel she has written which could be placed on the same plane as "Told by an Idiot" and "Dangerous Ages." In "Crews Train" she crams all the wit and irony of the two former works, but this time she strings her beads of snooty obser-

subject to the faculty, which is indeed completely subject (in most cases, still) to the president, but because he is the obedient servant of the board of trustees, which in turn is usually the echo of a single voice, swollen with wealth and therefore power.

There are signs here and there which, after a glance at the South American colleges, where the development has come earlier, Dr. Kirkpatrick indicates, of a growing demand on the part of faculties and students for a greater voice in the determination of their lives and destinies. While the author has more hope in such a part-time institution as Antioch, which alternates study and work, than those who look upon the aim of education as rather cultural than immediately applicable to the mere wage of livability, he points rightly to "The New Student" and other voices of students as the most significant signs of a stirring, of an awakened consciousness and conscience and desire—and demand. When the students of our own city institution publish upon the cover of their literary magazine a picture of the college "Urbs Coronata," Inc., as a factory for turning out mechanical men, the leading story of the issue being a satire on the production of Robots, it is clear that the chief abuses and evils are growing into forces strong enough to cry for their correction.

vations on a very good plot, which is not of the E. Phillips Oppenheim school, all praise to Allah.

She has chosen a woman, a bit of whom we all have in us, as her tragic foil. This woman is a seeker after solitude, a questioner of the sacred rites of society, a scoffer at the absurd customs of civilization, almost a savage, but without the egotism or power of the primitive. The buffets this girl receives, her observations and her final surrender to a charming husband and his literary circle in London make the book. It is really fine and well worth reading.

B. M.

An International Year Book

THE fourth Year Book of the International Federation of Trade Unions, 1926 (Amsterdam, \$2.50), yearly publication of the International, has already won recognition among workers of reference. Reviews of the 1925 Year Book conceded to it the first place among publications dealing with organization of the workers. It is indispensable for addresses and as a work of reference generally, not only to those who are themselves active in the international labor movement, but also to students and to all who are interested in social and political questions.

The Year Book contains the names and addresses and membership figures of all the organizations affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and the International Trade Secretariats, and a list of their publications. It surveys the whole world trade union movement, and gives a particularly valuable list of all existing labor educational organizations.

Information is provided on the sections of the Labor and Socialist International, the International of Youth, and other international bodies.

The National Trade Union Centres affiliated with the I. F. T. U. contribute detailed reports on their activities as do also the International Trade Sec-

retariats, together with their most important rules. We can unhesitatingly recommend this unique publication to all who need authentic information on the international labor movement, and the aims, strength, methods and financial resources of the various organizations of which it is composed.

The Year Book can be obtained from the publication department of the I. F. T. U., Tesselshadestraat 31, Amsterdam, Holland, or from its agent in this country, Bruno Wagner, 243 East 84th street (Labor Temple), New York city.

A Futile South

ATALE that is humorous, tragic and wise is "The Romantic Comedians," by Ellen Glasgow (Garden City: Doubleday Page & Co. \$2). It is humorous in its picture of the old South, enveloped in traditions of chivalry, sentimentality and evasion; it is tragic in its portrayal of a human spirit, forever chasing the will-o'-the-wisp of love and happiness; it is wise in its understanding of realities and illusions, of facts and of fictions.

Judge Honeywell, a gentleman of the old South, is the chief of the romantic comedians. Left a widower at sixty-five, he married Annabel, twenty-three, in vain pursuit of a happiness that life so far has denied him. Annabel goes, but his dissatisfaction and illusions stay with him. At the end it is his nurse, younger even than Annabel, who seems to him to be the embodiment of an ecstasy that he has missed, and spring blooms again in his withered heart. Of course, it is not the tale of one man; it is the story of all those who believe that love and happiness are synonymous, who feel that life contains an exquisite perpetual delight that love alone can give.

If you like a book mature, true, and yet not at all solemn, you will like this one. H. M.

A Seaman's Swan Song

THE apparently final gathering of the miscellaneous papers of Joseph Conrad (Last Essays, Joseph Conrad, Garden City, Doubleday, Page \$2), offers no material for a revised estimate of his work, but engagingly continues to exhibit the attributes with which we are already familiar. Whether it be a "Memorandum on the Scheme for Fitting Out a Sailing Ship," or a critical consideration of Stephen Crane, or a review that is no more than "A Glance at Two Books," the slow, sure-footed and undulant prose of the stylist moves on its mountain path, with the sunlight glaring over the snowy slopes, and the rare red flowers. Occasional anecdotes enliven the pages, otherwise mainly concerned with ideas. In "Outside Literature," for instance, the tribute to the clear and forceful prose of the Notices to Mariners is interrupted for the tale of the examination Conrad almost failed, writing a "W" instead an "E." He was saved for a sailor's life by a kindly examiner who returned the paper for the aspirant youth to look over. "He was a charming man, obviously poor, with an intelligent, as it suffering, face. Not exactly sickly, but delicate. A sea-voyage would have done him good. But it was I who went to sea"—for which the world is thankful.

William Lea.

Minorities lead and save the world, and the world knows them not till long afterwards.—John Burroughs.

N. Y. Cigarmakers' Unions Achieve Unity; Organization Drive Starts

The Field of Labor

THE first steps have been taken in the recovery of ground by the organized cigarmakers of New York city. The independent Amalgamated Tobacco Workers' Union is to affiliate as a local of the A. F. of C. Cigarmakers' International Union of America, and the united organizations are to wage an organization campaign in New York city. The consummation of the first awaits the presence of Ira N. Ornburn, the new president of the C. I. U. of A., who wishes to advise as to the application for the charter. The second part of the program has already been inaugurated. At a mass meeting held at the 84th Street Labor Temple the united memberships appealed to the unorganized to join the union. Among the speakers were Jack Melhado, of Local 90, C. I. U. of A.; Samuel Sussman, of the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers; August Claessens, of the Socialist Party; Jessie Stephens, British trade union leader; Thomas J. Curtis, of the Tunnel Workers and of the Building and Allied Trades Compensation Bureau; Santiago Iglesias, of Porto Rico, long an A. F. of L. organizer, and Morris Feinstein, of the United Hebrew Trades.

Unionism in the cigar industry in New York city has been suffering from two evils, one general and the other specific. The invention of machinery has diminished the importance of the cigarmakers' skill, so that today the work has left the larger cities for the small towns where women make up the bulk of employees. The union has been slow to adjust itself to the new conditions and today finds itself no longer in control of the industry. New York has been no exception. Whatever work still exists in the city remains in the hands of the men, but the out-of-town movement is still threatening. In the meantime many cigarmakers have been abandoning the trade for other occupations.

The lack of aggressiveness on the part of the International Cigarmakers' Union of America as well as its absorption in purely internal matters, led a group of individuals in New York city to secede from the parent body in 1917 and from the Cigarmakers' Council of New York city. This organization claimed as many as twenty-five hundred in affiliation. It functioned as a group until 1919 when it called an Interstate Convention to which, as the name indicates, delegates from the various cigar shops in the city had been invited. Meanwhile, application had been made for affiliation with the International on the basis of a separate local and the maintenance of the "one week law" which provided that no employee could be discharged after a week's employment.

The convention proved so successful that the delegates of the Joint Advisory Board of the I. C. U. A. who had come merely as observers were induced to throw in their lot with the rest. Two days later, on July 1, 1919, a general strike was called and soon took on national proportions. After an eighteen weeks' conflict favorable terms were won by the men, including (1) the no discharge rule after two weeks' employment, (2) a higher bill of prices and (3) equal division of work.

In the midst of the strike the independents were notified that they would

not be granted a charter by the International. With the advent of peace, they, therefore, organized themselves into a loose organization known as the Shop Chairmen's Institution in keeping with the vogue for shop stewards that existed in progressive labor circles at that time. Funds were raised by assessments within each shop. Thus, as many as three or four thousand men were claimed to have been affected. Other groups had meantime also sprung up in Chicago, Philadelphia, Reading, Lancaster and other localities. The first had assumed the name of the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers. These insurgents finally decided to pool their forces and in December, 1920, a convention organized the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers of America. For a time the headquarters were at Reading, Pa.

Then came the open shop drive of 1921-22, particularly in the "trust shops." The Amalgamated was further handicapped by its restrictive trade regulations. Finally, its outlaw character put it at a disadvantage. It continually lost membership, retaining, however, a hold on some shops in New York City.

In the fall of this year conditions seemed ripe for a unity move once more. The removal of the "Natural Bloom" cigar factory to Passaic, N. J., on account of strike conditions, had deprived the Amalgamated of one of its mainstays. A general strike of cigar makers in Cuba required financial assistance from their fellow-workers here and a curb on scab work. Santo Iglesias, long connected with the Porto Rican labor movement and an organizer of the A. F. of L., stepped into the situation. He called a conference of the representatives of the A. T. W. and the New York Joint Advisory Board, consisting of delegates from the local unions of the C. I. U. of A. In the discussions that followed several points of agreement were reached:

(1) That an appeal be signed by both parties calling upon cigarmakers to create a united front and organize the industry.

(2) That a mass meeting be called in the near future to start a campaign for organization and concerted action.

(3) That both sides uphold the prices and conditions prevailing in all organized shops until uniform revision be made.

(4) That the Amalgamated Tobacco Workers be granted a charter as a local of the C. M. I. U.

(5) That these recommendations be submitted to a vote of the members. All these steps have been carried out except the fourth, which will be attended to as soon as President Ornburn can be present in New York. The road is now clear for organization work. The hatchet is buried. The unorganized cigar maker can no longer point cynically to the factional strife of the two unions as an excuse to remain outside of both. On the other hand he will now be reached with redoubtable efforts. All that is left is for the International to co-operate by organizing the outlying shops. Unified action is the solution.

THE SCAB SHIPPING OFFICE KILLED

The International Seamen's Union of America has just won a notable victory in the United States Supreme Court. The organized shipowners on the Pacific coast had concocted a scheme to keep tab on seamen. They established employment offices at San Francisco and San Pedro, Cal., and compelled all seamen to register at these in order to obtain a job. The men then had to wait until their turn until they were granted employment. At all times they were compelled to carry on their persons a certificate giving their personal records. A member of the Seamen's Union, backed by the International Office, sued in the Federal District Court at San Francisco in an endeavor to make a test case. He lost. The Circuit Court of Appeals upheld this decision. But, undaunted, the union's attorney, Hutton, carried the case to the Supreme Court. Here the lower tribunals were reversed. The justices ruled that the ship owners, in carrying on their "scab" employment office, were acting in combination in restraint of interstate and foreign commerce, and were therefore violating the anti-trust laws. The union has real reason for rejoicing, for the upholding of the employers' contentions would have meant the inauguration of a "blacklist" system that would have made unionism among the seamen on the Pacific coast impossible.

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THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

IV.—The Right to Strike (1896-1906)

THE successful conclusion of the arbitration proceedings for the Artists, Designers and Engravers League after the strike in 1896 and the violation of the award by the employers had important results. The first gave a boost to unionism in the lithographic industry, the second produced a distrust of arbitration.

The stimulation to organization brought into existence the separate craft unions that were to characterize lithography until their amalgamation into the present body in 1914. The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association had neglected the press feeders and stone and plate preparers as too unskilled. These, therefore, developed independent organizations. In 1898 the International Protective Association of Lithographic Apprentices and Press Feeders of the United States and Canada was formed, and two years later the International Association of Lithographic Stone and Plate Preparers of the United States and Canada came into existence. In the meantime, the Artists' League lost one of its groups by a secession movement and the consequent formation of the Poster Artists' Association of America. Lastly, Local Union No. 119, Paper Cutters of New York and vicinity, came upon the scene.

The existence of six different unions naturally brought about dissension. The paper cutters were left pretty much alone. The others wrangled over jurisdictional questions. The L. I. P. and B. A. claimed all workers in the industry. The League fell into disputes with the L. I. P. and B. A. over the engravers and with the Poster Artists. The press feeders could replace pressmen. The preparers competed with their fellow-craftsmen in the L. I. P. and B. A. for jobs. The result was bad feeling and dissension. Yet the very fact that the workers were organized at all gave them superior bargaining power when it came to dealing with the employers. This was the period when the unions could dictate terms.

"Mutual Government" Proposed

The lack of confidence of the employees in arbitration as a method of settling industrial disputes was not shared by the master lithographers. The latter did not feel strong enough to risk strikes or lockouts and were content to rely on decisions of an arbitrator that could be nullified in practice if unfavorable to themselves. Their main concern was to prevent suspension of work. Consequently, they jumped at the "Mutual Government" plan which the recently appointed secretary and manager of the employers' association had formulated.

The new appointee had been known for his energetic activities in connection with the Printers' Board of Trade, or Franklin Club. The first step he took was to unite the employers' organizations in the field into one organization known as the Lithographers' Association with three sections, West, East and Pacific. The last two divisions were in favor of a vigorous labor policy, the first was inclined to stress strictly trade matters.

The new manager in September, 1902, presented his scheme to the L. I. P. and B. A. as a basis for its relations with the Lithographers' Association (East) in the New York market. This "Mutual Government" would set up what we should call today impartial machinery except that no agreement providing for definite working conditions in advance was contemplated. There was to be a joint commission of thirteen members, six representing each side, of which two were the business agents of the respective organizations who had no vote, and a thirteenth, the impartial umpire, to be selected by the other twelve members. Regular meetings of the commission were to take place quarterly and provision was made for special gatherings. At the meetings in January an "Annual Bulletin" was to be promulgated "to guide and govern both employers and workmen during the year, and to comprehend such particulars as rates of wages, hours of labor, payment for overtime, payment for holiday work, government of apprentices, and similar questions of joint concern." Decisions were to be made by a majority vote, the umpire casting his ballot only in case of a tie, and were to be binding for one year, unless modified by unanimous consent. Grievances that might arise from time to time were to be settled by the commission at the request of the business agents. Strikes and lockouts were forbidden.

Employers' Schemes Rejected

The submission of this peace plan by the employers came at an inopportune time. The unions were strong enough to dictate their own terms and, besides, had not forgotten the experiences of the artists with an arbitrator's favorable award in 1896. Consequently, the New York Subordinate Association of the L. I. P. and B. A. replied to the Lithographers' Association (East) on

October 27, 1902, and rejected the proposal on three grounds:

1. It would necessitate the amendment of the constitutions of the L. I. P. and B. A. and the New York body.

2. It would take from the General Association the right of review of the actions of the local body.

3. It involved "long and vexatious delays" because of "entirely too much red tape."

The union declared its intention to "continue to pursue in the future the course we have pursued in the past." When the Poster Artists' Association was approached as to its attitude towards "Mutual Government" it called for time, since it was waiting for the execution of plans to consolidate the existing poster firms into a trust in which the union would be represented in the management. The employers' association for the entire industry, however, after negotiation with those of its members who were in the poster business, was able to announce that it alone was in charge of labor matters. Thereupon the Poster Artists turned a deaf ear to all suggestions for establishing impartial machinery.

The energetic manager of the Lithographers' Association persisted in his efforts and finally succeeded in calling a conference with the L. I. P. and B. A. which met on January 15, 1903, "with the view of discussing, informally, certain trade conditions of interest to both associations." The union representatives went into the conference with the understanding that they would sign no agreement, so that the most that could be accomplished at this time was to arrange for another meeting for February 21 to formulate a national apprenticeship plan. At this time the union had control of the number of apprentices permitted in the shops so that the resulting shortage of beginners increased the bargaining power of the workers to such an extent that movement of men from one shop to another in search of higher wages was the rule.

The February conference was a failure and negotiations continued—with the union leading a merry chase. Then the employers discerned a ray of light. The New York Subordinate Association in October made a demand for some minor concessions, including an increase in the minimum wage for transferers. The Lithographers' Association (East) replied by explaining "Mutual Government" again and asking for a joint conference. Against the advice of the national office the New York local decided to enter upon discussions and finally agreed to a no-strike, no-lockout scheme with provisions made for joint commissions and arbitration. The General Executive Board of the L. I. P. and B. A. recognized this deviation from the official position of the organization and declared the agreement unconstitutional. Thereupon the employers found that they were at the end of their rope and having taken measure of their own increased membership, and therefore, economic strength, decided at their convention held in January, 1904, that hereafter they would insist upon arbitration in the settlement of disputes.

The Workers' Alliance

The Lithographic unions were not unaware of the new turn of events. They decided to bury their differences for the time being and at the instance of the New York locals held a conference at Buffalo on February 1, 1904, the officers of the L. I. P. and B. A. attending against the advice of their membership. A plan for a defensive and offensive alliance was adopted, providing for (1) mutual financial assistance, (2) no agreements denying the right to strike, (3) the establishment of a Central Lithographic Trades Council, in which each union was to have equal representation, and (4) the calling of no strike by any union without first informing this Council.

Thus united, the unions met the Lithographers' Association in conference in February, 1904. When the employers discovered that the other side had agreed among themselves not to come to any agreement pending the formal ratification of the alliance by the constituent unions, they presented an ultimatum on March 15 unless a one-year agreement was signed "establishing arbitration and eliminating the possibility of strikes and lockouts." Then, the unions and employers sent out personal letters to each lithographic workman in the United States urging in vigorous language support for their respective policies.

Subsequent conferences followed, the National Civic Federation intervened in an endeavor to effect a compromise. The Central Lithographic Trades Council and the Lithographers' Association eventually made drastic concessions. The former, however, insisted on the closed shop and arbitration to follow after the failure of a bipartisan committee; the latter conceded the substitution of local joint commissions for the hearing of grievances of business agents and a determination of some of the working conditions by an advance agreement instead of by the "Annual Bulletin," mentioned previously. Still no common ground was reached and on March 15, 1904, the lockout occurred as scheduled.

No break came in the ranks of the unions. The individual contracts of the employers offering protection calling for arbitration and no strikes or lockouts and holding out to the higher grade workers increased wages proved no bait. The unions had provided against this emergency by amending their constitutions to prohibit their members from making any

contract that would interfere with their obligations as union members.

The New Agreement
Once more the National Civic Federation offered its good offices and after a week's conferences a settlement was reached early in April, the provision of which follow:

1. Maintenance of conditions that existed between March 1, 1904 and March 10, 1904, with respect to:

a. Open and closed shop conditions.
b. Rate of wages.
c. Hours of labor.
d. Overtime.
e. Apprenticeship ratios, except in the case of the L. I. P. and B. A., which agreed to raise its ratio at its next convention in July, 1904.

2. Lithographers with employment contracts to retain positions, except in the case of Poster Artists.

3. Disputes and differences to be settled by:

a. Bipartisan joint committees within fifteen days, if possible, and thirty days at the most; and in case of disagreement by
b. Three arbitrators, consisting of one chosen by each side, and the third by these two; decision to be made within two days, if possible, and two days at the maximum.

4. Local questions to be settled by bipartisan local boards or if decision be appealed within five days by the national board.

5. Decisions in all cases to be final and binding.

6. No strikes and lockouts to be declared during the life of the agreement.

7. Three months before expiration of agreement parties to meet to determine whether a contract be made for the ensuing year.

8. Poster artists not to do piece work on stone, zinc or aluminum or permit employment of non-union help when union poster artists were not available.

It will be noticed that by this agreement the unions had managed to save themselves from giving up the principle of the right to strike but the concessions granted with respect to arbitration, final decisions and no suspension of work for a period of one year were invasions of the previously exercised power of the organized lithographers. The Poster Artists' Association by its monopoly of the labor supply in its field was able to gain two or three advantages.

Once a peace—or true—had been attained, the organized forces on each side began to disintegrate partially. The Lithographic Association (West) severed relations with their confederates in the East because of the concessions made to the unions. The Central Lithographic Trades Council suffered a severe loss in the withdrawal of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association. The L. I. P. and B. A. had entered the council as a temporary measure after the membership had at first advised against it, and now felt that the emergency had passed. This organization was in favor of a genuine amalgamation whereby the other unions would combine with it. It was opposed to a loose confederation. It also resented the presence of the press feeders in the council, whom it looked upon as no more than apprentices. Then, too, the equal representation basis did not meet with its approval. Finally, when the Poster Artists managed to maneuver themselves into a favorable position in the council, the L. I. P. and B. A. decided it was time to quit, since, after all, it was the most inclusive union in the industry.

The other unions, however, went ahead with their plans, and, upon the call of the Poster Artists' Association, met in conference January, 1905, and continued the Central Lithographic Trades Council in a modified form for another year as a central agency to conduct negotiations and manage strikes and lockouts in cases of emergency. Local councils were also to be established. It was this council that renewed the 1904 agreement at its expiration. In the meantime, the L. I. P. and B. A. was making plans for the establishment of the forty-eight-hour week in 1905. The complications that ensued brought the L. I. P. and B. A. back into the council's fold and resulted in the historical struggle of 1906. These will be the subject of our next instalment.

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Czecho-Slovaks Divide Along Economic Lines; Advances in Austria

Labor Doings Abroad

EVER since the political unity of the Czech parties that had ruled the war-born republic from its founding in October, 1918, was broken to bits last June, when the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrats joined the German Socialists and the Communists in fighting the government's bills increasing the tariff on foodstuffs and swelling the state's payments to the clergy, and the German Agrarians and Clericals rushed to the assistance of the Czecho-Slovak bourgeois parties and put the measures through Parliament, the dividing line between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been growing sharper.

It was accentuated by the entry of two German bourgeois politicians into the Cabinet organized by Anton Svehla, the Czech Agrarian leader, on Oct. 12, following the fall of the non-political Cabinet of Premier Czerny and the dicker of Premier Svehla with Father Hlinka for the support of the latter's Slovak Clericals, the most reactionary group in the country. Of late the Czecho-Slovak authorities, evidently feeling confident of their ability to rule without labor backing, have adopted many repressive measures against manifestations of Socialist and Communist activity.

A crass example of this high-handed attitude occurred on Nov. 25. Angelica Balabanof, the well-known Russo-Italian revolutionary agitator, was scheduled to address a public meeting of the German Social Democrats in Prague on Italy, Mussolini and Fascism. During the day she was invited to police headquarters to give an account of herself. At night, as soon as she entered the meeting hall, a government agent informed her that she must not say anything "political" about Italy. Hardly had she begun to speak and had characterized Fascism for what it was when the police agent interrupted and warned her. As Balabanof continued and referred to the "peace of the graveyard" prevailing in Italy the agent again broke in and made a little speech himself, in which he informed the audience, among whom were many leaders of the Czech and German Socialists, that police headquarters had instructed him to allow nothing "political" to be said regarding Italy.

Amid violent protests the agent ordered the meeting dissolved. Then forty heavily armed cops invaded the hall and drove the audience out. The meeting was transferred to the People's House of the Czech Social Democrats, but even there a police agent forced his way in, and it was only after being subjected to an outrageous cross-examination that Balabanof was able to proceed with her description of the joys of life in Mussolini's land.

The echo of this outrage was swift and loud, both in the Socialist press and in the Chamber of Deputies. The next day Balabanof had the satisfaction of hearing Deputy Schaefer, in the name of the German Social Democrats, rake the Minister of the Interior over the coals to the accompaniment of cries of approval from Socialist and Communist Deputies, and declare that the labor movement of Czecho-Slovakia would not stand for any such invasion of its rights, regardless of what the Foreign Office feared from frank criticism of the Fascist regime in Italy. Deputy Brodecky voiced the same sentiments for the Czecho-Slovak Social Democrats, and Deputy Cermak repeated them with emphasis for the Communists. All the speakers reminded the government of the Fascist menace at home, which the authorities' tenderness with Mussolini's feelings was calculated to increase. Following the example of the Prague police, several of the provincial cities have banned meetings by Balabanof.

SOCIALISTS ADVANCE IN LOWER AUSTRIA

Three local elections held Sunday, Nov. 21, in Lower Austria gave the Social Democratic Party a chance to show the progress it was making, not only in industrial, but also in agricultural districts.

In the Neunkirchen, an industrial community hard hit by the economic crisis and filled with unemployed workers, the Clericals and Pan-Germans, forced a new election through their blustering tactics and formed an election block in the hope of wresting control of the council from the Socialists. The campaign was short and sharp and when the ballots were counted it was found that instead of defeating the Socialists the bourgeois parties had only weakened their own position. The Socialist vote rose from 3,562 in 1924 to 3,895, and the number of their seats from 18 to 19, while the bourgeois block cast 2,599 votes and won 12 seats, the so-called Nationalist Socialists (an extremely reactionary anti-Semitic body), got 319 votes and one seat and the Communists drew 113 votes and no seat. In 1924 the Clericals won 6 seats, with 1,319 votes;

the Pan-Germans, 6, with 1,148 votes, and the "National Socialists," 2, with 395 votes.

In the purely country communities of Soos and Gaden, the bourgeois parties tried the same combination, with practically the same results. The new council of Gaden consists of 8 Socialists, elected by 260 votes, and 6 bourgeois members, who drew 227 votes. In the old council there were seven Socialists and seven bourgeois members. In Soos the Socialists held their five seats, while the Clericals lost two of their seven to a dissident Clerical group composed mostly of small landowners dissatisfied with the Clerical party's defense of the big agrarian and industrial interests.

EXPULSED COMMUNISTS HOLD A CONVENTION

The policy of expulsion pursued during the last few months by the so-called moderates in control of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, under instructions from the Communist International, has finally resulted in the organization of another Communist group, headed by Deputy Ivan Katz and several other expelled leaders.

At a convention of this self-styled Spartacus League, held in Goettingen Nov. 21 and presided over by August Merges, the tailor whose comic opera role as self-elected "President of the Free State of Brunswick" during the days immediately following the political revolution of November, 1918, is well remembered in Germany, thirty local groups of dissident Communists were represented.

The delegates invoked the names of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, denounced the regular Communist chiefs in both Germany and Russia as enemies of the working class, heaped abuse upon the leaders of the Socialist Party and the labor unions, and announced that the Spartacus League now had the task of organizing the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship. Herr Katz was especially bitter in his condemnation of the German Communist Party, which he labeled a Russian Foreign Legion in Germany. He also opined that some day the Russian proletariat would rise against the "peasant-Nepman Government."

A division of another sort was recently reported by the Rheinische Zeitung from a suburb of Cologne, where the entire group of Young Communists voted to join one of the extremely reactionary young people's organizations.

TRADE UNIONS GROWING RAPIDLY IN LITHUANIA

Reports of trade union progress in Lithuania printed in a recent issue of the official newspaper of the Social Democratic Party of Latvia indicate that the overthrow of the reactionary clerical government at the polls last May and the establishment of a Populist-Socialist regime, with the support of the racial minority parties and the deputies from Memelland, has already had a good effect upon the industrial as well as the political situation there.

New local unions are being organized and most of them are lining up with the Lithuanian Trade Union League, with which the unions of the railroad men and the farm workers are already affiliated. As the industries of Lithuania are few and far between, the importance of the farm workers' union is apparent. A recent recruit for the central organization was the union of theatrical folk and musicians.

The Lithuanian Trade Union League is sending delegations to the Scandinavian countries and to Latvia and is getting in touch with organized labor in other European countries, so its isolation from the world labor movement is likely to be ended in the near future. According to a recent decision of the League, a people's house is to be built in Kovno under the direction of Engineer Sengalis, who has drawn the plans for nothing and is willing to manage the construction of the building on the same terms.

From these reports, it seems that there has been a great change in the labor situation in Lithuania, as only a couple of years ago the few thousand organized workers were groups with small prospect of unity. In Memel a group of about 2,000 workers has been affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions for several years.

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The New Leader. Can You?

Professor John R. Commons, head of the Economics Department of the University of Wisconsin, author, with his associates, of the standard work on labor, "History of Labor in the United States," writes The New Leader as follows:

"I am very anxious to receive The New Leader in my labor library for use of the faculty and graduate students; and if you feel free to do this, I would be very appreciative.

"If it were possible to obtain a complete file of The New Leader to date, this would be very fine, indeed."

The fact that The New Leader is widely used for similar purposes by other faculties is evidence that in its columns you will find information on Socialist and Labor problems, national and international, to be found nowhere else.

OUR suggestion to make a Christmas gift to some one dear to you by sending The New Leader for a year or six months is meeting with a good response on the part of our readers. Such a gift is really serving a twofold purpose; it will be appreciated by the one who will receive The New Leader for an entire year and it is a service to your paper which it is anxious to receive. Publishing a paper at a tremendous financial sacrifice is a task which is often very disheartening. That task can be made less distressing if we have the satisfaction of knowing that The New Leader, thanks to its readers, is reaching as wide a field as it is possible.

Comrade Neal Gately of Brooklyn was the first to take up our Christmas gift suggestion by sending The New Leader to a friend in Alaska. He was followed by Comrade Kirkpatrick of Pawtucket, R. I., who is sending The New Leader for six months each to friends in Belfast, Ireland. Let us hope that many others will take up this suggestion.

We had often referred in the columns of The New Leader how highly the paper is being valued by educators and students of economics. Additional evidence of this comes to us this week from two different sources. Miss Jeannette Marks of the Department of English Literature of Mount Holyoke College writes: "My good wishes for your good work. I plan to make at least one Christmas present of The New Leader and, I hope, a Christmas present to The New Leader also."

Last week we had occasion to mention the fact that Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis, the New England District Organizer of the Socialist Party, made his annual gift to The New Leader by paying for twenty three-months' subscriptions. This week Comrade Lewis surprised us again with another batch of twenty more. Thanks to him, The New Leader will reach forty new readers, and we hope that a great number of them can be turned into steady readers.

We have suggested to our comrades that they take up this matter at their meetings. Our offer for trial subscriptions in groups of ten or more is a very tempting one. The expense involved is within reach of every organization. It is worth trying, and will not only help The New Leader by giving it new readers, but will be a constructive step towards a bigger and better party organization.

We have received quite a few re-

quests for sample copies from persons who have heard of The New Leader, but never saw a copy of it. From the character of these letters it is apparent that there is a reawakening of interest in Socialism. It is needless to say that we supply sample copies cheerfully and our records indicate that a large number of those who request and receive sample copies become steady readers. If you know any one who is interested and would like him to receive a few sample copies send a list of such names to The New Leader and they will be supplied with free sample copies.

Comrade Robert Kirkpatrick is sending two six months' subscriptions for friends in Ireland. He writes as follows regarding securing subscriptions: "Having been a resident in this part of the country for two years, I have not made a host of friends outside the workshop. To my workmates, in various ways and means, I have brought The New Leader to their attention. I have given them my paper and lent them books dealing with social and economic questions. I have talked with them about things from a worker's point of view. But, all to no purpose, as far as I can see.

"I have been a constant reader of The New Leader. In addition I receive two Socialist and Communist papers from Ireland every week. These papers are being sent to me by two of my L. P. friends. As I wish to return the compliment and at the same time increase the circulation of your paper, I enclose herewith a money order for \$3, for which send The New Leader for six months each to two of my friends in Belfast. This is all I can do at present. I would rather prefer to get you subscribers in this country.

"As a class conscious worker, who is endeavoring to educate himself, so as to be able to take a more active part in the emancipation of his class, I finish with sincere best wishes for The New Leader and those connected with it."

Attention! POCKET BOOK WORKERS

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Local 248—Executive Board meets every Wednesday.
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Has an important part in the new Sidney Howard play, "The Silver Cord," opening at the John Golden Theatre Monday night.

Jenny Lind Heroine of New Musical Show at Jolson's

The Messrs. Shubert announce the presentation at Jolson's Theatre on Monday evening, January 3, of Eleanor Painter in "The Nightingale," a musical romance based on the life of Jenny Lind. Featured in the cast are Stanley Lupino, Thomas A. Wise and Ralph Errolle. Peggy Wood, originally engaged for the operetta, is still singing the title role in Philadelphia, and will retire from the cast to sing the lead in another Shubert offering. Miss Painter joins "The Nightingale" this Saturday in Philadelphia.

Other principals in the cast include Violet Carlson, Eileen Van Blye, Robert Hobbs, Nicholas Joy, William Tucker, Clara Palmer and Lucius Henderson. The book and lyrics are by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, and Armand Vecey wrote the score. Lewis Morton staged the play.

"The Dybbuk" Revived by The Neighborhood Playhouse

The Neighborhood Playhouse revived "The Dybbuk," Ansky's dramatic folk tale, at their theatre on Thursday evening. The play was produced last season, and proved very successful. After December 29 it will alternate with "The Little Clay Cart." The cast includes Albert Carroll, Otto Hulticus, Marc Loebell, Lily Lubell, Ian MacLaren, Dorothy Sands, Blanche Talmud and Paula Trueman of the permanent company, and Betty Linley, Edgar Kent, Walter Geer and John D. Haggart.

Cecile Sorel's Final Week at the Cosmopolitan

Cecile Sorel, the French star of the Comedie Francaise, on Monday night will begin the last week of her limited engagement at the Cosmopolitan Theatre with Emile Agulier's "L'Aventuriere." "La Dame aux Camelias," by Alexandre Dumas, fils, will be played on Tuesday night, and "Le Demi Monde," by the same author, Wednesday matinee and evening. "L'Aventuriere" will be repeated on Thursday night, and "Maitresse de Roi," the Du Barry play, on Friday and Saturday nights. "Le Misanthrope," by Moliere, will be given at Saturday's matinee.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will present Roger Imhof, assisted by Miss Marcella Coreene; Thos. B. Handers and Arthur Millias; Harry Webb and Orchestra; Fred Berrens and Lora Foster, assisted by Miss Ampico; Eddie Jerome and Bill Ryan, and Frackson.

The screen program will include Charlie Chaplin, in "A Dog's Life"; Harold Lloyd, in "Amongst Those Present"; and Harry Langdon in "His Marriage Wow."

FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—"For Wives Only," with Marie Prevost. Vaudeville.

Thursday to Sunday—Kitty Donor, Jos. K. Watson, other acts. "Pals in Paradise," with Rudolph Schildkraut.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Jos. K. Watson, Edmunds and Fanchon, other acts. Marie Prevost, in "For Wives Only."

Thursday to Sunday—Harry Coleman and Co., Arnaud Bros., others. Peter B. Kyne's "Pals in Paradise," with Rudolph Schildkraut and Marguerite de La Motte.

"Wooden Kimono," a mystery play by John H. Floyd, will open at the Martin Beck Theatre Monday night, Dec. 27. The cast will include Leslie Austen, Leonore Harris, Jean Dixon, Helen Carew, Herman Lieb, Sam Colt and Frank Sylvester. Frederick Stanhope and Jacques Froehlich are the producers.

Civic Repertory Theatre to Present "Twelfth Night"

The Civic Repertory Theatre will present its sixth production, "Twelfth Night," Shakespeare's comedy, at the Fourteenth Street Theatre on Monday evening. The scenes and costumes were built from designs by Gladys Calthrop, art director of the Civic Theatre. The players include Eva Le Gallienne, as Viola; Egon Brecher, Sir Toby Belch; Harold Moulton, Orsino; Beatrice Terry, Olivia; Josephine Hutchinson, Maria; Sayre Crawley, Malvolia; Barlowe Borland, Antonio, and Hardie Albright as Sebastian.

"Twelfth Night" will be repeated on Tuesday, Friday and Saturday evenings and Wednesday matinee. Other plays of next week include: "John Gabriel Borkman," Wednesday; "La Locandiera," Thursday, and "Three Sisters" on Saturday matinee.

"Peggy-Ann" Due at the Vanderbilt Theatre Dec. 27

Lyle D. Andrews will present Lew Field's latest musical production, "Peggy-Ann," at the Vanderbilt Theatre on December 27. The featured players include Helen Ford and Lulu McConnell.

Robert Milton staged "Peggy-Ann," which has a book by Herbert Fields, and music and lyrics by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart.

Betty Starbuck and Edith Melsner of this year's "Garriick Gaieties" are in the cast, which also includes Lester Cole, Jack Thompson, Grant Simpson, Margaret Breen, Marion Trabue, Aileen Stanley and Patrick Rafferty.

"New York Exchange" Coming To the Klaw Christmas Night

"New York Exchange," a new play by Peter Glenney, will be produced at the Klaw Theatre, Christmas night, December 25, by Ivan L. Wright. Allison Skipworth and Sydney Shields head the company which includes Doris Underwood, Mabel Montgomery, Brandon Evans and Donn Cook. Noel Coward's "This Was A Man," will close this Saturday night.

BEATRICE TERRY



Will play Olivia in the Civic Repertory production of "Twelfth Night," which opens at the 14th Street Theatre Monday night.

"Sam Abramovitch" at the Bronx Opera House Monday

"Sam Abramovitch," a new play, will be presented by Anne Nichols at the Bronx Opera House Monday night. The cast is headed by Pedro de Cordoba, Arthur Hohl, Mary Fowler, Lee Kohlmar, Kate Morgan, Maude Brooks, Julia Cohen and Gerald Cornell.

"Sam Abramovitch" deals with the American Hebrew, was written by Francois Roche, and adapted by Charlton Anders.

Ludwig Satz in "Potash and Perlmutter, Detectives," with Robert Leonard, will open at the Bronx playhouse December 27.

Broadway Briefs

The performance of "Aladdin" scheduled for Christmas Day at the Children's Saturday Morning Theatre in the Princess Theatre has been canceled. Matinees of the play are announced for Dec. 27, 28, 29 and 31.

Max Reinhardt, the noted German producer, arrived Tuesday. Reinhardt will go to San Francisco to stage the rehearsals of "The Miracle."

A revival of Arnold Bennett's "The Great Adventure" will be presented at the Princess theatre next Wednesday night under the direction of Reginald Pole.

Cecil Sorel will act "La Dame aux Camelias" at this Saturday's performance instead of "Le Misanthrope," as previously announced.

A special matinee of "The Master Builder" will be given on Friday, Dec. 31, by the Civic Repertory theatre.

George Renavert has leased the Grove Street theatre for his productions of the dramas produced in Paris by the Grand Guignol theatre there. The plays will be presented here in

RUTH LYONS



Plays the role of the flapper in the William Hodge comedy, "The Judge's Husband," at the 49th Street Theatre.

Otis Skinner to Revive "The Honor of the Family"

At the Booth Theatre, beginning December 25, the Charles Frohman Company will present Otis Skinner for a limited engagement in "The Honor of the Family." This is the romantic comedy which Emile Fabre fashioned from Balzac and for which Paul M. Potter made the English adaptation.

Mr. Skinner plays the role of Philippe Bridau, the swashbuckling colonel of the turbulent era that immediately followed Napoleon's fall.

The present production is the second revival, and has been playing on tour during the past two months. Among those in the supporting cast are Jessie Royce Landis, Eugenie Woodward, Julia Shaw, Robert Harrison, Courtney White and Harry Burkhardt.

English. The theatre will be run on the subscription basis, and membership may be obtained through Peter MacFarlane at the Grove Street theatre. The opening is scheduled for January 10.

The Guitrys set sail for New York last week and are scheduled to arrive here next Monday. A. H. Woods is accompanying them. Their American engagement in "Mozart" begins on Dec. 27 at Chanin's 46th Street theatre.

Next Wednesday's matinee of "Countess Maritza" at the Shubert theatre will be the 100th performance of the Kalman operetta.

Fay Bainter in "First Love" at the Booth theatre, will close her engagement with the performance of Tuesday evening, December 21.

Students of the Woman's Art School of Cooper Union will give two Christmas plays in the auditorium of the Union on Dec. 22—"Poor Madelena," by Louise Saunders, and "Pot Boil," by Gerstenberg.

Albert De Courville, the English producer, will present the Winter Garden revue, "Gay Parade of 1927," in Paris in January.

Arthur Goodrich's play, "Capone-sachi," is being published by D. Appleton & Co. The volume will have a preface by William Lyon Phelps, professor of English at Yale, and will be illustrated by scenes from the Walter Hampden production. Crowell & Co. also are issuing a new edition of Robert Browning's "The Ring and the Book," the poem upon which "Capone-sachi" is based, with an introduction by Montrose J. Moses.

Grace Alvos Durkin has succeeded Dorothy Stickney in the role of Anita in "The Squall" at the 48th Street.

Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon" moved to the Bijou Theatre Monday night.

Tony Sarg's Marionettes in "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" will begin their holiday engagement at the Edyth Totten Theatre next Wednesday evening. Matinees will be given daily at 3 o'clock, with additional special morning performances on Christmas Day and New Year's Day at 11 o'clock. The engagement is limited to two weeks. "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves" has been dramatized from the old Arabian Nights story by Knowles Entikrin.

Rudolph Lothar, German dramatist and novelist, author of "Der Werwolf," etc., arrived here Tuesday to supervise the rehearsals of his latest play, "The Command to Love," which John Tuerk will produce in January, and to supervise the film production of his "King Harlequin," which is to be done by Goldwyn.

The January offering of the Children's Saturday Morning Theatre in the Princess Theatre will be "Snow-White" instead of "Pinocchio," as first announced. The version of "Snow-White" to be used is the one which Winthrop Ames presented in November, 1912, at the Little Theatre.

"The Black Cockatoo," a new play by Samuel Ruskin Golding, is scheduled to open in New York on Jan. 3 after an out-of-town tour. James Crane, Anne Forrest, Beatrice Morosco and George La Guerre are in the company.

Howard's "The Silver Cord" Opens Monday at Golden

Sidney Howard's "The Silver Cord" will open next Tuesday evening at the John Golden Theatre, presented by the Theatre Guild.

In the cast are Laura Hope Crews, Elizabeth Risdon, Margalo Gillmore, Earle Larimore and Elliot Cabot. John Cromwell directed the production.

The repertory program of the Theatre Guild will be inaugurated with the opening of the new Sidney Howard play. "The Silver Cord" will be given the week of December 20, while on the following Monday, December 27, "Ned McCobb's Daughter," the current production will be played. "The Silver Cord" will again come into the schedule on January 3, and these weekly changes will continue indefinitely thereafter.

The Guild Theatre will begin its repertory program on January 3 when the Jacques Copeau version and production of "The Brothers Karamazov" will open. The following week "Pygmalion" will be acted, and after that the Shaw comedy and the Dostolevsky play will alternate.

MUSIC

Damrosch Resigns From New York Symphony

WALTER DAMROSCH resigned, Tuesday, as conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra, a post he has filled for forty-two years, including the present season. His letter to Harry Harkness Flagler, president of the society, was presented at a directors' meeting in the afternoon. Mr. Damrosch will become honorary conductor and an occasional guest conductor of the New York Symphony Society, he told his interviewers.

"Two men cannot drive the same team of horses or conduct the same orchestra," he said. "Therefore, when I decided that I could no longer direct four concerts a week or a hundred each season, it seemed right to let another man have the whiphand."

"I wish to retire while I am still young enough not to have to give advancing years as the reason, and, although I shall continue to work for my art, I confess to a great desire to lessen somewhat my public activities."

No successor to Mr. Damrosch has been named, it was said after the meeting. The guest conductors of the Symphony Society in the past have included Felix Weingartner, the late Gustav Mahler, Albert Coates, Bruno Walter and Vladimir Golschmann. This year's guest conductors will be Otto Klemperer of Wiesbaden, who will return for the third time, and a newcomer, Fritz Busch of Dresden.

Walter Damrosch became conductor of the New York Symphony in 1885 on the death of his father, Dr. Leopold Damrosch, who founded the orchestra in 1878. He was then only twenty-three years old.

With the Orchestras

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic Orchestra gives five concerts the coming week. An all-Russian program this Sunday afternoon at the Metropolitan Opera House, a special concert Tuesday at Carnegie Hall, the usual Thursday evening and Friday afternoon pair at Carnegie, and a concert next Sunday afternoon at Carnegie. The soloist this Sunday afternoon at the Metropolitan is Erem Zimbalist. The program: Overture to "Ruslan and Ludmilla," the Glazounov Concerto, and the Tchaikovsky "Pathetic Symphony."

Tuesday evening at Carnegie Hall a special concert will be given for the benefit of the Orchestra Pension Fund under the direction of Willem Mengelberg, with Georges Georgesco as guest conductor and John McCormack as soloist. Mr. Georgesco, who makes his American debut, is director of the Roumanian National Opera and conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Bucharest. The program: "Eremont" Overture, Beethoven; Arie, "Mount of Olives," Beethoven; Symphony No. 2, Enesco; "Don Juan," Strauss; Songs, Hugo Wolf; Les Preludes, Liszt.

On Thursday evening and Friday afternoon at Carnegie Hall, E. Robert Schmitz, the French pianist, will be the soloist. The program comprises the Saint-Saens Symphony No. 2 in A minor, the De Falla Symphonic Impressions, "Nights in the Gardens of Spain," Strauss' "Burleske," and Strauss' "Salome's Dance."

Erem Zimbalist will again be soloist next Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall.

COSMOPOLITAN THEATRE, Col. Clr. Evee. 8:30. Mat. Wed. Sat. LAST WEEK Final Performance Christmas Night

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"LE DEMI MONDE"; Fri. & Sat. Evee.,
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Matinees
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Author and Producer of
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Presents a New Play of Life
"SAM ABRAMOVITCH"
By FRANCOIS PORCHE
Adapted by CHARLTON ANDREWS
Staged by JOSEPH GRAHAM
Week of December 27
LUDWIG SATZ in
"Potash and Perlmutter Detectives"
with ROBERT LEONARD

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

MENDELBERG, Conductor
METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE
THIS AFTERNOON AT 3:00
Soloist: EREM ZIMBALIST
ALL-RUSSIAN PROGRAM
Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Eve. Dec. 23, at 8:30
Soloist: E. ROBERT SCHMITZ, Pianist
SAINT-SAENS—DE FALLA—STRAUSS
Carnegie Hall, Sun. Aft. Dec. 26, at 3:00
Soloist: EREM ZIMBALIST, Violinist
GLINKA—GLAZOUNOV—MAHLER
SPECIAL HALL, TUES. EVE. DEC. 21, at 8:30
SPECIAL CONCERT
PHILHARMONIC
BENEFIT ORCHESTRA PENSION FUND
under the direction of
WILLEM MENDELBERG
and
GEORGES GEORGESCO
Director of the Roumanian National Opera; Conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra of Bucharest.
Soloist: John McCormack
Tickets on sale at the Box Office, Carnegie Hall
Arthur Judson, Mgr.

phony in E flat major, Mozart; Rhapsody No. 2, Enesco; "Don Juan," Strauss; Songs, Hugo Wolf; Les Preludes, Liszt.

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Erem Zimbalist will again be soloist next Sunday afternoon at Carnegie Hall.

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

A Bach-Ravel program will be given by the New York Symphony Orchestra in Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon, with Walter Damrosch conducting. The program: John Sebastian Bach; Suite in C, Concerto No. 2, Gavotte in D, Maurice Ravel; Le Tombeau de Couperin, Beauty and the Beast, Laidronette, Empress of the Statuettes (from "Mother Goose" Suite), Symphonic Excerpts from "Daphnis et Chloe."

The first of the new works commissioned by the New York Symphony Society will be performed in Mecca Auditorium next Sunday afternoon. It is by the Finnish composer, Jean Sibelius, and is in the form of a symphonic poem.

George Gershwin will be soloist at the Mecca Hall concert next Sunday afternoon, playing his "Concerto in F."

Music Notes

Sylvia Lent, violinist, will give her next recital Tuesday evening, December 28, at Town Hall.

Vitali Koretsky will give his song recital on Sunday afternoon, January 23, at Carnegie Chambers Hall.

Albert Spalding appears in violin recital at Carnegie Hall January 2nd, and Leonora Cortez, pianist, at Aeolian Hall on the evening of the 3rd. Alexander Brailowsky will be heard at Carnegie on January 15th, and the



In Theodore Dreiser's "An American Tragedy," now in its third month at the Longacre.

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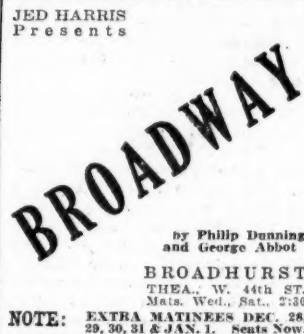
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Week of January 17th—THE SILVER CORD

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Theat., 58th St., E. of 7th Av.
Mats. WED. and SAT., 2:30.

Homers, mother and daughter, will give a joint recital at Carnegie on Saturday afternoon, the 29th of January.

The Cleveland Orchestra under the direction of Nikolai Solokoff will give its only local recital at Carnegie Hall January 18th.

Nikolai Orloff will give a second concert at Carnegie Hall this Sunday afternoon.

The Women's University Glee Club, Gerald Reynolds, musical director and conductor, will give their concert on Monday evening at Town Hall.

The New York String Quartet will give a recital at Aeolian Hall Monday evening.

Alfred Cortot will give his farewell recital at Aeolian Hall on Wednesday afternoon, January 27, playing a Chopin-Debussy program. Mr. Cortot will not be in America next season.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

N. Y. SYMPHONY

WALTER DAMROSCH, Conductor
MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sunday Aft., at 3
BACH—RAVEL PROGRAM
Tickets at Symphony Office, Stuyvesant Hall, 113 West 37th St. GEORGE ENGLER, Mgr. Stuyvesant Place.

Frank Martins will give the premiere performance of Samuel Ruskin Golding's new play, "The Black Cockatoo" in Mamaroneck next Thursday evening. The production is scheduled to open in New York the following week.

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M. NOUGHTON, Prop.



The conductor of the New York Symphony, announces that he will resign as head of the orchestra at the close of this season.

The Business Man Viewed as Maker Of a Better Order

(Continued from page 4)

gentlemen are very much in the position of a chauffeur whose car has run away and he does not know how to stop it and does not know how to steer it, and, accordingly, all he can do is to try to look wise and hold on to the wheel and hope he won't get into the ditch or over the precipice; and, as we are all in the car, it is not at all reassuring and we begin to suspect from time to time that he does not in the least know what he is doing.

The fact that these wonderful extensions, these wonderful creations of what my friend Sidney Webb calls new social tissue in their hands—the fact that this is taking place does not in the least prove that they are managing the whole thing. They are gripping on today and they are making money, but they are not making an international culture of it, and I do not believe they will. You see, they represent a particular kind of ability. There are people of special ability in the world. Some of them are very nice; you don't bother about them at all. They may be able to make very large fortunes, and quite possibly, even if we introduced socialism, they might make a great lot of money, and it would be extremely unpopular to interfere with them. . . .

But the talent that is represented by the Cilsoid people is a quite different sort of thing. It is not an individual talent, exercised by the possessor of the talent; it is the art of exploiting other people's talent. It is the art of taking advantage of the business ignorance or incapacity of the individual man of talent, getting hold of him and practically enslaving him, giving him enough to live on and taking all the rest for yourself.

There are two sorts there; there is the organizing talent, and there is the disciplining talent. There are some people who, either from force of character or from a complete indifference to making themselves very disagreeable, are able to intimidate other people, able to keep discipline and get orders obeyed. They do not get quite such high prices because they are a little commoner than the organizers. But these organizing people, simply because they have a monopoly of this particular kind of talent that you call business talent—which does not really imply great moral qualities or great political qualities—a man has in such a degree that he can pile millions on millions—you may infer that that man has an intellect and conscience like that of Mr. Wells.

That is a tremendous mistake. Mr. Cilsoid, in the book, was a little like Mr. Wells occasionally; I think you will admit that; but, some way or other, the actual Cilsoid with whom you meet in the general theatre of life, is rather deficient in that way. To be quite frank, one of the tasks we have before us is to rescue ourselves from the tyranny of the monopoly that these people have got of that particular kind of talent.

There is another great difficulty in doing that. Very much abler men than they are, serve their country in the army and the navy, in the civil service and in the Government. But these gentlemen are practically insatiable. What is more, they do not understand their own silly business in a political sense.

The Employer in the Old System
Take now, for example, the man who is really master of the modern situation, and that is the financier. In the nineteenth century, the American economic man, John Walker, wrote a study of the industrial situation, and he said the employer was unquestionably the master of it; and that was so. The employer was the man who organized labor, without whom all the other classes were entirely helpless. The employer turned to the landlord, on the one hand, the helpless landlord; he turned to the helpless capitalist, on the other, and he said to the landlord: "You have got a lot of land, and you do not know how to make a farthing out of it; hand your land over to me, and I will pay you so much. He said to the capitalist: "You do not know how to employ that capital industriously"; and the capitalist said: "Certainly not; I am a gentleman, I am not a trader." The employer said: "Very well, give me your capital, I will use it, and pay you so much." In the same way he said to the laborer: "I will pay for your labor, I will pay you a living wage, and organize your labor so that plenty of money can be made out of it."

The employer was undoubtedly the cock of the walk. Now he is proletarian. There has been a complete change. Not only have all the secrets of employment been so largely found out; it was a new thing, remember, in the nineteenth century, this organization of labor on the modern scale, but now it can be acquired by everybody; education has spread, so that people are not cut off now through want of education from it as they were before.

But there is another thing. The sums that are required to finance business are enormously larger than they used to be. My father, after being a civil servant went into business, without the slightest knowledge of business; but he went into business. I do not know what his capital was. I dare say, between him and his partner, they may have had a couple of thousand pounds, or something like that; and that was quite common. Well, look at the latest reports of the merger, as they call it, of which Sir Alfred Mond appears to be chief. I forget if it is fifty millions or fifty thousand millions, it does not matter much. The main thing is that these colossal sums are sums which are utterly beyond the capacity of an ordinary employer to collect. He cannot get them from his friends, they are too large, and his banker will not allow him to overdraw to that extent.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National

All state and local secretaries are urged to send party news to National Headquarters so that it will arrive not later than Monday a. m. each week.

You readers that read this column should see to it that your dues are paid up and that you attend the organization meetings regularly. Only by close co-operation on the part of Socialists can effective work be done for Socialism. This is the best time to build organization and prepare for the 1928 campaign. There will be city elections all over the nation during the spring and fall of 1927.

Texas and Oklahoma

There are many letters from Socialists of the above states who want a thorough party organization for the coming campaigns. It is time for the active organization campaign in these states right now. All the Socialists of these states should organize in their communities and in the near future have state conferences and get party organization ready for the future work.

Illinois

State Secretary Wm. R. Snow expects to secure a large number of members to make special contributions for the purchase of subscription cards to the American Appeal. The State Office sells the cards and replenishes its treasury and the ground is being prepared for the tide towards the Socialist Party. Comrade Whitlock starts it off with \$25. Snow expects to add from three to five thousand new readers to the American Appeal during 1928.

Montana

James D. Graham writes that several comrades have contributed American Appeal sub cards to the state, to be sold for financing the state office. Graham is asking financial support from members to make it possible for him to put a permanent organizer in the field.

Idaho

Comrade Cammans, state secretary, is stocked up with advertising posters, ready to enter the field and organize and gather signatures for placing a ticket in the field at next election. Idaho laws make it almost impossible to get a minority party on the ballot but Cammans is not going to sit by and wait till the last few days in order to get a good start.

Utah

O. A. Kennedy, of Utah, is not sleeping at the switch for a moment; he is going after new members to the party by correspondence and will be ready for the best campaign Utah has ever put up when the big 1928 battle begins. The city groups in several places are up and preparing for their city campaigns.

Wisconsin

The first issue of the Milwaukee Leader, the Socialist daily, appeared on December 7, 1911, and it recently reached its fifteenth anniversary. The Leader is an example of what a working class daily can accomplish with the support of progressive trade unions. During the World War it was not only deprived of its mailing privileges but mail addressed to it was not delivered by order of the Postmaster Bureau. The Leader survived the most severe persecution that any daily publication has been subjected to in this country. Socialists

He finds himself quite helpless.

He discovers that he has to go to a special, a new class of men whose business it is to collect large sums of money—promoters. He has to go to these men, and he says: "I want a large capital, or I cannot go on; I want twenty thousand pounds." They kick him out of the office, saying: "Do you suppose we would dirty our fingers with things of that kind? Go to your own broker. Get out!" If, smarting under that treatment, he says, "Will you get me seventy thousand pounds?" they say: "Well, it is not much, but if you will take seventy thousand pounds and put it in a hundred thousand pounds and pay interest on a hundred thousand pounds and assume the responsibility of having borrowed a hundred thousand pounds, perhaps we will give you the seventy thousand pounds." That is really the sort of thing that goes on, and the result is that the financiers and the bankers are the men who really now are masters of the industrial situation, and the employer has practically gone.

The Fabian Solution

On the whole, I must damns, I think, the Cilsoid gentleman, the financier and the employer and the organizer of business. I do not say that he has no ideals. I do not like his ideals. As far as he has any ideals at all, they appear to me, on the whole, to be mischievous. They may be excellent in the money market, but the money market is only a corner of the world, and it is the rest of the world we have to deal with.

After all, it comes back to the old Fabian solution. There is no use in imagining that you are going to have a great international culture in which all people will think alike. In our time and for some time to come you

of the nation may well congratulate the Milwaukee Leader and Victor L. Berger, its tireless editor, for their splendid achievement.

Indiana

The state secretary writes that the Indianapolis Socialists are holding monthly socials to bring new blood in the party organization. They have a short session of the local, taking up pressing party work and then have lunch and discussion. The first meeting brought excellent results, even on a bad, stormy night. The members over state are voting on party officers.

Kansas

The Socialists of Kansas, having cast their record vote in the recent state election, are enthusiastic for better organization and when the next campaign has arrived, they will be able to not only place a full ticket in the field, but will make a winning campaign.

California

Branch Central, Los Angeles, now meets every Thursday evening at 418 Bryson Bldg., Second and Spring Streets. All those interested in Socialism are cordially invited to attend these meetings. December 23, Edward J. Dutton, of New York City, will speak on his recent trip through England, Scotland and Wales. December 30, Comrades Menhennick and Levin will debate on the following proposition: "Resolved, that the Socialist Party should oppose all Bond Issues."

Connecticut

Bridgeport
Starting in January Local Bridgeport will run a course of lectures. It is expected that a number of prominent Socialists from New York will speak.

New Haven

The Workmen's Circle organization of New Haven have recently purchased a building which will be made over into a headquarters and meeting place. After the first of the year Local New Haven will make its headquarters at the same place. The state executive committee will also hold its meetings there.

Trades Council Forum
Henry Dennison, President of the Dennison Tag Company, will be the speaker at the Dec. 16 meeting. His subject will be, "The Employer and Labor."

Senator William E. Borah was to be the speaker of the January 9 meeting. His meeting has been postponed until March 6.

New York State

Locals Buffalo and Yonkers have voted to distribute literature at intervals during the winter and spring. This is their response to the plan of the State Organization to get out pamphlets on live issues. The expression of other locals is being urged. Samuel Orr is chairman of the State Organization literature committee, his legislative experience making him particularly fitted for this work.

State Secretary Merrill has communicated with the Atlantic Broadcasting Corporation, and with Stations WJZ and WGY in regard to broadcasting a talk by Norman Thomas in the month of January. The subject of the address is to be "An American Labor Party."

Mrs. Theresa B. Wiley of Schenectady, member of the State Executive Committee, will substitute for State Secretary Merrill during Christmas week, and will also take charge of the

office while the State Secretary is making a tour of the locals of the State.

Buffalo

The December meeting of Local Buffalo was the second of the season with educational talks. There is an encouraging sign that some younger comrades are willing to take an active part in the work. Irvine Schmechel, who spoke on "Modern Youth and Socialism," presented the fundamental Socialist view from a new angle which brought out an interesting discussion.

Local Buffalo will co-operate fully with the State Executive Committee in distributing leaflets on live issues. Buffalo pledges to purchase 5,000 copies of each leaflet that can be applied to Buffalo conditions. The members pledged to distribute the above amount.

Miss Jessie Steven will lecture some time in January on "Nine Days That Shook Britain" at the Elmwood Music Hall. Watch the next issue of this paper for the date. Miss Steven is a leading member of the Labor Party of Great Britain. She was a member for six years of the London County Council and is Vice-President of the Catering Trade Industrial Council of Great Britain and Divisional Secretary of the National Federation of Women Workers. It is important that we work for the success of this lecture. Agitate for it among organized and unorganized men and women.

New York City

The City Executive Committee met on Tuesday, December 14th. Twenty-eight applications for membership were accepted. Secretary Claessens reported upon increasing activities among a number of branches. Twelve forums will be in action, beginning in January. Attempts are being made to broadcast Socialist speeches from various stations. The committee endorsed the proposals to run a theatre party at the Provincetown Theatre on Saturday evening, January 15th, and a Paris Commune Commemoration at the Central Opera House on Friday, March 18th, in co-operation with the Rand School and The New Leader.

Manhattan

The 1st and 2nd A. D. Branch is steadily gaining strength. Last week a mass meeting was held in Forward Hall to protest against the continued existence of firetraps on the East Side and throughout the city resulting in such catastrophes as the recent Cherry street fire. The speakers were Judge Jacob Panken, N. Chanin, Morris Goldowsky, August Claessens, and Weiner, a brother of one of the fire victims. A splendid audience greeted Jessie Stephen last Sunday at the East Side Center. She will lecture there for the next three Sunday evenings, and the subjects and dates are as follows: Dec. 19th, "Women and War"; Dec. 26th, "Who Makes Prostitutes?"; Jan. 2nd, "The Economic Emancipation of Women."

The 6th, 8th and 12th A. D. Branch will hold a Christmas Eve dance at the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Friday evening, December 24th. An enjoyable evening is promised. The famous Kentuckians will furnish the music. Tickets, one dollar. This branch is also in a bustle of activity at present launching their big Sunday morning forum, with Comrade Judge Jacob Panken as director and speaker. This event is scheduled to begin on January 2nd at Hennington Hall.

The Yorkville Branch held a good meeting last week and elected new officers: George McMullen, organizer; Joseph Lass, recording secretary; Robert Otto, financial secretary, and various activities were planned. The Harlem branches are planning educational work to begin in January. Branch 3rd-5th-10th A. D. will meet on Monday, December 20th, in room 505, People's House.

him commit suicide if he had ten days of it.

But he never came nearer to it than that until the other day, when he was suddenly plunged into practical politics by the coal strike. He settled the coal strike and his remedy is nationalization of the coal. He begins absolutely with a measure which sweeps away all his little private property plans—they are all gone, and behold Mr. Chesterton a full-blown Socialist, although he has adopted a coal culture which many of us cannot dissent from. What does that matter if he agrees with us on that side?

If we find that all over the world people are being driven by mere pressure of circumstances to apply their minds to this, then I think there is some hope, as I say. In our time of getting a sort of common belief that may unite the peoples of the world in a movement which is the only possible solution, and that solution is equal distribution, because you have nothing to do but try any other solution that can be proposed, and you will find that it won't work, that it is impossible. That would rid us of over-population; it would rid us of poverty; it would rid us of that moral evil which Mr. Wells has very rightly called attention to the resentment complex, which is so very general. All that would be worth trying.

I suggest that our old panacea, the redistribution of wealth, the introduction of Socialism, is the one thing in which I see any hope of a union for the whole proletarian world. Accordingly, my advice to you Fabians is not to let yourselves run away on Cilsoidism or on international cultures or anything of the kind, but to learn the old game, the old Socialist game, and peg away at it.

Bronx

The remarkable activity of the Bronx comrades in soliciting ads and selling tickets for the big event of January 30th, is bringing returns that promise a great success. This annual entertainment and dance will be held at Hunt's Point Palace all day Sunday, January 30th. Tickets one dollar, and the prize attraction is a 1927 model Essex Six Coach. Tickets are on sale at all party offices and branches.

The Central Branch will meet on Tuesday evening, December 21st, at 1167 Boston Road. Particular attention is hereby called to our next social and dance this Saturday evening, Dec. 18th. Admission fee fifty cents.

This branch is continuing its forum on Tuesday evenings. The next lecture is on December 28th, Samuel J. Schneider, "The Einstein Theory of Relativity." Following him, Comrade Jacob Axelrad and Ethelred Brown will lecture during January, and Esther Friedman and Jessie Stephen have been engaged for a series of lectures each during February and March. Comrade Thomas Rogers, formerly of the Scottish I. L. P. Labor College in Glasgow, will conduct a Sunday afternoon class at the headquarters, beginning in January.

Branch Seven will continue its Friday night Tremont Forum in January with August Claessens in his series of lectures on the "Elements of Social Progress." Headquarters, 4215 Third avenue (corner Tremont).

Intensive organization work in Bronx County will begin early in the new year.

Brooklyn

The 4th-14th A. D. Branch is gaining in membership and it will conduct a series of lectures with Esther Friedman in January. The 6th A. D. Branch is also progressing splendidly and its forum will open in January with a series of lectures by Esther Friedman and Jessie Stephen. The 22nd A. D. branches will begin their forum and organization work in January.

The banner branch of New York City, the 23rd A. D., will hold a reunion luncheon and dance on Friday evening, Dec. 24th at 7:30 p. m. at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The Friday evening forum is the best attended in the city. The splendid list of speakers for the new year includes Harry W. Laidler, Judge Jacob Panken, Jessie Stephen, Frank Crosswaith, V. F. Calverton, and McAlister Coleman.

The Boro Park and Coney Island branches are active and organization work in various parts of Brooklyn is being planned.

Queens

The Jamaica Lecture Forum got away with a flying start last Sunday night. A good-sized audience followed Judge Jacob Panken's lecture on the possibilities of the development of Russia through immigration of skilled labor from countries having a surplus of such workers, and during the discussion that ensued various points of view were well set forth. When Dr. Benjamin Salkoff, chairman of the meeting, proposed a vote of thanks to Judge Panken for his enlightening talk it was given with cheers. The date and subject of the next lecture will be announced in The New Leader within a week or two.

At the last business meeting of Branch Jamaica William Herman reported on the plans being made by the City Committee for covering the expenses of the meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York this month and a resolution was passed regarding the branch's desire to do its bit along that line.

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia
Strawberry Mansion Socialists will hold a meeting Sunday, Dec. 19, 8 p. m. at Workmen's Circle Hall, 3006 Susquehanna avenue. The address of the evening will be delivered by the organizer of Local Philadelphia, who will speak on the subject, "Have the Workers Brain Enough to Rule?" Admission is free, and all readers of The New Leader and their friends are urged to attend.

It is expected that a Socialist Party branch will be organized in this section to hold lectures throughout the coming winter, distribute literature, and put this strong Socialist section on the map in bright colors in the next city campaign.

Yipseldom

WITH THE CIRCLES

Chicago
Who wins the fountain pen and pencil? The Yipsels of Chicago are determined to go over the top in the Organization Fund Drive and are making a courageous fight, winning the admiration and the support of the local party members. The raffle of a fountain pen and pencil is intended to bring receipts to cover the quota, while the drive committee is also circulating contribution lists. All Chicago comrades anxious to help out in the drive are asked to send their contributions to Comrade Pearl Greenberg, 1343 South Homan avenue, Chicago.

Jersey City
We all know from last week that Jersey City reached its quota in the drive. We know now that they have gone over and are still going strong. Well, we won't forget the Jersey City Yipsels for that. The circle is arranging a special New Year's entertainment at which a short play will be presented.

St. Louis
As we expected, the St. Louis circle sent in at the end of the second week a check covering half of its quota in the Organization Fund drive. Twenty-five dollars of the amount was a contribution made by the circle itself. St. Louis comrades may send their contributions to Wm. Bangert, Jr., 2102 Deshran street, St. Louis, or give them directly to the solicitors.

National Office
We wish to acknowledge here individual contributions received from M. V. Halushka, Chicago; collection by Ben Sentizer, New York.

Daily Senior Circle 13
Surprises are in store for those attending the first annual banquet. Invitations sent include Wm. Feigenbaum, recent candidate for Congress and editor of the English section of the Forward; Max Rosen, manager of the Brownsville Labor Lyceum; Comrade Zeibitz, organizer of the Socialist Party of the 2nd A. D.; the Pocketbook Framemakers' Union and the Blaly Junior Circle 13.

At the last meeting a debating team was started consisting of Comrades Applebaum and Sapkowitz as regulars and Berkowitz and Konekow alternates.

The circle will have a sociable day following our banquet at our clubrooms. Comrade Rosenfarb, our director, will conclude his lecture on "How I Became a Socialist." The circle will then go in a body to the general meeting at the Rand School.

JUNIOR YIPSELS

Circle 9
Circle 9 Junior has just held its election. The results are as follows: Organizer, Irving Cohen; educational director, Sophie Randall; general secretary, Fred Gurowitz; athletic-social director, Max Winickoff; librarian, Tanny Whitehorn; executive committee members of circle, all officers and Ida Randall and Tanny Whitehorn as delegates; central committee delegates, Joseph Talesnik, Irving Cohen, Sophie Randall and Fred Gurowitz. The circle meets at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, every Friday evening at 7:45. The temporary director, Lester Shulman, is

being replaced by Carl Levinson of the Bronx.

Circle 11
Circle 11 Midget Junior Yipsels has just held its election, resulting in: Organizer, Providence Brown; educational director, East Side Frankie Druckner; general secretary, Chicago Brownick; athletic-social director, Brownsville Kellner; sergeant-at-arms, Philip Murphy; Berne; executive committee delegates, French Komzak and Baltimore Meister; Central Committee delegates, Philip Murphy, Berne, Albert Resnick, Alex Kellner. This unusual circle is four weeks in existence, has twenty members, ranging from 12 years to 14, and already has a substantial treasury. The "attached names" are given the comrades by the others as they have but recently come from the places mentioned. This circle meets at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, with Lester Shulman as director.

Circle 1
A special meeting has been called by Circle 1, Juniors, Brooklyn, at 318 Van Nieklen avenue. An excellent program has been prepared. All outsiders are invited to attend this meeting. **Junior Yipsels**
The Junior Executive Committee is meeting Saturday, Dec. 18, at 8 p. m. sharp.

Circle 6, Juniors
Circle 6 is holding a regular meeting this Friday evening at 51 East 106th street.

Convention
The Junior Yipsels are holding their annual convention this Christmas vacation. The first session will be held Sunday, Dec. 26, from 10 a. m. to 1 p. m., at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum; the second from 3 p. m. to 6 p. m.; the third session Monday, Dec. 27, from 6 p. m. to 11 p. m., at the Rand School. Everyone welcome.

General League Meeting
A General League meeting will be held this Sunday, Dec. 19, at 7 p. m. in the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. A fine program has been arranged. Miss Jessie Stephen of Great Britain will speak on "The British Youth Movement" and our National Director, A. J. Parker, may be in town to address the meeting. All juniors and seniors should avail themselves of this opportunity of hearing what the Yipsels throughout the country are doing. Please come on time as the session will be very short.

WORKERS' SPORTS

Tourist Club Hike
This week-end, December 18 and 19, we hike to our camp at Midvale, N. J., to celebrate the first day of winter. It is the period of the year which the ancients welcomed, as the lengthening of the day meant more time for hunting, trapping and other necessary work in the bitter struggle for existence. We, however, celebrate this day as befits the hiking movement of the modern working class. Recitations, folk and interpretive dancing, vocal and instrumental solos, mass singing and speeches will compose the program. Meeting place, Erie Railroad ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River, Time, 4:10 p. m. (Saturday). Fare, \$1.70. Leader, Hugo Koch. Non-members are welcome at all times, provided they are nature-loving proletarians.

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V—American Syndicalism

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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 purposes. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1926

TO THE COMMITTEE FOR PRESERVATION OF TRADE UNIONS

THE burlesque reign of terror in the needle trade unions of New York City is dying in the shame and betrayal which its authors, the Communists, have brought into union affairs. The leading story in this issue tells the tale of the swift uprising of the outraged members. The revolt has also spread to other cities and other organizations. Here in New York the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions, which had its origin in the initiative of the United Hebrew Trades, has taken the leadership in exterminating the demoralizing influence which Foster's League and the Communists have brought. The response by the members shows that there has been a slumbering discontent with the madmen whose only ambition has been to obtain power no matter at what cost to the families of thousands of union members.

The flight of the Communists from their nests in the unions and the frantic cries in their organs as disaster overwhelms them show that they fear the end of their insolence is at hand. This dramatic situation also shows that all that was required to end the terror was an intelligent and determined alliance of the unions affected. Each union feared to act on its own account while the Communists have been a compact and disciplined although small group. In every demonstration and every intrigue all the "nucleus" representing members of hundreds of trades would be mobilized. This gave them the appearance of strength. As a matter of fact, when distributed among the many unions they amounted to little in each union, excepting possibly two or three.

The Workers' (Communist) Party also shows evidence of decay. Its vote last November was so small and its lack of achievements within the unions after years of plotting and expenditure of large funds have brought pessimism in its ranks. It lost many members by organizing on a "nuclei" basis. In recent months discouraged members have been asking whether all their efforts are worth while. General Secretary Ruthenberg has been writing a series of articles in the hope of counteracting the admitted pessimism. A long resolution of the Executive Committee has also been adopted in which the pessimism is admitted.

These madmen have sown dragon's teeth of hatred and they are reaping the harvest now. All that is required is for those in charge of the war against them to keep their heads. The nightmare is passing and the unions will be built on new foundations, stronger than ever.

A DANGEROUS DECISION

ANOTHER decision of the Supreme Court of the United States further restricts the activities of trade unions, and this one has menacing possibilities. On the basis of this decision the robbed nobles of the bench take a long stride toward assuming power to declare whether some strikes may be legally waged. A few other decisions in this direction and trade unions may be required to ask corporation attorneys who have been promoted to the Federal bench whether a given strike is legal.

The decision is given on a mine strike in Kansas which was called under the notorious Industrial Court Act which was intended to conscript labor for private corporations. The strike was called against a corporation which had refused back wages due a miner who had a contract providing for an increased wage when he reached the age of nineteen. The increased wage was withheld for seven months and the strike was called. Alexander Howatt and August Dorchy were convicted for calling the strike and the final decision is based upon a petition for a rehearing of the case. Dorchy is now ordered to jail for six months and to pay a fine of \$500.

This decision paves the way to legislatures enacting legislation restricting the purposes for which strikes may be called, as well as providing a judicial precedent for courts to

narrow the activities of the trade unions. The decision is merely another warning of the necessity of the organized working class to enter politics in support of their own party. Many years ago Mr. Dooley observed that even the Supreme Court "follows the election returns." It does, and it will follow them when the workers of this country have the intelligence and manhood to make the labor movement a power in the legislative bodies, a power asserting its independent claims and fighting for them without any dependence upon the old parties.

A BLUE LAW FARCE

ONE of New Jersey's antiquated blue laws has received treatment that has set the nation rocking with laughter. It seems that the pastors of Irvington have been unable to fill their churches on Sunday and it occurred to them to close the movies, which are crowded. An old law of 1854 was brought to life and applied to the movies. But this old law proved to be a two-edged sword. Nearly 100 persons engaged in various callings were dragged in, including bootblacks, cigar store keepers, confectioners, delicatessen proprietors, druggists, grocers, drivers of taxis, trolleys, and buses, photographers, and many others, including a few reporters. This is merely a beginning. The following day 54 victims were fined.

Now this musty old law threatens to paralyze the life of Irvington and resentment against the pastors is widespread. The plan to close the movies is recognized as an attempt to employ the law for the purpose of aiding the church and the latter is certain to suffer thereby. The sponsors of this action seem to live in the old New England, where a great body of statute law regulated the life of the people, especially their conduct on Sunday. Workingmen are especially victims of such actions, for Sunday is the one full day in the week they have, and it is their right to determine how they shall spend it, and nobody else's.

EDGERTON, GOD'S AGENT

NOW that the five-day week is being considered by workers in many industries they will be interested to learn what God thinks about it. At least this is the opinion of John F. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, who interprets God's opinion of it to us through the December Bulletin of the Employing Printers' Association. Edgerton declares that God fixed the work day at six per week and for that reason it cannot be "legislated out of existence" without disastrous consequence. These constant attempts to amend the Decalogue and to adapt by alterations the moral law to the appetites developed by easy and loose living constitute the outstanding peril of our unprecedented prosperity. (Who is "our"?) He warns those who insist on traveling this road to hell that "it is better not to trifle or tamper with God's laws for the government of life."

The trouble with this advice is that other dollar prophets of God did not get the message straight. A hundred years ago there were pious manufacturers who declared that God was opposed to reducing the hours of labor for women and children in the factories from twelve to ten. The reduction was made and nothing serious happened. There has been further "trifling with God's laws" in this field and we have not yet reached perdition. Edgerton may have inside information but we doubt it. We recall that some years ago a New York judge told some striking girls that they were striking against God. We commend to Edgerton Shaw's cabled comment on this incident: "Delightful, medieval America; always in the infinite confidence of the Almighty."

CHANTING "PROSPERITY"

SECRETARY HOOVER chanted the soothing refrain of "prosperity." Coolidge added his melodious voice in his message, and now the Rotarian Secretary of Labor, Davis, joins the chorus. We have pointed out that these gentlemen ignore the reports of Federal departments which tell a different story. Hoover broadcasted his chant at the moment when the Department of Agriculture had just issued a report showing that in ten States the average value of goods furnished and purchased by farm families averaging four to the family is only \$1,597.50 per year.

We have a still more glaring example in the report of Secretary of Labor Davis. He admits that conditions are not rosy in the textile and coal industries. They are two of the basic industries of the nation. Add to this admission the item of farm families in ten states which we have just mentioned and then listen to the warble of the village politician. He declares that we have never been so prosperous in our history, never more contented, never more blessed with happiness.

Charming, isn't it? Very well. Now turn to Bulletin No. 55 of the Women's Bureau of his own department. Here is a study of the hours, wages and working conditions of women in Mississippi industries with some striking sidelights on other states. Read: "Over one-third of the women employed in the plants surveyed were expected to put in a regular working day longer than 10 hours. For over a fourth of the women 60 hours or more represented the normal weekly schedule. Only in one of the 13 States from which the Women's Bureau collected hour data for the fall of 1922 and in none of the other States surveyed since that date was so large a proportion of the women reported on a schedule of 60 hours or more." White women earn \$8.60 per week and some less, while the "earnings of the Negro women fell even farther below what might be considered a reasonably adequate wage."

There is more to this study, but there is no need of further quotations. When these fat and well-fed politicians are answered by special studies made by Federal departments we are justified in raising the question, Are they intellectually honest?

A Summons to Action

Hats off to The New Leader on its third birthday!

For three years it has fought valiantly the battle for Socialism in America. It undertook this task when the situation was most gloomy, the outlook most hopeless. Never was the situation less promising. The odds against its ability to survive its birth throes were overwhelming. The pessimists in our ranks predicted for it an early death as a foregone conclusion. But here is The New Leader hale and hearty, with every promise of growth and achievement.

The devoted few who gathered in that small room three years ago and decided that Socialism in America must have a spokesman on penalty of being stifled completely, knew full well what they were about. They knew that enthusiasm alone would not pay printers' bills, give a living wage to an overworked editorial staff and pay rent. They also knew that many of our old and devoted comrades had lost heart, had dropped by the wayside, or went back to capitalist flesh pots in a spirit of cynicism born of despair. They realized that if The New Leader is to be launched and kept afloat that it will have to be done on the strength of their own slender resources; that to seek aid publicly would be to court failure at the outset.

Thus they resolved from the start that no public appeal is to be made, that the burden must be borne by those who had faith and were willing and ready to back their faith. And they were right. Three years have passed and The New Leader has appeared every week, each issue better than the preceding one, and improvement is still the watchword.

We have brought out an uncommonly good paper. We have kept our faith with the Socialist movement. For three years we have worked and performed a miracle in Socialist press history. We have never appealed to our readers for financial aid. We have never told them of sleepless nights, the unceasing worry, the skimping and pinching of pennies to make both ends meet. The paper has been managed well and is now at its third birthday solvent.

And now as to the future.

The Socialist movement is coming back into its own. Everywhere there are signs of the awakening of the masses. The workers, who have till now been lulled into political indifference by war hysteria, by a jazzied tabloid press, by cheap movies and by a prosperity that exists only in the coffers of large tariff-protected corporations, are now rubbing their eyes. They are sobering from a debauch of cynicism. The capitalist-fostered hatchery of racial and religious prejudices which worked overtime through the K. K. K. is now on its last legs because the novelty has worn off.

The successful response, the growing circulation of The New Leader, the hundreds of encouraging letters we have received during these three years from our readers, are a gratifying reward for our efforts. From every part of the country we are being urged by our readers to extend the scope and influence of The New Leader, to make it the large and powerful paper it ought to be.

And conditions are now ripe as they never were before. The opportunity is here, and constructive, sound and practical expansion and promotion will produce results impossible of attainment at any other time.

This is the psychological moment. It is our opportunity to emerge from the present chaotic political situation as an all-powerful party, a party of political protest and of revolutionary progress.

This implies a constructive program. We have developed plans that will enable us to make the most of this unusual opportunity. We must proceed without delay. We have plans for the addition of capable writers and research-men to our editorial staff, so that our readers may have available information now being suppressed by the capitalist press. We have worked out mechanical improvements for the paper that will make it more attractive typographically. And we have laid out a circulation campaign that is bound to have far-reaching results and give us a tremendous number of new readers.

It is a constructive program.

Our slender resources, however, are not such as to enable us to undertake the expansion program without the enthusiastic support of everyone of our readers. We must have a Construction and Expansion Fund of \$25,000.00 to launch our expansion program. This sum will insure our carrying out the work we have planned for the coming year—The New Leader's fourth year.

It is a small sum if everyone of our readers will share in it to the extent of his ability. Remember, never before has The New Leader appealed to its readers. A small loyal group has borne the brunt of battle. They have not shirked or withdrawn from action. They are still at it. But they can do no more than they are doing. It is you we must go to for this new fund. WE CANNOT GO TO WALL STREET.

Send your contribution today. Send it as a birthday present to The New Leader. If only 5,000 of our readers will send \$5 each today our Construction and Expansion Fund will be complete in a week and we can use this valuable space in the Leader for vastly more important matter. Let's go and do it now. Get your money order now. Or write your check. Or enclose a five or ten dollar bill, or more if you can, but do it now.

Let us all get together and make it unanimous.

Give the comrades in the office the encouragement they need and appreciate. Send your birthday present to The New Leader today.

THE CHATTER BOX

YEAR after year this Christmas spirit hokum is becoming clearer to the vision of a dumbbell world. It is a long road of tortuous reasoning between the babe born in the manger and the bauble laden counters of Big and Little Business throughout Christendom. There may be some closer relationship between the Christ bearing his own cross to doom, and the thousands of salesgirls, shipping and bill clerks, the truckmen and the rest of the insignificant ones who hustle and board up the millions in profit for the owners of the establishments for whom the Christmas season is holy in more material ways. We know of no weariness greater than that of the girls and the lads on the floors of the department stores during these holiday rushes. We know of no maudlin madness more drab than the sentiment that hurries these incessant streams of shoppers through the crazy mazes of Store-dom. This year, for all of its vaunted prosperity, there is a marked slowdown in hectic purchasing. There is a tendency to spread the gift buying mania over a longer period. There is even an irreligious hint of disregarding Xmas altogether as a 100 per cent. Christian birthday. Ministers are daring to hint that long before Christ the Pagan world made mad rites and revelry on or about the date of the Nativity. So all in all there are few developments in these days to make the season somewhat merrier to us cynics and satirists. And with this tendency of spreading out the gift-giving season, comes cheer to the twenty-five thousand who are supposed to partake of the annual Salvation Army dinner. Time may come, if we may predict, when these same twenty-five thousand will find themselves getting a free Christmas dinner every month of the year and with the years perhaps every week. A long time between meals perhaps, but as the old philosophies have it, what is even a century as compared with eternity.

Merry Christmas, dear readers, and let us hope you all enjoy that annual Salvation Army meal. We are only wondering how you manage to get the few other dinners so necessary to keep you gasping between one Christmas and the next.

Reveries on a Bridge

Moonlight and twinkling stars,
And the silent, blue-black sea...
And the ghostly light
From the bridge at night,
Calling, calling me.
Daybreak! And the world awakes
To an ever-brightening sky...
And my thoughts return
From the flights they yearn,
And part my dreams and I.

Jack J. Onek.

Penitent

Joe Timson was a weaver quite superb
In one of Lawrence's mills. Content and free
He lived, allowing nothing to disturb
His mind—in short, a model man was he.
Once Satan, seeking to eradicate
This man's respectability, dispatched
His satellites to prowling at the mill gate
Fomenting unrest. Lurid plots were hatched
Providing for a strike. Soon the whole mill
Walked out as one; and Timson, swept along,
Joined the Red crime against the General Will.
His bent shell bears the burden of the wrong—
Now tottering at the celestial border—
Of hot youth's scorn at God's established order.

Rupert Cuthbert.

Ratio

Your words of golden wonder
Will be forgotten soon,
But I shall remember always
The white song of the moon.

Your hands that hold mine gently
Their magic spell will lose,
And yet, caresses of the wind
I never shall refuse.

Your tears may touch me lightly,
With opal tinted pain;
Unlike my passionate response
To melodies of rain.

For you my futile verses,
If you would have them, dear,
But O! the singing of my heart
Remains for God to hear.

Kate Herman.

Poem

I knew a spry, young damsel,
I wooed her for a wife;
Because she was so happy,
I used to call her Life.

I know a sad, old lady,
Who coughs and chokes for breath,
And moves about as slowly
As masqueraded Death.

Joseph Resnick.

Criticism

In some old English ale-house
By dripping candles' glow
The poet penned a poem
To pay for what he'd owe.

He chewed his quill and wondered
Just what to say and how,
Avoid such hackneyed phrases
As praised some fair-one's brow.

And so we sit discussing
In tea-rooms brightly lit
The poet's hidden meaning,
And who inspired it!

Henry Reich, Jr.

Complaints have been made without total that this here column has hardly been used to boost a lass or a laddie deserving of it. We demur. Whenever there has been a genuine cause for adulation we have sung with no uncertain accent all that the scale of praise can bear without discord. We pause even now to shake the mitt of Judge Jacob Fanken for his splendid work after election day in the interest of our movement. Hardly a day passes but we hear of him speaking here and lecturing there on the related and necessary topics of our party, and this renaissance on his part is giving us all great heart and example. Go to it Jake old boy, we won't be far behind.

And may we also pause here to congratulate Comrade Shipplaff on his forty and ninth birthday and twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. All of which makes this Christmas season most merry for all of us.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Fiction and Fake

AT one time it was a startling achievement to write a novel or a collection of short stories. Today it has become an infection. Every newspaper reporter, it is claimed, has his desk drawers crowded with either story or novelette, epic or drama. Even the menapausal schoolmarm has a story which she is preparing for the latest correspondence school contest. Magazine editors are harassed repeatedly with fiction manuscripts that reveal the imagination of a pedagogue and the understanding of an adolescent. The mailmen are burdened with freightage that in a month must accumulate into tons, and are watched and pursued by eyes that despair and voices that crack with every bulky self-addressed envelope they deliver.

For a while at least, it was still an achievement to have a novel published. Today even that distinction is gone. In every season the novels that appear grow more and more numerous and, on the whole, more unreadable. Almost anyone today can have a novel bound within covers, sold in book stores and advertised in periodicals. If a well known publisher will not hazard his reputation, he may risk his money on the basis of its possible sales. This resort failing, there are a dozen publishers who will print the novel—the stories, or the essays—at the author's expense, rates upon installment so as not to discourage the creative spirit from attaining his deserved distinction in the world of type. The author of this review at the age of sixteen wrote a series of fairy tales that a courageous publisher solicited him to publish—\$500 down, the remaining \$400 on installment certified by contract—assuring him that the tales were of extraordinary merit and brilliance. At eighteen, the same writer was guilty of having a series of short stories that another Boston publisher, this one of less poetic inclination but no less visionary genius, insisted upon printing because they "reminded of Poe and Hawthorne," although it was necessary, it was confessed, to ask me to contribute \$850 toward the expenses, since sales possibilities were seldom commensurate with merit. Needless to add, the fairy tales and stories were all atrociously amateurish and puerile. Had they ever been published, pseudonymity would have been necessary as a future recourse. Yet such solicitations, such exploitations of ignorance, are appallingly frequent. Every publisher's catalogue flaunts them, undisciplined to the experienced eye. Rev. Jones Johnson's "Travels Through Italy," Timothy Twison's "A Daring Adventure," Ralph Dunham's "A Splendid Crusade," Sarah Sallee's "Jetsam"—such titles, decorating catalogue after catalogue, are inevitably the insignia of the literary dispossessed.

Leaving the great flood of inane literature with which we are overwhelmed, the higher surfaces scarcely invite us with anything like consecutive charm. America, for example, has developed a number of competent novelists who are always able to produce an interesting but not significant fiction. With the exception of "An American Tragedy" or "Ethan Frome," we have few novels that have permanent distinction. Yet we have a dozen novelists of unquestioned talent. Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Scott Fitzgerald, Ellen Glasgow, John Dos Passos, Floyd Dell, Louis Bromfield, Carl Van Vechten, Carl Van Doren, Jim Tully, and now Elizabeth Madox Roberts—all are capable of producing workmanlike art. Yet none, with the exception of Anderson, has created anything that approaches the enduringly significant. We have no Dostoevski or Tolstoi, no Kellerman or Mann, no Hardy, Wells or Galsworthy, no France, Proust or Barbusse, no Baroja or Unamuno, no Verga or D'Annunzio. Yet, we are not inexperienced amateurs, nor are we merely ambitious tyros. As we said, we have competence and skill and a certain maturity and sophistication that are necessary to artistic finish.

Yet, we seem to be nothing more than interesting minors. Willa Cather's "My Mortal Enemy" (Alfred A. Knopf, \$1.75) is a pertinent and illuminating illustration of this fact. The novel is a delicately contrived piece of work. Its style is simple and unpretentious. Its characterizations are subtle and cogent. The entire narration, within its scope, is almost without flaw. The story of a woman who for love sacrifices fortune only to experience disillusionment and eventually the decay of the very felicities that she had once known, is certainly a theme that is not without promise. There is a kind of nervous beauty in the spectacle of Myra's confinement and death. Yet it is always a beauty without power. One is brought to know the characters and yet never to feel them, never to be moved by them. A single character description in a Dostoevski novel, a single episode in "Madame Bovary," possesses a power that the whole of "My Mortal Enemy" does not contain.

In brief, "My Mortal Enemy" is an excellent minor production. It describes the effect of poverty upon mental decay; it projects a set of characters that are clear and convincing; it tells a story that is straightforward and persuasive in flow. Yet, it is not an important effort. It is without power and illumination. It is an interesting American novel.