

A READER TELLS OUR STORY

LAST week we presented to our readers a message which we had been withholding for three weeks. We are receiving the first responses to our call of two weeks ago and beginning to hear from the message placed before our readers last week.

The New Leader is YOURS. It is not a profit-making institution. Its circulation becomes so large that the surplus will be used to help establish victims of the class struggle.

When you help The New Leader, you are helping yourself, your cause, your nothing is possible. The big ideal we have before us is the influential labor we.

There are thousands upon thousands of people who are waiting to send their contribution to THE NEW LEADER. No limit is set, no maximum or minimum. There are a few who can pay the postage to reach a thousand new names. Others can afford the funds for reaching a few. Between the two extremes are those who can do more or less according to their means. Send yours and send it NOW.

Out of the West comes a letter that we must share with you. It represents the spirit that has lured liberators to the scaffold with a song on their lips. It is the spirit of the Socialist Movement, the spirit that has lived in every great movement for the welfare of mankind. This venerable old enthusiast is an inspiration to us all. Here is his letter:

Dear Friends:— I had been a reader of the Call for years and have been a subscriber of the New Leader from the very beginning and have not missed reading a single issue. On account of my advanced age—was 79 years last month—and a failing eyesight I have been compelled to give up all other publications which came to me. With the New Leader I could not part. Unable to read it myself, one of my grandchildren is kind enough to read the paper to me every week. Thus I learned of your Call to Action and, while I subsist only on the pension of a Civil War Veteran which the government allows me, I can not spare any money for you. Unexpectedly I received a Christmas gift of \$10 from one of my grandchildren. They must have known how I wished to contribute to your fund. With this unexpected fortune of \$10 at my disposal I feel I can afford the luxury and give myself the pleasure of a contribution to your fund. I am endorsing this check for \$10 to you to be used in the work of making the New Leader a bigger and better paper. My only regret is that this is all I have. How I wish I could make this \$10 instead of \$10.

I hope that other more fortunate than I am will come to your help, and wishing you all the success in the world, I remain, Fraternally yours,

Houston, Texas. H. G. MORRIS.

Where is the reader who is not moved by the action of this grand father of 79? Can any words of ours add to the pathos of his letter? We think not. His letter is OUR message to YOU this week. What is YOUR answer to it?

We publish below the list of contributions to our Maintenance and Expansion Fund. To those who so promptly answered our call we wish to express our deepest gratitude. Great as our immediate need for help is, welcome as their contributions are, it is not so much the amount contributed which has given us encouragement as the fact that with each contribution came an expression of good will and interest in our struggling paper infinitely more valuable to us than the money received:

Alexander Schwartz, New York	\$20.00
Julius Green, New York	1.00
W. G. Pope, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.00
Harry Silverstein, Philadelphia	5.00
Herman B. Jones, Philadelphia	5.00
Miss Rose Brody, Brooklyn	2.00
Frank A. Sieverman, New York	50.00
Jacob Panken, New York	5.00
Jeannette Marks, So. Hadley, Mass.	5.00
Dr. Louis Sabloff, New York	10.00
Elizabeth Thomas, Milwaukee	5.00
A. Sugarman, Brooklyn	5.00
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Meyer Gillis, New York	28.00
Eddie Gillis, New York	5.00
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M. V. Halushka, Chicago	1.00
Dr. S. Silverberg, New York	5.00
H. G. Morris, Houston, Texas	10.00
Edward Kassel, Evansville, Ind.	5.00
D. Blankenheim, New York	5.00
C. W. Broomall, Kensington, Md.	5.00
John S. Mooney, Philadelphia	1.00
Philip K. White, Newburyport, Mass.	5.00
Bernhard Nikel, Collingswood, N. J.	10.00

Total \$228.00
Who will have the honor of being the first to respond this week? 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.

"EFFICIENCY" DEFENDED AND ATTACKED AT L. I. D. DINNER CONFERENCE

The theory of modern "efficiency" methods and better industrial "leadership" was a topic of controversy at the dinner discussion arranged by the League for Industrial Democracy Wednesday evening.

Samuel Lewisohn saw the industrial relations problem as one of proper leadership. Colonel Malcolm C. Rorty said there is not much difference between capitalism and "pragmatic" Socialism and that the two would soon mean the same thing. Scott Thompson propounded the theory of the struggle, making dire predictions of economic upheavals in the future.

Hilquit, hesitating to make any pronouncement, urged that Socialists continue their efforts to raise as high as possible the appreciation of the mass people of their economic problems.

The New Leader hopes to be able to print the addresses in full in early issues of the paper.

HER BUTCHERS WON MORE WAGES

New butchers in half the 1500 butchers shops of New York City \$3 were increased this week in a two-day strike. The agreement expired at midnight yesterday and most of the butchers returned to work at 10 o'clock.

SOVIET TERROR AGAINST SOCIALISTS IN GEORGIA CONTINUES UNABATED

(Cable to the Daily Forward)

BERLIN.—The foreign delegation of the Georgian Social Democratic Party has received from the Tiflis Central Committee of the party an official report stating that the Soviet's political terror against the Social Democrats continues unabated.

Daily many Socialists are arrested and thrown in prison. Others have been shot without trial. During the last two years more than 500 boys and grown workers, most of them Socialists, have been executed. The report gives many names of those who were shot.

The report contains also a vehement denial of statements spread by the Soviet press agencies that political exiles are no longer being sent to the Solovetsky Islands. It gives names of Socialists who have been deported recently to those isolated, wild Arctic islands.

Credit for Boston Police Strike Breaking Disputed

Credit for breaking the Boston police strike of 1919 should go to Edwin U. Curtis, then police commissioner of the city, and not to Calvin Coolidge, then serving his second term as governor of Massachusetts. At least that is the opinion of Kenneth C. M. Bowdoin, president of Bowdoin College.

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N. Y. FUR STRIKE REPORT IS VAGUE

Details of Expenditure of \$840,000 Lacking in Figures Offered By Communists

THE first inkling of the manner in which the Communist-dominated Joint Board of the N. Y. Furriers' Union expended almost \$1,000,000 in its strike last summer was given this week when the Joint Board issued a financial report on the strike. And the report proved to be nothing more than an inkling.

According to the report made public by Ben Gold, manager of the Joint Board, the strike cost the union \$840,842.48, of which \$453,329 was borrowed from other unions and individuals. The sum of \$78,231 has been repaid, leaving a total indebtedness of \$365,098.

For the most part, the items in the financial report are of a very general nature. It is impossible to get from them any exact or even approximate idea of how the money was spent in the strike. For instance, the "Hall Committee" cost \$25,630. This is exclusive of an item of \$40,486.14 for "hall rent" during the 17 weeks strike. No attempt is made to explain the manner in which the Hall Committee expended the \$25,630. Similarly mysterious is the item of \$31,691.99 for the "Ticket Committee." Both these committees have diverse duties. An explanation of the amount of money expended for these particular tasks would give a clear idea of the way Communists lead a strike. Such explanation would be of particular interest, since the Communists claim to have a way all their own of leading the workers in industrial disputes.

The largest item, naturally, is that paid out as benefits. This totals \$556,174.11. Here, also, there are no details—no attempt to tell how many workers received benefits, how much per week was paid them, etc. In addition to the regular benefits, the sum of \$45,117.21 was paid for "food cards." Why it was necessary to issue "food cards," in addition to paying the regular strike relief, it is not explained.

That Communists also do not despise the use of "capitalist courts" and lawyers, is shown in the healthy sums expended to win the favor of these much derided parts of the capitalist system. "Lawyers" cost \$73,906.50; "Law Committee, Prisoners and Assistance" cost \$19,709.80; "Court Fines and Bail Bonds" cost \$18,234.

At a meeting called by the Joint Board to explain to the furriers the conduct of the strike and the expenditures entailed, Mr. Gold denounced the American Federation of Labor and called for the overthrow of capitalism and a proletarian revolution.

The publication of the financial report, such as it is, evidently is intended to offset the effects of the report on A. F. of L. investigating committee is soon to render on the conduct of the strike. The report will be made public soon after January 14, on which date the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. convenes at St. Petersburg, Florida.

The report, it is understood, will be severely critical of the Joint Board and may go to the drastic lengths of taking over the Furriers' Union and reorganizing it.

At the installation of officers of the Cutlers' Union local 10, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Matthew Wolf, American Federation of Labor vice president, indicated that the report on the New York fur strike would be unfavorable to the Joint Board.

Wolf, head of the Photo Engravers International Union, charged the Joint Board with "bribery, debauchery and flagrant dishonesty." Wolf was chairman of the A. F. of L. committee appointed by President Green to investigate the fur strike.

Wolf declared that it was time the Communists gave an accounting of its control of the Joint Board Furriers. He urged that Gold give particulars instead of generalizations concerning the expenditures.

LAUNDRY WORKERS UNION TURNS OUT COMMUNISTS

Local 280 of the Shirt Ironers' Branch of the International Laundry Workers' Union was one of the New York unions dominated by the few Communists who managed to have themselves elected to office a year ago. The result has been that for months the union has hampered in its work. The loyal members decided to put an end to this unhealthy domination and issued a strong appeal to the rank and file to turn out in full force at the election last Monday so that officers and an executive committee should be elected who will not be under the control of the Workers' Party. The members turned out in full force, with the result that the Communists were all defeated, and for the next year Local 280 will be administered by a set of officials free from an outside domination.

Young Being Organized
As the new law forbids persons under 21 years old to belong to any political organization (which includes the Workers' Sport and Defense League), the Socialists are organizing the "Dasha Juvenile," a young people's organization.

Stench of Capitalism Brings About Probes Of All Its Activities

Political Corruption, Financial Intrigues, Stealing of Elections All to Be Investigated Along with Other Malodorous Machinations of American Capitalism and Its Political Hirelings

Washington.

AMERICAN capitalism is soon to go under the microscope for one of the most minute investigations in all its sordid history. "Irregular" groups in the House and the Senate have set in motion a series of investigations which, if prosecuted without interference from the White House, as the President intervened to save Secretary of the Treasury Mellon from investigation, will reveal capitalism as one huge garbage can.

If there is any branch of activity that will not be the subject of an investigation in the two months that Congress will be in session, it must have inadvertently escaped the attention of the 531 members of Congress. It would require the services of an expert detective to find a phase of the present administration's activities during the six months Congress has been in recess that is not to be investigated.

Among the major investigations due to occupy the attention of the Senate when it re-

convenes will be the connection the oil interests have had in the framing of the Lausanne treaty, the wasting and stealing of approximately \$550,000,000 seized by the alien property custodian during the war, the operations of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission in connection with the bread merger, the results of the investigations into the elections in Illinois and Pennsylvania, which will include an investigation of the qualifications of Cyrus Woods for membership on the Interstate Commerce Investigation, and, most likely, the invasion of Nicaragua by the Marines.

The House will have a number of investigations of its own, as will also the Senate, if certain resolutions now pending for investigations are adopted. One in the Senate in which the workers are mainly interested is the La Follette resolution for an investigation of the Passaic strike. Another is the Shepard resolution for an investigation of working conditions in all the textile mills.

(Continued on page 2)

SOCIALIST HEAD IN LATVIA

Premier and Five Members of Cabinet Are From Party of Labor

THE bourgeois-agrarian Government of Latvia, headed by M. K. Umanis, is reported to have resigned, following its defeat in Parliament on a vote of confidence. According to a Jewish Telegraph Agency dispatch of Dec. 19 from Riga, President Jahnis Tachakate entrusted Rabbi Nurok, a deputy, with the task of forming a new cabinet and a coalition government, composed of five Socialists and four representatives of the middle class parties, has been set up. The premier is Skujenieks, a Socialist.

The immediate cause of the defeat of the Umanis Government was the shifting of the five Jewish deputies to the opposition when an amendment to the citizenship law which would have made citizens of all persons resident in Latvia since Aug. 1, 1914, was rejected, the government parties having failed to keep their promise to vote for it. This left thousands of Jews without the rights of citizenship to which their residence in the country should entitle them.

As the Socialist Party is the only solid political group in Latvia, holding thirty-three of the total of 100 deputies divided into numerous small fractions, largely under influence of the reactionary agrarians, it is possible that it may continue to play a leading part in the administration of the little Baltic republic for a long time, unless the reactionaries resort to a coup d'etat, as did their brothers in Lithuania last week.

Socialist Parliamentary Strength
In such a contingency, however, the reaction might not have such easy going as it appears to have enjoyed in Lithuania, as the Latvian Socialist and Labor sport organization is a fighting, as well as a playing, body and could probably be counted upon to defend the new government.

An example of the Socialists' parliamentary strength was given a couple of months ago when the bourgeois-agrarian government tried to put through a bill aimed at knocking out the famous Workers' Sport and Defense League, which has beaten the would-be Latvian Fascist in many a hard fought battle in the streets.

As introduced by the government, the bill regulating the right of association would have made it possible to dissolve the league for the "offenses" of any one member. It contained many other drastic provisions, but after the Socialists had almost killed it in a full session of Parliament—47 deputies voted against even sending it to committee—they managed to have the most obnoxious parts cut out in committee. Then it was made a law.

Young Being Organized
As the new law forbids persons under 21 years old to belong to any political organization (which includes the Workers' Sport and Defense League), the Socialists are organizing the "Dasha Juvenile," a young people's organization.

Welcome to America!



MARGARET BONDFIELD

UNITY REUNION DANCE SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12

An opportunity is being offered the guests and friends of the I. L. G. W. U. Unity House to renew old friendships and form new ones at the reunion dance to be given Saturday, February 12, 1927, Lincoln's Birthday, in the grand ballroom of the Manhattan Opera House, Thirty-fourth street near Eighth avenue.

The Paul Whiteman Piccadilly Players have been engaged for the evening.

Communist-Hired Gangsters Fail to Halt Pocketbook Workers' Aid to Pres. Sigman

DESPITE the attempt of Communist-employed gangsters to intimidate the members and officials of the International Pocketbook Workers' Union, the membership of the union on Wednesday voted \$10,000 as a loan to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to aid that organization to reclaim its union from the Communists who brought about the recent disastrous cloak strike.

The \$10,000 loan was approved at a meeting in the People's House, called to install the recently elected officers. All day in advance of the meeting the Communists were busy at the pocketbook factories distributing a leaflet which in bitter terms slandered A. I. Shipiloff, manager of the union, and the other officers. The handbill was signed "Cloakmakers' Section, Trade Union Educational League." No names were attached.

The members of the Pocketbook Makers' Union were angered by the distribution of the handbills. The distributors from most of the shops were ordered away. In a few shops, where gangsters hired by the Communists were attempting to intimidate the members of the union, fights broke out.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

SINCE 1911 the United States has meddled incessantly in Nicaraguan affairs. Its meddling has piled up the Nicaraguan national debt, increased the cost of living, almost crushed what remains of self government. It has brought no corresponding benefits to the natives even by way of bathhouses which are the usual proofs of the blessings of our civilization. It has brought no benefit to the United States. It has cost our taxpayers money. But some few individuals have made wicked profits, and somehow or other, as in other examples of imperialism, they have persuaded a public absorbed in its own affairs that the adventure was necessary, profitable, or even glorious.

Now we are at this meddling business with redoubled energy. American officials forced the resignation of President Chamorro who held office after a coup d'etat and the quite illegal election of the old American puppet, Diaz. Our State Department promptly recognized him instead of the legitimate President Sacasa. An official of the State Department deliberately inspired a cock-and-bull story of Mexican intervention in Nicaragua under Bolshevik influence. This unproved charge was circulated apparently for the double reason of justifying our own acts in Nicaragua and preparing the public mind for unfriendly acts to Mexico in behalf of the oil investors. But Sacasa refused to quit and there has been fighting. Therefore Rear Admiral Latimer has landed Marines and arbitrarily declared a neutral zone for the alleged protection of American interests in a country which we do not legally own. And Nervous Nellie Kellogg has the gall to declare that this is not intervention. If it isn't, in the name of all the dictionaries, what is intervention?

The hope is that the weakness of Diaz and the growth of American sentiment will call a halt to the intrigues of interventionists. Already Coolidge seems a bit scared.

As further proof of the reality of American imperialism it has just been announced that a treaty has been signed with Panama by which Panama promises to follow us into war. At least that treaty is honest, which is more than can be said of our dealings with Nicaragua. Everybody knows that the little Republic which Roosevelt created for the sake of getting the Panama Canal would have to follow us into war. Some British papers are making a great fuss because this treaty on Panama's part is inconsistent with its promises as a member of the League of Nations. They are probably right, but such criticism comes with peculiarly ill grace from British tongues or pens. American imperialism, involved in the protection of the Panama Canal, is—as yet—less sweeping and far reaching than British imperialism in Egypt for the protection of the Suez Canal. And the United States unlike Great Britain is not a member of the League of Nations. This is no justification of American imperialism but simply a plea for a little less hypocrisy in facing facts.

It is to be hoped but scarcely expected that our State Department will have learned a lesson from its recent adventures with British diplomacy in China. Under Secretary Kellogg's British influence on our policy in China has been excessively great. We have cheerfully tried to pull British chestnuts out of the fire. We landed Marines in Shanghai to interfere in a strike directed primarily against British and Japanese. We reversed our historic policy under British pressure by signing an ultimatum about the Taku forts. We let an American, Silas Strawn, take the burden of sponsoring a report on extrajurisdictionality which is highly distasteful to the Chinese. Then, all of a sudden, the British saw the handwriting on the wall, began friendly negotiations with the Cantonese, or more accurately, the Nationalist forces, who already are masters of the larger part of China, and sent our government a highly moral letter about the right policy to follow in China with an implied rebuke to our government! Well, we are glad that the British diplomats have seen the light and that the danger of a futile, costly and ethically indefensible intervention in China is lessened. Hereafter, we hope, that the United States will follow its own line of friendly co-operation with China seeking the support of all other Powers in that policy but refusing longer to be the dupe of British or any other foreign diplomacy, or for that matter of some of our Bourbon business men in the treaty ports.

Some of our worthy statesmen down in Washington want to make the farmers forget their troubles by taxing them for a new race in armaments, this time in building cruisers. A first class scare about the weakness of the American navy has been started. President Coolidge has taken the scare to the extent of ordering a new

STANDARD OIL REAPS RECORD PROFIT

\$200,263,594 in Dividends Paid Out—"Independents" Also Have Huge Income

By Leland Olds

CHRISTMAS has been the jolliest ever for the oil millionaires that cluster around the Rockefeller throne, according to a summary of Standard Oil year issued by Carl H. Pforzheimer & Co., specialists in the securities of this giant monopoly. Dividends paid in the Christmas quarter alone by the companies composing the Standard Oil group aggregated \$200,263,594. This is the largest quarterly distribution ever made.

These Christmas dividends exceed by \$25,000,000 those of the last quarter of 1925 and are \$10,000,000 over the payments of the entire year in 1925, the first year after the dissolution of the trust as a violator of the Sherman act. They bring the total Standard Oil dividends for 1926 to \$200,263,594, a gain of \$46,757,495 over 1925. They raise the total distributed in cash to the owners in the last 15 years to the stupendous sum of \$1,935,234,757.

The year 1926 has also brought large stock dividends to swell the already bloated Standard Oil fortunes. Early in the year Standard Oil of New York cut a \$73,000,000 melon with a 25 percent stock dividend. Standard Oil of Nebraska distributed a 50 percent stock dividend, while both Humble Oil and Standard Oil of New Jersey gave their stockholders an opportunity to subscribe for new stock at prices far below market value. Altogether, Pforzheimer estimates that these bonuses had a value nearly equal to the \$200,000,000 distributed in cash.

How Standard Oil dividends have mounted steadily since the last 12 years appears in the following:

Dividends	Amount
1916	98,827,875
1917	92,461,204
1918	99,557,928
1919	103,480,916
1920	105,901,477
1921	115,776,759
1922	115,294,292
1923	129,059,865
1924	138,425,952
1925	150,582,552
1926	200,263,594

This rapidly swelling stream of tribute is owing to the Rockefeller, the Pratts, the Harknesses and the Mellons, not because they are rendering the country any unusual service, but because they have established their control over the gateway through which the public must draw its petroleum supplies.

The so-called independent oil companies are also reporting an extremely profitable year. A table prepared by Ernst & Ernst shows that in the first 9 months of 1926 the profits of 23 independents totaled \$110,000,425, compared with \$91,583,206 in the same period of 1925.

The gains made by some independents were very large. Louisiana Oil increased its 9 months' net from \$830,739 to \$1,848,986, a gain of 122.6 percent. Bardall corporations made a profit of \$4,767,401, compared with \$2,153,996 in 1925, a gain of 120.8 percent. Other companies showing big gains were: Texas Pacific Coal & Oil, 78.5 percent; H. F. Wilcox, 74.8 percent; Phillips Petroleum, 69 percent; Skelly Oil, 62.3 percent, and Tidal Oil, 61.8 percent.

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Norman Thomas Asks \$100,000 for False Arrest In Passaic Strike

Norman Thomas, director League for Industrial Democracy, has filed suit in Bergen County Circuit Court of New Jersey for \$100,000 damages for false arrest. Thomas charges Sheriff George P. Nimmo and Under Sheriff John W. Donaldson of Bergen County, Policeman Matthew J. Donahue of Garfield and Justice of the Peace Louis M. Hargreaves of Hackensack with false arrest, false imprisonment and malicious prosecution. He was arrested when he attempted to speak to Passaic strikers after local authorities declared a ban on such meetings. Arthur Garfield Hays and John Larkin Hughes, both American Civil Liberties Union attorneys, are handling the case. Similar actions will be made by Robert W. Dunn of the Civil Liberties Union, Esther Lowell of Federated Press and Robert Wolf, New York writer, all of whom were arrested in Garfield when Sheriff Nimmo attempted to proclaim "riot law" during the tensest period of the Passaic strike. Thomas and the others were held on \$10,000 bail each at first, though that was later reduced for Lowell and Wolf. Charges against all were later dismissed.

CAPITALISM TO BE PROBED

(Continued from page 1)

The House resolutions, which are being pushed with vigor by the labor and liberal organizations of the country, are the Berger and Sabeth resolutions, providing for an investigation of the Sacco-Vanzetti cases. Another House resolution, calling for information, is the LaGuardia resolution directing Kellogg to state why and how it engaged in false propaganda against the Mexican government.

Of the Senate investigations that will provoke considerable debate the one on the Lausanne treaty, proposed by Senator King of Utah, will be the most interesting, it seems. The investigation will deal with reports that American oil interests, seeking concessions in the rich Mosul fields, influenced negotiations of the Lausanne treaty restoring diplomatic relations with Turkey, and that the same oil interests, which include the Standard Oil Company, are leading the campaign for ratification of the treaty.

"The Lausanne treaty is spattered with oil," King declared during the discussion which preceded the adoption of his resolution. "It represents the low tide of Christian diplomacy since the Congress of Vienna. The negotiations at Lausanne were marked by duplicity and calculated faithlessness, and brand the conference as one of the ignominious and disgraceful conferences in international history."

He said that in order to acquire the valuable oil deposits in the Mosul region, and acting at the behest of the Standard Oil Company, which receives one-fourth of the valuable rights conferred, every promise made to the Armenians and others was violated.

The investigation of our international relations which the King resolution opens up may lead also to an investigation of conditions in the Central American republics and Mexico. Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, one of the stand-patters, has offered a resolution calling upon the State Department to advise the Senate what it is doing to protect Dix in Nicaragua from revolutionary movements, aided by Mexican arms. If it is adopted it will pave the way for an investigation of conditions in Mexico and the State Department's activities there on behalf of the American capitalists. Any discussion of the resolution on the floor of the Senate, when it re-convenes, will lead inevitably to a discussion of the entire policy in Central America, a criticism of which in the European press has just come to the attention of Senators here.

Both houses are in an investigating mood, with rumors of corruption in various branches of the government forcing themselves to the fore each day. Unable to obtain information in any other way, the State Department standing on its right to refuse information if in its opinion it is incompatible with public interest, and the other departments taking very much the same attitude, the Senate will give up legislating for the balance of the session and devote itself to an investigation of the things heads of the departments evidently prefer to conceal as long as they can.

Compensation for Mental Injury
Pottsville, Pa.—Because he suffered mental injury as a result of sunstroke while working for the East Broad Top Railroad and Coal Co., Thomas E. Vaughn won a state compensation award. The worker was stricken while working under a skylight in the company's shop.

SOCIALIST HEAD IN LATVIA

Premier and Five Members of Cabinet Are From Party of Labor

(Continued from page 1)

ple's association for boys and girls, with the same aims as the league. Already units have been founded in the cities and towns and even in some of the country districts. Young workers and peasants are enrolling in large numbers and the result of the maneuver seems likely to be just the opposite from what was intended.

Two years ago in the local elections the Latvian Socialists captured the administration of a medium-sized town called Talsi. They have made it a remarkable example of what efficient working-class municipal government can do, even in a capitalist-controlled country. New schools have been built, the streets are kept in excellent condition and a municipal electric light and power plant has been constructed. Furthermore, the city fathers have taken over all the saloons and are running them so carefully that the consumption of hard liquor has been reduced by 30 percent already, although the city has made \$1,000 net profit in five months. Temperance propaganda is being carried on by the administration, regardless of the possible diminution of profits.

Talsi also has its own savings bank and credit institution and a municipal co-operative of consumption is about to be launched. The municipal library is now one of the best in Latvia and the city administration even runs excellent concerts with the best talent to be found in Riga. In spite of all these costly activities, the small property owners have been practically freed from taxes.

Cultured and political and union work go hand in hand in Latvia. A recent instance was the founding of a Workers' Theatre Association in Riga, with the poet, Rainis, at its head. The association is to have its own theatre and artists and is welcomed by all progressive elements, as well as by the labor organizations, as a much-needed move to counteract the degradation of the stage and drama which has gone so far in the bourgeois theatres.

Unions Backing Fight on Communism in N. Y.

HERE is a complete list of the unions represented at the first conference of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, which was reported in The New Leader last week. The great turnout of unions was due, to a great extent, to the efforts of the United Hebrew Trades and its secretary, Morris Feinstein, who opened the Beethoven Hall conference.

The following organizations were represented by accredited delegates: International Typographical Union, Local 6; Basters and Tailors, Local 2; A. C. W.; Cap Cutters, Local 2; Joint Council of Cap Makers; Cloth Hat and Millinery Workers, Local 17; Cap Makers, Local 1; Cap Makers, Local 40; Cap Makers, Local 3; Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 285; International Fur Workers' Union; Hebrew Bill Posters and Ushers; Italian Dress and Waist Makers, Local 89; Fur Floor Workers, Local 3; Bathrobe Makers, Local 91; L. G. W. U.; Millinery Workers, Local 24; Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union; Kneep Pants Makers, Local 19; A. C. W.; International Pocketbook Workers' Union, Local 162; A. C. W.; International Sheet Metal Workers, Local 137; Vest Makers' Union, Local 292; A. C. W.; Local 4; A. C. W.; Independent Shoe Workers' Union; Bakery and Confectionery Workers, Local 190; Millinery Workers, Local 42; International Jewelry Workers, Local 1. International Jewelry Workers' Union, Local 63; Children's Clothing Workers' Trade Board, A. C. W.; Local 10, Section C. A. C. W.; United Hebrew Trades of Chicago; Pants Makers, Local 5; A. C. W.; International Pocket Makers' Union, New Jersey Board; Bakers and Confectioners' International Union, Local 305; U. B. of Carpenters and Joiners of A. Local 298; Brotherhood of Teamsters, 807; Pants Makers, Local 851; A. C. W.; Brotherhood of Teamsters, 805; Vest Makers, 186; A. C. W.; Millinery Workers, Local 24; Theatrical Doormen's Union; Vest Makers, Local 16; A. C. W.; United Hebrew Trades of Philadelphia; Waiters and Waitresses, Local 1; Vest Makers, Local 202; A. C. W.; Retail Cleaners and Dyers' Union; Fur Dressers, Local 2; Pants Pressers, Local 40; A. C. W.; United Brewers International Union, Local 211; Local 178, A. C. W.; Lapel Makers' Union, 181; A. C. W.; Women's Trade Union League; Local 280; A. C. W.; Cleaners and Dye House Drivers; Pants Makers, Local 48; A. C. W.; Fur Dressers, Local 84; Delicatessen Countermen, 302; Children's Clothing Workers, Local 10; Section B. A. C. W.; Children's Clothing Pressers, Local 11; A. C. W.; Pants Makers' Trade Board, A. C. W.; Russian Bath Rubbers of America; Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers' Union of Greater New York; Children's and Sailor Jacket Makers' Union, Local 176; A. C. W.; Local 5; A. C. W.; Local 3; A. C. W.; Bakers' International Union; Local 64; A. C. W.; Local 24; A. C. W.; Retail Dress Goods Salesmen's Union of Greater New York; Cigarmakers' Union, 144; Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union; Clothing Turners' Union, 56; A. C. W.; New York Joint Board, A. C. W.; Bakers and Confectioners, Local 305; Bakers' Union, Local 57; Laundry Workers' International Union; Shirtmakers' Union, 23; L. G. W.; United Hebrew Trades of Philadelphia and vicinity; Joint

Board Cloth and Skirt Makers' Union of Philadelphia; International Ladies' Garment Workers, Local 3; Milk Wagon Drivers, Local 584; Cloak Pressers, Local 35; L. G. W. U.; United Chorus Union, Local 9.

Matron Bakers' Union; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Mattress and Box Spring Makers' Union, Local 33; Hebrew Butcher Worker's Union, Local 234; Actors' Union; L. G. W. U., Local 10; Cutters; Bakers' Union, 190; Bakers, 97; Bakers, 163; Bakers, 169; Bakers, 305; Butchers, 174; Butchers, 211; Hebrew Butchers' Union; Barbers' Union, Local 657; Barbers' Union, Local 752; Buttonhole Makers' Union; Choristers' Union; Cleaners and Dyers' Union; Delicatessen Clerks' Union; Furniture Salesmen's Union; Furniture Drivers' Union; Wholesale Grocery and Flour Drivers' Union; Typographical Union, Local 42; Hebrew Billposters and Ushers' Union; Ice Cream Makers' Union.

International Association Sheet Metal Workers' Union, 137; Jewelry Workers' Union; Laundry Workers' Union, 230; Laundry Drivers' Union, 110; Matron Bakers' Union; Mattress and Bed Spring Makers' Union; Milk Drivers' Union, 584; Mineral Water Workers' Union; Retail Dress Goods Salesmen's Union; Retail Clothing Salesmen's Union; Retail Ladies' Garment Salespeople; Retail Grocery Clerks' Union; Russian Bath Workers' Union; Theatrical Protective Union, Local 1; Theatrical Doormen's Union; Theatrical Stage Carpenters, 4; Theatrical Tailors and Dressers' Union; Theatrical Musical Club; Trunk Makers; Umbrella Makers' Union; Waiters' Union, Local 1; Waiters' Union, Local 2; Waiters' Union, 219; Ladies' Hat Frame Makers, Local 50; Ladies' Hat Lining Makers, Local 51.

DARROW AND DURANT TO DEBATE ON MACHINERY

Unusual interest is being shown in the forthcoming debate between Clarence Darrow and Mr. Will Durant, which takes place Saturday, January 5, 8:30 p. m., at Carnegie Hall. The subject is "Is Man a Machine?" Darrow, from the height of his agnosticism and deep-dye pessimism, will argue that man is the creature of reactions and compulsions which are beyond his control, while Durant will contend that reason is a primary part in the life of man.

Dr. John B. Watson will act as chairman. This debate has been arranged by the League for Public Discussion, 500 Fifth Avenue.

Open San Francisco Labor Bank
San Francisco.—The San Francisco Brotherhood National Bank, sixth union bank on the Pacific coast, opens with a capitalization of \$500,000. This is the first union bank in this part of California.

Reserve January 30
BRONX BALL
Socialist Party

Ring Out the Old Year, Thank God!



COMMUNIST ALLIANCE WITH GANGSTERS SEEN IN ARREST OF 2 FURRIERS

A COMMUNIST alliance with underworld characters in a desperate effort to retaliate against the ouster of Communist officials from control of the New York Cloakmakers' Union was seen by President Morris Sigman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in the holding for Grand Jury action of two Communist furriers in \$10,000 bail each for an attack on a cloakmaker, a member of Pressers' Union Local 25.

The cloakmaker is Abraham Cohen, who lives at a Bronx address. According to the complaint he was set upon by Morris Lederfeld and Joe Weiss, gangsters employed by Ben Gold, Communist manager of the Furriers' Joint Board, who administered a severe beating on Sixth Avenue, between 24th and 25th Streets, on December 9, because he justified the ouster of Communist officials in the cloak union following a disastrous 25 weeks' strike. Magistrate Renaud, sitting in Jefferson Market Court, was shocked by the brutal beating given to Cohen, and he held the two assailants over for the Grand Jury, fixing heavy bail.

President Sigman, in commenting on the assault, declared: "This unholy alliance between the Communists of various needle unions and gangsterism must stop. It reveals a desperate Communist attempt to stave off the inevitable—their complete elimination from our progressive unions demanded by a rank and file outraged by their campaign of terrorism. This recourse to violence of a most brutal nature—Cohen was so beaten up that after three weeks he was still almost too weak to appear in court against his assailants—is their last card."

Six Popular Lectures The Theory and Practice of INDIVIDUAL PSYCHOLOGY

DR. ALFRED ADLER
Eminent Viennese Psychologist,
Psychoanalyst and Educator

Mon., Jan. 3.—The School as an Experiment in Child's Preparation for Life.
Fri., Jan. 7.—The Problem Child.
Sat., Jan. 8.—If-Confidence: Its Meaning and Value.
Wed., Jan. 12.—First Remembrances: Fancies About Occupations.
Fri., Jan. 21.—Dreams.

EVENINGS AT 8 O'CLOCK
Course Tickets, \$5. Single Adm., \$1.

Also Three Special Lectures by Dr. Adler
Thurs., Jan. 6.—FOR DOCTORS ONLY—
The Prevention of Neuroses. Admission, \$1.
Fri., Jan. 7.—FOR PARENTS ONLY—
The Spoiled Child. Admission, \$1.
Sat., Jan. 8.—FOR TEACHERS ONLY—
The Difficult Child. Admission, \$1.

AFTERNOONS AT 3:30 O'CLOCK
The Community Auditorium
PARK AVENUE and 34th STREET
For information, tickets, etc., apply to Educational Department
12 Pa. Avenue

MONDAY, JAN. 3, at 8:15 P.M. "Coolidge And The Changing Times"

WILLIAM ALLEN
WHITE

Famous Editor of Emporia Gazette, Emporia, Kansas; Author of "Life of Wilson," "Life of Coolidge," etc.

THURSDAY, JAN. 6, at 8:15 P.M.
"The Racial Interpretation
of History"

DR. WILL
DURANT

Educator, Philosopher, Lecturer
Author of "The Story of Philosophy"

BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER
857-691 Eastern Parkway
(7th Av. I.R.T. Subway to Nottland Av.)

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 168th Street
Sunday, January 2, 1927

REV. LEON R. LAND
"The Passing of the Old World
and the Dawn of the New Day"

8 P. M.
OPEN FORUM
LOUIS BUDENZ

Editor of Labor Age
"How to Fight Economic Autocracy"

ADMISSION FREE

The Proletarian Study Group

Next Lecture of the Course on
"Illusions of All Civilizations"
A Critique of Glass Idenberg

by
LEON SAMSON

AT THE CARLTON

6 West 11th St. (near Fifth Ave.)

Wednesday, January 25th, 8:30 P.M.

The Illusions of Propaganda

QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

LABOR TEMPLE

14th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

6 P. M.—Contemporary Literature

DR. WILL DURANT

"Gerard Hauptmann"

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"Resolutions for Radicals"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—

NORMAN THOMAS

"American Students and the Labor Movement"

ADMISSION FREE

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION

AT 8 O'CLOCK

RUNDAY, JANUARY 2nd

DR. JOHN A. LAPP

"The Outlook for Civic Liberty"

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4th

ALFRED TYRNAUER

"The Reorganization of Central Europe"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7th

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

What Is the Matter with Modern Ideas?

"Cultural Standards in the Modern World"

ADMISSION FREE

Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL

AT 8 O'CLOCK

MONDAY, JANUARY 2nd

MARK VAN DOREN

Literary Criticisms

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4th

DR. MELVILLE HERSHKOVITS

"What Anthropology Is"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 6th

DR. E. G. SPAULDING

The Interpretation of the Universe

SATURDAY, JANUARY 8th

G. KINGSLEY RABLE, Ph.D.

Evolutionary Facts and Theories

"The Environment and Evolution"

ADMISSION FIVE CENTS

PORTERS' CASE IN HANDS OF R. R. BOARD

Negotiations Between Union and Pullman Company Now in Progress

By Frank R. Crosswaith

WITH the beginning of actual negotiations between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, through the medium of the United States Mediation Board, the Pullman Porters' Union advances to a new and interesting position and is fraught with significance insofar as these affect the Negro masses.

From the day when the first slave ship, loaded to its gunwales with human freight, set sail from Africa for the new world to this day, the history of the Negro in the United States has been written with the tears and blood and heartaches of the tortured and toll-crushed black. In all his relations with the white man the Negro was always at a hopeless and helpless disadvantage. This fact is never more clearly seen than in the industrial and economic life of the group, especially in the Southland. Contracts were made for virtually the life of the Negro without his knowledge. It is well known that in keeping with the century-old custom of ruling classes to deny an education to those ruled, in the hope of maintaining rulership—the slaveholders did not permit Negroes to learn how to read and write; it was, therefore, impossible for the slave to read the contracts drawn up by his master, and as for signing them, this procedure was out of the question, since Negroes were not permitted to learn the art of writing.

Under this arrangement countless injustices were practiced upon these conveniently illiterate workers. The practice continued in full flower during the period immediately following the overthrow of slavery, and to this day in certain sections of the South, the custom is still in force, though somewhat restricted. The truth of this statement can be evidenced by the meagre amount spent in certain Southern states for Negro education. It is to be noted that it is mainly in such sections that peonage, the dying relic of slavery, still exist.

On Wednesday, December 8, in Chicago, when A. Philip Randolph presented the case of the Pullman porters before a government agency, created for the purpose of adjusting all grievances between railroad owners and workers, regardless of color or position, the old iniquitous relationship between the races received a vulnerable blow. The event marks the fact that the beginning of the time is here when the industrially awakened Negro worker will demand a voice and a vote in the making of contracts affecting the sale of his labor power, the conditions of his employment and his wages.

The making of a successful agreement between the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood will also tend to completely shatter some of the long held beliefs concerning the Negro worker, his ability to function in the modern industrial world, his capacity to grasp the significance and importance of trade union organization, and to utilize this method of coping with the problems of our industrial age. That the future of the Negro will be most fundamentally affected by the outcome of the porters' case is readily conceded by all who have given even a cursory thought to the matter.

Mussolini Jails 100,000 Opponents; Fascists Sack Precious Libraries

THAT Filippo Turati, the venerable Italian Socialist leader, was well advised in recently making his escape from the enormous jail, of which Benito Mussolini is head turnkey, becomes clear with the perusal of the following report, dated November 16, received by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International from a reliable Italian source:

Each day brings fresh reports of violence. All links are broken, every city stands alone. When news does arrive, it comes, as in the middle ages, in the mouths of travelers. Probably no one will ever know the extent of the so-called acts of reprisal following on the Zamboni attempt.

In Milan the offices, chambers and dwellings invaded, sacked and burned are estimated at about one hundred. Those injured by beating at about a thousand; a certain number have been gravely hurt; three, perhaps four, persons have been killed. All these estimates are rather below, than above, the facts. Any calculation for the whole of Italy is, of course, quite uncertain, the Fascist violence has raged with varying degrees of intensity: in some provinces worse than in Milan, in others, especially in Central and Southern Italy, in less degree. Still it may be said that over all Italy the acts of destruction, arson and looting amount to about 1,000, while the number of those injured by Fascist violence amount to some tens of thousands.

Headquarters Attacked

Nothing has been saved of the few remains that still existed of the former Socialist organizations, sacked in the most barbarous manner at Rome, Milan, Turin, Genova, etc. In these former headquarters of the workers' Fascist institutions are now installed by right of conquest.

The majority of the "punitive expeditions" have simply ended in looting; the furniture of the "occupied" premises has even been removed in motor-lorries, not to speak of money and valuables. In a similar fashion, for example, the rooms of the Socialists Pietro Nenni, Zanarini, Dugoni, Lucini and innumerable others have been pillaged.

Libraries Are Pillaged

The government has sought in vain to disavow some of the most shameful exploits, such as the sacking of the library of Benedetto Croce, one of the greatest European thinkers, a man aloof from politics, but charged with having established that Fascism is incompatible with culture. Now, however, direct news received enables us to confirm beyond any possibility of denial the violence committed. The gunman carried off numbers of volumes, displaying them through the streets as trophies of war and then presenting them to street urchins. The rich library of economic books of Comrade Arturo Labriola suffered even more thorough pillage. The same fate befell the precious and unique theatrical library of Roberto Bracco, the great Italian dramatist. The manuscripts of his plays were burned in a bonfire in the street.

In the University of Naples, professors marked as anti-Fascists were maltreated and driven from the university with blows and kicks.

In all the towns of Italy arrests are being carried out indiscriminately. All the known militants of the Socialist Party have been seized or are being closely pursued, for luckily some have managed to evade the police net; the militants of the Republican and Communist parties and also many of democratic tendency are suffering the same fate. The prisoners are often released and then rearrested within a few days, because the police of the whole kingdom seems to be overcome by a fit of insanity.

Among the recent arrests we may mention the Socialist M. P.'s Zircardini at Milan, Viotto at Brescia, Morigliano, Cazzamalli, Frontini at Como

Mussolini's Tyranny Uniting His Enemies

That the wave of tyrannical measures directed at all anti-Fascists, following the alleged attempt upon the life of Mussolini at Bologna on October 31, is forcing the various anti-Black Shirt groups to get together for common war upon the present regime in Italy is evidenced by reports of recent activities of Italian emigres.

As the latest Fascist edicts make all open political opposition impossible in Italy, both the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (the Unitarians) and the Italian Socialist Party (the Maximalists) have set up headquarters in Paris and announced that they have freed their members in Italy from party obligations. The representatives of these parties have held a joint meeting with officials of the Italian Republican Party, which is also under the Fascist ban, at which a pronouncement was issued pointing out that there could be no compromise with Fascism and that only through the overthrow of the Black Shirt regime could Italy be redeemed, politically, economically and morally.

In addition to Il Corriere degli Italiani, the anti-Fascist paper already in existence in Paris, l'Avanti, the official organ of the Italian Socialist Party, has been transferred from Milan to the French capital and is coming out as a weekly. It is expected that La Giustizia, the organ of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers, will do likewise. Ugo Cecchi, 10 Rue de la Tour d'Auvergne, Paris, is now general secretary of the Maximalists. New impetus to the Socialist movement abroad has been lent by the arrival in Paris of the venerable Filippo Turati and the recent escape to Switzerland of Claudio Treves, another Socialist veteran.

Besides the anti-Fascist political activities of the refugees, the Italian union workers in France allied with the French Confederation of Labor are to pay special assessments, beginning Jan. 1, for the support of the skeleton of the Italian Confederation of Labor still in existence at home.

(the two latter were released at once). Romita, at Turin, Gallani at Padua, Capocchi at Leghorn, the Communist M. P.'s Grazzade, Maffi, Gramaci, Riboldi, Repossi, Daman, etc., and the Republican M. P. Morea. At Milan the Socialist organizers and militants Schiavelli, Clerici, Vigorelli, Crestana (these three lawyers) and many others have been put in prison.

Among others actively pursued are Comrades Treves, M. P.; Pietro Nenni, Zanarini, Florio; the Republican M. P.'s Chiesa, Macrelli, Facchinetti (arrested and then released), the two brothers Bergamo.

All over Italy the prisons are absolutely full. At Bologna before the affair of Oct. 31 there were already two to three thousand persons arrested; after the attempt thousands of others were added (Bologna has less than 200,000 inhabitants), so that special trains to the neighboring prisons had to be arranged. At Turin 1,200 persons

were arrested. At Milan on Nov. 12, according to a confidential police communication, the political offenders arrested numbered 5,000, crowded 2, 3 or 4 per cell, in a damp and unhealthy atmosphere.

And since supervision is impossible and the prison staffs in general are anti-Fascist, the prison of Milan is the sole place where Socialist songs can be sung without restraint. The Fascist regime has thus brought it about that prison is the only place in which a certain degree of liberty can be enjoyed.

Even small and quiet provincial cities, like Como or Faenza, or Pistoia have each had more than 100 political prisoners. If one had to calculate how many Italians have passed through prison during October and November on political charges, it would be necessary to give figures which outside Italy would seem "difficult to believe." Probably the figure of 100,000 is below the fact.

Helping the Good Work Along

LAST week we mentioned that the 14th and 16th District Branch of the party was out to make a record. They started out with 20 yearly cards on our special offer to party branches for new subscribers. It looked then as if this branch would remain at the top of the list for some time. We did not figure at the time that Greater New York is blessed with a party organization accustomed to doing things on a large scale and that once it gets started it is a difficult task to keep pace with it. We refer to the 23rd

Assembly District, better known as the Brownsville Branch. It is bad enough to compete with such a branch but when in addition you have to contend with two hustlers like comrades Herman and Sadie Rivkin it will require a great deal of work and hustling to surpass their record. Without any noise comrade Herman Rivkin slips in an order for 35 yearly subscription cards and whispers to us that this is only a start and that as soon as he gets his group of hustlers on the job we had better print enough additional cards to be able to cope with the demand.

Thus, with the assistance of the two party branches above mentioned, in two weeks The New Leader secured 55 new subscribers. What these branches have done and are doing can and should be done by every party organization. Two or three live wires in each organization can, with little difficulty, dispose of 10 cards, every week or every month. This kind of work undertaken wholeheartedly and by a large number of party organizations will give us in six months enough new readers to forever dispel the doubt that The New Leader can be made self-supporting.

Two Branches—one in New York and one in Brooklyn—have been heard from, who will be next? Always remember that \$10 in subs for The New Leader, means also \$10 for your branch treasury. Let us hear from you.

We extend our New Year greetings to our readers and wish them all a happy and prosperous new year. We thank them for the interest shown and the assistance rendered and express the hope that with their co-operation The New Leader will be able to make 1927 a year of real achievement in extending the circle of readers. We have elaborated plans to gain new readers for the coming year. Every effort will be made to carry these plans to a successful fruition. Our own efforts will accomplish little unless we can enlist the co-operation of our readers. If every hustler—and The New Leader has on its mailing list the best in labor movement—will make a new year resolution to secure one new subscriber during each month of 1927, enough new readers will be added to our list to place the paper on a solid footing and banish forever the gloom which has been constantly with us the last two months. You can do it and we hope that you will do it. Start the work at once and help us make January a banner month for new readers just as it has been a banner month for renewals.

The first results of our offer of Calverton's new book, Sex Expression in Literature, for new subscriptions has brought us two new readers and the book is being mailed to those who took advantage of the offer. Read the offer in the advertisement on page 2 and remember that with little effort the book can be yours for nothing or for

only \$1.00. Many of our readers will want that book and we suggest that they had better get busy immediately. The book sells regularly for \$2.50. You can get the book sent to you free if you send us three yearly subscriptions. If you can't get three subscriptions, secure one and the book will be sent to you for the payment of \$1.00 only, a saving to you of \$1.50.

We are always glad to mail sample copies to prospective readers. Our experience has convinced us that a sample copy to one who has never seen or heard of The New Leader is the most eloquent circulation appeal and generally gets results. Many of our subscribers have been secured in this manner. Next to getting new readers which is the most effective work that you can do for The New Leader, you can compile a list of present or former party members, known or potential sympathizers, and we will mail them each a sample copy to be followed with circulars soliciting their subscriptions. This work requires little effort and should be done by every reader.

We have done considerably better with subs this month than during the same month in 1925 and a little better than last month. We are glad of it but are far from satisfied. We hope that with the assistance of our friends better progress will be reported during the months to come.

A survey of the subscriptions received this week shows the following states represented: W. J. Danzeis, Cal.; D. H. Barry, Cal.; Davis & Jasper McLevy, Conn.; J. Kimber, Colo.; Bonnichsen,

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

the "authorization" of ten very costly new cruisers. Apparently, however, he doesn't mean to go ahead and build the cruisers but simply to use them in bargaining with the other powers for a new conference on the limitation of naval armaments. This is not enough for our militarists. Actually there is no folly like the folly of competitive building. There is no degree of armament that ever has or ever will satisfy the militarists and especially the naval officers to whom an increase in armament is a matter of professional profit and advancement. The United States is rich enough to outbuild any single nation or perhaps any two nations. It cannot outbuild the world. The effort to do so will but intensify the competition and the burden upon producers everywhere. The limitation of armament in itself will not be a sure preventive for war. But undoubtedly a race in armament is a contributing cause of war. It cannot be maintained without fanning in the public mind flames of fear and suspicion of Japan or some other foreign power. A further limitation of naval armament is just plain good sense. And it is to be hoped that a new world conference on the subject under the auspices of the League of Nations, or otherwise, with the participation of the United States may soon be held.

The Honorable Jimmy Walker, in answer to my letter on housing, told the newspapers that he was not neglecting housing because that big city planning committee of his was at work. Apparently this Soviet of Babbitts, big and small, whom Walker appointed as an alibi for his own do-nothing policy, regards housing as a matter of profound secrecy. It only concerns more than half the population in New York! The Mayor's committee has held no hearings whatsoever. Anyway, the time has come for a plain declaration of policy by the Mayor himself. The Mayor can no more pass the buck on this straight issue to some committee than he can pass the buck on transit.

Another matter for Socialists to think about is our policy with regard to labor unions. By now we certainly have made it plain that we do not for a moment endorse the Communist conception of outside control of unions through nuclei, cells and whatnot, which have to take orders from the Executive Committee of a political party. No union organization can stand for this sort of thing. That is the fundamental and most legitimate issue in the present conflict in the unions.

On the other hand the Socialist Party might as well go out of business if its influence in the labor union is to be merely negative. It ought not to seek to control secretly or openly. It ought in open and candid fashion to seek to educate union men on questions of profound importance to the whole labor movement. It ought, if necessary, to use its disciplinary powers on its own members if by their conduct they dishonor the name of Socialist in the trade unions. How can these principles be put in action? That is the question Socialists have to face.

Congratulations to H. H. Broach of the Electrical Workers for trying to clean up a mess in a trade union of a sort too often left for some outside investigating committee to tackle.

Kansas: Hochberg, Md.; McLean and Whitcomb, Mass.; Nielson, N. D.; Haferman, Lurel and Reid, N. J.; Krag and Wike, N. Y.; Jones, P.; Ziemberger, Ohio; Hotchkiss, Pa.; Sullivan, Alberta, Can.; 3 subscriptions for libraries in Soviet Russia and a number of subscriptions in New York City.

We hope that the states not on the above list will be heard from in time to be included in next issue. The New Leader has subscribers in every State in the union and with the help of our readers today's list can be increased ten fold. The holidays will be over next week and with it all the worries which is the lot of the wage earners, and our friends will be able to devote a little time to the work of giving The New Leader the support that will eventually make it self-supporting—new readers. Let us hear from you.

Court Upholds Packers' Pension Skin Game; Aged Workers Lose Out on "Welfare" Scheme

Chicago.—The essential fraud of company welfare schemes stands out in big letters in the refusal of the Illinois Appellate Court to help 400 old-age pensioners of Morris & Co., formerly one of the Big Five meat packers, to recover \$7,000,000 due them. The Morris firm was bought up by Armour & Co. in 1924, but the company's pension obligations were dumped on the refuse heap.

It was the familiar company pension plan by which employees are induced to stick to their job, often at lower wages than their market value, in order to realize a small but assured income in their old age. In the case of Morris & Co. the employees contributed 3 per cent of their wages every pay day in exchange for the promise of a life pension after 20 years of service or after reaching the age of 55.

But it was only a promise. Both lower and appeal courts have now held that the promise wasn't worth anything and could not be made the basis of a suit to recover. This was because the clever employers, instead of assuming the obligations direct, had organized the game in such a way as to throw the legal obligations on a pension committee. A few employees were handpicked to act as rubber

stamps for the company on this committee. Morris not only got his men to pay in 3 per cent of their wage each week, without getting the cash return in their old age, but made it a condition of the pension scheme that the pensioners must return to their jobs in case of labor trouble if the company demanded it. The astute packer thus induced the employees to pay for pensioners they never got and assured himself of a trained labor supply in case his active employees found conditions too hard to bear. And all for a promise that was easy to make because his lawyers had probably told him with many a grin and snicker that the promise would not mean anything, anyway.

In his brief to the court Attorney C. W. Armstrong, for the disappointed pensioners, said: "To allow the employer in such a case to repudiate liability would come perilously near convicting of the perpetration of a fraud." This polite verbiage covered very strong indignation. But though the court may have been awfully sorry it did not shrink at coming "perilously near convicting." Commenting on the lower court's decision, Armstrong said: "Morris got all the benefit from the arrangement. The pension committee amounted to nothing and is simply a technicality."

A WHITE TONGUE

When your child is looking somewhat "out of sorts," look at his tongue. If his tongue is not clear, it is a sign that his stomach is not in order and needs a thorough cleansing at once.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will eliminate all accumulated undigested waste matter from your child's system. It will regulate his stomach and liver, will restore his appetite, and in a few hours he will again be well and happy.

10, 25 and 50c. a box, at all druggists

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.

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Russell Prescribes New Methods for American Socialism

Mr. Russell's article is the sixth in a series dealing with "The Problems of American Socialism." Next week's article, by UPTON SINCLAIR, will be in reply to W. J. Ghent's criticism of the Socialist Party.

Others who will take part in the discussion include Lewis S. Gannett, Morris Hillquit, Louis D. Brandeis, Abraham Cohen, Norman Thomas, Louis F. Budenz, Vida D. Scharrer, Joseph Shaplen, F. F. Calverton, Julius Gerber, W. M. Feigenbaum and J. A. C. Meng.

The New Leader cordially invites its readers to take part in the discussion. In addition to Mr. Sinclair's article next week, there will appear several letters of interest.

By Charles E. Russell

WISDOM is a retrospective old bird that always comes too late, but seldom shows up while the event is on. Nothing is easier than to point out where the Socialist Party made errors, but they were not so readily to be discerned by anybody at the time they were made. Exploiters and persons that entertain schemes of profit can usually see well enough, but men and women that are moved to any hope of the general welfare are never clear-sighted about relative advantage and disadvantage, and cannot be. Particularly those that feel deeply the horrors of the competitive organization of society and glimpse what the world might be if that blight were removed—these, most of all, if my observation has been of any avail, are likeliest to be carried by the fervor of their faith into impracticable notions.

Nevertheless, looking back, it does seem to me there were some things we might have perceived if we had but looked about us. We were a political party in America. That meant that if we were to function on the political field we must appeal to and attract the native voter. If all the foreign-born voters between the Atlantic and the Pacific were to plump for us that would in reality do us no good. What we had to win was the confidence and support of Americans.

We never did a thing toward any such winning. On the contrary, in every conceivable way we aroused the American voter's distrust and dislike.

SHARES THE BLAME

That seems to have been a superfluous and Boettian dullness. For one thing I am quite ready to accept my own full share of the blame. There was an element in the party, not large, perhaps, but influential, that was actuated less by ardent devotion to the Socialist cause than by an implacable hatred of the country in which they dwelt. Most of these had led hither to escape oppression and penury; and, having found not only an asylum but prosperity and welfare, they hated the country that had given them these advantages. This was natural enough, no doubt; but the point is that the counsel of such men were not perfectly adapted to guide to success a political party on American soil. Anyone with half my chances of observation in politics might have known this well, and I perceived it but dimly.

Complete Revision of Principles and Practices Is Held Only Basis of Progress in the Future

I suppose I was like the rest—blinded by the splendor of the object we sought.

It is not worth while now to dig up any more of these skeletons. The question that confronts you is what you are to do with the remnant of a party, thus steered most lamentably upon the rocks. It is generally admitted that if you are to work your craft off and get to sea again, it will be necessary, first of all, to Americanize your organization, and some of my friends are hesitant about saying how that can be done. It doesn't seem to me so appallingly difficult; you can do it if you really wish to do it.

URGES A NEW NAME

Supposing that you want any suggestions from me (as you do not) and that they will be of use to you (which they will not) let's see what could be done to put your maroons afloat again. 1. Change the name of your party. For the rest of this generation the very word "Socialist" will be hateful in the ears of Americans. Two things have made it so—the St. Louis platform of 1917 and the performances of the wild-eyed in Russia—and you can't rub out either.

2. If you are to be a political party in America you will have to proceed according to some method that Americans can understand.

For my own part I think you would do better to organize a strong compact block of radicals throughout the country that would swing their votes to one or the other of the great existing parties as occasion might arise and so get something started in the way of restraint upon the plutocratic power in the country. But if that doesn't seem possible with the material you have now, let us suppose you are to continue as a political party and a going concern.

A. You should can all this stuff about Scientific Socialism and all the terminology jargon that goes with it. There is no "class consciousness" in this country and will not be in your time. It is worse than useless to talk about it. Forget all about the economic interpretation of history and value, price and profit. These are things for the classroom, not for the hustings. Drop all the names and abstruse dogmas that you have

learned at the feet of long-winded prophets of the International. They will never go here.

ONE STEP AT A TIME

B. For myself, I am extremely fond of the word "comrade," but you can never make headway with a political party in America whose members call one another by any such name. It only makes Americans stare and laugh—which is bad for your aims. Besides, as you and I know well enough, the word lost much of its meaning when one has been kicked in the face four or five times as a mark of affection by his Socialist brother, and you may perhaps remember how large a part of our time was devoted to that uninspiring exercise.

C. Give up the idea of reforming the world in a swoop and bringing in a complete new social order overnight. There are some things that don't happen in this world. This is one of them. Besides, how far will you get with the American voter if you start out by assuring him that everything in his coun-

try is perfectly putrid, but you know how it can all be changed and made lovely? He will merely move toward the nearest patrol box to have you run in for the psychopathic. Americans don't understand the idea of ripping everything to pieces and starting all over again; they are inherently opposed to any such proposal, because, being eminently practical, they know it is all bosh. Progress in this world is made a step at a time.

D. Well, then, concentrate on the first step and win that. Millions of people in the United States that are perfectly ready for one good step would utterly reject any plan of universal reformation all in a heap. The majority of the inhabitants of the United States don't want to be enslaved by organized wealth any more than you do, but they are not ready to believe that the only way to win freedom is to stand the world on its ear.

"GET NEW LEADERS"

3. Write your platforms in straight-out, old-fashioned American, and

don't require everybody that reads them to understand perfectly what Marx meant in the fourteenth chapter of "Das Kapital."

4. Select young Americans for leaders. There will come on this earth a gladsome day when everybody will be perfectly ready to listen to everybody else, no matter where to halls from, but that day hasn't come yet, and will not until long after we are dust. There's no use waiting for it.

5. Gently but firmly put into the cards the leaders that were responsible for the catastrophic folly of the St. Louis platform. They are doubtless nice, good men, full of zeal and good intentions and everything, but, unfortunately, not useful to you in your present situation. What you want is somebody that understands the American psychology, and these learned and estimable gentlemen have proved that of such understanding they have not the beginning of the shadow of an inkling. I should think it might be well to establish a condition or degree of Leiter Emeritus, by which one that gets you into such a mess as that at

St. Louis would be retired and never be listened to thereafter. The English have this process developed to perfection. After the defeat at Jutland, did they fire Blunderer Jellicoe? Not on your life. They put a peerage on him and quietly led him up stairs where he couldn't do any more harm. Jellicoe your St. Louis leaders. It's the best use you can make of them.

THE A. F. O. L. AND SOCIALISM

6. You will never advance by sitting down to make faces at the American Federation of Labor. That organization may be scientifically all wrong, but you will notice that it trudges right along and keeps up its membership while your own has just about disappeared. The best thing you can do is to support the Federation and trot along with it. It is a blame sight nearer to the mind and will of the American worker than you are or are likely to be. The attacks upon it are perfectly foolish. It does an immense amount of good and no harm that I can see. It is the organization of the worker. Get a hold upon its coat tail.

7. Forget all about the Third International and the Third-third and all in between. Forget your resentment at the outcome of the war; that is ancient history and will not be changed. Forget all about the Versailles treaty, the French in the Ruhr, the Dantzig Corridor and the sad state of Scandinavia. Come down to earth; particularly to that part of the earth comprised within the U. S. A. Find some issue that has a possible interest for Americans; throw your hooks into that and make a dent in it. Then people will listen to you; assuredly they will not listen to you so long as you talk a language they don't understand.

Now, will you adopt these suggestions, or any of them?

EXPECTS NO CHANGE

You will not. As if I were a disembodied spirit and could hear everything, I know exactly what comments will be made when you read this. You will not make any change in your tactics. You prefer to continue to run around in circles. For be it from me to criticize any gentleman's taste in amusements. Running around in a circle is admirable exercise, strengthens the muscles of the legs and back and if taken with deep breathing is said to be beneficial to the lungs. But it has one little drawback. It never gets you anywhere.

I am willing to acknowledge that if one recalls the treasures of self-sacrifice poured out upon the Socialist party by the finest spirits, men and women, I have ever known, and then one turns to the figures of the Socialist vote in the last election, the superficial conclusions are not enlivening. But there is one thing we can all remember and be cheered by. The noble and beautiful vision of a world without greed, without poverty, without oppression and without war is not lost because at one time in its history few persons professed faith in it. In its own way it will come when time is ripe. I should think the only real question for you to decide is whether you wish to continue to chase around your nice little circles while you wait for the new day to come of itself or get busy at something effective to help it along. You can't do both, you know.

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As British Labor's Chairman Found Us

By George Hicks

Chairman of the Trades Union Congress General Council

George Hicks Says American Workers Are At Stage British Reached 25 Years Ago

THE tourist who only stays a few weeks in the country of his visit, and who dodges about, butterfly like, from one city to another for a swift rush round, and in train and car views the shifting scenery of that country as a vast panorama, receives a wealth of impressions which are far from reliable. The relation of the sights and sounds to the content of conversations one is able to have with chance acquaintances, with persons in conferences and meetings, with trade union leaders and public men of various shades of opinion, and with old friends, add considerably in confirming certain impressions, but even then one hesitates to express opinions about that country with the confident assurance that they are true. That is how I feel after my recent trip to America as Trades Union Congress delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have seen many towns and cities, I have railroaded through many of the States—Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, and so on—which we used to sing songs about here in Britain. I have eagerly sought information from everyone I met, and I have obtained as a consequence a mass of notions and ideas which will require considerable mental digestion. It really is a "proposition" to sort out

these notions and ideas and outline them with any degree of confidence.

AMERICANS LIKE BIG BOYS

The United States of America is a great country. There can be no question about that. It is great geographically, industrially, financially, politically, and in many other ways. It is the leading world power at the present time, in a capitalist imperialist sense. The inhabitants of the United States do not constitute a nation; they are composed of many nations. And the most vivid impression I have of the men generally is that they are like a lot of big boys, vigorous and loud-spoken, and naive and rather boastful, after the manner of boys. It is curious that these men, derived from so many nations, should be so intensely concerned in affirming their 100 per cent American nationality, and so patriotic in the jingo sense. But then the United States is a land of contradictions. Nobody in this country talks about the British Constitution, but we do take it in all seriousness; in the United States the American Constitution is talked about on any and every occasion, but the self-same Constitution is openly and flagrantly violated generally in several ways, particularly in regard to the law relating to prohibition. You pass the world-famous Statue of Liberty on entering New York Harbor, and yet we know that innocent men, like Sacco and Vanzetti, are lying in prison under the shadow of death, on framed-up charges. There is traditionally a big peace movement in America, and yet in no country are people so prone to use a gun or to resort to violence; what with the negro lynchings in the South, the machine gun, and even aeroplane wars of bootleggers in such a great city as Chicago, and the blood-greengings and massacres that always occur during industrial disputes.

THE DEATH OF DEBS

I was down in Mexico when the news was flashed across that Eugene Debs had died. Every newspaper in the United States, no matter what its political complexion, paid a glowing tribute to this grand old fighter in the workers' cause. Eugene Debs was more than a national figure, he was a national institution. It is a pity that those newspapers, so loud in their praises of the sterling honesty of the man and his love for truth and justice, did not universally press for his early release from that prison cell which hastened his death. To take pride in the martyr yet remain silent during his martyrdom—that is also somewhat paradoxical.

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The money rate of wages is high in the United States. But, relative to the cost of living, wages are not so high as one would imagine. I do not think from what I have heard and seen that the workers of America live any better than do the workers here. The technical specialists and highly-skilled artisans may. The craftsmen in the building industry, who in New York receive a minimum of \$14 and as much as \$17 a day, may. With wages so far in advance of what similar classes of workers are receiving in this country, an extra margin of comfort and well-being must be granted.

But, as regards the general body of workers, the little extras are nothing at all to boast about. The American worker's life may possess certain compensations which the workers do not possess here. But it has its drawbacks also. Many workers own their own "Tin Lizzies," as the Ford cars are called. Many of the workers' homes show a higher degree of comfort. But their life is more mechanized and standardized.

I went over the large manufacturing works of Henry Ford in Detroit. I watched the workmen at their work. There was something banal, callous, inhuman, and soul-destroying about the endless repetition that work involves. The Ford workers, and work-

EVIL NEWSPAPERS

The general American newspapers are just sheer tripe. On buying a newspaper I received, with astonishment, a great mass of printed matter, inclusive of peculiarly vulgar colored comics. The glaring headlines, frequently having no close or truthful relation to the "story" printed underneath; the slang, the sordid sex and crime revelations, the general lack of balance, literary culture or dignity which these newspapers display must have a devastating effect on the minds of their readers.

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, January 2, at 3.30 p. m., Jessie Stephen of Great Britain. Subject, "The Economic Emancipation of Women." East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway.

Sunday, January 2, at 8.30 p. m., August Claessens. Subject, "Incentive and Ambitions" (fourth lecture in a series on "Human Nature in Social Problems"). 137 Avenue B. Auspices, Y. P. S. L., Circle 8.

BROOKLYN

Tuesday, January 4, at 8.30 p. m., Esther Friedman. Subject, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism" (first of a series of six lectures on "Socialism"). 345 South Third Street. Auspices, Socialist Party, 4th A. D.

Friday, January 7, at 8.30 p. m., Harry Laidler. Subject, "Mexico's Struggle for Peace and Freedom." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street.

Friday, January 7, at 8.30 p. m., Esther Friedman. Subject, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism" (first of a series of four lectures). 167 Tompkins Avenue. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th A. D.

See End of Carpenter Strike

San Francisco.—The end of the carpenter strike in San Francisco seems near. The union officials and the Industrial Association have got together in an informal parley and will appoint a committee to consider terms for ending the walkout, which has existed since April 1. Each side will select 7 men, and the 14 will choose a neutral chairman.

ers working under the various so-called scientific and "Taylorized" methods, are, indeed, Robots. They are transformed from human beings into Robots. I would not work like that for anything in the world. Nothing would compensate me for the dreadful monotony of it and the intellectual degradation it carries with it.

Truly, as Debs said on one occasion: "When the capitalist needs you he does not call for men but for hands." You are not supposed to be possessed of a thinking brain or human intelligence. You are not supposed to be men. The Ford workers are truly "hands" in the crudely brutal sense of the term. The mechanization and standardization of American industry must have been achieved at the cost of an infinite amount of individual initiative, taste, desire and intelligence.

FOOD

I do not think the food which the American workman eats is, so good in quality as the food eaten by the workers of Britain. Capitalist concerns have been allowed to monkey about with foodstuffs and manufactured foods of the grapefruit variety. Egg powders instead of eggs, highly colored jams of doubtful origin, and tinned meats and fruits of all kinds are consumed by the American proletariat to a greater extent. I should imagine that food adulteration was more rampant there than here, with disastrous consequences to the general health of the people.

AMERICAN TRADE UNIONISM

It has been truly stated that the American trade union movement lags behind our movement. I would say the American labor movement is at the stage we had reached at the close of last century. Craft pride and prejudices are strong; sectionalism is strong. Many of the unions are possessed of the same social content and ideology as was possessed by our local unions of long ago.

I think that the very bigness of America accounts for much of this. The leaders of American trade unionism are confronted with tremendously hard and difficult tasks. The size of the ground to be covered is only one of the problems.

Another outstanding problem is the race and language problem. The English speaking American-born workers constitute but a fraction of the workers. Masses of Italian, German, Scandinavian, Slavonic, Greek and Croatian workmen are there employed in the coal fields, the textile and steel industries, and in the big industrial concerns—to say nothing of the negroes who have become proletarianized, waiting to be organized. The work of their organization bristles with difficulties, as must be readily realized, when committees have to be established of men who speak different tongues, and union journals have to be published containing news in different languages.

Nor is that all. The employing class in America is the most wealthy ruling class in the world, and one of the most

ITALIAN LOCAL OF A.C.W. IN ROCHESTER ELECTS

Following the election of president, vice-president, secretary of the local and ten members of the joint board, which were held on December 14, the Italian Local, No. 202, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, proceeded to the election of fourteen delegates to the executive board at the meeting which was held at the headquarters of the union of Tuesday, December 21. The following were elected: Jos. Dinardo, Frank Mannucci, Party Rossi, A. Pappani, A. Fabbella, Joseph Ferrazello, F. Pedulla, R. Soda, D. Floriani, J. D'Agostino, J. Brancatisano, S. Severino, F. Locascio and Nick Capobianco.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

What Nicholas Meant to Say

GET this, boys and girls, it's a lot funnier than it appears at first, when you find out who writes it. It is called "1926—Quo Vadis?" and for the benefit of those who haven't had the superior education that was wasted upon us in our youth we will inform you rough-necks that "Quo Vadis?" means, "Where the Hell Are you Going?" or words to that effect, and then it goes on:

"A free State built upon free labor with liberty for its watchword and justice as its guide, is the ideal of a true democracy—that form of society which Lowell characterized so suggestively, if incompletely, as one in which every man has a chance and knows that he has it. To the hectic emotional radicalism that clamors for the exaltation of the mediocre and the unfit, and upon which false democracy builds, true democracy will oppose a healthy, intellectual liberalism that will aim to redress old wrongs without inflicting new ones. This liberalism of true democracy sees the end of a perfected individualism not in selfishness, but in service, not in isolation, but in fraternity."

The above ravings are denoted by the New York Times as a definition of "The True Liberalism," and they come from the pen of that noted Liberal, Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, pal of Bishop Manning, errand-boy for the Morgans and lickspittles for any old check-book totter.

In plain language you can translate the fancy talk of Nicholas somewhat as follows:

"A high-binding plutocracy built upon scab labor, with 'Boys, Get the Money' for its watchword and the Department of Justice for its guide is the ideal of a Butler democracy—that form of society that Lowell made his reputation as a humorist by describing as one in which every man has his chance—providing he doesn't get caught at it. To radicalism that would throw out such a bunch of crooks, Butler democracy will oppose a healthy intellectual liberalism, meaning, of course, being liberal with the public funds. This liberalism sees the end of a perfected plutocracy not in selfishness (the boys should divvy up a bit), but in service (to Big Biz), not in isolation, but in a fraternity such as the Associated Porch-Climbers' Marching Clubs, Inc."

Now that we have started off the New Year in great shape by blowing ourselves to a bunch of armored cruisers and our jolly old marines are chasing the Nicaraguan Liberals all over the lot (by the way, I wonder what Nicholas Murray Butler has to say about that), we can turn to and make a number of resolutions about being kind to other nations and showing an example to the poor suckers of Europe, who do not enjoy the material and spiritual advantages of this glorious land of opportunity, which I am sure every little boy and girl would be worse than ungrateful if he or she did not appreciate to the utmost (stand-up, you big stiff, and take your cut off).

Besides national, there are, of course, personal resolutions to be made. For our part we have resolved that we will never read another line from the pen of Bruce Barton (this is not wholly noble, as leading Bruce Barton unnecessarily upsets our digressions), that we will try our damndest not to get into any more futile fusses with our Conservative friends, that we will do a lot more solid reading than we did last year (when we made the self-same resolution), and that we will be much firmer in rejecting invitations to public dinners. Just why we are so weak about this public dinner business is not quite clear to us. It's gotten almost to be a complex and we think something drastic ought to be done about it. When we think of the number of dishes of treacherous soup which have been whisked away from us by surly waiters, the vast amount of underdone chickens with their legs tastefully decorated with paper pantaloons, the quantities of plates of brick ice-cream (which give us acute pains in our foreheads), and, finally, the horrendous portions of oratory which we have consumed in years past, our heads reel.

This month has been a great one for conferences. All sorts and varieties of folks got together and conferred. We got into one recently that was being held by a lot of what they call "management engineers." They are the boys who think up tricks to make the workers work harder. They can devise systems whereby workers in the shops can be taught to run at full speed hither and yon with whole locomotives on their backs, by means of which one little girl at a machine can produce enough in one day to keep the entire town of Oshkosh supplied with socks for a year, etc.

It was "international night" when I got there and engineers from all over the world were groveling in worship of what they call the "American method," meaning the sort of stuff that lovely Henry Ford is doing in Detroit. A French engineer was speaking.

"We studied your marvelous methods for a long, long while," said he. "And then, when we decided to put them into effect in our factory there was a shortage of hands. We advertised in the papers for help. There appeared in answer to our advertisement, three Apaches from the Paris underworld, a blind man and an idiot girl. It looked like a poor lot at first, but by the use of the system that we learned in your splendid factories, we are proud to say that all five have now learned modern methods of mass production and are among the best workers in our plant."

We commend the above true account of the French engineer's speech to friends of ours, who tell us that they are grieved at some American workers who kick against Fordways.

McAlister Coleman.

Can Pound Notes Dig Coal?

Ye prattling fools, who talk as if your filthy lucre did the work,
And reared the buildings, manned the trains, and delved the coal in deepest murk—
Can dollars climb a ladder, say, or pull a lever, shift a gear?
Can dollars dig coal in a mine? Can dollars span that river there?
Ye fools, it is not gold that works, but sweating toilers 'neath the ban!
It is not dollars starve and quake—that lot falls to the working man!

This modern serf—come, view him close—oft robbed of brain, bereft of health;
This worse than slave—don't draw away—IS SOURCE OF ALL YOUR BOASTED WEALTH.
Then tell me not your dollars build, then tell me not your dollars span,
When I can see that all is done by just the COMMON WORKING MAN.

—George Henry Weiss.

The Guild's In Operation THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Democracy in the Guild
THE guild should be democratically run. Democracy, does not mean, according to Cole, that mass votes would be taken on every move in the productive process. "A mass vote on a matter of technique understood only by a few experts would be a manifest absurdity, and even if the element of technique is left out of account, a factory administered by constant mass votes would be neither efficient nor at all a pleasant place to work in."

Managers and the Guilds
This democratic regime, according to Cole, should make a special appeal to the manager and technician. It is true that under it the manager would not have the uncontrolled power to "fire" a worker, for the guildsmen "would insist that a man threatened with discharge should be tried by his peers, and every man would surely have behind him a considerable measure of economic security." Nor would he be able as now to ignore public opinion in the factory or the guild as a whole. On the other hand, there would be countervailing advantages. He would have a good prospect—if he did his work well, of having the public opinion of his factory decidedly on his side, in his attempt to make things move smoothly and efficiently. He could look to the workers to co-operate with him in accomplishing the best results. At the worst he would not find himself in the anomalous position in which he does at present as the nominee of a capitalist employer.

Types of Guilds
Guilds, according to the guild socialist, would be divided into industrial and civic guilds, while, some add, distributive guilds. There would be industrial guilds for transit and agriculture, mines and machines, building and paper and printing, textiles, clothing, food, etc. One writer

suggests nine or ten great industrial guilds to look after the economic aspect of the community.

The Agricultural Guild
The various industrial guilds would have practically the same structure, with the possible exception of the agricultural guilds. Such guilds would probably admit into their membership non-farmers in the small farming villages engaged in small-scale operations administering to rural needs. Under the guild regime farming on a small scale would probably continue to supplement large scale agriculture. Many of these small farms would probably remain outside of the guild system, subject in certain respects to guild regulations, and, perhaps, using the guild in part as an agency for purchase and sale, "but otherwise on their own."

The guild system would not interfere with such independent farming, except to see to it that the land was being properly utilized and to prevent ruthless exploitation of labor on the farm. In an endeavor to do this, a system might be worked out requiring that labor be supplied only through the guild and under conditions which the guild would lay down.

Civic and Distributive Guilds
Most guildsmen advocate, in addition to the industrial guilds, the organization of civic guilds. These would include, in a general way, the professions of today—the medical or health, the educational, the legal, the dramatic and others. Hobson makes elaborate provision as well for the government employee guild, among the civic groups, while Cole practically ignores this group. The distributive guild proposed by Hobson would have charge of much of the retail trade, and would contain on its council representatives of the consumers of the municipal bodies of the area covered by the guilds and of the productive societies whose goods it distributed. Cole would substitute for the distributive guild a producers-consumers'

organization associated with his proposed "commune."

Guild Structure
The guildsmen seem generally agreed that the guild unit should be the national guild, highly decentralized. Penty and his followers favor the local guild as the unit, on the ground that the basis of the medieval guild was local and that only by restoring local autonomy in industry could the domination of machine production be overthrown. The majority of guildsmen, on the other hand, point to the advantages of the economies of production on a national scale, as in the purchase and marketing of goods; to the fact that trade unions, which might be regarded as the basis of their ideal system, are national; that it is impossible to return to the localized life existing at the time of the supremacy of the medieval guilds, and that one should not be fearful of the domination of the machine as such, but of the control of the machine by absentee owners.

The national guild would have under its control such matters as the purchase of raw materials, the securing of markets, the laying down of general policies, as in the setting of standards of workmanship and safety, the conduct of research and the representation of the guild industry in its outside relationships. In actual matters of administration, on the other hand, the local unit, ordinarily the factory, would have very large discretion.

There would likewise be regional guilds to look after the interests of industry in various parts of the country. The local guild would elect representatives to the regional or district guild, and the district guild, to the national organization. The local guild would thus be represented indirectly, not directly, in the national council. Members of particular trades, furthermore, would be able to express themselves not only through the guilds, but through craft organizations, which might cut across guild borders and have special representa-

tion, particularly in the national guilds. Provision might also be made for shop committees for "rank and file" suggestions and criticisms, within the various factories.

In regard to membership in the guilds and expulsion from the guilds of recalcitrant members the guildsmen have had little to say. They have given more consideration, however, to the method of paying the members of the guild for their services. Hobson suggests that, at the beginning of each year, an amount be placed aside as the total wage budget of the year for the members of all of the guilds and that a wage fund be allotted to each guild in proportion to its membership, thus applying the principle of equality in wage payments as between the guilds. However, that would not necessarily mean that each guild member would receive the same reward. The guild would have full authority to pay unequal amounts to various categories of workers, and would probably do so for some time. Ultimately, it would be the hope of the guild leaders that the principle of equality in payments would be fairly generally applied. As has already been observed, the guildsmen advocate payments in sickness, and during slack times, as the needs of the workers do not cease when, through no fault of their own, they find themselves out of work.

Inter-Guild Relations

There would of course be a great many business transactions between the guilds. The clothing guilds, for instance, would stand in relation to the textile guild as buyer and seller. Business relations could be adjusted between guilds partly by means of a system of "interlocking directorates"—that is, the clothing guild could permit the textile guild to appoint a few representatives to sit on its local, regional and national councils, and partly through the holding of numerous inter-guild congresses where knotty problems of inter-guild relationships would be decided.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

A Letter To St. Nick

DEAR SANTA CLAUS:
I am a little boy only fifty-six years old, so I thought I would write you this letter, so that when you come this way you won't forget me.

I was always a good boy. Even as a baby I never smoked or chewed tobacco, or used bad language, and for a whole year I didn't drink anything stronger than milk. All the ladies who came to our house loved me and took me on their laps and kissed me because I was such a sweet little boy. And I have tried to repay their kindness in kind ever since—which you may not believe, but Honest Injun, and hope to die if I haven't!

When I was a little shaver I never bothered my Ma to give me jam and doughnuts and pie and sugar lumps. I always waited patiently until she left the kitchen and then helped myself. Neither did I ever cry for pennies—but just took the pig off the mantle and shook it until it gave me the pennies, which kept everybody happy because the pig was a good pig and never squealed.

In school I was always at the head of my class when called upon to explain who did it because the teacher knew I knew more about it than any other boy.

For awhile my school reports were not so very good except on penmanship, in which I always got a hundred. But one day the teacher sent me to the superintendent for a batch of blank report cards, and after that I had hundreds in everything.

I finally got so good in penmanship that I could write just like the teacher and Ma. So I used to write them notes to each other explaining why I wasn't in school the day before or came home too late to fill the wood box, which kept things pleasant all around.

Some of the bad boys in school often wished that the school house would burn down or the teacher die. But I never did. I prayed for it. But I guess I didn't pray hard enough, because the school house still stands, and when the teacher died it was too late to do me any good.

I always used to pray that when I grew up I would be a pirate, but neither was that prayer ever answered. The nearest I ever came to being a pirate was when I ran for Congress and almost got elected.

Yes, Santa, I always was a good boy, and even after I was grown up I did everything I could to make life interesting for the policemen and gave the uplifters and neighbors something to talk about. But what I am proudest of is that I never scabbled during a strike or took a job from any one, even when there was no strike. Because jobs are often very scarce, so that many a man is glad to have one, and I never was the kind of a fellow who would deprive a willing worker of his only pleasure.

Somewhere in this great country there is an honest working man who puts in eight, ten or maybe twelve hours a day at hard labor whose job I might have taken from him if I had been as mean as some people. I don't know him and he may know nothing about his benefactor, but if you happen to run across him, sitting comfortably beside the kitchen stove, surrounded by a dozen happy children, inhaling the mingling fragrances of corn beef and cabbage, soap suds and Four Brothers tobacco, tell him he's welcome to everything I gave him.

Tell him never to worry about his job on my account. Tell him that I would a thousand times rather die in the poor house than to deprive my fellow man of a good steady job. That's me all over. That's me, Santa. There isn't a thing I wouldn't do for a fellow worker who can't live and be happy without work. And all I ask for in return is: A Packard car, a steam yacht, a toy brewery and a seat in the U. S. Senate.

I know it is said that virtue is its own reward, but I'm sure you will agree that such rare virtue as mine is entitled to better pay. So please bring those things and I will remain forever
Your good little boy.

ADAM.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that I am just crazy about antiques, so if you can pick up an antique jug of Yuletide spirits while going through Canada, I wish you would let me have that, also.

We, Us and Co.

We have worried our editorial head considerable of late about our interests in Mexico. Now the Chicago Journal of Commerce has at last relieved our anxiety by publishing the names of the parties representing our interests and drawing our dividends in our Mexican holdings.

The list is not complete yet (more installments are promised), but from what we have gleaned so far we own some fifteen hundred million dollars of property in Mexico through the intervention of:
The Morgan Interests
The Standard Oil Interests
The Penrose Interests
The Mellon Interests
The Sinclair Interests
The Guggenheim Interests
The Henry Daugherty Interests
The Cole Ryan Interests
The Southern Pacific Interests
The Bethlehem Steel Interests
The Kuhn Loeb Interests

and sundry other interests in which we are platonically interested as sack holders without voice or vote. We hasten to state, however, that all these parties enjoy our full confidence as guardians of our Mexican interest, and we sincerely hope that in the event of a bloody conflict between these two countries they will continue to represent us in their present capacity.

Among the Missing

Clarence Bailey of St. Louis went out in the kitchen and started an argument with his wife. When seen again the upper part of Bailey's head was missing. To the inquiry of how the missing member of the Bailey family became missing, the Missus replied that it went off with a double-barreled shotgun she was using as a lid lifter.

The fact that the widow Bailey is bobbed-haired, only twenty-four and good looking, may be sufficient evidence to convince any American jury that the incident was purely accidental. But, say, isn't it a fright the way these bobbed-haired women are acting up lately? First the bobbed-haired bandit, then the bobbed-haired bank robber, then the bobbed-haired booze runner, and now the bobbed-haired mama who bobs her husband's head with a shotgun.

Adam Coaldigger.

The New Books

By James Oneal

IN the year 1921 the press carried the story of the reign of a mob in Harrison, Arkansas, which grew out of the railroad strike, the deportation of strikers, dictatorship by a Citizen's Committee, the lynching of a striker and burning of railroad bridges. Here was what is called an "Anglo-Saxon" community with practically no foreign element in the population. Civilized ways of living had collapsed. Terror reigned.

How explain this situation? Orrville Thrasher Gooden, professor of economics in an Arkansas college, tells the story of what happened. (The Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad Strike. New York: Columbia University Press, \$5). A fundamental background is the fact that this little road served an area estimated at 5,394 square miles and a population of 145,000. The road rarely paid dividends; merchants, lawyers and farmers invested in its stock, and suspension of operations for a few weeks almost completely isolated the people from the outside world.

For the first few weeks the strikers had the sympathy of the population. The strikers were "our boys" opposing a corporation. But want soon changed sentiment. It grew to resentment, then protest, then rage, and emerged as the tactics of force Anarchists by overthrowing the civil powers and establishing the rule of terror. Into the story is woven stupid adherence by the Railroad Labor Board to rigid technical procedure and something like it by conservative railroad union officials. Only one man on the ground seems to have had some intelligent comprehension of all the factors involved. Rev. J. K. Harris, and he eventually had to leave. In this atmosphere of malice and hysteria there was no place for a civilized human being.

Some Poor Judgment

It does not appear that the main faction of the strikers displayed the best of judgment either. These conservative union men of pure American antecedents remind us of the Communist leadership in the cloakmakers' strike of New York in the fact that they did not intelligently survey all the factors involved. They were entitled to their strike benefits, but it appears stupid indiscretion for some of them to flaunt their pay checks in the faces of others who had begun to feel the pinch of want. While there is little doubt that defective ash pans of engines were responsible for some fires there is also reason for believing that some of the union men did set fires for these had increased during the strike. On the other hand it is likely that railroad officials started some fires to create sentiment against the strikers. We have had instances of conservative American unionists resorting to sabotage, the most notorious being that of the McNamara brothers. It is useless to deny it. It grows out of a sense of futility when American unionists discover that they have not used their political power for their own interests and that the public powers are in the hands of their enemies.

Making allowance for this, it does not excuse the frightfulness of the lawyers, capitalists, bankers, editors and pastors when they constituted themselves a terrorist group and usurped the civil, police and judicial powers of the community. When the terror was at its height we have the amazing spectacle of candidates for public office having their fitness determined by whether they announced

themselves in favor of the railroad or against it!

The Terror in Action

Immediately on the assumption of illegal power strikers were seized, ordered to pledge their "loyalty" to the road and to give up their strike benefits. Many were driven out of town and others were held in a "bull pen."

The Road to Parnassus

By Norman Studer

FOR the most part, Percy Marks draws a fairly accurate picture of the academic scene. (Which Way Parnassus? By Percy Marks. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$2). Marks is equipped to give an inside picture of college life, having studied at the universities of California and Harvard and taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Dartmouth and Brown—leaving the latter institution by request on account of a "growing divergence of taste and ideals" between the author of The Plastic Age and the university authorities. Which way Parnassus is written in a vigorous and acedulous style by an author who does not hesitate to call names.

And what a sorry picture he unrolls before the reader. Of the alumni he says: "To most college graduates their college is the home of athletic teams and nothing more; to them athletic success is of ultimate importance, and they practically never think of college as an institution of higher learning." The students aim only to get by in their studies and they enforce a snobbish standardization in their social life reminiscent of primitive tribes. As for

the faculty, here Percy Marks bears down heavily on his pen. Among his colleagues Prof. Marks found a few "scholars" and a few "scholar teachers" entirely surrounded by incompetents. Not a spark is ever struck by the incompetents; "they never give forth an idea; they know little, they think less and they can't teach. They hang like a thick moss on the college, smug and supine, and if they go on increasing at the present rate they will probably smother the intellectual life of the undergraduates."

It is when the author begins to discuss the causes of the debacle of our higher education that we are bound to disagree. Professor Marks has been contaminated by a professional disease—the desire to see "both good and bad"; to avoid all "bias"; always to take an impartial, sane middle ground. All of which, translated, means to avoid any drastic or uncomfortable conclusion. This is admirably illustrated in the chapter on trustees. Marks pools the suggestion that the tyranny of wealthy trustees may lie at the bottom of the problem.

In minimizing this menace Marks closes his eyes to one of the most obvious facts in the situation. Romanism is continually castrating higher learning. The process is sometimes open and unabashed. When Dr. Kirkpatrick was dismissed from Olivet last spring he was informed that his services were no longer required, "not because of any inefficiency on your part as a class-room teacher, but because of your views on college administration, which views you have always been free to express and advocate, are not in harmony with the views of the Board of Trustees and of substantial friends of Olivet not on the board who are giving financial support to Olivet College." Most college authorities get rid of undesirable in a more skilful and subtle manner.

Every spring brings its crop of dismissals of young instructors who have not yet learned to kow tow and of older men who are finally caught at some intellectual indiscretion. Despite Percy Marks, this band, numerically insignificant, is of utmost value to the college system. One such man in every college is able to build up an imposing island of revolt in the sea of Ebbidity. The trustees are wiser than Mr. Marks, for they know that these islands are real and serious challenges to the college mediocrity and stupidity which constitutes their strength.

If Percy Marks has not put us on the road to Parnassus, to change the figure, he has at least kodaked for us some of the bogs and the thickets that the college have permitted to obscure that famous turnpike.

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State Insurance Fund Demanded By Farmer-Laborites in Minn.

The Field of Labor

THE unfairness of private compensation insurance is brought home pointedly by recent events in Minnesota. The State compensation board has permitted the private companies to increase their rates on workmen's compensation insurance. Both organized labor and capital have entered protest. The Employers' Association argues that Minnesota rates are the highest in the country. The unusually high amount of forty percent of premiums goes towards administration. Only sixty percent is paid in benefits. In Ohio and North Dakota where State funds exist, administrative expenses are only ten and five percent respectively. The employers contend that the high rates place Minnesota capital at a disadvantage in competition with other States. Labor has two objections: first, if the overhead is high, then less is available for benefits; secondly, if employers pay high rates they will resist all the harder any further increases in compensation to injured workers.

The reasons given by the compensation board for allowing the increases are peculiar. It states its side of the case on the theories that there is an increasing liberality in adjusting claims, and a greater productivity of labor. Therefore, employers ought to be able to pay more.

It is obvious that the private workmen's compensation insurance system makes way for profit motives irrespective of any consideration for the worker. The companies want big premiums, the employers, therefore, small compensation benefits. The public agency under capitalism can only arbitrate between these conflicting business interests. The injured worker is but incidental.

The Minnesota Federation of Labor in common with the organized trade union movement in other parts of the country is demanding State fund insurance. It is going to push this proposal at the coming session of the State legislature. The Farmer-Labor forces which are holding a State-wide conference in St. Paul on January 17, 1935, are already committed to the plan. In 1918 a bill establishing a State fund insurance system passed the lower house but failed in the upper by but one vote. Since then, little effort has been exerted to open up the question. Were the Farmer-Labor elements stronger then they turned out to be in the November elections, they might be more certain of success. Yet the fight will be worthwhile making.

HOMEWORK ON MEN'S CLOTHING

General information has it that the "sweat shop" has been abolished in the men's clothing industry. Nevertheless, the sight of children and women carrying bundles of work back and forth is evidence to the contrary. State regulations have perhaps taken the "sweat" out of this sort of work, yet supervision is very difficult. The unions concerned prohibit home work in their contracts with employers, yet an investigation of New York city and Rochester, just completed by the New York State Bureau of Women in Industry, shows some surprising figures. In New York city 13 per cent (or 5,000) of all the workers in the men's clothing industry are estimated to be home workers, and in Rochester 6 per cent, or 700. Both inside and contract shops use such help, but in Rochester the home workers are largely concentrated in the contract shops. Moreover, in New York city there has been an actual increase in this practice. One of the interesting facts revealed by the study is that, even in an industry already seasonal in its nature, irregularity of employment is even greater among home workers. The most damaging criticism against this type of employment, however, lies in the fact that the per capita earnings of this class of help is considerably lower than the average factory earnings—in Rochester almost one-half, in New York about two-thirds. These facts suggest but two conclusions: (1) that the existence of "sweat shops" or, let us say, home work, must be recognized and not denied; and (2) that some method of regulation be worked out to

permit the employment of the mentally and physically unfit, as well as the minors and women of a family where poverty makes home work necessary. But perhaps there is no solution until the unions in the field are able to control the industry 100 per cent, and thus reach the source of the difficulty.

THE FRAUD OF INDUSTRIAL PENSIONS

The Old Age Pensions Commission of Pennsylvania, under the chairmanship of James H. Maurer and the research directorship of Abraham Epstein, has just published a corking report giving the results of an investigation conducted into private old age pension systems. The inquiry showed that personal managers are generally "sold" on old age pensions as a proposition which pays by keeping up morale and acting as a club over wayward employees. Still, only the very largest corporations, chiefly those employing one thousand or more workers, have installed pension systems, while only six per cent of all industrial establishments employ 101 workers or more. Practically all pension plans include in their rules conditions which limit the ability of the average employee to qualify. In most cases the minimum years of service required is twenty to twenty-five, but since no more than three or four per cent of employees come within that class, the total number affected is insignificant. A serious objection to private pension schemes is the carelessness of corporations in making adequate financial provision to take care of payments. Much is trusted to luck to enable ordinary operating expenses to meet any pension demands. In all, only ninety thousand workers were pensioners last year, receiving on the average \$485 per annum. Since there are about 1,800,000 dependent aged persons sixty-five years and over, it means that about ninety-five per cent of them must still resort to charity to enable them to live out their existence. No stronger argument can be presented in favor of old age pensions than these statistics showing what private business has or has not accomplished.

AND WHY NOT UNION PIE?

We do not mind the union label on bread—in fact, it has almost become an appetizer in some families—but somehow with pie it is different. Pie escapes our scrutiny and since it is becoming more and more a specialized product of certain bakeries it has slipped by the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union and in many cities has become largely non-union. That does not end the tale, however. The introduction of machinery and standardized methods has eliminated the traditional skill from pie making and large factories employing women and girls turn out this great American food in large numbers. The Bakers' Union has realized this. In St. Louis a special campaign is being waged to organize the one hundred and sixty employees, mostly female, who are found in the five big pie factories in town. International Organizer Jack Zamford is visiting every labor union in St. Louis in an attempt to enlist the active support of its members in discriminating against non-union pie. The bakery drivers have promised to help. It is not clear to what extent the unorganized themselves are being reached.

JIM CROW UNIONISM

There are as many as one hundred and sixty-five local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the members of which are entirely negroes. Discrimination against whites? What a calamity! We know, of course, that the 6,000 workers in these negro unions have either been excluded from membership in the bona fide unions of their trade or no organizations have been organized by the whites because the occupations in question are manned by negroes. The latter, to be sure, are now admitted to many unions where they have made their competition felt. Yet in the South negro locals are often found, and even two central bodies in a city, one for white unions, the other for black. The Jim Crow spirit in the trade unions is injurious to the very workman who is most guilty of it. The negroes can become either union members or scabs. They make good in either capacity.

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THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY.

VI.—Achieving Amalgamation (1906-1915)

THE failure of the strike of 1906 taught its lesson. The scattered forces of the five lithographic unions were no match for the powerful, centralized National Association of Employing Lithographers. The Central Lithographic Trades' Council lapsed in 1907. It was evident to many that a mere alliance was not enough. A merger, an amalgamation was necessary. How was this to be accomplished? The Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association, which claimed jurisdiction over the whole trade and favored amalgamation through its absorption of the other unions, took up the question at its Indianapolis convention in 1907. Committees were appointed, conferences were held. Finally a Joint Amalgamation Conference took place in the city of Buffalo, August 6, 1908. The plan then evolved resembled that eventually adopted, but the time was not yet ripe for such a major step.

First Efforts

Efforts to arrive at an understanding did not cease. At the request of the Artists, Engravers and Designers' League, the L. I. P. and B. A. appointed a committee in 1910 to confer with similar committees of the inviting organization and the Poster Artists' Association. Meetings of this Joint Committee were held during the spring of that year, but nothing definite materialized, since the representatives of the Poster Artists had no authority to formulate any agreement to amalgamate, in view of their forthcoming convention. The latter meeting turned down the amalgamation proposition, and the membership in a referendum vote supported this action. The Artists' League and the L. I. P. continued their conversations. Then, in April, 1911, when a conference consisting of one representative from each local of the L. I. P. and B. A. was being held in Indianapolis, a committee was able to report that the Artists' Association had practically acquiesced to an amalgamation plan. The conference voted not to change the title of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association until it could be proven to the satisfaction of its negotiating committee that the Artists' Association controlled sixty-five per cent of those employed in its craft. A similar provision was to apply with respect to other organizations.

Thus matter stood until 1912. In that year Frank Gehring, president of the L. I. P., made a swing through the West. At Chicago he made contacts with a Joint Local Amalgamation Committee, which had been in communication with the various lithographic unions and had worked out a feasible plan of unification. It was this program, together with the resolutions submitted by the L. I. P. and Herman Kaufmann of the Artists' that became the basis of discussion at the Amalgamation Conference held at Buffalo in September, 1913. The steps by which amalgamation was finally achieved are important not only for lithographers but for all those trade unionists who are interested in seeing a similar program worked out in their own industries.

The Chicago Plan

The vital elements of the Chicago proposals follow:
Section 1. Acceptance of the title of the L. I. P. and B. A. preceded by the adjective "amalgamated."
Sec. 4. One set of national officers, who have no legislative or voting power, but who shall carry out the will of the membership.
Sec. 5. A national body representing the entire membership and consisting of one representative from each of the former organizations in each city.
Sec. 9. All craft lines to be eliminated and the organization to strive for the advancement and protection of the interests of the entire membership.
Sec. 10. The limits, powers and jurisdiction of each branch of the industry to be strictly defined.
Sec. 12. Separate meetings of the crafts shall be held in cities with a total membership exceeding four hundred, with joint meetings of all every two and three months.
Sec. 14. Dues to be not less than one dollar per month.
Sec. 15. An emergency fund to be established.
Sec. 17. A monthly journal to be established.
Sec. 18. Strike benefits of \$12 for married men and \$7 for single men.
Sec. 19. A sick benefit to be established.
Sec. 23. A mortuary fund to be established paying from fifty dollars to five hundred dollars in case of death.
Sec. 24. Government shall be pure

democracy and be based on "Direct Legislation."

The Buffalo Conference of 1913

The second Buffalo Amalgamation Conference opened its session at Peterson's Hall, Buffalo, N. Y., September 3, 1913. At this historic gathering the five unions in the lithographic industry were represented by some of their most active spirits. Their names are worth recording:
Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association: Frank Gehring, then president; Philip Bock, president of the Amalgamated Lithographers today; James O'Connor, secretary-treasurer today; Thomas Woodring; Frank Steele, Harry Felton and Daniel Bricklay.

Poster Artists' Association of America: Roy O. Randall, then president; Louis P. Webber, William Volker.

International Union of Lithographic Workers: Leopold Buxbaum, then president; William Riehl, Robert Bruck, secretary of conference; Adolph Rahm, Herman Kaufmann.

Lithographic Press Feeders' Association of the United States and Canada: William A. Coakley, then President, now employed at City Hall, N. Y. C.; Henry C. Kranz, William J. Carroll.

Lithographic Stone and Plate Preparers' Association of America: Michael Walsh and Carl Halbmaler, up to recently editor of the "Lithographers' Journal," author of a life of "A Life of Seinfelder," founder of lithography.

It will be noticed that the Artists, Engravers and Designers' League had changed its name to the International Union of Lithographic Workers. This was done in 1912 as a gesture in favor of industrial unionism and international affiliation. Actually no efforts were made to enroll lithographers who were not artists, engravers or designers but a claim of complete jurisdiction was asserted as a matter of principle. The program for joining the International Federation of Lithographers and Kindred Trades was chiefly due to the insistence of those members who, because of the absence of international communication among lithographers, had been induced to come to this country in 1906 and then compelled for the sake of making a livelihood in a strange land to act as scabs. Of the other unions the Poster Artists were rather inclined to favor nothing more than a loose confederation. Their job monopoly made them feel secure. The Press Feeders who for years had been neglected by the L. I. P. and B. A. had their views colored by their unsettled jurisdictional dispute with the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association over apprentices and press work. The Stone and Plate Preparers like the commercial artists were wholly in favor of amalgamation.

Shall Craft Lines Go?

The discussion of the Chicago Joint Local Amalgamation Committee resolution opened the proceedings. A Mr. Raven of Chicago was present to explain the plan and the steps leading to its formation. The crucial section was No. 9, calling for the elimination of all craft lines. The conference went straight to a consideration of the heart of the matter. Kaufmann, Gehring, Buxbaum, Bock and Halbmaler spoke in favor of Section 9. Coakley and Kranz of the Press Feeders took the contrary view. The former said it was a "physical impossibility" and his remarks bordered on the personal. The latter insisted on autonomy of his organization and craft voting power. When a vote was taken—each union cast one ballot—the motion to eliminate craft lines was approved by all except the Feeders. Attention was then turned to Section 10, providing for the definition of the jurisdiction of each branch of the industry. A portion of a resolution submitted by Kaufmann of the Lithographic Workers was substituted because it was more specific. It stated that the general body shall have control of "all basic questions that affect the interests of the entire membership, such as the maintenance of a general fund, etc., etc., but all questions relating to working time, apprentices, wages and all other similar questions are to be under the control and jurisdiction of the membership of the craft so affected. This was adopted unanimously with the proviso that no branch may enter into a strike without the approval of the general association except in emergencies.

The Death Benefit Obstacle
The next stumbling block was section 23, which established a uniform mortuary fund for all members. The Press Feeders were particularly adverse to such an arrangement. They claimed that a death benefit system would be a burden to their members, who were

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Labor Still Harried By Estonian Reaction; Danish Laborers Bolt

Labor Doings Abroad

EVER since the Bolshevik "putsch" on December 1, 1924, when a handful of Estonian Communists, with Russian backing, attempted to put over a coup d'etat, the genuine labor organizations of that little Baltic country have suffered persecution at the hands of a reactionary government. Not content with jailing and executing many of the leaders, or alleged leaders, of the uprising, the Estonian authorities have done their worst to put organized labor out of business. According to recent data supplied by the Estonian unions to the Amsterdam Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions and by the Estonian Socialist party to Sozialdemokraten, official organ of the Latvian Socialists, old laws dating back to the day when the Russian Czar ruled the land are invoked by the police to dissolve local unions and to block the organization of new ones. The railroad men and the railroad shop workers have been barred from organizing because the rules of one proposed union asserted the right to strike and because the other wanted to affiliate with the International Transport Workers' Federation.

In a memorial just sent to the International Labor Office of the League of Nations in Geneva, 180 Estonian labor leaders' attention is drawn to the increasing gravity of the situation and the growing desperation in wide circles of the population. The Labor Office is asked to do something to protect the Estonian workers in their right to organize.

While on a trip to Scandinavia and the Baltic States lately, Jan Oudegeest, one of the three secretaries of the International Federation of Trade Unions, had an interview with a member of the Estonian Cabinet and urged the need of improving the housing situation and of recognizing the right of the railroad men to unionize on general European lines, but thus far there has been no sign that his words had any effect upon the hard-boiled ministers.

In its war upon the labor organization the government often digs up some old Russian law "justifying" the abolition of the unions of a whole city or town. Then the union headquarters and the union property are sealed up for indefinite periods. This happened in Pernau and Tartu. In Zintuhof the police actually forbade the workers' band to play the "Internationale," because the cops "didn't know if it was the Second or Third Internationale."

When the workers of the Russian-Baltic factory in Reval recently struck because their wages were two months overdue, the government called out the armed "citizens' guard" and drove them back to work. In Narva the employees of a cotton mill who went out for a wage increase were promptly forced back to work under threats of being "court-martialed." But when the same mill locked-out 1,700 workers a little later, the government did nothing to compel the bosses to resume operations.

Communist activities also handicap the efforts of the labor leaders to organize and continue to furnish the reaction with a pretext for repression. That the Estonian Government still wears the possibility of a revolution incited from Moscow, despite the "official" change in the policy of Com-

munist International effected under pressure from the "moderate" Russians, is apparent. Consequently, nobody in Estonia was much surprised last fall when P. Abramson, a former Socialist deputy and leader of the Labor (Communist) party, was convicted of plotting with Russian Communists against the Estonian Government and sentenced to eight years in prison. Sentences of from three to ten years were given to several of his fellow defendants and one was acquitted.

DANISH LABORERS' UNION LEAVES THE FEDERATION

With wage agreements covering about 40,000 workers terminating on February 1 and with the Danish employers apparently eager to see if they can use the new Conservative-Agrarian Government for the purpose of battering down the comparatively high standard of living that the unions have been able to maintain during the last few years, the withdrawal on November 1 of the biggest unit of Danish organized labor, the Union of General Workers, has had a bad effect upon the morale of the labor movement in general.

But the leaders of the Danish Federation of Labor, whose membership before the withdrawal of the 86,000 men and women of the Union of General Workers, was about 240,000, are not discouraged and are already making plans to win back the wanderers and also to induce the other unions, with some 70,000 members, still outside the Federation to line up with their fellow workers in one central body. As the resolution for withdrawal, confirming that of the previous convention, was put through the extraordinary convention of the Union of General Workers on October 30, by a vote of 194 to 186, it is evident that the task of the Federation leaders is not such a hard one.

The withdrawal of the Union of General Workers as due partly to ill feeling between the leaders of this big organization of unskilled workers and those of the unions of skilled men, dating back to the time when most of the craft unions refused to take any interest in unskilled workers, and partly to the fact that the Federation of Labor backed the Socialist Government in 1925 when Premier Stauning forced an end of the big strike at lockout by threatening compulsory arbitration. Although the some 130,000 workers involved in the struggle between the employers and retained the system of wage readjustment according to changes in the index of the cost of living, as well as won a slight wage increase, the leaders of the Union of General Workers were so wrought over by the threat of compulsory settlement even by a Socialist Government, that they at once began a campaign for withdrawal from the Federation of Labor.

The philanthropic capitalists have introduced disunion, competition, into the family; they force father, mother and child to fight for the chance to sell their labor power cheapest.—Paul Larfargue.

Cloakmakers Register!

All cloakmakers of Locals 2, 3, 9, 23, 35, 48 and 82 MUST register and receive OFFICIAL International Union Books and Working Cards.

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Provisional Committee of Cloakmakers
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NOTICE OF MEETING

The annual meeting of the Finnish Workers' Educational Association of Manhattan, Inc., will be held on Wednesday, January 19, 1935, at 8:30 P. M., in the Finnish Workers' House, 2056 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Election of members to the Board of Directors for the year of 1935. Reports of the President, Treasurer and Secretary. Other business according to the by-laws. Meeting is open to the members only.

TEODOR WITALA, President.
WILHO MEDMAN, Secretary.

Socialist Party At Work

National

Rocky Mountain District
O. A. Kennedy, secretary of the Rocky Mountain District, sends for a list of American Appeal readers for the purpose of getting in touch with them and organizing them into the party. Kennedy is an organization man and will do his bit.

Alabama

G. F. Willis writes from Dothan saying he intends to organize at least four locals of the Socialist Party in the near future. He states there will be big orders sent in shortly for books and papers to distribute. Who says the Southern States won't come forward for Socialism?

New Jersey

Wilson B. Killingsbeck, who for years had been active in the party in this state and had served as state secretary a number of times, died of heart disease in Orange last week. About ten years ago Killingsbeck severed his connection with the Socialist Party, and was reported as being active in the Republican Party.

Bergen

Bergen County is getting together this month, and will make arrangements for a mass meeting with Miss Steven as the speaker and are going to put this meeting over big. This is only one of the activities that they are planning for this winter. There will be a few more.

Camden County is getting into shape, and it will not be a very long time until they will get into their stride. The old Jimmie Higginses are again going out to do their bit and those of us who know just what they can do can depend upon them getting local Camden into the fore in the Socialist Party and be a valuable asset.

Essex

Essex County is active, some of the old war horses are again getting back into harness and will make things interesting. Their activities during the last campaign are beginning to bear fruit and we can look forward to a bright future for Essex.

Hudon

Hudson County, if their plans work out favorably, will be the banner county of the state. They are going to promote the social welfare of members and make the organization a center of interest. They will mix work with play, giving the members an incentive for work. They are blessed with a lively group of boys and girls who are organized into a Y. P. S. L. circle, and nothing can stop them.

Mercer

Mercer County is a bright prospect for the organization of an English branch in Trenton, there is plenty of material there and meetings that have been held forecast a bright future for that locality.

Passaic

Passaic County has not been idle. They have forced the school board to grant a school for a meeting after the board had denied them the use of a school. With publicity in their favor, they forced the school board to retreat. They are going to follow up with plans for the future. They enjoyed a substantial increase in the vote last November.

Union

Union County has a solid group that cannot be driven out of active work. They have made plans for a social function in January, to be followed with other social functions. One of the members secured many subs for the appeal.

State Committee

The state committee has elected a special organization committee to secure an organization fund and place an organizer in the field. This committee's sole duty is to raise funds for the organizer. Contribution lists have been sent to all branches.

Steps have been taken to organize Y. P. S. L. circles, and letters to this effect have been sent out. The Jersey City Tipels are on the job to help in this work.

Do not forget to renew your subs to all Socialist papers.

New York State

Broadcasting

The Atlantic Broadcasting Corporation, so called, a company recently organized, (Continued on page 9)

WORKERS!

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Waitresses & Waiters Union

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WM. LEHMAN, Sec'y-Treasurer

"The Women Voters Bulletin" of the Connecticut League of Women Voters printed the complete State platform of the Socialist Party in the November issue. The platform contained two planks which expressed the principles of the league—eight-hour workday and jury service for women.

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Office: 39 EAST 54TH STREET Telephone Lenox 4500
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple.
THOMAS CAHILL, President
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone 4631 Stage
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Regular meetings every Tuesday Evening
WILLIAM WENGER, President CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Secy.
VALENTINE BEMER, Vice-President JOHN TIMMONS, Treasurer
HENRY ARMENDINGER, Rec. Secy ANDREW STREIT, Bus. Agent

United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 E. 146th Street
OFFICE: 501 EAST 101ST STREET. Telephone Melrose 5674
THOMAS DALTON, President CHAR. H. BAUSHER, Bus. Agent
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y THOMAS ANDERSON, Rec. Sec'y

DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

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67-69 Lexington Avenue Madison Square 4992
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Christopher Gulbrandson, Charles Johnson, Jr., Ray Clark
Recording Secretary Treasurer Business Agents

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163

Day room and office, 160 East 63rd Street, New York. Phone: RHINECLANDER 8339
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M. W. J. GORDNER, Rec. Sec'y
JOHN A. HANNA, President. THOMAS SHEARLAW, Fin. Sec'y CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

LOCAL UNION No. 808
Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Avenue
Office: Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. Telephone Stage 5414. Office hours every day except Thursday. Regular meetings every Monday evening.
JOHN HALEK, President ALFRED ZIMMER, Rec. Secretary GEO. W. SMITH, Treasurer
FRANK HOFFMAN, Vice-President JOHN THALER, Fin. Secretary SIDNEY PEARSE, Business Agent

PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 4432.
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 345 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. JOHN LEAVY, JOHN DOOLEY
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Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING
Office, 166 East 56th Street.
Telephone Plaza-4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 68 East 106th Street Telephone LEIGH 8141
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 310 East 104th Street.
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFELD
Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

PAINTERS' UNION No. 917

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Regular meetings every Thursday evening at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 210 Seaman St., Brooklyn
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J. JAFFE, Vice-President J. WELLNER, Bus. Agent
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M. ARKER, Financial Sec'y, 200 Taspocott St., Brooklyn

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Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELD'S HALL, 57 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

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Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City
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Office 302 Fifth Avenue.
Regular meetings every Wednesday, at 8 P. M., at 345 East 84th Street.
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LIGHTER CAPTAINS' UNION

LOCAL 496, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
Office and Headquarters: 217 Court Street, Brooklyn. Phone: 4643 Main.
Regular meetings every first and third Wednesday at 8 P. M.
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President Vice-President Secretary-Treasurer.
JAMES McGUIRE, Recording Secretary OTTO WASTOL, Business Agent
B. AUGUST PIERSON, JOHN WISTER, Delegates.

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Carpenters' Union 488 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
For Dressers' Union No. 2

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Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union
OFFICE: 210 EAST 54th STREET
Phone: ORCHARD 0850-1-4
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.
JACOB ROBERTS, Sec'y-Organizer.
S. HERSHKOWITZ, M. GELLER, Organizers.

OPERATORS, LOCAL 1

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

CUTTERS, LOCAL 2

Meetings every 1st and 3rd Thursday
Executive Board meets every Monday
All Meetings are held in the
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Local 224, A. M. O. & H. W. of N. A.
175 E. B'way, 12th Floor
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday
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I. KOHN, Manager, Secretary.

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS'

UNION, LOCAL 66, I. L. G. W. U.
7 East 13th Street Tel. Stuyvesant 3607
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday
Night in the Office of the Union
Z. L. FREEDMAN, President
GEO. TRIESTMAN, NATHAN RIESEL,
Manager Secretary-Treasurer

NECKWEAR CUTTERS'

Union, Local 6039, A. F. of L.
7 East 13th Street Stuyvesant 7678
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of
Every Month at 162 East 23rd Street
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Murray Chisling, J. Rosenzweig,
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Phone: Orchard 6639
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Local 584, I. M. of T.
Office: 945 Hudson St., City
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Executive Board meets on 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the Broadway, Room 5.
JOE HERMAN, Sec'y & Business Agent.
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

GLAZIERS' UNION

Local 1087, B. P. D. & P. A.
Office and Headquarters at 401 1/2 East 4th St. Phone Dry Dock 1072. Regular meetings every Tuesday at 8 P. M.
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GARRET BRIDGE, J. GREEN, Rec. Sec'y.
JACOB RAPPAPORT, AARON RAPPAPORT, Sec. Agent, Treasurer.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 69, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS
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Telephone Chelsea 2148
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Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.
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Brooklyn—1810 31st St & 32nd Street 1st & 3rd Friday 8 P. M.
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave 1st & 2nd Saturday 12 A. M.
B'way—165 Montrose Ave Jersey City 14 Montgomery St.
BALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary.

EMBROIDERY WORKERS'

UNION Local 8, I. L. G. W. U.
East Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 501 E. 161st St.
Milrose 7890
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M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

Italian Dressmakers'

Union, Local 85, I. L. G. W. U.
Executive Board meets every Tuesday evening at the office 26 W. 25th St. Phone: Lackawanna 4844.
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

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Local 85 of I. L. G. W. U.
117 Second Avenue
TELEPHONE ORCHARD 1106-7
A. SNYDER, Manager

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New York Clothing Cutters' Union

A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 8588.
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.
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Lapel Makers & Pairs'

Local 161, A. C. W. A.
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3609
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.
IRE SCHENFELDER, Chairman.
KENNEDY, Vice-President.
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Sec. Agent.

Pressers' Union

Local 8, A. C. W. A.
Executive Board meets every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple
11-27 Arion Pl., Room, N. Y.
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Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor
GENERAL OFFICE: Phone Chelsea 3084
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A m u s e m e n t s

D R A M A

"The Brothers Karamazov" at Guild Theatre Monday

The Theatre Guild will present their fifth production of the season, Dostoevski's "The Brothers Karamazov," Monday night at the Guild Theatre. The adaptation was made by Jacques Copeau and Joan Croue.

In the cast are Lynn Fontanne, Alfred Lunt, Clare Eames, George Gaul, Edward G. Robinson, Dudley Digges, Henry Travers, Philip Loh, Philip Leigh and Morris Carnovsky. Jacques Copeau directed the production and Raymond Sovey designed the costumes and settings. Rosalind Ivan made the translation.

"The Brothers Karamazov" and "Pygmalion" will play alternate weeks at the Guild Theatre.

With the repertory system in full swing, the Theatre Guild players will be busy. To Alfred Lunt, for instance, will fall the role of Dimitri in "The Brothers Karamazov," but he will continue with his role of "Babe" Callahan in "Ned McCobb's Daughter" at the John Golden Theatre. Lynn Fontanne will play "Pygmalion" one week and in "The Brothers Karamazov" the next. Clare Eames will play in "Ned McCobb's Daughter" one week and in "The Brothers Karamazov" the next.

Jenny Lind Operetta Opening Monday at the Jolson Theatre

At Jolson's Theatre Monday evening the Messrs. Shubert will present the operetta based on the life of Jenny Lind, titled "The Nightingale." Eleanor Painter is the star and the featured players are Stanley Lupino, Tom Wise, who plays P. T. Barnum, and Ralph Errol, who has been drafted from the ranks of the Metropolitan Opera House. Others in the cast are Violet Carlson, Eileen Van Biele, Robert Hobbs, Nicholas Joy, William Tucker, Clara Palmer, Lucius Henderson and Ivan Dneproff.

"The Nightingale" has a book and lyrics by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse. The score is by Armand Vecsey.

"The Black Cockatoo" Is Ushered In at the Comedy

Another and last minute addition to this week's new productions included "The Black Cockatoo," a drama of New York night life by Samuel Ruskin Golding, which Frank Martin is producing and which opened at the Comedy Theatre Thursday night. The cast is headed by Anne Forrest, James Crane, Bee Morosco, William R. Randall, George Le Guerre, Reynolds Deniston and Edward Forbes. Rollo Lloyd directed the play.

"Vanities" and "Charlot Revue" Combine in New Production

The sixth of the Earl Carroll "Vanities," featuring fifteen principals of the Charlot Revue of 1926, from the Prince of Wales theatre, London, opens Monday evening at the Earl Carroll theatre. Included in the Charlot company are Herbert Mundin, Jessie Matthews, Hazel Wynne, Sunday Wilshin, Henry Lytton, Jr., Harold Warrender, Allan Jacobson, Gordon Sherry and Mrs. Macbeth. Moran and Mack and Julius Tannen will head the American group.

The lyrics are by Ronald Jeans, Donovan Parsons and Rowland Leigh; music by Noel Gay and Dick Addinell.

Civic Repertory Players to Present Sierra's "Cradle Song"

"Twelfth Night" will be given at three performances, Monday and Friday nights of next week and on Wednesday matinee, at the 14th Street Theatre. Other plays to be presented by the Civic Repertory company will include: "Three Sisters" on Tuesday night, "La Locandiera" Wednesday night and Saturday matinee, and "The Master Builder" Thursday and Saturday nights.

The Civic Repertory Theatre will not present "Miss Faust," by Rita Wellman, this season. It will be replaced by "The Cradle Song," a two-act play by Sierra, which will be produced on Monday evening, January 24, at the 14th Street Theatre.

VIVIAN TOBIN



With Leo Carrillo in "The Padre," a new comedy by Stanley Logan, at the Ritz theatre.

ELEANOR PAINTER



Returns to Broadway in the new Jenny Lind operetta, "The Nightingale," which will be presented at Jolson's theatre Monday night.

"Faust" Opens Monday At Edith Totten Theatre

"Faust," the Sir Henry Irving version, will be presented next Monday night by Edith Totten at her theatre on West 48th Street. Gene Lockhart will play Mephisto. Others in the cast include Parker Fennelly as Faust, Eleanor Laning as Marguerite, Clara Thropp, Kathleen Sowter, Charles Cromer, Bruce M. Conning, Leighton Converse, Toliana Polinoff and Frank I. Frayne.

"Lace Petticoat" to Be Presented by Carle Carleton

Carle Carleton returns to the producing field next Tuesday night when he will present his latest musical comedy, "Lace Petticoats," opening at the Forrest Theatre. The music of the new piece is by Emil Gustenburger. Stewart St. Clair wrote the book, with Howard Johnson and Carle Carleton responsible for the lyrics.

The cast is headed by Tom Burke, Stella Mayhew, Vivian Hart, Luis Alberni, James C. Morton, Joseph Spree, Richard Powell and Adelaide and Hughes.

HENRY TRAVERS



In the Theatre Guild production "The Brothers Karamazov," which will open next Monday at the Guild theatre.

Broadway Briefs

"The Strange Prince," a dramatization of Dostoevsky's "The Idiot," which was recently presented for one performance at the Booth Theatre, reopened at the Fifty-second Street Theatre Tuesday night.

William Hodge will end his engagement in "The Judge's Husband" at the Forty-ninth Street Theatre this Saturday night. The play goes on tour.

"The Arabian Nightmare," a comedy by David Tearle and Dominick Colalizzi, will open at the Cort Theatre Monday, January 10. In the cast will be Marion Cockey, William Hanley, Helen Lowell, Charles Millward and Catharine Willard. Clarke Painter is the producer.

Lester Loneragan will direct the production of Robert Sherwood's comedy, "The Road to Rome," in which Jane Cowl will be starred. Phillip McGraw has been engaged to play the leading male role.

"The Inspector General," the classic comedy from the Russian, by N. Gogol, will be presented by Jacob Ben-Ami at the Irving Place Jewish Art Theatre next Tuesday evening. Leonid Sniegoff staged the play, with Ben-Ami in the leading role.

Claudette Colbert has been engaged by Charles L. Wagner for "The Barker," which will be presented here January 10, with Walter Huston in the title role.

Anne Nichols will bring her newest production, "Sam Abramovitch," by Francois Porche and Mme. Simone, to Broadway January 10. Pedro de Cordoba will play the leading role.

The new musical comedy, "Listen Dearie," was presented Monday in Atlantic City by the Sherrill Corporation. The cast includes Fred Hillebrand, Vera Michelins, Eddie Pardo,

"Junk," Edwin B. Self's New Comedy, at the Garrick

"Junk," described as a comedy of character, written by Edwin B. Self, will be revealed here next Wednesday night at the Garrick Theatre. The play will be presented by Shesgreen & Vroom. "Junk" gets its name from the central character of the story, Ernest John, a corpulent philosopher of sorts, who deals in articles cast off by the rest of mankind. Sydney Greenstreet, last seen here in "The Humble," plays this role.

Included in the company are Emma Dunn, Marguerite Mosier, Calvin Thomas, Alice May Tuck, Doan Borup, George V. Denny, Jay Fasset and Herbert Ranson. The play was staged by Charles Coburn.

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

The vaudeville program next week at B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre will include the Four Mortons; Joseph K. Watson; "The Faker," a comedy, played by James Diamond and Sybil Brennan; Arthur Bryson and Strappy Jones; the Howard Girls.

The photoplay presentation will be "The Girl From Coney Island," featuring Dorothy Mackall and Jack Mulhall.

PALACE

Mary and Florence Nash in Edgar Allen Woolf's "Fate's Messenger"; Ledova, assisted by Leon Varkas and Joseph Napolitano and Stcherban's Gypsy Quintette; Jim McWilliams; Marie Vero; Bert Gordon & Co., in "Desperate Sam," by Harry Charles Greene; Moss and Frye; The Crooners; Duncan's Colles.

REGENT

Monday to Wednesday—Fenton and Field; Schicht's Marionettes; Morgan and Sheldon; others. "The Popular Sin" with Florence Vidor.

Thursday to Sunday—Carr Lynn; Alexander and Peggy; others acts. "The Nervous Wreck" with Harrison Ford.

Jane Taylor, Ann Milburn and Sylvia Lee.

Rehearsals started yesterday for "Money from Home," which A. L. Erlanger will present, with the author, Frank Craven, in the cast.

"New York Exchange," the new Peter Glenny play of life in the roaring forties, with Allison Skipworth and Sydney Shields in the leading roles, opened at the Klaw Theatre Thursday night.

Sanford E. Stanton announces the presentation of "The Red Lily," a new play by David Arnold Balch. The opening takes place out of town January 10.

"Tommy," a comedy by Howard Lindsay and Bertrand Robinson, will be presented at the Gaiety Theatre on Jan. 10 by George C. Tyler. The players will include Sydney Toler, Peg Entwistle, Lloyd Neal, William Janney, Alan Bunce, Ben Johnson, Mabel Turner and Florence Walcott.

"Ballyhoo," a play by Kate Horton, with Eric Dressler and Minna Gombel in the cast, is coming to the Forty-ninth Street Theatre on Tuesday.

Mrs. Fiske, who has been on tour in the Ibsen play "Ghosts," will open at the Mansfield Theatre on Jan. 10 for a limited engagement of three weeks. Patterson McNutt, in association with Charles D. Coburn, is sponsoring the production.

"The Donovan Affair," Owen Davis' drama, will be presented by Albert Lewis at the Bronx Opera House, beginning Monday.

"The Blonde Sinner" will open at the Bronx Opera House January 10.

"Polly of Hollywood" is another musical comedy to be seen on Broadway in January. Will Morrissey is co-author of the book and score with Edmond Joseph. The comedy will feature Midgie Miller, and include John Aggie, Richard Powell, Mammy Jinn, June Maya, Robert Pitkin, Gladys Frazin, Edward Gargan, Earle S. Dewey among the principals.

"Loose Ankles" will close at the Garrick on New Year's night. It is scheduled to tour.

Charles Hopkins has secured the dramatic rights to a Dutch novel by Louis Couperus, "Old People and the Things That Pass," and in association with Robert Housum has made it into a play, "Echoes."

Emmerich Kalman, composer of "Countess Maritza" and many other well known operettas, will pay his first visit to this country early in March to attend the premiere of Kalman's latest opera, "The Circus Princess," which the Shuberts will produce.

Maurice Schwartz will present this Friday evening, at his new Yiddish Art Theatre, a new drama called "Mendel Spivack" by Semon Tuchewitch, the Russian author. Mr. Schwartz will play the leading role.

PHOEBE FOSTER



Leading woman in "The Donovan Affair," Owen Davis' mystery drama, at the Bronx Opera House next week.

::: MUSIC :::

"The Shanghai Gesture" to Be Converted Into Opera

Contracts have been signed by John Colton, author of "The Shanghai Gesture," and Werner Janssen, composer, whereby the melodrama, which has just ended its year's run on Broadway, will be converted into an opera for production next season. It was said yesterday that Mary Garden might sing the leading role, and that negotiations to that end were in progress. Miss Garden has gone to Chicago, where "The Shanghai Gesture" will begin an engagement next Monday.

Mr. Colton is probably best known as co-author of "Rain."

Florence Reed is playing the chief role in the melodrama.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

With the concert of the New York Symphony Orchestra in Mecca Auditorium this Sunday afternoon, Walter Damrosch will relinquish the baton to Otto Klemperer.

He will return for the final three weeks of the season, following the visit of Fritz Busch.

Dusolina Giannini will be the assisting artist this Sunday. She will be heard in two numbers, Adieu Forests from "Jean D'Arc," by Tschal-

kowsky, and Elizabeth's Air from "Tannhauser." Other numbers on the program include the Symphony No. 2 in D, Brahms; Siegfried's Rhine Journey, Act I, "Gottterdammerung," Wagner; excerpts from Act III "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; prelude, Tristan's Death, Isolde's Death.

Otto Klemperer's second visit as guest conductor will last for eight weeks. He will be succeeded on March 10 by Fritz Busch, director of the Dresden Opera.

His opening program in Carnegie Hall next Friday evening follows: Don Juan, Strauss; Fetes, Debussy; Alborada del Gracioso, Ravel; Symphony No. 1 in C minor, Brahms.

There will be a children's concert in Carnegie Hall this Saturday morning. Walter Damrosch will conduct.

PHILHARMONIC

Willem Mengelberg concludes his season as conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra with appearances in New York this Sunday and next Sunday, January 9. Mr. Mengelberg will lead the Brooklyn concert of the Philharmonic at the Academy of Music this Sunday afternoon, the program including J. C. Bach's Sinfonia, the prelude to Act 2 of Chabrier's "Gwendoline," Stravinsky's Little Suite and the Eighth Symphony of Beethoven.

The Philharmonic next week plays in Philadelphia, Washington, Baltimore, Harrisburg and Pittsburgh.

Mr. Mengelberg's farewell appearance will take place in Carnegie Hall next Sunday when he will conduct Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Bach's Sinfonia, the prelude to Act II of Chabrier's "Gwendoline" and Strauss' "Salome's Dance."

Arturo Toscanini will arrive here on January 4. He will make his first appearance of the season at Carnegie Hall Thursday evening, January 13.

Music Notes

Charles Naegle, at his second Aeolian Hall piano recital next Friday evening, will play a group of Bach and Handel, the Chopin B minor Sonata, and a group of English moderns, including the Strauss-Godowsky "An Artist's Life" waltz.

Eva Gauthier gives her second recital at Town Hall Wednesday evening.

Samuel Gardner, violinist and composer, makes his reappearance in Carnegie Hall next Wednesday evening.

Josiah Zuro, founder and conductor of the Sunday Symphony Society, announces that this organization will

THEATRES

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SECOND PIANO RECITAL CHARLES

NAEGELE

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Pearl Weiss, pianist, will give a

recital this Sunday afternoon at Town

Hall.

Gabriel Fenyes will give a piano

recital Monday evening at Town Hall.

Ruth Breton, violinist, will give her

recital Thursday evening at Aeolian

Hall.

Albert Spalding, violinist, gives his

concert at Carnegie Hall this Sunday

afternoon.

Phyllis Kraeuter will give her violoncello

recital next Thursday night at Town

Hall.

Leonora Cortez will be heard in a

piano recital Monday evening at Aeolian

Hall.

Alfred Cortot, French pianist, will

conclude his season's tour with a farewell

recital Wednesday afternoon at Aeolian

Hall.

Dusolina Giannini, soprano, will give her

Carnegie Hall recital Tuesday evening, February 1st.

JANUARY COURSES AT THE RAND SCHOOL

Marius Hansome will start a course in "Problems of Sociology." The class will meet at 8:30 p. m. on Tuesdays, from January 4 till April 15.

A new course in "Prejudices of Race, Religion and Sex" will be given by August Claessens. The class will meet Thursday at 8:30 p. m., January 6 till February 10.

On January 7 Leo E. Saidla will be-

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Week of January 31st—THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

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Eva Le Gallienne

Communist League, Broken By Spies, Turned Labor in 50's Against Force

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

I. European Origins

IN A FAMOUS pamphlet, "The Communist Manifesto," written in 1847, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, said: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metetrnich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police spies."

In the perspective of years since the end of the World War these words have a familiar sound. They might well have been written by a frightened conservative with reference to the Communist International and its program.

The second paragraph also has a peculiar aptness today. "Where is the party in opposition?" continues this document, "that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?"

Communism of Other Centuries

It is necessary to clear the ground of a number of misconceptions before we can intelligently comprehend the modern Communist movement and its American offshoot. Communism, that is, common ownership or possession of property or goods, was an early phase of the evolution of society, although modern research has shown that there was also considerable private possession of things by the side of things held common. However, Communism as a form of human association implies the absence of private property and the sharing of goods in common.

Its purest form it probably has ever existed outside of some early Christian communities but as an ideal has captivated the imagination and the support of workers and peasants many periods of history. Throughout antiquity occasional slings of slaves, peasants and workers occurred which were inspired by the Communist ideal and directed against the possessing classes. Some traditions of the early Communist or semi-Communist age had survived and those who were dispossessed or loaded with debts recalled it "partly as Paradise, partly as the Golden Age." Some of the Jewish prophets voiced the complaints of the lower classes against ruling cliques. Isaiah announced that the Lord "hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." (Ex. I.) One frequently comes across

The Communist Spectre—Clearing Up Misconceptions—Mass Movements in Antiquity—The Religious Element—Communitic Colonies—The Communist Manifesto—A Net of Intrigue

This series of articles is an expansion of an introductory chapter in a book soon to be published on American Communism. The book is a complete history of the Communist movement in the United States. It has been thought best to omit the numerous footnotes from the present series except a few which appear not as footnotes but as a part of the text.

passages in the Old Testament that suggest class antagonisms, denunciations of possessing classes, and the promise of a return to some mystical age of equality.

These class antagonisms and struggles continued throughout the medieval period, generally taking the form of a religious movement. Time after time various sects appeared, questioning the ruling status of property and law, demanding a reorganization of society on a basis of Christian Communism, often denouncing the ruling classes and occasionally becoming a menace to the established order. Open conflict with religious and secular authorities generally followed accompanied by bloodshed and sometimes with the literal extermination of a rebellious sect. All the ferocity of ruling groups whose stake in property was challenged found expression in a merciless hunting down of these dissenters.

Communitic Colonies

Another expression of Communism was the tendency of men and women to withdraw from society and organize themselves into communal groups for mutual aid and sharing possessions in common. This voluntary Communism was of two types, the cloistered communistic settlements beginning in the third century after Christ and the modern communistic settlements of social reformers. Of the first type M. Beer writes: "Discontented with the worldliness, alienation and mechanization of Christianity by the political machinery of the church, or filled with aversion at its transformation into a powerful economic and political organization with anti-communitic tendencies, earnest Christians in the latter half of the third century began to withdraw themselves from the world, to renounce all earthly goods, and to pass their lives in solitude, contemplation and asceticism." Eventually this cloistered Communism was undermined as worldliness penetrated the cloisters and they became a part of the feudal structure of society.

The communistic colonies of the nineteenth century, especially those organized in the United States, are better known. The religious motive was also generally prominent in their organization as well as the desire to escape what their members regarded as the injustice of a social system organized against the welfare of the majority of mankind and based upon mistaken principles. History appeared to them as a series of blunders due to ignorance of which clever men took advantage. The founders of these colonies," writes Hillquit, "proceeded on the theory that they could establish a little society of their own, eliminate from it all features of modern civilization which seemed objectionable to them, fashion it wholly after their own views of proper social relations, and isolate themselves from the surrounding world and its corrupting influences." They had no idea of the evolution of society and the colonies generally gave way to capitalistic society just as cloistered Communism succumbed to feudal influences.

"THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO"

The Communism of which Marx wrote was not Communism at all, as Frederick Engels points out in his preface to the English edition of the "Manifesto," published in 1888. It was written as the platform of the "Communist League," a small organization of Germans, and was, not by choice, but because of general political reaction in 1847, a secret society. It expanded to other countries and became international, but its membership was never large. Marx and Engels, who assisted Marx in writing the "Manifesto," could not call themselves Socialists at that period.

Engels explains why. "By Social-

ists," he said, "in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manner of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement, and looking rather to the 'educated' classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion, then, called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabot, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, on the continent, at least,

(Continued from page 1)

organized for the purpose of toll radio-broadcasting service, will have nothing to do with Norman Thomas or other Socialist speakers. Replying to a communication of State Secretary Merrill in regard to broadcasting an address of Thomas on the subject of "An American Labor Party," Director Henry W. Spahn of the corporation declares that "we are not in a position to broadcast these addresses at this time."

The attitude of the Atlantic Corporation is in glaring contrast to that of the National Broadcasting Company, which controls the powerful WJZ and WEAF stations. President Aylesworth of the National company has not only signified his willingness to have Thomas give a fifteen-minute talk from Station WJZ, but has invited State Secretary Merrill to inspect the studios of his company.

State Secretary Merrill, who has returned from celebrating Christmas in northern New Hampshire, expresses his surprise at the popularity of the radio in rural communities, almost every other household spending its evenings "listening in." Such stations as WJZ and WGY come in very strong on a two-tube set at 300 miles distance or more. The wisdom of the National Executive Committee in making the Debs' Memorial a radio-broadcasting station is all the more manifest to one who spends any time in the rural communities. A two-tube set in rural New Hampshire or rural New York easily gets stations as far west as Chicago and St. Louis.

The state office is sending out blank forms for reports of locals as required by the State constitution of the Party. The State constitution, as amended by the 1926 State convention, is now in print and may be had free by Party members on application. Members in Greater New York should apply to Executive Secretary Claessens for copies.

New York City

Enrolled Voters' Meetings

Judge Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas and August Claessens will speak at a number of enrolled voters' meetings in January. These are not formal mass meetings or lectures. They are community gatherings of enrolled Socialist voters of each neighborhood. These citizens are not only written to, but also visited by party members and personally invited. Panken, Thomas and Claessens make it their business to become personally acquainted with these people and invite them to become members of the Socialist Party.

The first meeting will be held in Brooklyn at the People's Lyceum, 218 Van Sicklen Avenue, Tuesday, Jan. 4, at 9 p. m. Judge Panken and August Claessens will speak. No admission charge. Refreshments will be served. The second meeting will be at the club rooms of the Sixth A. D. Brooklyn, 167 Tompkins Avenue, on Wednesday, Jan. 5, at 9 p. m. Judge Panken and August Claessens will also address this meeting.

Other meetings will be held in the Bronx on Jan. 10 and 18 and in the Second A. D. in Brooklyn. During February and March enrolled voters' meetings will be arranged in many other sections of the city.

Theatre Benefit

The theatre party for the benefit of Local New York City will be held at the Provincetown Playhouse on Saturday evening, Jan. 15. The play is "In Abraham's Bosom." This is a new play by Paul Green and is of the school of Eugene O'Neill. Its theme is the Negro problem in the Southland, and the cast is an eminent one, including the most brilliant Negro artists of the American stage. Tickets are on sale at the City Office, 7 East 15th street. Write at once or telephone for reservation. Seats are \$2.20.

"respectable." Communism was the very opposite."

In the third section of the "Manifesto" the authors proceed to enumerate and classify the various movements of the late forties that were known as "Socialist," subjecting them to a critical examination, pointing out their shortcomings and the need of differentiating a movement of the working masses from such movements. For the working class movement favored by Marx and Engels to also adopt the word "Socialist" would have added more confusion to that which prevailed. They, therefore, allied themselves with the Communist League, which based its program on the proletarian revolution of the whole nation, and as a body in particular. At a later period when the various "Socialist" sects disappeared the word "Communism" was abandoned and the word "Socialism" was adopted as more expressive of what Marx, Engels and their colleagues had in mind.

A SOCIALIST DOCUMENT

The "Communist Manifesto" itself is a Socialist, not a Communist document. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie. . . . When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character." What the authors emphasize is not the taking over of all property, as Communism implies, but social possession of "capital" or "all production."

The peculiar political reaction of the period and the almost complete disfranchisement of the masses rendered party organization and political action absurd and impossible. The "Manifesto," therefore, clearly justifies force and urges it as a weapon of the working class. "The Communists disdain

to conceal their views and aims," reads the concluding paragraph. "They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"

As the trade unions acquired stability and their demands for the suffrage became more insistent the ruling parties made concession after concession, admitting masses to the suffrage. When it was evident that this extension of political democracy no longer justified the appeal to force the Marxians participated in the organization of political parties and opposed conspiracy, secrecy and revolts because they belonged to a period that had either passed or was passing.

In May, 1875, Marx wrote a letter to the Germans shortly before the Gotha Congress severely criticizing the proposed program on account of its vagueness and what he considered the unscientific character of some of its proposals. In the letter, however, there is no suggestion of a return to the old methods of secrecy and force. Moreover, the "Communist League" was itself abandoned in 1852. Experience had demonstrated that secrecy and advocacy of force, even when political conditions largely justified them, were hazardous expedients. The trial of the Cologne Communists in October and November of that year revealed an amazing intrigue of spies who forged documents that sent seven victims to prison for a number of years. Even police officials were involved as provocateurs. With this experience behind them the Marxians were only too glad to resort to organization of political parties as the suffrage was won by organized workmen in the various nations.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Yipseldom

Circle Dues

All Yipsels please find out how your circle dues stamp purchase has been going on. A few days ago I sent a letter to all financial secretaries telling of their circle dues standing. If they have not as yet reported it at your meeting, get them to do it immediately. Remember that your delegation to the city convention will be determined by the dues stamps bought. You can still increase your delegation by buying more stamps immediately. Tickets are now on sale both for the Yipsel banquet and the convention dance. Banquet reservations are \$1.50 and dance tickets 75 cents. All circles should immediately make their reservations. Act quickly.

Junior Yipsels

Circle 9 will hold their Friday night meeting at 1336 Lincoln place, Brooklyn, despite the fact that it is New Year's Eve. This circle is preparing for the coming district Socialist youth campaign held annually in the district between the months of May and September. Their dramatic group includes the speakers' group as well.

Circle 11, Midgets, members are still trying to figure out what the words "Circle 11 Adolescents" mean. The words appeared in their last week's article in this column.

The news concerning the Junior City Convention held on Sunday and Monday, December 26-27, will appear in The New Leader next week. All Juniors are requested to get copies.

Junior circles desiring to have announcements placed in the Junior column of The New Leader are requested to send notices in to Y. P. S. L. office, care Ben Goodman, Rand School, 7 East 15th street.

ress. New members are being added every week. An enrolled voters meeting with Norman Thomas and August Claessens will be held at the headquarters, 420 Hinesdale Street, Wednesday evening, January 19.

4 and 14th A. D.

The 4-14th A. D. Branch will begin their educational activities with a series of lectures to be held every Tuesday evening, with Comrade Esther Friedman as lecturer. Splendid show cards and circulars announcing this course are on display in the Williamsburg District. Comrade Friedman's dates and subjects are as follows: January 4, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism"; January 11, "The Changing Social Order"; January 18, "Wasting of Wealth"; January 25, "Unemployment—Its Cause and Cure"; February 1, "The Next War"; February 8, "The Trend Toward Equitable Distribution."

These lectures will be delivered at the headquarters, 345 South 3rd Street, admission 15 cents.

6th A. D.

The 6th A. D. Branch will begin its educational work with two series of lectures by Esther Friedman and Jessie Stephen. Esther Friedman's course is as follows: January 7, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism"; January 14, "The Changing Social Order"; January 21, "The Wasting of Wealth"; January 28, "The Trend Towards Equitable Distribution." Jessie Stephen's dates are as follows: February 4, "Women and War"; February 11, "Who Makes Prostitutes"; February 18, "Family Endowment"; February 25, "The Economic Emancipation of Women." These lectures will be given in the Club Rooms, 187 Tompkins Avenue. Admission 25 cents.

22d A. D.

The East New York Branches of the 22d A. D. will begin their educational and organization work with an enrolled voters meeting on Tuesday evening, Jan. 4, at the Peoples Lyceum, 218 Van Sicklen Avenue. Judge Panken and August Claessens will address this gathering, and on Jan. 14 and every Friday thereafter the East New York Forum will hold its weekly session. The following speakers have been engaged: Jessie Stephen, McAllister Coleman, Norman Thomas, Rev. Ethelred Brown, Esther Friedman, Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens and Louis Waldman.

23d A. D.

The Forum of the Brownsville 23d A. D. Branch will continue its excellent work on to the end of April. For the next seven weeks the following speakers have been engaged: Harry W. Laidler, Judge Jacob Panken, Jessie Stephen, Frank Crosswath, V. F. Calverton and McAllister Coleman. Numerous other activities are planned for the next couple of months.

Charity is twice cursed—it harms him that gives and softens him that takes. It does more harm to the poor than exploitation, because it makes them willing to be exploited. It breeds slavishness, which is moral suicide.—Bouck White.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Manhattan

Panken Sunday Forum

The Judge Jacob Panken Sunday morning forum will begin Jan. 9. The entire East Side from 14th street down to Houston and from Third Avenue to the river will be subject to intensive advertising with huge posters, show cards and leaflets and every enrolled Socialist voter will be canvassed to make this forum a huge success. The forum will hold its session in Henington Hall, 214 East 24 street (near Avenue B). Comrade Panken, the director, will speak every Sunday morning on some important event of the week. A splendid musical program will be rendered at each session. For the opening of the forum on Jan. 9, Solomon Deutsch, violinist, accompanied by Samuel Morgenstein, pianist, will play a number of selections. Solomon Deutsch is a well-known artist connected with the studio staff, Station WLWL, and the Juilliard Music School Fellowship. These forums will open promptly at 11 a. m. Admission is free. Questions and discussion will be welcome.

A series of lectures is also being arranged for the Yorkville, Harlem and Washington Heights sections in Manhattan.

Central Branch

This Branch will continue its Tuesday night lectures during January. The speakers are Ethelred Brown, who will speak, on January 11, on "Debs, the Apostle of Labor," and Jacob Alexrad, who will speak, on January 25, on "Some Legal Aspects of the Labor Movement." During February and March a series of Monday night lectures will be delivered by Esther Friedman and Jessie Stephen. In addition to this forum, a class is arranged on the subject of the "Elements of Scientific Socialism," with Thomas

Rogers, former instructor at the Glasgow I. L. P. Labor College. This class will hold ten sessions and will meet every Sunday afternoon between 1 and 3 p. m., beginning Jan. 2, at the Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

Branch No. 7

The series of lectures delivered by August Claessens will be continued on Friday evening, Jan. 7, and for the following two Fridays. The subject of this course, which began in December, is on the "Elements of Social Progress." The topics during January are as follows: Jan. 7, "Social Evolution"; Jan. 14, "Social Revolution"; Jan. 21, "The Measure of Progress." Following Claessens, this forum will continue with a number of well-known lecturers. Watch for further announcements.

BROOKLYN

2nd A. D.

The Second Assembly District Branch is making remarkable prog-

Bronx

General Party Meeting

A general party meeting is being called for Tuesday evening, January 4, at the headquarters, 1167 Boston road. The principal business will be the organization of committees and enrollment of every active Bronx member to assure the success of the Bronx ball at Hunsford Palace Sunday afternoon and evening, January 30. This meeting will also perfect the plans for the membership drive which will be ushered in through the two enrolled Socialist voters' meetings. These meetings will be held Monday evening, January 10, at 1167 Boston road and Tuesday evening, January 18, at 4215 Third Avenue. Judge Panken and August Claessens will address both gatherings.

Big Annual Event

The big event of the year in Bronx County, the annual entertainment and ball on January 30, promises to be a splendid success. The prize, an Essex Six Sedan 1927 model, with license plate and instructions in the bag, is attracting considerable attention. Hugo signs and posters and thousands of throw away cards are bringing this affair to the attention of the Bronxites. Sale of tickets is going along well but can stand lots of improvement. The journal and program will be an attractive feature and all Bronx Socialists and their friends are hereby urged to send in their advertisements as speedily as possible, as only a few weeks remain before the printing. The Entertainment Committee has engaged the following talent for the afternoon concert to begin at 4 p. m.: Genevieve Kaufman, the popular soprano of the Bronx Free Fellowship Forum and elsewhere, will render a number of soprano solos of Russian, French and

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PRELIMINARY NOTICE

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society

The following paying stations will be maintained beginning with the 2d of January, 1927, for the accommodation of members residing in Hudson County and in that portion of Bergen County attached to the Home Office:

EVERY MONDAY from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, FRATERNITY HALL, 255 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

THE NEW LEADER

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1927

POISONING ALCOHOL

WE DO not believe there is a parallel in all history to the government policy of poisoning industrial alcohol. The holiday death toll is twenty-six in New York and the total for the year is estimated at 700. Sobered by the reaction that has followed these deaths, the Treasury Department at Washington has ordered a national survey of stocks of industrial alcohol. Although declared to be an annual procedure, it is generally believed that the survey is due to the deaths that have occurred.

Whether one agrees with the Volstead Act or disagrees with it is an issue not involved in this matter. The sole question is whether any government is justified in the use of poison to enforce any laws. If so it assesses the death penalty for violation of a statute, although the statute itself may fix a fine as penalty for violation of the law. If Government by Poison is to become a normal thing let us have a coin issue from the mint bearing a skull and crossbones to celebrate the event.

From the hideous implications of such a policy it is an eloquent indictment of the statesmanship of American politicians. They have not yet learned how to think. Better that a few hundred millions should be spent in further attempts at enforcement than that death should lurk in every drink taken. If the present policy continues, every future census of deaths should carry a column listing the number poisoned by order of government bureaucrats.

MORE "PROSPERITY"

FOR several weeks we have been giving special attention to the advertising men of the Coolidge Administration who have been selling "prosperity" to the nation. We have punctured one tale after another that has come from this source, in several instances quoting reports of government departments that are in conflict with these tales.

This week we call to the witness stand that noble Republican of the Middle West, Frank O. Lowden, who is a candidate for the nomination for President in 1928. Lowden has been chumming with the farmers of his section and many of them are getting back of his candidacy. He has picked up some information about these farmers and he passes it on through the New York Times.

Lowden declares that farmers of this region earned in the year ended last June only 3.5 per cent. on their investment and added this significant observation: "Their earnings, including management and family labor, have shrunk from \$1,570 as an average to \$648 a year. That is in startling contrast to conditions in other lines of business now being hailed as unexampled prosperity."

It is also in startling contrast to the statements so often made in recent months by Coolidge and other members of his firm of political brokers. How these farmers manage to clothe themselves decently on the income which they receive is beyond our comprehension. Perhaps the happy gentleman at Washington who run the governing machine can tell these farmers how to do it. In any event we pit Lowden against Coolidge, both members of the G. O. P., and ask our readers to reconcile the statements of both if they can.

SHORT CUTS

IT SEEMS to be the fate of the labor movement in this country to be cursed with strange offshoots that have never been strong in numbers, but have been sufficiently active to bring a certain measure of chaos into organizations. Each of these groups has been the product of a special idea. Not one of them has understood that organization of the working class and formulation of programs is a complex matter, not a simple one.

In the early eighties they began to appear. There were those who insisted on political organization regardless of whether the workers had established enduring trade unions. This was followed by those who stressed physical force because the masses did not respond to political action. This was followed by a sect that agreed to support trade unions but insisted that the latter should be officered by revolutionaries and be directed by a party organization. This in turn was followed by an economic organization that sneered at all form of politics by urging the workers to "strike at the ballot box with an ax." This appeared to be a clever epigram, but the organization that sponsored it ended in sterility. Following the World War some twenty sects appeared, each claiming to be the legitimate heir of the Bolsheviks, and these coalesced into the Communist movement with the idea that the members of the unions are

cattle to be driven to a course of action which they do not like.

It is a notable fact that the United States has spawned more weird religious sects than any other country, but it is not so generally recognized that the same is true of the labor movement. No thorough explanation of this has been made, but some student will someday present a rational interpretation of it. Perhaps it lies in the fact that for generations hundreds of thousands of people plunged into the wilderness and never had a chance to be civilized. Possibly the fact that we are a mongrel horde mixed of all nationalities has something to do with it. No doubt the vulgar gambling psychology that grew out of the big stakes in the West has been a factor. Whatever may be the explanation, it remains a fact that groups have appeared from time to time offering magic for science and hysteria for history. The less they understand human beings and the problems of society the more certain have they been that they had discovered a short cut to the New Jerusalem.

As a general rule it is safe to avoid all cocksure groups who are sure that they know everything and that others know nothing. Knowledge is an expanding thing and there is nothing final about it. The gentleman with a chart that cannot be altered should always be considered a suspect.

CAPITALIST POLITICS

SENATOR COPELAND has declared in favor of a ship subsidy to build an American merchant marine. This adds merely another item to evidence showing that the two leading parties have no differing principles. Copeland's statement twenty years ago would have read him out of the Democratic Party. Today he can remain in the party and support a ship subsidy. He will meet some criticism in his own party, but his declaration will not cause a row.

Tariffs used to be a bone of contention. Today some Democrats are faithful to rates as high as any Republican may urge. In Congress it is rare for any strict party vote to be registered on any measure. Members of both parties are recorded for or against bills regardless of party labels and even many speeches give no impression of any marked party differences.

This is to be expected. As the industrial and financial masters consolidate their power the only thing that matters is to maintain things as they are. No genuine issues appear and their party servants, having nothing to fight about, become more alike with the passing of time. Like twins, the party organizations and party leaders must bear some label in order to distinguish them.

The politics of capitalism breeds sordid conservatism and dull leaders. Issues vanish. Stupid routine is the rule. Senator Copeland is an example of the trend.

INVESTIGATIONS

AS OUR readers will note from a story by a Washington correspondent on the first page of this issue, both the House and the Senate have a swarm of investigations before them. Oil and the Lusitania Treaty, swiping of alien property funds, the bread merger, the Federal Trade Commission, the Pennsylvania and Illinois primaries, interference in Nicaragua, propaganda of the State Department against Mexico and the Sacco-Vanzetti case are a few of the items to be investigated.

These would have been sweet morsels for the muckrakers some twenty years ago, but the magazines engaged in the "literature of exposure" have practically become extinct. Journalists wrote of the "Treasure of the Senate," sent the insurance magnates scurrying to cover, exposed the railroad gamblers, mercilessly lashed eminent Babbitts, laid bare many respectable robberies and generally ran amuck. The ruling classes and their intellectual puppies were scared. Roosevelt called a halt in his "muckraker" speech, the bankers tightened the credit of the magazines, a few went to the wall, and the rest promised to be good.

Today there are only a few straggling publications that dare to attack our real masters so that when dirty scandals accumulate at Washington they are too often buried in a mass of detailed investigations. What is needed is a close-up view of the whole works as it has been directed by Coolidge and his advisers and this we are not likely to get. The numerous investigations show that there has been some risk pickings in many fields and that the process of swining to a pile of dollars is still open to ambitious vulgarities.

GETTING NEW MEMBERS

IT USED to be a favorite saying of Wendell Phillips that with enough hearts beating at the same spot the strongest granite pillars could be destroyed. Adapting this for a Socialist text, we may say that organized Socialists can accomplish much; that isolated Socialists can accomplish little. The Socialist vote always exceeds the number of party members. This is true in all countries, but some nations have a larger percentage of the voters organized than others. It is probable that in the United States we are near the bottom of the list in this respect. On the other hand it is also true that a smaller number of the qualified voters go to the polls in this country than in any other modern nation.

But whatever may be the cause for the lack of interest of American voters in organized political work, it remains a fact that the Socialist Party has the distinction of having at one time brought into its organization more members than any other minor party. Before the World War it had over 100,000 dues paying members. This achievement can be realized again. Not soon, of course. It may take years, but it can be accomplished.

We have no doubt that some party members neglect opportunities. What about that voter you personally know but whom you have not personally urged to join the organization? Why not make it your business to approach him? Get his application. This advice is intended for thousands of readers and if acted on will bring a handsome increase in membership. Prospects will not come to you. Go to them. Get that new member, and get him NOW!

The News of the Week

Our Bullying In Nicaragua

All of Central and South America is disgusted with the American exhibition of the naked fist in Nicaragua. Influential publications in Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the A B C powers of South America, have expressed their vigorous dissent with our meddling, and La Prensa, a Spanish daily in New York, representing Spanish-American opinion, runs a scathing editorial denunciation of American policy. It is safe to say that the blundering Kellogg has done more to unite Latin-America against American imperialism than all the national propaganda that has been carried on in that region for years. President Coolidge denies that the order of Rear Admiral Latimer landing troops in Nicaragua last week is interference despite the fact that the cable that carried the news of the landing declared that Latimer had ordered Saca and his cabinet and his troops to disarm. Moreover, Nicaragua for a generation has been the scene of puppets retained in power by American arms and elections carried on under the menace of American bayonets. The storm of indignation that swept from the Isthmus down to Argentina made Coolidge and his advisers pause, and now a "new policy" is hinted at, but how they expect to extricate themselves remains to be seen. In the meantime, Diaz, the darling of American banks, lost heavily in a battle with the Liberal forces this week, and he is very much worried. That worthy intimated last week that unless he received active American support he would have to shut up shop. He is getting it now from Rear-Admiral Latimer, but the price paid for it is the awakening of all Latin-America to the bogus character of all American professions of friendship for the people of that part of the world.

Koo Koo in Mexican Mess

Activities of the Ku Klux Klan in relation to Mexico are especially interesting. We have observed on a number of occasions that the propaganda of the Knights of Columbus against Mexico was certain to stimulate the dying Koo Koo. This is verified by interesting news this week. The Klan at first was opposed to Mexico on the score of its radical government and because of its general anti-foreign ideas, but the propaganda of the Knights of Columbus made the Klan shift its position. Its emissaries made overtures to Mexican officials to support the Mexican Government if the latter would carry out a sweeping program against the church. The answer was that the Government had no intention to persecute the Catholic Church but merely to enforce a constitution long ignored and that the Government could not enter into any agreement with any body of American citizens. However, the Koo Koo are said to be circulating the rumor that they have an understanding with the Mexican Government and that documents exist to prove it. A Washington correspondent of The World throws some light on this phase of the matter. He declares that "such documents do exist," that persons have "vital interests in Mexico" have them, but that "they were obtained from a man who has several times been detected in the act of selling forged papers to the secret police of European Governments." This is a frontier. Primo de Rivera rose to a piece of business and it is well marked that he meant to remain dictator to remember the above statement of Spain until he had cleaned up the should documents from this source country.

China Before The Powers

The imperialist doctors are still troubled over China, and hold frequent consultations with the view of helping the patient. The patient is fast losing confidence in the doctors and the latter fear that they will be ordered off the premises at any time. An interview with Chiang Kai-shek, commander-in-chief of the Cantonese forces, which appeared in the Hankow Herald, reports Chiang as having strong doubts about American democracy. Perhaps he has heard something about Tammany Hall or the Republican primaries in Illinois and Penn-

sylvania and has become just a little prejudiced. He has no fears of the laboring class in China permitting itself to be fooled by politicians. Meantime, Great Britain has urged relaxation of foreign control in China and modification of the old treaties which are regarded as hopelessly out of date. If this attitude is sincere and is followed by appropriate action by the powers, China will have an opportunity to get rid of the fetters that bind her. The French Government is in no hurry to approve the British memorandum, but it is hinted that the United States is sympathetic. A reply to the British proposal by the State Department is expected soon. Foreigners in China are puzzled and apprehensive regarding the British statement, and the stand-pat groups are very resentful. Events the next few months in relation to this question will be of absorbing interest to the friends of China.

Terror Reigns In Lithuania

Despite the bloodless character of the coup d'etat by which Dictator Smetona dislodged the legitimate Populist-Socialist Government of Lithuania, a reign of terror appears to have been inaugurated by the clerical chauvinists now ruling the country. Four Communists are said to have been executed in Kovno because of alleged complicity in a plot for an uprising; several hundred Jews have been arrested and held for a court-martial on charges of aiding the alleged Communist plot; German newspaper men have been expelled from Memelland and the German city officials in that port (which was seized by the Lithuanians some years ago, just as the Poles seized Vilna in defiance of the League of Nations) have been ordered to quit their posts on January 1, and all the Socialist and Populist political units have been ordered to dissolve. It is doubtful if Smetona will be allowed to go to the extremes reached in Italy and Hungary, as Lithuania is too important a link in the commercial route between Western Europe and Russia to be left at the mercy of a handful of priests and landlords. Germany is reported to have protested at the expulsion of the German writers, while Dictator Pilsudski says he will not stand for any persecution of the Polish minority in Lithuania, or for any attempt to re-capture Vilna. At home Pilsudski's soldiers killed four workers and wounded many others when troops intervened in a clash between police and alleged Communist workers in the oil fields. The espionage craze along the Polish-German border in Upper Silesia resulted in the arrest of a couple of alleged German spies in Katowitz and charges in the Seym to the effect that Dr. Lukaschek, a German member of the League of Nations Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia, was the chief spy. This charge was scoffed at in Berlin, where it was said that Dr. Lukaschek had merely set a successful trap for Polish spies. In Italy Mussolini had a quiet week, limiting his activities to putting into effect a Fascist calendar, dating from October 23, 1922, and to uttering platitudes about hard work, discipline and big families. In the meantime France continues to strengthen her forces along the Franco-Italian European frontiers. Primo de Rivera rose to a piece of business and it is well marked that he meant to remain dictator to remember the above statement of Spain until he had cleaned up the should documents from this source country.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

Count Nine

THE theologians are as much occupied with unrealities today, relatively to the advance of thought, and as sure of their insight, as were their predecessors of three hundred years ago, expounding the functions of the devil. In Germany they are not yet done discussing the inner significance of the tale of Satan's carrying Jesus to the pinnacle of the temple or to a mountain top. Professor Zahn circumspcctly puts it, that this is not what the gospels say, but does not press that point to finality. Professor Harnack pronounces that the story in Matthew is the older. Spitta cogently proves that it is the later, and that Mark has minimized Luke. . . . The fact that the whole temptation story is rationally traceable to a Babylonian sculpture of the Goat God beside the Sun-God, interpreted by Greeks and Romans successively as an education of Apollo or Jupiter by Pan on a mountain top, or a musical contest between them, has never entered the experts' consciousness. They are writing history in the air."

Thus wrote J. M. Robertson in the second revised edition of his significant volume, "Pagan Christs." This observation, made in 1911, has not fundamentally changed. Theology in general is a conservative, static force, it supports the status quo, because it is dependent upon the status quo for its existence. Theologians in general are reactionaries in attitude.

At the present time, after all the research euphemistically categorized as the higher criticism, after all the historical investigations of scholars in a dozen countries, theologians still sacrifice intelligence to myth, and forsake fact for fiction. With the early work of Bruno Bauer, the appearance of Strauss' "Life of Jesus," and Feuerbach's "Roots of Christianity," the critical trend toward Christian origins was begun in startling earnest. The work of Jean Meiller in the seventeenth century, and that of Voltaire and Paine in the eighteenth, had been anticipatory ventures in the development of rationalism rather than of historical analysis. Bauer, Strauss, Feuerbach, and Renan gave the new attitude scholarly momentum. Since their day, the field of Biblical background and religious origins has been searched and scoured. As early as 1856, in fact, Vinet had pointed out the existence of a "science of religion" that was growing up beside theology like a disruptive km. Grant Allen in his penetrating contribution to scientific method in religious origins—"Evolution of The Idea of God"—had disturbed his generation by asserting that "the Christian legend (seems) to have been mainly constructed out of the details of early god making sacrifices." Allen's method, however, was chiefly analogical. The work of Arthur Drews, in the "Christ Myth" and "The Witnesses to the Historicity of Jesus," marked an advance in historical interpretation. In the little study of Imman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism," the vestiges of phallic worship in old religions were traced with patient caution and skill. Remsburg's "The Christ" is but another attempt to extend the evidence of the myth-pothesis. J. M. Robertson, however, is the only one of these scholars to study the evolution of myth and heroism in an endeavor to turn it to sociological value.

In scientific circles Jesus has faded into a colorless chimera. While Emerson, in exclamation, asserted, "We must get rid of that Christ, and Carlyle with emotion that shook with sincerity, declared that if he "had (his) way, the world would hear a pretty stern command—Exit Christ," and Nietzsche dedicated his zeal to denunciations of the Christus-ideal, the modern sociologist unexcitedly dismisses the theme as a settled question. An issue still for the unlearned, it is without controversial significance to the contemporary historian. The only problem that remains is in reference to the actual historicity of the character Jesus. Is the figure of Jesus a myth? or did a man Jesus really live? (The fact that if he did live, he was not the contradictory divinity portrayed in the Bible is an accepted axiom.) That is the only difficulty that lingers.

It is this theme which George Brandes treats in his volume, "Jesus, a Myth," just translated into English by Edwin Bjorkman (A. & C. Boni, \$2.50). Brandes is convinced that the entire existence of Jesus is a myth. As we said before, there is no argument as to the substance of the gospels being largely myth and plagiarism; the question is as to whether there was not really a human character, Jesus, about whom these myths have been interlarded and woven. Brandes cites the myth of William Tell as a cogent analogy. Tell was always believed to have been a real character. Historians had given him face and figure, garment and gesture—yet later investigations have shown that the entire evidence was fallacious. Tell was nothing more than a myth—as also was Jesus, argues Brandes.

Brandes really adds little that is new to the old controversy, except that he goes to great pains to piece together passages from the Old Testament to show how the whole Passion-story was simply a muddled derivation from that source. In places he indicates how the inventive apostles changed facts to fit Jesus into the realm of prophecy. The famous Beatitudes, for example, Brandes notes, were but plagiarisms of the Psalms, and passages in Isaiah, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

The existence of Jesus, however, is of little importance. The historical demolition of the myth that has grown up about him is significant. In this latter respect Brandes' book has its chief value.

THE CHATTER BOX

WE INTEND to start this New Year of columnizing with an apology to none other than Mr. Calvin Coolidge, the Honorable President of These United Oil, Steel and Traction Dukedom. In past years we have abused, chided, scolded and outraged his peculiar genius, using these columns at times, and the soap-box during election nights. We must have been carried away by impatience and short-sighted superiority. We examined him with an intellectual microscope along with other minute microcosms, and in our irritated haste must have gotten his entity mixed up with the average American citizen that helped to elect him. Again our heartfelt apology, Mr. President. And all because the Book Review Department of The New Leader wished upon us the task of perusing "The Foundations of the Republic," a compilation of Calvin Coolidge's speeches for the last three years, published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

We have ploughed and harrowed through the hundreds of arid pages with the stubborn conscientiousness of a tractor. Our effort finds us at last hitting on half a cylinder of energy. But we have gone, done and read it. And as our reward, we feel thoroughly decorated in that we have discovered a brand new and distinctly American genius in His Excellency.

He is beyond all question the greatest anti-English Grammarian of the age. We suggest that all professors who write text-books on English grammar use Coolidge's Collected Speeches as a ready source for all sentences, paragraphs and phrases that they usually put into their syntax sections for correction by the student, as to unity, clarity, and just plain ordinary grammar. We have yet to come across a printed book in any language, where the particular tongue has been so boyishly handled. In his articulate moments Calvin Coolidge is as young as a 4B scholar in one of New York's public schools. We contend it is only a genius of some sort that can place a man with a fourth grade command of his language at the head of his country. And with all our heart we bow before Coolidge for his extraordinary talent.

Perhaps, on second thought, he may have been lifted to his estate by a people who possess that seeming talent, and he is merely its cold reflection. Perhaps a nation that is brought up and bred on advertising slogans, he-man advertisements, jazz songs and tabloids necessarily finds in a Coolidge the epitome of their literary progress. There is a great deal to be said on the matter, but we will refrain from bitterness and ironic comment. The pathos is too genuine and deep.

Where once we rasped on the thick hide of the popular, we simply retire now in pessimism and despair. The literacy of America is dimly hopeless. If one can become President of the United States with a two-year English regent requirement, why run colleges and libraries, and post-graduate courses in language altogether? And, perhaps, this is the real democracy after all, in which even a deaf-mute or an inarticulate ditch-digger can rise to executive glory. The collected speeches of our President prove it. It is indeed a catalog of poorly phrased platitudes and immature English.

We also wish to apologize to the anonymous ones whom we have at times accused of writing the President's pronouncements. After careful perusal we are quite assured that Cal did it all himself with his little typewriter or dictaphone. Don't read the book unless you want to learn how not to write English.

To K. H.

You who sings
Of placid passions
And paper love;
And who chants
Of saccharines
And gluey puffs;
You of infant

Smiles untouched by pain,
What know you
Of shattered turrets,
Or decayed roses,
Or burning ugliness?

—H. L. M.

To J. W. H.

You tell me that the muse has fled
Like summer and a light romance;
That poetry is gone and dead.
You tell me that the muse has fled,
And you have things of worth instead
Of Poesy's uncertain glances,
You tell me that the muse has fled
Like summer and an old romance.

And I agree with you that she
Was only meant for summer days,
When one can whisper to the sea.
And I agree with you that she
Was only meant for maids like me
Who never understand Life's ways.
And I agree with you that she
Was only meant for summer days.

—KATE HERMAN.

Storm

Unearthly blackness
Swallows the dawn-like paleness of petulance;
Shattering struggling rays of whiteness
Like so many spears,
Clashing against an impenetrable breast-plate. . . .
Crumbling
Into bits of shiny steel. . . .

Crashing thunder in harmony rumbling,
Through sweeping torrents of frothing foam—
Pierced by flashes of wild light. . . .
Chaotic fury of song.

Song of storm,
Of wind and water
And water and wind,
Swirling together
Through falling space—apace.

—FELIX JEAN.

By the time this issue sees that light of the world, the New Year will have arrived. Personally the sentiment attached to the passing of the old and the coming of the new hardly touches us at all. One year is as good as another for all the ill or good in us. Any day, summer or fall, spring or winter, is as proper as another to take inventory of ourselves, and any night as good as the next to go out in evening clothes, with your best girl, your wife, etc., hail a taxi, buy up a hotel and get on a roaring drunk on Mott Street cat-gut booze.

Something there must be that makes a nation mad on one particular night. A valve spring is loosened and a screech of steam deflates the planets. Something there surely is that builds up such tremendous pressure through three hundred and sixty-four days that its release on the next night is a horrible mixture of cozy bathos and ugly debauch.

Certainly that volatile substance is not the creature of beauty and happiness. It is as if all the sordidness of industry, the mine pits, the scullion holes, the subways, the shops, the garbage heaps, the equal of slums, the meanmesses, the lowliness of politicians, the offt of prisons, the Boweries, the Black Bottoms, the pool parlors, the dance halls, the boxing clubs—all the chicaneries of business, and all the viciousness of modern civilization, had been mixed in the cauldron of our composite national soul until it boiled over in one terrible mess. But maybe we are too hard on old New Year's celebrations. But, gosh, how can a fellow feel any better after having had to read and review Calvin Coolidge's "Foundations of the Republic"?

S. A. de Witt.