

WE PUT OUR PROBLEM UP TO OUR READERS

YES, we will soon celebrate the third anniversary of The New Leader. We may all be proud of our achievement. Within three years we have managed to publish the largest and the most expensive Socialist weekly that has ever appeared in this country.

THE LARGEST AND MOST EXPENSIVE. Remember those words. They mean much to the editorial and business staff and others immediately associated with the publication of The New Leader. From the day of its first issue The New Leader has never been self-sustaining. We knew that it would be a number of years before we would have the circulation that would enable The New Leader to pay its way.

In the meantime the editorial and business staff has never revealed to its friends all over the country what its problems have been. In the first year they were often trying. In the second year they sometimes filled us with apprehension. This year we often faced anxious weeks. But we kept our problems to ourselves.

There's a reason, as the late lamented Post used to say. Our first big job was to produce a paper, if possible, that would compare favorably with anything issued by the Socialist Party. During these three years we have experimented and made changes. After each change or addition of a new feature we have waited for results. Was it liked? Did it meet with disapproval?

Our Readers Give Us an O. K.

Continuously felt our way, hoping eventually to strike a chord in the variety of features presented that would reach our readers. We believe that we have reached a near ideal. Of course, the ideal is never attained. But we would be nothing more to strive for. That is the NEAR APPROACH to the ideal, not the ideal itself.

Let us come to us each day commending The New Leader. They come from all types of men and women. They are university men, by wage workers, by trade unionists, by Socialist Party workers, Socialist writers, and men who have had experience in journalism. Those who personally renew their subscriptions in the office bring the same message. Because of these testimonials we believe that we have reached the stage where we can take our readers into our confidence and share our problems with them.

Before we do this we must clear the ground on one matter. Notice that we said in the second paragraph above that The New Leader is the largest and MOST EXPENSIVE Socialist weekly ever published in this country. Do not misunderstand us. Because it is the largest, naturally it costs more to publish than any weekly we ever issued. It would cost more if we employed only one man. But the few salaries that are paid are modest in comparison with what the same men could earn on other publications.

So much for that. Now we come to the heart of the message we wish to bring to the devoted men and women who have come to have an affection for The New Leader, who appreciate the work it is doing, and who, we know, will appreciate the opportunity of sharing its burdens.

We Want to Continue the High Standard

We want to continue the high standard which The New Leader has set, and we find it difficult to do so. The financial burdens have fallen upon a devoted band of friends chiefly in New York. It would grieve us all to take a step backward. THAT WE MUST NOT DO. There is a vast field into which we can expand. We believe that The New Leader can become the most influential weekly in the labor movement of the United States. That also is an ideal we are striving for.

This means expansion of circulation as well as maintenance of The New Leader while it is expanding. This means FINANCIAL HELP. Many of our readers are capable of giving it. Many would have given it if we had approached them. We refrained from approaching them until we had produced a publication of which we could all be proud.

Shall we hear from YOU? Or shall we take some steps backward? Shall we economize in some ways that will make The New Leader less effective and less attractive than it is? We think not. We believe you will say, "NO."

So here is the message which we have withheld from you for three years. It is now before you. How much does The New Leader mean to you? You can say it by the contributions you make. Make them. We shall watch the mail from New York, New Jersey and New England; from the Mississippi Valley, the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Coast.

One of the first to answer our call for action was Alexander Schwartz, of New York, with a check for \$10.00. After reading over our appeal again he concluded to make a further contribution of \$10.00. This letter which accompanies the second contribution summarizes our situation so well that we have decided to incorporate it in this appeal. Here it is:

The New Leader,
Dear Comrades:

In fairness to those of us who find The New Leader an inspiration, a necessity, or a source for obtaining reliable information, permit me to criticize last week's editorial, "A Summons to Action."

It is true that The New Leader is being constantly improved, and is today invaluable to practical, radical idealists. It is true that the Socialist movement has gained colossal size the world over, and is now growing healthily in the United States. Likewise, the plans of The New Leader for 1927 are practical, constructive, and will give added impetus to our cause.

But do you your readers an INJUSTICE by not painting the other side of the picture VIVIDLY enough.

Do they know that your successful efforts in improving their paper entails a constant, added expense? Do they know that your successful efforts in increasing circulation entails an additional constant expense?

DO THEY KNOW THAT THE NEW LEADER IS NOW FACE TO FACE WITH THE PROBLEM OF CURTAILMENT LEADING TO RAPID EXTINCTION BECAUSE OF LACK OF FUNDS?

You should make it clear that unless every reader who has the cause of the Labor and Socialist movement at heart, sends in funds IMMEDIATELY, WE MIGHT AGAIN SUDDENLY FIND OURSELVES WITHOUT A PAPER.

I take this as a splendid opportunity for all of us to combine our offering to New Leader's third birthday, with a New Year present;—as an expression of our desire to continue the existence of our paper, and urge it on to greater successes for Socialism.

I am enclosing my second check this week for the utmost that I can afford, and invite every reader to give himself the mental and moral satisfaction of having done his duty to himself and society, by sending in his self-imposed tax in the next mail.

ALEXANDER SCHWARTZ.

New York City.

Next week we will begin to acknowledge all contributions received. Who will have the honor of being the first to respond this week and share the burden which others have shared without complaint for three years? We await your answer. Make all contributions payable to The New Leader and send them to The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York City.

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF
THE NEW LEADER.

THE NEW LEADER

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300,000 WORKERS ORGANIZE TO END COMMUNIST DISRUPTION IN UNIONS

FORM ALLIANCE AT CONVENTION IN NEW YORK

American Federation of Labor Bodies Will Give Movement Full Support

By Edward Levinson

PLEDGED the fullest support of the State Federation of Labor and the N. Y. Central Trades and Labor Council, 400 representatives of 150 labor unions and joint councils answered the call of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions to organize to eliminate disruptive Communist elements from the unions. Over 300,000 workers in 17 trades were directly represented at the conference in Beethoven Hall. Representatives of at least 100,000 more workers were present from Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia, although the conference was intended merely as a local one.

The conference decided to continue, under the name of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, as a permanent alliance. It adopted a comprehensive program aimed at completely isolating the Communist agencies from the trade union movement. The Committee will confine itself solely to preventing Communist interference in the unions. It has no interest in the efforts of the Communists, which are along purely political lines.

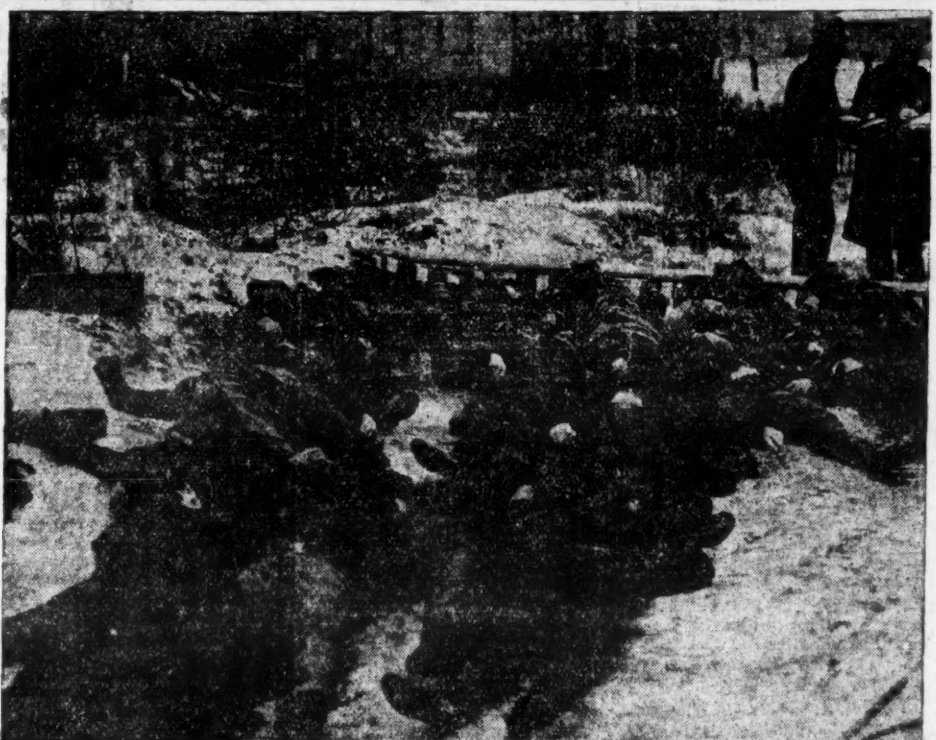
Among those present at the conference were Joseph P. Ryan, president, and James P. Coughlin, secretary, of the Central Trades and Labor Council. They stated the Council is completely in favor of the movement initiated and will take official cognizance of it at the first meeting.

Demonstration Ordered
Among the decisions of the conference was one calling for the holding of a gigantic mass demonstration to signify the desire of the workers to end for all time Communist interference in the trade unions. On the day of the demonstration, which will most likely be held in Madison Square Garden, a general stoppage of all workers will take place at 3 p. m. This will mean a gigantic mass demonstration of almost half a million workmen and women.

Abraham I. Shipiloff, who presided at the conference and was elected permanent chairman of the committee, brought the delegates and several hundred visitors to their feet in cheers when he announced that his union, the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, had contributed \$10,000 to the committee to begin its work. It was made clear that the first job of the committee will be to aid the international officials of the garment workers' union reorganize the New York Joint Board and its affiliated locals which have been all but shattered by the Communist strike.

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Searching Work, 50 Men Drown in River



More than 50 men crowded aboard the tiny launch Linseed King in the Hudson River, New York City, the other day. They were responding to an advertisement for workers placed in the papers by the Spencer Kellogg Company in New Jersey. The Linseed King was the only means the company provided for bringing its men from New York to the plant on the Jersey side of the Hudson.

The Linseed King proved no king at all. Over-

loaded with men, who had fought for the chance to get aboard and thus get some work, it capsized in midriver. The temperature was just a little above zero. It was about 6 a. m. when the dusk of night had not yet risen. None from the shore could see the disaster. More than 50 men were drowned, half of them being imprisoned in the cabin of the launch where they had retreated to escape the biting cold outside. The picture shows some of the recovered bodies on the shore.

CLOAKMAKERS ENROLLING

Arbitration Board Scores Ousted Communist Leaders — A Faked Demonstration

THREE developments stand out in the last week in the New York cloak union situation. They are: 1. Arbitrators hearing the issues between the American Association, composed of sub-manufacturers of ladies' garments, and the International Garment Workers' Union, representing the New York strikers, handed down their award—striking every position taken by the union.

The arbitrators gave the union, as a result of the International officials' presentation of the case, a much better contract than that which the former

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International Union Bares Electricians' Misconduct

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

ALL plans for reorganizing and rehabilitating New York Local No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers now await the outcome of the airing in the courts of the charges of non-union practices against the local's officials. Once this obstacle is out of the way the work of building up the local and organizing the unorganized inside electrical workers of New York City and vicinity will be continued. The organizing work in the Metropolitan District was in charge of International Vice-President H. H. Broach. His efforts were obstructed by the local officials in spite of the fact that he had obtained the consent of the membership as a sequel to his winning for them an increase of a dollar and a half a day last February. When Broach discovered this sabotage he preferred charges of non-union conduct against the local officers and had them called to the headquarters at Washington, D. C. to appear for trial before the International's Ex-

ecutive Council on December 8. On the seventh the seventeen persons accused obtained a restraining order enjoining the International officers from proceeding against them on the ground that a conspiracy was on foot to capture the union's funds amounting to two hundred and sixty-eight thousand dollars and that the trial should be held by the local's own board. The court ordered the International officers to show cause why they should not be restrained, asking at the same time for the submission of the charges against the seventeen local men. Thus, the whole scandalous condition of Local No. 3 became public. This was the case of O'Hara, President of Local 3 vs. Noonan, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the other International officers.

Subsequently Julius V. Timko, a member of Local No. 3, acting for himself and the other members of the union, obtained a court order temporarily restraining officials of Local No. 3 from using the treasury of the or-

(Continued on page 2)

Financing Your Branch by Selling Subscriptions for THE NEW LEADER

A great many of our organizations are hampered in their work by lack of funds. To enable them to raise such funds and at the same time list their co-operation in the work of increasing the circulation of The New Leader.

We offer to all Socialist Party organizations, 10 yearly prepaid Subscription Cards for

\$10.00

These cards to be used only for new readers.

Act quickly, the offer will be good only for a limited time.

Bring up this matter before your organization, as it offers a splendid opportunity to make \$10 and give us ten new readers.

The New Leader
Subscription Dept.
7 East 15th Street, N. Y. City

MOSLEY IN

Increasing the Labor vote by over 5,000, Oswald Mosley has been elected to Parliament, running as a Socialist in the Smethwick by-election, necessitated by the illness and retirement of the Laborite who held the seat previously. Labor polled 16,077 votes; Conservatives, 9,495, and Liberals, 2,600.

The election is another decisive defeat for the Baldwin Government and the Liberal Party, whose vote has been reduced from a healthy factor to a negligible one in the constituency. The result has increased the feeling that Premier Baldwin has lost the confidence of the voters and should resign and permit a new election to take place.

STATION D-E-B-S COMING

Socialist National Committee Begins Move to Build Radio Broadcasting Outfit

A RADIO station to be known as the DEBS station is the accomplishment which the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has set before the friends of the late Eugene V. Debs. With every expectation of realizing this ambitious project, the committee has invited twenty-five representative men and women throughout the United States to serve on a Board of Trustees to raise the fund that is necessary to establish the station.

The committee met in the Rand School last Saturday to consider matters that have accumulated since its session last August. Those present were William H. Henry of Chicago, National Executive Secretary; James D. Graham of Montana, William Snow of Chicago, Joseph Sharris of Ohio, William Van Essen of Pennsylvania, Morris Hillquit and James O'Neal of New York. Congressman Victor L. Berger was unable to attend the meeting. Aaron J. Parker, national director of the Young People's Socialist League, of Fitchburg, Mass., also attended the meeting.

Secretary Henry presented a detailed report of the membership and finances of the Socialist Party, of which the following are the leading features. He is confident that with proper work and with the increasing interest shown by correspondence coming from many States that the Socialist Party will have State organizations in practically all the Northern States, and possibly two or three in the South. Two of the Southern States that are especially favorable are Texas and Oklahoma.

"Appeal" Is Growing
The membership has not increased since the August report, but the circulation of the American Appeal continues to increase each month, despite the fact that it still faces a considerable weekly financial deficit. The committee adopted an appeal to be made to readers of the American Appeal with the view of having the readers of the paper share its financial burdens.

One of the most important matters acted upon was the decision to undertake the last book written by Eugene

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TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE cutting of this more than \$200,000,000 steel trust melon calls attention once more to the unethical unsoundness of the whole capitalist system. Let us see what has happened. Back in 1901 the steel trust was organized with \$450,000,000 worth of common stock at par value of \$100 a share. Over \$300,000,000 worth of this stock was water. It was in excess of all the securities of the original constituent companies. It represented no hard earned savings. In short, it stood for nothing except a chance to take profits out of the future earnings of the steel trust. It sold on the market the first year at about \$39 a share. Yet this common stock is now paying 7 per cent. dividends and the holders of it have been rewarded by a further stock dividend of 40 per cent., on which it is presumed that the same rate of interest—or more—will be paid. (If the interest rate drops below 5 per cent. the stock dividend will be only a book-keeping device, with no extra profit to the holder.) Even if this stock dividend is to represent reinvested surplus actually put to work in the mills, it is, as far as the common stock holders are concerned, a gambler's profit. Common stock in the beginning was mostly water. Common stock holders have not saved a cent for the benefit of the company. They have drawn fat dividends without investing any labor of hand or brain in the enterprise. Yet, all the benefits which the steel company has reaped at the expense of workers and consumers by high tariffs, low wages, long hours and virtual monopoly control have gone to speculators who have nothing but a legal claim against the productive power of other men. That is the capitalist system for you, and no welfare work, no expert personnel management, no company union, no sale of stock to employees, can change its ethical rottenness.

Even the New York Times has been moved editorially to wonder what will be the effect of the steel trust's stock dividend upon the farmers who have been told by Secretary Mellon that it is bad economics to ask for subsidies. Hasn't the steel trust been getting a tariff subsidy all these years? I don't know what the farmers will say about the steel trust, but I have recently come back from Vermont, a rock-ribbed Republican State, the boyhood home of the one and only Coolidge; a State which raises little of the great staple products which would be benefited by the McNary-Haugen bill. Yet I was told that every high school in that rural State was to debate that bill. No, the farmers are not to be put off with kind words. The new McNary bill avoids some of the dangers of direct subsidy which were in the old. I am still skeptical of it. I do not believe that the evils of government subsidies to some industries are to be cured by more subsidies all around. The McNary bill can only be justified, if at all, as an emergency measure. Where are the Socialist agricultural experts who will give this problem of the farmers the attention it deserves?

Fall and Doheny have been acquitted. Daugherty is free. Sacco and Vanzetti are still in jail under sentence of death. Great is American justice.

To find men guilty a jury must be convinced beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. It is conceivable, therefore, that the jury which acquitted Fall and Doheny merely meant to give them the benefit of a reasonable doubt and not of a moral vindication. Nevertheless, I fear that the jury really did in acquitting these men was to convict itself of a very low ethical standard. None of the salient facts against Fall and Doheny was denied. Two Federal courts, notoriously tender to private property, in civil suits have declared the Doheny lease fraudulent. These men got off because Doheny on the stand made a favorable impression and his lawyer wrapped the American flag around him. Sentimentality about friendship and a claim to patriotism based on one of these secret war scares often saved Doheny, and with him Fall—a man who was afraid to go on the stand in his own defense? It was a disgusting exhibition, made possible

(Continued on page 1)

Walker's Housing Promise Returns to Plague Him---

STATION D-E-B-S PLANNED BY SOCIALISTS

(Continued from page 1)

V. Debs. The manuscript bears the title of "Walls and Bars," and is based upon the experience of Debs in prison, and a consideration of prison regime and the treatment of criminals in general. Those who have read the manuscript declare that it will make a remarkable book. It is the intention to bring the book out in a first edition of 1,000 copies, printed on special paper and in a beautiful binding and at a special price. Other and cheaper editions will appear, and it is expected to have a large sale.

John M. Work of the editorial staff of the Milwaukee Leader has also revised his excellent book, "What's So and What Isn't," and has generously contributed the first edition of 1,000 copies to the National Office.

Paper Mergers Considered

Between the last session of the committee and the recent one its members had considered an addition to the editorial staff of the American Appeal of a special feature editor, and Harry W. Laidler for the League for Industrial Democracy has been chosen for this position. Laidler will take up his new duties in January and has already mapped out a program that will materially add to the value of the Appeal as a propaganda paper.

The committee devoted considerable time to considering the advisability of merging The New Leader and the American Appeal, keeping the best features of both, making for economy and concentration of effort, but as this would involve a considerable survey of the advantages and possible disadvantages from such an undertaking, it was decided to postpone further consideration of the matter to another meeting.

In the meantime Secretary Henry is instructed to make a complete survey of the political situation throughout the United States with the view of having the next session of the committee devoted to planning for organization work leading up to the general election of 1928. He is instructed to present data on the distribution of the party membership and the party vote; where Locals of the party existed before the war; the distribution of subscribers to the American Appeal; the character of radical political movements in the various States, and other information that will enable the committee to plan organization and educational work for the next two years.

Resolution on Unions

Meeting in New York City at a time when the masses in the needle trades unions are rising in revolt against Communist dictation and mismanagement, the committee adopted a resolution of greetings to the needle trades unions which appears elsewhere in this issue.

As National Director of the Yipsels, Aarne J. Parker reported on the difficulties that confront him in giving attention to his work. He is confident that the work requires a paid director in the National Office who can give his entire attention to building the youth organization of the party. The funds of the national organization will not permit this for the present, but Parker was assured that organizing the young Socialists is appreciated by the committee and that his request is placed on the agenda for future action.

Graham of Montana presented an informal review of the economic and political conditions in the Northwest which shows the collapse of the Democratic party and the favorable opportunity for Socialist organization throughout this region. The economic prospects are hopeless in this region, and Socialist agitation will harvest a good crop of Socialist Locals.

Co-operation is Asked

The resolution of the committee regarding the Debs memorial declares: "We recommend that the National Executive Committee open a public subscription for a Debs Memorial, to take the form of a powerful radio broadcasting station, to be known as DEBS and to be used primarily to champion the cause of liberty and so-

Socialist Party Stand On Unions Reiterated In Decision of N. E. C.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party adopted this resolution on the needle trades unions:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, in session in New York City, sends fraternal greetings to the needle trades unions in New York, and with the earnest hope that the causes of the fratricidal strife that has disturbed the unions for a number of years will soon be eliminated.

"The National Executive Committee takes this occasion to point out that the attitude of the Socialist Party since its organization in 1901 is vindicated by the present situation in the needle trades unions. That attitude has been one of fraternal sympathy and aid to all trade unions in their struggles, regardless of their official position in relation to political action. The Socialist Party was born of a protest against an attempt at political control of the trade unions.

"The Socialist Party has always been opposed to any policy of capturing the trade unions by political parties and to any attempts to direct and control the affairs of the trade unions by outside parties. It believes that political progress within the trade union movement can be made only through education and willing adherence by the members to decisions reached by democratic procedure.

"We rejoice that the members of the needle trades unions have united in a campaign to save the unions from the influence that has led some of them to the brink of ruin. To the extent that Socialist Party members can be of service in this work we pledge their willing co-operation in the hope and the belief that the intelligent idealism and sanity that made the unions in the needle trades a power and an inspiration to all other organized workers will return and enable them to march to other conquests in the industry."

cial justice in the broad and liberal spirit of Eugene V. Debs.

"The fund shall be raised and administered and the station operated by a board of trustees representative of organization movements and ideas which Debs championed. The board of trustees shall be appointed and vacancies filled by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party."

The committee has invited the following men and women to serve on the board of trustees: A. Philip Randolph, of the Porters; Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; John Haynes Holmes, of the Community Church; Albert Coyle, editor of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal*; Jane Addams, of Hull House; Norman Thomas, of the League for Industrial Democracy; Roger Baldwin, of the American Civil Liberties Union; A. M. Todd, of Michigan; John Whitlock, of Chicago; Rufus Wood, President of the State Federation of Labor of Missouri; B. C. Viadeck, of the Daily Forward of New York; Theodore Debs, of Indiana; Congressman Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin; Morris Hillquit, of New York; George F. Roever, of Boston; Harriot Stanton Blatch, of New York; Robert Morris Lovett, of Chicago; Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati; Elizabeth Gilman, of Baltimore; William Mitchell, of the Indiana Miners; Channing Sweet, of Colorado; Joseph Baskin, of the Workmen's Circle; Abraham Baroff, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers; Cameron King, of San Francisco, and Upton Sinclair, of California.

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Where Are Your Pre-Election Plans? Norman Thomas Asks

NORMAN THOMAS, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist candidate for mayor in 1925, has written an open letter to Mayor Walker reminding him of certain statements in his campaign and urging him to take the initiative in shaping a plan for municipal housing in view of the utter failure of the present limited dividend law to meet New York's needs. Mr. Thomas' letter follows:

The Hon. James J. Walker, City Hall, New York.

Dear Mr. Mayor:

During the last municipal campaign I recall with some pleasure that on at least three occasions you assured audiences which we both addressed that you and I were not far apart in our programs but that you as Democratic candidate would have power to carry out your program as I could not. In each of these speeches, with which you professed general agreement, I argued urgently for State and municipal housing, and the plan which I advocated was very far removed from the inadequate legislation which the last Legislature put on the statute books.

In view of your own statement I want to ask you, after your year in office, what is your program for housing? Surely you will agree that this is a more important subject even than transit, on which the initiative appears to have passed out of your hands. It is useless to express our affection for the children of New York at this Christmas time if we are to leave thousands upon thousands of them to grow up in what an English expert told the Housing Commission were the worst slums he had seen around the world.

Present Law Absurd

On all sides it is admitted that ordinary commercial housing has completely broken down in New York City so far as meeting the needs of over half our inhabitants is concerned. Hence our present housing law. Already this housing law has shown itself absurdly and tragically inadequate. It is as if physicians had diagnosed a social cancer in our civic life and then prescribed a weak mustard plaster to cure it. We have the law, we have the Commission, we have endless figures. We have as yet not even one limited corporation company formed under the law,

and at the public dinner honored by the presence of the Governor, where the official Housing Commission's report was read, only a paltry \$200,000 was subscribed toward the task of providing some 70,000 new low cost apartments.

What has happened is this. In order to attract private capital and private enterprise a plan has been devised which involves a necessary annual charge for money, at least 1 per cent. higher than the State and municipality have been accustomed to pay on their own bonds or than the Port of New York Authority has paid on its bonds. According to carefully compiled reports it would appear that this 1 per cent. difference in interest charge would approximate a 10 per cent. difference in rent charges on the kind of apartments that will be built. This 10 per cent. difference may be the measure of success or failure of a new housing scheme. But more than that and worse, in spite of this extra bribe to private capital it has not come forward. Nothing is being done.

Public Housing Needed

If I should later get an opportunity to go into the situation in detail I should like to point out that the present law is misleading in its claim that it limits dividends to 6 per cent. Actually, the benefits of the amortization charges go to the stockholders and not to the tenants. This is a matter which might be remedied by certain special provisions in the law. But no new provisions in the present law and no creation of the State Housing Bank which Governor Smith urges will meet the two fundamental objections: (1) that under the law rents will be too high to meet the sorest needs because of the margin of profit allowed private investors, and (2) that even with these inducements in excess of what the State and city pay for the capital they borrow, money is not coming forward. Private enterprise under the limited dividend scheme is utterly failing to meet the great task before us.

There is nothing left to try but a program of public housing. Mr. Saul Singer's variant of that plan has been exposed by August Heckscher, who seems to have come around definitely to the conclusion which I have expressed.

Other Cities Have Done It

This conclusion has been reached

long ago in Europe. In a little country like Holland, for instance, in spite of its relative poverty, housing conditions under a program of national and municipal housing are miles ahead of what we have in the world's richest city. It is perfectly clear that in this State, as in European countries, only public authority can adequately deal with the problems of slum clearance, zoning, streets and playgrounds, the extension of sewerage and other public facilities, all of which, together with the actual building of the houses at the lowest possible cost, belong together in the great and challenging problem of housing.

The only question left in New York State is the particular kind of public agency best fitted for this work of housing and the extent to which State aid to the municipality may be advisable. It is, of course, quite possible that a proper housing program may require not only enabling legislation from the State Legislature, but a Constitutional amendment.

In any case, it is the business of the municipality to take the initiative. I suggest, therefore, that the Board of Estimate or a subcommittee of it hold public hearings with a view to framing a constructive program of State and municipal action. Such hearings ought not to go over ground already well covered as to the greatness of our need for housing and certain comparative costs. What we want now is action. I am writing this letter unofficially, but I know that both the League for Industrial Democracy and the Socialist Party would be delighted to appear at such hearings as you may authorize to discuss a constructive plan. Other civic bodies and political groups may be trusted to show a similar spirit. Surely, in view of the statements I heard you make during your campaign and of the high responsibilities of your office, you cannot be content to let the housing situation drift along as it is now drifting under a totally inadequate law which is resulting in no action worthy of the intelligence of this great city or its regard for the future of its own children. A good program of municipal housing would be the best conceivable cure for the much discussed crime wave. Respectfully yours,

NORMAN THOMAS.

Electrical Union in Court

(Continued from page 1)

organization in defending themselves. He charged that in violation of parliamentary procedure, the International Constitution and the By-laws of the Local that a motion had been passed appropriating for the use of the defendants an unrestricted amount of money. This he claimed was only a method of looting the union treasury. Timko vs. O'Hara put the local officials on the defensive.

Broach's Activities

When Broach took charge of the New York situation as agreed to by Local 3 at a membership meeting on February 22, 1926, he set up an Organization Committee and proceeded to make a scientific study of his problems. He discovered that the local had somewhat more than five thousand members but that they constituted only one-third of the whole number of inside electrical workers in New York City. The unorganized were underbidding the union members for jobs. He concluded further that the chief organizational obstacle was the small contractor. There were actually as many contractors as union members. Moreover, he decided that one local of five thousand members covering a jurisdiction of almost fifteen hundred square miles was unwieldy. The meeting hall could only accommodate eight hundred persons and was more than one hundred miles from the most extreme limit of Local 3's jurisdiction. This discouraged attendance at meetings. Lastly more helpers and apprentices were being admitted than journeymen. The former group not only competed with each other and the veterans in the shop but since they had the right to vote threatened control of the local or invited moral suasion.

Broach's plans were threefold: (1) He strove to induce the overnight, difficult-to-control "make-string" contractor to leave his business and become a union member, thus turning over his work to the larger contractor who has or can be induced to have a union agreement. (2) He recommended the substitution of five locals for the existing one to be bound together in a Joint Board and to enjoy uniform trade conditions. (3) He urged that the initiation of competent journeymen be hastened.

These plans of Broach and his Organization Committee were approved by the International Office of the I. B. E. W. but were bitterly opposed by members of the local administration for reasons of their own. It seems that these officers picked local meetings, prevented the International's representative from presenting his case and violated parliamentary procedure. Finally, Broach had to appeal to the membership in a series of circulars through the mails and to file charges with the Executive Council against seventeen officials. It is these accusations which throw light

on the reasons for the obstructionist tactics of the administration of Local 3.

Charges of Corruption

Though all the charges are not leveled against all the accused, they may be summarized in a general way as follows:

1. Failure to admit qualified men—the closed-door policy.
2. Refusal to recognize traveling cards of members in good standing who came from other cities.
3. Acceptance of gratuities, bribes and inducements from employers.
4. Allowing non-union men on union jobs.
5. Failure to live up to agreements with employers.
6. Failure to inspect union jobs.
7. Permitting two-way shops; that is, allowing a contractor to operate under one name a union shop for union jobs and under another name a non-union shop for non-union jobs.
8. Allowing employment of union men at less than union wages.
9. Holding secret initiations in a back room to rush through applicants before an approaching election.
10. Not accounting for the missing of examination papers for 1925 and 1926.
11. Admission by examining board of unqualified men.
12. Listing non-union contractors in the local's directory of union contractors.
13. Renting union cards to non-union men.

The gist of the matter seems to be that the local administration found it to its personal advantage not to unionize New York.

When O'Hara v. Noonan et al. came up before New York State Supreme Court Justice Thomas C. T. Crain on December 20, William S. O'Connell, attorney for Richard L. O'Hara, president of Local No. 3, asked for a postponement until the following day in order to consider the case in conjunction with Timko v. O'Hara. This request was granted.

O'Hara v. Noonan

On December 21 hearings on both motions took place. George L. Donnellan acted as attorney for O'Hara; James E. Smith, a former District Attorney, for Noonan and the other International officers; and Frederick Durgan for Timko. In the case of O'Hara v. Noonan et al., counsel for the plaintiff presumably endeavored to prevent the charges from coming before the court. The first step was to accuse the International officers of contempt of court for proceeding with the trial on December 8, despite the restraining order. Judge Crain said he would take this when evidence was presented. The second step was to argue that the Executive Council had no constitutional right to try the accused and that only the local trial

board had jurisdiction. That one-half of the members of the latter body were themselves under charges did not seem to affect the legal aspects of the case. Judge Crain ruled that it all depended on whether the local had the sole right to try the plaintiffs or whether the International might, in addition, exercise the same privilege. The controlling fact was the interpretation of the clause in the constitution of the I. B. E. W. stating that "the violation or infringement of any of its (the International constitution's) provisions shall be duly and speedily investigated, tried and punished, either by the local unions, if the matter is one of which they properly have jurisdiction, or by the International Executive Council in all other cases." Judge Crain continued the restraining order and reserved decision.

Timko v. O'Hara

In the Timko case the court worked on a presumption of innocence. The question to determine, therefore, was whether money expended in the defense of the seventeen accused officers was a legitimate expense. Did such an "attack" on the officers constitute also an attack on the local? As for the unlimited amount appropriated there was time to take that up when the bills were presented. Judge Crain in this case, too, continued the temporary stay and reserved decision.

The Legal Messes

Thus both the International and the local officers are enjoined. Meanwhile the publicity given to the corruption in Local No. 3 has brought to the fore the whole problem of organizing the electrical workers in New York City and vicinity. Hardly anything can be done now until the present mess is cleaned up. The International office tried to settle this internal trouble within the ranks of the Brotherhood. The administration of Local No. 3 chose to go into the court. The seven hundred and more affidavits that accuse O'Hara and his sixteen associates of vicious non-union, if not illegal, practices are now public property. If now the legal entanglements can be cut through, Local No. 3 will be cleaned of bribery and corruption, and the unionization of the inside electrical workers in this territory will speedily follow.

LAUNDRY DRIVERS' UNION DOUBLES MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATION DRIVE

According to a report given by Samuel Rosenweig, business agent of the Laundry Drivers' Union Local 810, the membership of the union has practically doubled in the organization campaign the union has conducted. The best results were secured in Boro Park, Bensonhurst, and Coney Island, where the union has practically organized all of the laundry workers. The splendid success of this drive has now encouraged the union to continue its drive in other sections of the city that are as yet unorganized.

CUTTERS PICK DUBINSKY, GIVE HIM LARGEST VOTE

By the largest vote he has ever received, David Dubinsky was re-elected Saturday manager-secretary of the Cutters' Union Local 10 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. He received 1,890 votes against 155 for Falk Cooper. Maurice Jacobs was elected president over Harry Berlin, while Harry Shapiro was elected vice-president over Meyer Tunis.

The others elected, all of them by a huge majority, were Sam B. Shenker, assistant manager; Sam Massover, inner guard; Louis Brown, Michael Ondusko and Samuel Dokol, delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council; Isadore Nagler, Samuel Perlmutter, David Fruhling, Jacob Fleisher and Benjamin Sachs, business agents; Louis Pankin, Max Stoller, Max Gordon, Louis Forer, Nathan Saperstein, Jacob Kops, Meyer Friedman, Joel Abramowitz, Morris Feller, Israel Ostroff, members of the executive board, and Frank G. Lewis and Fred Ratner, members of the executive board for the miscellaneous branch.

THOMAS WRIGHT ELECTED SECRETARY OF PAINTERS

Thomas Wright of local 905, Brotherhood of Painters, has been elected day secretary of District Council 9, succeeding Philip Zausner. Wright secured 4,137 votes, and Zausner 3,517.

For business agents the following were elected: Eugene Wagner, 4,282 votes; Arthur Stevens, 3,881 votes; David Shapiro, 2,550 votes, and Clarence Barnes, 3,521 votes. The elections, which were held last Saturday in Yorkville Casino, were the most bitterly contested in many years.

Pocketbook Makers' Union Re-elects A. I. Shiplacoff

Unopposed, Abraham I. Shiplacoff was elected manager of the International Pocketbook Makers' Union at the poll just completed; 2,377 votes were cast for Shiplacoff, while 195 were cast against him. Charles Kleinman received 1,737 votes for chairman, against 469 for Max Meyerowitz.

Charles I. Goldman, receiving 2,010 votes for the office of secretary-treasurer, defeated Louis Elmer, 280 votes, and Isador Wisotsky, 176 votes. Nathan Handler was elected recording secretary over Leo Fayance, 1,563 votes to 261. H. Stein, Morris Edelstein, Julius Weiss and Benjamin Perkel were elected business agents, and Morris Meltzer, general organizer.

The result was a clean sweep, by an overwhelming vote, against the Communist candidates, not one of whom came anywhere near being elected.

THE EAST SIDE FORUM CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS

8 Second Avenue

Sunday, December 26

1:30 P. M.

THE MOTION PICTURE "ALCOHOL"

Made by the Soviet Government of Russia

ADMISSION 10 CENTS

Questions and Discussions

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 Brown, 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 Matta Abravi

ALL WELCOME!

300,000 JOIN MOVE TO COMBAT COMMUNISM

(Continued from page 1)

the ruinous strike which the ousted Communist leaders precipitated.

Mr. Shiplacoff sounded the keynote when, in opening the conference, he declared: "Communism is a growing abscess on the labor movement now ready to be cut out." He appointed committees on credentials and resolutions, following which Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was introduced. A thunderous welcome was given the former Socialist alderman as a tribute to the dispatch and efficiency with which he has ended all traces of Communist tactics in his organization.

"This conference will drive the first nail into the coffin of the Communists," said Mr. Beckerman, as the delegates roared their approval. "For many years they have had a free hand. They have slandered and vilified all who disagreed with them. We have now the sorrowful task of observing the results of their tactics. They have left only a corpse of the garment workers' joint board. Their much-vaunted victory in the Furriers' Union manifested itself only in their filthy press and not at all in the shops.

"One at a time, the different labor organizations have been attacked by the Communists. They have had an easy job. Now they must fight the whole labor movement. Henceforth we are determined on uprooting every trace of Communist intrigue and disruption. They have shrieked for amalgamation. Here they have it. It shall be war to their death. No union can submit to the dictation of an outside political party."

Joseph A. Romoff, one of the delegates representing Typographical Union No. 6, "Big Six," reported for the resolutions committee. He offered first the statement of principles (which is printed in full on page 3 of this issue of The New Leader). The first part of the statement consisted of the union's indictment of the Communists, charging them with taking orders on union affairs from outside agencies and with placing the interests of the Communist party above the interest of the trade unions.

The statement of principles concludes with a detailed outline of the plans of the committee. Public meetings, research, publicity, agitation, the raising of funds for endangered organizations, a survey of "camouflaged" organizations which really do the work of the Communists—these are some of the methods by which the committee will do its work, according to the statement of principles.

President Morris Sigman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union entered the hall during the course of the meeting and received a sustained greeting. The demonstration was repeated when he was presented to speak on a resolution which had been reported denouncing the Communists who, until recently, had been officials in his own union. He told in detail of the problems of his industry, how the union had worked out a comprehensive plan to reorganize the industry, and how the Communist-inspired mania had brought his efforts to naught.

Present as observers were Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken and Arturo Giovannitti, the Italian labor leader. Both were called on for short addresses towards the end of the meeting. They responded with pledges of support to the objects of the conference.

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1201 Boston Road, near 160th Street

Sunday, December 26, 1926

P. M.

SYMPOSIUM

On JESUS OF NAZARETH

By a JEWISH RABBI, a HINDU

and a CHRISTIAN MINISTER

VOCAL AND VIOLIN SOLOS

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Unions of Country Called to Aid Fight on Disrupters

DRESS UNION, 89, HITS 'LEFTS'

Rank and File Takes Over Meeting Called By Communists—Sigman Upheld

THE so-called "Progressive Group of Local 89," with a circular, called the members of the New York Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union to a meeting held on Dec. 17 at 42 Third avenue, "to censure the executive board and general secretary." At 6 p. m. the small meeting room was crammed with active unionists, who had answered the call. The entrance of L. Antonini, general secretary, was greeted with a burst of applause. Since the meeting hour had passed and none of the initiators had assumed the presidency, Brother Iandoli called the meeting to order, inviting those present to elect the president and secretary. With a unanimous vote G. Providenti and S. Iovino were elected, respectively.

After the initiators of the meeting declined to speak, General Secretary Antonini, through an invitation from the chair, took the floor and said:

"I would not have come to this meeting had I not been invited and challenged by means of the circular. I have never been present at any meeting of the so-called Progressives. I would not have been present at this meeting, if through the circular I have just read to you they had not accused me of inability to appear to speak before the affiliated members of Local 89. And it is to show that, as always, I have no reason of being afraid to talk to you that I have come. It is to show you that the traitor of the affiliated mass of the international is not President Sigman, but that the traitors are exactly the leaders of the cloakmakers' strike, who worked for anything but the interests of the strikers. I had no fear whatever in appearing at this meeting, not because I am courageous or because I want to boast—not at all, but because I have always done my best to protect the interests of the membership of Local 89; because I am convinced that they will never deny me, as has never been denied me, the right to speak in their name, either before Sigman or before anyone, when it is necessary to guard the interests of the affiliated members of our local. If you wish to discuss matters calmly, as is my wish, I am ready to show you where the real traitors of the working masses are and where the loyal and sincere protectors are."

The few communists disguised under the name of "Progressives," feeling lost at their own meeting, spoke through Frank Coco, not affiliated with Local 89, who asked those present to leave the little meeting room, which was to have housed 4,000 Italian dressmakers, since the rental was paid by the "Progressives" and they alone had the right to hold the meeting.

The interrupted meeting was continued at 231 East 14th street, and this resolution, presented by Brother F. Schifano and Sister Rose Rao, was accepted unanimously:

"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 parties and foreign groups, 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, to protect the integrity and the independence of our Italian local from the severing hands of the traitors."

Program of Committee For the Preservation of the Trade Unions

THE Trade Unions of the United States:

For a number of years the trade unions, especially in the needle trades, have had to contend with an organized group unknown in any previous stage in our history. Although not large in numbers, it is disciplined, unscrupulous and malicious. It seeks to make the trade unions conscripts of the oligarchy known as the Communist Party.

bers of the unions and the workers

For years we had supposed that members of this group could be reasoned with. We have presented reasons and facts, argument and persuasion, but to no purpose. All these methods by which civilized people adjust their differences of opinion have been spurned. They have been answered by malicious slander, atrocious falsehoods, unjustified attacks and secret plotting.

No member of the union has been immune from these attacks unless he accepted the dictation of this group. Moreover, this campaign has assumed the most cowardly form that men can use. Unsigned circulars and manifestos have appeared charging crimes to members and officials with whom this group disagreed. Members and officials who have given many years of devoted service in building the trade unions have been the special victims of this character assassination. The authors of these circulars could not be brought before the bar of the union because their names were unknown.

The Trade Union Educational League, an auxiliary of the Communist Party, and under its control, also has been the agency for planting what it calls "nuclei" in the trade unions. Through these Communist nests decisions affecting the trade unions have been taken in secret, and every member of the Communist Party and of the Trade Union Educational League was bound by these secret decisions.

The result is a state within a state, a union within the union, and under the command of Communist Party officials in Chicago. This destructive policy comes direct from the Communist bureaucracy in Moscow. It was worked out in detail in February, 1926, by a conference of the sections of the Communist International which met in Moscow. The instructions show that the Communist leaders of a strike are required to make regular reports to the heads of the Communist Party.

Not content with character assassination and plotting within their secret nests, the Communists have broken up public meetings while crying for their own right to be heard in public. They have exalted deceit into a virtue and elevated intrigue into a principle. They have used strikes to advance the fortunes of the Communist Party rather than the claims of the strikers to better economic conditions. They have signed away gains made by the furriers in previous years and then boasted of a "victory." They have called forty thousand cloakmakers on strike without consulting them and have so completely mismanaged the strike that the sum total is ruin and distress to the union, its members and the women and children dependent upon them.

We submit that tolerance of these crimes against the principles of trade unionism and labor solidarity would itself be a crime against the trade unions. We have endured this insolence long enough. We have resolved to end it. Therefore, we, the delegates to the first conference of the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions, hereby establish a permanent alliance of the trade

unions under the above name for the following purposes:

1. To hold public meetings for the purpose of educating members of the unions and the workers in general regarding American Communist activities in the unions.

2. To print and distribute literature based upon a careful survey of facts and sources regarding the American Communist movement, its methods, its intrigues and the results of its attempt at dictatorship in the unions.

3. To raise a fund for the aid of trade unions that may be menaced by Communist organizations and to supply them with literature and speakers if necessary.

4. To hold frequent conferences for the consideration of reports made by representatives of affiliated organizations and to take such action as may be required as a result of the information received.

5. To make a survey of the "innocents' club" and camouflaged organizations formed by Communists or the Communist Party through which they have received funds ostensibly for the protection of the foreign born, the Negroes, the Filipinos, for release of political prisoners, for the protection of civil rights, etc., all of which are intended to further the destructive work of American Communism.

6. To maintain a publicity service to enlighten the people of this country, and trade unionists in particular regarding the absurd and ridiculous ideas which a few fanatics are trying to impose through a policy of terrorism on the labor movement of the United States.

7. To utterly root out of places of power and influence any members who take orders from the Communist Party or who have any friendly relations with the Trade Union Educational League, its officials and members.

In short, it will be the purpose of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions to isolate the Communists. We call upon organized labor of the entire country to support this movement to rid the trade unions of their insidious inside enemy.

Let us join forces to end this Communist campaign of wreckage in order that a solidified trade union army may again face the employing interests without fear of betrayal and double-dealing in its own ranks.

Distributors of "Gold Medal" Oil Lockout Chauffeurs

The firm of S. Garber & Son, who are the Brooklyn distributors of Gold Medal Oil, locked out their chauffeurs. The workers are members of the Flour, Grocery and Furniture Teamsters' Union, Local 285. The employers broke their agreement with the union, refusing to give the workers a living wage and decent working conditions. The union's answer to the lockout was the immediate declaring of a strike. The locked-out workers picket the firm's warehouse daily. They feel fully confident that this firm will have to yield to the union's terms if the public lend them their moral support by remembering that Gold Medal Oil is now delivered by strikebreakers.

Bane of Communists



ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Manager, N. Y. Joint Board Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who is playing the leading role in the growing movement to end Communist Party interference in the trade unions.

CLOAKMAKERS ENROLLING

(Continued from page 1)

Communist leaders of the union were ready to sign.

The Communists were ready to give the sub-manufacturers the clear right to reorganize their shops to the extent of 10 per cent of their employees. The international union succeeded in drastically modifying the reorganization rights of the sub-manufacturers. Only those shops employing thirty-five or more workers and who have been in business at least two years will receive the right. Since most of the shops are small and a great many of them are short-lived concerns, very few will be able to exercise the reorganization privilege.

On the matter of the right of the business agents of the union to enter the employers' plant for inspection, the previous rights of the union will be unimpaired. Reduction in hours to 42, and subsequently to 40, and increases in wages as secured by the Communists' agreement with the Industrial Council, another group of employers, is also provided for. In short, the International union secured everything the Communists had gotten, and more, and with a twenty-four weeks' strike.

The most interesting part of the report is not in the award, however. It is the forward which states that the ex-leaders of the Joint Board had rejected the proposals made by the Governor's Commission on the Cloak Industry, only to accept worse terms after a twenty weeks' strike! Important reorganization steps sought by the union were lost as a result of the Communists' insistence on calling a strike, the report declares.

2. A second important development has been the great response the workers have made to the International union and receive new dues books to take the place of the worthless ones issued by the defunct Joint Board.

3. The third interesting event was the fake "rank and file" demonstration held by the Communists in Madison Square Garden Saturday. The ousted leaders had called upon all cloakmakers to attend the meeting and voice their preferences between the Communists and the International union. Coming to the meeting, all cloakmakers except the handful who still follow the Communists' standard were refused admission. Communists in the furriers' union were given fake cloakmakers' working cards, as were faithful Communists in other unions, and were passed in. Communist Party members, belonging to no union whatever, were admitted on presentation of letters from their party headquarters. In this manner the deposed leaders obtained an audience of 13,000 Communists, attempting to palm them off to the press as cloakmakers. The fake was too apparent to the trained labor reporters covering the meeting, and was exposed in the press the following day.

In the meantime, while the Communists were addressing a hand-picked audience of Communists, upward of 10,000 cloakmakers, refused admission, gathered in the bitterly cold streets outside the arena. Led by President Sigman, who had also been refused admission, they paraded through the streets and held meetings in four halls farther downtown.

The most surprising part of the "demonstration" in Madison Square Garden was the hand-in-glove manner in which the police, 300 of them, worked with the Communists to keep the cloakmakers from coming into the meeting. Rumors of the passing of bribes are current, and it would not be surprising if these rumors developed into a huge scandal before many weeks are past.

Who Laborite Is

The New Leader has received several queries as to the identity of "Laborite," whose name has appeared in recent issues signed to articles and news stories about the trade unions. Last week's article signed by "Laborite" dealing with the trade union drive against the Communists, was written by our assistant editor, Edward Levinson. Other stories signed "Laborite" were written by Louis S. Stanley.

New Orders Reduce Communists in Unions To Slaveys of the Party

AFTER years of agitation for a united front by the Communists it has been realized, but it is not the united front they wanted.

The organization of the Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unionism is a united front of the New York unions for the complete elimination of Foster's Trade Union Educational League and the Workers' (Communist) Party from interference in the unions.

In order that this struggle may be made effective the members of this alliance against Communist plotting should have important facts that they can use in this fight. They must fully understand what sort of thing they are fighting. Hence the following facts:

For years William Z. Foster was an Anarchist-Syndicalist of the force type. In 1911 or 1912 he collaborated with Earl C. Ford in the authorship of a booklet entitled "Syndicalism." The following extracts from the booklet throw some light on his views.

"Syndicalism has placed the Anarchist movement upon a practical, effective basis" (p. 31). The Syndicalists are directing forces in all groups and "maintain their leadership through their superior intellect, energy, courage, cunning," etc. (pp. 43-44). With the Syndicalist "the end justifies the means" (p. 9). He is an "unscrupulous in his choice of weapons to fight his everyday battles as for his final struggle with capitalism" (p. 18). He forgot to add that Mr. Foster did not have the courage to defend this creed when he was being questioned by a committee of the U. S. Senate in 1919. On that occasion he showed himself to be decidedly "yellow."

It is not surprising that Foster, the Anarchist-Syndicalist of 1912, accepted the Communism of later years. What he says in the quotations above may be found in Communist publications over and over again. In Czarist Russia strikes were illegal. Unions were conspiratorial organizations and they could be nothing else. Every strike had the possibility of being transformed into an armed insurrection against the government. The Czarist officials knew this. So did the union members. The unions knew nothing of the comparative freedom of action and open organization of Western Europe and America.

In other words, the old Russian trade unions were force organizations as well as unions to better conditions. After the fall of Czarism the Russian leaders have attempted to graft their tactics of force, plotting and secret maneuvering upon the movement in all other countries. Their organizations were justified under Czarism, but they are suicidal and reactionary in the modern nations.

The Communist International issues a press bulletin from Vienna, bearing the title "International Press Correspondence." From two to six of these bulletins are published each week and sent all over the world. Each bulletin carries from eight to 100 pages of printed matter reporting the work of Communist parties, fractions, "nuclei," the Communist International, attacks on Socialist and Labor parties, trade unions, trade union officials and news of what is transpiring in Russia under the Communist dictatorship. This publication bears the official stamp of the Communist bureaucracy in Russia and the Communist bureaucracies of all countries.

The issue of May 5, 1926, carries 24 pages, which are devoted entirely to detailed instructions on how the street "nuclei," the shop "nuclei," the union "nuclei" and the variety of other "nuclei" are to organize and carry on their work. We turn to the last section, beginning on page 591, which bears the caption, "Model Directions for the Formation and Structure of the Communist Fractions in the Trade Unions." We are immediately interested. We proceed to read and we are enlightened. We understand what has happened in New York.

The first sentence reads: "The Communist members of a trade union organization and its organs (committees, conferences, congresses, etc.) must unite into a fraction and carry on fractional work."

Must unite! That must for a Communist means orders from the highest authority in the bureaucracy.

We turn to page 592, and the orders for the "nuclei" in the unions are still more precise. There we read:

"The party executive determines the political and tactical line of the Communist fractions, directs and instructs them and controls their activity."

The rank and file of the members do not formulate decisions for the unions so far as Communist are concerned. The Communist Party "directs," "instructs" and "controls" them. Perhaps you think the Communist leaders of the Joint Board have not taken orders from the Communist Party. If you think so read the next paragraph:

"Important tasks of the fractions shall be discussed in the Trade Union Department in the presence of representatives of the fractions. In case of serious differences of opinion between the fraction and the Trade Union Department, the Party Executive shall decide the matter in the presence of fraction representatives. The decisions of the Party Executive must be carried out unconditionally by the fraction. Non-fulfillment constitutes a breach of discipline."

The Trade Union Department in this country is Foster's League. The Party Executive is the Executive Committee of the Communist Party. Communist leaders of the Joint Board have been

proper department and higher fraction executive."

We have by no means reached the limit of these instructions. The Communist Party determines who shall run for office in the union and even makes the nominations! This is set forth in the following instruction:

"Candidates for all congresses, conferences and committees shall be nominated by the fraction executive and approved by the proper party executive. If necessary, the party executive itself can nominate candidates."

All these instructions by the highest section of the Communist bureaucracy have been carried out in the strike of the cloakmakers. They explain many things that were mysterious. They convict the leaders of the strike. The quotations are not taken from an anti-Communist organ. They are literal reprints of what appears in a genuine 100 per cent Communist publication.

No union can survive and tolerate this back-stairs plotting by anybody. It has almost wrecked some unions in New York. It must go. It is going. Soon it will be gone, leaving only a memory of the evil it has done and with the assurance that it will never return.

Let's See Your Tongue!

If you don't feel so well today, if you lack energy and ambition, if you are tired and lazy and feel as if you would like to run away from yourself, just take a mirror and look at your tongue. If your tongue is white and coated, it is a sure sign that your liver and bowels are not in perfect order and must be regulated at once.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative will, within a few hours, cleanse your system, evacuate your bowels, regulate your liver, and restore your ambition and vitality. Get a 10-cent box at once and be convinced.

Sex Expression In Literature

By V. F. CALVERTON

Author of THE NEWER SPIRIT

With an Introduction by HARRY ELMER BARNES

SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE is a challenge to the moralists. Mr. Calverton attacks prudery and puritanism as characteristics injurious to contemporary literature which has broken from the fetters of a decaying social class. It is an exposition and a justification of the freedom of sex expression in our new art. For the first time in the history of literary criticism, the changing attitudes toward sex expression are analyzed and related to their social origins.

"In this book Calverton carries the evolutionary concept into a field where professionals have posted a sign 'keep out.' His work as a whole is a very creditable achievement and you will miss much that is valuable and informing if you fail to read this book." (Jas. Oneal in The New Leader).

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Please send me a copy of V. F. Calverton's book, SEX EXPRESSION IN LITERATURE, and..... prepaid Subscription Cards, for which I enclose herewith..... as per your offer.

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Best Wishes for a Happy New Year

Your Savings

Deposited on or before January 5th, will draw interest from January 1st, 1927

DEPOSITS made on or before the THIRD business day of any month will draw interest from the FIRST of the same month, if the deposit is left to the end of the quarter.

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Next Week's Articles on the

Problems of American Socialism

Will Be Written by
CHAS. E. RUSSELL
and
UPTON SINCLAIR
Famed Socialist Novelist

Other Contributors Will Be

VIDA D. SCUDDER
LEWIS S. GANNETT
LOUIS F. BUDENZ
ABRAHAM CAHAN
MORRIS HILLQUIT
LOUIS B. BOUDIN
JOSEPH SHAPLEN
NORMAN THOMAS
V. F. CALVERTON
JULIUS GERBER
WM. M. FEIGENBAUM
J. A. C. MENG

The New Leader invites
its Readers to Join in
This Discussion

Objects to Articles

Editor, The New Leader:
You said in your preliminary announcement of his articles something to the effect that Mr. Ghent, though disagreeing with the Socialist Party on the war, had always remained true to Socialist principles. This statement is not true. I was in California when Ghent was working for "The Better American Federation." He was writing and speaking for this organization—the organization of the open-shoppers and extreme reactionaries.

IRVING MANDELL.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

NEW LEADER
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11th
(Lincoln's Birthday Eve)

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By David P. Berenberg

NEITHER the complete surrender to the religion of Rotarian ideals that Mr. Ghent suggests, nor a religious adherence to the Socialist methods of by-gone days will gain us the favor of the American public, votes and political power. Almost I am tempted to say that nothing will, at this time. Time and the working of social laws will again bring on a situation in which Socialist propaganda will be effective. How far we are from this juncture no one can say; I believe ten years is not too conservative an estimate.

It is not necessary to devote much space to answer Mr. Ghent. What he says, in effect, is this: If the Socialist party will consent to apologize for its stand in the war; if it will "Americanize" itself (and even Mr. Ghent shrinks from the task of defining this term); if it will consent to so complete an emasculation of its program of socialization as not to offend the small-town Babbitt and the job-intrenched trade union hierarchy; if it will promise in the future to be good and not kick up a fuss, then perhaps it will rehabilitate itself and regain its lost standing. That the party will do this is unthinkable; that any considerable number of its members will want it to so humiliate itself I cannot believe.

The issue between a Socialist and Mr. Ghent is very clear. The Socialist is concerned with Socialism, and Mr. Ghent is interested in success. It is quite true that the party has in the past gone after will-o-the-wisps in its pursuit of the illusion of success. I have repeatedly voiced an isolated protest against Success mongering and the Higher Salesmanship in our election campaigns. But I believe that even my then antagonists in the party will balk at success bought at the price Mr. Ghent asks. At his price, why a party? The new Tammany Hall, Local A1 Smith, or the progressive Republicans, Section Senator Borah, offer speedier and more certain hope of such Success.

THE YEARS OF SUCCESS

What was the party in 1912 and in the decade that preceded that year that we should so earnestly want to resurrect those days? True, the party grew from 1902 to 1912. Time has proved that the growth was spurious. It brought into the movement incongruous elements; the kind of people justly deserving Mencken's epithets. Quacks, uplifters, Holy Rollers, theosophists, prohibitionists, Christian Scientists, we had them all. Of course, we lost them later. Do we want them back?

True, the party carried elections in

certain cities between 1910 and 1914. What of it? We learned then how fickle and unreliable an American electorate is—a lesson we had to learn before we became politically mature. We were infantile enough, in those days, to imagine that all gains were permanent gains. We have learned better. But if we are to go back, if we are again to woo the electorate in those same cities, and in others, with the same methods—we betray ourselves as still politically infantile.

We carried Milwaukee, Schenectady, Berkeley, Butte and other places in part, on the strength of local dissatisfactions, in part because of the personal popularity of men like Berger, Stitt, Wilson and Lunn, and in part because political experimentation was the order of the day. Not to recognize this combination of circumstances is fatal. We were then, willy nilly, part of the so-called progressive movement.

PROGRESSIVE OR SOCIALIST

There was no essential difference between the man who, in 1912, voted for Roosevelt and Wilson, and the one who voted for Debs. Of course, when I say this, I do not refer to the basic party vote each man received. I am speaking of that body of so-called independent voters who furnish the deciding factor in elections. In 1912 this voter was a "progressive." He read Wilson's speeches, he heard Teddy's bombast, and perhaps he listened to Debs. And he could take his choice feeling that there was little difference among them. There wasn't much of the Socialist about him.

Go back to 1912? To many that was the Golden Age. Like all Golden Ages, it turns out, on examination, to be cheap gilt. We cannot afford to be romantic looking back to a mythical past. Not if we are to be Socialists.

Why do we not attract as many voters and members as in the past? Mr. Ghent suggests that our attitude in the war is chiefly to blame. He is right, so far as some people are concerned. The Communists will say that we are too timid to attract the "real red." They, too, are right, provided you define the "real red" as they do. Yet neither explanation is complete. By no means so many people are so completely sold on the war now as they were in 1917. It didn't require the work of the revisionists to disillusion large sections of the American public. The treaty of Versailles was quite

enough to accomplish that, and what the treaty did do, the post-war governments have done very effectively. Only a few die-hards now hold the party's war attitude against it.

WORKERS ON A SPREE?

It is easy to understand why Mr. Ghent holds on to his war neurosis. He gave up so much for it that now to give it up in turn would require the courage of a saint. Mr. Ghent is too old and to human to have that courage. As for the Communists, it is quite clear that the number of "real reds" by their definition is so small that if we had them all we would be scarcely larger than we are today. The Workers' party presumably has them all, all the noble revolutionaries. They do not make such a huge showing!

The villain that stops our growth is much more subtle, much more complicated than either Mr. Ghent or the Communists suppose. And he is therefore much harder to overcome.

We are not making progress because the working class is drunk. It is drunk on high wages (in spots), on the movies, on radio, on Ford cars, on red-eye liquor, on sex appeal, on Queen Marie, on the Hall-Mills case, and on the dirt in the case of Charley Chaplin. Life is a dull thing in an industrial society, until there are escapes into Fairyland. When in the history of the world have there been such escapes, and into such a Fairyland, as are today open to every worker at a low price? Talk about bread and circuses! The Caesars would be ruling Rome yet if they had been able to offer their mobs the variety and the amount of entertainment now put before the American workingman.

Who, other than a Russian with an intelligence complex, would rather listen to Ghent, or Lee, or Thomas, or even the entertaining Claessens, than tune in on the Happiness Boys? Who would not rather read the gloriously revolting details of what Mr. Hall wrote to Eleanor Mills, than what Panken has to say about water-power? Do not think that we are alone in this difficulty. Daugherty and Miller got away with the swag because the public was too busy to see them. Nobody reads the news of the Fall-Doherty trial, except the fool Socialists.

There is nothing to do until the spree is over. It will end. The end is in sight.

INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION AHEAD

Item 1.—There is coming, and that soon, a catastrophic crisis in the automobile industry. There are now 20,000,000 cars in use. This is close to the maximum number the country can absorb. When the saturation point is reached there will be market only for replacements. The foreign market cannot absorb many more than it is already taking. When the limit is reached there will follow a disorganization of the automobile industry that will be communicated first to the related industries and banks, and finally to the whole country. There will be serious unemployment. Wages even in the kept trades will crash. This situation is what the A. F. of L. had in mind when in its recent convention in Detroit it discarded frantic efforts to organize the automobile trades, even discarding the sacred cow "craft unionism" in its eagerness. The A. F. of L. is too late. The men will not be organized. Even if they are, the crash will come.

In this connection note Ford's introduction of the five-day week. Ford says that it will not mean a reduction of output. This, I believe, is bunk. What Ford very seriously needs is reduction of output. In the first half of 1926 his sales fell off 35 percent.

It has recently been announced that the available oil supply in the United States will last only six more years. This means a rapid increase in the price of gasoline. And this in turn means the hastening of the saturation point in the demand for automobiles.

THE COMMUNISTS' CHANCES

Item 2.—The depression that will follow on the automobile crash will not so soon pass. The world is smaller than it was; there are not so many foreign markets; there are more countries producing surpluses. When wages all along the line go down, the worker will begin to come out of his trance. He will have grown accustomed to a high standard of living. He will be reduced to penury—in some cases to starvation. Then what? If this were Great Britain the worker would turn to the Labor Party. Here, the communists will get him. Let us not fool ourselves. The American genius in politics is essentially anarchistic. When the American worker grows radical he wants to break something. He has not been trained to constructive political thinking. When Easy Street ends Roughhouse

Lane opens up. The Communist clasp is going to sound good to the man who has lost his wages.

I am not predicting the communist revolution. Washington and Wall Street will be prepared to meet the emergency. The net result of the fuss will be a new anti-red drive. The jails will be filled with political; new "red" laws will appear on the statute books, a few heads will be broken, and a feeling of futility and soreness will be left behind.

Item 3.—Then will follow the sober mood during which the American worker will learn to approach his problems like a mature person. With his two dream worlds dissipated the worker will be ready to listen to sense. Then we will have our innings, if we have sense to offer him. We had it once. It is still there for us to use. Our syllogism is still valid.

1. The worker produces all value.

2. He gets a small part of what he produces.

3. He can have it all only through collective ownership.

4. He can have collective ownership any time he organizes to get it.

The trouble has never been with our syllogism. It has come only when we departed from it, or when the worker was mad with war rage, or when he was drunk with opium fumes.

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Item 4.—For the present there is nothing to be done. No amount of "hustling," "driving," "urging," "getting together," or whatever else it is called will bring nearer by a single second the train of circumstances that alone can make the worker receptive to our program. Social forces will bring him our way at last.

Item 5.—Then what can we do? We can de-bunk ourselves. We can give up wasting energy on impossible tasks. We can stop looking for alibis and scapegoats. We can build an organization intelligent enough to grasp our ideas and modest enough not to be ashamed of working on a small scale.

We can study the facts of history and economics as set forth by Stuart Chase, Barnes et al. We can cease to concern ourselves with what the communist and the Babbitt think about us. We can cease to mourn the romantic past. We can build up a party press able to comment intelligently on important events, and not so debased in its style nor so low in its intellectual level that it appeals to no one. We must cut loose from Babbitt within ourselves. In other words, we must be willing to lay ourselves on the laboratory table for dissection, and we must be ready to admit our faults wherever and whenever we find them.

Indigo Pessimism

Editor, The New Leader:

I beg to disagree in several respects with Comrade W. J. Ghent in his stimulating article on "New Paths for Socialism," which appeared in The New Leader.

His logic is mingled with indigo pessimism.

The world war produced a wild unnatural inflation of prices which have momentarily benefitted many and caused some Socialists to retire from the scene of Socialist Party activities or dampen the ardor of others.

With the approaching industrial and economic depression, which spells poverty and want, the trades unions will "get it in the neck." They will whip their leaders into line from present logical support of the old parties, trading for crumbs from the capitalists' table, to the only remedy for a decent living—the broad of Socialism. They will do this by constitutional democratic expression much after the British fashion and come out where they belong into the Socialist Party.

The Socialist movement will then appear to the public (due to the cold law of necessity) American, very American, even though Europe and other countries lead the way.

As the struggle through this depression from over-production and lack of sufficient world trade becomes more acute the sting of Bolshevism will be greatly reduced.

America will never tolerate the dictatorship of the proletariat or suppression of human rights, free speech and assembly, but will maintain its priceless democracy, humanitarianism and tolerance of minorities. As the Bolshevism of today tames down and regenerates itself we will view it and "alienism," with its hates, prejudices and bias, with more charity, since America now understands better the causes of the war.

Regarding prohibition, those favoring the movement to abolish intoxicating liquors by state action are following the dictates of their conscience just as the Socialists would to abolish the competitive profit system, for human betterment, as they see it.

As the distribution of the nation's wealth becomes more unequal and economic conditions more intolerable we will need wise leadership, a strong faith in the ideals of socialism with our eyes fixed on the co-operative commonwealth, its ethics and its promises. That day is nearer at hand than most people suspect.

HENRY J. COX.

Ghent a Socialist?

Editor, The New Leader:

Although personalities are barred in regard to the Ghent articles, I cannot refrain from differing with the statement that Mr. Ghent has remained a Socialist. So far as I can judge from his actions and writings he is no Socialist. I enclose the latest example of his "Socialism," which appeared in "Current History" recently. I do not object to The New Leader printing his articles, which can be considered on their merits, but I do rather object to being told that he has always remained a Socialist.

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From One of the "Squaw" Men

A Reply to W. J. Ghent

By Alfred Baker Lewis

MR. GHENT has charged the present-day Socialist party, in his articles, with a lack of Americanization. In support of that charge he claims, first, that we lack

respect for the history, ideals, traditions and folkways of this country; second, that we opposed the war, and, third, that we are too friendly to Soviet Russia. He even says that to Americanize ourselves properly we must eliminate all mention of war from our party programs.

In support of his first charge, Mr. Ghent cites no evidence whatever. In so far as the ideals of America are embodied, for example, in the Declaration of Independence, the writings of Thomas Jefferson, or in the speeches of Wendell Phillips and of Abraham Lincoln, I challenge him to show that under the changed conditions of a highly industrialized society, the Socialist party's program does not today embody those ideals than does the program of the Democrats or Republicans. What would Wendell Phillips think, for example, of a Republican party which refused to pass the Dyer anti-lynching law? What would Lincoln think of a Republican Senator who spent \$1,500,000 to get nominated? What would Jefferson say of a Democratic party that passed the espionage law? Mr. Ghent himself would admit that all men can not be born free and equal even in opportunity under capitalism.

As to our anti-war program, every day that passes proves more and more that we were right. I can say from my personal experience in canvassing for supporters for the party that I have come across scores who voted for Debs because of his anti-war record, though they disagreed with his policy of socialization and scarcely a single person who favored our internal industrial policy but were pro-war. In numerous cases within my personal knowledge I have found that our anti-war policy commanded respect even if not agreement. From experience on the street corner I can testify that our anti-war stand evokes more enthusiasm than our industrial program.

THE CHURCHMEN REACT
Furthermore, there is a large element among the churches today who are gathering their courage more and more to the point of declaring that they will not support the next war. Sherwood Eddy, for example, is one of the most outstanding figures in American Protestant religious life today. Yet the post-war revelations have made him change his attitude from supporting the last war, to an out-and-out anti-war position. His case is typical of a steadily growing number of persons in the churches. To have us drop our anti-war stand, just when it is gathering more and more adherents, and gathering adherents faster than our internal economic program, would certainly be foolish.

The whole Revisionist school of historians are not merely saying that we were right in the last war, that the allied nations were as guilty as was Germany; but are actually going further

and placing more blame on France and Russia than on Germany herself.

Mr. Ghent's slur at Harry Elmer Barnes, and the Revisionist School, is backed up by no evidence whatever. The truth is that Revisionism in regard to responsibility for the outbreak of the war is not merely a phenomenon in this country. In Italy it is headed by former Premier Nitti; in France, though small, it is growing in importance as evidenced by the steadily growing friendliness with Germany, and in England it has become a fairly important body of opinion.

The War Guilt

I have recently taken part in the columns of the "Boston Herald" in a controversy over Prof. Barnes' book, started by one of our comrades, Rev. Henry W. Pinkham—another Squaw man. Not a single actual historian in the course of that controversy supported the statement in the Versailles treaty that Germany was responsible for the war. All that some of the historians did was to assert that Germany was as guilty as France and Russia, not less so, as Prof. Barnes asserted.

The implication by Mr. Ghent that only the foreign element in the party opposed the war is flatly untrue, and so is his gibe that the Germans in the party opposed the war against Germany, but were ready to support any imperialist war by Germany. Ludwig Lore, the head of the German Federation, not merely opposed the war against Germany, but instead of supporting German imperialism, he referred to the Kaiser as a titled thug, and that at a time—the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Kaiser's accession to the throne—when Nicholas Murray Butler, William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt praised the Kaiser to the skies in the American press.

I would like to call the attention of Mr. Ghent to the fact that while there was a gain in votes in alien New York, that was so all over the country in the fall of 1917 after our anti-war stand. And while New York held anti-war meetings in Madison Square Garden; in Oklahoma, one of the most American sections of the entire country, there was an armed uprising against the draft.

To ask the Socialist Party to drop its anti-war and anti-imperialist stand is arrant nonsense. Must we remain silent while our government breaks its promise to the Filipinos to give them independence? Or if our government invades Mexico to make her grant to American citizens who own Mexican oil wells greater rights of ownership in Mexican land than Mexican law gives to her own citizens, must we tamely submit to having our friends and relatives drafted for such a war? If that is what true Americanism means to Mr. Ghent, I am

sorry he did not call me a worse name than "squaw-man."

Wrong on Russia?

That the party is wrong in our support of recognition and resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia is also a mistake. It may be true that we went farther in support of Communism at a time when we were trying to prevent a split in the party than was wise. But it is only fair to state that at that time the reports of denial of liberty by the Bolsheviks was on scarcely better authority than the numerous reports about the imprisonment of Lenin, and the rosy predictions of tremendous support from the Russian people for Petlura, Semionoff, Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel, et al., if only those "White Hopes" were furnished with men, munitions and money. Also, while it is true that the Communists have been guilty of excesses in maintaining their dictatorship; the same thing is true of the present Bulgarian government, of the Fascists in Italy, and the monarchists in Hungary, of the French at Damascus, the British at Amritsar, and our own people in their lynching of Negroes, and flouting of the intent of the 14th and 15th amendments. Yet Mr. Ghent does not make opposition to Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Great Britain, or the flouting of the 14th and 15th amendments a test of Americanism.

Our party today, in its attitude toward Russia, demands recognition of Soviet Russia and resumption of trade relations with her, and asks the Russian government for the release of political prisoners. This stand, too, like our anti-war stand, is steadily gathering adherents. It is the stand of Senator Borah, and of men like Sherwood Eddy, and instead of cutting us off from the American people is a stronger point of contact between us and the American people than is our internal industrial program.

The Industrial Policy
If in fact there was a large number of people convinced of the truth of the Socialist Party's stand for the co-operative commonwealth, but favorable to the war,

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it may be asked, where are they?

Why do they not form an organization, or at least support a paper to present their views? Why don't they do something in their own way to oppose effectively the loss in trade union membership, the growth of company unions, or the forward march of plutocracy since the war? The answer is that they are too few in number. There was an organization headed by Allan L. Benson, the Reconstruction League, intended to represent just such people. It never got 200 members. It could not even support a monthly paper. It could not gain the strength that the Proletarian Party has in this country. The truth is that the limiting factor in our party's influence is not its foreign policy at all. It is our internal industrial policy. More people in America agree with our foreign policy but not our domestic policy, but support our domestic policy but balk at our foreign policy. And the chief reason for that is the lack of class consciousness among American workers, due to certain historical reasons, and the control of the sources of public opinion by our enemies.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Christmas Ramblings

SOMEONE said the Jews invented Christmas to boost business. I believe it.

Dear Pa:
The merry Yuletide is nigh. Dig in. Dig down. Dig up.

Dear Ma:
Shop early—and late.

Dear Sis:
Dear Santa:
If you want to get a rise out of little Bobby, don't send him a toy cannon. Send him a genuine hand grenade.

And here's hoping Santa won't have to pass through Chicago coming this way. Going the other way he's reasonably safe, provided he takes the air route.

Rival booze gangs engaged in the charitable enterprise of supplying Chicagoans with Yuletide spirits are shooting each other up with machine guns.

The booster meeting of the "live and let live" section of the Amalgamated Undertakers' Society of the city declared unanimously for a "let well enough alone" policy. It also reiterated its faith in the venerable doctrine that competition is the life of trade.

Let Brisbane pray for a bigger and better air fleet. Let the Army and Navy clubs shout for a bigger army and navy. But, I say unto you, by the time our gangs have learned the art of fighting each other with Zeppelins, bombing planes, submarines, mine fields and poison gas, as they certainly will, we are prepared to lick the world.

But, will they enlist?
Sure, all we have to do is to repeat the Volstead Act, then there will be nothing left to them but work or fight, and it's sixteen to one they won't work.

I also take great pleasure in announcing that if the President wants to use the private armies of the West Virginia coal operators to protect Deheny's oil tanks in Mexico, he can depend on my unanimous and whole-hearted support.

By the way, I always wondered why they call the Mexicans "Greasers." Now I know. It's because they've got so much oil.
Well, what's the joke?
Har—har, don't you know oil is greasy?

What a pity Thanksgiving doesn't fall the day after Christmas. If it did, we always would have something to be thankful for. "Thank God it's over" and so on.

This reminds me that if you send me a Christmas card don't write your name on it. Write it on the envelope. I'm saving the cards for next year and my friends don't like it when they see a strange name on my Christmas gifts.

When the angels sang, "Peace on earth, good will to men," they meant everybody but the man who foots the bill for the good will. So, what father wants is not a Father's Day in June, but a closed season between December first and New Year's day.

Now is the time for all good fathers to come together and organize a necktie exchange.

I also take this opportunity to inform ladies whose husbands already have a necktie, that they may give him a pleasant surprise by giving him a comfortable fireless chair. Letting him sit in the chair will make him look still more surprised.

And talking about surprises, wouldn't you be surprised yourself if you caught the peace angel on top of the Christmas tree playing with the toy murder tools you placed beneath it for your darling baby boy? Toy galleons and miniature electric chairs may not look good on Christmas trees, and yet they are rattling good companions to toy gats and tin swords.

Of course, Christ came to bring peace on earth, but you see just about that time they were getting ready for a war to end war and the things he preached interfered with recruiting in the armed forces of the country. So folks naturally got cross with him and got a cross and hung him on it, and ever since we have had peace, excepting the time we were fighting for peace or getting ready for a war to end war.

This also may be a good opportunity to correct the rumors to the effect that the two thieves who were crucified with Christ were war profiteers.
From all reports the gentlemen in mind are still living and doing well.

Brother President, brothers and sisters, I now arise to make a motion—a motion that never has been made before. Nevertheless, I believe there are some brothers and sisters in this hall who are deserving this very motion. As you all know, somebody has to carry on the work of this organization. And, I am happy to affirm right here and now and without fear of contradiction, that this work of the organization previously alluded to is carried on, which is amply demonstrated by the fact that we still have an organization.

This happy state of affairs, brothers and sisters, is entirely due to the loyalty and the devotion of the brothers and sisters who attend to the business of the organization, while the others are consulting score boards or are operating clinics for blind pigs.

Indeed, I am firmly convinced that were it not for the unselfish labor of these brothers and sisters we would have no organization. Wherefore, I say, these brothers and sisters who come to this hall, rain or shine, homebrew coming or moonshine social, every time there is a meeting of the organization, light the light, chop kindling wood, carry coals, the quorum, fill the committee and do all the other necessary and unavoidable work of the organization are entitled to something (hear! hear!) And I know of no better occasion than this happy Yuletide, a time, brothers and sisters, when our hearts are overflowing with gratitude and love to whomsoever it may concern, to show our appreciation of the noble work done by these brothers and sisters. I, therefore, make a motion that as a token of our appreciation, each and every officer of this union, be presented with a Christmas gift in the form of a vote of thanks.

Do I hear a second?
I do not.
There being no other business before the house, somebody make a motion to adjourn.
Everybody does.

Santa Claus, crawling from behind the woodbox disgustedly: "Wouldn't even give the boys a vote of thanks, and yet where would I be without their help when it comes to filling the stockings of their kids?"
Adam Coaligger.

Guild Socialist Propaganda Begins THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE first attempt to conduct propaganda work for the general idea, then in a rather nebulous stage, may be said to have started with the organization of the Guilds Restoration Movement in 1908. The appearance of the Hobson-Orage articles on the subject in 1912 gave the idea its official send-off, while the formation of the National Guilds League in 1915, following Cole's unsuccessful attempt to commit the Fabian Society to guild socialism, and his organization of the Guild Socialist Propaganda Society, crystallized the idea into an effective movement.

The objects of the league were stated as "the abolition of the wage system, and the establishment of self-government in industry through a system of national guilds working in conjunction with the state." The words, "a democratic state," were afterwards inserted, and, at the 1920 conference of the league, the word "state" was omitted altogether, and the words, "other democratic functional organizations in the community," substituted therefor. The league propaganda was to be conducted, according to its constitution, by means of lectures, meetings and publications.

In brief the guildsmen urged wholeheartedly the Marxian demand that the wage system should be abolished. To them the wage system was bad economically, morally, psychologically, aesthetically and spiritually. It meant dishonest and inartistic work. It produced a slave state of mind, which the worker carried over with him into his social and political life. It sup-

pressed the creative instinct in labor, his instinct to own and control, and it substituted for the system of production for service, a system designed to grind out profits for the absentee owners, irrespective of the desires of the consumers or the needs of the producers.

Positively the guildsmen aimed at "self-government in industry," a self-government for the worker which would give him an opportunity to develop his personality, and which would at least assure to him as a minimum: "1. Recognition and payment as a human being, and not merely as the mortal tenement of so much labor power for which any efficient demand exists. 2. Consequently, payment in employment and in unemployment in sickness and in health alike. 3. Control of the organization of production in co-operation with his fellows. 4. A claim upon the product of his work, also exercised in co-operation with his fellows."

The Function Principle Applied to Industry
Many of them also seek to incorporate the "functional principle" of society into the industrial structure. Men, Cole and others contend, organize various groups to carry out particular functions in which they are interested. They establish churches, trade unions, clubs of various sorts, co-operative societies, municipalities. These should not be regarded as subordinate to an "omni-competent" state, but should remain relatively independent of each other, co-operating with, but not under the authority of, any so-called sovereign entity. Only through

such co-operation can the best results be attained. To be sure, the state or the commune has certain functions to perform, including that of police and fire protection, functions which affect all men equally as they reside in a community. But this fact gives it no claim to primacy over other functional groups. It follows from this reasoning that true democracy does not begin and end with voting on election day, but in functioning in every organization which vitally affects the life of the citizen. It follows that the state is not in a position to dictate to a trade union, a guild or any other economic organization, but that each is sovereign within its own sphere; and, that the worker should participate in the election of the officials in his industry in the same way as in the city government. As we will see later, this principle is not adhered to universally by the guildsmen, but seems to have the majority support.

The Guildsman's Ideal
While the guildsmen disclaim any desire to build a utopia, they nevertheless have drawn up rough outlines of their future guild system to give their theory more definiteness. As there is considerable difference of opinion regarding many of the desirable features of a guild society among the leaders of the guild movement, and as these leaders themselves change their concept of an ideal society somewhat frequently, no complete picture of the guild ideal can be here portrayed.

Practically all guildsmen, however, are agreed that the unit in the guild socialist society would be the guild.

The guild is defined as "a self-governing association of mutually dependent people organized for a responsible discharge of a particular function of society."

The guild, within the definition of the guildsmen, has several important characteristics. It includes all of the workers in an industry, or in a trade or profession, insofar as such is "guildized," the managerial and technical staff as well as the manual workers; the salariat as well as the proletariat.

It would be responsible and be given virtual autonomy within its own sphere, so long as it performed its function satisfactorily. On this point the guildsmen are insistent. Those who are doing the actual work should be responsible for its direction, if waste is to be avoided and work is to be done well. Standards of "ethics" and "honor," the guildsmen believe, can be maintained in industrial effort, as it is today in part in the teaching and other professions, if industry should "cease to be conducted by the agents of property owners for the advantage of property owners, and should be carried on instead for the service of the public" and if "the responsibility for maintenance of the service should rest upon the shoulders of those, from organizer and scientist to laborer, by whom, in effect, the work is conducted."

A third characteristic of the guild, in the eyes of the majority of guildsmen, is monopoly, although in some cases the guild socialists provide for a "fringe" of enterprises free from guild control.

Speaking of Sentiment

WE are now receiving a vast number of Christmas cards from persons we never had suspected of being either highly religious or sentimental. The proprietor of a prominent speak-easy down our block sends us an elaborate affair covered with camels and stars of Bethlehem. The camels are appropriate enough as he has helped quench many a camel-like thirst, but to be in keeping with his occupation he should have had three stars on his card instead of two.

Of course we approve of both sentiment and religion and we hope that no indignant reader writes in to accuse us of being hard-boiled about this Christmas stuff, but after reading a great many of the department store advertisements we are inclined to agree with the cynical old city editor who once said to us: "Christmas is a bargain sale in the name of Our Redeemer for the benefit of those who crucified Him."

Speaking of sentiment and its expressions, one of the most touching tributes we remember that was that gotten up by a group of police reporters in the old days of New York journalism when we all carried badges instead of the cards that are now issued to the bright young men of the press. A veteran, who had been covering Harlem for years, finally decided that life was not all it was cracked up to be and shot himself through the head. His pals, wanting to do something to show their appreciation, went to a florist and had a funeral wreath made up in the shape of a reporter's badge. The floral replica which was solemnly borne up the aisle of the church had on it the words, "Pass bearer through the fire lines."

Now that those two old prospectors, Fall and Doherty, have got out of the stench by Christmas, there are practically no trials going on that are being reported in any detail, and we feel sort of lost after reading so many pages of evidence about pig women and eloping lady evangelists and nice, naive old men who just throw one hundred thousand dollars around like that. However, a new baseball scandal has arrived and no doubt something will be done about that, and we can read the fascinating details about the inner lives of our professional athletes. Naturally, like Judge Landis, we are terribly shocked to think that a baseball player would do anything crooked for money. We had always thought of professional baseball players as being combinations of Gahad and King Arthur. We can understand the Judge's grief over his disillusionment, and we offer him our heartfelt condolences. It was this same Judge, who, if we mistake not, once sent a lot of folks to jail for being members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and we have no doubt but that if he gets real sore he will be almost as severe to a crook ballplayer as he was to a straight class-conscious worker.

One of our several occupations is writing advertisements for books about the Great West, written by impetuous young men in Greenwich Village, New York. And sometimes after a day spent with these stirring novels we practically gallop off to bed with the sound of revolver shots ringing in our ears. The vernacular employed by the characters in these novels also has its effect on us, so that we often astonish our intimate friends by drawing out to them, "Wal, pard, it's a tough life, but we may still find gold in them hills."

We see that Carmi Thompson has been urging Cal Coolidge to hold onto the Philippines but increase home rule. Which is about equivalent to calling in the sheriff to take over your goods and chattels and suggesting that the cook be allowed another night off.

A startling admission has been made by Major Chester F. Mills, Prohibition Administrator for New York City, to the effect that after raiding fifty-eight night clubs in the City of Cover-charges it is still possible to get a drink on Broadway. When this news was spread about through the younger drinking circles, it is said that a great cloud was lifted and that some pioneers actually started out to see if the Major could be right.

Ennyhow, we wish you all the Merriest Christmas that can be had in a country which has Coolidge for President, Eddie Guest for Poet Laureate and John L. Lewis as head of one of the largest unions.

McAlister Coleman.

The Bricks of Shame

I know not whether laws be right
Or whether laws be wrong;
All that we know who lie in jail
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long.

This, too, I know—and wise it were
If each could know the same—
That every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame,
And bound with bars lest Christ should see
How men their brothers maim.

The vilest deeds, like poison weeds,
Bloom well in prison air;
It is only what is good in man
That wastes and withers there;
Pale anguish keeps the heavy gates,
And the warden is despair.

—OSCAR WILDE.

A Song of Labor

Oh, ye of the toiling millions,
And ye of the gold-bought right,
Join ye in the praise and plaudits raise
To Labor, the Monarch of Might!
For the roar of the fires ne'er slumbers;
Ne'er still in his anvil's clang;
His arm ne'er tires, and our ancient sires
To the sway of his scepter sang.

His Song is the March of Progress
To which the world moves on,
Its rhythm has flowed along every road
Where Liberty's light yet shone.
It has quickened the centuries' pulse beats
E'er since mankind had birth.
And surging along, his tumultuous song
Has awakened the slumbering Earth.

—HENRY C. SWIFT.

The New Books

Business and the Church

By M. H. Hedges

DETROIT churches cancel engagements with American labor leaders. There are nation-wide reverberations. Good-natured citizens put down their morning papers to remark, "That's funny. That doesn't sound much like the religion of the Carpenter of Nazareth." The incident is closed. It will be forgotten. But the control of the church by the moneyed men who make up its boards will go on, a good deal as the control of the colleges flows on.

This does not mean that strong and illustrious minds will not break away from the institution and rebel against its duality of profession and practice. Business men—some of them—will see that a nation is important by reason of its social application of religion and not important by reason of its gold bullion. Preachers will see that the martyrdom of Christ is a repetitive ordeal for the finest spirits of each generation. And labor leaders will suddenly find their own vocations illumined with a mystical light. Such transformations are recorded by a significant book recently issued by the Century Company called "Business and the Church," edited by Professor Jerome Davis, of Yale University. It is made up of 22 papers by business men, preachers and labor leaders. It undertakes to point the way to a method by which the church can serve an industrial society. No doubt the most interesting of these papers to readers of the New Leader are those contributed by the heretics of Big Business, by Arthur Nash, Henry Ford, L. K. Comstock, Edward A. Filene, William P. Hapgood and a half dozen other industrialists who have, in their own way, rebelled against the established order.

No one—no labor leader, no socialist pamphleteer—has ever spoken more scathing words of the Church than Arthur Nash, head of the largest clothing manufactory in America, which he voluntarily unionized. "Does it not make your blood run cold when you stop to think of the conditions in the clothing industry," Nash exclaims, "before organized labor undertook the struggle to free wage-slaves that were working in the sweat shops of our own country? What did the church, the self-proclaimed dutiful son who said he would go into the vineyard, do about it?" The social do-nothingness of the church has never been more sweetly analyzed. And here is Henry Ford, prophet of mass production and the chain-gang, crying, "The old world is dead, dead, dead. It is beyond recovery. God himself will not restore it, but Satan cannot. That is the A B C of the new alphabet; namely, the old world is dead. Not dying, but dead. The things you see going to pieces are its funeral, its decay." That sounds like 21 instead of 60. It sounds hopeful, but maybe it isn't. Maybe Henry Ford envisages a new world of machine-picked morons. He should heed what Whiting Williams, industrial psychologist says, in this same book: "Today the huge factory and its thousands of jobs, all divided into little pieces, makes it more difficult than in the old days for the modern worker to enjoy the satisfaction of the craftsman as much as he would like." So business men contribute their remarks to the central problem of the

age—the organization and reapplication of the gregarious impulses of men to modern industrialism.

The weakness of this book is the refusal of almost every contributor to see that the church's social backwardness is inevitable. The church like the art of America is merely a reflection of the organized economic life of the nation. To change the church the economic life must first be changed. Yet prophets are good and necessary. The rebellion of a few choice spirits is important, and does advance the impending economic revolution. Old John Brown, fanatic and idealist, in his cell penned these words:

Not in vain is the lesson taught,
A great soul's dream
Is a world's new thought
And a scaffold built
For a death sublime
Is a throne ordained
For coming time.

Who doubts the truth of this in the case of Debs? Or in the case of John Reed? Or of Randolph Bourne. Only we wish there were more martyrs—and in the church. Not heretics like Fossdick, but heretics like Crapsey.

So, on the whole, I believe social empiricists will like this book though social dogmatists will hate it!

Word Power Applied

THOSE who are at all interested in words and their ways will find this newest reference book (A Dictionary of Modern English Usage, by H. W. Fowler, Oxford U. Press, N. Y., \$3) delightful material for their pondering or playing. Turning the pages of this book is more fascinating and more profitable than browsing in the dictionary, for here are presented, not the bones on which we may frame our discourse, but the beats of its living heart. Thousands of words are listed for individual discussion, but more interesting are the frequent headings, Barbarisms, Novelty-Hunting, Differentiation, Unequal Yoke-fellows, and a host more, that pin for inspection current lapses from rightness in writing and speech.

It is perhaps inevitable that a dictionary of English usage should vacillate in its relationship toward the unbridled dictionary. At times Mr. Fowler's valuable volumes is clearly a supplement to the usual word book, as when he lists some words the etymology of which might be mistaken (like his no connection with island, Jerusalem artichoke with the holy city, lutestruing with either lute or string, etc.) but does not give their true origin. At other times the book seems to usurp certain functions of the dictionary proper, as when—after the advice that they be used with discrimination—eight pages of French phrases are listed, with their pronunciation.

In certain other respects the compiler seems also to vacillate, or to be less helpful than precise. He reminds us that furore is pronounced "furoor," without mentioning the existence of the word spelled furore. He accepts gram instead of gramma, but gives a long-winded argument in favor of keeping the hard Greek "g" instead of the "j" sound in such well established words as pedagogy, demagogues, misogynist, etc. But beyond these are many liberal and welcome discussions, that must be of great value to all who feel that the use of good English is an adornment and a help in the affairs of life.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Marital Fidelity

WITH the good form and concealment of emotion that characterizes the upper crust of New York society with which Margaret Leech deals in "Tin Wedding" (N. Y. Bond and Liveright, \$2.00) she tells the story of ten years of wedlock. The events described occur in a single day, the tenth anniversary of the marriage of Jay and Lucia Fanning, but the authors has with commendable skill depicted their entire first decade of married life and suggested the nature of the years to come through the emotional and mental reactions of Lucia to the day's occurrences. The Fannings are supposedly a modern couple. They give each other freedom and have little affairs of their own. They have not made the mistake of permitting their child of seven to hamper them in their social adventures—indeed, the boy has reconciled himself to governesses, provided they were pretty. On this big day of their lives Lucia and Jay are motoring to the Farm where they had spent their honeymoon ten years before but as the day develops little incidents, little inadvertent remarks in conversation tug at her eyelids to reveal to her her husband's infidelity within the last two months. She refuses to open her eyes. Then, the undisputed proof is given, carelessly, innocently by her husband, as they are preparing for the night at the Farm. A desire for self-destruction and violence to the other, then jealousy, greed. Finally indifference, resignation, absorption in the son. When the book ends we feel that the married life of the Fannings will continue conventionally successful. There will be politeness, correctness, there will be no scenes but romance and thrill will be gone.

What Margaret Leech lacks in profundity of emotion she makes up for in subtlety. She is a keen analyst. She catches the fleeting mood, the lurking thought. In that she partakes of the sophistication of her aristocratic characters. She is aware by implication that after all her plot centers about the tragedy inherent in the violation of the fundamental precept of current morality. Remove the conventional judgment, abolish the economic independence of Lucia upon her husband, wipe out Jay's avoidance of scandal for the sake of his business and social success and the pathos is destroyed. Lost love, irrespective of sex monopoly and social and economic advantage, is possibly a problem under any moral regime. The capitalization of the old theme by Margaret Leech in "Tin Wedding" has the same kind of success that the threatened attack on a virgin has in the movies today.

Louis S. Stanley.

Popular-Price Poetry

UNDER the general heading, "The Pamphlet Poets," Simon and Schuster are bringing out the handiest and most interesting group of booklets that has appeared in this field. Thirty-two pages from front cover to back, they tell the essence of the poets chosen, presenting enough of their best to serve as a succulent sample. A brief biography slips along, and a bibliography points the way to better acquaintance. These pamphlets are sold at a quarter apiece, like the English series which Stokes has brought over; the selection of first poets was made with an eye to popular appeal rather than to merit, since it includes the latest lazzie versifier, Nathalie Crane; but time will bring all the worth-while poets (one may hope) into the series, and the important matter—that those included be represented by

their best work—is ably cared for. The general committee of selection consists of Hughes Mearns, John Erskine, Louis Untermeyer, Laurence Jordan and Joseph Anthony; their first choice, in the six pamphlets just issued, went for Walt Whitman, Edgar Allan Poe, Carl Sandburg, H. D., Elinor Wylie, and—equalizing the sexes—Nathalie Crane.

Not all of the most familiar poems of Poe are here; in their stead some less frequented ways of beauty are pointed; Whitman reveals a more orthodox avenue of approach. H. D. and Elinor Wylie gain most by the condensation of these pamphlet limitations; the poised beauty of the one, the deeper emotional suggestion of the other, press from every line in growing emphasis. But all the volumes are rich with beauty, in a series that has begun admirably and promises untold pleasure. The idea of the quarter series is an excellent one; it should be followed by a similar group, of the work of unknown poets, who have much unexamined beauty to offer.

Joseph T. Shipley.

LEWISOHN AND RORTY, NEARING AND HILLQUIT TO DISCUSS CAPITALISM

Unusual interest is being shown in the Seventeenth Annual Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy to be held in New York City, December 28-30, 1926. The largest public gathering of the conference will be the anniversary dinner to be held in the Fifth Avenue Restaurant, Fifth Avenue and 23d street on Wednesday, December 30, at 8:30 p. m., on the "Future of Capitalism and Socialism in America."

On that occasion two representatives of progressive capitalism will give their reasons why, in their opinion, a modified capitalism will persist in this country and two representatives of the new social order will tell why, in their opinion, American capitalism is bound to give way to a fundamentally different form of industrial organization. The representatives of the capitalist point of view are Sam A. Lewisohn, vice-president of the Miami Copper Company, chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Management Association and author of "The New Leadership in Industry" and Colonel Malcolm C. Rorty, vice-president of the International Telephone and Telegraph Company and former president of the National Bureau of Economic Research. Morris Hillquit, leader of the American Socialist Party and prominent New York attorney and author, and Dr. Scott Nearing, author and lecturer will speak from the more radical point of view. Robert Merris Lovett, president of the League for Industrial Democracy and professor of English literature at the University of Chicago will preside. Norman Thomas, executive director of the L. I. D. will speak in behalf of the League. Tickets at \$2.50 each may be obtained from the L. I. D., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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Bakers' Unions Unite Against Bread Trust; Amalgamation Waits

The Field of Labor

ON January 21, 1927, a mass meeting of the bakers of New York City will be held to launch an organization campaign among the workers employed by the Bread Trust. Such was the announcement made after its meeting on Dec. 21, 1926, by the United Front Committee of the Amalgamated Food Workers and the New York locals of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

The forthcoming campaign is a by-product of the negotiations between the independent and the A. F. of L. Bakers' Unions on the subject of amalgamation. It will be recalled that at the nineteenth convention of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers held in New York City last August, that the proposal to merge the two bodies was taken up in great earnestness. The convention approved the principle of unification and agreed to the chartering of the locals of the Amalgamated Food Workers. Members of the independent union were to be placed in the beneficiary system of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers with the same standing as they had in their own organization, and the benefit fund of the A. F. W. was to be turned over to the A. F. of L. union. An organization campaign was to be inaugurated. The only stumbling block was the jurisdictional question. How could the shops baking Jewish or American bread or both be distributed between the two groups of locals? The Amalgamated members had already made inroads into the Jewish shops. The convention left the two organizations to settle this problem between themselves.

Correspondence, conferences and mass meetings have proceeded in vain. Objection has come from an unexpected quarter. The A. F. W. has long had the reputation of being a progressive union and has repeatedly committed itself to amalgamation. But now many of its members, particularly the two thousand or so in Brooklyn Local No. 3 who dominate the organization numerically, feel that unity is against their economic interests. Working at a lower wage rate than the members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, these Amalgamated members have been able to win shops and obtain more permanent employment. They do not realize that the only one whom they are helping is the "boss."

On the other hand, the Jewish locals are inclined to settle jurisdictional questions after amalgamation is completed. Fortunately, impending economic distress is making other members of the Amalgamated as well as the A. F. of L. bakers become more liberal. The invasion of the Bread Trusts in Manhattan and the Bronx has been driving small shops out of business. The Americanization of the customers has been wiping out the distinction between Jewish and American bakeries. Amalgamation and organization are, therefore, imperative.

The conversations on unification having broken down, the United Front Committee of the A. F. W. and the Bakery and Confectionery Workers has decided that it will carry out the unionization program against the common enemy, the Bread Trust, anyway. It is felt that once the two groups learn

to work together, suspicions will be allayed, and a common understanding will be reached. The campaign to be opened on January 21, 1926 is, therefore, not merely a unionization move; it is also a step toward amalgamation.

THE FIGHT AGAINST VETERAN PREFERENCE

The action of the Municipal Civil Service Commission after a hearing on December 21, 1926, to refer the legality of veteran preference to the Corporation Counsel shifts for the present the scene of action in the fight for the protection of the civil service. In 1921 a law was passed by the State Legislature permitting the commission to give preference to war veterans for positions in the Labor Class. The result was that non-veterans practically had no opportunity to obtain positions as laborers or retain them in case of lay-off. In the spring of this year the Veteran Preference Law was repealed after strenuous efforts by the Civil Service Reform Association had been exerted in that direction. The Municipal Service Commission, nevertheless, has disregarded the new state of affairs. It has continued to appoint veterans only. At the present time as many as twenty-one thousand applications for positions in the labor class are on file. Yet the chances for appointment are nil. The Reform Association has reminded the commission of the law's repeal. It has pointed out that many who were under age or over age during the war, never called to arms or worked in ammunition plants are thus discriminated against and that the Federal Government gives but a mild form of preference and the State Civil Service Commission none at all. Won't the war ever be over?

PREVAILING RATE LAW SUSTAINED

The provisions of the New York State Labor Law providing for the payment of the prevailing rate of wages on public works has been upheld in three decisions handed down by the Appellate Division. The cases were *Prendergast vs. Berry, Campbell vs. Berry and Morse vs. Delaney*. The first two have been discussed in this column previously. They were actions instituted against the Comptroller of the City of New York for recovery of the difference between the wages paid and the prevailing rate. The last involved a tax-payer's suit to enjoin the Transit Commission from including in its subway contracts a provision requiring contractors to pay the prevailing rate. It will be recalled that this was done just before election time to appease the organized labor. The constitutionality of the Labor Law with respect to the point in dispute had been challenged on the ground that the United States Supreme Court in January, 1926, had declared a similar statute of Oklahoma invalid because the terms "prevailing" or "current" wages and "locality" were too indefinite to be the basis of a criminal prosecution. The New York State courts now have ruled that "prevailing" refers to the rates established by agreement between groups of labor and capital, involving a substantial percentage of those engaged in a given occupation and that "locality" means city or civil division where the work is being done. The New York City authorities do not intend to appeal the cases involving them. Still the prevailing rate statute may be brought before the courts involving other sets of circumstances and *Morse vs. Delaney* et al. may be appealed. Friendly judges versus labor's judges is the real issue.

A NEW LABOR HANDBOOK

Students of the labor movement should all hurry to obtain the latest bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 420, Miscellaneous Series. It is entitled, "Handbook of American Trade Unions" and was prepared by Estelle M. Stewart of the Department of Labor. Every union in the United States with pretensions to national jurisdiction is listed, whether A. F. of L. or independent. Classification is by industry. Then for each union is given in concise form its history, objects, territorial and trade jurisdiction, government, qualifications for membership, apprenticeship regulations, agreements, benefits, official organ, headquarters, organizational sub-divisions and total membership. There is a sufficient wealth of detail to make the study exceedingly serviceable. A section is also devoted to the American Federation of Labor and some space to the Knights of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World. The brief accounts of each union can easily be the skeleton for further study. Certainly the bulletin will now be indispensable for reference purposes. It cannot be praised too highly.

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THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY.

V.—The Strike of 1906

THOUGH the Central Lithographic Trades Council in which were affiliated, the five unions of artists, press feeders, preparers, paper cutters and poster artists, agreed to renew the 1904 agreement for another year, the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association had other plans. It proposed to inaugurate the forty-eight hour week on July 1, 1905, and a special convention of the union in 1904 amended the constitution accordingly. The employers did not take up the hint, however, feeling that they were now strong enough to take a hand in the legislation for the industry. The officers of the L. I. P. and B. A., fearing discrimination in favor of the unions in the Council, signed another one-year agreement with the organized employers of the East without obtaining the forty-eight-hour week. With the Lithographers' Association (West) there were no contractual relations at all after 1905.

This turn of events created great dissatisfaction among the rank and file. It was felt that a more satisfactory result could be attained by drawing up and negotiating the next agreement by a special national convention. In accordance with a referendum vote, such a gathering met on January 29, 1906, at Buffalo, N. Y. Both the eastern and western groups of employers refused to appear at the convention, not relishing this new method of doing business under the surveillance of a whole convention. The easterners had in fact proposed conferences the previous December, at the same time giving notification that the Lithographers' Association (East) and the Lithographers' Association (West) were about to unite forces under the name of the Employing Lithographers' National League.

The first impulse of the L. I. P. and B. A. delegates was to answer the refusal of the employers to appear at Buffalo by not entering into any agreement whatsoever until the next convention. Second thoughts, however, modified this plan and a proposal was adopted with only one dissenting vote that an ultimatum to the employers be adopted to be known as the Buffalo Convention Agreement.

In the meantime the representatives of the L. I. P. and B. A. were conferring with those of the Central Lithographic Trades Council who had been called to the convention. The unions sensed the new economic power which had risen to confront them, the Employing Lithographers' National League. The secretary of the latter had in fact been called to Buffalo and had gone over the details of "Mutual Government" with the agreement committee. It was more a stalling for time. The Council delegates came with a definite plan of amalgamation calling for a single treasury, uniform dues, autonomy of each constituent union in matters of its own craft and the establishment of national and local executive boards in which each union was to have one representative. The L. I. P. and B. A. would only consent to a form of amalgamation whereby it would absorb the other unions, with the exception of the press feeders, whom it continued to neglect altogether. The Council representatives then avoided the question of consolidation entirely and insisted that if the L. I. P. and B. A. do join in a temporary alliance until agreements be signed that it state the nature of the expected demands before hand. The convention recognized the justice of this request and was formulating a statement calling for the forty-eight-hour week on September 1, 1906, when, naturally enough, the whole question of the ultimatum was brought up. The Buffalo Convention Agreement was adopted which though never presented to the employers is significant as indicating the great confidence that the union had at that time in its strength. Demands were made for the closed shop, minimum wage, overtime, apprenticeship, limitation of output, the forty-eight-hour week and arbitration of everything else.

This ultimatum never left the convention hall. The following day the whole matter was once more reconsidered and a substitute resolution was agreed to:

"That this association join the Alliance, and should the employers desire an agreement, that it is formulated through our representatives in said Alliance and submitted to referendum according to our laws."

Joining the A. F. of L. It was expected, though the Council does not seem to have suspected it, that the other unions would be placed in a position of supporting the L. I. P. and B. A. in its demand for the forty-eight-hour week. At the same time, eventual amalgamation was anticipated by having the organization apply for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and thus obtain jurisdiction over all the crafts in the industry. The L. I. P. and B. A. received a charter from the A. F. of L. later that same year.

All the agreements made in 1905 were to expire in April, 1906. Consequently, in March the newly constituted Council went into negotiations with the two employers' associations, the Employing Lithographers' National League and the Lithographers' Association (West). Tentative agreements, providing that all questions, including the forty-eight-hour week demand, be settled by joint boards and arbitration, were to be voted upon by April 23. As was expected by the officers, who urged a rejection of these contracts, the membership of the unions overwhelmingly defeated the agreements. It was still hoped that the forty-eight-hour week could be

won in 1906. In the meantime the Council refused to make any contract at all. Had this plan succeeded it would have meant a return to the conditions before 1904, when the unions were strong enough to impose their own terms without resort to agreements limiting the right to strike and compelling arbitration.

The Lithographic unions might have succeeded in their purposes had it not been for two occurrences. One was the dissension within their own ranks, and the other was the new combination of the employers. While the workers weakened themselves, the "bosses" increased their own strength. The L. I. P. and B. A. renewed its plans of amalgamation based upon its absorption of the other unions. The Poster Artists and the Artists, Engravers and Designers League spoke of an alliance between themselves. Then a new organization was suggested, to be known as the International Lithographic Trades Alliance, which, while strengthening the existing bonds of union, did not obliterate the separate organizations. On the other hand, while all this was going on the Lithographers' Association (West) had at last determined to merge with the other organized employers. On May 31, 1906, the National Association of Employing Lithographers came into existence.

The Bosses' Big Union
A word first about this new organization that the unions had to defy. Only employers could be members who did not have any agreement with a union. The Association demanded from the unions five-year contracts, providing for settlement of all disputes through boards of conference and arbitration. The intention, in fact, was to abolish the right to strike. If a union or unions were not agreeable to this plan, then the open shop, referred to by just this term, was to be instituted. To finance this program three methods were employed: (1) quarterly dues ranging from about six dollars to almost fifteen dollars per press; (2) special assessments levied by a two-thirds vote of the board of directors, and (3) entrance fees at the rate of five hundred dollars per press, to be collected at the discretion of the Association by inserting a date in an undated note left with the authorities. The organization was highly centralized. In the Board of Directors were vested all control. Labor questions were taken out of the hands of the individual members and placed within the jurisdiction of the Board. Resignations could only take place after six months' notice and then only if a labor difficulty was not in progress. The entrance fee was sacrificed if the Board so wished. Finally, loans might be made to needy members up to the amount of such fees.

What a contrast between the squabbling unions and the solidly arrayed employers! In the midst of these occurrences the L. I. P. and B. A. hurled a bolt. Entirely upon its own initiative it served an ultimatum upon the Association, demanding that the employers before the twenty-fifth of July consent to the inauguration of the forty-eight-hour week on September 1. Otherwise it was expected that the L. I. P. and B. A. would go on strike August 1.

The National Association of Employing Lithographers was under the active direction of a secretary who was a notorious open-shopper. He played for time while plans were being laid for the eventual struggle. New members were recruited, outside employers' groups were communicated with for possible assistance. On July 20 he replied to the union in ambiguous fashion, stating that the association was neither for nor against the forty-eight-hour week, but that the question should be settled in conference as between equals. The L. I. P. and B. A. refused to recognize this relationship. It still hoped to bring back the old days of complete control.

On August 1 the final conference took place. The association offered arbitration. Personalities were indulged in. The union rejected the proposal.

The Strike Against Open Shop

The employers now played their last card and immediately proclaimed the

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"open shop" with respect to members of the L. I. P. and B. A. Individual contracts were offered employees providing for a fifty-three-hour week and a guarantee of the right to work for a period of five years. If the applicant resigned from the union. Later the resignation became the chief point of insistence. The association unequivocally declared its intention to break the union. It did not encourage the hasty reinstatement of men, for the reason that "we want the strike to last long enough to enable use to sign contracts with 35 per cent of the men, and then the open shop is here and can be maintained; and another strike will be an impossibility."

The action of the employers was, in effect, a lockout. On August 2 the L. I. P. and B. A. replied by calling a strike. To the credit of the other Lithographic trade unions, they did not stand aside and take the attitude that it was no concern of theirs. Differences were forgotten. The other unions would not act as scabs, even if technically they could defend their ground. All were dragged into the strike, all except one—the Poster Artists' Association, which, with its small but one hundred per cent membership, felt itself outside of the conflict. As each union entered into the struggle, the employers' association declared the "open shop" against its members. The whole Lithographic industry with the minor exception of poster work was tied up.

The National Association of Employing Lithographers went into the fight with a vim. All strike maneuvers were centralized. Publicity came only from headquarters. A blacklist was compiled. Spies and agents and provocateurs were placed in the unions. Financial and moral support were obtained from the employers' organizations throughout the country. It was a splendid display of class solidarity on the part of the "bosses" of the country.

Funds Give Out

Yet, almost two months later, on October 23, the association could claim that not more than ten per cent of the strikers had returned to work. The unions would have been successful had their money and those of their members held out. The employers entailed heavy expenditures, but they were willing to pay the price for the open shop. The unions soon came to the end of their rope. Their money was gone. Strike benefits ceased. Suggestions of compromise were hinted by the members, then demanded.

The association knew that the tide had turned. It refused all offers of mediation, and on November 6 stated its final position in cold and bold terms:

"The officers and board of directors of the association, and every single member of the association, are positively and finally and unalterably opposed to any species of conference with any of the unions on strike. . . . As to us, there is no labor union in the Lithographic trade in the departments in which the strike has been carried on."

The strike was broken, but the unions had to be preserved. The men were permitted to return to work as best they could. Their resignations were secretly refused. The membership, of course, dropped. The unions were subdued. The open shop was victorious. So sure of its footing was the association that it made no objection to the hiring of union men, provided the union itself was not dealt with. From that time to this, no written agreement—except in the case of the Poster Artists, who still remain out of the amalgamated union—has graced the industry. Nevertheless, two years later the forty-eight-hour week was granted by the employers—voluntarily, they alleged. The employees smile at the allegation.

How the sequestration of the craft unions in the struggle of 1906 taught the lesson of amalgamation will be discussed next time.

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Labor's Editors Confer; Striving to Organize Japan's Women Workers

Labor Doings Abroad

IN line with resolutions adopted at the Marseilles Congress of the Socialist and Labor International, a conference of Socialist newspaper men from eleven different countries was held at the headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in Berlin on Nov. 21 and 22.

There was an exhaustive discussion of the possibilities for extending and coordinating the various news services already being operated by the 317 Socialist and Labor daily papers published in twenty-three countries, and it was agreed that eventually an international Socialist telegraph company agency must be established. But for the time being it is more important to develop existing connections and institutions, especially the contacts among the foreign Socialist press representatives in the various capitals. The conference had at its disposal data submitted by 276 daily Socialist and Labor papers in answer to the questionnaire sent out by the Bureau of the International and giving a pretty complete picture of the technical and financial condition of the Socialist press of the world.

The conference urged the opening of negotiations calculated to draw the Socialist correspondents in the world's big cities together and voiced the hope that the executive of the Socialist and Labor International would continue its endeavors and would call another conference at the proper time.

Frederick Adler, secretary of the International, attended the opening session of the Berlin conference. Among the thirty-one delegates at the conference were Robert Williams and William Mellor, director and editor, respectively, of the London Daily Herald; Deputy Eekels of Belgium, Oskar Jorgensen of Denmark, Braunthal and Pitton of the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, George Szapiro of the Polish Robotnik and Dziennik, Johann Kowoll of the Kattowitz Volkswille, Warre of the Riga Sozialdemokrats, Jacob Weltner of the Budapest Nepzava, Josef Stivrin of the Czech labor press, and Siegfried Taub and Heinrich Kremser of the German labor press in Czechoslovakia, Heinoenen, Maehonen and Wiranen of Finland, Schwarz and Jutin of the Russian Socialist papers published outside of Russia, and Stampfer, Steiner, Jager, Afringhaus, Rupprecht and Praeger, representing various sections of the German Socialist press. Bartels, Braun, Ludwig, Dittmann, Hildenbrandt and Schmidt represented the German Socialist Party.

Realizing the importance of the role played by women workers in Japanese industry, especially in the textile mills, the Japanese Federation of Labor is making special efforts to swell the numbers of the same 10,000 women already in the unions.

In addition to the usual world-wide handicaps upon the unionization of women, the Japanese organizers are confronted with the fact that 10,370 of the 25,600 textile factories of Japan are equipped with dormitories, where the women are compelled to live under the strict supervision of the managers. Their contact with the outside world is thus greatly restricted and should a strike break out they may be kept in these dormitories and cut off from

communication with their fellow-workers.

The Federation of Labor has established a women's section, which has a publication of its own, and arranges lectures, etc. Since 1924, several local unions have been organized by women both in eastern and western Japan.

British Civil Servants

Resent Tory Interference

Recent efforts by the Tory Government of Great Britain to strengthen the wall separating a large fraction of the civil service workers from their fellows in the trade union movement seem likely to have just the reverse effect, according to a summary of the situation issued by the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In general civil service disputes are settled by a national council (the Whitley Council), made up of representatives of the administration and the employees in equal numbers. At the time of the short-lived general strike last May the general purposes committee of the staff side of the council issued advice to civil servants which gave rise to great controversy, and led to the secession of four associations, all representing higher-grade civil servants. The hope that the dispute would be settled has been disappointed and these higher-grade associations remain outside the Whitley council.

More important from the Government point of view was the fact that all the associations (ten in number) affiliated with the Trades Union Congress had replied in the affirmative to the circular inquiring of the T. U. C. general council, asking if they would "place their powers in the hands of the T. U. C. as regards calling a strike of members." The ten organizations in question have a total membership of 150,000, or half the total number of civil servants in the employ of the British Government. This alarmed the Government so much that Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced the Government's intention to disaffiliate service unions from "outside bodies." "We cannot," he said, "allow a state of affairs in which trade unions of civil servants would feel entitled . . . to take sides against the state." This proposal aroused the strongest resentment among civil servants' unions and not only among those affiliated with the T. U. C.

Meanwhile the Civil Service Clerical Association, which numbers nearly 20,000 members, immediately appealed to the T. U. C. with which it is affiliated. The latter held a joint meeting with the executives of all the civil service associations affiliated with it and drew up a resolution which was subsequently adopted by the T. U. Congress at Bournemouth; it declares that "there is nothing in the position occupied by civil servants which warrants the denial to them of the most elementary rights to protect themselves as employees, including the exercise of the right of affiliation with the Trades Union Congress and the Labor Party."

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TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

by the ethical callousness not only of this jury but of the American public to the way in which public office is prostituted for private profit. The "well, what of it?" attitude of the American public on the scandals of the Harding administration is another proof of the way in which love of money has debauched our national sense of honor. Nevertheless, there have been some signs of public sentiment which make the immediate repetition of the oil and other scandals unlikely. For this small favor at this Christmas time let us give thanks.

President Sigman and Morris Hillquit as counsel are to be congratulated on the clean-cut victory they won for the cloakmakers before the arbitration board. In general the I. L. G. W. U. seems to be making good progress in cleaning up the mess created by the left wing leadership. This left wing leadership proved its fatal defects not only in the incompetence of individuals but in the fundamental tactics of Communism. First the strike issue was decided in the light of party rather than of union tactics, and second, the strike was conducted by a man who had to run around to a party committee for orders. No organization, union or otherwise, can stand this control from outside its own ranks. The attempt of the Communists to exert this sort of control makes for confusion in the unions, drives many unionists clear over to a reactionary right and plays into the hands of the bosses. To protect the labor unions of New York against these evils is both legitimate and necessary. Nevertheless, not labor unionists generally nor Socialist labor unionists particularly can afford to fight Communism by witch hunting, by making love to reaction, or by a merely negative policy. In the long run the best way to fight Communism will be

by setting up standards of honor, efficiency and idealism which will give Communists no just ground for criticism. Above all, it will be necessary for the unions in their sphere and for the Socialist Party in its sphere to do better some of the jobs—like organizing the unorganized and defending political prisoners and fighting against imperialism—which the Communists have at least had the energy to try to do.

It is with joy that one turns to the Passaic strike. There the heroic struggle is resulting in victory. The settlements with the Botany Mills and a number of smaller organizations win all that could reasonably be expected from a local strike in the textile industry. Given the numbers and enthusiasm of the returning strikers, recognition of the union is pretty sure to mean the unionization of the mills. The high courage and solidarity of the strikers shine like beacon lights in these times when there has been so much apathy, cynicism or feigning in the labor movement. For what has been achieved there is honor enough for all who have had a part in the achievement from the left wing to the right. The same spirit can go on to new victory. Here's hoping that the U. T. W. will carry on as gallantly and successfully after settlements are won as it has in the days of struggle.

Not rivers, but a sea has flowed—
A burning sea.
To all the Czars, who in triumph
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With their hounds and gamekeepers,
Their dogs and their beaters,
May glory be!

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Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4621 Stagg
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MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 485 E. 160th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 161ST STREET Telephone Melrose 5674
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Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and
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Telephone: Orchard 8800-1-3
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
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S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER, Organizers

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday.
Executive Board meets every Monday

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday
Executive Board meets every Monday
All Meetings are held in the
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210 East 5th Street.

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115 EAST BROADWAY
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M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A.
115 E. Broadway.
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
AL. GRABEL, President
J. BELSKY, Secretary

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 15th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3657
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President
GEO. THIESSMAN, NATHAN RIESEL,
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.
7 East 15th Street, Stuyvesant 7078
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
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N. ULLMAN, Rec. Secy.
Murray Chilling, J. Rosenzweig,
Vice-President Fin. Secy & Treas.
Gus Levine, Business Agent

HEBREW ACTORS' UNION

Office, 31 Seventh St., N. Y.
Phone Dry Dock 3360
REUBEN GUSKIN
Manager

Joint Executive Committee of the VEST MAKERS' UNION,

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.
Office: 175 East Broadway.
Phone: Orchard 6639
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M. GREENBERG, Sec.-Treas.
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See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. M. of T.
Office: 685 Hudson St., City
Local 684 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.
Executive Board meets on 1st and 3rd Thursdays at the FORD AND BUILDING, 115 East Broadway.
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GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1037, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at Astoria Hall, 62 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 10713. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
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Vice-Pres. Vice-Pres. Aaron Rapaport, Treasurer
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German Painters' Union

LOCAL 490, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 210 East 146th St.
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CHAS. KOENIG, Financial Secretary
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PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 308 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5629
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Amusements

DRAMA

WINNIE LIGHTNER



One of the high-lights in the Winter Garden Revue "Gay Paree"

Sacha Guitry's French Season Opens Monday with "Mozart"

At Chanin's 46th Street theatre Monday evening, A. H. Woods will present Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printemps, the noted French artists, in a double bill including "Mozart" by M. Guitry, and the second act of "Deburau," also by M. Guitry, as a curtain raiser. Mons. Guitry and Mlle. Printemps will be supported by their entire French company. There will be a symphony orchestra under the direction of Raoul Labis, the well-known French composer. The music for "Mozart" has been composed by Reynaldo Hahn and the music for "Deburau" by Andre Messager. This will be the first American appearance of the Guitrys, and the engagement will be limited to four weeks.

"Brothers Karamazov" Next Theatre Guild Production

The Theatre Guild's production of "The Brothers Karamazov" will open at the Guild Theatre January 3 and play alternating weeks with "Pygmalion." In the cast are Alfred Lunt, Lynn Fontanne, Clare Eames, George Gail, Edward G. Robinson, Dudley Digges, Henry Travers, Philip Loeb, Philip Leigh and Morris Carnovsky. This is the version by Jacques Copeau and Jean Crous and directed by Copeau. The translation is by Rosalind Ivan.

Cecile Sorel Adds Another Week of French Repertoire

Cecile Sorel and her Comedie Francaise company will begin her farewell and final week of their engagement Monday night at the Cosmopolitan Theatre. The repertoire for the final week follows: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday evenings and Sunday matinee, "La Dame aux Camellias." Wednesday and Friday evenings and Wednesday and Friday matinee, "Maitresse de Roi." The company will begin a tour of the leading cities of the United States and Canada, commencing in Montreal Jan. 3.

Lew Fields Will Bring His Latest Comedy to the Vanderbilt

"Peggy-Ann," a new musical comedy, will open at the Vanderbilt theatre next Monday evening, with Helen Ford and Lulu McConnell as the featured players.

Lew Fields has produced "Peggy-Ann," which is presented by Lyle D. Andrews, and has been written by the musical comedy trio, Herbert Fields, Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart.

The cast also includes Betty Starbuck, Edith Meiser, Jack Thompson, Lester Cole, Fuller Mellich, Jr., Margaret Breen, Marion Trahan, Alleen Stanley, Grant Simpson and Patrick Rafferty.

"Chicago," a play by Maurine Watkins, will be brought to the Music Box next Thursday night by Sam H. Harris. This is the play in which Jeanne Eagels has been rehearsing the leading role, but which will be acted instead by Francine Lawrence. The cast will also include Charles Bickford, Edward Ellis and Juliet Crosby.

LUDWIG SATZ



Featured in the Montague Glass comedy, "Potash and Perlmutter Detectives," at the Bronx Opera House next week

What Came to Life

Provocative "Pygmalion" Perfectly Performed at the Guild Theatre

"PYGMALION" was written before Shaw tossed to his public the news that, now he was growing old, his brilliance was fading, and—no longer dazzled by the fire—they might come to understanding of his ideas. "Pygmalion" is, therefore, a very simple play, moving by most obvious stage tricks anyone can predict to a conclusion that is hardly even dramatic . . . and carrying a social significance that few trouble to observe. Yet Shaw's ideas are always waiting so that he that stops running may read. As the play is given at the Theatre Guild, a flawless performance spreads the color of the flower-girl's personality (as Lynn Fontanne carries the part with highest hand) across the stage, and leaves comfortably concealed behind the glitter of the dialogue the deep implications of the drama.

Even Kipling can tell us that Judy O'Grady and the Governor's lady have little to part them save diction, air and clothes. Shaw is less concerned with convincing us of the truth of that truism than with indicating its limitations. Eliza Doolittle—Duchess—Flower-girl—declares that what makes a woman a duchess is being treated like a duchess, what makes her a kitchenmaid is being treated like a kitchenmaid. This is the utterance of a woman fighting for her position, unsure, insecure, afraid. When she cries out that Pickering (whom the program calls "the gentleman") treats a kitchenmaid like a duchess, Higgins retorts that he treats a duchess like a kitchenmaid. We laugh at the swift retort; but it contains the essential answer: It is not how we treat others that matters; it is that we treat all others alike. Whatever the difference of body and of mind, all souls are equal.

The core of the play is Shaw's indictment of the middle class. In a recent speech, this greatest living Socialist has again declared that there can be no wavering from the true Socialist principles of equal distribution, if ever there is to be improvement in the lot of humankind. The true victims of the capitalist society are not the underlings, nor the overbored, but the great middle class. This large group is the most pliable and the most completely subservient; for the men of the middle class are striving for prosperity in the present system, they accept its morality and its implications; they are its champions, they are more royalist than the king. Any half-success who can become the local representative in the Rotarians, or who, in default of that honor achieves the Klwanis, is prouder of society than any multi-millionaire need trouble to be. The women of the middle class, in other fields, seek to achieve the dis-

play of power, the conventional position that will bring them the recognition of the "select." In all ways, these persons are the dupes and the disasters of the system they perpetuate by their striving—which the very system through which they seek to climb makes vain.

What has this to do with "Pygmalion?" In two characters of the play, deftly contrasted, with humorous portrayal that makes them at once individual and typical, Shaw indicates the two groups that have escaped the middle class morality—the great burden of which he scarce, indeed, troubles to show. Those who are intelligent enough to understand "Pygmalion" need no exposition of the evils of the present social order; and Shaw contents himself with the topsyturvy approach to the matter of Doolittle, self-acknowledged member of the "undeserving poor." For a "middle" class can obviously be escaped either above or below. The division Shaw makes, however, is not along social lines, into the "upper" and the "lower" classes; but upon esthetic, ethical lines, into (shall we say?) poor class and first class. There is, on the one hand, the man who ignores the prevailing conventions to satisfy the desires of his flesh, the sensual, loose-living, long-drinking, self-indulgent individual. Mr. Doolittle. (This type, as the play proves, can with the aid of a bit of cash somewhat uncomfortably cavort itself in middle-class guise. Rather, this sort, if too weak to resist the appeal of wealth, may lapse into an acceptance of middle class respectability, not of the sort that, within the middle class, disguises its wide indulgences.) There is, on the other hand, far off, the man who ignores the prevailing conventions to satisfy the needs of his spirit, the sensitive, deep-feeling, strong-thinking, self-sustaining man. Henry Higgins. The fact that the second type of man is often cruel, and ready to sacrifice others, comes with his equal readiness to sacrifice himself—this, also, marks him from his fellow at the other end of the scale.

The opposition of these two types (both rebels against the middle class morality and the capitalist society upon which that morality is founded, from which the middle class hopes to thrive), is a deep-seated conflict, not wholly between individuals, but often largely within. Are we not all, Doolittle inquires, part honest, part rogue? Long after capitalism is a recorded smirch in history text books, which future generations will wonder at, as at slavery and torture, this opposition will be an urgent force in the movement of humankind. . . . Go and see "Pygmalion."

JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY.

PHILIP MERIVALE



Has the role of the hero in J. Frank Davis' romantic play "The Ladder," now in its tenth week at the Waldorf

"Potash & Perlmutter" At the Bronx Next Week

At the Bronx Opera House Monday evening, A. H. Woods will present Ludwig Satz in "Potash and Perlmutter, Detectives" for an engagement of one week. This is the sixth of the Montague Glass Potash and Perlmutter series. Ludwig Satz plays the character of "Abe" Potash. Robert Leonard appears as "Mawruss" Perlmutter. Mathilde Cottrell, Hope Sutherland, Patricia O'Connor, Isabel O'Madigan, Harry Hanlon, Jack Gray, Annette Hoffman, Max Weisman and Arthur Dunn are the other players.

Owen Davis' mystery drama, "The Donovan Affair," last seen at the Fulton theatre, will be the following attraction.

"In Abraham's Bosom" is scheduled to open at the Provincetown Playhouse on Tuesday night.

"The Devil in the Cheese," by Tom Cushing, will be produced at the Charles Hopkins Theatre on Wednesday night. Mr. Hopkins is the producer.

Floyd's "Wooden Kimono" Coming to the Martin Beck

"Wooden Kimono," the new mystery melodrama by John H. Floyd, will be presented under the management of Frederick Stanhope and Jacques Froelich at the Martin Beck theatre on Monday night.

The company includes Leslie Austen, Leonora Harris, Jean Dixon, Helen Carew, Herman Lieb, Sam Coit, Aiden Chase, W. A. Norton, Frank Sylvester, W. A. Romaine, Robert Benchley and Perry Ivins.

"Junk" Scheduled to Open At Garrick January 3

Shesgreen & Yroom will bring their new play by Edwin B. Self, titled "Junk," to the Garrick Theatre January 3. The play opens out of town December 30. The production is now in rehearsal under the direction of Charles Coburn. Sydney Greenstreet and Ethana Dunn are the featured players. Others in the company are Herbert Ransom, Jay Fawcett, Alice May Tuck, William Murray, George V. Denny, Calvin Thomas, Doan Borup and Marguerite Mosier.

"This Woman Business," the Benn Levy comedy now at the Ritz, will be transferred next Monday to Wallack's Theatre.

YVONNE PRINTEMPS



The noted artiste of the French stage, with Sacha Guitry begin their season in "Mozart" on Monday night at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre

"The Padre" with Leo Carrillo At the Ritz Theatre Monday

"The Padre," by Stanley Logan, adapted from the French "Mon Cure Chez Les Riches," by Andre de Lorde and Pierre Chaine, will be presented Monday evening, December 27, at the Ritz theatre under the direction of William A. Brady. This is the play which played out of town under the title of "A Rough Diamond." Other members of the cast include Nana Bryant, Vivian Tobin, Stanley Logan, Richard Temple, Arthur Bower, John Troughton, May Anderson, Elwyn Eaton, Robert Lee Allen and Marcella Swanson. The play was staged by Stanley Logan. The comedy ran in Paris 500 nights, and six months in London.

Broadway Briefs

Eleanor Painter, Tom Wise, Ralph Errolle and Tommy Healy, have joined the new Jenny Lind opera, "The Nightingale," and are rehearsing with the play this week. The production is playing a week's engagement in Newark, starting next Monday, preliminary to its premiere at Jolson's Theatre Monday evening, January 3.

"A Night in Spain," the new revue which the Shuberts are preparing for the Century Roof Theatre, is to have several Spanish artists. Yesterday they engaged Rita Montaner, Lita Lopez and Pilar Loredo for the revue. Kathryn Ray and Georgie Price will have prominent roles.

"Twelfth Night," which had its premiere at the 14th Street Theatre Monday night, will be given again next week, on Wednesday and Thursday nights and Saturday matinee, by the Civic Repertory Players. Other plays to be presented during the week include "La Locandiera" on Monday, Friday and Saturday nights and Wednesday matinee. Tuesday will be devoted to "Three Sisters." Ishen's "Master Builder" is scheduled for Friday matinee.

"The Dybbuk" will be continued at the Neighborhood Playhouse until Dec. 30, when "The Little Clay Cart" will be seen again until Jan. 6.

The Children's Saturday Morning Theatre will give four special matinees of "Aladdin and His Wonderful Lamp" during the Christmas holidays at the Princess Theatre on December 27, 28, 29 and 31.

Debussy's "The Toy Box" will be given an extra performance at the Neighborhood Playhouse on Sunday afternoon, January 2. Other performances will be on the afternoons of December 27 and 29 and January 1.

MUSIC

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

"Tapiola," a new tone poem by Jean Sibelius, written on the invitation of the Symphony Society, will be given its first performance by the New York Symphony Orchestra at the Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon. George Gershwin will appear as assisting artist, playing his own "Concerto in F," which had its premiere last season. The opening number of the program will be Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 in C minor.

Dusolina Giannini will be the soloist at next Thursday afternoon's concert in Carnegie Hall. The program is as follows: Symphony No. 2 in D, Brahms; Adieu Forests from "Jeanne D'Arc," Tchaikovsky; Symphony poem, "Tapiola," Sibelius; Elizabeth's Air, Act II, "Tannhauser," Wagner. Miss Giannini will also be the assisting artist next Sunday afternoon in Mecca Auditorium. This will be Walter Damrosch's last concert until

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CARNegie HALL, Sun. After., Jan. 2, at 3
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SPALDING

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the middle of March. Otto Klemperer will take the conductor's stand January 7.

PHILHARMONIC

William Mengelberg, in the last two weeks of his appearance this season as conductor of the Philharmonic, will mark his farewell concerts of the Thursday evening, Friday afternoon and students' series at Carnegie Hall this coming week with all-Beethoven programs.

This Sunday afternoon's program at Carnegie Hall has been changed. Instead of the Mahler Fifth Symphony Mr. Mengelberg will conduct the Brahms Third Symphony, Glinka's overture to "Ruslan and Ludmilla" and the Glazunov violin concerto with Efram Zimbalist as soloist.

Alfred Cortot will be the soloist next Thursday and Friday, playing the first piano concerto of Beethoven. The program will also include the "Leonore" overture No. 2 and the third ("Eroica") symphony.

Leonid Kreutzer, Polish pianist, will make his American debut at the students' concert Saturday night. Mr. Kreutzer, who is well known abroad, will play the third piano concerto of Beethoven. The second "Leonore" and the fifth symphony are the other numbers on the program.

Next Sunday, January 2, the Philharmonic will appear at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn.

Music Notes

The Wolfsohn Bureau announces the following concerts for January: Sunday, Jan. 2, Albert Spalding, violin recital, Carnegie Hall; Monday evening, Jan. 3, Leonora Cortot, piano recital, Aeolian Hall; Saturday afternoon, Jan. 13, Alexander Brailowsky, piano recital, Carnegie Hall; Sunday afternoon, Jan. 16, Metropolitan Opera House, benefit of Osteopathic Clinic, Hoffman-Spalding-Austral; Tuesday evening, Jan. 18, Cleveland Orchestra, Carnegie Hall; Saturday afternoon, Jan. 29, Louise Homer, Louise Homer Stires, Carnegie Hall.

The Oratorio Society, under the direction of Albert Stoessel, will give a

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Mats. WED. and SAT., 2:30

performance of Handel's "Messiah" at Carnegie Hall, Monday evening. The soloists will be Della Baker, soprano; Doris Doe, contralto; Dan Beddoe, tenor, and Arthur Middleton, baritone.

Sylvia Lent will give her violin recital next Tuesday night at Town Hall.

The French Opera Comique Company's final week at Jolson's Theatre will begin Monday evening, when they will present "La Perichole."

The Musical Art Quartet, consisting of Sacha Jacobsen, first violin; Bernard Ocko, second violin; Louis Kaufman, viola, and Marie Roemaet Rosa-

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By MONTAGUE GLASS and JULES ECKERT GOODMAN

Week of January 3rd:
Owen Davis' Mystery Thriller
"THE DONOVAN AFFAIR"

Direct from the Fulton Theatre with original cast

noff. violoncello, will give their second concert next Thursday evening at Aeolian Hall. The program will have two numbers: Mozart's Quartet in C major, and Schubert's Quartet in D minor.

Michael S. O'Halloran, baritone, will make his debut at Aeolian Hall Monday evening.

Gertrude Bonime appears in piano recital Wednesday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Leonora Cortot, pianist, will give a recital at Aeolian Hall, Monday evening, January 3.

David and Clara Mannes will give a recital for violin and piano, People's Symphony Concerts series, this Friday night at Washington Irving High School. The program: Sonata in D, Op. 12, No. 1, Beethoven; Sonata in G, Op. 78, No. 1, Brahms; Sonata in A, Cesar Franck.



Will be the soloist with New York Symphony Thursday afternoon at Carnegie, and next Sunday afternoon at the Mecca Auditorium

Belfort Bax, Socialist Pioneer and Wife Mourned in Britain

ON November 26 Ernest Belfort Bax died in London in his seventy-third year. Since the rise of the Socialist idea in England at the beginning of the eighties he had been one of its leading exponents in England, and throughout his whole life he remained connected with the relatively small organization which he founded jointly with Hyndman, the Social Democratic Federation. When in 1884 that organization split for a time into two camps, he stood by William Morris, with whom he ever felt himself linked by ties of the deepest sympathy. Before the war Bax often represented English Socialists at international Socialist congresses. It was not, however, as a speaker, but as a student and writer, and, above all as a thinker, that he was really pre-eminent.

Bax was one of the first Englishmen to grasp the work of Karl Marx, and he was the first to attempt the introduction of it to the knowledge of his countrymen. In a series of pamphlets issued by the important monthly review, "Modern Thought," under the title "Leaders of Modern Thought," he published the first English study of Marx in December, 1881. In a letter written by Marx to Borge on December 15, 1881, he refers to this essay as follows: "This is the first English publication of that kind which is pervaded by a real enthusiasm for the new ideas themselves, and boldly stands up against British philistinism. . . . The appearance of this article, announced in large letters by placards on the walls of West End, London, has produced a great sensation. What was most important for me, I received the said number of 'Modern Thought,' already on the 30th of November, so that my dear wife had the last days of her life still cheered up. You know the passionate interest she took in all such affairs." A year and a half later Marx died. Belfort Bax became a constant visitor to the house of Friedrich Engels.

Bax was far from being an orthodox Marxist. On the contrary, the peculiar charm of his personality lay in the free independence of his judgment, unclouded with unwavering courage in defense of his ideas, whatever opposition they might encounter from friend or foe. He was a barrister by profession, and all through his life inhabited one of the ancient courts of the Temple, the focus of the legal life of London. But his real interest was directed not to his profession but to the great problems of philosophy, and from this philosophical point of view he was led toward the problems of Socialism.

During the latter years of his life the state of his health forced him to winter in the South, and there in Nice he worked especially at the great series of books which won for him respect and recognition in wide circles of the literary world.

In his youth Bax had been in Germany, had studied there and had spent a year in Berlin as foreign correspondent of English newspapers. His knowledge of German not only helped to link him closely with Continental Socialists—he knew as friends Behel, W. Liebknecht and Victor Adler—but was further an important factor in his literary work. He rendered some of Kant's writings into English. In 1886 and 1889 he published two expositions of Marxian teaching. In 1891 he issued the book, "Outlooks from the New Standpoint," and at a later date, "Outspoken Essays on Social Subjects." But his greatest success was the book written jointly with William Morris in 1894, "Socialism: Its Growth and Outcome." Many of his essays, some of which were translated by Victor Adler, appeared in

German in the "Neue Zeit." In 1897 he entered upon a long and interesting discussion with Karl Kautsky on the materialist theory of history, the debate being fought out also in the columns of the "Neue Zeit." He had published as early as 1893 a book on the "Problems of Reality," and he returned in 1897 to this philosophical theme in a work on "The Roots of Reality." He issued in 1918 a volume, "Reminiscences and Reflections," which records many interesting memories of the Socialist movement.

When on September 28, 1924, the Labor and Socialist International celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the International in London, the executive also paid a visit to the grave of Marx and to the house in which he died. There, in addition to

Bracke and Kautsky, Bax, too, pronounced some words of remembrance and of faith in the ultimate triumph of Socialism. This was the last speech which he delivered among his friends of the International.

Bax was not only a wonderfully versatile man, but also a man of genuine goodness and kindness; his good nature made it impossible for an opponent to feel angry with him, and made one forget sundry peculiarities, such as his strange prejudice against the concession of equal rights to women.

This November Bax was about to migrate to Nice—had already let his London home for the winter, as he did every year. At that moment his wife, a lady of German nationality, who fully shared all his interests, fell seriously ill and had to be taken to a hospital.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Illinois

Koop For Mayor of Chicago

George Koop, veteran Socialist and trade unionist, was selected by the campaign committee of the Socialist Party of Chicago as candidate for Mayor on the Socialist ticket. Koop is a member of Typographical Union No. 16 and one of the founders of the Socialist Party in Chicago. He was the Socialist Party candidate for Mayor in the mayoralty election of 1907. In the recent election he was the Party's choice for congressman-at-large.

Other candidates nominated are Daniel A. Ureter, labor attorney, for city clerk, and John T. Whitlock, former candidate for United States Senator, for city treasurer.

Death of Leheny

John F. Leheny, a brilliant and forceful writer, was recently found dead on the street in Chicago. He was a scholarly writer in defense of the labor movement. He was born in Ireland, came to this country in his youth, joined the American Railway Union, organized by Eugene V. Debs, and for his activity in the Pullman strike was blacklisted with many others. He also joined the I. W. W. and later was also a member of the Socialist Party. He wrote a number of pamphlets and has contributed a number of articles to the American Appeal under the name of "Tim True." The National Executive Committee now has a manuscript under consideration by Leheny on the farmer problem. Comrade Leheny is survived by one daughter, Mrs. Hazel Ryan of Chicago.

New York City

The general party meeting last Sunday was fairly well attended. Quite a number of comrades from New Jersey and Connecticut were also present. Our national secretary, Wm. H. Henry, spoke about the condition of the Socialist Party, the American Appeal, the plans of the National Executive Committee and the preparation for the Presidential campaign of 1928. Joseph Shantz, Wm. J. Van Eesen, W. R. Snow, James Graham and Judge Jacob Panke addressed the meeting, after which a general discussion followed. A collection of \$200.55 was contributed to the National Executive Committee's expenses.

The City Executive Committee will meet on Tuesday evening, Dec. 28, in Room 505, People's House.

A Theatre Party

A theatre party will be held for the benefit of the city organization at the Provincetown theatre on Saturday evening, Jan. 15. The Provincetown Players will give their new play, "In Abraham's Bosom." This play is highly praised by those who have read it and it is the work of a new Southern playwright dealing with a Negro theme and a dominating Negro cast will perform it. Tickets can be had through Secretary Claessens, 7 East 15th street, and as the seats are limited all comrades desiring to spend the evening with us should get their tickets without delay.

Commune Celebration

All branches are hereby informed not to arrange any large undertakings for Friday evening, March 18. This is the anniversary of the Paris Commune and a joint celebration and ball is being arranged by the Socialist Party, the Rand School and The New Leader at the Central Opera House. The committee on organization, G. August Gerber, chairman, will meet in Room 505, People's House, on Wednesday evening, 8:30 p. m., Dec. 28.

14th, 15th and 16th A. D. will

PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

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

EVERY MONDAY from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, FRATERNITY HALL, 236 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

Manhattan

Lecture Forums

The holiday week will be responsible for a slowing down of activities in all the branches of the city. However, numerous projects will be launched early in January. Seven Forums will be in the running; two on the lower East Side, the Judge Panke Forum in Hennington Hall, and lectures at 137 Avenue B; two Forums in Harlem and possibly one in Yorkville.

This is the last reminder to all Socialists and friends who wish to spend an enjoyable Christmas Eve that they are welcome in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th street, on Friday, Dec. 24, at the dance arranged by the 6-8-15 A. D. Branch. The Kentuckians will furnish the music. Tickets, \$1.00.

Bronx

A Great Event

Less than six weeks remain before the event of events in Bronx County will be staged—the annual Socialist Party ball and entertainment. All indications point to the greatest success in the history of our Bronx organization. Lively interest is being aroused as to who will be the lucky devil and drive off with the Essex Six Coach, the big prize. Announcements will be made regarding the talent for the concert program. Every active Bronx member is or should be engaged in hustling ads for the ball journal, visiting organizations, and selling tickets.

The two forums conducted by the Central Branch and Branch Seven will continue to April. Two enrolled voters meetings to be addressed by Judge Panke and August Claessens will be held during the second and third weeks of January and a big drive will be on to increase our membership and our Bronx organization.

BROOKLYN

Brooklyn Forums

Eight forums will be in full swing beginning in January—three in Williamsburg, two in Brownsville, one in East New York, one in Borough Park and another in Coney Island. Besides these regular forums there will be many propaganda and enrolled voters' meetings held in various parts of Brooklyn during January and February.

The Brownsville Comrades and their friends will hold a reunion with a luncheon, entertainment and dance this Friday evening, Dec. 24, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street. Tickets \$1.

Yipseldom

WITH THE CIRCLES

Christmas, a day of giving. What an appropriate time for remembering the Yipsels. There is yet time to send your contribution toward the organization fund of the Young People's Socialist League, for which the league is now conducting a nation-wide campaign. We are still lacking the quota, but feel sure that last week's donations will take us over the mark. That is up to you. Send your Christmas gift to the Y. P. S. L. National Office, 23 Townsend street, Fitchburg, Mass., New York City.

The New York City Office finally disclosed the long-hoarded secret. The circles are all hustling for the Organization Fund Drive. The city office of the league has moved the decimal point in the quota one place to the right and is thinking of doubling it.

Bax himself, when he could no longer make use of his home, moved to the National Liberal Club, of which he had been a member since youth and whose splendid reading room he delighted to use. He intended to await there the recovery of his wife. But suddenly he himself became ill; a slight wound in the foot, to which at first he attached no importance, led to blood poisoning, which within a few days exhausted his energies.

Mrs. Bax knew nothing of his death; she lay quite unconscious and died a few hours after him. On November 30 the remains of these two, who for three decades had lived inseparable, were consigned to the flames in Norwood crematorium. There were present the children of his first marriage, and some of the pioneers who in the eighties had been his fellow workers in the S. D. F., namely, John Burns, James Macdonald, J. L. Mahon and H. W. Lee. The general council of the Trade Union Congress was represented by Ben Tillett, Purcell and Hicks. Comrade Lee, who till lately was secretary of the S. D. F. and editor of its organ, "Justice," spoke at the ceremony.

5,000 Jewish Butchers Called on Strike in N. Y.; Plan Co-operative Stores

The Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union of Greater New York, whose headquarters is located at the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, has issued a call for a strike to take place Sunday, December 26, 1926.

The strike will involve over 5,000 workers over Greater New York. These workers chiefly comprise the establishments catering to the Jewish people. These 5,000 workers are employed in over 5,000 shops.

An interesting feature of the impending strike is the decision of the Organizer Corn to establish co-operative union stores in such districts where bosses refuse to employ union help. The Hebrew Butcher Workers' Union control several such stores at present. A new contract setting forth additional demands will be signed by the bosses. Corn predicts an early settlement of the strike and a complete victory for the butcher workers.

Secretary, Dorothy Steinberg; Financial Secretary, Mildred Ingerman; four members of Executive Committee at Large, Kate Polestein, Milton Lechner, James Shenul and Sidney Hertzberg. Reservations can now be made for the Novik Banquet. The price is \$1.50 per plate.

Circle 9

The organization of Circle 9, Juniors, has changed hands. William Gomborg occupies that worthy office. The Dramatic Group that dissolved last June, due to the vacation season, has reorganized its forces and have chosen Irving Cohen for president and Fred Gornitz for secretary. Director Carl Levinson has ably taken up his duties as director so we may expect some big things from the Circle. Circle 9 meets at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, every Friday evening at 7:45 p. m.

Circle 11

Circle 11, Juniors, has changed its meeting place at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, to 1465 St. Marks avenue, near Saratoga avenue, and will continue to meet as usual on Sunday afternoons at 3 p. m. Sam Friedman is their director. All welcome to the meetings.

Circle 11, Midgets

Circle 11, Midget Juniors, of 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, is seriously thinking of running a candidate for executive secretary at the coming Junior Yipsel City Convention. Since the call has gone out for new blood, they claim to have the newest. They might change their name to Circle 11 Adolescents if nobody stops them. They now have 25 members and a rapidly growing treasury, and hold real good meetings, even if they are Midgets. A new member has joined who hails from Perth Amboy, N. J., so forthwith they have named him "Jersey." They are asking for more members from other parts of the world, such as Egypt, Africa, etc. 'Tis a veritable Noah's Ark and Tower of Babel combined. Watch this column for more doings and more foreigners taken in their Circle. Their director already requires the service of an interpreter, and may appeal to the Finnish, Italian, Yugo-Slovakian-Verband branches for such.

Circle 1, Juniors

Circle 1, Juniors, of Brooklyn, meet every Friday evening, 8:30 p. m., at 215 Van Sicken avenue. At our last meeting our new director, Comrade Shapiro, organized a new round of activities for the Circle. In the future we shall have very interesting educational programs and there will be dancing after every meeting. All outsiders are invited to our meetings and spend an enjoyable evening.

Circle 2, Juniors

On Saturday, Dec. 23, at 2 p. m. sharp, the Circle will hold its monthly social meeting. Refreshments will be served. A good program is in store for all comrades attending this meeting. All are cordially invited.

A New Series by JAMES ONEAL, Editor of the New Leader, Author, "Workers in American History" and other books.

The American Background of the Communist Party and Its Tactics

I—European Origins

Bakounin—His Confession—Conflict with Marx—War in the International—Communist Anarchism and Philosophical Anarchism.

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IV—The Socialist Party

Socialists and the Unions—The Unity Convention—Immediate Demands—The Efficacy of Political Action—Conflict with Syndicalism—Reputation of Sabotage—"Bill" Haywood Drops Out.

V—American Syndicalism

Misunderstood by Exponents—William Foster's Syndicalist League—Reputation of the State—Syndicalism and Anarchism—Forecast of Present-Day Communism—Extolling Banditry—A. F. of L. and Syndicalist Policies.

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Helping the Good Work Along

THE 14th, 15th and 16th Districts Branch of the Socialist Party has the distinction of being the first organization to take advantage of our suggestion to raise funds for its use by means of selling prepaid subscription cards for The New Leader. This branch purchased a block of 10 yearly subscription cards for \$10, and, judging from the eagerness with which they were taken up by the few members present at the headquarters on the arrival of the cards, Comrade Henry Doering, who has taken charge of the sale

way. Therefore, good luck and prosperity to The New Leader and its editor."

Speaking of bundles, we can mention a little surprise this week. That friends of The New Leader should order a bundle is very logical. When, however, an organization devoted to exterminating Socialism orders a bundle it becomes rather amusing. The National Civic Federation purchased twenty-five copies of last week's issue. Apparently they found in the last issue enough of interest to the Socialist movement which they wish to send to their financial backers with the expectation that, by showing how Socialism is making headway their support may become more liberal.

Next month will see the beginning of the fourth year for The New Leader. The subscription of all those who were on our list from the first issue will expire on the 15th of January. Keep the date in mind and arrange to send in your renewal on time. While we have no doubt that you will all renew, we hope that you each add at least one new reader to our list. Keep this in mind and make an effort to land at least one new subscription and send it along with your own renewal. It will be the best birthday greetings that you can send us, and one that will be most appreciated.

Shoe Employers Fined

Lynn, Mass.—Fines of \$25 and \$30 were paid by Jacob Goldberg and the Unity Shoe Co., both shoe manufacturers, for failure to provide first aid cabinets for workers in their shops. Agents of the Massachusetts State Health Department reported that the factories did not have the required emergency medical chests.

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THE NEW LEADER

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggle of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily reflect the policy of The New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested 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 25, 1926

CHRISTMAS

CHRISTMAS always brings out one of the most glaring contradictions of modern society. Agents of the ruling classes in office are required to give thanks for an assumed "prosperity." For several weeks we have been fairly smothered with congratulations by Coolidge and certain members of his Cabinet. They assure us that the "nation" is prosperous, from which we gather that a few million of workers constitute no part of that nation for which they speak.

While these happy gentlemen bless us with words, New York dailies inform us with a few facts. Out of dens, garrets and cellars these publications drag a multitude of "neediest" cases, the human driftwood of capitalism, parading details of frightful poverty and urging relief. Each of a number of publications has its special batch of the neediest, and if more joined in the crusade they would also find plenty of the neediest. Please observe that all these cases represent the neediest, not all those in need. Among the latter group there will be many men, women and children who will eat the customary fare. Only the most striking cases of human wreckage are to be cared for and for one day. What is to become of the poor devils between this and the next Christmas nobody knows. Those that survive a year will serve for another exhibition when another Christmas arrives.

What is true of New York must be multiplied by every city in the United States to understand that the most shocking privations prevail in the same cities where enormous wealth is accumulated in a few hands. This hideous spectacle follows capitalism like a shadow. It is a skeleton that grins at the feast of every parasite who lives on workless incomes. We hope that Coolidge and Company will enjoy their dinners.

"JUSTICE"

AS The New Leader went to press last week news arrived of the acquittal of Fall and Doheny in a Federal court at Washington. The verdict is of unusual interest for a number of reasons. The jury acquitted Fall and Doheny of conspiracy to defraud the Government, but a Federal District Court in Los Angeles, considering the same issue, declared the transaction spawned "in fraud and conspiracy." That decision also restored the oil reserves to the Government.

Thus we have two decisions, each in conflict with the other. One declares that there was a conspiracy, while the other declares that the conspirators are not guilty. The \$100,000 which passed from Doheny to Fall is an item of evidence that went to the jury. But to no purpose. The two gentlemen are guilty in Los Angeles and innocent in Washington.

"Justice" certainly plays interesting pranks with the human beings who are brought into court. Consider two workmen, Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings, who are serving life sentences in a California labor case. Evidence has been piled mountain high to show that these two men were convicted by perjurers and characters of the underworld. President Wilson directed a committee of the War Labor Board, headed by Felix Frankfurter, to investigate the trial proceedings. One item in the report, the testimony of a creature by the name of Oxman, is amazing. The committee reported that "After Mooney's conviction there came to light letters written by Oxman prior to his being called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury in corroboration of vital testimony which he was to give—and did give—against Mooney."

Mooney and Billings cannot get a new trial. Fall and Doheny walk out of court free. What's the difference? So far as we can see the difference is a few hundred million dollars, and that makes all the difference in the world.

A BRIGHTER FUTURE

SEVERAL speakers at the party meeting Sunday afternoon to greet the National Executive Committee referred in a humorous way to the "inferiority complex" that possesses some members. There is some truth in the assertion, although there are many indications that it is passing. It is a mood growing out of our troubles during the World War and the struggle of the organization with a left wing.

On the other hand we believe that a sober survey of the facts has not justified this mood. If any movement was ever justified by its attitude toward an important issue the Socialist movement was by its position toward the World War. That position may

have been a luxury which we could ill afford, but we have the consolation of knowing that we are not dupes of the imperialist charlatans who sent men to the trenches for one thing while the peace conference gave something else.

As for the left wing, the organized Socialists of this country also charted their policy to avoid the disaster that is now overwhelming it. Today it is an underground sect in the trade unions and despised by the very workers it has tried to reach. There is not an old mistake in the labor movement of the world that it has not repeated, and there is not a lesson of that history that it has learned. Its assumption of all knowledge is equalled only by its ignorance of psychology and the labor movement in general. On Tuesday night in this city it reaped what it has been sowing for years in the organization of an alliance of organized wage workers to put an end to its insolence and its frightful bungling where it has had any power in the trade unions.

There is only one danger in this reaction against this disreputable force. It was the Socialist idealism of immigrant workers who displayed the genius required to build unions in the garment industry and to bring order and stability into it. The problems of the industry are so numerous and complicated that it required this intense idealism and its concentration on these problems to accomplish what had been achieved before the left wing began its wrecking career.

Any step backward in this idealism because of what has happened as the result of the rise of fanaticism would be a calamity. The immigrant workers have nothing to apologize for in their Socialist idealism. It is associated with the finest achievements of unionism in the garment trades. A departure from the crusading and pioneer spirit would be to inherit an "inferiority complex," and this cannot be the basis of a growing and expanding unionism. Something like this complex has existed, but the uprising of the members shows that the old fighting spirit has returned. It is a forecast of a brighter future.

A FRAUD

THE mass meeting of "cloakmakers" in Madison Square Garden last Sunday was the most interesting event pulled off in our generation. With a liberal supply of police and long files of Communists inspecting every man or woman seeking admission; with their Cheka squads inside sifting out suspects and expelling them from the meeting, the "cloakmakers" demonstrated in approved Bolshevik style. The kraut "nucleus" of Harlem, the noodle makers' "nucleus" of Stamford, the sub-section of the singers' "nucleus" of the Bronx, the street, shop, neighborhood, union, and international "nucleus" passed inspection and were admitted. The most conspicuous thing about the demonstration was the thousands of cloakmakers outside who could not gain admittance.

One incident is typical of many. A cloakmaker with a working card of his union and a painter with a letter from the Communist Party both asked for admission. The cloakmaker's working card was torn up and he was told to "beat it." The painter's credentials were accepted and the painter joined in the demonstration of the "cloakmakers."

The trouble with the gentlemen who staged this farce is that they assume that the members of the unions measure down to their intellectual level. This demonstration of "cloakmakers" was so apparently a fraud that a child could understand it.

HENRY'S SPOOK

HENRY FORD is one of our most serious thinkers and you cannot fool him. He is certain that the Jew is a menace to civilization. Advance announcement of the contents of his December number of the Dearborn Independent gives a forecast of what he knows on this menace. Henry declares that the Jews own or control the press, rule Communist Russia and capitalist England, are responsible for making wars and profit by them, and maintain "an espionage system that covers every village and every larger center in the country." Henry considers it "a service to the American people to tell them who their bosses are."

We were under the impression that Henry is one of the most conspicuous bosses we have, but as he assures us that the Jews are the bosses that leaves him out of the picture. Henry has so often insisted on the Jewish spook that it has become real to him. Any man who visions an espionage system maintained by Jews throughout the country is a subject for observation by alienists. It is a phase of the Nordic nonsense that has come to possess quite a number of illiterates in this country.

Moreover, Ford proves too much. If the Jews are capable of all that he charges them with they are endowed with a genius that makes Ford a pygmy when compared with them. Some wise bird said, "When the judgment's weak the prejudice is strong." It is. Ford, for example.

The Cry of the People

Tremble before your chattels,
Lords of the scheme of things:
Fighters of all earth's battles,
Ours is the might of kings!
Guided by seers and sages,
The world's heart-beat for a drum,
Snapping the chain of ages,
Out of the night we come!

Lend us no ear that pitiful
Offer no alms to the hand!
Aims for the builders of cities!
When will you understand?
Down with your pride of birth
And your golden gods of trade!
A man is worth to his mother Earth
All that a man has made.

We are the workers and makers!
We are no longer dumb!
Tremble, O Shirkers and Takers!
Sweeping the earth we come!
Ranked in the world-wide dawn,
Marching unto the day,
In wisdom and might, brain wedded to brawn,
We shall sweep you, earth's despots, away.
—JOHN G. NEIHARDT.

The News of the Week

Reaction in Lithuania

Another illustration of how the reaction loves "law 'n' order" when progressive elements win control of a country, even by peaceful means, is found in the situation in Lithuania. After having enjoyed a fairly liberal regime since throwing out the clerical-agrarian reactionary government in the general elections of last May, the people woke up on the morning of Dec. 17 to find that their Socialist-Populist administration had been overthrown during the night by Antonas Smetona, a former President of the Republic, who had succeeded in winning the support of the bulk of the army. Dr. Kasmir Grinius, the Populist President of the Republic, was arrested; Premier Sieszevicius, also a Populist, was ousted, and several of his Ministers seized. Apparently the Government supporters were taken completely by surprise, as there are no reports of there having been any serious resistance to the conspirators. Dictator Smetona at once tried to justify his coup d'état by raising the old Bolshevik bogey and asserting that the Communists, who in reality are a negligible quantity in Lithuania, were plotting to hand the country over to Russia next month, largely as a consequence of the Russo-Lithuanian treaty negotiated a few months ago. Then he attempted to lend a semblance of legality to his authority by putting Dr. Grinius back into office and "inducing" Premier Sieszevicius to resign. This was followed by the formation of a new Cabinet, headed by ex-Premier Waldemares and composed of clericals and other reactionaries. Then Parliament was convoked and 38 of the 40 members who attended voted for Smetona as President in place of Dr. Grinius. Forty-five of the Deputies stayed away from the meeting, only the reactionaries being on hand to take the orders of their chief. The Smetona dictatorship is likely to be short-lived, as its highly chauvinistic character will make it obnoxious to Poland on the one side and Russian the other.

Cabinet Upset in Germany

Defeated by a vote of 249 to 171 on a lack of confidence motion made by the Socialists in the Reichstag, the Marx "Little Coalition" Cabinet has quit and is now merely carrying on at President Hindenburg's request until a new government can be prepared for presentation to Parliament when it reassembles on Jan. 19. Although the German Socialists are fairly well satisfied with Foreign Minister Stresemann's efforts toward bringing about real reconciliation between France and Germany and thus easing the interlarded grip on the Rhineland, they cannot stand for many

of the home policies pursued by the Marx Government, especially its refusal to oust Otto Geisler, the so-called Democratic Minister of Defense, whose subservience to the old militarist and reactionary elements in general is notorious. During the debate on the lack of confidence motion Philip Scheidemann charged Dr. Geisler with not only having made the new German regular army a tool of the reaction, but also with having promoted the organization of the "Black Reichswehr" (the semi-secret reactionary military bodies unofficially linked with the regular army), and with having tried to build up reserves of airplanes and munitions in Russia. There was an echo of this charge in Paris last Sunday, when the Central Committee of the French Socialist Party decided to ask the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International to investigate the matter. The reactionary German Nationalists voted with the Socialists against the Government because they hope to get seats in the new Cabinet. Just which way the cat will jump is uncertain, but the chances are that if a "Big Coalition" Government is formed the Socialists, not the Nationalists, will be on the inside with the Centrists, Democrats and People's Party (the big business group).

South of the Rio Grande

Adolfo Diaz holds on to his job as dictator in Nicaragua, but his knuckles are becoming very sore from the rapping they have received. He turns to his imperialist Uncle Sam with a statement that he may be able to hold on for a few months longer, but he doesn't know what will happen if Uncle doesn't come to his aid with something more than recognition. The tiny republic of Salvador has recognized him, but the directors of principal newspapers of that country have wired the Pan-American Union at Washington, declaring that organization useless. They protest that the Union did not forward to the American State Department telegrams of protest against American recognition of Diaz, these telegrams declaring the Diaz government to be "one of usurpation, repudiated by the peoples of Central America." The publishers also request the Pan-American Union not to send them invitations to attend future conferences regarding Pan-American relations. For many years the Pan-American Union has been a suspect in Latin-America, and this grievance will add to the suspicion. In Mexico some of the American oil corporations have finally taken an attitude of reconciliation to the Mexican petroleum and land laws which go into effect on January 1. This break in the united front of the alien oil exploiters is hopeful of a peaceful settlement of an issue that has for a number of

years threatened the relations between the United States and Mexico. The quarrel between the Mexican Government and the Church is receding into the background, despite the activities of the Knights of Columbus in this country, who are carrying on an absurd propaganda against Mexico.

Innocents to Arm for Peace

Continuing the process of "making the world safe for democracy," a bill has been introduced in Congress to build ten 10,000-ton cruisers. It has the support of President Coolidge, who declares, however, an appropriation for building should not be made at this time. A group in Congress favors an immediate appropriation on the ground that to omit it would be a "futile form of bluffing." Admirable phrase! Who is to be bluffed? Japan and England, two partners in the holy crusade for democracy nearly ten years ago. Congressman Britten of the House Naval Committee issued a statement which admirably reveals the stupidity back of this bluffing. "The best means of securing an agreement with other nations for limitation of armaments is to match ship for ship—and then more ships." How profound! The wisdom of this advice may be appreciated when we remember that Britten in Japan and England can—and will—urge the same policy. Britten added that "the only way to stop them is to outbuild them." The other Britten will answer that the only way to stop us is to outbuild us. Another pearl from this wise bird is the observation that "we cannot stop them by making futile gestures which mean nothing." Not at all. Take action that means something, and make that something mean a race in building instruments of destruction till another world war lands us all in another bloody ditch. It is the fate of statesmen of the capitalist order to reason in a circle on this matter. The Powers watch each other with words of friendship for all, but each one really trusting no one and arming to the teeth. Each "passes the buck" to all the others, and each declares itself innocent of any bad intentions. All are for peace, of course. These are the gentlemen who play with the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings. How do you like it?

Boss Blamed for Nine Deaths

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.—Charges that Mine Fire Boss Charles Trenery did not properly inspect the No. 7 colliery of Susquehanna Collieries Co. at Nanticoke on October 30 are made by Mine Inspector Frank Kettle. A warrant for the fire boss' arrest has been issued, because an explosion which killed nine men occurred in the mine, presumably as a result of his negligence.

THE CHATTER BOX

Ghetto Tenements

The hurdy-gurdy rants a tune,
The coal man grunts along;
The peddler drones a lullaby
To the rhythm of the song. . . .

The windows of the tenements
Are bleary eyes of terrors;
They leer above the teeming streets
And peer their terror into souls.

The walls of tenements are blinds
Drawn down against the skies;
They hide the constellated joys,
And blot the wonder from our eyes.

And nothing blooms behind the walls;
Squalor squats a-wheeling there;
Hunger spins a vicious cloth,
From off the spindles of Despair. . . .

If marriages be heaven-made,
As holy agents tell,
The matings in the tenements
Are only conjured up from Hell.

Children are such hallowed things,
That often have I cried,
"If they be doomed to tenements
Then it were better that they died. . . ."

For even I who found a way,
And fled their sorcery,
Will always wear in silent shame
The blight they branded onto me.

I hold a rose, or touch a star,
Or meet my love, and sing . . .
But there is harshness in my song . . .
The curse is on my lute and string.

I walk with beauty on the way,
I pound a rhapsody;
Yet there is nothing I can say
Unless my childhood speaks for me.

Then beauty turns a puzzled ear
On each discordant word;
Harkens a moment, but to flee
Like any hurt and startled bird. . . .

Whatever righteous men will build
Into benevolent show
To balm the canker of this shame
Will be too torturingly slow.

If only I might live to see
A god of holocaust
Descend upon the tenements
And grind their horrors into dust. . . .

The tenements are hieroglyphs:
They are not sweet to read,
They blur the luscious blue of day
With awful narratives of greed.

The tenements are hieroglyphs
We chiseled in our time;
They spell the generation's sin,
They tell a dynasty of crime. . . .

And all the guilt for them is ours,
And all the dread is theirs. . . .

And now the hurdy-gurdy sends
Its music mounting up the stairs.
We have just peeked into a copy of "Contemporary Verse," a magazine of modern poetry, edited by Ralph Cheney and Lucia Trent, at Norwalk, Conn.

It really startled us into an avid interest. After reading its contents from Title Page to Finis, we come to the strange conclusion that we have finished as fine a collection of present-day American poetry as it has ever been our fortune to encounter. Purist that we be, conservative as we are in all matters lyrical, we cannot find one poem in the publication that does not measure up to Parnassian standards. We are only wondering how long such a quality of excellence can be maintained, particularly since the publication appears bi-monthly. We recognize in the thirty-odd poets who appear between its red covers almost a dozen of our own contris, so that we are just tickled silly with being honored as we are from time to time with work from men and women who make up such a worthy conglomerate poetry exposition as is shown in this month's issue of "Contemporary Verse." We heartily extend our good wishes to the editors, which with them is a new venture, although the magazine has had a long and honorable life before their advent—which also reminds that we must take time away from our own work some night this week or next to give you a short resume of "Touch and Go," by Mr. Cheney, and "Dawn Stars" by Lucia Trent, two first volumes of poems, published by a brand new publisher, our old contrib and ubiquitous rotarian among scribblers, Hendrik Harrison. New Ventures, New Books, New Editors, New Publishers, all for a New Year. What a Brand New Prospect. . . .

And just to show Mr. Cheney how seriously we mean everything said above, we are breaking an extremely old rule with ourself, by submitting to him for publication in his next issue of "Contemporary Verse" a poem of ours entitled "Sonnet for Minor Poets," which was meant for this space. If it passes the editorial board and actually appears, we shall reprint it here, with acknowledgement to the magazine, of course.

Newspapers

Newspapers and tabloids
Rustle, rustle, rustle
In the subway.
They flutter from innumerable hands.
The pages are rattled nervously
In avid search for the latest news,
The biggest sensation of the day. . . .

I see green forests
Bending beneath the wind
In Maine, in Canada, in Scandinavia. . . .

These newspapers and tabloid pages
Rife with crime,
And the long sordid record of our day,
Were, a brief while ago,
Part of those fresh green forests of sturdy pine
And spruce and poplar trees
Rustling and bending in the wind. . . .

And thus, without fanfare or tremulo, we conclude our third year as your humble columnist. If we have caused some to weep with or for us, if you have laughed a little, or sworn at us greatly, if we have been too rude, or vulgar or careless, if we have not measured up to the herculean heights of your hero-worshipping, then this job has become to us quite homelike. All we can say is that we have done our very, very best, and that we hope to do better. Our slogan is "When Better Columns Are Written, We Will Write Them." Ask any automobile dealer how smart and original this shibboleth is. And years that are old
Become years that are new;
And if they be happy
We wish them to you. . . .
S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton
Taras Shevchenko

TWENTY-FOUR years of serfdom, ten years of prison life in Siberia, three and one-half years of existence under police supervision certainly provided sufficient inspiration for revolutionary protest and vision. Taras Shevchenko was a sufferer first and then a poet. A native of the Ukraine, it was he who first gave his country's language the distinction of literary charm. Simple and straightforward as was his verse, one may say that for what it lacked in subtlety it compensated in spirit and sentiment. In the work of Laryssa Petrovna Kosatch, whose pseudonym Lesya Ukrainka is better known to the reading public, especially in the play, "The Babylonian Captivity," we discover a later expression of the same passionate protest that infused Shevchenko's poetry with such radical fury.

The history of the Ukraine has been scarred with oppression, terror and strife. The desperate revolts against Polish and Muscovite tyranny were but part of its beaten and battered existence. Situated between empires that overwhelmed it by their immensity, the Ukraine, with its scant population of forty millions, was almost buried from the sight of the western world. It was the soul of a downtrodden people that Shevchenko expressed. It was serfdom that Shevchenko hated. His hate was vigorous and violent, a consuming passion that inspired him with inexhaustible energy and purpose. As Alexander J. Hunter writes in his introduction to the poems of Shevchenko, "The Kobzar of the Ukraine, the Select Poems of Taras Shevchenko, published by Dr. A. H. Hunter, Teulon, Manitoba, Canada; 75 cents."

"What 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' did for the negroes of the United States of America the poems of Shevchenko did for the serfs of Russia. They aroused the conscience of the Russian people, and the persecutions suffered by the poet at the hands of the autocracy awakened their sympathy."

The whole literature of Ukraine, seems, was a literature of protest against revolt. The poems of Rudansky, Fedkovitch and Vorobkevitch, as well as those of Shevchenko, reveal the same exciting denunciations of oppression and tyranny. The same is true of the poetry of Franko, who is still living and has gathered a school of aspiring Ukrainian artists about him.

When one considers the suffering that a poet such as Shevchenko experienced, it is almost a mild description with which to express his hatred. Imprisoned in Siberia in 1847, Nicholas aggravated his punishment by denying him the privileges of having writing materials, with which at least Shevchenko might have mitigated somewhat the torture of his exile. In his diary Shevchenko noted that while the pagan Augustus had permitted Ovid to write, he had been forbidden the permission by a Christian ruler. In the poem entitled "Caucasus" something of the insurrectionary spirit of Shevchenko is communicated:

Beyond the hills are mightier hills;
Cloud mountains o'er them rise;
Red, red have flowed their streams
and rills;
They're sown with human woes
and sighs.

Look at us in tender-heartedness,
All in hunger dire and nakedness,
Forging freedom in unhappiness,
Toiling ever without blessedness.

The bones of soldiers, bleaching,
lie;
In blood and tears must many die.
In faith, there's widow's tears, I
think,
To all the Czars to give to drink.
Then there's tears of many a
maiden,
Falling so soft in the lonely
night;
Hot tears of mothers, sorrow laden,
Dry tears of fathers in grievous
plight.

To you be glory, hills of blue,
All clad in monstrous chains of
frost.
Glory to you, ye heroes true:
With God your labors are not
lost.
Fear not to fight; you'll win at
length.
For you, God's Truth,
For you is freedom, for you is
strength,
And Holy Truth.

In his famous poem, "To the Dead," his challenge veritably rings with defiance that is fearless and militant. These lines are typical:

Why freedom grew up with us,
Bathed in the Dnieper;
Rested her head on our hills.
The far-flung Steppes are her garments.
A last 'twas in blood she bathed,
Pillowed her head on burial
mounds,
On bodies of Cossack freemen,
Corpses despoiled.

This translation of Dr. Hunter's is not the first endeavor to introduce Shevchenko into English. The pioneer effort was made by Mrs. E. L. Voinitch. Dr. Hunter's translation falls of delicacy, if not vigor. There is little of the exquisite phrase and less of the quick, seizing metaphor that are so essential to poetic substance. In Mrs. Voinitch's translation (Six Lyrics from the Ruthenian of Shevchenko) there is more smoothness and elegance, if less intensity and power.

It is interesting to note in conclusion that the Ukraine that gave birth to Shevchenko also was the mother of Gogol, Tchekhov, Korolenko and Dostoyevsky. Gogol's great ambition, it may be remembered, had always been to write a "ponderous history of Ukraine."