

THE ROLL CALL THIS WEEK

FOR THE last three weeks we have taken you into our confidence and told you that the time has come when the burden of financing and expanding The New Leader must be lifted from the few who carried it for three years and distributed among our own readers.

We have told you that while we are making plans for a Circulation Campaign that will ultimately give us sufficient new readers to make your paper self-supporting we are in immediate need of funds to help us out of our present emergency, which is even more serious and threatening than we dare to describe.

We have appealed to your generosity and the response is beginning to reach us in a way to make us feel that we will emerge from our present difficulties so equipped financially as to be able to use all our efforts in the more important work of gaining new readers for The New Leader.

Why a Socialist Paper Is Published

The only reason for a Socialist and Labor publication is its sphere of influence for progress and betterment in a human world.

Its only strength toward exerting that influence is in the number of its readers.

Either we reach an ever-increasing number of receptive minds with our message, or we fail dismally as a useful factor in our efforts to advance our beliefs and ideals.

We have been repeatedly praised, extolled and boosted about the excellence of THE NEW LEADER. Some even venture to say that it is the BEST of all Socialist weeklies ever published in America.

But just praise and even its justification with the paper has not raised our sum total of readers throughout the country fast enough to suit either the Board of Management or the Editors.

We have gotten The New Leader out on precious little money. Were it not for the whole-hearted generosity of a group of friends in subsidizing a goodly portion of our annual deficit, this paper of yours would not have been able to appear for the last three years with any security. We have come to the point of calling our readers and well-wishers in on our EXPANSION PLAN.

MONEY is necessary in good sum and with promptness to undertake a Circulation Plan that will bring us to a self-sustaining position. Ten thousand more readers and we need no subsidy. This issue completes the third year of The New Leader.

Start our NEW YEAR with the Great Cause in which you believe and for which you have all done so much, by a real live CONTRIBUTION. There is an effectual eloquence in a \$5 or a \$10 bill that will convince new readers more efficiently than any of our columns for Circulation Boosting. And \$25 just thunders accomplishment to a world of workers.

We await your Birthday Greeting to The New Leader with anxiety.

"Among Those Present—"

We publish below the contributions received during the last six days. We also publish extracts from some of the letters received. Lack of space prevents us from publishing more in this issue:

Joel Moses, the veteran Socialist of Rochester, N. Y.: "I hope you will succeed in raising sufficient money to sustain The New Leader, as the paper is about the only comfort left to me today to keep up my interest in the Socialist movement. The paper as a whole shows signs of improvement, and I look forward eagerly for my copy every week."

S. A. Kazanjian, Worcester, Mass.: "Find \$5.00 as my bit towards the support of The New Leader. It would be a calamity if such a wonderful paper like The New Leader would not raise the funds it needs. Every red-blooded Socialist should wake up and do his share now."

A. D. Atkinson, Bridgewater, Mass.: "I have not earned a dollar for over a year on account of sickness, but can not let your appeal pass without a small contribution. You are certainly putting out a fine paper, worth its price in every way."

Mike Larena, Clothier, W. Va.: "I am helping our Italian paper and the American Appeal and here is \$5 for The New Leader. Sorry I can not make it more. Keep up the good work and continue to publish a paper that is an inspiration to all of us."

David Abramson, Middletown, N. Y.: "Enclosed find \$10, my share in the work to expand The New Leader, to the end that truth shall not perish from this earth."

Mike Larena, Clothier, W. Va.	\$5.00	Julius Green, New York...	1.00
Joe P. Laas, New York...	1.00	Adolph Vidman, New York...	1.00
A. D. Atkinson, Bridgewater, Mass.	2.00	Harry Boardman, New York...	1.00
S. Hoffman, New York...	2.00	J. W. Welborn, New York...	3.00
David Abramson, Middletown, N. Y.	10.00	T. Heil, Camden, N. J.	1.00
Joseph Muller, New York...	2.00	M. Robinson, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
Wm. Weig, New York...	1.00	Joel Moses, Rochester, N. Y.	5.00
Morris Schwab, Brooklyn...	1.00	S. V. Christensen, Valley Stream, N. Y.	5.00
Mark Robbins, New York...	1.00	J. T. McRae, New York...	112.00
S. A. Kazanjian, Worcester, Mass.	5.00	Q. A. Henninger, Wescosville, Pa.	2.00
Warren Atkinson, Rochester, N. Y.	10.00	Total for the week	187.00
Prof. Vida D. Scudder, Wellesley, Mass.	10.00	Previously acknowledged...	228.00
		Total to date	\$415.00

Who will be 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.

BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF THE NEW LEADER.

LABOR UNITY EFFECTED IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

With the ratification at a recent conference of the executive officials of the Czechoslovak Federation of Labor held in Prague of the results of the negotiations of their representatives with those of the German Trade Union League in Czechoslovakia at Belchenberg, it may be said that for all practical purposes the unification of the main labor organizations of the republic is effective.

While for the present both central organizations will continue to maintain individual headquarters for administrative reasons, they are to work together on all propositions involving both German speaking and Czech speaking workers in both the legislative and industrial fields.

Eventual organic unity, which will add the some 225,000 members of the German Trade Union League to the approximately 355,000 members of the Czechoslovak Federation of Labor and bring the former inside the International Federation of Trade Unions, is regarded merely as a matter of time.

Dinner for "Ernie" Bohm Will Be Given January 19

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of Ernest Bohm's activity in the labor movement, the E. S. & A. U. in conjunction with a committee representing Organized Labor, has arranged a testimonial dinner in his honor at Yorkville Casino, 210 East 86th Street, New York City on Wednesday evening, January 19.

Bohm's most responsible position, perhaps, was that of Secretary of the Central Federated Union of New York, which was reorganized a few years ago and merged with several other organizations into the present Central Trades and Labor Council. While secretary of the C. F. U. Bohm was often called upon by local unions for assistance and cooperation, and he never failed any labor organization. His aid has not been forgotten. This will be shown on January 19, when delegations from many of the unions of New York City will come to honor him.

CLOTH SPONGERS GAIN WAGE INCREASE TRYOUT

Wage increases of 20 percent are being tried out through January in the cloth sponging, examining and finishing industry. The Textile Finishers' Association agreed last July with the Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union and the Cloth Sponging Drivers and Helpers' Union to give the increases. Just before 1926 ended the employers stood out against giving the increase, claiming it could not foot the cost without aid from the garment manufacturers. Finally upon promise of some aid from that section of the industry a tryout of the increase for one month was decided upon rather than the lockout that had loomed.

Demand 8-Hour Law for Women

CHICAGO—In place of the legal 10-hour day and 70-hour week now permitted for women in Illinois, an 8-hour law with provisions to cover special cases is being sought by a joint committee of women's organizations.

THOMAS TO BROADCAST TALK ON 'LABOR PARTY' OVER WJZ JANUARY 10

On Monday evening, January 10, at 8:15, Norman Thomas will broadcast a lecture from Station WJZ. His theme will be "An American Labor Party."

This announcement is made by Herbert M. Merrill, State Secretary of the Socialist Party. This radio station is one of the most powerful in the United States and owners with sets within a thousand miles or more will be able to tune in on the Thomas lecture.

The lecture is limited to fifteen minutes and will begin promptly at 8:15 p. m. The Thomas lecture is due to the courtesy of President Aylesworth, of the National Broadcasting Company. Those who appreciate such lectures are urged to write the studio of WJZ, 35 West 42nd Street, New York City, after hearing the Thomas address.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

THE YEAR 1927 begins with foreign relations uppermost in the immediate problems which test America's capacity for social intelligence and fair dealing. At no point is the Coolidge Administration weaker than in its handling of foreign affairs. Its conduct and point of view is thoroughly imperialistic, though it may be doubted whether either the President or the Secretary of State has the courage or clear vision to recognize that fact and to act on it with a maximum of intelligence.

At three particular points we must be on our guard. First, there is China where there is danger that the excesses of a people in revolt against long exploitation by foreigners will provoke us to some ill considered act of futile and costly intervention. Second, there is Mexico. Powerful enemies of the Calles Government are undoubtedly at work fomenting rebellion and then magnifying every disturbance by exaggerated rumors to the dignity of revolt. There is nothing in the record of American interests in Mexico to make us doubt for a moment that they will use any form of intrigue that seems likely to serve their purpose in defeating or delaying the operation of the Mexican land and oil laws which are now to go into effect. We hope that the Roman Catholic authorities are telling the absolute truth when they deny that they are encouraging rebellion. Yet the extraordinary act of the church in imperiling, according to its own creed, the salvation of millions of souls by the suspension of all public acts of religion has little meaning unless it was meant to stir up some sort of revolt against the Government with which the church is in controversy. It is not necessary for Americans to approve of every act of the Calles Government in its quarrel with the church, or for that matter, in its quarrel with certain American investors to insist that neither directly nor indirectly shall our government encourage rebellion or take the first step toward intervention in the territories of our neighbor to the south.

Finally, there is little Nicaragua. Against effective intervention in China or Mexico we are somewhat protected by the magnitude of the task. In Nicaragua our moral scruples are not thus reinforced. Coolidge in another futile attempt to justify a scandalous attack upon a weak people now talks about the danger to a canal that we may some time want to build. He gives no more proof of the reality of such danger than the State Department has given of its charges of Mexican interference in the interest of Bolshevism. The truth is, as Senator Wheeler has pointed out, that we have acted wholly illegally for the benefit not of our citizens generally but of the bankers and other commercial interests who since 1911, have steadily robbed the Nicaraguan people under the cover of various contractual arrangements made with puppet governments supported by American bayonets. If American workers have any sense of honor they will demand that this sort of thing stop.

In this connection Coolidge's request that all the papers support his foreign policy is peculiarly sinister. Such a request is a direct blow at democracy and liberty. It is not compatible with any American tradition that any President should be allowed to lead us hither and thither on a course of action which may ultimately mean war. Fortunately the President's request is not likely to have much influence on the press. Unless the Dill rethunder than the White bill for the regulation of radio is passed such a request as the President has made will have an enormous effect on the big (Continued on page 2)

PRINTING NEWS TO FIT; HOW IT'S DONE

(FROM THE N. Y. TIMES, JAN. 5)

SPREAD OF DISORDER ALARMS MEXICANS

Flood of Reports of Risings and Banditry Arouses Fears in Capital of Wide Upheaval

OUTLAWS MURDER AND ROB

By the Associated Press

Mexico City, Jan. 4.—Mexico City is deluged with tales of revolutionary disturbances in various parts of the republic. Within the last three days there have been a murder and two hold-ups by bandits only a few miles from the capital, and one train and six automobiles have been attacked and the passengers robbed within 40 miles of the city.

Newspaper dispatches assert revolutionary risings in towns of three different States have been suppressed by Federal soldiers and 11 of the leaders executed at Leon, State of Guanajuato.

Not all of the rumors can be confirmed. Mexico City is noted most of the time for alarming reports of disturbances in other parts of the country, but lately they have been more persistent than usual and picture a grave condition of general unrest, with numerous clashes occurring at various places.

The best informed observers feel the situation has possibilities of grave developments. They say they would not be surprised at any developments, either more active and more extended disorders or the smoldering down of affairs without reaching a crisis.

Apparently the discontented elements throughout the republic are without central leadership or coordination and have no dominant figure around whom to rally.

EXPRESS CO. WANTS SECTIONAL WAGE SCALES

Answers of the American Railway Express Company to arguments presented by its employees for more pay took up the concluding session of the hearings before the chosen arbitration board. Hints that the firm would vastly prefer sectional agreements to the national one sought by the three unions pleading before the board were given by L. R. Gwynn, company vice-president. Gwynn, in presenting the express company's case, commented that the arrangements with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for local agreements were more satisfactory to the firm.

Hazards and responsibilities of express workers are not increasing as the three unions have claimed, Gwynn declared.

Electricians Local Heads Accused By Members

SERIOUS charges of misappropriation of the union's funds and general flouting of the union's rules to the detriment of the membership are made against 17 officials of Local 3 of the International Association of Machinists by four members of that local. In accordance with the constitution of the International union, the four members—Jacquin Diaz, Hugh Morgan, John J. Mullin, Sr., and Thomas A. Bannett—demand that the 17 accused be placed on trial before a union committee.

The charges in the form presented by the four members were filed in the Federal Court early in the week as an exhibit in support of the petition of one Lynch, another member of the local union, for an injunction restraining the 17 officers from continuing to execute the affairs of the organization.

Those named in the charges, which include 29 specific counts, are: Richard L. O'Hara, Charles J. Reed, John J. Goodbody, William J. O'Toole, George F. Davis, William Donnelly, Peter J. Gilroy, William L. Grieshaber, Herman Imhof, Henry Lutz, Joseph Morrison, Martin Muller, Frank E. O'Reilly, Edward J. Power, Michael J. Stanton, Florence J. Stanton and Charles Slesler.

The 17 are charged with having accepted bribes to admit members to the union; with accepting bribes from employers to permit non-union crews to work in their shops; with accepting bribes from employers for permitting non-union men to work below the union scale; with renting out, for considerations, union cards to non-union men; with collecting funds from the employers to use in their defense; with having "stolen the funds of the members of the organization"; with having

(AS A MEXICAN CORRESPONDENT MIGHT WRITE HOME, CULLING THE COLUMNS OF THE N. Y. TIMES, JAN. 5)

SPREAD OF DISORDER ALARMS AMERICANS

Flood of Lawlessness, Arson and Murder Causes Fear of Crisis in Washington

MAILS ARE INTERFERED WITH

Washington, D. C., Jan. 4.—Reports of disorders, amounting to a general outbreak of lawlessness in defiance of Government authorities, are pouring in from all parts of the republic. In a single day there are reported one murder in Long Island, two deaths by fire in New Jersey, and a suicide by a New York policeman. A hold-up by bandits is reported from Missouri. Michael Cudahy, son of the wealthy packer, is being held in jail in California. Gun warfare on the waters near Detroit has resulted in mortal injuries to one and to the arrest of a Federal officer on murder charges. The execution of three bandits has been ordered in Massachusetts. Bandits beat and robbed a mother and child in New York City. Another bandit was arrested in New York after robbing a girl. Interference with the U. S. mail is charged against three men in New York City. An ex-convict has been taken on another hold-up charge in Long Island City. Smugglers at work are worrying the Customs Department, a sailor having been seized. Fire of unknown origin caused \$25,000 loss in Brooklyn.

Newspaper dispatches report a revolt in Union City, New Jersey, where two factions are asserting their right to the Government. Rebellion against the Government of Colorado is reported. A prison warden has set up machine guns to repulse attempts to oust him from power. If the rebellions grow serious, troops will be called upon to restore peace.

All of these reports are based on official sources and none are rumors. Washington, all year 'round, gets scores of reports daily of violence, murder and arson. Today's record is a mild one compared with the lawlessness of most other days.

The best informed observers feel that the situation is a serious one. Pleas for action against the orgies of lawlessness are heard on all sides. New and more stringent laws are being enacted. Some say they would not be surprised if the criminal outburst becomes more virulent, and fear a crisis. Others expect the smoldering down of affairs without reaching a crisis.

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UNION BAKERS, FACING JAIL, IN APPEAL

Higher Court Will Be Asked to Rule on Alleged Violation of Injunction

CHARLES SOLOMON, counsel for the nine members of Local 37 of the Bakers' Union, who were recently found guilty by Justice Crosby in Brooklyn of contempt of court, and sentenced to serve from ten to thirty days in jail, has succeeded in getting the Appellate Division in the Second Department to stay the enforcement of Judge Crosby's order, pending an appeal from it. The appeal will be argued before the Appellate Division on January 14.

In addition to sentencing the men to jail terms, Judge Crosby imposed a fine of \$250 and directed that a counsel fee of \$500 be paid to the attorney for the boss bakers, Probolsky Brothers, of 332 Snediker avenue, Brownsville. The two business agents of the union, Pollock and Heller, were given thirty days each. The remaining men were given ten days each. They are Bessan, Scragge, Green, Reibel, Rudnik, Prayda and Lefkowitz.

The "contempt of court" for which Justice Crosby imposed the jail terms was alleged by the boss bakers to consist of violation of a drastic anti-union injunction issued by Crosby. In the trial of the union officials the court revealed a distinct anti-labor bias.

The Probolskys have long fought the Bakers' Union in Brownsville, Brooklyn. It is reported they will soon bring another contempt proceeding against Local 37.

Joseph Rose, secretary for the union, issued a statement in which he said that certain newspapers were publishing the utterly false statement that since the decision by Judge Crosby the union, for the first time in twenty years, was ready to consider an agreement providing for arbitration of differences between boss bakers and the men.

"We have always been ready to enter into an agreement with the organized bakers of Brownsville and East New York providing for collective bargaining and arbitration," he said.

"The bosses, however, seem never to have been able to get together into a unit for this purpose. As far as the present difficulty is concerned, we never violated the injunction order and we are hopeful the Appellate Division will so find. As far as our fight for the union label and recognition of the union is concerned, it will go on, and the finding of our members guilty of contempt will not have the slightest effect on this legitimate battle of organized labor except to intensify it. We cannot state too strongly that we did not violate any injunction order."

Four Bankers On Chicago School Board

CHICAGO—Four of the 11 members of the Chicago board of education will be bankers if the city council confirms Mayor Dever's latest appointments. Business Agent Margaret Haley of the Chicago Teachers Federation points out.

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

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ELECTRICIANS' LOCAL HEADS ACCUSED

Members File Charges of Corruption Against Seventeen Officers

(Continued from page 1)

"into membership a large number of unqualified men to use votes of such men to save them from defeat"; with having refused requests of the membership for reports on finances and new members; with having ruled the meetings of the union "by force and intimidation" and with the aid of policemen and other non-members; with having "refused to allow a secret vote to be taken"; with having "stolen vote after vote"; with having refused critics the right to speak at meetings.

Continuing, the four members charge the 17 officers with having violated the laws of the International union; with working against the best interests of the International; with having "advocated and encouraged" the setting up of a dual union outside of the International; with maintaining, in violation of the union constitution, an injunction against the International officers; with having attempted to obtain an injunction against each and every member of Local 3 in order to silence all opposition; with having refused to stand trial before the International union as "the constitution provides"; that "they knew they were guilty and dared not face their accusers," thus refusing to stand trial before the International after they had agreed to do so; with having misrepresented the intentions of the International union; with having falsely accused the International of attempting to obtain the local's funds.

"When charges have previously been made in the local against some of these officers," the charges continue, "they have ruled such charges 'out of order,' in deliberate violation of our laws. We have evidence to substantiate the charges we make and stand ready to produce it when allowed to do so. We ask that these charges be read to the next meeting of the union and immediate action be taken."

International Vice-President H. H. Broach, through his attorney, has filed an appeal from the decision of Supreme Court Justice Crane, who recently enjoined him from "interfering" in the affairs of Local 3. The appeal was taken to the Appellate Division.

Stalin Sought Alliance With Trotsky On Zinoviev, German Communists Say

(Cable to Daily Forward)

Berlin.—Returning from Moscow, Ruth Fisher, Urbahn and Scholem, German communist leaders, have issued a statement containing interesting details of the proceedings of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. It appears that Stalin, the Russian premier, attempted to form an alliance with Trotsky against Zinoviev by offering him party amnesty and the Railroad Commission. Stalin also attempted to win over Zinoviev, against Trotsky by making a similar proposition.

After Zinoviev's speech, it is stated, Stalin sent code telegrams to Russian organizations requesting disciplinary measures be taken against the opposition leaders. Stalin, in the course of the debate, so bitterly assailed Kamenov and Lenin that blows between the speaker and Kamenov were narrowly averted. All indications are that Stalin will demand the expulsion of the Trotsky-Zinoviev party.

Pravda daily prints telegrams from various cities reporting the adoption of resolutions demanding that the severest methods of repression be applied to the opposition who are referred to as "bankrupts," "irresponsibles," "deposed leaders," "defectors" and "party slanderers."

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Communists Rely Upon Gangsters to Keep Hold In Cloakmakers' Union

Mercenary Army Is Recruited to Force Workers to Join Dual Union in N. Y.

THE deposed and repudiated Communist-Labor Wing leaders of the recent disastrous strike in the New York Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are making a last attempt to keep a foothold in the organization by the brute force of a small army of gangster mercenaries.

The next few weeks will be the critical ones for former Joint Board Manager Louis Hyman and his Communist followers. Within two weeks the spring season of the industry will be in full swing. The enrollment being conducted by the International Union has indicated that the rank and file is thoroughly disgusted with the Communist leadership. Though the season has not begun the enrollment of members with the International has been particularly heavy.

In an attempt to intimidate the workers who are thus showing their preference for the International Union the Communists have sunk every available dollar in building up its gangster army. Several squads of these Communist employees are quartered day and night in the different local headquarters, playing cards, drinking and enlivening by other means what might otherwise be dull hours. The ostensible reason for stationing these gangs in the headquarters is to guard against any attempt by the members to take over the buildings for themselves.

The main work of these gangsters will begin as the season gets going, when they will attempt to keep the workers who have enrolled with the union from working in the shops. An attempt will be made by violent and other means to force the members to sign up with the dual union which the Communists are trying to set up.

In the meantime the gangsters are busy with members who have already signed up with the union. An outbreak of violence by Communist-led "mobs" occurred during the week in the New York garment zone. Tuesday, two cloakmakers, one on the way to work, were set upon and severely beaten on West 39th Street, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, at 7:30 a. m. Both received severe beatings about the head. Their eyes were badly cut and bruised.

The victims, who had to be taken to the New York Hospital for treatment, were Louis Katz, a member of Local Union No. 35, living at 1837 Hoe street, the Bronx, and Nicholas Costa, of Local Union No. 48, of 115 West 30th Street, Brooklyn. The union charged that Isidor Moscovitz, vice chairman of the Communist Picket Committee, led and directed the assault upon Katz and Costa, in which 35 men participated. Moscovitz was later arrested for assault.

Katz was known as a non-Communist cloakmaker, while Costa had never been prominent in union activity. Other attacks on non-Communist cloakmakers included assaults on workers distributing anti-Communist leaflets and publications in the garment district. A half dozen were set upon and their papers torn to shreds. International President Sigman characterized the attacks as "a policy of despair," declaring that the Communists, grown desperate with their loss of power in the union, are using every desperate effort to intimidate the workers.

Because Communists in this country have waged a campaign of havoc and destruction within the American cloak and dress unions, the General Executive Board of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has refused to designate delegates to the convention of the Communist controlled Needle Trades Workers' Union of Russia, to be held in Moscow April 7, President Sigman declared.

In declining the invitation from officials of the Russian unions, the organization pointed out it has nothing but good feeling for the Russian garment workers. "The International Union," the reply stated, "will always be found ready, whenever called upon, to help the garment and clothing workers of Russia materially and morally, in every struggle for the betterment of their economic lot and their work conditions."

"But our International Union will not take part in your Congress for the reason that your union is affiliated with and is a close part of the Red Trade Union International, which in turn is affiliated with the Communist Internationale, a political organization that has, for several years past, been waging a campaign of malice, calumny and destruction against our International Union, through its American subsidiary organizations, and has nearly succeeded in destroying some of our strongest unions in New York City."

"Right at this hour we are engaged

in a struggle to eliminate disastrous Communist domination from the New York cloak and dress unions, which has resulted in their recent loss of a general strike after twenty-five weeks of striking and in the loss of \$30,000,000 in wages to our members. This disaster is the immediate work of the local Communist organization, approved and directed by the Moscow central body with which you are affiliated. The damage caused by this Communist political invasion of our trade union will take years to repair, and to this task our International Union is now devoting itself with all its energies and resources, aided by the entire organized workers' movement of our country."

Further defections of prominent union officials from Communist ranks have occurred. Half a dozen officers either resigned outright from the defunct Communist Joint Board or refused nominations for Communist positions in the cloak unions. Saul Miller, manager of the sub-manufacturers' division of the cloak union and an executive member of Local 9, resigned. So did Abe Goldberg, a Joint Board business agent, and also member of Local 9's executive board. Others who refused re-election were Eva Pasha, A. Siegel and J. Goldstein, all officers of Local 9, which until recently was Communist controlled.

The following officials were installed in the new New York Joint Board, superseding the defunct Communist Joint Board: Nicholas Kurtzman, chairman; Bernard Kaplan, chairman of the Board of Directors; Ben Kaplan, vice-chairman.

So weakened have the Communist forces in New York City become as a result of their wrecking of the Furriers and Garment Workers' unions that a meeting of the needle trades section of the Trade Union Educational League, the Communist trade union organization, was, for the first time, held secretly. Opponents of the Communists declare that an open meeting would have revealed publicly the bankruptcy in the Communist ranks.

Porters Endorse Fight On Union Wreckers

THE Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has endorsed the objects of the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions recently formed to combat Communist Party attempts to interfere with the work of the trade unions. In a letter to Abraham I. Shipiloff, chairman of the committee, General Organizer A. Phillips Randolph says:

"Permit me to congratulate you upon the valuable, necessary and effective fight you, Brothers Sigman and Beckerman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers respectively are making to preserve the trade union movement of America against the disruptive tactics of the Communists."

"I take great pleasure in pledging the committee the unqualified support of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first national Negro trade union in America. It has achieved the signal result of organizing 5,765 of the 10,400 Pullman porters and maids in the Pullman service within the short period of one year, qualified with the legal majority quota, and had a preliminary hearing with the mediation board in December through Hon. Edwin P. Morrow, one of its mediators, who was assigned to secure the facts from the brotherhood and the Pullman company for the board in order that it may determine whether the porters' union or the company union has a right to make agreements for the porters and maids.

"It is my hope that your vigorous and formidable attacks upon the destructive methods of the Communists, bent upon a rule-or-ruin policy at the behest of Moscow, will completely break their power and liberate the trade union movement from their fell clutches."

District Attorney's Aid and Socialist to Debate On "Remedy for Crime"

A debate on the crime question will take place Sunday night, January 9, in Brownsville between Charles Solomon, lawyer and former Socialist Assemblyman, and Hon. Joseph Gallagher, the first assistant in the office of the District Attorney of Kings County.

The proposition to be debated is: "Resolved, The remedy for crime is adequate and effective punishment." Mr. Gallagher will take the affirmative and Mr. Solomon the negative. The debate is arranged by the Auxiliary to the Brooklyn Hebrew Home for the Aged and will take place in the large auditorium of the Home at Howard and Dumont Avenues, Brownsville.

Mr. Gallagher has for many years been a conspicuous member of the Brooklyn District Attorney's office and has prosecuted in some of the most famous criminal cases tried in Kings County in recent years. He was active in the Diamond and Pantano cases.

Joseph M. Osman at the Bronx Free Fellowship

Joseph M. Osman is giving a course of six lectures on "Danger Trends in Personality" at the Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston road, Thursday evenings at 8:30 o'clock. On Jan. 13 his subject will be "The Inferiority Complex and Society." Admission, 25 cents.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

broadcasting companies. Suppose their regulation remains in the hands of Secretary Hoover or any other member of the President's Cabinet. It is known that the President wants no critical discussion of his foreign policy. The radio companies will tremble over themselves to prove their loyalty to this wish of his. The only possible chance of escaping this sort of censorship is by regulation through a commission charged with no political task. Such a commission and certain other safeguards of freedom of the air are provided in the Dill bill.

Incidentally I have an appointment to broadcast over Station WJZ on next Monday, Jan. 10, between 8:15 and 8:30 P. M., on the subject "An American Labor Party." All you radio fans listen in and see whether or not you will hear me. I have discovered before this that to be given a place on a radio program and to be permitted to speak are two different things. But I am always an optimist, and so far WJZ has been most courteous.

Judge Gary, Matthew Woll, the Wall Street speculator, and others have welcomed 1927 by telling us how prosperous we are. Of course the farmers don't know it. During the years 1920-1925 the income of the farmer who operated his own farm varied from \$412 to \$504 a year. This was his reward of labor and management and it includes the value of food, fuel and shelter supplied by the farm; 1925 has not bettered the situation. Bankruptcies still increase, and so does the exodus of the farmers to the cities. Nor do all industrial workers know how prosperous they are. Ask the soft coal miners, the textile workers, the workers in some unorganized trades like candy and paper box making.

Two other points must be made about this much advertised prosperity. First, on any reasonable calculation of future events it is by no means certain that our comparative rate of prosperity will continue. Second, it is entirely certain that given our natural resources and our supply of machinery and power, the prosperity we get under the profit system is not fully adequate and far less than we have a right to expect. In comparison with what we might be doing we are not doing well either in production or distribution. Look at New York's housing! The labor movement that is satisfied with this type of prosperity at the present price we are paying for it in ideals is not only selling its birthright for a mess of pottage, but for a mess of rather poor pottage.

In some quarters much is being made of the fact that between 8 percent and 9 percent of steel trust stock is owned by employees. Roughly speaking, about 50,000 employees are supposed to have shared in the recent cutting of the steel trust melon to the extent of an average of between \$350 and \$400 apiece. That is supposed to show that the capitalist system is solving its problem by making the workers capitalists. But wait a minute. Far less than half of the steel trust employees own any stock. All of them together are swamped by the immense holdings of absentee stockholders. If the dividend rate of 7 percent is maintained on this new stock dividend the hypothetical average worker who holds stock will receive at the maximum \$28 a year more than before. That is, a wage increase of a trifle over 50c a week would be better and surer for him than this stock dividend. Moreover, his ownership of stock brings him no real control, whereas his membership in a union which Judge Gary has compelled him to renounce might give him a beginning of real control. No, the wastes and injustices of our present system of private ownership and management for profit are by no means overcome by the clever psychological device of trying to make the workers feel like owners.

At Milwaukee, Wisconsin, under the joint auspices of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., a great student conference has been held during the Christmas holidays. At the conclusion of the conference 800 students put themselves on record as believing that the present economic system based on production for use rather than profit is "wrong." Only 38 felt that the capitalist system as a whole was or might be made to accord with the principles of Jesus. Three hundred and eighty-five of the students went further and declared specifically that students should do all in their power to strengthen and improve the organized labor movement. The students unanimously asked of the colleges greater opportunities to learn the facts of modern problems and requested a fuller hearing for speakers representing minority viewpoints. There was also an encouraging sentiment against war. By an overwhelming majority the students declared that if they supported any war it would be on the basis of their own conviction rather than merely on the demand of external authority.

These declarations at Milwaukee were the more remarkable because of the apparent effort of those in charge of the conference to focus the interest of the students on what may be called problems of personal religion rather than of social ethics.

Of a different sort was the annual Intercollegiate Conference of the League for Industrial Democracy which was held in New York during the Christmas holidays. Over a score of colleges were represented by an eager group of students who discussed and listened to discussion on Russia; on the rival claims of progressivism, socialism and Communism in America; on campus problems, such as academic freedom, military training,

Tony Sender Predicts Labor Party Ultimate Tool of U. S. Workers

Socialist Party Rallying Nucleus for Bigger Development, German Leader Writes

By Tony Sender

THIS economic "wonderland" may be explained quite naturally and no one needs to get disheartened at the status of the labor movement. Especially for the Socialist, who allows himself to sit in judgment, it ought to be taken as a matter of course that first of all he would study the country's historic and economic development in order to be able to understand the social conditions, and not form an opinion based on a feeling of dissatisfaction with the state of development of the movement born of a passing impression. . . .

And now comes the most important part of all this. The working people have a right to feel that they are sharing in this prosperity, in the country's privileged position. They have permanently improved their income conditions. Their material position is far superior to that of the European working masses. Even allowing for the dear rents and the higher cost of living, their average purchasing power is at least twice as great as that of their European fellows.

It is surprising that in wide circles of the working class there arose a state of mind similar to that which dominated the English proletariat until near the end of the 19th century? Many American workers believe that it is to their interest to co-operate with the industrialists in maintaining their country's present privileged position and thus not only make permanent their own more favorable material conditions of life, but also complete their own rise to an elevated and independent station in life. For this hope of rising from a propertyless proletariat to a dollar king is still alive, although it is becoming rarer. There are too many living examples in existence for it to die out.

Clinging to Prosperity

And while the first president of the German republic was scorned by some because he had been a saddler, in the recent gubernatorial campaign in New York it was noted with pride that Al Smith, the successful bourgeois candidate, had begun his career as a newsboy.

As in England, when the Island Empire seemed to be the world's factory and occupied a privileged position, the working class followed the bourgeois in order to maintain its privileged position, so broad circles of the workers in privileged America believe they can maintain this preponderant position for themselves also through supporting the bourgeois parties.

For a long time England has been no longer the workshop of the world, and today her working class stands with the others in the front ranks of the Socialist International. Will America's prosperity and preferred position last forever? . . .

During recent years the use of the injunction in labor struggles has become a regular system. Resentment at this method is increasing within the ranks of the workers. But the employers use the powers of the State to hold the workers' demands in check.

Can this remain without influence upon the mental attitude of the American worker? Even though the workers in general are better paid than those in Europe, still a goodly number of them do not receive the top wages. And the intensity of the work is fearful and often wears out the worker prematurely. The principle of social responsibility of the community is lacking. Social welfare legislation, with the exception of a few beginnings in some of the States, does not exist. There is no social legislation covering all the States as a whole. During my numerous visits to working class families, stricken by some misfortune, I saw the consequences. How many families would have to perish if private sympathy, private charity, did not step in? The next periodical economic crisis, signs of which are already apparent, will make this lack of any kind of unemployment benefits, of any social legislation, still more evident.

Harbingers of such a development students in industry, the teaching of the social sciences, and on opportunities for students after graduation to make their lives count in political and industrial action. There were no resolutions or "findings." There was an eager and intelligent interest, and that counts for more than paper resolutions.

Maybe it is only a minority—possibly not a very big minority in our colleges—that has a constructive curiosity on social problems. But there is mighty fine stuff in that minority. And it will be at least partly the fault of the labor movement if those young people do not get a better chance to function along social lines than they now have.

The Bronx Free Fellowship

1301 Boston Road, near 100th Street
Sunday, January 9, 1927
8 P. M.

REV. LEON R. LAND
"A First for Balanced Thinking and Living"

9 P. M.
OPEN FORUM
PROF. LEROY E. BOWMAN
of Columbia University
"NEIGHBORHOOD DEMOCRACY"

ADMISSION FREE

Shortly after her return to Germany, Miss Tony Sender, the Socialist Reichstag Deputy who made so many friends here during her three-months' tour of the country last fall, summarized her impressions of conditions in the United States in a couple of articles printed in the Berlin Vorwarts. Comrade Sender explains to her German readers why the Socialist movement is comparatively weak in "The Wonderland of Capital" at present and what she thinks of its future. Omitting her excellent descriptions of American industrial conditions and the junction of "injunction judges," Comrade Sender's impressions are given below:

were already to be seen in the last elections. For the first time since the prosperity of the post-war period began, the Socialist vote rose all along the line. But the strength of the opposition is not to be measured alone by the Socialist vote. How often have I heard American voters declare: "What's the use of voting for the Socialists when under the existing majority system one of the two bourgeois candidates is sure to make the running and my vote, if given to the Socialist, is lost?" This is the reason for lack of interest in voting, the percentage being not more than from 45 to 50.

On the other hand, I learned from my numerous and well attended forum meetings that considerable sections of the American people are opposed to the prevailing regime and to both bourgeois parties. And these different oppositional elements demand a point of concentration. Will it be the Socialist Party? The question cannot be answered with certainty, but it looks as if the development will be more along English lines. It may be that it will become a sort of Labor Party; it is also possible that America will create a similar body, but more adapted to its own needs. It would be useless to try to prophesy the details of the form, but the tendency can be seen.

At all events, the Socialist Party, although small in membership, has an important mission in the United States. It is holding in line shock troops, around whom a more numerous opposition will rally in the future.

ANTI-MILITARIST GROUP TO HAVE LUNCHEON

The Committee on Militarism in Education has arranged a luncheon, Saturday, Jan. 5, at 1 o'clock, at the Town Hall Club, 123 W. 43rd Street, New York City.

Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, will speak on "Military Training and the Religion of Nationalism." Roswell P. Barnes and John Nevill Sayre, of the Committee on Military Education, will speak on "Recent Happenings in the Colleges," and Wilbur K. Thomas, of the American Friends Service Committee, will speak on "The Work Ahead."

Professor George A. Coe, of Teachers College, will preside.

Send reservations to Committee on Militarism in Education, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York City, before Jan. 14.

A NEW ESSEX SIX COACH

Given FREE

AT THE

Entertainment and Ball

OF THE

BRONX SOCIALIST PARTY

HUNTS POINT PALACE

163rd Street & Southern Boulevard

Sunday Afternoon and Evening

JANUARY 30

Entertainment Program at 4 P. M. with Artists of National Reputation

Dancing Program 7 P. M.

Dan Barnett's Radio Orchestra

Tickets Including Wardrobe \$1

ADMISSION FREE

ADMISSION FREE

ADMISSION FREE

ADMISSION FREE

ADMISSION FREE

LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN

Sunday, Jan. 9, 11 a. m.—Judge Jacob Panken, "The Events of Week." Hennington Hall, 214 East 2nd street. Auspices: Socialist Party Forum, 6th, 8th and 12th A. D.

Sunday, Jan. 9, 8:30 p. m.—William Morris Feigenbaum, "The Socialist Movement." East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Auspices 1st and 2nd A. D. Socialist Party.

Sunday, Jan. 9, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens, "Genius—Heredity vs. Environment." 137 Avenue B. Auspices Circle No. 8, Y. P. S. L.

BRONX

Friday, Jan. 7, 8:30 p. m.—August Claessens, "Social Evolution." 4215 Third Avenue, corner Tremont Avenue. Auspices Bronx Forum.

Sunday, Jan. 9, 1 p. m.—Thomas Rogers, "The Elements of Scientific Socialism." (First of a series of lectures.) 1167 Boston road. Auspices Central Branch, S. P.

Tuesday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Rev. Ethelred Brown, "Debs, the Apostle of Socialism." 1167 Boston road. Auspices Bronx Forum.

BROOKLYN

Friday, Jan. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Harry W. Laidler, "Mexico's Struggle for Peace and Freedom." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

Friday, Jan. 7, 8:30 p. m.—Esther Friedman, "The Spiritual and Ethical Elements in Socialism." 167 Tompkins Avenue. Auspices Socialist Party, 6th A. D.

Tuesday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m.—Esther Friedman, "The Changing Social Orders." 345 South 3rd street. Auspices Socialist Party, 4th and 14th A. D. Branch.

Friday, Jan. 14, 8:30 p. m.—Jesse Stephen, "Labor's Bid for Power in Great Britain." Workmen's Circle Center, 218 Van Sicken Avenue. Auspices Socialist Party, 22nd A. D.

Friday, Jan. 14, 8:30 p. m.—Judge Jacob Panken, "Russia and its Possibilities." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

WORKERS' SPORTS

The Progressive Sport Club will celebrate the opening of a new home on Friday evening, January 14, with an all-star entertainment and dance at the new home, 8 Attorney street. The proceeds of this dance will furnish our soccer and basketball divisions with uniforms.

The first meeting of the Ladies' Auxiliary will take place January 11 at 8:30 p. m. at the club rooms.

A branch of the Progressive Sport club will be organized in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn in a short time.

The second annual dance will be held in Miller's Million-dollar Ballroom on February 6. Tickets can be obtained at 8 Attorney street.

Tourist Club Hike

Sunday, January 9, we hike to Tarrytown, Croton Aqueduct and Scarborough, N. Y. In case of snow during the week, bring your skis, as there will be ample opportunity for good skiing in this section. Meeting place, Van Cortlandt Park subway station (downstairs); time, 8 a. m.; fare, 90 cents; walking time, 4 hours; leaders, Will Schmidt. Non-members are always welcome, provided they are nature-loving pedestrians.

MONDAY, JAN. 10th, at 8:15 P. M. "The Water Power Development Policy in the State of N. Y." Hon. GEORGE L. MILLS

Republican candidate for Governor in the recent election; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Member of Congress.

TUESDAY, JAN. 11th, at 8:15 P. M. "The Economic Interpretation of History" Dr. WILL DURANT

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

MONDAY, JAN. 17th, at 8:15 P. M. PROF. HARRY ELMER BARNES

BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER 867-891 Eastern Parkway (7th Av. I.R.T. Subway to Nostrand Av.)

LABOR TEMPLE

11th Street and Second Avenue

THIS SUNDAY

5 P. M.—Contemporary Literature. DR. WILL DURANT

Mikhail Artzbashev—"Sanine" and "The Breaking Point"

ADMISSION 25 CENTS

7:15 P. M.—EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"The Protestant Church and the American Labor Movement"

ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—URBAN LE DOUX

(Mr. ZERU) "Unemployment—A National Crime"

ADMISSION FREE

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

AT COOPER UNION AT 8 O'CLOCK

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9th NATHANIEL PEPPER "Unloading the White Man's Burden"

TUESDAY, JANUARY 11th JOHN BAKELESS "Heading-Off the Next War"

FRIDAY, JANUARY 14th EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "What is the Matter with Modern Ideas?" "The Influence of Industrialism on Modern Ideas"

ADMISSION FREE Open Forum Discussion

AT MANHATTAN TRADE SCHOOL AT 8 O'CLOCK

MONDAY, JANUARY 10th MARK VAN COPEN Literary Definitions "Criticism"

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12th DR. MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS "Man and His Past"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 13th DR. E. G. SPAULDING "The Interpretation of the Universe"

Own States Have Laws Like Those of Mexico to Which U.S. Objects

By Americano

EXCEPT for the fact that every government is bound to consider natural, international and human rights, each sovereign state has the right to legislate in its own way. This right has never been denied by any government and when today Washington is using its influence even to the point of permitting the public to believe the United States will sever diplomatic relations with the Mexican government and use force if need be, it can rightly be regarded as interfering in foreign legislative matters.

And when a government speaks in strong terms, we naturally believe that its own legislation must be in accord with its requests.

On the contrary, the United States, which is so alert in the tutelage of the rights of its citizens abroad, goes much further than Mexico in its own internal legislation.

In the State of Arizona, for instance, Law 4716, passed in 1913, says that only citizens of the United States or those who have declared their intention to become naturalized may acquire property, and that no company with more than 39 per cent of the stock in the possession of foreign stockholders can acquire land or title within the State.

The State of Illinois has similar restrictions, the law granting a foreigner a period of five years only to dispose of his property. If the foreigner fails to comply within the certified time, the State of Illinois has the right to confiscate his lands and titles.

The new Mexican law says that property rights acquired prior to the Constitution are not affected as far as the person acquiring them is concerned. The owner shall have the right to hold until his death his title acquired in good faith. His heirs, however, must comply with the provisions stated by the law, meaning that they must either take out a permit and agree to consider themselves Mexican nationals as far as any legalities connected with their properties are concerned and look for redress only to the Mexican courts, or, not acquiescing, they must dispose of their inherited properties within ten years.

The charge of confiscation against the Mexican government is most interesting. The owner of a prior acquired right is in his own interest now obliged to make a declaration proving his ownership before the Foreign Office and thus securing that his property rights be respected. If this declaration is not made, the acquisition will be regarded as made after the promulgation of the law, and the claimant's right will be judged according to the dictates of the new law. We can scarcely expect a government to be more solicitous of a person's property rights than the owner himself.

However, it is impossible to speak about confiscation if the original acquisition was contrary to the law of the State. Property so acquired can never be and is never considered a legal acquisition. A right resulting from an illegal acquisition does not exist, the legislation of the whole world bearing out this statement. "Nullum in illius product" (Nothing can nothing produce) comes down to us from early Roman law, and has never been denied by the legislation of any time. Rights acquired against the law are considered as null and void as even Article 8 of the law in question so states.

Thus we see that the charges against Mexico are unjustified. The prior acquired right is not injured, and, according to the law, the heir has the right to dispose of his property within ten years if he does not care to comply with the conditions of the new law.

Painters and Electrical Workers Confer

WASHINGTON.—Executives of the Brotherhood of Painters met those of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in conference on jurisdiction over painting of light poles, cable boxes and other electrical carrying equipment, at American Federation of Labor headquarters on Jan. 4.

YOUTH'S

Concert and Dance

at Hotel McAlpin

Sunday Afternoon
January 23, 1927

Workmen's Circle members' sons, daughters and their friends are especially invited

Each guest will receive a souvenir, with the compliments of the Workmen's Circle

Subscription \$1.00

Tickets must be procured in advance, in the General Office of the Workmen's Circle, 175 East Broadway; or in the office of the Jewish Daily Forward

Arranged by
THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
of the WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

SOVIET-JUNKER PLANE DEALS BARED

Manchester Guardian Reveals Contract to Make Machines for Monarchists

LONDON.—Continuing its disclosures of secret military deals between German Monarchists in the war department of the German republic and the Moscow government, the Manchester Guardian reports that in December, 1921, two agents of the Junkers' airplane firm and two agents of the German war department submitted to the Moscow government a contract for the creation of a German war industry on Russian soil, to be financed by the German war department with an initial capital of 21,000,000 gold marks.

The German war department used pressure on the Junkers firm to this end, on the ground that it was the patriotic duty of the business to help the war department. The four German agents had false passports for their entry into Russia.

The Russian Communist government showed great willingness to make the deal, relations between Poland and Russia being strained at that time.

Used False Labels
In order to cover the transaction, false labels were used by the German agents. They referred to the German war department by the letters S. G. (Sonder Gruppe, special group). Instead of naming Dessau, the home office of the Junkers firm, they named Leipzig. Battle planes were called "cases."

Difficulties arose soon after the contract had been closed, the Guardian continues. This was partly due to the fact that the Russian Communists, who took nothing for granted, insisted upon positive results. Partly trouble was due to the fact that the funds promised by the German war department were not delivered to the Junkers firm as promptly as promised.

This firm finally became alarmed when it found out that the German war department had made similar contracts with other German armament firms for the production of war materials in Russia.

Nevertheless the deal was ratified by the Russian government in February, 1923. Accordingly the Junkers firm undertook to build 100 airplanes in Moscow. The German war department paid for the cost of building the factory, shipping the materials, paying the technical experts and manufacturing the airplanes. The plan was to have the Junkers firm produce 300 airplanes per year, the greater part of which were to be shipped to Germany. The Junkers firm, however, continued to balk, because it considered the enterprise bad business. Civil aviation was making great progress and paying much better for the future than the manufacture of battleplanes, on which it had to concentrate in Moscow. In the fall of 1925 the Junkers firm suddenly learned that the German war department had ordered 100 Fokker planes from a firm in Holland. The firm demanded a showdown, but the German war department set its doubts at rest by asserting that it had 70,000,000 gold marks available for these purposes.

Made Another Contract
On May 5, 1924, a new contract was signed by the German war department, the Junkers firm and the Russian soviet government. The production of battleplanes by the Russian Junkers firm insisted that it did not pay well enough. Under the old contract, the firm had received 4,000,000 gold marks. Under the new contract, it received 8,000,000.

The firm was advised to raise 12,000,000 more by a loan, and the German war department assisted with various irregular credits during 1924-25. But the firm finally concluded to quit and offered to submit its claims for damages to a board of experts. Gen. Von Seeckt refused on November 26, 1924, to accept this proposal, declaring that it was contrary to military and political interests of the state. The general denied that the firm had any claim to damages. The Junkers' firm could not appeal to the courts without giving the whole affair away, and had to pocket its losses, the Guardian concludes. As the German War Department refused to come through with any financial assistance for the liquidation of the Russian enterprise, the Junkers' firm had to lay off its employees in Moscow. Aside from this loss, the firm had also lost good markets for civil airplanes, which had meanwhile been captured by its competitors.

In fact, the failure of the Russian enterprise was the main cause of the firm's bankruptcy, which at the time created such a sensation and seemed inexplicable.

The final benefits of this enterprise went to the Moscow government. It got a fine factory and equipment for the manufacture of battleplanes for a song, also a good staff of technical experts and some finished planes that the German War Department did not get.

Expose Communist Role
The Socialist Leipziger Volkszeitung, commenting upon these revelations, writes: "Now we understand why the Soviet leaders were so sorry that Gen. Von Seeckt had to resign."

"While the recent Communist Labor Congress again glorified Russia as the land of the Workers' Government, we know now that the Communist Party in Germany was only a camouflage of the crowd around Chicherin and Stalin for concealing the intimate relations of the Swastika officers of Imperial Germany in the War Department with

Hosiery Workers Union Uses Radio to Aid Drive to Organize Labor in Industry

Something new in trade union history was the effort of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers to "sell" itself to the public through a series of radio broadcast programs. On Thursday evening, January 6, between 6 and 7:30 p. m., the Federation of Hosiery Workers went on the air with a program of high-grade musical selections, interspersed with short speeches on trade unionism, from Station WRAW, Reading, Pa., which uses a wave length of 238 metres. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and William Smith, secretary-treasurer of the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, were the principal speakers. The union feels that the entertainment value of the program was such as to attract the attention of many hundreds who have never before heard an adequate presentation of the case for labor organizations.

The hosiery workers will give a radio program at the same hour on six successive Thursdays during January and February as the feature publicity event in connection with an organization drive now being conducted in the Reading district. Station WRAW has a radius of over 200 miles.

Helping the Good Work Along

WE HAVE received many New Year greetings and numerous letters expressing their appreciation of the work which The New Leader is doing. Some were accompanied with a small contribution to our Sustaining Fund, others enclosed subscriptions, while a few promised to do all they can for us in the near future, both by a contribution to our Fund as well as getting new readers. It is needless to say that we appreciate all the good wishes, and the assistance rendered or promised.

Among the letters received was one from a very good and devoted friend of The New Leader who shuns publicity and in deference to his wishes we will refrain from mentioning his name. This good friend enclosed a check for \$112 for 56 yearly subscriptions, 50 of which are to go to a list of college and public libraries. This is not the first time that the friend has taken such action. This year his contribution exceeded all our expectations.

We hope that the placing of The New Leader in 50 additional libraries will be the means of introducing The New Leader to thousands who would not be reached through other channels. We cannot adequately express our gratitude to this friend for his liberal assistance. We feel sure that if others will be moved by this action to practical assistance along similar lines he will consider himself amply rewarded for his generous help.

J. B. Cookson, of Clearfield, Pa., writes: "I take the pleasure to renew my subscription to The New Leader for another year. Sorry to have delayed it a little, but I could not help it. I am an inmate of the county home. I gathered in a few dollars while out for Christmas and I gladly renew my subscription to the best paper in America that I have seen."

Dr. S. Silverberg of New York, in renewing his subscription, adds another \$5 to our Sustaining Fund with the following remarks: "There is no question in my mind that The New Leader is the best weekly out, and I would not want to miss it every Friday."

Pauline Meininger, Erie, Pa., writes: "While renewing my subscription I regret not to be able to at the same time answer your call for funds. Just now I find that impossible. I can only renew my subscription and send you my best wishes for the success of The New Leader."

S. Hoffman, Bronx, N. Y., writes: "With my renewal for another year I enclose \$2.00 for your Maintenance and Expansion Fund. I would be happy if I could send more at this time, but the call for funds in the American Appeal and demands for party support prevent me from making a larger contribution. I hope that our readers will respond generously to your first call for financial help."

Charles Bryson, Berkeley, Cal., received recently a sample copy of The New Leader, mailed to him upon the suggestion of one of our subscribers. He immediately sent in a six months' subscription, accompanied by the following letter, which speaks for itself: "I am in receipt of your letter of recent date and also of a copy of The New Leader, for which allow me to

the red imperialism of the Soviet leaders.

"Vorwärts is quite right when it declares that the shells which were fired against the German workers in the Ruhr and other places had been manufactured in the Kuban district under the supervision of Cossacks and in the midnight armament works of the late czar, the Putloff works. The machine guns which killed thousands of German workers and which were faced by some of the present delegates to the Communist Labor Congress were loaded with ammunition made in Soviet Russia."

Painters in Denver Will Have 5-Day Week Feb. 1
DENVER.—The 5-day week goes in effect for union painters Feb. 1 through negotiation by Local 79 with the employers. The hourly rate of \$1.25 remains unchanged. The union favored the change on grounds of health and to diminish unemployment among its members.

The MODERN QUARTERLY Announces a

DEBATE

"Have the Mechanical Aspects of Civilization Benefited Humanity?"

AFFIRMATIVE NEGATIVE
WM. B. GUTHRIE LEON SAMSON

Professor of Government, C. C. of N. Y. Author of "History of Socialism Before the French Revolution"

Well-Known Lecturer and Debater

Chairman, ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS

SUNDAY, JANUARY 9th, 1927

at 2 p. m.

MANHATTAN LYCEUM

66 East 4th Street

ADMISSION 75 CENTS

Tickets on sale at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street, and Jimmy Higgins' Book Store, 127 University Place.

Labor Radio Keeps Critics; Insists on Free Speech

"Tune Off," Is Nockels' Advice to Would-Be Suppressors of Church Men's Talk

CHICAGO.—"If you don't want to hear the sky pilots, turn the little knob and you are off of them," declared Secretary Ed Nockels, Chicago Federation of Labor, in winding up discussion at the regular meeting occasioned by the sale to two churches of time on WCFL, the Federation broadcast station (491.5 meters).

Complaints that the preachers were using their purchased time to knock such labor aspirations as the 40-hour week were made by delegates who had tuned in and demands that the contracts with the churches be canceled were heard. The cancellation could be made on 30-day notice.

Spirited defense of the contracts was made by President John Fitzpatrick, who told of the attempts to enslave the co-operation of farm organizations toward realizing common purposes of the country and city workers.

"We hear from our farmer friends," Fitzpatrick said, "that their wives greatly appreciate in general what the preachers broadcast."

Regarding the attack by pastors on the 40-hour week, Vice-President Oscar Nelson proposed a radio debate, with Fitzpatrick defending the short week against its clerical critics. Fitzpatrick consented. He also charged that the attack on church use of the radio was instigated by the Communists.

Next to the radio discussion, the Federation listened with interest to attacks on the competition of prison-made goods with free labor's product.

Debate on Civilization

William B. Guthrie, Professor of Government at City College, will debate Leon Samson, radical lecturer, Sunday, Jan. 9, at 2 p. m. at the Manhattan Lyceum. The subject is "Have the Mechanical Aspects of Civilization Benefited Humanity?" Mr. Guthrie will take the affirmative. This debate will prove doubly interesting in view of the fact that Samson was a pupil of Mr. Guthrie about ten years ago.

BEWARE OF CLOGGED BOWELS

You shorten your life many years when you carry in your system waste matter that nature intended to be evacuated.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

evacuates your bowels, regulates your liver and keeps you hale and hearty. Good for young and old.

At all drug stores—10, 25 and 50c.

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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An Open Letter to the Socialist National Committee

Unite With Friendly Unions, Parties and Individuals for Political Action, Is Proposed for 1928

The article by Mr. Fine, associate director of the Research Department of the Rand School, and Mr. Sinclair's reply to W. J. Ghent are part of a series which has been appearing in The New Leader dealing with "The Problems of American Socialism." Next week's article will be written by JOSEPH SHAPLEN, journalist, who has had the opportunity to observe the Socialist parties of many countries at close range.

Others who will take part in the discussion include Lewis S. Gannett, Morris Hillquit, Louis B. Boudin, Abraham Cahan, Norman Thomas, Louis F. Budenz, Vida D. Scudder, V. F. Calverton, Julius Gerber, W. M. Feigenbaum and J. A. C. Mens.

The New Leader cordially invites its readers to take part in the discussion.

By Nathan Fine

As a member of the party and one willing to devote himself fully to the socialist movement I address these words to you. I firmly believe that they are entirely constructive.

I wish to set down a few facts, first, as to the status of the party. In the November, 1926, elections, so far as figures are available, the party received the following vote for governor, or United States senator, for secretary of State, or for all members of Congress:

State	Socialist	Farm-Labor
California	45,972	
Illinois	2,998	6,526
Indiana	5,106	
Kansas	7,046	
Maryland	2,495	
Massachusetts	4,750	
Michigan	1,764	
Minnesota		266,845
Missouri	1,807	
Montana	1,451	3,391
New Jersey	1,700	1,235
New Mexico	274	
New York	83,482	
North Dakota		4,974
Oklahoma	1,345	1,687
Oregon	12,402	
Pennsylvania	11,795	16,146
South Dakota		11,926
Utah	1,310	
Washington		3,437
Wisconsin	40,293	

Idaho—Progressive Party, 37,047.

I do not think it is necessary to give figures for 1924, 1920, or any previous good years. The only conclusion that can be drawn from the table above is that the Socialist party is practically wiped out except in three States: California, New York and Wisconsin. Note that in the most important industrial States of Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania, our party polled an insignificant vote. I hope that none who may have read up to this point will think that I am a cynic or a secret or open enemy of the party. I take no joy whatever in the fact that the party polled so few votes in the industrial States of the nation, to say nothing of the other States.

Wants Politics Abandoned
But this vote must mean even to the most sanguine "old-timer" and dyed-in-the-wool Socialist party mem-

ber or official that we have failed as a political party. The Wisconsin vote comes from Milwaukee almost exclusively, while that of California in 1926 came in the same way almost entirely from Los Angeles. In our own State of New York the vote in 1926 came from New York city, Buffalo, Rochester, and one or more of the cities. I wish to point these things out to show that in the three States where we still poll a fair vote that it is not a statewide vote, that it is unlikely we are organized throughout the State, and that, as I will indicate below, we have nothing to lose by going out of business entirely as a political party, nationally, in the States, and locally. Before you condemn what I have to say, please read, and note my answers to your objections.

My suggestion is that the Socialist party reorganize itself into the American Socialist Society, with its present organization intact in every respect. The party will declare that it is no longer a political party, but solely a propaganda and educational society to promote socialism and independent political action of the producing classes. This society does not—and this is the crux of the matter—set itself up as the political expression of the producers, but instead co-operates to bring about a political organization that will in fact be such. The American Socialist Society will, like all other elements interested in independent political action, be a part of a political party that functions in a practical way.

Wants A New Party
The first steps that suggest themselves are that the Socialist Party together with others send out an invitation to the groups and organizations in the United States interested

in establishing a clean-cut independent political party of the producers, with power in the hands of organized farmers, trade union and independent political organizations. That is to say, such a conference would include the Farmer-Labor parties, especially of Minnesota, the Progressive Party of Illinois and possibly of Idaho, those farmers' groups which do not have any Communists in the hay stacks, those trade unions and labor groups which are bona fide and represent the producers, and finally the American Socialist Society. The Communists would be barred either as representatives of any labor organization or as part of any group whatever.

In the congressional districts of California, New York and Wisconsin where the Socialist Party has a chance of election, Socialists of course would be nominated. But they would run under the name of the new political party, a name that will fit the groups whom it does and must represent, the producers. Such a national party is under the necessity of building soundly and hence slowly. It will nominate in local contests and concentrate, and try to "deliver the goods," concretely by electing officials. Its sources of revenue will be per capita from affiliated groups, donations, and immediate loans from a few labor organizations that might be interested in giving it a fair chance.

Realities of a Dream
Now let me meet the objections of the party members or sympathizers. First, it will be said that I propose that the party go out of business without indicating any other party to which it can affiliate; that my proposed producers' party to be organized is a dream. My answer is that the

party is already out of business in every State except three, and that the chances of its recovery in the 45 or 48 States are very poor. Instead of the party trying to re-establish itself where it is slowly dying or has disappeared, I say that the party should call upon all those who are interested in working toward a producers' party, and who will not give their energies wholeheartedly toward building up the Socialist Party.

I have spoken to trade union leaders and intellectuals interested in a producers' party, and I believe it is most difficult to "sell" them the Socialist Party as the party in which they should work. I firmly believe that an enlarged group can be organized here and now, to work for an independent producers' party, and that it is not a day-dream. I want to see a type of person cooperating in localities, in State and nationally, who is not in the Socialist Party. I believe that you can get him or her, right now.

Without casting any slurs on the members of our ruling bodies in the Socialist Party, many of us believe that new blood can only be obtained by an open and sincere appeal for support of an independent party, with participation in councils and control to those who are not and are never likely to be in the Socialist Party. To be specific, I mean the leading trade unionists in the needle trades and elsewhere who might be willing to lend a hand, the outstanding individuals who are close to the labor and liberal movement. I think that if these men and women were approached they would help, provided they were given a genuine welcome and a chance to participate in control, as they ought, from the ground up.

Concentrate Our Forces

It will be said that the trade unionists who might go along are with the party already, and that the others won't stick or cooperate. The friendly trade unionists might be with us in a spiritual sense, but if they are genuinely concerned about politics, their energies and abilities ought to be more closely tied up with a movement for independent political action. There is not an outstanding trade union leader in our councils, so far as the national executive committee is concerned. Would it hurt to have a half dozen or a dozen international presidents, district chiefs, and practical labor leaders on a national committee? And they are available right now! As to the non-trade union people whom I am thinking of, I might suggest that unless we get some of them to work with us sooner or later, we are going to have an extraordinarily hard time. We will perish of isolation unless we can appeal to the practical minded American folk that as a political party we can "deliver the goods."

The second objection is that in some States it is very difficult to get on the ballot if you once get off. The election law is made to hamper not to help minority parties. That would sound good in 1916 or 1920, but in 1927, this has no longer any meaning. In 45 out of 48 States we have to get on the ballot as if we were new-born. If I have stated it strongly, suppose in six States we are still on the ballot as a legal entity? What of it? We nominate any Tom, Dick and Harry for minor offices to fill a ticket. These individuals never even show up in their district. We nominate a candidate for governor who is not able to

tour the State in the leading State of New York. What's the use of "kidding" ourselves? Let us nominate in half a dozen congressional districts in New York State under the name of the party that will and can be organized, and for governor in the years where such office is voted for, and forget about the rest of the house of cards and fiction we continue. Yes, of course, we will keep our legal standing, but not as Socialist Party.

To the Old-Timer
Suppose we lost our standing as Socialist Party in the three remaining States where we amount to something? Does anyone ever think of the State vote in Wisconsin? What does stand out? It is Milwaukee, it is Berger's election to Congress.

Isn't it time that we went about this political business as the trade unionists go about their daily bread and butter business? We organize independently because we can get labor legislation and political favors for the producers, and only as we "deliver the goods" will we ever attract the workers and producers. The new party will carry on political work in a few districts, not as a Socialist Party, but as a united producers' party, with every one helping who is interested in capturing a district. The trade unionists and non-Socialist individuals, as well as Socialist Society members, will go about capturing a district in the same way that a union attempts to organize a non-union shop or win a strike. If we do this, we will get somewhere. I am not interested in anything else.

The third objection is that the American Socialist Society, which I conceive of taking the place of the Socialist Party, cannot succeed as a propaganda organization because the

American people do not seem to take to Socialism, that the trade unionists have been "fed up" by Communist brawls from within, and that it would be best not to try anything, but to sit back, plug away as best we can, trust to an economic crisis, and await better times. In other words, the "old-timers" who are certain that every other party except the Socialist Party must fail, who secretly or openly pray for the defeat of every Farmer-Labor Party, who are so sentimental about the Socialist Party that they forget the Socialist movement—these offer nothing to the membership or the possible member. The Socialist Party thus reaches a condition where any man is chosen for office, public and in the party, where no one wants to run for office, public or in the party, where, in a word, the effort seems to be to keep alive rather than to grow and achieve. I hold the leaders of the Socialist Party in high regard, particularly those whom I know fairly well.

The Combined Strength
I suggest to you, members of the National Executive Committee, that instead of starting organization drives, conducting political campaigns, worrying about rebuilding the party press, I say to you: make the party what it should have always been, a Socialist Society, a Socialist propaganda society, an organization in closest contact with the producers and holding aloft the torch of Socialism. We have not unshowered in independent political action and never will as a Socialist political party, in my opinion. Let us give up the attempt once and for all!

I am especially interested in the formation of a producers' party as an instrument to achieve practical benefits, and as an instrument ultimately to bring about Socialism. I say that it is our business to do something to bring about this producers' party. There are Farmer-Labor Parties in Minnesota, South Dakota, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Montana, Illinois and Pennsylvania where the vote received in 1926 showed at least as much life as the Socialist Party in the States outside of California, New York and Wisconsin. Minnesota alone showed a vote larger than all of these three put together, and not all of these votes came from farmers.

We talk so confidently about our party being an industrial movement. It must be if we are to get anywhere. But, as a plain matter of fact, in Massachusetts there is a Labor Party which has far greater possibilities than the Socialist Party. In Illinois the Progressive Party, which is laughed at, polled twice as many votes as the very old Socialist Party. In Pennsylvania the Socialist Party received just one-half of the vote of the Labor Party. Here are three industrial States. But what's the use of comparing our weaknesses. None of us have any strength, except possibly Minnesota and Wisconsin.

All that I have said can be boiled down into a sentence: The political situation and the vital will to grow in the Socialist movement of America, compels the party to start afresh and co-operate with all elements who are willing to journey part of the road at this time. Nothing that I have ever said or will say may make any difference, but the living conditions and the faith that is in some of us will. The Socialist Party will either adapt itself or it will become like the Socialist Labor Party.

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Upton Sinclair Replies to W. J. Ghent

By Upton Sinclair

As a former Socialist, W. J. Ghent, contributes to The New Leader an article telling us what is wrong with the Socialist Party, and the editor invites me to reply. In this published announcement of the symposium the editor says that the replies are to be "without personalities"; but I hope that this rule will not be enforced more strictly against me than it was against my ex-comrade.

Ghent refers to "the serious thinker of Pasadena," who once called him "a paid agent of the White Terror." This is a personality; and I am the person. So I trust that I may say, first: There was a White Terror in the United States from 1919 to 1922; I know, because I saw it. And second, Ghent was a leader of this incitement, taking the pay of the most vicious of the capitalist magazines to denounce the

"Do the Opposite," Novelist Urges in Comment on Other's Criticism

persecuted radicals. If a man wishes to become a paid agent of the White Terror he is free to do so, but he can hardly complain if his victims describe him as what he has chosen to be.

Do the Opposite
Ex-Comrade Ghent tells the Socialist Party that it must "learn to forget," and then he fills many columns with proofs that he has forgotten nothing. He tells us that we must adjust ourselves to new events and conditions, and then he goes on to set forth a set of old programs and a collection of old ideas, all involving the basic assumption that the World War never happened, and that the Socialist movement can be and ought to be what it was twenty years ago. He lays out a program for the party, and my answer to it consists of taking each of his recommendations, and advising the party to do the opposite.

For example, War, Ghent advises us to stop discussing it; and I advise us to stop discussing anything else. War is the one urgent, desperate, inescapable topic for thinking men and women

of our time. War is the hideous disease of which Capitalism is destined to die a hideous death; and our one task is to rouse the workers against it, and to weaken their faith in capitalist diplomacy.

And again, Communism, Ghent does not say in so many words that the Socialists must abuse the Communists more than they have been doing, but that is a fair summary of his recommendation. And mine is that the Socialists should stop abusing the Communists altogether, and devote their energies to abusing the capitalist system.

A Truce With Capitalism
Ghent says that we must "Americanize ourselves." Well, we shall become Americanized when the American workers join us, and they will do that when they are sick of Capitalism. We can get them to join us while they are in love with Capitalism, only by the process of making a truce with capitalism. That is what ex-Comrade

Ghent wants, and I want the opposite.

Ghent thinks that the capitalists have made themselves safe by means of legislation, welfare work, and the federal reserve system. He thinks that hard times do not bring radicalism, and that the Socialist Party has nothing to expect from that source. He mentions 1892—conveniently stopping at the precise year which would have made clear the absurdity of his contention. Why not go on and mention the panic of 1893 and the Bryan movement of 1896?

What has happened in our country in that the capitalist class got a terrible fright in the Russian revolution, and they have given the American workers many sops. For the moment the workers are content with these sops, and we are in the midst of the good times which follow victorious wars—when they are not too long and costly. We are building up Europe and the rest of the world, taking their paper securities in return, and our workers have a full dinner pail out of the profits. But presently it will be discovered that these paper profits are imaginary, the workers of Europe will repudiate our claims to own them and take the fruits of their labor. Then the capitalist system will no longer be able to fill the dinner pails of our workers, and the Socialist party will reap the reward for having stood by its guns while the battle seemed to be going against it.

Stand by your guns, comrades. Let us continue to talk Socialism, even though our ex-comrades call it "uncombustible." All truth is a bore to people who don't want to hear it; and speaking out of my own experience, I assure you that there was never a time in my life, no matter how urgent the crisis and how great the social need, when the friends and partisans of social-chauvinism and false patriotism did not assure me that I was making a fool of myself and wasting my time. The day will surely come when the American working class will grow sick of exploitation and wage-slavery; and when they do, they will not fail to make note who it was that stood

Reproof and Reply

Editor, The New Leader:

When a person conceals a falsehood against another person he ought, in his own interest, to take pains to make it plausible. The statement in your latest issue by one Irving Mandell that when he was in California I "was working for the Better America Federation" is too stupid. In the first place, as all who know anything about the matter can attest, I was always an outspoken opponent of this organization and never had any connection with it, direct or indirect; and in the second place, even if I had been willing to sell or loan my services to it there is no possibility that they would have been accepted. A person of my views could have been of no use to it whatever.

It is obvious that The New Leader, before printing this yarn, had taken no time or trouble to inquire as to its truth. The editor, whom I have known more or less intimately for many years, could have asked me if there was any basis for the story, or he could have submitted the question to some responsible person in Los Angeles. He has done neither. The rule announced at the beginning of the discussion that personalities would not be permitted, has been violated to permit the appearance of a detestable falsehood against one of the debaters. I suggest that it would be good editorial policy to stick to the announced rule. There are plenty of fanatics who feel that the end justifies the means and that "the greater glory of the cause" is a sufficient warrant for any fabrication they choose to circulate. To welcome them to your columns is to defeat the purposes of this discussion.

W. J. GHENT.
New York City.

Mr. Ghent is charged with working for the Better America Federation and he denies it. So far as the Editor is concerned he accepts Ghent's denial. But Ghent goes on to declare that the Editor should have either consulted him or made other inquiries before

publishing the Mandell letter. To this we dissent. We have established a forum for the discussion of certain questions. If any party to the discussion believes that he has been misrepresented the aggrieved party is entitled to answer his opponent. It is not the function of the Editor to suspect that a given statement made by a writer is unjust and then make an investigation. It is for the aggrieved party to answer. Ghent has answered and in printing his answer we are carrying out the purpose of the forum.

On the other hand there was no particular reason for the editor to challenge Mandell. It is a fact that most of the "war Socialists" did indulge in anti-Socialist and reactionary conduct. Simons and Gaylord were responsible for the raid on the Indiana party headquarters. La Monte joined the home guard and was careful to have himself listed in Who's Who as not a member of the Socialist Party. Stokes joined the New York State Guard and later was a councillor to a reactionary Russian organization. Walling celebrated May Day, 1917, in an article in the New York Globe urging the authorities to prosecute Hillquit. Spargo had plenty of space in the capitalist press to denounce us and has become a martyr in his worship of capitalism. Benson, Slobodin, Stokes, Bohn and Walling, a few days before the election in November, 1918, publicly urged the voters to support Wilson candidates for Congress. We submit that if Ghent had worked for the Better America Federation it would not have been surprising. We are glad that he did not.

We agree that personalities should be avoided, but even on this score Ghent did not set a very good example and we have been criticised for not cutting out some of his invectives. When he resorts to such language as "stupid," "intellectual squaw men," "dishonesty," "shameless duplicity" and "cowardice," he does not contribute to calm discussion. We hope that contributors will try to be careful of their statements and endeavor to confine themselves to real questions that have been raised.—EDITOR.

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A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Nap and Brisbane On War

THE best way to keep out of it (war) is to be ready for it and to meet it three-quarters of the way, if it starts coming—this my illustrious colleague, Arthur Brisbane,

Sure, Arthur, that's the way Germany kept out of it and Russia, Austria, France and England kept out of it. That's the way they all kept out of it. In fact, the whole outfit was so thoroughly prepared for war that they were able to meet it seven-eighths of the way and if they had been just a little bit better prepared they might have met it eleven-eighths of the way.

Anyhow, the best way to prevent shooting scraps with homicidal intent is for every one to carry a gun and bang away at the other fellow before he can pull his.

Here is another beam from the same lamp. Speaking of professors advising friend Coolidge to forgive the war debt and thus remove another cause for war, Brother Brisbane says:

"Napoleon Bonaparte knew a good deal about war. When he started on his Egyptian campaign, he took with him solemn professors from the Academy of Sciences in Paris."

"But when real fighting came, Napoleon formed a square of men, hollow in the middle and gave the order 'scientists and donkeys in the center.'"

Well, perhaps he did. But if Napoleon had been wise he would have sent the scientists to work digging out poison gases, high explosives and guns that carry ninety kilometers, then present the achievements of science to the donkeys and let their nature do the rest. Doing this, he might have reached his expressed ideal, "one God and one Emperor," for there is no deadlier combination than science and donkeys as the late unpleasantness amply demonstrated.

But instead of using such a formidable combination of scientists and asses to exterminate all competition to himself and God he treated them as non-combatants and consequently landed in the celebrated house of St. Helena. In short, Nap was a nut and while wooden poles make good guide posts, the same cannot be said about wooden heads.

American Legion, Sons and Daughters of the Revolution and all other patriotic bodies are called upon to view with alarm certain Socialistic demands by President Coolidge found in his message to Congress. Government to purchase 4,000,000 bales of cotton and withhold it from market.

Count I. Government interfering in free competition and the inevitable law of supply and demand. Reduction of one-third in the cotton acreage in the coming year.

Count II. Restriction of output, also known as sabotage. Land Government Inland Waterway Corporation under which the government operates collectively owned boats on 2,500 miles of river.

Count III. Violent violation on part of government of the vested rights of private profits.

Calls for development and extension of co-operative associations of farmers with government aid.

Count IV. Stepping toward the co-operative commonwealth, if not rank communism on all fours.

Urges laws giving Congress power in event of a simultaneous coal strike to seal coal and fix prices of same to consumers.

Count V. Paternalism of the worst kind, for what good will it do the capitalists to own and operate industry if outsiders fix prices?

And we shudderingly stutter, what next?

After reading this:

"Reformers plead for life of Thomas McWane implicated in three killings."

And this:

"Woman confesses she lured man to kill admirer for \$187.50."

And this:

"Shoe repairer slain because he cut prices."

And this:

"Three men plead guilty: Say they were hired to rob and beat wife."

And this:

"Croarkin, indicted on his confession that he killed boy, will not plead guilty."

It was something to read something so sweet and clean as this:

"Borah claims that theft and graft in Alien Property Control will stagger nation."

However, if brother Borah thinks he can stagger us with a bigger and better graft scandal than Teapot Dome, he has another think coming. This nation has long become stagger-proof. It wouldn't stagger if the news came from Washington that a high government official had carried off Washington's monument in a sky blue satchel. It might marvel at the strength of the fellow. But stagger—forget it.

At the same time, we welcome whatever graft revelation Mr. Borah or any other notable may have up his sleeves. Of course, their value as national cleansing compound is next to nothing. But they constitute at least a welcome relief from the crime and murder news of any newspaper. I wouldn't go so far as saying that public graft revelations are exactly elevating. But they are at least not quite as degrading as that other stuff.

On the other hand, there are certain features of later day graft scandals which make one fear that murder may intrude more and more in these revelations.

Senator Heflin, for instance, charges on the floor of the Senate that Jesse Smith was killed because he knew too much about a five million dollar contribution made by Secretary Mellon to the Harding campaign and the methods by which the latter was to be reimbursed.

Personally, I do not believe that Mr. Mellon would stoop to as low a graft as collecting hush money from bootleggers and brewers to reimburse himself for aid and comfort given preliminary to placing the Ohio gang in the White House.

He has saved himself and the concern he is associated with many times five million dollars by the simple, and at the same time, legal method of downward tax revision. No man in the position of Mellon has to walk in sewers and gutters to find money. So I am inclined to take Senator Heflin's charges with a great deal of salt.

But this is true. There is a well established relationship between crooked politicians and big business—between black grafters and "white grafters"—between silk stocking ward and slum, which may be observed in every city and State of the union.

And between the hoodler taker from below and the hoodler giver from above, democracy is ground in the mire. Or, as Lincoln Steffan put it long ago—"the trail of the hoodler leads inevitably to the office of some respectable corporation seeking special interest at the expense of the common weal."

Whoever it was, who said, "Money is the root of all evil," surely said a mouthful. But what is the use of talking to folks with the jingle of the dollar sounds sweeter than the chorus of the angels who sang Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.

—Adam Coalidigger

:: :: The Guilds and The Community :: ::

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

IT is in the relation of the guilds to the community that there is the greatest difference of opinion between guildsmen. This difference is due in large part to the fundamentally different political and social theories held by the various schools of guildsmen. Hobson and his followers, who believe that the State should be the final arbiter, are greatly at variance with Cole, who would eliminate the State, whose sovereignty they deny, and substitute a "commune" in its place.

INDEPENDENT CRAFTS

There are, however, a few miscellaneous relationships between guilds and the community on which the guildsmen are fairly well agreed. They are agreed, for instance, that there will probably be a number of occupations that will not be "guildized," that will be regarded as independent. These would include journalism, the ministry, the arts, invention. Members of these professions would be largely engaged in free lance work, receiving voluntary support from individual citizens or groups or, as in the case of certain inventors, subsidized by guilds.

Guildsmen are also agreed that private enterprise would probably continue to exist in certain industries, notably in connection with small workshops or handicraft industries. However, the vast proportion of workers would be included in the guild system, while occupations outside of the system would be so regulated as to compel the observance of certain guild standards.

RETENTION OF RIGHT TO STRIKE

Guildsmen agree that under guild socialism the workers should retain the right to strike. The possibility of losing that right was one of the considerations which drove many of them to the guild movement. However, the guild community, through its control over the means of production and distribution, would be in a position to institute an economic boycott against any guild whose workers "ran amuck." This possible means of retaliation would, the guildsmen believe, tend to prevent the unwise use of the strike. Besides, most of the causes for striking at present would be eliminated under a guild regime.

Guildsmen agree that under guild socialism the workers should retain the right to strike. The possibility of losing that right was one of the considerations which drove many of them to the guild movement. However, the guild community, through its control over the means of production and distribution, would be in a position to institute an economic boycott against any guild whose workers "ran amuck." This possible means of retaliation would, the guildsmen believe, tend to prevent the unwise use of the strike. Besides, most of the causes for striking at present would be eliminated under a guild regime.

FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE OR COMMUNE

In general, the guildsmen believe that somebody, representative of the entire community, either the State or a commune, should have charge of such communal functions as the preservation of order, international relations and defense, though some are inclined to the belief that such functions as the consular service carries on should be left to the guilds. Little is said by those outside of the Orange-Douglas credit group regarding retention of labor time and the dropping of the gold standard, except perhaps in foreign exchange.

POWER OF TAXATION

Guildsmen are also pretty much agreed that the State, the commune or the guild congress should have the power to tax the individual guilds and exact from them for the common good any surplus they might have after

paying the expenses of the guild and laying aside a sufficient fund for depreciation, improvements, insurance purposes, etc. Such a levy would kill two birds with one stone—it would provide a sufficient fund for community purposes and it would discourage any tendency on the part of the guild to charge exorbitant prices. For what incentive would there be for high prices, adulteration, bad work, restricting output and stimulating demand in illicit ways if any profits above what was necessary for present and future needs were automatically absorbed by the community?

CIVIC-SOVEREIGNTY THEORY

Agreeing thus far, the guildsmen tend to disagree as to the kind of agency which would look after the civic interests. Hobson and others, adhering to the "civic-sovereignty" theory, believe that the State should still exist; that it should be relieved, however, from most of its active administrative functions—the guilds taking over these—and should be able to concentrate on the performance of its civic interests. It should act as the representative of the individual, in other words, not as consumer or producer, but as "citizen." Citizenship, "sense of nation," is the greatest fact in the life of a democratic people. As the greater contains the less, so citizenship contains and comprehends the lesser motives and interests. These motives and interests, important though they may be, must ultimately merge into the will of citizenship,

realizing in it the sovereign power. It is not mere rhetoric when we counter "the sovereign will of the monarch" with the "sovereign will of the people." It is a declaration of democracy. It envisages no balance of power; it knows no checks or counterpoise; it is an ultimatum that the will of the citizens, in their civic capacity, shall prevail over every sectional interest, economic or functional. Its decision is the greatest of national sacraments. Thus the State, accorded the sovereignty power, would hold the final authority over industrial affairs. It would be the owner of the tools of production, and would hand over its property to the guilds as "trustees," but could require at any time an accounting of the trusteeship. It would also be the final court of appeals in a dispute arising between two or more States or between the national guild congress and the community.

On the other hand, the guilds would have complete freedom of action so long as a deadlock did not develop between the guilds. The guilds would be free "to make what goods they pleased, charge what prices they pleased, to pay what wages they pleased, and make what provisions for capital they pleased—or could"—except, he it repeated, and it is a big exception, that the State would have the power to impose a tax levy directly on the guilds and thus prevent the exploitation of the community. The guilds would even be able, according to the program of Hobson, to set up their own bank.

(To be continued next week)

Scanning the New Books

Russian Resources

TWO recent translations from the Russian reveal two of the greatest of the story writers who have already become classic. Dutton has just published a new collection of the remains of Tolstoy, "Stories and Dramas" (\$2.50); Holt has issued "Mitya's Love," by Ivan Bunin. The first of these volumes, bringing together probably the last literary relics of the earlier man, is one that every admirer of Tolstoy will wish to own. Without making any new pieces in the book present the writer at various stages of his development, and make thus the basis for an interesting study of his growing moralistic concern. Pan and Peter, toward the end of the volume, for instance, make interesting converse studies; the one of a proud man brought low until he repents; the second of an humble man exalted in the eyes of those about him. "Mitya's Love" is a simple and sincere story of a first love, beyond which life could not be. Suffering somewhat from the fact that it comes from the Russian by way of the French, the book nonetheless holds still a closeness to the Russian earth-cold, and to the core of self-searching that makes life so hard for so many of these wintry people. Mitya gives his faith, his hope, his happiness into the trust of a giddy girl, whose ambition carries her astray—though we see little of her, and ever so much of him; there is nothing left for the lad to give to his sorrow, but his life—he offers upon the altar of disillusion. The portrait of the lad, and his developing emotions, is sympathetic and moving, and makes a volume one is glad to have read.

William Lea.

Fatalism or Freedom?

THE endless controversy between free will and determinism takes on constantly new forms, but remains essentially the same. As in so many perennial puzzles of dialectic—heredity versus environment, altruism versus egoism, etc.—the difficulty is partly in a faulty formulation of the issue, partly in defective definitions. It is interesting to note that a large proportion of those who are disposed to disregard heredity as a factor in social phenomena and to emphasize environment and to stress the importance of controlling the latter for improving human life, are also disposed to deny freedom and to insist upon determinism in condoning defective adjustments of human beings to their faulty social surroundings.

Professor Herriek ("Fatalism or Freedom?" by C. Judson Herriek, W. W. Norton & Co., N. Y., \$1) comes to the conclusion that determinism is a valid assumption in dealing with our world scientifically, but that human beings are, in a true sense, free. The scientist cannot set aside the assumption that all events are related in cause and effect sequences. Neither, on the other hand, can he disregard states of mind as effective causal factors in human conduct. This does not mean the intrusion of uncaused factors into a causal series. Freedom does not mean the undetermined; all action is in accordance with law.

The author makes a distinction between the freedom assumed by many thinkers, the freedom to act without relation to pre-existing conditions, uncaused or unconditioned action on the one hand, and the natural freedom of action in accordance with the nature or constitution of the agent. This latter kind of freedom alone has meaning.

A Thieves' Paradise

SOME people may still believe that governments have some moral claim upon the obedience of their subjects, but an honest man could hardly cling to such an intuition after reading the record of murder, riot and rapine set forth by Parker Thomas Moon, Associate Professor of International Relations in Columbia University, in his latest book on the ways of the world "Imperialism and World Politics," New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926. This substantial volume of nearly six hundred pages is an authoritative and devastating record of the international banditry that has characterized the civilized nations since the middle of the nineteenth century. Step by step, in vast detail, the damning record of imperialist capitalism as practiced by each of the great powers is set forth. The catalog would be dismal reading were it not enlivened by the racy irony and sarcasm with which Dr. Moon warms and brightens the narrative.

The book would serve, in a way, as a case book in social psychology. One envisages the strong and shrewd mind of imperial capitalist; the lesser breed of prosaic capitalists cowering in their shadow; the military professionals and diplomatic and political vultures hovering in the wake or scouting ahead on scent of a killing; the cloud of missionaries hybridizing Christ and Capital, and sowing the seeds of imperialism if only by getting themselves killed and offering an excuse for intervention. Little nations, as Belgium and Italy, are exhibited as beggarly themselves for the sake of an imperial establishment. The masses of people of all the great powers crowd the bleachers to applaud the game and take the rain blasts and the hail.

Dr. Moon has not essayed to produce a drama, but the touches of literary power that invade here and there the findings of exhaustive research suggest how easy it might be to turn the tale into an Inferno, with gales of deadly laughter sweeping through the wings. It will be a long time before the job needs to be done again. If the workers of the world could read the book, they would not need to ask further questions about what they are going to have to fight and die for in the years ahead. Scott Nearing and Bob Dunn will have to look to their laurels. If we could circulate a cheap edition of the book it would not take long to get the author fired from Columbia, and then we should have a new standby in the battle against the paradise of thieves.

Arthur W. Calhoun.

Orpheus With His Lute

IN another five generations there may be no poverty; there may be no matrimony; there will certainly, if there is no poverty, be no matrimony. Children may take their mother's name, and then fathers will not have even fifty-year royalty upon their creations. Men and women will look upon their children as artists look upon their works and will wish others to enjoy them. The world will be so changed that none of the problems which today set our newspapers printing and our politicians talking will even exist. Our present ideas on sex, morality, beauty and value will in those days appear as strange, as fantastic, as illusory as the ideas of our ancestors who took Becham's pills to cure all ills.

This is the paragraph leading toward the summary of W. J. Turner's essay, "Orpheus, or The Music of the Future," in the Dutton Today and Tomorrow Series (11), which is making readers stir their minds most agilely. The booklets seem to group roughly into two classes: there are those that move seriously, on solid basis, through criticism of the world about us today, or reasoned speculation about the future, books such as "Plato's American Republic," as "Daedalus" and "Horus," that opened the series with as much stimulation as such small booklets could contain; and there is another sort that, with less body of previous tendency, moves with the force of the author's individuality into the untracked future. These volumes may be stimulating as Heard's "Narcissus," that suggests a civilization through its clothes; they may be fantastic and on-sided as Dobree's view of the theatre of the future; they may, like Trévelyan's "Thamyris," rouse the answer of Robert Graves' "Another Future for Poetry"; they may arrive, like the present volume, precisely nowhere.

Mr. Turner continues: "It would be boring and futile to consider the methods which may be invented of distributing music or of making music heard. That a million persons listen to Beethoven by wireless or gramophone were previously a thousand listened in a concert hall is one of those statistical changes which it is beyond the wit of man to value. Fortunately there is a period fixed to the possibilities of progress of this kind; and when every baby is born to Beethoven and to Freedom then culture and statistics of culture, education and measurements of education will have simultaneously ceased. There will in those days be no newspaper interviews with Neo-Edisons because there will be no newspapers; the people will have forgotten that it is interesting to know whether a celebrity drinks decaffeinated coffee. . . . The Age of Vulgarly will have passed." It is easy in this to discover the author's desire, but harder to determine the grounds on which, in any survey of life, he might justify such a consummation, however "devoutly to be wished," in many times five generations.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Thee Political Mind in Its Dotage

A FLAMING red cover does not always carry significance. Pearl Gray would be a better color in which to bind the bland naïveté of B. G. De Montgomery when he essays to discuss "Issues of European Statesmanship" (New York, Henry Holt & Co., pp. viii, 367). The book is a pleasing enough presentation of smug pseudo-Christian, capitalist conventionalism in regard to economic, political and social questions, but it is hard to see what use it will be to anybody. It is surely too late to interest active minds in the theory of the state as the representative of the common good and possessed in a unique sense of sovereignty not enjoyed by other institutions. As for the attempt to furnish the League of Nations while at the same time preserving the hallowed sanctity of the British world system, a man must be either very near to the scene or else very far from it to suffer such blurring of vision under the color of idealism. As for the relation of the government to industry, the author takes a more or less idealistic, liberal, would-be progressive point of view, but he is duly aloof from the Socialist hope and duly appalled by the Russian menace.

One is tempted to wonder how much the author, or someone with money to throw away, paid the publishers to bring them to the opinion that "there is sufficient interest in European affairs on the other side of the Atlantic to warrant the publication of a revised and enlarged edition of this book." (Neither the "Preface to the First Edition" nor the present American edition itself bears a date.) And yet the publication of such insanity is a good enough index of the state of the social sciences and the mind of the intellectuals in general.

A. W. Calhoun.

Success

OTHERS dealt
At PROFIT'S mart,
And at the FROWN
Of CHILLING death
THEIR COSTLY treasures
FELL to earth.

NOT SO Debs—
He WON men's hearts,
And at the SMILE
Of FRIENDLY death
He carried WITH him
All THAT wealth.

GLENGARRY.

The G. A. W. Has a Bun

FOR the poetry of David Berenberg we have deep admiration, for his personality a great liking.

But for his gifts of prophecy along economic and political lines we are not so keen. Under the heading of "Until the Spree Is Over," he recently outlined in the pages of The New Leader his ideas as to what the future holds for our Socialists. They are not optimistic. According to Dave we are "not making progress because the working class is drunk." There is nothing to do until the Great American Worker gets over his jag. We are to sit around watching the G. A. W. get tighter and tighter on bootleg prosperity. When he is well torched up he will fall in with those evil companions, the Communists, because their philosophy will appeal to him, what time the national bouncers are about to throw him out of the speakeasy on his neck. After he has bummed around with them for awhile he will begin to get a severe Katzenjammer and will holler for us to come around with our intellectual stomach pumps and Marxian seltzers and bail him out.

Somehow this program fails to allure us. Somehow we have a sneaking suspicion that there is more to it than we can see. It is not a national bun. What so many critics of Socialism fail to observe is that our propaganda is not going over merely because there are not enough propagandists. A whole generation of young workers is growing up ignorant of the very fundamentals of Socialism. They think of Socialists as "nuts" and "bunk artists" mainly because they have never met any and take their information second hand from prejudiced sources. Who, for example, is giving out literature at factory gates today? Who is doing as did the young Debs, going from place to place at great personal danger, if you please, organizing and preaching and organizing and preaching? How many of us are exhausting our time and energy on internal rows and bickering when there are thirty million workers still to be organized into trade unions? We have a vast assortment of facts on economics. What we need in my humble opinion are some active field workers who will not be content to sit around for the next six or seven years listening to the drunken maunderings of the comparatively few skilled workers off on a prosperity jag, but will tackle the every day jobs that call so loudly to be done.

This country is cursed with infant prodigies, than which there can be no more loathsome specimens of the human race. The latest to arrive on the American scene is a girl named Anna Louise who, at the age of ten, composed the following eulogy on that inspiring character, Calvin Coolidge:

President Coolidge

"Long may our noble Coolidge reign
O'er his flag with stars so bright;
Long may our gallant Coolidge stand
And rule this land aright.
Through every deed his triumph shows,
May his soul be glad above,
Long may our gallant Coolidge stand
In politics and love."

We admit that there is considerable of a kick in Anna Louise's last line. We had never thought that Cal had a particularly high stand in love, but apparently you can never judge by appearances.

Down in Texas they are trying a Fundamentalist sky-pilot for bumping off a millionaire lumberman during a little discussion over the relative merits of the Darwinian theory of evolution. The psalm shouter in our opinion put somewhat of a crimp in his anti-evolution ideas when he shot the lumberman. Didn't this go far towards proving the "survival of the fittest" dope? To be sure, the lumberman was armed only with a lead pencil, while the militant vicar of God had a nice ecclesiastical revolver. But it should be a warning to the Modernists not to go arguing about evolution unless fully armed. If you want to live in Texas and believe in Darwin, be sure to get yourself one of those Mussolini armored vests and a good big gat.

During the latter part of this last year we have been dwelling a lot in the past digging into the history of labor unions and labor personalities in preparation for a book which we hope to bring out soon under the auspices of Pioneer Youth. Strange how hard it is to get good material on the beginnings of some of our large unions and their leaders. American workers have not seemed to care much about keeping records of their achievements. There is no comprehensive history of the United Mine Workers, for example, and Heaven knows they have made history in this country if any organization ever has. The official history is a dry-as-dust compilation of convention doings and resolutions and statements of officers. The New Leader is doing a good job in gathering together some of the more colorful aspects of the developments of our unions. The labor movement can stand a lot more of this sort of thing. Despite its dark spots, it has a history to be proud of. If the children of workers could catch something of the spirit and tradition of the pioneers, more of them might stay in the movement instead of turning into second-rate dentists and third-rate salesmen.

Ben Stolberg, who writes pieces for The New Leader and other far-flung periodicals, Walter Frank, who reads this column every now and then, and other friends of ours are in Mexico, trying to find out what all the shouting is for. We hope they have a swell trip, but what with earthquakes, U. S. marines in Nicaragua, nervous Nellies here and fiery deputes there yelling about how Mexicans know how to die with their backs against the wall, we figure that in comparison with the land south of the Rio Grande, Herrin, Illinois, would make a quiet holiday spot.

McAlister Coleman.

Time

In Svithjod land there stands amid the snows
A rocky mountain, so the story goes;
A hundred miles this mountain wide does lie,
A hundred miles it towers unto the sky;
Once every thousand years—mark what I say!
A little bird to Svithjod wings its way.
And on this mighty mountain's rugged peak
It rests its wing and whets its little beak;
Once every thousand years—mark what I say!
It wears this mass of rock so much away;
Now, when this hundred miles of solid stone
Is worn away by this small bird alone,
Eternity has seen—mark what I say!
The passing of a day, one single day.

If this is Time, oh ye who thirst for fame,
How can ye earn an everlasting name?
—From "Songs of a Miner Lad," by Joe Corrie, a young Scottish miner.

Women in U. S. Service Lack Opportunities Despite Legal Equality The Field of Labor

DESPITE the fact that the United States Civil Service Commission ruled on November 5, 1919, that all examinations were open to women and men alike, a study by the Women's Bureau of "The Status of Women in Government Service in 1925" that has just been published reveals striking irregularities. For the purposes of the investigation Bertha M. Nienberg, the author of the report, confined herself to the executive establishments in the District of Columbia and mainly to women occupying administrative positions or those requiring "professional, scientific, or technical training equivalent to that represented by graduation from a college or university of recognized standing," whose minimum salaries under the law were \$1,860.

When a similar study was carried out in 1919 women were excluded from one-half of the examinations and there was no uniform entrance salary for any given type of position. Today, under the 1919 ruling and the reclassification of the civil service under an act of 1923, women have equal opportunities with men. Nevertheless, since heads of the various departments and executive establishments may express a preference for men in seeking appointees, women have been placed at a disadvantage. Bulletin No. 53 of the Women's Bureau supplies the statistical data for an intelligent judgment.

The inquiry revealed that the employees in the executive establishments at the national capital were about equally divided as between males and females. Almost one-third received salaries of \$1,860 or over. Of these only one-fifth were women. Two-thirds of them were in clerical, typing or stenographic positions, and only one-fourth in professional, scientific or administrative work.

A study of compensation showed that there was a larger proportion of women in the lower salaried groups than among men. Forty-five per cent of the women employees received just \$1,860 per year but only fifteen per cent of the men were at that level. Forty per cent of the female held received between \$1,860 and \$2,400, and the remaining fifteen per cent more than \$2,400. The corresponding figures for males were twenty-four and sixty-one and a half per cent. Furthermore, the readjustment of salary rates resulting from reclassification of positions in the departmental service increased the salaries of men receiving \$1,860 and over to a greater extent than among women. It is evident that equal opportunity for women even in the United States Civil Service is not yet an accomplished fact. The discretionary power given to officials in designating the sex of their assistants cannot be exercised so readily as it should be, but the exercise of that discretion to the prejudice of women is merely a reflection of woman's social and economic status in general.

L. S.

HOSIERY WORKERS BROADCAST

Some time ago we had occasion to speak at length of the work of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, a section of the United Textile Workers of America, in preparing for the post-boom period in their trade. We mentioned incidentally the organization campaign that was being undertaken in Reading, Pa., a city which was developing into an important knitting center. Now comes word of the execution of one part of the plan, that dealing with publicity. The Hosiery Workers have arranged to broadcast every Thursday evening between the hours of 6 p. m. and 7:30 p. m. from Station WRAW (Reading).

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The first program took place on January 6, 1927. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and William Smith, secretary-treasurer of the Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, were the principal speakers. Their addresses were sandwiched in between the entertainment numbers and probably did a good deal to popularize the union cause. We have several times referred to the importance of publicity favorable to the labor cause in order to put the worker himself in a mood receptive to unionism. For this purpose what could be better than the radio? The station owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor, WCFL, has pointed the way. The Socialist party is planning DEBS. There is talk now of the American Federation of Labor establishing a station, probably at Springfield, Ill. The Hosiery Workers are simply in the vanguard.

L. S.

ALABAMA UNIONS FIGHT PRISON LABOR

Some good work has recently been accomplished in Birmingham, Alabama, to eradicate prison-made goods. A Prison Labor and Agitation Committee was appointed by the Birmingham Trades Council with C. H. Harrison as chairman, and Mrs. Hattie Brady as secretary. The committee discovered that convict work was in competition with forty-three branches of organized labor, and that 40 per cent of all clothing was made by prisoners. Men's work shirts, ladies' house dresses, children's play suits, ladies' hose and shoes were found to be products of convict labor. A campaign has been carried out on three fronts: (1) Sub-committees visited twenty-two stores and found that eighteen were selling prison-made goods. They induced eleven to stop the practice. (2) They carried on publicity among trade unions, ministers, newspapers, ladies' aid societies and similar groups. It is estimated that a reduction of 40 per cent has been made since last year in prison-made merchandise sold in Birmingham. A remarkable address by the indefatigable Kate Richards O'Hare, who is now devoting most of her time in the fight against goods made by convict labor, was reprinted and circulated widely. (3) To get at the root of the trouble appeal has been made to the governmental authorities to do two things: (a) abolish contract prison labor, and (b) brand convict-made goods as such. The first will be accomplished when the new governor takes office; the second requires further agitation. With the convening of the new progressive legislature there is some hope that some reform will be achieved.

L. S.

INDEXING LABOR PAPERS

We have seized the opportunity from time to time to mention in this column notable contributions to labor research. Now comes a new venture: "Index to Labor Periodicals." It is published by the Labor Research Department, of Labor Year Book fame, and executed by Elsa M. Allen, librarian. About forty labor periodicals are analyzed every month and the most important articles are classified under appropriate headings. It is, of course, unnecessary to elaborate on the usefulness of this enterprise. As time goes on it will, no doubt, expand beyond the present four pages, include many more publications and perhaps become a weekly, if subscriptions justify it. It occurs to the writer that something like the following is very much needed to carry on adequate research in current labor problems. All the articles released by the four or five labor news syndicates should be indexed according to date of issue. We should thus have a complete guide to Federated Press, A. F. of L. News Service, International Labor News, Brookwood Labor Education Service, and the like. Then, to this should be added the news items which are rare enough—that appear in local labor papers. Combined with what Miss Allen is already doing and what do, such an index would be a boon to every writer and worker in the labor field. And perhaps when this has been accomplished someone will undertake to have the old "Call," the "Volkszeitung" and similar papers indexed—but now we are dreaming of the research worker's paradise!

L. S.

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THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

VII.—The Amalgamated Lithographers of America (1915-1926)

Part I.—Jurisdictional Disputes

WE have seen how the Amalgamated Lithographers of America came into existence on Jan. 14, 1915, as a result of the merging of the Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association, International Union of Lithographic Workmen and the International Association of Lithographic Stone and Plate Preparers. One of the most vital problems that has confronted the new organization has been that of jurisdiction. The L. I. P. and B. A. it will be recalled, had affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 1906 and thus obtained complete jurisdiction over the lithographic industry and the advantages that this gave in any talk of amalgamation with the other lithographic unions. There was one exception, of course, and that was the International Protective Association of Lithographic Press Feeders of the United States and Canada. The L. I. P. and B. A. had not cared to organize the press feeders because they were considered unskilled workers. These had, therefore, found no difficulty in receiving a charter from the A. F. of L. in 1910, from which vantage point they began to extend their jurisdictional claims to the entire industry. To further this object they changed their name to International Lithographers' Protective Association, when amalgamation was accomplished. (The Posters Artists' Association also continued to be independent.)

The quarrel with the Press Feeders was complicated by disputes with two well-established unions in the A. F. of L., the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America and the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union. Technical developments in lithography were giving these unions an opportunity to establish jurisdictional claims. In the early twentieth century the offset press and photomechanical processes, which had been employed in the industry for many years, began to take on a new vogue. We have already explained in the first article that the offset press increased the economy of operation by interposing a rubber blanket between the prepared plate and the paper, so that the impression was transferred or offset upon the latter. We have also mentioned that the application of photography made possible the saving of time and money. In each one of these improvements, it must be remembered, that no change took place in the essential process of lithography. It still remained chemical printing from flat surfaces. It had no connection with printing from type or other forms of relief. The Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers disregarded this distinction and began to make claims upon the work of the lithographers.

The Rogersville School Dispute

The jurisdictional difficulties of the lithographers first came to the fore at the Seattle convention of the A. F. of L. in 1913. At that time Delegate James M. O'Connor of the L. I. P. and B. A. presented a resolution protesting against the action of the Printing Pressmen in establishing at their Trade School at Rogersville, Tenn., courses in the operation of the lithographic offset press and in lithographing transferring. The resolution further stated that the teachers were "non-union lithographers" and called upon the convention to instruct the Executive Council to arrange a conference of representatives of both organizations to take place within thirty days after adjournment. Upon the Committee on Adjustment to which the resolution was referred was Matthew Woll, president of the Photo-Engravers. He used his influence in broadening out the question. The committee reported that since no conference had yet been held that such a meeting take place at Washington, D. C., on Feb. 1, 1914, and included as those to be present not only representatives of the Photo-Engravers' Union, but also those of the Lithographers' Union. This was more than the lithographers had suggested.

The proposed conference was held but no agreement was reached. Further gatherings and much correspondence was indulged in but nothing was accomplished. Meanwhile, the officers of the A. F. of L. were using their influence to induce the Lithographic Pressfeeders to amalgamate with the L. I. P. and B. A. if this could not be done that at least the latter be given the authority to organize the other branches of the industry. At the Philadelphia convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1914 the Executive Council was directed to arrange for further parties, to encourage amalgamation. Following the convention the Pressfeeders were suspended from the A. F. of L. Nevertheless, they took part in the conferences which took place, though when they applied for reinstatement as a separate organization action was withheld in order to further amalgamation. The most that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. could do was to urge the admission of the newly organized Amalgamated Lithographers into the Allied Printing Trades Council, so that the questions of jurisdiction and the use of a common union label could be settled amicably. At the same time the change of name to Amalgamated Lithographers of America made necessary the issuance of a new charter, which opened up the question of jurisdiction.

Disagreement Announced
The Photo-Engravers and the Printing Pressmen now brought into play

the full pressure of the Allied Printing Trades Council of which they and the Typographers, Bookbinders and Stereotypers were members. Philip Bock, the Lithographers' delegate at the 1915 A. F. of L. convention at San Francisco, had introduced resolutions which reaffirmed the claims of the L. I. P. requested that a committee visit plants to observe the technical processes and asked that a charter be issued to the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, "carrying with it whatever change it makes in the jurisdiction, which, however, shall be confined to the lithographic industry." The five unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council responded by demanding in strong terms that the lithographic pressmen and press feeders be "amalgamated" with the Printing Pressmen's Union, and the artists, engravers and designers with the Photo-Engravers. This was the first open declaration of these unions that they intended to dismember the lithographers' organization. The convention decided that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. should within ninety days appoint a committee of three to investigate the whole subject and make recommendations which the Council was to consider in arriving at "an equitable basis" for "amalgamation."

The Special Committee Reports

In accordance with this decision the Executive Council arranged for the appointment of this committee. The president of the Lithographers and the president of the International Allied Printing Trades Association each selected three men, the Council chose one from each group and then appointed a third. Thus, James Wilson, president of the Patternmakers; Jacob Fischer, secretary of the Barbers, and James P. Holland, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, were selected. This Investigating Committee met in New York City in April, 1916. It heard arguments from both sides and visited some plants. It then reported to the Executive Council in July, making the following points:

1. The Lithographers are only willing to amalgamate on the basis of all the printing trades amalgamating into one international union.
2. The Press Feeders find the proposals of the Pressmen and Photo-Engravers satisfactory.
3. The label used by the Lithographers "resembled that employed by the Allied Printing Trades too closely and should be discontinued."
4. Offset press "requires special knowledge and training" for its operation, BUT it is, nevertheless, "a printing press upon which printing is done."
5. The question of which organization controlled the greater number of men operating off-set processes is irrelevant—the investigation proved that almost all the litho presses in the United States were controlled by the Lithographers—BUT what is important is the form of organization best suited to protect the interests of the workers in the printing industry.

6. The process of producing lithographic plates is different from the process of photo-engraving, BUT the two processes have been becoming "increasingly involved" and the same results are secured in the finished product.
7. It is recommended that lithographic pressmen and press feeders be conceded to the Printing Pressmen and artists, transferers and those engaged in providing plates to the Photo-Engravers.

It is seen, therefore, that the Investigating Committee upheld the arguments of the Lithographers, but instead of adopting their solution of industrial unionism, ruled that on the basis of craft unionism they should be divided between two other unions. The advanced position of the Lithographers was for the purpose of meeting the requirements of modern industrial development.

The Lithographers Protest

When the Lithographers received word of this report they entered a lengthy and detailed protest, pointing out the inadequacy of the investigation, denying the misuse of their label, asserting by proof that the committee had begged the question, and recalling that the Allied Printing Trades had no official standing in the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council called a conference to carry out the committee's recommendations, but this had to be postponed, due to the absence of Matthew Woll, president of the Photo-Engravers, in Europe as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. Later meetings failed to accomplish anything, the Litho-

graphers insisting that their official protest be first considered and the Executive Council maintaining that the subject was closed. Thus at its wits' ends the A. F. of L. Council referred the whole matter to the 1917 A. F. of L. convention at Buffalo, N. Y.

The Lithographers' delegates, President Philip Bock and Vice-President William Benson, came prepared for a fight. They introduced a resolution asking the convention to consider their protest against the recommendations of the Investigating Committee and instruct the Executive Council to call another conference. The Committee on Adjustment recommended the turning down of this request and urged instead that the Executive Council be directed to draw up a plan of amalgamation to be put into effect by April 1, 1918, or as soon thereafter as the Council may decide, and any organization not complying should be suspended. A warm debate took place on the floor of the convention, the presidents of the three disputing unions each stating his case. Then the report of the Adjustment Committee was adopted by the convention.

It was one thing to order the dismemberment of the lithographers and another to carry it through. President Gompers worked out a tentative plan providing (1) for the chartering of "lithographers proper" and "pressmen in the lithographic trade" as separate locals of the Photo Engravers' and Printing Pressmen's Unions, respectively, (2) for representation of those in the lithographic trade in the general executive board of the absorbing unions and (3) for the removal of all financial obstacles.

Full Amalgamation Rejected

The executive council approved this plan and recommended to the St. Paul convention held in 1918 that it do likewise and agree to the suspension of any recalcitrant union, which did not comply by August 1, 1919. Delegates Philip Bock and Leopold Buxbaum of the L. I. P. and B. A.—for the charter issued to that union still covered the industry—tried to grasp the bull by the horns. They offered a resolution which stated that the council's plan would "divide the working forces of a lithographic plant, thereby giving to the employers an advantage when to the employers presented themselves" and urging that an amalgamation take place with the contending unions or with one if the other disagreed which would provide for one board of international officers and one set of laws. The convention refused to reconsider the question and the recommendation of the executive council was adopted, fixing September 1, 1918, as the deadline.

Mechanics Versus Art

Once again, the ultimate penalty was postponed. The lithographers might be expelled, but the photo engravers and pressmen would not attain their object. When the time arrived for enforcing the decision the latter two unions asked to hold it in abeyance until an effort to effect an amalgamation be made. On June 10, 1919, the three organizations agreed to resume conferences. Hence, the 1919 Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. had no other recourse but to permit these meetings to continue and only enforce suspension when "advised by a majority of the three unions involved that the differences cannot be amicably adjusted." No such notification has been sent and there the matter rests. The press feeders affiliated with the Amalgamated Lithographers of America in 1918; the Lithographers' International Protective and Benevolent Association still retains its charter and the printing pressmen and photo engravers editorialize on the subject. The lithographers' offer of true amalgamation has been effective. Meanwhile, the offset press and photo mechanical lithography has remained the work of members of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America.

The industry recognizes that the mere knowledge of mechanical operation is not enough, that a person with an artistic and chemical training is required to obtain the proper results. The pressman must mix ink and know their chemical and physical characteristics in relation to aesthetic aims; the artist must retouch impressions secured through the photo-litho process. Mere accuracy is not enough. Art enters into the problem. The printing pressmen and the photo engravers have failed at the lithographers' task. (To be concluded next week)

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Scandinavian-Baltic Unions in Conference; Unity Near in Norway Labor Doings Abroad

IMPORTANT steps toward strengthening the trade union movement in the countries touching the Baltic Sea, were taken in Stockholm on Dec. 6 and 7 when forty-two delegates from the labor organizations of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia met and adopted resolutions calculated to tighten the fraternal bonds among the unions of their nations and enable the stronger ones to help the weaker. In view of the recent advent of the reactionary dictatorship in Lithuania, the newly organized labor movement of that country certainly needs outside aid, while the assumption of governmental power by the Socialists of Finland and Latvia makes it all the more imperative that the unions there be ready to stand by their political representatives through thick and thin.

Jan Oudegeest, a Secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, attended the conference and helped draft the resolution. One of them proposes that the well-established Scandinavian unions finance study visits in Scandinavia for organizational purposes by the younger members of the Baltic unions holding delegates be sent to all national conventions and that full information service be maintained among the unions of the seven countries.

Another resolution provides for the constitution of a joint Scandinavian Trade Union Centre, to begin functioning as soon as Norway joins the International Federation of Trade Unions, and for the setting up of a similar joint Baltic committee when Estonia affiliates with the I. F. T. U. Then the two committees are to hold joint meetings when necessary. The Norwegian delegates felt sure that it would not be long before their organization would be inside the I. F. T. U. The Lithuanian Federation of Labor, already about 17,000 strong, has applied for affiliation with the I. F. T. U., but in Estonia the reactionary Government is sharply opposed to the unions having any international connections.

The four Finnish delegates did not vote for the resolution and seemed inclined to doubt the advisability of joining the I. F. T. U. for fear of reviving the old Communist-Socialist clash within their organization.

LABOR POLITICAL UNITY IN SIGHT IN NORWAY

Practical unity in the ranks of politically organized labor in Norway is in sight.

At a unity convention to be held Jan. 30, the forces of the Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party will in all probability be brought together in a single organization, with thirty-three Deputies in the Storting brought by about 260,000 voters. The effect of this move upon the thinning ranks of the Communist Party of Norway, which has only six Deputies and some 56,000 voters, is likely to be disastrous, especially as they have been divided for some time on strike tactics.

In order to make unity possible in Norway, the Socialist and Labor In-

ternational, through its Secretary, Frederick Adler, informed the Norwegian Socialists that it would be all right to let the question of the international affiliations of the new united party rest until after the January convention. On its side the Executive Committee of the Labor Party, declaring on Dec. 4, for reunion and for leaving the Paris "Information Bureau" maintained by the Italian Maximalists, the Norwegian Laborites and the tiny political organizations in Germany, France and some other countries made up of Communists and Socialists expelled or resigned from the major labor parties. With the Swiss Social Democratic Party now in the Socialist International the reason for the existence of the Paris bureau, of which Angelica Balabanoff is Secretary, has practically disappeared.

While in Oslo conferring with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party the last week of November, Frederick Adler pointed out that the international felt quite sure that the absence from its ranks of the Norwegian Socialists would be of brief duration and that the united party to be born in January would soon take its place alongside its brother parties.

POLISH UNIONS GROWING IN MIDST OF ALARMS

In the midst of the alarms and political crises that have been the order of the day in Poland ever since Marshal Pilsudski seized the reins of power last May, the Polish trade unionists are continuing to organize the workers there. As a result of the week of intensive propaganda held in honor of the twenty-fifth birthday of the International Federation of Trade Unions last fall, 15,000 new members were won by the unions, and the good work is being continued.

To facilitate the organization of the German speaking workers in the textile industry, an agreement was recently effected between the Polish Textile Workers' Union and the trade union section of the German Socialist Labor Party of Poland providing for the formation of separate German language sections wherever necessary.

YUGOSLAV UNIONS WIN SUNDAY REST DAY

Although few in numbers (they have only about 50,000 members), the trade unions in Yugoslavia have been able to put enough pressure upon the government to cause it to issue a drastic decree in favor of the observance of Sunday as a day of rest. It is presumed that the unions of all varieties joined in this drive.

Dr. Zivko Tobalovitch, the most prominent Socialist and labor leader in Yugoslavia, is reported to have resigned as secretary of the central organization of the Labor Chambers on January 1 to take a job with the International Labor Office of the League of Nations in Geneva. How this will affect his membership in the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Labor International remains to be seen.

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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Provisional Committee of Cloakmakers

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

The New Leader Mail Bag

WEISBORD'S GOSSIP ANSWERED

Editor The New Leader:

Your issue of December 4 carried a letter from Abe Kleiman of Syracuse, N. Y., in which he quotes the youthful Albert Weisbord to the effect that I advised him during the La Follette campaign not to mention Socialism in his speeches. Furthermore, Weisbord is quoted as saying that I "wrote him time and time again that he should not do any propaganda, but come out straight for La Follette."

If Weisbord is correctly quoted in Kleiman's letter, my reply is that the statements are absolutely and unqualifiedly false. The facts are quite the contrary. When members of the Central Labor Union at Springfield, Mass., who were active in the La Follette Club there, threatened to drive Weisbord out of that city because of the nature of his speeches, I, as the campaign manager for Massachusetts, insisted upon Weisbord's right to speak in that city on the issues of the campaign as he saw them, even though the labor men in Springfield felt that Weisbord was doing a lot of harm. Fortunately I have retained a copy of the letter I sent to Springfield, a copy of which I also sent to Weisbord.

No, Comrade Kleiman, the break did not come at that point. It came some time afterward when Weisbord completed his three years of grinding work at the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the bar. At that time he wanted to enter a certain law office, but on account of another employee arrangements could not be made. Then the break came with the Socialist Party and the campaign of slander began, directed particularly against your humble servant. I am sorry for Weisbord, but his conduct upon leaving the Socialist Party and since that time is as clear to me as the rising sun on a July day.

GEORGE E. ROEWER.
Boston, Mass.

FROM ANOTHER COOLIDGE

Editor, The New Leader:

I enclose a copy of a letter to the President on the subject of our relations with Mexico, which you may find room to print.

ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE

Cambridge, Mass.

My dear Mr. President:
The attitude of the Department of State towards Mexico, especially with regard to her oil lands policy, has lately been so ominous that the possibility of severance of diplomatic relations, and even war, is being freely discussed. I desire to take this opportunity to record my strong disapproval of this attitude.

Mexico has unquestionably the right to make laws placing the interests of her nationals above those of foreign capitalists. We have ourselves exercised the same right, twice at least by constitutional amendment. American companies in Mexico have no better grounds for complaint than would fish owners of slaves or distilleries in America, whose property was annulled by our laws. But the fundamental importance of the situation far transcends the merely national aspect. The United States is the richest and most powerful nation; Mexico is small, weak and ruled by growing pains. We covet Mexico's oil. If we help ourselves to it by force, or by the threat of force, then no pretext and no explanation can hide the motives of our action, will be universally taken as proof of our usefulness in the world as a land of freedom-aspiring peoples is an end and that henceforward we are only to be hated and feared by those nations whose resources our capitalists desire to control.

As you are aware, there is in this country powerful and articulate interests by whom the conquest of Mexico greatly desired, and who scruple at no trick to discredit her and provoke armed intervention. I am convinced that to the great majority of Americans, such a thing would be a calamity and a national disgrace. To some, at least, myself included, the invasion of Mexico by the United States would appear exactly on a par with the invasion by Germany of Belgium; and we should feel equally in duty bound to resist with all our powers, in spite of the accident of birth which would

make such resistance technically not patriotic but traitorous. May we not count upon you, Mr. President, to use your influence for peace, now, before it is too late?
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE.
Cambridge, Mass.

Editor, The New Leader:

As one who looks to The Leader for something other than the regularities of the craven capitalistic press, with the injustice, shortsightedness, smugness and what not, I was much disappointed in the review of "Deep River." Indeed, I was as much surprised as I was to find that the New York Commercial had the best review on this truly fine production. The critic of this paper gave the new opera—so the Literary Digest said—"unqualified praise," calling it "a noble work, which marks a new milestone in American composition."

Considering the interest that Socialists have in men as men, I should have expected that Julius Bledsoe would have come in for particular comment. Surely a man with a "gorgeous voice" (to quote one critic) who can act in a manner to rank him with the best of the Russian singing-actors deserves mention if such is accorded to Lottice Howell, who indeed is charming, but who cannot act, and whose singing was far below that of the man who—cooperating throughout the second act with her—made it the great thing that even the most reluctant critic was forced to characterize it. That act, as a matter of fact, without the two Negro artists, Mr. Bledsoe and Charlotte Wallace Murray, who took part of the Voodoo Queen, would very probably have fallen of any distinction above the ordinary presentation of extraordinary music. The music, in other words, was made vital by these two members of the cast, whose names W. L. does not even mention. It was they who electrified even the critics. Let us give honor where honor is due. And let us ponder on these words by a critic who could praise "Deep River," but cautiously; but who said of Paul Robeson, in "Black Boy":

"I have always thought and said that in the colored people there are actors of innate power—better than all the Sicilians, Russians, and those of other nations. We have then with us, though seldom do we call upon them for assistance. But they are there with the goods. I can recall no failure."

Give Julius Bledsoe, Rose McClendon (the duenna in "Deep River"), and Mrs. Murray a chance and they, too, will carry on this tradition.

"The carping and uncomfortable critics—to use the phrase of the Digest—who clutter up the columns of the metropolitan press, have been more than ordinarily carping and uncomfortable—and, I will add, stupid, unfair and untruthful—in the case of this, our first 'native' opera, than they are usually. As the reviewer of The Leader has seen fit to follow the example of some of them, and—in addition—has signally failed to notice that which above all merited notice and praise, allow me to supply the omission, in the interests of author, composer, producer, director and a sincere and splendid cast, who together have done their best to give us something new, something artistically democratic and something distinctively American. . . . What heart will anyone have to try to make our stage worthy and distinguished if such efforts as these can be so unsympathetically and peevishly met?"

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Amusements



DRAMA

ANNE SCHMIDT



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Two Ibsen Plays at the 14th Street Theatre Next Week

The repertoire at the Fourteenth Street Theatre next week will include two Ibsen plays, "The Master Builder," to be given Friday night, and "John Gabriel Borkman" on Saturday night. The other plays to be presented by the Civic Repertory company will include: "Twelfth Night," Tuesday and Wednesday nights and Saturday matinee; "Three Sisters," on Monday and Thursday nights; "La Locandiera," Wednesday matinee.

Rehearsals began yesterday for the seventh production of the Civic Repertory Theatre, "The Cradle Song," a comedy in two acts, with an interlude in verse, by the Spanish playwright, G. Martinez Sierra, which Eva Le Gallienne will present on Monday evening, January 24, at the Fourteenth Street Theatre. In the cast will be Eva Le Gallienne as Sister Joanne of the Cross, Egon Brecher as the Doctor, Beatrice Terry as the Priestess, Josephine Hutchinson, Leona Roberts, Hilda Plowright, Beatrice de Neergaard, Sayre Crawley and Barlowe Borland. The settings and costumes will be designed by G. E. Calthrop.

"Barbara Frietchie," Operetta, Is Due Here in Fortnight

The Shuberts will present here a musical romance based on Clyde Fitch's play, "Barbara Frietchie," to be known as "My Maryland." Sigmund Romberg, composer of "The Student Prince," has written the score, and Dorothy Donnelly is author of the book and lyrics. J. C. Hoffman is staging the production.

Newest Tyler Play, "Tommy," Coming to Gaiety Theatre

"Tommy," a comedy of American life, by Howard Lindsay and Bertrand Robinson, was presented by George C. Tyler at the Gaiety Theatre Monday night. The play has been at the Park Theatre, Boston, for several weeks.

Kate Horton's "Ballyhoo" Opens at 49th Street Theatre

Russell Janney presented his latest production, "Ballyhoo," a romance of carnival life, by Kate Horton, at the 49th Street Theatre Tuesday night. The play was staged by Richard Boleslavsky, with settings and costumes by James Reynolds.

Leon De Costa's Comedy At the Bronx Opera Monday

"The Blonde Sinner," the musical comedy which tented the Frolic Theatre for some nine months, will play at the Bronx Opera House next week, beginning Monday night. Leon De Costa, author of "Kosher Kitty Kelly," is both producer and author of this comedy.

Enid Markey heads the cast. Other players include Hal Muniss, Edwin H. Kasper, Margy Lane, Marion Martin, Cliff Heckinger, Ethel Walker, Fred Strong and Gilbert Cartland. "The Girl Friend," with Eva Fock and Sam White, will be the following attraction at the Bronx playhouse.

"Pin Wheel," now in rehearsal at the Neighborhood Playhouse, is an impressionistic play of New York, by Edward Farnach. Until this play is ready, "The Dybbuk" will be continued at the Neighborhood.

Motion Pictures and Worker's Education

ONE OF the most important advances ever made in the material technique of education is being devoted almost wholly to the service of nationalism, militarism and capitalism. The cinematograph has advanced so rapidly in popular esteem that film-making is now the third most important industry of the United States: \$3,000,000 have been invested in it since 1921, and there are over 250 companies, 25 of which have formed a great trust. The United States and Germany together supply nearly all the films of the world, while Britain is making a feverish effort to supply India with a chain of cinemas before some one else steps in. "No one but a Supreme Power," wrote an American recently, "can retard the progress of the motion picture." It forms "the most powerful attack on ignorance that the world has ever seen." Recent experiments in the United States, continues the report of the International Federation of Trade Unions on carefully selected groups of children, show that those taught with, and those taught without films can win marks in the respective ratios of 74.5 to 61.3 percent. The film, writes another American expert, "will soon be a recognized adjunct of every well-organized teaching establishment."

What applies to the education of children applies, of course, in general also. The cinema, it is more and more recognized, might be a tremendous instrument for the promotion especially of mass education: we find it recommended, particularly in Germany, for large classes and for use in remote rural districts. But we also find many indications that at present the cinema is a powerful instrument in the hands of nationalism and militarism. This is especially the case in Germany, the second great film-producing country of the world: the Austrian journal for workers' education has carefully listed the many German cinema films which directly tend to stimulate militarism. In Britain, the "Daily Herald" has noted that the representation of a particular film "The Angels at Mons" has actually been utilized for recruiting purposes. In general, this extraordinarily potent weapon for influencing the masses is every day being wielded more and more in the interests of war and imperialism.

Something is being done in some countries to counter this malign influence, and also to use the cinema directly in the service of Labor. The Austrian Workers' Educational Centre is accumulating a large stock of films,

many of which are valuable for the history of Socialism; moreover, it also systematically indexes and reviews all new films in its journal. No less than 1,189 films were provided by the Centre in 1924-25, 848 of which were represented in the provinces, and 27 in foreign countries. Its first film was a propaganda, one prepared by the Vienna Labor Party. It was Germany, however, which was the actual pioneer in the making of Labor films, after which its activities in this direction were restricted for a time by the inflation. Now that the financial strain is somewhat eased, its labor films will no doubt have increased. The Swiss Workers' Education Centre hopes to be able to co-operate at some future time with the Swiss School and Popular Cinema Association. Holland, too, has distinguished itself in this field: the Dutch Workers' Educational Institute, although only founded in 1924, set up a film service in the autumn of 1925: it bought a motor-car, and fitted it up to generate the necessary electricity: the "Red Car," as it is called, now tours the country showing large films of the lives of the workers, and doing excellent propaganda: its success is so great that it will have only a small deficit for 1926. The United States, the great purveyor of films, has done very little as yet towards using them to promote workers' education, either at home or abroad: Brookwood Labor College, almost the only resident workers' college in the States, has, however, been filmed, and the A. F. of L. has prepared and shown a large Labor film for propaganda purposes, and portable cinemas have been strongly recommended for lectures. In Britain, the post-office workers' union showed a film two or three years ago which illustrated the postal worker's life: but in general, the British cinema serves imperialist ends. Belgium and the Scandinavian countries have, so far, taken little interest in films as an educational agent.

It is earnestly to be hoped that, as time goes on, Labor may realize the tremendous importance of making its influence fully felt in the selection and preparation of films, and that it will show more and more enterprise in using the cinema for its own purposes, especially in the field of workers' education. In addition, it was pointed out very recently by J. H. Thomas, the cinema may be of great value in the future in drawing closer together the people of all lands and thus stimulating internationalism.

Thrillers of Grand Guignol Due Here Next Wednesday

New Yorkers are in for a series of shocks and thrills when George Renavant assumes the tenancy of the Grove Street Theatre next week. The American Grand Guignol repertory company, headed by Mr. Renavant, will present its premiere program Wednesday night, January 12, at the Greenwich Village playhouse on Grove street. Four one-act dramas from the French Grand Guignol are scheduled, including "Maid of All Work," a farce; "The Last Torture," a thriller; and "The Claw," a drama.

It is the purpose of the producer to continue each bill for at least four weeks. The plays will be done in English.

Provincetown Players Present Play of Negro Life

A new play of Negro life, "In Abraham's Bosom," written by Paul Green, was presented by the Provincetown Players at their theatre on MacDougal street, last Thursday night.

Julius Bledsoe heads the cast. Other players include Rose McClendon, Abbie Mitchell, Melvin Greene, Stanley Greene, Kenneth Masby, Thomas Mosher, James Dunmore, H. Ben Smith, Arminthine Lattimer, R. S. Huey and Frank Wilson. Jasper Deeter directed the production. Cleon Throckmorton designed the settings.

STANLEY LUPINO



Is one of the principal comedians in the new operetta "The Nightingale," which opened at the Jolson Theatre Monday night

GEORGES RENAVANT



Heads the American Grand Guignol company, which will introduce a series of one-act plays at the Grove Street Theatre beginning next Wednesday

"The Illusionist" Next Production of the Guityrs

Sacha Guitry and Yvonne Printemps, now acting in "Mozart" at Chanin's Forty-sixth Street Theatre, will introduce the second play of their French repertoire next Monday night, with "The Illusionist," a comedy by Guitry. The play will be presented in a prologue and three acts, originally presented in Paris in 1917 and rated as one of Guitry's best.

M. Guitry has been getting many offers for the American rights to his one-act plays, of which he has written about forty. One of them, "Covers For Two," has just been translated into English by Allan Ross McDougall.

"The Arabian Nightmare" Opens at the Cort Monday

"The Arabian Nightmare," billed as an irresponsible comedy, by David Tearle and Dominick Colazzi, will be presented at the Cort Theatre next Monday night by Clark Painot.

The cast includes Marion Coakley, William Hanley, Helen Lowell, Charles Millward, Catherine Willard, Percy Moore, Maud Sinclair, Stephen Wright and Seth Arnold.

son Buchanan, Claiborne Foster will be featured. Allan Dinehart is directing the production, and will also play in it.

Walter Huston plays the chief role in "The Barker," which opens in Atlantic City Monday night and comes to New York later. Claudette Colbert, Eleanor Williams, Norman Foster, Al Roberts, George W. Barber and John Irwin are others in the cast.

Minnie Maddern Fiske will return to Broadway Monday night, opening in "Ghosts." The engagement is limited to three weeks. She has been on tour in the Ibsen classic through the Middle West. Mrs. Fiske will go to Philadelphia the first of February, then to Boston and other Eastern cities.

"Figsy," a new musical comedy, will open at the new Chanin Royale Theatre, on West Forty-fifth street, Tuesday evening. Among those featured will be Eddie Conrad, Harry McNaughton, Paul Frawley, Wanda Lyon, Brooke Johns and his All-American Collegians.

William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman announce their fourth production, an adaptation by George Abbott of Francis Langer's play, entitled "The Ragged Edge." Marion Gering, formerly director of the Meyerhold Theatre in Moscow, will direct the production and Robert Ames will be featured.

The Moscow Theatre Habima, now at the Mansfield Theatre, will continue their engagement next week at the Cosmopolitan. They will offer "The Deluge" on Monday night for the first time during their current engagement.

Anne Nichols' "Able's Irish Rose" at the Republic Theatre will reach its 2,000th performance Tuesday evening. It opened at the Fulton Theatre May 23, 1922.

Ruth Warfield has composed the original music and Remo Bufano made the puppets for "Damn the Tears," William Gaston's play, now in rehearsal under the direction of Sigourney Theatrical, is to be presented this month by Alexander McKelg.

"Countess Maritza," the Viennese operetta at the Shubert Theatre, plays its 125th performance Monday night.

"The Virgin Man," a play by William Francis Dugan and H. F. Maltby, will open at the Princess Theatre on Tuesday, January 18. Dorothy Hall, Donald Dillaway and Virginia Smith head the cast.

"The Sea Woman's Cloak" began its third season in the repertory of the American Laboratory Theatre Monday night. It will alternate with "The Trumpet Shall Sound" and "The Straw Hat."

"Saturday's Children," by Maxwell Anderson, has been put into rehearsal by the Actors' Theatre, with Guthrie McClintic directing.

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LEVITZKI
In a BEETHOVEN PROGRAM
Concert Mgt. Dan'l Mayer, Inc. Steinway Piano

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Walter Gieseking will be the soloist next Thursday afternoon in Carnegie Hall. The entire program follows: Overture, "Academic Festival," Brahms; Concerto in C, Mozart; Symphony No. 7, Sibelius; Second Suite, Stravinsky; Salome Dance, Strauss.
This program will be repeated at Mecca Auditorium Sunday afternoon, January 16.

Music Notes
Clara Rabinovitch gives her piano recital at Aeolian Hall Saturday afternoon, January 15. The program includes compositions by Respighi, Couperin, Rameau, Schumann, Sonata in B flat minor, Chopin; Ondine, Ravel; Danse Roumaine, Bartok; Splashes of Color, Samuel Gardner, and El Vito, Manuel Infante.

Socrate Barozzi, violinist, will present the following program for his Aeolian Hall recital, Monday evening: Sonata, Caesar Franck; Concerto in B minor, Saint-Saens; Largo Espresivo, Pugnani; Dirge of the North and Caprice Antique, Balogh-Kreisler; Chanson Meditation, Cottenet; Legend of the Canyon, Cadman; Cortège, Lill Boulanger; Hungarian Dance, Kreisler.

Mischa Levitzki, the pianist, will make his reappearance in Carnegie Hall next Tuesday evening, when he will honor the centenary of Beethoven's death by a program of four of the composer's sonatas, the Waldstein, the Moonlight, the Op. 101, and the Appassionata. He will leave town immediately after the recital for a four extending until the end of March.

Duci de Kerekjarto, Hungarian violinist, will give his recital at Carnegie Hall, Monday night.

Pablo Casals gives a cello recital at Town Hall this Saturday afternoon.

Leonid Kreutzer, Polish pianist, will make his debut in a recital at Aeolian Hall this Saturday afternoon.

Carl Flesch, violinist, will give his recital Wednesday evening at Aeolian Hall.

Ossip Gabrilowitch will give his only local recital in Town Hall this Sunday afternoon.

Alexander Brailowsky will give a piano recital at Carnegie Hall Saturday afternoon, January 16.

The noted pianist will present an all-Beethoven program at his recital Tuesday night at Carnegie Hall

MISCHA LEVITZKI

The First International Emerges; Bakunin, Communist and Terrorist

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

The International Exhibit of 1862—The Workingmen's Association Formed in London—Statement of Principles—A Loose Form of Organization—Michael Bakunin—His Stormy Career—A Proposition to the Czar

I.—European Origins

(Continued From Last Week)

THE revolutions in Europe in 1848 had inspired many workers with hopes that revolutionary changes were about to bring important alterations to society but the triumph of reactionary governments the following year brought pessimism and disillusionment. The development of industry continued and with it were created increasing numbers of wage workers. The social issue was only temporarily thrust into the background. In 1862 the International Exhibition was held in London and a deputation of French workers visited it. These French workers came into contact with representatives of English workers and from mutual exchange of views both agreed that they had common interests and that common action would serve them. Although the French had another visit the following year, nothing came of these contacts till 1864 when workers of a number of nations met in St. Martin's Hall, London, and founded the International Workingmen's Association.

The International established a General Council with its seat in London, a constitution was drafted, and an inaugural address, written by Marx, was adopted. Its guiding principles were set forth in this document, its essentials being contained in the following paragraphs:

"That the economic dependence of the laboring man upon the monopolist of the implements of work, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence;

"That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the laboring classes is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

"That all exertions which, up to time have been directed towards the attainment of this end, have failed on account of the want

of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the laboring classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social, problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical cooperation of the most advanced lands."

The general history of the First International and its activities down to its dissolution in 1876 is beyond the scope of this work. We are only concerned with those phases of it which are related to origins of the modern Communist movement, its program and policies. In numerous resolutions the International was committed to the organization of trade unions and aid

in their struggles, no sectional dogmas being imposed, no rigid rules being adopted and enforced by a central authority upon the political and economic organizations that affiliated with it.

This looseness of affiliated sections necessarily developed certain weaknesses in the First International as well as its successor, the Second International, which was more definitely Socialist in principles and aims, but the other extreme of a centralized authority with power to issue ultimatums and to punish disobedience would be no solution. What is involved is the old problem of federalism and autonomy, how to obtain effective co-operation of units without destroying them by over-centralization on the one hand and how to avoid marked separatist tendencies on the other. Considering the formative period of the First International, the broad character of its program, which was an amalgam of various views, it commanded sufficient authority to hold its sections together.

We now have to consider the activities of one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived, the founder of Communist Anarchism, Michael Bakunin. Bakunin was a Russian and was converted to the idea of destruction and terrorism by the savage brutality and murderous oppression of the Russian Government. If there is a philosophy of terrorism Bakunin is its

author. A Niagara of ideas swirled in his brain, not one confined to a conclusion; fragments jumbled together, in conflict with each other, and each tossed aside half finished, to take up something else, only to meet the same fate.

A few years ago a translation of Bakunin's "God and the State" was published by New York Anarchists. This book is typical of all his work. It is an uncompleted work in which the author set out to completely demolish God and the State by tracing both in history, folklore and philosophy. It is lacking in that scientific perspective essential to any historical or philosophical theme, and at a number of points the discussion is broken in the middle of a sentence. The book itself ends abruptly without any rounded conclusions, the editor concluding the last line with a number of asterisks. Carlo Cafiero and Eliseo Reclus, two friends of Bakunin, who wrote a preface to the first French edition, state that the book was written "in the same manner as most of Bakunin's other writings" and that "God and the State" is "really a fragment." Bakunin was occasionally criticized for this fault and his answer was, "My life itself is a fragment."

Active in numerous conspiracies and revolts in Europe in 1848, this evangel of destruction was arrested for his participation in the Dresden insurrection early in the following year. He was condemned to death, but Austria obtained his extradition and he was sentenced to be hanged. Eventually he was handed over to the Czar. After spending six years in prison he was exiled to Siberia. He finally escaped and arrived in England in 1861.

It is known that Bakunin wrote a brochure after his escape from Siberia, in which he urged Alexander II to place himself at the head of a Pan-Slavist movement and thus become

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.

"the popular idol" of the Slavs. This remarkable chauvinism and reconciliation with the State, and the most absolutist State in Europe, has remained a puzzle to students of Bakunin's activities. But in 1921 a document was found in the archives of the Czar's secret police, 64 pages in the handwriting of Bakunin and addressed to the Czar, in which Bakunin confesses to Alexander as the official head of the Orthodox Greek Church. He asks for forgiveness.

"I have been at the same time deceived and deceiver," he wrote. "I have deceived others, and I have deceived myself. . . . I have placed myself in an unnatural, inconceivable position which obliged me at times to be merely a charlatan, in spite of myself. There was always in me much of Don Quixotism. . . ."

Bakunin hesitated at only one point, and that was that he should not be required to "confess the sins of others." To which the Czar made the marginal note that "this annihilates all confidence." This document appeared in the "Bulletin Communist" of Paris, December, 1921. A translation of some significant passages appeared in the New York Call, January 9, 1932, by Moses Oppenheimer.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Times and The World gave it a splendid criticism and appreciation. It was lauded as a tragedy of unusual power and beautifully presented.

Tickets are on sale at the City Office, 7 East 15th street. Write or telephone for reservation. Seats \$2.50.

Executive Committee

The City Executive Committee will meet Tuesday, Jan. 11, in room 505. The first meeting of the New City Central Committee will be held in room 402, People's House, 7 East 15th street. All branches who have not yet sent in their credentials for their new delegates are urged to do so.

The Party Forums

Five forums engaged in Socialist propaganda work are in full swing. Much activity is now evidenced in a number of branches, especially along the East Side. Intensive organization work is badly needed to re-establish and reorganize the branches on the West Side, especially in Harlem and Washington Heights. A number of plans are about to be put into effect. The 2-5-10 A. D. Branch will meet in room 402, People's House, on Monday, Jan. 11.

BROOKLYN

The first of a series of enrolled voters' meetings was held on Tuesday evening, Jan. 4, in the East New York section of Brooklyn. About sixty men and women responded. Comrades Panken and Claessens had a heart-to-heart talk with them, and in the social gathering that followed quite a number applied for membership and a considerable number took application blanks with them. The next meeting will be held in the Bronx on Jan. 10 and Jan. 18, and in Brooklyn on Jan. 19.

2nd A. D. D. is increasing its membership weekly. Enrolled voters' meetings with Norman Thomas and August Claessens as speakers will be held on Wednesday evening, Jan. 19 at the Headquarters, 420 Hinesdale Street.

4th and 14th A. D. Branch will continue its educational work with a series of lectures delivered by Esther Friedman, every Tuesday evening.

6th A. D. Branch has a very ambitious program for their educational work. Esther Friedman will speak at the Headquarters every Friday night on various topics. During January Jessie Stephen will deliver a course on consecutive Fridays and during the month of February. These lectures are to be held at the Club Rooms, 167 Tompkins Avenue. Admission is 25c.

22nd A. D. Branch will begin its Forum on next Friday evening, Jan. 11. The speakers are: Jessie Stephen, McAllister Coleman, Norman Thomas, Rev. Ethelred Brown, Esther Friedman, Judge Jacob Panken, August Claessens and Louis Waldman.

Bronx

An enrolled voters' meeting will be held Monday evening, Jan. 10, at the

Brooklyn Headquarters, 1167 Boston road. Socialist voters of the 2-4-5 A. D. will be personally invited. Judge Jacob Panken and August Claessens will address the gathering. Every effort will be made to interest these sympathizers into active service in the Socialist Party. The second meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, Jan. 18, at our Headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue, Bronx.

Branch 7 will meet Tuesday, Jan. 11. Miss Jessie Stephen of the British L. L. P. will tell how the British Socialists run their branch meetings and conduct their organization, educational and social activities. Every member should be present. A social gathering will follow and refreshments will be served.

Central Branch This Branch will continue Tuesday night lectures during January. The speakers are Ethelred Brown, who will speak on Jan. 11 on "Deeds, the Apostle of Labor," and Jacob Axelrod, who will speak on Jan. 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 L. L. P. Labor College. This class will hold ten sessions and will meet every Sunday afternoon between 1 and 3 p. m. beginning Jan. 9 at the Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

Queens

Jessie Stephen in Jamaica Sunday evening, Jan. 16, Miss Jessie Stephen will address the Jamaica Lecture Forum in Odd-Fellows Hall, 160th street and 90th Avenue, Jamaica, on "Labor's Bid for Power in Great Britain." This will be the second lecture in the series being run by Branch Jamaica, Socialist Party, and Workers' Circle, Branch 221. Miss Stephen is well qualified to explain the meaning of the big jump in the Labor vote in the local and bye-elections since the general strike last May. She welcomes questions and discussion.

Branch Jamaica Meets Monday There will be a regular business meeting of Branch Jamaica next Monday evening, Jan. 10, at 57 Beaufort (97th) Avenue, Jamaica, near 133th street, south of the L. I. R. R. Readers of The New Leader are invited to attend and bring friends who are interested in organization work.

Oklahoma

The National Office is receiving letters from Socialists in Oklahoma and Texas stating they are anxious to get state organizations functioning. C. B. Tyler, of Wirt, Okla., subscribes to the American Appeal and declares he is ready to help organize Oklahoma. The National Headquarters desires to hear from Socialists in these states with the hope that state organizations may be formed.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

Pennsylvania

Pittsburgh Local Pittsburgh has invited Dr. Harry W. Laidler, the new Associate Editor of the American Appeal, to be the principal speaker at the celebration of the First Anniversary of the Appeal, to be held on Sunday, Jan. 23, in the Labor Lyceum. There are over one thousand subscribers of the Appeal in the Pittsburgh District, and every subscriber is cordially invited to join in this celebration, which will be in the form of a banquet, addresses and entertainment.

Local Pittsburgh also plans to have our British Comrade, Jessie Stephen, deliver a series of lectures in Pittsburgh early in March.

The Local Executive Committee has authorized a canvass of members and sympathizers to ascertain the possibilities of re-opening the Socialist Party's Sunday School, which is intended to serve as a school to teach Social Science and Economics to children from 6 to 16 years of age.

W. J. Van Essen and Sarah Limbach were appointed a committee to have charge of a study class which will meet every two weeks and be known as the Social Science Class, and devoted to the study of Social, Political, Industrial and Historical subjects.

Philadelphia

The new South Philadelphia Branch will conduct a lecture at 604 McKean street on Thursday, January 13, at 8:15 p. m. Comrade Thompson will speak on "Giant Labor and Giant Power." Admission will be free and all readers of The New Leader and their friends are cordially invited to attend.

"Let Mr. Mitten Go!" is the title of a leaflet written by Joseph E. Cohen and to be issued by Local Philadelphia on January 10. The leaflet deals with the present traction mess in Philadelphia from a Socialist viewpoint. It will be distributed in various election districts by Socialist workers, and all who desire may secure copies at the local office, room 303, Labor Institute, 508 Locust street. This office is open week days from 3 to 6 p. m. and Saturdays from noon until 5 p. m.

The West Philadelphia Branch will meet Thursday, Jan. 13, at 5222 Havercord Avenue. The North Philadelphia Branch will meet Friday, January 14, at Liedertafel Hall, 3647 North Sixth street.

California

The Jewish Branch Workers' Circle of Los Angeles, with other comrades, will give the annual Forward Ball at Shrine Auditorium on Jan. 28. They will give cash prizes of \$100 and \$75 for the best costume and the best dancer. Last year 3,200 people attended the Forward Ball. They expect a larger crowd this year and count on clearing at least \$2,000, which will be applied to the mortgage on their headquarters.

Central Branch meets every Thursday night.

National

We urge all Socialists to see that their dues are paid up. Go after new members, strengthen the organization both in the way of Locals and members at large. The National Organization is ready to co-operate with Socialists in organization work. State Secretaries and Local Secretaries should not forget that news matter should be sent in every week.

New Jersey

Newark Meeting

The Central Branch of Newark has arranged a public meeting in the studio adjoining Dr. Louis Reiss' office at 183 Springfield Avenue, Monday, Jan. 10, beginning at 8:30 p. m. sharp. James Oneal, Editor of The New Leader, will speak on "Factors That Make for Socialism in the United States." Mr. Robert Baker will sing, and S. H. Sille will make a brief report on his organizing work, which has shown gratifying results. Party members, readers of The New Leader and The American Appeal, as well as sympathizers, are invited to attend. No admission is charged and no collection will be taken.

New York State

Thomas to Broadcast

Norman Thomas will broadcast a fifteen minutes talk on "An American Labor Party" from Station WJZ, the most powerful in the country, beginning at 8:15 Monday evening, Jan. 10. This talk is due to the courtesy of President Aylesworth of the National Broadcasting Company, and those who appreciate talks such as these should write to the studio of WJZ, 33 West 42nd street, and express themselves accordingly.

Poughkeepsie

Local Poughkeepsie is not a large organization, but it is on the upgrade on account of its live financial secretary. The annual report of the local, recently filed with the State Secretary, shows that 15 out of the 17 members on the books are in good standing. Some locals have 25 percent or less of their book members in good standing. The secretary of Local Poughkeepsie is Edward H. MacDonald.

Financial Report

The financial report of the State Secretary for the year of 1926 shows that the total receipts of the State Office were \$12,431.38, and total disbursements \$12,396.76. The debt of the State Organization Jan. 1 was \$628, but \$375 of this is accounted for by arrears of salary due the State Secretary. The debt of the State Organization has been reduced over \$500 during the last six months. October was the best month financially, with receipts of \$5,125.83, and December the poorest with \$272.05.

Local Buffalo will meet Thursday evening, Jan. 13, at 8 o'clock at the East Side Labor Lyceum Hall, 1644 Genesee street, near Montana. State

Secretary Merrill expects to be present. All members are urged to attend and hear the report of what is going on in the state.

The annual election of officers will take place at our first meeting in January: Organizer, assistant organizer, financial secretary and treasurer, recording and corresponding secretary, five members of the executive committee.

Miss Jessie Stephen's coming to Buffalo is certain, but there are no definite dates available as yet. The State Office will inform us of date in time to enable us to prepare for a successful meeting.

All members and friends are urged to renew their subscriptions to The American Appeal and The New Leader. This is the New Year. Let's make a good start by building up the Party to its pre-war strength and activity. Our Local is in need of a permanent headquarters. The Italian Branch has expressed full-hearted support for the establishment of a headquarters.

The latter part of the month of December, our good comrade, Martin E. Heiser, secretary of Local Buffalo, was grieved by the death of his beloved mother in St. Louis, Mo. To Comrade Heiser, who has been and is one of the most loyal comrades in Buffalo, in the name of all the local Socialists, goes to him our deepest and sincere sympathy in this hour of his bereavement.

New York City

Fine Organization Meeting

A remarkably successful meeting of enrolled Socialist voters was held this week in East New York. The room was crowded with men and women. A good percentage made application for membership. One interesting incident is worthy of mention. A young man who visited an election district found a sympathizer ill in bed. This man had received an invitation and promised to be there if he could leave the house. Comrade Claessens found this sympathizer, still in poor health, who begged Claessens to fill out an application for him, remarking that he was too sick to fill it himself. Claessens introduced this new convert to Judge Panken. Panken remarked that it was one of the most touching experiences he had ever witnessed. This incident is a remarkable illustration of the fact that a considerable interest prevails among our enrolled voters to become active workers in the Socialist Party. All

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MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association
PEOPLE'S HOUSE, 7 EAST 15TH STREET
New York City
Telephone Stuyvesant 8385

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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributions are requested to be sent to 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 8, 1927

DECAY OF AGRICULTURE

FEW people who live east of the Mississippi River appreciate the economic tragedy which has overwhelmed the farmers in the region lying between that stream and the Rocky Mountains. An article in the Times by Evans Clark on Sunday, January 2, offers a sweeping survey of the wide distress on which rests the boasted "prosperity" of the United States. Clark declares that the farmers cannot make a decent living, cannot dispose of their farms without serious financial loss, and that "farm failures have reached record-breaking levels."

Agriculture is our largest industry, yet it has been running down in spite of increased efficiency in production. Of the available farm area only one-third is under crops and since 1920 there has been an actual decrease of acreage. Up to 1900 the average farmer received an increasing proportion of the national income, but since then it has been the other way. Farmers represent 27 per cent. of the population, but receive little more than 7 per cent. of the nation's income. The average farmer who operated his farm in 1920-1921 worked for nothing, and "for the five-year period of 1920-1925 his return was only 1.7 per cent." For labor and management in this period he received from \$412 to \$804. If we deduct the value of food, fuel and shelter supplied by the farm, he received only \$170 for living expenses. Farm property values have shrunk twenty billions in six years. Farm bankruptcies rose from under 20 annually in the ten years preceding 1920 to between 93 and 123 since then. Debts and mortgages have heavily increased and interest charges have jumped from \$70,000,000 to \$211,000,000 a year. Banks that have come into possession of farms through foreclosures cannot dispose of them. Banks are collapsing. In the last two years 433 banks have failed in the Middle Western and Southern States compared with only 18 in the Eastern States, while "the deserted farm has become an accepted part of the American picture."

In short, the economic life in a great region of the United States is decaying. Farm refugees are crowding into the cities and towns. Farmers have fought physical battles with sheriffs vested with power to take the farms. While the capitalism of the East is flushed with vigor it exhibits the pallor of death in the West. Reliable reports received by The New Leader indicate a desperation in some localities that have threatened uprisings. Political discontent is widespread. With the Democratic party dying in this region and with ample resources at the command of the Socialist Party a powerful party organization could be established. More's the pity that we cannot take advantage of the opportunity for educational work.

OUR PARTY DISCUSSION

A PHASE of the discussion appearing in The New Leader which has not been considered by any contributor is the lack of interest by at least 50 per cent. of the qualified voters in any political party. All the newspaper correspondents in the field last year reported that there was no evidence to indicate that the voters in any state believed that there were any issues raised by the two parties of capitalism. Despite this general mood there was no drift toward any radical party.

John Hays Hammond has just reported to the National Civic Federation that the percentage of non-voting voters in the recent November election shows another decrease. "In round numbers," he reports, "the vote in 1922 was more than 21,000,000; in 1924 nearly 30,000,000. But, when the percentage of new voters is considered, there is nothing to show for the work of all our organizations in 1926." His comparison, of course, is with the "off-year" of 1922, as presidential elections always bring out an increased vote.

The decline observed in the comparison between 1922 and 1926 is significant for an important reason. In the year 1926 eleven national organizations, with the co-operation of local Kiwanis and Lions' Clubs, made a special national drive to get out the vote. Hammond admits that the drive was a failure. When organizations with millions of workers, ample funds and unlimited publicity, are unable to prevent a decrease in the percentage of the total vote cast, it is evident that widespread apathy regarding politics prevails. It has been especially evident since the end of the World War.

We submit that this is a factor that has

some bearing on the discussion of party problems. It certainly is a factor that cannot be ignored. For a Socialist Party to retain something of an organization and a vote in the face of this widespread and continuous pessimism has been difficult. That other third party movements have disappeared need not be surprising.

SINNERS CLEANSED

ONE of the greatest sins a Communist can be guilty of is to form a faction in his party. The second sin on the calendar is to think a thought not formulated for him by the bureaucracy. On the other hand the chief virtue of a Communist is to organize a faction in a 'trade union' and to utterly condemn the trade union that objects to it. Virtue becomes sin and sin becomes virtue, and which is which depends entirely on the decision of the upper oligarchs.

About the most amusing thing in this line is the inquisition which sits in Moscow and summons the sinners before its tribunal. Recently the German press, including the chief daily of the Communists, carried some details of the inquisitorial examination of Ruth Fischer for "treason." Her sin was a "deviation from Leninism." Lenin has been dead for years, but she was accused of departing from what he thought. Sentence is pronounced. "The highest authority, the Communist International, has spoken; the expulsion is definite." The heretic departs in disgrace.

Two sinners from Holland appear. They appeal to the tribunal from an expulsion order. Out they go. Another case is that of Souvarin of France. Thumbs down for "sharp criticism" of the policy of reorganization on a "nuclei" basis. Two others from Germany are in the dock. Mercy is shown and they are reinstated. They had "correctly renounced their wrong ideas." They return to the fold cleansed, happy that the dead Lenin thinks for them.

This isn't a party. It is a medieval religious order. Russia is the holy land, and its rulers the keepers of the faith of the sanctified.

STANDARDS OF FITNESS

SPEAKING at a meeting of the Eugenics Society in London, Professor Ernest W. McBride expressed the fear that civilization is menaced by the reproduction of degenerates. He believes that the propagation of the unfit will continue for a hundred years or more without realizing that civilization is not self-perpetuating, and that it may perish because of lack of any policy of weeding out the unfit.

The trouble with this view is that there is no agreement as to what is unfit. It is easy enough to agree that the physical and mental defects belong to the unfit class, but outside this all is confusion. There are those who would include the workman who has become a professional wanderer or tramp, and yet the migratory at one time was considered the most useful citizen. In the nomad stage of the race the wanderer was the respected man, while the man of fixed abode was regarded as unfit and was destroyed. The useless and wealthy libertine today survives and enjoys all that civilization can afford, while the unskilled worker who insures the libertine from typhoid by removing the garbage is by many considered unfit and a failure.

The trouble with the eugenists is that they often do not take changing standards into account. Gary of the steel trust, with his lust for profits and sanctimonious piety, is accepted today as a type of the fit, yet in the Middle Ages he would be condemned as a usurer and the most unfit to associate with decent human beings. Standards of human worth change and the ruling classes of each age determine the standard. Dollars constitute the American standard, while liberators are regarded as suspects.

An age that no longer tolerates the rule of capital and finance, that administers its powers of wealth production for human welfare, would set up a standard of human values that would accept useful labor and condemn the parasite and idler. We have a long road to travel before this standard is realized.

A HOPEFUL SIGN

ONE of the most significant surveys of student opinion of war is disclosed in the vote taken in the National Student Conference in Milwaukee. There was practical agreement on the need of greater freedom of opinions upon the college campus which is encouraging, but the vote cast on four proposals regarding war is much more important.

If press reports are reliable, the opinions of 1,518 students were canvassed with the following results: On a rising vote 327 men and women declared that they would not support any war; 740 would support some wars and not others; 95 would support any war declared by the proper authorities, while 356 students were non-committal.

The significant thing about this vote is that only 95 students were willing to give unqualified support for any war in which the United States may participate. More than three times this number are ranged in opposition to this view. Then 740 students take a middle position, which implies that they do not regard it as their duty to approve any war, but that they owe it to themselves and others to seriously consider any proposed war before deciding what their attitude shall be. This position cannot be reconciled with the old view that it is not for us to reason why.

Considering that this survey of student opinions is taken after the bloodiest war in all history and in the face of intense militarist propaganda in educational institutions, it is a very hopeful sign. The danger in this country has been the development of a race of morons ready to march to the trenches without thinking, and on the assumption that the United States has been, is now, and always will be "right."

The News of the Week

Government By Poison

Since the death of claims of American property owners in Mexico. Before great capitalist organizations appeared in the United States American foreign policy was limited to merely presenting claims of Americans to other governments but going no farther. With corporate mastery of our two capitalist parties the foreign policy now is to bully and, if necessary, invade another country if our bankers and capitalists are not satisfied. In the case of American capitalist claims it may be said that many titles in Mexico are suspected of being fraudulent. One purpose of the Mexican laws is to ascertain what titles are genuine. Kellogg does not appear to be interested in this at all. Those who can present good evidence of proper titles have nothing to fear from the Mexican laws. What we have in this country appears to be a government of the people of Mexico and the United States by American corporations and for American corporations, and our duty is to die for investors if necessary.

While evidence corroborating recent charges that Austin Chamberlain, the Tory Foreign Minister of Great Britain, gave Mussolini a free hand in Albania at the meeting on the former's yacht off Leghorn in October is being printed in several New York bourgeois newspapers, it does not seem to be a matter of a clown at home. He shows to a reporter for the New York Tribune a "piece of the true cross," worn by the late Pope Benedict XV and presented to the dictator by members of the Pope's family as a New Year's gift, and expresses his "great veneration and appreciation." Then the one-time Atheist issues another blast against birth control, in which it is averred that propaganda in favor of the limitation of families is being brought into Italy by workers returning from France, and it is pointed out that under the new Fascist law even the possession of a piece of literature favoring birth control is a criminal act. It is noted that the Church is 100 per cent with Mussolini in this campaign. Surplus population, as well as the possibility of Italian exploiting Albanian oil wells, spurs it down toward the colonization of that sparsely settled Balkan country, whose "independence" is supposed to be guaranteed by the League of Nations. France begins the New Year with more than 13,000 registered unemployed workers as the fruit of partial "stabilization" of the franc and with prospects of a rapid increase in their numbers, unless Premier Poincare can force down prices in a

Mussolini in Clown's Role

hurry, something that is hardly likely. Glowing tribute to Foreign Minister Briand's peace policy by the Papal Nuncio in Paris has aroused mingled feelings of satisfaction and apprehension in France. While most Frenchmen are pleased at the words of praise, many of them are fearful of another attempt by the Pope and the French clericals to link the republic and the Vatican in closer relations than they approve of. Holland's trouble with her East Indian possessions continue, the latest uprising being in Sumatra. Russia adds to the gaiety of nations by banning the Charleston and some other American dances as "indecent products of the fat American bourgeoisie."

Our Bullying Of Nicaragua

Nicaragua remains in the limelight as the struggle for power continues between Diaz, supported by the United States, and Sacasa, supported by Mexico. It should not be forgotten that when Diaz was hoisted into power and kept there some fifteen years ago he was secretary of an American corporation. Sacasa has won a few other victories over the Diaz forces in the field, which indicates that Diaz would not last long were it not for intervention by American naval forces. Meantime, the original claim of Coolidge that the United States had not intervened is abandoned this week by a new declaration by the "Spokesman of the White House." It is now admitted that the prospective canal across Nicaragua is of profound concern to American "interests," and that the success of Sacasa would drive in a "red wedge," cutting the United States off from Panama by land. What is this but an admission that Diaz is an instrument of American imperialist policy and not a representative of the people of Nicaragua? Latin-America has never forgotten that Roosevelt supported a revolt in Colombia by American warships off the coast of Panama in order to get a canal strip. Senator Wheeler has introduced a resolution in the Senate demanding that we get out of Nicaragua, while Congressman Fairchild offered a resolution in the House to support Coolidge. On Wednesday American marines moved into the Nicaraguan capital and the last pretence of non-intervention is abandoned. Latin-American nations are solid in resentment of our bullying, students of these nations in Paris have sent a protest to Coolidge, while the latter is peeved that the American press should criticize his policy in this affair. Certainly, the New Year brings some troubles to our imperial guardians.

THE CHATTER BOX

Poet in an East Side Hebrew School

ALPHABET

The moon is an old rabbi
Pointing a silver stylus down
Over the shimmering page
Of a pond.
Earliest lede,
The reeds and birches bend
And recite in murmuring drone
Aleph Beth, baw, Aleph Gimmel, gaw,
Aw...aw...aw...

NATURE STUDY

Winter is a prayer shawl
For the devout hills.
The willows in the vales
Fringe the tallies
With silken tassels
Of frost.

GEOGRAPHY

The world is round;
Night here, day there...
I mumble Krishna, the night prayer,
For dreamless sleep.
The stars are phylacteries
Upon the brow and arm
Of all Israel
In Europe, in Asia,
Now risen with day,
Morning there, night here...
The world must be round.

The difficulties of being a business man and a Socialist are legion. The civilization that enmeshes us in its crazy mazes of emotional network today finds a hybrid mammal like myself in continuous perplexity. One example will perhaps suffice to enlist our readers' sympathy and engulf our mail with friendly solutions.

Yesterday we read with heartening glee how the Soviets have decreed that all servants, or those working in maid or menial capacity, are to be placed at the head of all worthy work in Russia. The highest wages, the greatest comforts, the finest opportunities for self-advancement, and all insurance against unemployment, sickness and death are to be afforded these daughters and sons of toil. Stringent rules are laid down for enactment. Hurrah! we shout—great, magnificent! Of all the mishmash that has come out of the steppes, this ukase hits the right spot and gives us the merry giggles to the nth degree of enjoyment. At last the outcast underdogs of life, the chimney-sweeps, the scullions, the dishwashers, the washboard rubbers, and the rug pounders have come into their royal own. More power to you, old Central Soviet Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R., and if you keep on minding your own affairs in Russia, and setting your own house in ship shape order, you've got a cheer leader right in the ranks of the "bourgeois, yellow, pink, etc., etc., American Socialist movement." For other more graphic description of the American Socialist Party we refer you to the "Daily Worker."

Just as we finish our last jig step and hosanna, in steps the dame of ye columnist and informs him that tomorrow shall we go a-bunting a housemaid among the employment agencies. What with increased quarters, and the enervating duties of molding the careers of two well-fed future Americans, and the care necessary for one undomesticated master, life is none too light on our lady. And since any business man has enough expenses so what might matter a few additional? We shrug our shoulders in the ancient way and agree.

All the way downtown Russia and her glorious attitude toward the doers of homely tasks ring like the

Park Avenue carillon in our ears. When we enter the employment agency, sound and music die away. We are confronted with an up-to-date slave market. All the time our spouse is interviewing one and another of the maids, we listen in a daze. "Fifty dollars a month, without cooking or wash, or sixty-five with... "How many in the family?" Four, no babies, both boys going to school... "Six rooms and a sun-parlor, parquet floors, no washing them..." The conversation between the wife and the prospective maid dies out as our eyes turn upon an old woman, apparently of fine antecedents as to training and former life, at least sixty-five, "somebody's mother," as the Tenderloin song writers would call her. She is being interviewed by a crass, over-dressed, underslung matron, apparently one of the newly arrived West End Avenue well-to-doers. "Only waiting on table at luncheon and dinner... and a few nights a week... bridge parties... a little late... very little cleaning in the morning... shopping..." "Somebody's mother" fills our eyes with moisture as we seek to read the half-whispered, half-mumbled replies that agitated her bloodless lips, and twist her pale drawn face into tell-tale grimaces of inward humiliation and confusion. Come, Andreyev, tell us the old lady's story.

Behind a drawn curtain occasional slit glimpses tell us that there the employment agency carries its stock of human merchandise. Every now and then an obsequious little man comes out with a girl or a woman to a prospective employer or mistress. A thousand bitter thoughts spring up within. All the old story of labor and slavery, all the tenets of our social philosophy become blazing flambeaux, and again we lead the sans-culottes and the grime of earth over barricades into the palaces of the oppressing plebs...

"Come, dear, I'm afraid I won't be able to afford a maid out of this place. Strange, a few years ago we could hire one to do everything for half the money. They now ask to do one-quarter the work."

"Sad, indeed, but gloriously true," we intend to rejoin, but we merely suggest quite dubiously, "suppose we advertise. I'll put an ad in the Bronx papers today."

It seems that here in our own un-Sovietized oligarchy the servants and the lower cast of toil have made regulations unto themselves that quite match up with the newly imposed regulations of the Russian. Eighty to one hundred dollars a month with all board, found and leisure are the stipulated range of pay and treatment; separate quarters, and, above all, an indulgent mistress—or no hire. Hurrah! we say again, and with the same breath, the comfortable business man of, alas! not too unlimited income moans. "Who can afford it?" Here is a tale of proletarian woe we ask anyone of "Zero's" battalion or the Salvation Army to match in genuine pathos. As the great Russian Chernichevsky once remarked, and then wrote a whole book discussing it, "What's to be done?"

We are never averse to a scrap. The ghetto sidewalks and alleys of our youth engraved that impression on us. And no scrap is more exciting to watch than that between two wielders of the pen. The poem we allowed to appear above, while it transgresses all the vague rules of even free verse, has a wallop in it. We printed H. L. M. last week on a certain K. H. We knew that some brotherly or sisterly emotions had gone askew when that blast saw the shadow of ink. Sure enough, Miss Fagan, or K. H., just turned around this week and jostled back with a mean if rough-hewn lance. And this fellow readers, is no faked-up baseball scandal to revive interest in a dying game. Take it straight, it has all the genuine marks of unadorned and savage strife.

How the cauldrons under Parnassus must be simmering with imminent eruption! There certainly will be more, or H. L. M. is not the invulnerable one we imagine him to be from his opening assault.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

ALTHOUGH written and published

in 1923, "Transfiguration" is a part of the old instead of the new Russian literature. In this novel (published in America by McBride and Co. and introduced by Maxim Gorki, \$2.50) Tzarsky has added little that is modern to the classical tradition. In essence his novel is a continuation of the Dostoevsky trend, infused with Chekhovian subtlety and satire. Nor has it escaped the Oblomovian motif. Its protagonist, Alexei Ivanovich, is a cross between Oblomov, Rudin, the Baron in "The Three Sisters," and Raskolnikov. He is indolent if not indolent, talkative if not garrulous, earnest if not ambitious and immaculate in intention if not in action. Like Gorki's Merkuloff, Alexei is an embodiment of that odd alchemy of character derivative of morbid frustration. While Merkuloff was intrinsically callous and cruel, Alexei has cruelty thrust upon him. He is cruel by circumstance and not by habit. There is not in him that inhuman cruelty to which the Russian peasant was wont, that cruelty which was described so vividly by Gorki and illustrated so forcefully in things as remote as "Taras Bulba" and the autobiography of Chaliapin. Alexei represents the blind, blundering soul, competent only in incompetency, who is driven to despair by a deception and to murder by a pure caprice of the fortuitous.

As Gorki writes in the introduction—the novel "is very Russian; the people in it talk too much and act too little." It is this characteristic which makes "Transfiguration," despite its contemporaneity of appearance, so un-contemporary in spirit. It is a beautiful vestige rather than a challenging prophecy. It has almost nothing of the exciting tempo, the insipid motivations of contemporary Russian literature. The agitating tenseness and realism of Liehdiensky's "A Week," indubitably an inferior work, the ex-troverted clarity of Seytulin's "Viri-niya," the swift movement of Ivanov's "The Armor Train" and "Chabu," are alien to Tzarsky's "Transfiguration." While the revolutionary artist has largely dispensed with introspection, discarded talk and inserted action, Tzarsky still emphasizes the introspective, encourages talk and avoids action. One could read "Transfiguration" without becoming aware that there had been a revolution in Russia. Instead of embodying the deep social urge that is to be discovered in the dramas of Werfel and Toller, as well as the stories of Kasatkin and Semenov, or in such an excellent cinema as "Potemkin," this novel still adheres to the individualistic, cultivates the eccentric and stresses the strange.

Alexei is tortured by the discovery of his wife's infidelity. This torture renders him a regular Russian Hamlet. His life is spent between thoughts of bitter reminiscence and plans of active vengeance. The former, vivified in conversation and intensified by repetition, provides an escape for the latter. Alexei's preparations are singular.

"Beginning early in December revolver shots were often to be heard cracking in the mountains. Alexei Ivanovich placed a two-third two-inch board two meters high at a distance of twenty-five or thirty feet and unloaded all his bullets into it. He traced lines on the board and set up a complicated schedule, into which he inserted the bullets; this one in the head, that one in the chest, another in the thigh, stomach or leg—but very soon he tired of this practice. He decided to fire. "The dogs barked anxiously when they first heard the noise, but they got used to it after a while (only one pointer, Grechulevich's dog, came running from the lower villas as soon as he heard the shots, and cowered about as long as the shooting lasted). Very soon the colonel's dog, which had been the game as well; he also fired up a plank beside Alexei Ivanovich's, established himself in front of it according to all the rules of range practice, and fired. "A man should always know how to protect himself from insults— isn't that so?" Alexei Ivanovich used to say."

For the second time he is determined to kill Ilya, his wife's lover. Reality, however, inevitably splinters his bravery into doubt and irresolution. There is always the argument of "who" and "what" and "why." With Pavlik, the frail, God-hating consumptive, Alexei debates the nature of his problem.

"You say: 'My late wife, with whom I lived happily, was unfaithful to me.' After ten years? Unfaithful to you?"

"Yes—what do you mean by that? Are you cold?"

"No... I mean: Who do you have in mind when you say she was unfaithful to you? That is to be more clear, to which 'you' was the unfaithful? To the 'you' of which period? Ten years is a long time; you said so yourself."

"But what are 'you' after all?"

It is such arguments that constitute the bulk of the novel. They make it an old but arresting study in human character. While decadent in that it is unprogressive in form and unventuresome in substance, part of a dead generation, the novel has a beauty that is reminiscent and an intensity that is at times vivid and histrionic.

Its aloofness from the scene of social revolution can be solved by the arithmetic of biography. During the war Tzarsky lived in the Crimea pasturing cows.

RABBIT DRESSERS SEEK BETTER WAGE RATES

Fur Workers' Local Union 25, of Newark, N. J., and 58, of Brooklyn, N. Y., seek increases to \$3 for work previously paid at \$1.60 to \$2 on piece rates for dressing rabbit skins. The unions also seek the 40-hour week. The International Fur Workers' Union is aiding negotiations with the Consolida Fur Dressing Corporation, which practically controls the business. Work is almost suspended in the corporation shops due to the employers' practice of finishing all orders before the contract with the union expires and not taking new orders until the new agreement is reached.