

A BRITISH FRIEND APPEALS TO YOU

OUR good friend from Britain, Comrade Jessie Stephen, who has done such excellent work during the campaign and is now engaged in lecture work during her stay here, has written the following appeal to our readers. It appears for itself and states our case better than we could put it. Read it, and we feel sure that if at all able you will join with a liberal contribution, those whose contributions now and in the past have made possible the publication of The New Leader and will insure its existence this year:

Socialism Must Have Its Press

By Jessie Stephen

All comrades who take an active interest in this great movement must be aware of the harm done the cause of Socialism by the dissemination of false information by the capitalist press. To others who expect Socialism to come upon us like a night without any effort on their part to hasten it

argued that they cannot speak for the cause, have been completely tied up. Accepting these excuses as perfectly justifiable to ask, what are they doing to increase the circulation of their own newspapers? Have they contributed to the Maintenance and Extension of the cause by subscribing regularly themselves? Have they experimented of presenting a friend with a three months' subscription?

In the light of this an admirable way of building up the circulation of the Labor and Socialist Press. Comrades sent the names of their friends, people whom they thought might be interested. At the same time they forwarded a small subscription towards the cost of mailing, and other money was raised to pay for the free copies thus sent.

Whist drives, fancy costume balls, concerts, are all run with the direct object of increasing sales and raising funds for publicity work in each district. Indeed, there is usually a committee attached to every Labor Party local which co-ordinates and assists the work of comrades in selling subscriptions. The Daily Herald boasts a circulation of half a million, which was only made possible by the intensive and self-sacrificing efforts of the humblest comrades in remote villages as well as the big industrial centers.

Probably this explains as well as anything the phenomenal rise in the voting strength and power of the British Labor movement. It is certain that we cannot expect to make and keep Socialist membership unless we provide a necessary channel of communication through our press. Socialist converts are not made by eloquent platform speeches, popular opinion to the contrary notwithstanding. Any impression made by our propagandists and lecturers must be followed up by the supply of mental pabulum in increasing quantities.

Of what avail would be a Socialist majority in the legislatures if the movement was not in the position to counter effectively the misrepresentations of the capitalist sheets? Because, as a journalist and Socialist from the other side I am intensely interested in the appeals which are being issued for increasing support of The New Leader I desire to lift my voice in this splendid effort which is being made to adequately finance and strengthen its circulation.

If we cannot do such a little thing for Socialism, then it is a very poor thing indeed. Sacrifices must be made by every ardent believer and a regular reader is much more likely to prove a worthy missionary for Socialism than the casual reader who picks up a copy now and then. Let us make the world safe for democracy by making new Socialists. The quickest way is to contribute liberally to the support of your paper and get new readers. Here is YOUR CHANCE to do something useful to prove the faith that is in you.

We publish below the contributions received during the last six days. Although crowded on account of lack of space, we can not resist publishing a short letter which came to us with a \$5.00 bill, from a Pullman porter who did not give his name. Read it carefully and realize that if this overworked and underpaid worker can sacrifice \$5.00 for the support of The New Leader, how much will you sacrifice?

Jewish Socialist Verband, N. Y.	\$5.00	Herman Kobbe, Nassau, N. Y.	\$5.00
Branch, Passaic, N. J.		D. Hyman, Bayonne, N. J.	3.00
Alice Stone Blackwell, Boston, Mass.	5.00	Victor Reisman, New York	1.00
Julius Gerber, New York	1.00	Chas. Gaydoul, Jamaica, N. Y.	1.00
Samuel Kantor, Brooklyn	2.00	Joseph Bearak, Boston, Mass.	5.00
Benjamin Robbins, New York	2.00	Harry Lantz, New York	1.00
Pullman Porter	5.00	Morris Hillquit, New York	25.00
George Leach, Philadelphia	1.00		
Joe L. Kellman, New York	2.00	Total for the week	\$122.00
Sam. A. Dewitt, New York	50.00		
S. M. S.	2.00	Previously acknowledged	\$415.00
Miss J. Hemberger, New York	5.00	Total to date	\$577.00
Ernest Behring, Baltimore, Md.	1.00		

Here is the letter from the Pullman porter:

"To the Board of Management of The New Leader:

"I wish that I was able to say intelligently in a few words how much I appreciate the benefits my group are obtaining from your valued paper. Personally, valuing the many points—Social, Intellectual and Moral—on which I have been enlightened through reading The New Leader, at a penny each, I find myself indebted to you for \$100.00. Please accept \$5.00 on account. "Wishing your campaign every success,

"COLORED READER."

N. Y. Cigarmakers to Aid 2,000 Porto Rican Strikers

The Joint Advisory Board of the Cigarmakers International Union in New York is organizing a series of meetings to aid the 2,000 courageous strikers in Porto Rico who are now on strike against the Porto Rican American Tobacco Company.

The first meeting will take place Tuesday evening, January 15, at the Harlem Palace, 115th street near Fifth avenue, which will be addressed by prominent speakers. Ways and means will be discussed as to help the strikers who are out since the early part of last August. The strike was brought about because of the firm's policy to discharge all workers that joined the union. All attempts to bring about a settlement have failed. The governor of the island offered his services to bring about an agreement through arbitration and failed, because the firm's purpose is to smash the union. Their plants are completely crippled, and an attempt was made to have their cigars manufactured in the Kraus cigar factory in New York. The local unions withdrew their members who refused to scab on their fellow workers. The most popular brand the Porto Rican factory makes is the "Ricorico" cigars, sold mainly by the "United Cigar Stores." Friends of labor are urged to buy cigars that carry the union label on the box.

Young Socialists' League To Hold Convention in N. Y.

A city convention of the Young People's Socialist League will meet Jan. 15 and 16 at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The convention will be the seventh since the League was organized. Forty delegates from all parts of the greater city will assemble and ten sub-divisions will be represented. Fraternal delegates from the Socialist Party, the New Jersey Young People's Socialist League, and the Junior Y. P. S. L. will be sent.

The convention is called to prepare extensive program of educational, athletic and social activities for the year. Various phases of youth endeavor will be discussed. Such problems as child labor, military and religious training in the schools, Socialist youth education and problems of organization among colored youth will be particularly stressed. A plan for the consolidation of the league's organization will receive attention.

A complete report of the league's activities of the past year will be given by the Executive and Financial Secretaries and of the organization of new groups. A number of prominent Socialists will address the convention, including Algonson Lee, educational director of the Rand School; Hon. Judge Jacob Panken, James O'neal, editor of the New Leader, and August Claessens, executive secretary of the Socialist Party of New York.

The further absence of any Communist movement in the Central American countries, Mexico and the protectorates of the United States, is proved by the fact that since the International there has never been present at any of its congresses any representatives of these countries. There is no Latin-American at this time on the Ex-

(Continued on page 3)

Demonstration Called Against Communists

THE rank and file of the workers in the New York needle trades will demonstrate their opposition to Communist Party interference in the trade unions at a huge demonstration on Thursday, January 20. The Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Unions, representing 200,000 organized workers in the city, has issued a call for an hour's cessation of work as a demonstration against the Communists.

The stoppage will be followed by two tremendous mass meetings, one to be held in the 71st regiment armory, 34th street and Park avenue, and the other in the 69th regiment armory, 58th street and Lexington avenue. The

stoppage will take place at 4 o'clock. The meetings are scheduled to start at 4.30. Leaders of the labor movement, among them high officials of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union and the International Pocketbook Workers Union, will speak.

The demonstration has been called in accordance with the decision of the convention, which organized the Committee for the Preservation of the Trade Union in Beethoven Hall on December 21.

THE NEW LEADER

VOL. III. No. 3

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1927

Entered as Second Class Matter, January 19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York, New York, under act of March 3, 1917.

Price Five Cents

Kellogg "Red Plot" Story Bared as Tissue of Lies

CALLES BITTER OPPONENT OF BOLSHEVISM

Central-American Labor Movements Lined Up Against Communism

By Edward Levinson

"EVER since the Scandinavians of Minnesota voted him out of the Senate, Secretary Kellogg has been seeing red behind every bush."

Thus Senator Wheeler, progressive of Montana, gave his impression of the "evidence" the Secretary of State has offered in support of his charge that there is a "red menace" to the United States somewhere among the banana plantations and oil fields of the Latin-American countries.

Secretary Kellogg clipped his "sensational" from year-old newspapers and Communist publicity sheets of little circulation and less importance. He cites excerpts from long-winded "theses" of the Communist International. No one but Kellogg has ever taken them seriously. The newspaper from which Kellogg quotes, the Daily Worker, has a circulation of about 5,000. The organization director of the Third International, at the last meeting of the executive of that organization, said it is so poorly edited as to be practically useless. The Communist Party which it represents has been steadily declining, except at such time when underhanded like Secretary Kellogg have given it gratuitous boosting.

In clipping the columns of this daily paper, whoever did it for the Secretary of State played a mean trick on him. The striking part of Mr. Kellogg's horrible tale of red plottings is that it falls to show that there is any red movement south of the Rio Grande, neither in Mexico nor any of the other Pan-American countries. Not only does Kellogg accept this view by his fall, he also cites evidence of Communism down there, but his own tale tells of the opposition of the Mexican government and the Mexican labor movement to the Communists.

"All that is needed to show the absurd nonsense this memorandum contains," said Senator Wheeler, commenting on this point, "is the passage relating to the Mexican federation, which shows that the Communists and the Mexican government are sworn enemies."

This passage, which quotes a note given the Russian Minister in Mexico by the Mexican Federation of Labor, refers to the Communists as "the enemies of the Mexican Federation of Labor and of our government." This statement is repeated two paragraphs below.

The further absence of any Communist movement in the Central American countries, Mexico and the protectorates of the United States, is proved by the fact that since the International there has never been present at any of its congresses any representatives of these countries. There is no Latin-American at this time on the Ex-

(Continued on page 3)

End of American Imperialism in China And Latin America Demanded by Socialists

DECLARATION BY THE SOCIALIST PARTY ON THE FOREIGN POL- ICY OF THE COOLIDGE ADMINISTRATION

THE time to avert war is before it begins. Wars can be crushed in the seed or in the tender sprout; they cannot be uprooted when they are full grown and bring forth their evil fruit upon the earth. Every lover of peace, therefore, as well as every lover of American honor, must be profoundly concerned to oppose the ruthless policy of economic imperialism backed by the use or the threat of force upon which the Coolidge Administration has embarked.

We can wage successful war against little Nicaragua with a handful of marines. We can occupy its capital and the larger part of its territory and not call it war or even intervention. To the Nicaraguans, however, it is war. It is the latest chapter in the shameful series of acts of aggression begun back in 1911. Out of these acts of aggression bankers and speculators have grown rich. But the people neither of Nicaragua nor the United States have profited. Since 1911 Diaz,

who we have recognized as President, and who holds his office by virtue of our recognition, has been the puppet of these financial interests. All talk of necessary protection of American right to the Canal is camouflage. The President's outraged protests against Mexican aid to Sacasa, Diaz's rival, is hypocritical. If Mexico has aided Sacasa, who seems to have a good legal right to the Presidency, she has only done quietly what we have done brazenly since 1911.

Indeed, the President's references to Mexico lend color to the suspicion that he is striking at Mexico over Nicaragua's shoulder. There is the constant threat of aggressive action toward Mexico by the withdrawal of recognition or by removing the embargo on arms—acts which have no meaning except to encourage revolution in Mexico. The logical consequence of such acts is intervention. And the logical consequence of intervention is war. Under whatever moral guise Mexican intervention is carried on, it will be intervention in behalf of the American interests which lay claim to a great part of the wealth of Mexico and which refuse to accept reasonable

(Continued on page 2)

The Crucifixion of Nicaragua A Challenge to American Civilization

By a Latin-American

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S intervention is not a matter concerning Nicaragua alone. He has himself given ample reasons for the belief that in the background lies the question of Mexico. The 23,000,000 of population in the Pan-American countries have long realized the problem is one in which the forces of Yankee imperialism are arrayed on one side against the welfare of all of these countries.

Due to the pointed instruction of the United States—instruction prodded home with the big stick of political, economic and military domination—the adult portion of these 23,000,000 Latin Americans have come to a strange belief concerning the functions of government. These people, my countrymen, have come to feel that there is no hope of peace among nations as long as the people in the seats of power are chosen purely because they are the ones who will not unfavorably affect stock exchange quotations, or as long as the man who shoots the most bullets becomes president.

Basing their views on experience with the United States, Latin America has come to feel that it is hard to find in most governments anything and base ambitions, blind lust for power and selfishness, political aspirations and base ambitions, blended with efficiency and ignorance.

From the mistrust of government engendered by the United States, the Latin American people turn to the policies of present-day Mexico. The heroic Republic of Mexico has committed the unpardonable sin of attempting to enact and enforce laws to its liking, adapted to its necessities and conducive to its advancement. Mexico, which abolished slavery 59 years before the Civil War, whose religious legislation of 1859 was copied by France in 1905, and whose eco-

nomic emancipation was embodied in a constitution drawn up in February, 1916, nine months before the Russian Revolution, has brought upon it, at one time, the loyalty of Latin-America and the hatred of the economic imperialists.

Those forces, among them the Roman Catholic Church, who have attempted to stifle Mexico's independence have found themselves baffled by the determination of the Mexican people.

But what a pathetic consequence this resistance is having! A sister republic, insignificant in size, is being offered in holocaust when a larger victim could not be subdued.

Nicaragua A Rich Prize

A country equal in size to the State of New York, as it only has 49,200 square miles; with no more inhabitants than the city of Buffalo; with an army that could be carried in one subway train of New York City; with no navy, exhausted by 400 years of fanaticism, exploitation and revolution, is in the ring today confronting the mightiest power on earth, while the world impassively looks on.

Nicaragua was greatly favored by nature. It enjoys an enviable geographical position in the center of the American Continent with 290 miles on the Atlantic and 185 miles on the Pacific Ocean; with a lake and a river offering a natural inter-ocean canal which only needs 25 miles of excavation; with magnificent bays and ports; with a climate of the utmost benignity; with a soil fertile in the extreme, and a subsoil abundant in precious metals and petroleum.

In 1909 Nicaragua was enjoying, or, perhaps, suffering a dictatorship similar in nature and its effects to the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz in Mexico. Bankrupt pseudo-aristocrats in Nicaragua still look back on that period as the "good old days."

The Porfirio Diaz of Nicaragua was José Santos Yelaya, and he committed the indiscretion of cancelling a mining concession in which prominent Americans during the Taft Administration were interested. Then a well-armed and well-financed revolution was headed by one Juan Estrada, who proclaimed himself provisional president, with General Emiliano Chamorro as commander-in-chief. With the aid of the evil Adolfo Diaz, he proceeded to overthrow Yelaya. Yelaya resigned, but Mr. Knox, the American Secretary of State, was not satisfied and wanted him captured and killed or brought to the United States as a prisoner. Porfirio Diaz, then president of Mexico, in a gesture much to his credit, gave shelter to President Yelaya on the Mexican warship "Zaragoza," and the deposed president was given hospitality in perhaps the most hospitable of all lands.

Diaz Finances A Revolution

As Yelaya surrendered and abandoned his country at the sight of the

mailed first of Uncle Sam, so Porfirio Diaz acted a similar melodramatic role when President Taft ordered 20,000 American troops to the Mexico border.

Dr. Jose Madriz, extremely popular in Nicaragua, beloved by his people, able and honest, succeeded Yelaya. There followed a revolution, financed ostensibly by Adolfo Diaz, until then a \$20-a-week bookkeeper in the employ of an American mining company, La Luz y Los Angeles. With the moral and material support of the American government, the rebellion came into power. The erstwhile bookkeeper, today raised to the dignity of a Nicaraguan Mussolini by Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Kellogg, saved enough money out of his \$20 a week to lend \$600,000 to the revolution. Then, as now, the legal president, Madriz, was prevented by American marines from recapturing Bluefields from the usurpers. General Emiliano Chamorro, an aide of Diaz, defeated President Madriz on August 19, 1910, and on October 27 of the same year, on board an American warship and with the American Consul at Panama acting as chairman, a conference was held by five Conservative leaders, Diaz and Chamorro among them, in which American protection, including a loan, was bartered against Nicaraguan honor. It was decided then that the next president and vice-president would be selected from among the five Conservative leaders present. Estrada was "elected."

The whole country was against the new rulers. The United States Minister in Managua, Northcut, cabled Secretary Knox that it would be impossible to secure the ratification of the laws by Congress. Northcut said: "An overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans is opposed to the United States. President Estrada is being sustained solely by the moral effect of our support, as the Liberals are in such a majority over the Conservatives." Elihu Root, then a United States Senator, wrote: "The present government of Nicaragua is not in power by the will of the people; the elections were in great part fraudulent. The Liberal Party constitutes three-fourths of the inhabitants of the country. The government is in power because of the presence of United States troops in Nicaragua."

The whole country was against the new rulers. The United States Minister in Managua, Northcut, cabled Secretary Knox that it would be impossible to secure the ratification of the laws by Congress. Northcut said: "An overwhelming majority of Nicaraguans is opposed to the United States. President Estrada is being sustained solely by the moral effect of our support, as the Liberals are in such a majority over the Conservatives." Elihu Root, then a United States Senator, wrote: "The present government of Nicaragua is not in power by the will of the people; the elections were in great part fraudulent. The Liberal Party constitutes three-fourths of the inhabitants of the country. The government is in power because of the presence of United States troops in Nicaragua."

"Loan" Forced On Nicaragua

The United States Senate three times refused to ratify the Knox-Castillo treaty covering the forcing of a loan on Nicaragua; but nevertheless, on September 1, 1911, a contract was signed by the government of Nicaragua and the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, as trustees, and the Brown Brothers Company and J. W. Seligman and Company, as fiscal agents. The loan was effected, costing Nicaragua perhaps more than 40 per cent. interest.

The participation of the American Navy in this stage of the Nicaraguan revolution is covered quite fully in the report of the Secretary of the Navy for 1913. Eight warships, 2,600 men

(Continued on page 2)

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S defense of his policy at Nicaragua is an accusation. In no sense has he met the argument that by the very agreements to which he appealed Sacasa rather than Diaz is the legal president of Nicaragua. By every precedent Mexico had a right to recognize Sacasa. If Mexican citizens, or even the Mexican government, furnished arms to Sacasa—a fact which the Mexican government denies—it could justly retort that it has only done for its candidate what the United States has only and blushing done for its puppets since 1911. Moreover, it is not Mexican troops, but American, who committed an act of war against Nicaragua by taking possession of a large part of her territory. That it was necessary thus to support Diaz shows that he did not have the support of his own countrymen.

What must be especially irritating to intelligent Nicaraguans is President Coolidge's description of the financial service we have rendered Nicaragua. The national debt which the Nicaraguans are reducing is a debt created by some of the slipperiest, most unscrupulous financing on the part of our bankers that can be imagined. In the various sales and resales of the Nicaraguan National Bank and the railways, the one sure thing was that the bankers got big commissions. American taxpayers paid the bill for keeping the marines in Nicaragua. America as a whole got nothing out of the business. We were the fools who guaranteed speculators' profits for Wall Street. The President gives no evidence that Sacasa would endanger the canal concession. He merely asserts it, and probably expects us to think of the old insinuations of Bolshevik intrigue. Of course, in no proper sense of the word is Mexico Bolshevik, and there is no evidence that Mexico is intriguing against an American canal in Nicaragua. When the L. L. D. issued a careful statement on Bolshevikism in Mexico it was ignored by the press.

Of course, the President is hitting at Mexico over Nicaragua's shoulder. He is trying to provoke Calles into some act that will give us an excuse for withdrawing recognition or lifting the arms embargo. The same American Administration which looks with horror on revolution in Nicaragua evidently yearns for it in Mexico, but hasn't quite got nerve enough to come out boldly where Mexico is concerned. So far the diplomatic honors are with the Calles government. President Calles' suggestion of arbitration of our grievances is admirable statesmanship and shows a real love of peace. Frankly, I do not see that as yet there is anything to arbitrate, and while I am for arbitration rather than the withdrawal of recognition or any similar step which may lead to war, I do not think that decent Americans can feel comfortable about demanding the right to hold on to their own natural resources. I might think it wise to arbitrate with a hold-up man who had a gun to my head rather than have him shoot me, but I should not feel particularly happy about letting him choose men to pass on my right to hang on to my own watch and pocket-

(Continued on page 2)

A CALL TO ACTION!

The Executive Committee has ordered a call to be sent to the entire membership of the Socialist Party of New York City to gather in its Auditorium of the People's House, 7 East 15th street, on Wednesday, January 19, at 8:30 P.M. This meeting is called to organize our forces for effective opposition to the subtle influences surrounding the Administration at Washington that are hastening the people of this country into WAR WITH MEXICO. The war against war is on and it must be waged with all the energy and power at our command. No Socialist Party member worthy of his ideals will dare to be absent from this important meeting on Wednesday night, January 19, People's House.

Kellogg Challenged On Mexican Charges; Calles Deeds Listed

ITTING eight specific instances of distinctive achievements by the Calles Government in Mexico, and setting forth Mexico's official opposition to Bolshevism, the League of Industrial Democracy has written to Secretary of State Frank Kellogg, vigorously protesting his attempt to paint Mexico as "Bolshevist." The letter is signed on behalf of the League by Associate Director Harry W. Laidler and Paxton Hibben.

The challenge to Secretary Kellogg's assertions follows:

"Dear Sir:

"The Board of Directors of the League for Industrial Democracy has instructed us to send you our solemn protest against the State Department's repeated insinuations that the Mexican Government is engaged in Bolshevik propaganda and that the United States must therefore support the Diaz administration in Nicaragua in order to prevent Mexico from pushing a Bolshevik wedge between this country and the Panama Canal.

"As a result of a careful study of the Mexican situation and of personal observation in Mexico, we have become convinced of the utter falsity of the charge of Bolshevism on the part of the Mexican Government—a charge which can only be intended to create bitter prejudice against Mexico and bedevil the real issues in the situation.

Labor Expelled Communists

"If the charge of Bolshevism has any meaning whatever, it means that the Government is affiliated with the Communist International or is committed to the Communist point of view. By any test you might apply, the Calles administration is not Bolshevik. Neither President Calles nor any group with which he is connected has any affiliation whatsoever with the International Communist movement. The Mexican Confederation of Labor and the Mexican Labor Party, the most liberal wing of President Calles' active supporters, have no connection whatever with the Communist movement. In fact, the Mexican Confederation of Labor is a member of the Pan-American Federation of Labor of which the American Federation of Labor is the leading member, and in its last convention in Mexico City, presided over by Samuel Gompers, vigorously protested against the Communist attempt to interfere with the labor movement of other countries. Two years ago the Mexican Confederation of Labor definitely refused to seat in its convention delegates who represented the Communist point of view, and President Calles has caused a number of Communist propagandists to leave the country. The small group of Communists in Mexico are severe critics of the Calles government because of its anti-Communist attitude. Indeed, the Government can only be regarded as socialist by a broad interpretation of that word.

"The present administration in Mexico has presented a record of distinctively constructive achievements:

"1. It has extended the educational system, creating some 4,000 new rural schools and numerous new agricultural colleges.

"2. It has established a program of economy in government departments in an attempt to balance the budget and to pay its foreign obligations.

"3. It has established a Mexican bank of issue in an endeavor to stabilize the currency of the country and to reduce the interest charges on loans.

Banditry Eliminated

"4. It has begun a number of extensive irrigation projects. In March of this year, for instance, J. G. White Engineering Corporation announced a contract with the Mexican Government to construct \$20,000,000 irrigation projects.

"5. It has, with the administration of President Obregon, done much to eliminate banditry and restore order. The Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, during his stay in Mexico, saw bank messengers go from bank to bank with bags of money over their shoulders, apparently unprotected and unmolested.

"6. It has continued the policy of breaking up the large estates in Mexico, many of which were built up from communal land illegally taken from village communities, and distributing them among the peasants. Many students of political economy maintain that such a system of small land holdings, far from being radical, is a conservative policy and results in building up a conservative class of farmers; that centralization of

land in few hands, on the other hand, leads to great discontent and revolution.

"7. It has attempted to enforce a number of provisions of the labor section of the 1917 constitution, provisions which the American Federation of Labor would, for the most part, heartily approve.

"8. Its most radical measure has been its attempt to carry out the subsoil provision of the 1917 constitution, which are in line with the old principles established during the days of the Spanish regime, and in line with the provisions of the Constitution of 1857 and the Constitution of 1917.

Laws Not Confiscatory

"These laws are not confiscatory. They state that in the case of properties acquired before 1917 for oil purposes the companies must take out a fifty-year concession, renewable for a second fifty years, for the drilling of oil on their properties; that in the case of properties acquired since 1917 for oil purposes the holder shall have preferential rights for exploitation concessions; that in all other cases the subsoil, since it is the property of the nation and not the surface-holder, shall be exploited by concessions to the party most fit and most willing to abide by the Mexican laws.

"In the case of lands near the frontier which are held by foreign companies, the law permits them to be held during the incorporated life of the company or the life of the individual, at the termination of which periods five years are granted to transfer them to Mexican companies (51 per cent of the stockholders Mexican) or to Mexican citizens. This does not prevent foreign oil companies or foreign oil producers from holding all the land, wharves, pipelines, etc., in the restricted zones which are directly necessary for extracting and refining the petroleum.

"The present law puts no obstacle in the way of extracting the oil if the corporations are sincerely anxious to do so; no well lasts more than thirty years; and the companies have one hundred years in which to work; in addition, the Mexican Government has indicated its willingness to grant fair treatment at the expiration of that period. Whatever one thinks of these measures, they cannot be described as Bolshevism.

"In view of these and other facts, is it not ingenious to call an administration which is doing the only thing that can be done to develop a stable and prosperous country, Bolshevism?"

PROBE OF POLICE BAN ON PICKETS ASKED

AN investigation of relations between the meat packing firm of George Kern, Inc., and patrolmen attached to the 7th precinct police station in New York City is demanded by striking employees of the company through their attorney, S. John Block. Mr. Block asked for an investigation in a letter to Police Commissioner George V. McLaughlin.

That such an investigation may reveal the fact that policemen have been accepting "favors" from the Kern company is suggested in Mr. Block's letter which declares that the police, despite assurances to him, have refused to permit the strikers to exercise their legal right of picketing.

"I am of the opinion that the situation is one which calls for investigation by you and for the issuance of instructions by you to the officers connected with the Seventh Precinct Station. If any of the patrolmen have been disregarding their duty to protect all citizens, including striking workmen, and if these patrolmen have been accepting favors from George Kern, Inc., you will, I am certain, upon ascertaining such facts, discipline the patrolmen who have been guilty of any violation of duty" the letter says.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from page 1)

book. The real line for Americans to urge is (1) withdrawal of American marines from Nicaragua, and (2) immediate investigation by the Senate of American concessions with a view to shaping a constructive foreign policy. Senator Wheeler has introduced resolutions looking toward both ends.

As usual, the present crisis in our foreign affairs finds the well-endowed peace societies nowhere. They will be investigating the causes of the Napoleonic wars until it is time to find idealistic justifications for the next war. Church organizations are almost equally slow getting into action. And so are our so-called liberal leaders. For many years I have been one of Senator Borah's friends and admirers. I knew he was not a Socialist and never expected him to act as a Socialist. I have expected him to put up a better fight for his own ideals in foreign affairs. I cannot but feel that more determination on his part in pushing an investigation of Americans' concessions would have blocked recent developments. It looks as if the Senator started fights that he did not finish. With all my heart and soul I hope that the next few days will prove that I am wrong.

We radicals cannot afford to say this. The fight against imperialism is hopeless. It is quite true that in the long run a successful fight against imperialism means a successful fight against capitalism and nationalism as we know them. But it is not true that America as a nation has anything to gain from the Nicaraguan, Mexican or Chinese policy, even under capitalism. It is only the speculators who profit, and even farmers, workers and other folk who with a middle-class psychology ought to see that. To educate them on this fact about imperialism may help educate them on the general working of the capitalist system. For instance, Ben Marsh has recently pointed out that the inheritance and income taxes we have reduced since the war have provided the money that is going abroad in a steady stream. A lot of this money belongs, anyway, in the pockets of the farmers and wage workers. Why should they spend more money, and perhaps blood, as well, to help these foreign investors cash in on their risks?

At one point we must give credit to the President and his friends. They have had the sense to block, or at least to check, this absurd big Navy race on which some of the House leaders seem determined to embark. For that small favor, many thanks. But only the sentiment of the country can prevent the big Navy men from finally getting their way with Coolidge.

American shipping interests have had the gall to demand that the Government turn over its ships to them with a subsidy, to boot. The Shipping Board, according to early dispatches, says that a subsidy is necessary for the successful operation of American ships. But, fortunately, it does not recommend that the Government shall relinquish its control and give away its ships for a song. The only sound principle is that if we must have an American merchant marine it should be Government owned and operated, rather than Government subsidized. The trouble is that too many of our politicians are willing to regard the Government as a cow to be milked. They are even willing to turn over an unsuccessful private venture like the Cape Cod Canal to the Government, provided that the Government will pay interest to gentlemen who do not deserve to have interest paid on their bad investment. It is this conception of government that we have to fight.

Before I spoke over WJZ the other night on "An American Labor Party" I was shown a letter from Mr. Aylesworth, the president of the National Brokers, which now controls the two biggest chains in the country, saying that my speech was not to be censored. This is a great change from my experience with other companies. I appreciate Mr. Aylesworth's courtesy and congratulate him not only on his sense of fair play, but his wisdom at this juncture in radio development. Nevertheless, I think we should have at least as much protection as the Dill bill gives against censorship by men less wise than Mr. Aylesworth.

Telephone CIRCLE 2467

The Union Audit Bureau
1674 Broadway
NEW YORK CITY
Specializing in Trade
Union Accounting
AUDITS : SYSTEMS
INVESTIGATIONS
Members of B. S. & A. U. 12616,
A. F. of L.

The Bronx Free Fellowship
1301 Boston Road, near 160th Street
Sunday, January 16, 1927
8 P. M.
REV. LEON R. LAND
"The Function of the Bronx Free Fellowship in Upper New York"

8 P. M.
OPEN FORUM
ANDREW KANE
Secretary of Committee on Co-operation in Latin America
"United States' Policy in Nicaragua"

ADMISSION FREE

Make your reservations today
—for the—
New Leader anniversary dinner

End of American Imperialism Demanded

(Continued from page 1)

Mexican laws. President Calles himself has gone so far as to suggest arbitration as the way out of the difficulty. As yet we do not see that there is any legitimate American claim which needs arbitration. If one arises we emphatically endorse President Calles' suggestion.

Our economic imperialism is by no means confined to Latin America. It is present in China, where American gunboats on Chinese rivers and the American diplomatic policy are alienating historic Chinese friendship with America.

Of such imperialism American workers in farms and factories are scarcely less the victims than the inhabitants of so-called backwood countries. We do not profit as a people out of speculative investments such as those in Nicaragua. Much of the money that an investing class sends abroad by every principle of moral and economic right should be in the pockets of American farmers and workers. We have permitted inheritance and income taxes to be reduced in order that American investors might invest larger sums abroad. Now we are in danger of collecting

other folks bad gambling debts at cost not only to our own pockets, but of far more tragic cost in the blood of our sons and brothers.

In view of this plain statement of facts the Socialist Party calls upon the farmers and workers, both organized and unorganized, and upon all liberty loving Americans to insist by every means in their power upon a constructive co-operative foreign policy, the cornerstone of which will be "No Intervention." It calls upon Congress to adopt the Wheeler resolution for the withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua and the other Wheeler resolution providing for an investigation of American investments abroad. It demands that any genuine differences with Mexico be submitted to arbitration. It demands that the United States pursue a policy of friendship with China, of patience while she settles her own internal difficulties, of non intervention in Chinese affairs, of immediate revision of the unequal treaties against which Chinese anger is rising. This is the road to honor and peace. Any other course is the road to dishonor which leads at the last to war.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Crucifixion of Nicaragua

(Continued from page 1)

and 125 officers took part in the campaign, which included the bombardment of Managua, a night ambushade in Masaya, the surrender of General Mena and his army in Granada, the capture of two Nicaraguan gunboats, etc. With the support of the United States Army and Navy, the elections of 1912 were held. The procedure adopted was the disfranchisement of citizens who sympathized with the Liberals. In the City of Leon, out of a population of nearly 50,000, only 80 electors were allowed to vote.

To prove to what extent the Nicaraguan Government was a family affair, suffice it to say that after Diaz was elected president in 1912, Emiliano Chamorro was elected in 1916 and Diego Chamorro in 1920, at which time the Secretary of the Interior was Rosendo Chamorro; Minister in Washington, Emiliano Chamorro; President of Congress, Salvador Chamorro; Chief of Police, Filadelfo Chamorro; Collector of Revenue, Dionisio Chamorro. Thirteen Chamorros in the most important positions of the government, in addition to a large number of relatives with different names!

Control by Bankers

During all this period Nicaragua was controlled and managed by a group of New York capitalists who held 51 per cent of the stock of the Banco de Nicaragua and 51 per cent of the Nicaraguan railroad, together with a majority of the boards of directors and a free hand in appointing officials. The Bank of Nicaragua was depositor of the government funds. Instead of paying interest on these funds it made a charge of 1 per cent for safe keeping and 1/2 of 1 per cent on all payments made. All the receipts and disbursements of the government passed through the bank, which thus enjoyed 1 1/2 per cent on all revenues of the country in addition to the privilege of using the government's money. It was not until 1923, when the account of the Banco de Nicaragua was transferred to the Royal Bank of Canada, that the money received interest. The railway paid nearly 50 per cent of its gross receipts as dividends and its operating expenses were increased from \$30,000 a year to nearly \$400,000 a year.

President Diego Chamorro died in 1923 and Vice-President Bartolome Martinez became president. Through one of the cleanest and most efficient administrations that Nicaragua has had Martinez bought back the railroad and the bank, having had to pay about twice as much as Nicaragua had received. During the years of foreign ownership not a single mile of new track was built and not a single new engine was put in service in the railroad.

All authorities agree that the presidential election of 1924 was the fairest that Nicaragua ever had. Liberals and Conservatives as dividers were elected—Carlos Solozano as president, and Dr. Juan Sacasa as vice-president.

The State Department's Code American capitalists had surrendered their stock in the bank and the railroad, but still exercised actual control of the two enterprises by means of directors and officials. A propaganda was started to convince the Nicaraguan people that without American administration the two organizations would collapse. However, the government decided to regain complete control and so informed the New York management who was acting as agent for the railroad at a salary of \$15,000 per year and 2 per cent commission on all purchases. The cancellation was to take effect in October. Nicaraguan Government officials claim that a representative of the deposed administrators went to Washington and sent a telegram to the United States Minister in Managua, using the private code of the State Department and that the message was transmitted to the President of Nicaragua with the notation that it had come in the code of the State Department so as to show that the Department had an interest in the matter.

COMMITTEE OF 100 FORMED TO PROTEST FULLMAN REPRISALS ON NEGRO PORTERS

**MONSTER MASS MEETING
COMMUNITY CHURCH**
25th St. and Park Ave.
Tuesday, Jan. 16, at 8:30 p. m.
"Have Negro Workers a Right to Organize?"

SPEAKERS
JAMES WELDON JONHON, Executive Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.
DR. NORMAN THOMAS, Director, League for Industrial Democracy
THOMAS J. CURTIS, Vice-President, State Federation of Labor Clubs
R. J. CHAPMAN, General Representative, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, General Organizer, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
H. V. MUNT, Former Member of U. S. Railroad Board.

SAVE THIS NIGHT

An extension of one month was requested and granted. Much could happen in one month. Within one week the Chamorro-Diaz revolution came.

Carlos Solozano as president, and Dr. Juan Sacasa as vice-president of Nicaragua had been elected. The legality of their election has never been disputed. Emiliano Chamorro and Adolfo Diaz started a revolution that overthrew the legal government. Solozano had to resign under duress. Article No. 106 of the Constitution of Nicaragua reads: "In case of the absolute or temporary absence of the president, the executive power shall devolve upon the vice-president." Dr. Juan Sacasa, legally and constitutionally elected vice-president in the elections of 1924, accepted by the United States, became, therefore, the legal and constitutional president of Nicaragua. A nation so jealous about law and order as the United States purports to be, should have supported Dr. Sacasa to the limit. But he was the genuine representative of the Nicaraguan people and refused to be the dummy of the American financial interests. Consequently, the happenings were entirely different.

Sacasa's Clear Title

Upon the resignation of President Solozano, General Emiliano Chamorro, Adolfo Diaz et al. ejected from the House and Senate the representatives and the Senators not to their liking, this a matter of record. Faithful, docile substitutes were brought in. Their names are also on record. The spurious Congress forthwith appointed don Emiliano Chamorro president of the Republic. The Congress of Nicaragua had no right, under the circumstances, to appoint a president, as Article No. 104 of the Constitution provides that the election of president and vice-president of the Republic shall be by popular vote, direct and public, and Congress has no power to appoint a president when the office of vice-president is not vacant.

It is, naturally, obvious that Dr. Juan Sacasa, unless he resigns or he dies, is and shall be the constitutional president of Nicaragua until January 1, 1929. His title is as clear as was that of President Coolidge when President Harding died.

The United States pledged in a treaty signed with the Central American countries never to recognize a government resulting from a revolution. The Diaz government in Nicaragua has an undeniable revolutionary origin. Germany was despised during the World War because she said that treaties were scraps of paper.

When Victoriano Huerta, the assassin of President Madero of Mexico, became President de facto in 1913, England recognized him (as the United States has now recognized Diaz of Nicaragua), but Washington never did. Mexico in today following the American example of fourteen years ago. The United States fully supported and afterwards recognized Carranza, who took in his hands the banner of legality, just the same as Mexico has recognized Sacasa, although not going as far as giving him any material support—statements to the contrary notwithstanding.

Moral Support Given
Moral support, naturally. Not only

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

AID NEEDED FOR PAPER BOX STRIKERS

**Beckerman, Shiplacoff
Burke and Thomas
Appeal for Assistance**

TO aid the striking paper box-makers of New York City, who have been staging a brave and winning strike against great odds, the following appeal has been issued:

AN APPEAL FOR AID FOR THE BOX-MAKERS

"The strike of the paper box-makers is now in its fifteenth week. More than 2,000 workers held fast their lines in the face of police brutality, attacks by guerrillas and the hunger due to insufficient relief. They will not yield. Their demands are just. A forty-four-hour week, an increase in pay for workers, some of whom receive as little as \$3 and \$12 a week, a general cleanup of one of the worst sweated industries in New York and the preservation of the union are extremely moderate demands. The local manufacturers, backed by a national association devoted to the open shop, contemptuously defy public opinion. Its representative has written a committee of distinguished citizens: 'Under no circumstances will we discuss the situation with you, publicly or privately, either now or at any future time.' Such employers must be brought to terms. They cannot stand the strike with another busy season beginning. All that is necessary to win is a steady supply of relief.

"The strike committee of the Paper Box-makers' Union, as has been previously announced, has invited a committee consisting of President John P. Burke of the International Pulp and Paper Mills Workers' Union; Abraham Beckerman, manager of the New York Joint Board of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Norman Thomas, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy, to direct the raising and expenditure of relief funds and to advise in the conduct of the strike and of negotiations looking toward its successful settlement. The New York Central Trades and Labor Council has officially endorsed the strike. Alexander Marks, organizer for the A. F. of L., is aiding the strikers. Thus the struggle of these heroic workers is closely linked to the labor movement.

"In view of these facts, we, the undersigned, urge the organized workers of New York and their friends to give generously for the success of our brothers and sisters in their efforts to begin to clean up one of the worst sweated industries still remaining in New York. Relief funds are needed and needed quickly. All money sent to the headquarters of the Paper Box-makers' Union, 701 Broadway, New York, will be promptly and properly acknowledged.

JOHN P. BURKE,
A. I. SHIPPLACOFF,
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN,
NORMAN THOMAS.

MONDAY, JAN. 17th, at 8:15 P. M.
"The Implications of Living in the Twentieth Century"

HARRY ELMER BARNES
Famous historian, professor, Smith College; winner of the Nobel prize for his efforts to discover the truths of the World War.

THURS., JAN. 20th, at 8:15 P. M.
"Is Socialism Dead?"

Dr. WILL DURANT

Author of "The Story of Philosophy," etc.
MONDAY, JAN. 24th, at 8:15 P. M.
Prof. NATHAN ISAACS

Of Harvard University
BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER
867-69 East 4th Street
(7th Av. E.R.T. Subway to Nottland Av.)

LABOR TEMPLE

15th Street and Second Avenue
THIS SUNDAY
5 P. M.—Contemporary Literature.
DR. WILL DURANT
"Anton Tchekhov"

ADMISSION 25 CENTS
7:15 P. M.—
Address by
DR. DOYCHERT
ADMISSION FREE

8:30 P. M.—
JOSEPH LORRAINE
"Poc, the American Literary Genius"

ADMISSION FREE

DEBATE

V. F. CALVERTON versus LEON SAMSON

Editor of the Modern Quarterly
Author of New Spirit and Sex
Expression in Literature

SUBJECT:

**"Is Proletarian Art Both
Possible and Desirable?"**

CALVERTON says YES SAMSON says NO

Chairman MICHAEL GOLD, Editor of the New Masses

Sunday, January 23, at 2 P. M.

MANHATTAN LYCEUM, 66 E. 4th St.

Tickets, 50 cents. On sale at Rand Book Store

7 East 15th St.; Jimmy Higgins Book Store,

127 University Place; New Masses, 39 W. 8th St.

Pan-American Labor To Hold Convention In Wash., July 18th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—The Pan-American Federation of Labor has issued a call for a convention to meet in Washington July 18th. Coming at a time when relations between the United States and Latin-American countries are somewhat strained, the convention call is of particular interest. The national labor bodies of the United States, Mexico, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Colombia, Panama, Venezuela, Cuba and Porto Rico are all affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

While not referring directly to the present situation brought about by the intervention of the U. S. in Nicaragua and the attempt to halt Mexico into trouble, the convention call gives a broad hint of its sympathies in this paragraph:

"Until a short time ago there had been no means of communication between the masses of the peoples of the American countries. The only relations existing were those established by the financial, commercial and industrial interests, and, as every one knows, these interests are not always actuated by a desire to promote the welfare of the people, nor do they represent the higher and nobler ideals of the peoples of the American countries. These interests are actuated by three motives; namely, profits, profits and more profits. In their mad rush for material aggrandizement they completely lose sight of the rights and the interests of humanity. Since the financial, commercial and industrial interests of Pan-America are so closely allied and are every day extending their activities over a wider field opened up by the conditions created by the late war, it is all the more evident that the wage earners of Pan-America must unite for their own protection, for in our present day the organization of the wage earners on a purely national scale will not be adequate for the protection and promotion of their interests and for the attainment and realization of their hopes and aspirations."

The following is also believed to have reference to the present situation:

"The safety of liberties and democracy of the working people of every country of Pan-America depends upon the existence of an industrial organization among the workers and the close relationships between these organizations. Slowly such relationships are being established between the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the bona fide organized Pan-American workers, throughout the American continent."

"The higher representatives of big business of all Latin countries united with those of the United States are teaching a great lesson to the workers of the two Americas; they are showing how to develop a common policy of defense and international union in their industrial organizations, and to take constructive forethought in order to shape future events."

"The working peoples of the Pan-American countries would welcome such an opportunity to dispel the unjust judgments created in the minds of fellow-workers all over the nations. Such a thought based upon bed-rock economic and social human power would place the workers of the west-

CALLES BITTER OPPONENT OF BOLSHEVISM

(Continued from page 1)

ective of the so-called international.

Mexican labor showed its unmistakable opposition to the Communists at its convention in Juarez in November, 1924, when it forthwith expelled two Communists who had been sent as delegates. The Mexican Federation of Labor had originally shown partiality to the Russian Communists. Before joining the Third International, however, it determined to investigate. They asked their president, Luis Morones, now in the cabinet, to make the trip to Russia. Russia sent Morones a warm invitation. The latter proceeded to Europe. He waited for weeks. No further word came to him. He returned to Mexico chagrined.

On his arrival he received a communication from the Red Trade Union International, sister to the Communist International, denouncing him as a traitor for having failed to enter Russia.

ern hemisphere in a position to adhere to the Pan-American Federation of Labor in maintaining peace and to demand and enforce the good will and the rights in matters affecting the welfare and progress of their own peoples and nations, from within and from without."

The convention call stresses the need for formation of national federations in all countries where the labor unions are at present working in an isolated manner. The call is signed by William Green, president of the Pan-American; Luis N. Morones, vice president; Matthew Wolf, treasurer; Chester M. Wright, English secretary; and Santiago Iglesias, Spanish secretary.

The affiliated organizations listed are: American Federation of Labor, Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, Confederacion de Obreros del Salvador, Union Obrera Salvadoreña, Union de Obreros "El Progreso," Republic of Honduras; Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguenses, Confederacion Obrera Dominicana, Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru, Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana, Federacion Obrera de Guatemala, Sindicato Central Obrero, Colombia; Union Obrera Venezolana, Brotherhood of Railroad Workers of Cuba, Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores, Puerto Rico.

nia. Relations between the Mexicans and the Russians after this cooled. Meanwhile, from the Russian embassy in Mexico City poured forth propaganda against the workers' government of Mexico. So when the 1924 labor convention assembled, Ricardo Trevino, secretary, demanded the expulsion of two Communists, the only ones present. After a six-hour debate the Communists were thrown out by an almost unanimous vote. Since then Communism in Mexico has disappeared.

The attitude of the labor unions of Central America is further indicated by their affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, fathered and protected by the powerful American Federation of Labor, which even Secretary Kellogg would hesitate to class as "red."

The labor federations of all the Central American countries, the Mexican Confederacion Regional Obrera, the Confederacion de Obreros del Salvador, the Union Obrera Salvadoreña, Union de Obreros "El Progreso" of Honduras, the Federacion de Obreros Nicaraguenses, the Hermandad Comunal Nacionalista, San Domingo; the Centro Internacional Obrero del Peru, the Confederacion Obrera Ecuatoriana, the Federacion Obrera de Guatemala and the Directorio Ejecutivo Nacional Socialista, are affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, the Red Trade Union International has not a single adherent in these countries.

If the labor movements of these countries are not Communist, it is plain that the governments are certainly not "red." In the countries outside of Mexico, American marines have been the best insurance to the American bankers and State Department that the governments should not become tinged with the least bit of scarlet.

The attitude of President Calles in Mexico is well known on the subject of Bolshevism, as his government has suited its action to the President's words. Calles has caused to be expelled from Mexico American Communists who were stirring up trouble.

Among these Communists was Bertram D. Wolfe, who is quite a leader of American Communism, such as it is. A few weeks ago President Calles issued the following statement which must certainly have come under Secretary Kellogg's piercing eyes. Said President Calles:

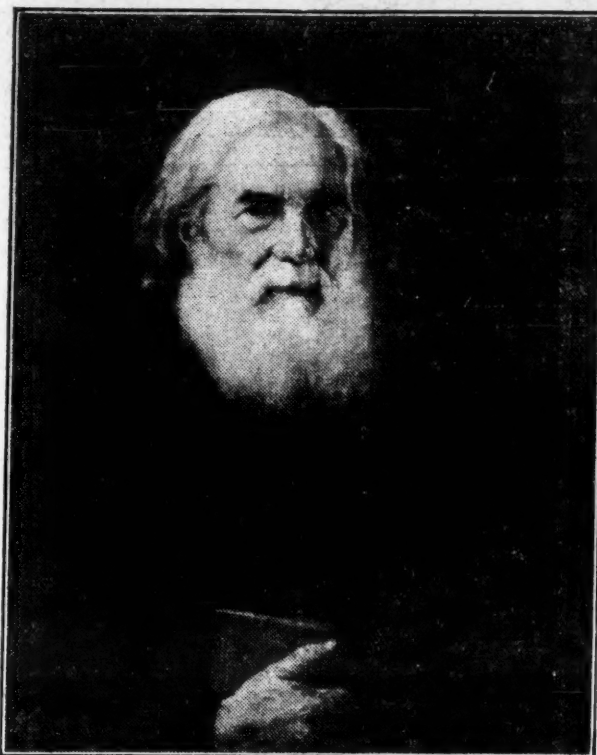
"Is it even logical to think that we, who fight with sacrifice to put our house in order, would become apostles of exotic doctrines? The propaganda about Mexican Bolshevism is a new lie to discredit Mexico. Once I have stated that the problem of Mexico was the problem of no other country; that my Government did not wish to govern itself by foreign theories but by domestic facts, and therefore the political problems of Russia are as strange to us as they are to the United States."

In sitting up late at night reading the breath-taking stories of Communist intrigues against the sovereign Government of the United States, Secretary Kellogg must have come across stories in the very issues from which he clipped his supposedly "damning" evidence in which the Communists denounce President Calles as a "betrayer" of the workers, yes, even as a "betrayer of Mexico into the hands of the United States." Why did not Secretary Kellogg give the Foreign Relations Committee these quotations, too?

Panken Before Y. W. H. A.

Judge Jacob Panken will address a meeting of the Young Women's Hebrew Association in their auditorium, Broadway, Rodney and South Ninth streets, Brooklyn, on Thursday evening, Jan. 20, at 8 p. m.

Sanial's Death Breaks Link With Early U. S. Socialism



Socialist Became Leader in Working- Class Organizations in This Country

THE death of Lucien Sanial at his home in Northport, L. I., Friday, January 7, at the age of 91 means the passing of probably the last survivor of the early days of Socialist agitation and organization in this country. Sanial had been in feeble health for the past six or seven years and his death had been expected for the past year or two.

Born in France September 12, 1835, the son of a doctor, artist and scientist, Sanial received an education in the schools of Fontainebleau, the Ecole Polytechnique and the University of Charlemagne. In his youth he became interested in the radical movement, and was associated with a number of French radical publications.

He came to the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War as a correspondent for Le Temps of Paris. Some years later he became active in the American Socialist movement. When the Socialist Labor Party participated in the campaign to elect Henry George Mayor of New York in 1886 Sanial became active in the campaign, but soon after the election a division appeared in the movement, the Single Taxers desiring to give the party a single tax cast while the Socialists favored a Labor Party inspired with Socialist ideals.

Formed Labor Party

The Central Labor Union favored a Labor Party and called a county convention to meet on Jan. 6, 1887, which met with 340 delegates, all of whom

were wage workers, except 20. Sanial, Hugo Vogt, editor of the German party organ, Vorwaerts, and Daniel DeLeon, editor of The People, were elected a committee on organization. The convention founded the United Labor Party, which spread to Brooklyn, Albany, Buffalo and a few other cities in the state, but the divided forces of labor in the fall election and the decreased vote of the combined parties compared with the vote of 1886, eventually brought the independent movement to an end.

Sanial next became conspicuous in the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1890 in appealing from a ruling that political parties should be excluded from representation in central labor bodies. The decision was adverse to the contention of the Socialist Labor Party and the latter was compelled to withdraw its delegates from 16 central labor bodies.

For a time the S. L. P. turned its attention to the Knights of Labor and DeLeon became a power in District 49. The S. L. P. succeeded in electing its delegates to the General Assembly of 1894. General Master Workman Sovereign, in return for S. L. P. support, promised to appoint Sanial as editor of the Journal of the Knights of Labor. This Sovereign failed to do and the following year the S. L. P. launched the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance.

Joined Socialist Party

Sanial accepted S. L. P. policies and even after the "split" in the party in July, 1899, he continued with the DeLeon faction. The rebel faction was known as "Kangaroos," who in 1901 helped to organize the Socialist Party in Indianapolis. Some years later, however, Sanial and a few followers became dissatisfied with the iron discipline of the S. L. P. and joined with others in a statement declaring that party headquarters should be transferred to Pittsburgh. As this was in the heart of highly developed capitalism, Sanial declared it to be the "logical center" for the Socialist movement. DeLeon seized on the phrase and dubbed those who agreed with Sanial "logical centrists."

PLEA MADE FOR UNION BAKERS

Appeal Filed for Brooklyn Labor Officials Sentenced to Jail

THE appeal from the order of Supreme Court Justice Cropsey, Brooklyn, finding nine members of Bakers' Union, Local 37, of Brownsville, in contempt of court for alleged violation of an injunction order, was argued Thursday on behalf of the union men by their attorney, Charles Solomon, before the justices of the Appellate Division, Second Department. The men, two of whom are business agents of the Local, were sentenced to jail and terms ranging from 19 to 30 days, and to pay fines aggregating, including counsel fees, the sum of \$750. The proceeding to punish was instituted by Probolsky Brothers, anti-union boss bakers of 332 Snediker avenue, Brownsville.

The contention of Solomon, in the first instance, was that, in picketing, the union was merely exercising a right which it had under a certain agreement entered into in 1926 between itself and the Probolsky's which agree-

ment provided the picketing would be allowed provided the placards carried in such picketing announced the name of the employer against whom it was directed, other than the Probolsky's. The contention of the Union men was that they carried signs announcing that a certain baker boss by the name of Schnell was on strike, and that he had subsequently settled with the Union. The bosses contended this picketing was a blind to reach the Probolsky's. To this Solomon replied that the Union was at all times ready to discontinue picketing any Probolsky customer provided he was shown to be such and not a Schnell customer, and furthermore, that all picketing was stopped on December 2, 1924, when Schnell settled, which was before the Probolsky's initiated their proceeding to punish.

The brief submitted on behalf of the workers pointed out the importance of a judges background in labor controversies and raises the question of the influence of such background, with its preconceptions and prejudices, on judicial determination. The brief elaborates the argument that the record of the case, which took two days to try, clearly shows the predisposition, conscious or unconscious, on the part of the trial judge, and declares that his decision was a rationalization of this predisposition.

Make your reservations today
for the
New Leader anniversary dinner

Let's See Your Tongue!

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

EX-LAX

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

Sex Expression In Literature

By V. F. CALVERTON

Author of THE NEWER SPIRIT

With an Introduction by
HARRY ELMER BARNES

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

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

PRICE \$2.50

This remarkable book Free or less than half its price if you take advantage of either of the following special offers:

FREE

to any one who will send us

\$6.00

for 3 new yearly or 6 six months subscriptions

FOR \$1.00

to any one who will send us

in addition

\$2.00

for one new yearly or 2 six months subscriptions

On both offers you can either send us with your remittance the names of the new subscribers or we will mail you the required number of prepaid subscription cards which you can sell to prospective new subscribers.

THE NEW LEADER,
7 East 15th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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

Name
Address

THE Public National Bank of New York

Statement of Condition, December 31, 1926

RESOURCES

Loans and Discounts	\$37,396,598.02
U. S. Government Bonds	39,371,315.40
State and Municipal Bonds	4,909,058.97
Corporate Bonds—	
Maturing within 10 years	33,785,482.98
Maturing thereafter	9,041,645.32
Federal Reserve Bank Stock	300,000.00
Cash and Due from Banks	15,180,478.30
Customer's Liability under Letters of Credit and Acceptances	294,003.13
Banking Houses	2,167,440.41
Due from U. S. Treasurer	250,000.00
Accrued Interest Receivable	870,247.49
Other Assets	2,410,829.47
Total	\$145,977,099.49

LIABILITIES

CAPITAL	\$5,000,000.00
SURPLUS	5,000,000.00
UNDIVIDED PROFITS	2,924,475.02
Dividend Payable, Jan. 3, 1927	200,000.00
Dividends Unpaid	156.00
Unearned Discount	234,921.51
Reserved for Interest Payable	859,050.61
Reserved for Contingencies	235,000.00
Reserve for Miscellaneous Expenses	10,805.91
Currency Circulation	4,887,000.00
Letters of Credit and Acceptances	314,773.21
Advance from Federal Reserve Bank	6,000,000.00
Other Liabilities	2,217,245.32
DEPOSITS	118,093,671.91
Total	\$145,977,099.49

MANHATTAN

Broadway and 25th Street
Delancey and Ludlow Streets
158 Rivington Street
177 East Broadway
Avenue C and 7th Street
102nd Street and Madison Avenue
Madison Avenue and 116th Street
Broadway and 160th Street

BRONX

3817 Third Avenue
932-934 Southern Boulevard
Willis Avenue and 138th Street
180th Street and Crotona Pkway
Prospect Avenue and 163rd Street
Burnside and Davidson Avenues
140th Street and Prospect Avenue
Featherbed Lane and Nelson Ave.
1453 Boston Road
169th Street and Morris Avenue

BROOKLYN

Pitkin Avenue and Watkins Street
Graham Avenue and Varet Street
38th Street and 21st Avenue
Grand and Havemeyer Streets
1368 St. John's Place
De Kalb and Sumner Avenues
574-576 Sutter Avenue
Pitkin and Montauk Avenues
13th Avenue and 43rd Street

CONY ISLAND

Mermaid Avenue and 21st Street

Once a Year
All the Friends of THE NEW LEADER
Are Invited and Expected at the
DINNER
to Celebrate the
THIRD ANNIVERSARY
—OF—
THE NEW LEADER
Friday, Feb. 11, at 7 P. M.
(Lincoln's Birthday Eve)
in the banquet hall of
THE CARLTON
6 West 111th Street, cor. Fifth Avenue
SPEAKERS:
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
MORRIS HILLAU
JACOB PANKEN
NORMAN THOMAS
ABRAHAM CAHAN
A. BECKERMAN
A. I. SHIPLOCOFF
H. H. BROACH
Vice-Pres. Int'l Electrical Workers Union
LOUIS WALDMAN, Toastmaster
A Real Social and Intellectual Treat!
TICKETS \$2.50 EACH
Make Your Reservations Now
Special Tables for 10, if Reserved in Advance
ACCOMMODATIONS LIMITED
Get your ticket NOW from the Dinner Committee of
The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street, New York.
Telephone Stuyvesant 6895.

The "Devil of Bolshevism" and American Socialism

Continuing the discussion of "The Problems of American Socialism," The New Leader this week presents Joseph Shaplen's article below. Mr. Shaplen has been correspondent in European capitals for leading New York papers. He has, for many years, been a close student of American Socialism and its literature. Mr. Shaplen's contribution will be completed next week. It will be followed by an article by Vida V. Scudder, of Wellesley University.

Subsequent articles in this series will be written by Abraham Cahan, Morris Hillquit, V. F. Gervin, Norman Thomas, Louis B. Boudin, Lewis S. Cannett, Louis F. Budenz, Julius Gerber and W. M. Feigenbaum. After the last of the special articles are published, The New Leader will throw open its columns to its readers who are cordially invited to take part in the discussion.

By Joseph Shaplen

"I did not make the puerile pretension of never having changed in 20 years of experience, of study and of struggle, or rather I will not so calumniate myself as to say that Life has taught me nothing."—JAURES.

THE causes of the decline of the American Socialist Party, in my opinion, are largely of an internal nature. The external forces blamed by many Socialists for the eclipse of the party, such as American prosperity and the political lassitude of the American people are of secondary, if any, importance. The decline of the party, as I see it, is due principally to three factors:

Failure of the party leadership. The mediocre cultural level of the rank and file.

The presence in the party of theoretically hybrid and politically well nigh unassimilable, foreign elements.

Under the first heading I would say that the party leadership has shown itself remiss in political sagacity and moral courage. For a period of years the party leaders steered a wrong course on important questions agitating the international Socialist movement and affecting deeply the party's own interests in the United States.

Finds Leaders Guilty

To use a phrase widely in circulation in Socialist circles before the war, the party leaders have been guilty of conduct "ethically unjustifiable and tactically suicidal."

Under the second heading, when speaking of culture, I mean, of course, Socialist culture. I refer to the lack of Socialist education and knowledge, as distinguished from the abstractions of revolutionary emotion, phrasemongery and impossibilist instincts. To these instincts the party leaders and press, for a period of years, catered in inexcusable fashion. I include also in my conception of Socialist culture a proper appreciation of the simple tenets of ordinary human decency, which Marx and Engels did not forget to incorporate in the Communist Manifesto, but which the Socialist Party grossly violated when it condoned the heinous crimes of Bolshevik terrorism. Whether this violation was for "reasons of state" or merely the consequence of a temporary aberration is immaterial. The punishment was inevitable. The logic of moral laws, like that of nature, operates regardless of motive.

Under the third heading, I have in mind those elements, largely Russian, who inherited or brought with them to America an ill-digested pre-Marxist and anti-Marxist "populism," a mixture of early revolutionary doctrines, which perhaps best may be characterized as a chaotic and ignorant expression of conscious or subconsciousness of the elements I speak of, and of many American Socialists as well, these doctrines experienced a violent second blooming with the advent of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, and, thanks to the muddleheadedness and lack of moral and political courage of the party leaders and press, finally overwhelmed the party as a whole, leaving it without a leader in the "storm and Drang" period of the war and its aftermath. Let it be accused of exaggeration and misrepresentation, I respectfully point to the record, in-

cluding the files of the party press, for the evidence.

A "Parent of Communism"

The three factors mentioned, operating over a period of years, years of grave crisis for capitalism as well as for Socialism, combined to wrench the party from the moorings of sound Socialist policy and principle, casting it adrift in the Sargasso sea of parlor-Bolshevism, Leninist Jacobinism and bourgeois pacifism. The party thus alienated itself more than ever from American reality, while unable to obtain a proper perspective on the scope and meaning of international developments.

At present there are to be discerned in the party the breezes of a kind of intellectual and psychological "nep." There is a searching of hearts and minds, accompanied by a political and spiritual katzenjammer. There is an apparent retreat from mistaken positions but there is as yet no clear indication of the line to which the party is retreating. If the retreat is to be politically and strategically useful it will be necessary to move from the "nep" to the old positions of sober Socialist principle and tactics, revised and reinvigorated in the light of present American and world reality and of the experience of the past decade. This, in turn, will become possible only with a clear understanding and appreciation of the errors of the past and unequivocal abandonment of old illusions, the hectic recrudescence of which was responsible for the mistakes.

The greatest and most unpardonable error committed by the party was when for a long time it embraced the theories, policies and morality of Bolshevism, to be sure with reservations, qualifications and sickly apologies, but in sufficient measure to poison its own soul and wreck its organization. The Socialist Party shares with Russian Bolshevism the parenthood of the American Communist movement. The child, I admit, is an illegitimate one, with distinctly criminal tendencies, born of the sin of its wayward American father and the perversion of its corrupt Russian mother.

The excuse made by some in this discussion that because of lack of knowledge and information the party should not be held to strict accountability for this error is irrelevant, incompetent and immaterial. Hindsight may be better than foresight, but history takes no account of ignorance.

Hillquit and Tautsky

Moreover, the excuse has no basis in fact. The plain truth is that in

the life and death struggle between Socialism and Bolshevism, the gravest conflict experienced in its history by the international Socialist movement, a conflict far graver than that between Marxism and Bakuninism for the control of the First International, the American Socialist Party ignored the advice and information of the leading spokesmen of international Socialism. Running counter to the position of the overwhelming majority of organized labor in the countries that really mattered, and where the conflict, by virtue of historic circumstances, was to have been decided, the party gave aid and comfort to the enemy. Following the emotional inclinations of the rank and file, the party leaders chose the line of least resistance rather than risk their political heads and party places in a frank and fearless defiance of the mob. As against the great majority of the German proletariat and its leaders, who bore the brunt of the Socialist side in the momentous struggles, the American Socialist Party joined the ranks of the revolutionary romanticists of Russia, Hungary and Italy. Again I point to the record:

At the time when men like Eduard Bernstein, reflecting the sensible and well balanced opinion of the European Socialist and trade union movement, declared that "all we have to learn from Bolshevism is how not to make a revolution," the Socialist Party embraced the viewpoint embodied in the following authoritative quotations:

"To the masses of workers and non-workers Soviet Russia is and always will be a political demonstration of Socialism at work and the prototype of all Socialist governments." (Morris Hillquit, "From Marx to Lenin," Page 141.)

And: "A whole hearted support of Soviet Russia by the advanced workers everywhere is thus dictated not only by their natural sentimental attachment for the first Socialist republic but also by their direct class interests." (Morris Hillquit, "From Marx to Lenin," Page 142.)

This was written at a time when Karl Kautsky, the foremost and most distinguished representative of Marxism, wrote:

"A regime like that of the Bolsheviks has already grown rotten-ripe for destruction. It is impossible to foresee yet when and how it will fall, but one thing can be said now and with absolute certainty: 'Bolshevism will fall in shame and disgrace, bemoaned perhaps only by the speculators of the capitalist world, but accompanied by the curses of the

entire world proletariat struggling for emancipation."

"Demonstrating Unreliability"

It was precisely the "sentimental attachment" of the American Socialist Party to Soviet Russia which wrecked the party and constituted an indirect betrayal of the "direct class interests" of the workers of America and everywhere else. At a time when the workers in the decisive industrial countries were defending, in many cases against tremendous economic and political odds, the interests and organizations of the working class against the encroachments of Soviet Russia and its kept creature, the Communist International, the American Socialist Party was giving "wholehearted" support to Moscow and coquetting with the Communist International.

"To the masses of workers and non-workers" the Socialist Party thus gave a "political demonstration" of its incompetence and unreliability. When the late Eugene Debs declared, "I am from head to foot a Bolshevik," he was speaking on impulse and in conformity with his limited intellectual horizon. But when Morris Hillquit, the brains and, in a large sense, the will of the party, was parading the Soviet Government as "the prototype of all Socialist governments" and the Soviet regime as "a political demonstration of Socialism at work," he was completing in the most efficient manner the ideological disintegration of the party by giving theoretical authority to Debs' impulsive statement and the misguided Bolshevik inclinations of the rank and file.

What makes Hillquit's offense all the more reprehensible is the whole manner in which he handled the subject. In the very book quoted above Hillquit presented a great deal of sound material, but in sufficient quantity to destroy the Bolshevik case. But like others he failed to carry his own argument to a logical conclusion. Instead, he chose to draw the conclusion which, to his mortal detriment, the American Socialist Party made its own. As one prominent European Socialist, in reviewing Hillquit's book, put it:

"Jacob struggled all night long with the angel of God and came out at dawn with a lame foot. Hillquit struggled throughout his book with the devil of Bolshevism and came out in conclusion with a lame thought."

This lame thought the American Socialist Party made its guiding star

and it became the evil star of the party.

"On the Side of Bolshevism"

In her contribution to this discussion, Miss Huggan declared that, as between Lenin and Kolchak the party preferred Lenin. The posing of the question in this superficial manner indicates how disastrously false was the party's conception of the forces struggling for supremacy in the Russian Revolution. The struggle in Russia was not one between Lenin and Kolchak. It was from the very beginning, and long before the appearance of Kolchak on the scene, primarily a contest between Lenin and Marx, the conflict being transferred almost immediately to the arena of the entire international labor movement. Again the American Socialist Party took the Bolshevik side. The main background of the momentous struggle, so far as its international implications were concerned, was Germany and the German Revolution.

Here the party took the side of Communism, as against the Socialist and trade unions of Germany fighting against Ludendorff on the right and the Spartacists on the left. The same was repeated with regard to the struggle in Bavaria and in Hungary. The Bavarian Communists, like Bela Kun and his cohorts in Budapest, received the party's indorsement at the time when they were obviously preparing the road for the triumph of the white reaction. By greeting the actions of the Italian Communists in 1919-20 the party gave approval to the forces which stimulated the rise of Mussolini. While preferring Lenin to Kolchak the party sabotaged the efforts of those who were fighting both against Lenin and Kolchak. Incidentally, it is well to recall that it was not Lenin who defeated Kolchak but the united efforts of all Russian revolutionary elements. It was one thing to oppose Kolchak and Ludendorff but quite another thing to prefer Lenin, Liebknecht and Bela Kun.

I do not mean to say that in all these instances the American Socialist Party took official action. That is not the point. The point is that the moral force of the party, through the leaders, the rank and file and the party press, was thrown on the side of the subversive forces of Bolshevism, wherever they made an appearance, and against the Socialist and labor forces struggling to salvage European civilization from the wreck and ruin of the war, the perils of Bolshevik civil war and experimentation, and for the establishment and strengthening of democracy as the essential pre-requi-

site to economic, social and Socialist reconstruction.

All this sprang from the party's "sentimental attachment" to the Soviet regime and the acceptance by the party of that regime as "a political demonstration of Socialism" and the "prototype of all Socialist governments." By giving support to the Bolshevik forces in Russia and on the international arena the party gave approval to the most dangerous and most insidious enemy that ever attacked the principles of Socialism and the organizations of the working class. It gave support to the very forces which contributed to its own destruction.

Like German Independents

I do not wish to imply that the party's attitude was of any material consequence to the struggle in Europe. That would be ascribing to the party a power and prestige it never possessed. The point I am trying to emphasize is that the party's attitude on the question of Socialism versus Bolshevism reacted in corroding manner upon its own ideological and theoretical sanity and stimulated its material disintegration.

In this respect the American Socialist Party suffered the fate of certain groups in European Socialism who took a similar position. I have in mind organizations like that of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. The German Independents went through an evolution akin in many respects to that of the American Socialist Party. The result was the party split at Halle in 1920, when half of the party joined the Communists and the other half, led by Bernstein, Kautsky, Hilferding and Dittman, returned to the fold of the Social-Democratic Party, reuniting thus the German Socialist movement.

There was, however, one very great difference between the German Independent leaders and those of the American Socialist Party. Unlike Hillquit and others, the Germans fought Bolshevism from the very beginning as the twin brother of reaction, working not for the realization of Socialism but for the discredit and the compromising of Socialism and the destruction of the labor movement. By taking a brave and unequivocal stand against Bolshevism, the German leaders helped save Germany from the fate of Hungary and Italy, and made possible the formation of a real united front of the world proletariat against capitalism, imperialism, Bolshevism and reaction. The congress at Nuremberg reunited the German Social-

Democracy and cleared the road for the reunion of the Socialist International at Hamburg. It was only with this triumph of international Socialism over Bolshevism, the victory of Marx over Lenin, that the American Socialist Party jumped on the bandwagon.

But, alas, it was too late. So far as the American Socialist Party was concerned it was a case of locking the barn door after the horse had been stolen. Today the party lies prostrate, impotent, isolated to a greater degree than ever from American life and the American labor movement.

The Way Out

Is there a way out of this calamity? Is the American Socialist Party capable of resurrection? Can and should the Socialist Party be revived as a force in American political life? Unlike the same portion of the German Independents, the American Socialist Party has no Socialist, or any appreciable labor forces to return to or fall back upon. It stands alone and must work out its own salvation. Assuming that the American Socialist Party has any future, its revival and reconstruction as a serious political force depends, first and foremost, upon a very simple but all important element: the Will to Live. By which I mean the intellectual and spiritual capacity of the party to lift itself by its own bootstraps from the present slough of despond.

The argument presented by David Berenberg, that we must wait for the abatement of the present wave of American prosperity before there can be any revival of Socialist thought and activity, is in my opinion an indication that the party's will to live is at very low ebb. To me Berenberg's argument is an abject confession of moral and political bankruptcy, and it is the accepted point of view of the majority of the party we may as well pronounce the party dead beyond hope of new life.

Berenberg's argument contains three deadly ingredients; first, it sneaks very much of the defunct anarchist idea, received by Bolshevism,—"the worse the better"; second, it indicates a fearful misconception of the meaning and significance of recent capitalist development in America, which is but the apex of similar development throughout the entire capitalist world; and, third, it shows that the party has learned nothing and forgotten nothing beyond its old, worn out pre-war Socialist phrases.

Berenberg's argument, taken together with those of Alfred Baker Lewis and Upton Sinclair, who stand pat and refuse to admit that the party has been wrong on anything, is symptomatic of a standstillism in the party which it will take more than the present "nep" to remove. Perhaps we may even go so far as to say that it indicates the presence of an incurable intellectual sclerosis. Berenberg's reasoning recalls strongly the revolutionary metaphysics of Bolshevism. First, we are told, we must await the breakdown of American prosperity. Then will come a period of economic and social crisis, in which the Communists for a time will gain the ear of the masses, and only with their disillusionment in Communism will the masses turn to the Socialist Party. It is all so mechanically perfect and naïve. Berenberg's predictions may or may not come true. Capitalism may or may not experience another perturbation in the near future, but having shown its ability to withstand the tempest of the war, can we be sure that it may not survive the next and perhaps subsequent crisis? Assuming that the masses will turn to Communism in the next upheaval, is there any guarantee that the Communist experiments will not drive the masses into the arms of the reactionaries instead of the Socialist Party? Moreover, judging by the record of the American Socialist Party, it would not be surprising to find the bulk of the party members in the Communist ranks when the next Communist wave rolls along? Let us quit the realm of speculation and return to reality.

(To Be Concluded Next Week)

Ernest Bohm: Labor Pioneer

A Half Century of Work —And Still At It

By Louis S. Stanley

IN the undertow of American life following the bitterness of the Civil War and the distemper of reconstruction struggled the young American labor movement. Kicking and wriggling in an endeavor to reach the surface, it owed its energy in considerable measure to the militancy of the newly-arrived Germans. Red-blooded rebels they were, fled to our shores with the collapse of their dreams of a unified and democratic Germany. Here were caught up in the whirl of commercial and industrial enterprise and built up comfortable fortunes. Others, however, sought contracts with the working class to live out their idealism. Thus, meetings of German trade unions and political parties became common in the larger cities.

Making the rounds of these gatherings in New York City was a little boy in the company of his father. The lad listened attentively to the speeches, pried his parent with questions and imbibed the order of the "storm and Drang" period of the war and its aftermath. Let it be accused of exaggeration and misrepresentation, I respectfully point to the record, in-



Ernest Bohm

One volume made a particular impression upon the alert youngster, an English translation of Thiers' "French Revolution." Three-score years later he was still to find pleasure re-reading the same pages that fascinated him as a boy.

The youth who was thus thrust amid the realities of the working-class movement was Ernest Bohm. His father had been a "forty-eighter," a seaman by trade, who loved to rove the seas, yet managed to maintain his contacts with his fellow-workers on land. The young Bohm was born in New York City on February 11, 1880. He attended grammar school No. 25, on East Fifth Street, and afterwards Heidenfeldt's Institute, a private high school patronized by the German element. It is characteristic of the later labor leader that the academic education he was receiving did not satisfy him. It threw little light upon the problems in which he was most interested. Consequently, he enrolled at a public evening high school which was then being conducted on Thirteenth Street near Sixth Avenue, where he was able to indulge his taste for political and economic subjects. At the age of fifteen his formal schooling ended.

Joins Commune Protest

Two incidents which taught the boy the lessons of solidarity occurred at this time. One was a parade in which Ernest marched alongside of his father to protest against the execution of the victims of the Paris Commune. The demonstration had first been forbidden by the police, but an indignation meeting brought a reversal of the order. The other event was the Tompkins Square riot in 1874, when the police broke up a mass demonstration of the unemployed by a vigorous use of clubs. Ernest Bohm escaped unhurt, but he saw at first hand what the working class might expect from governmental authorities.

Ernest's first job was with his father, who reconciled himself to his absence from the sea by running a canal boat. In those days the Starin Line, through its practical monopoly of the grain-carrying business, was able to tyrannize over the lives of those working on the canal boats. Captains, whether contractors or employees, found themselves equally in distress. It was not enough that compensation was meagre and hours interminable; the company

also compelled purchases of provisions and supplies from its own store at Bowling Green. At the end of the month it was more than likely that the captain and helper were in debt to the Starin Line.

The canal boat employees complained. To Ernest Bohm with his training the remedy was obvious. He urged them to organize. Because of his education he was often called upon to write letters or make out bills for the boatmen. Upon such occasions he preached the message of unionism, but it seemed at that time that his efforts were fruitless.

A Happy Reunion

Several years later when Bohm was secretary of the Central Labor Union two new delegates presented themselves for admission to the body. He scanned the credentials and noticed the name, Boatmen's Union No. 1. He looked up and there were two of the old captains he had tried to convert years ago. There was a happy reunion.

Bohm's first official connection with the labor movement occurred in 1876 shortly after his graduation and his entrance upon regular employment. In that year, the centennial of American independence, he became a member of his father's organization, the International Workingmen's Association, the so-called First International, which dissolved later in the year for lack of support. Subsequently, he affiliated with the Social Democratic Party.

The big all-inclusive labor organization at that time was the secret order of the Knights of Labor. Bohm joined it through the recently organized mixed assembly, No. 1563, which had been founded on the lower East Side to embrace individuals of scattered trades. In public the organization was known as the Excelsior Labor Club. His training came in handy. He was elected secretary almost immediately and also became a delegate to District Assembly No. 49, the New York City central body of the Knights of Labor, known for public purposes as the New York Protective Association.

Central Union's Secretary

These were not merely honorary positions. They meant the consumption of one's leisure time—for Bohm after four years of canal boating had taken to clerking. His ability was recognized from the first, he never shirked the most tiresome tasks, he never spared himself. Therefore, when the

Central Labor Union was founded in New York City in 1882, as the clearing house for the common affairs of two hundred different trade unions, it was not long before he became the corresponding secretary.

The additional duties he had assumed demanded the unstinted employment of an abundance of energy. The Central Labor Union held its regular meetings on Sunday, but during the week the trade sections met. Thus, on Monday evening the clothing trades unions convened; on Tuesday, miscellaneous trades; on Wednesday, food; Thursday, furniture, and on Friday, the building trades. Bohm would attend all these meetings in order to be posted on what was going on, though all his duties required and all he was paid for was the Sunday session for which he received two dollars.

About this time Lucien Sanial ran for mayor on the Social Democratic ticket. He urged Bohm to be his campaign manager and since the firm for which the latter was working, H. Bernheimer Son & Co., was about to go out of business, the young secretary of the C. L. U. found it possible to accept the position. This was Bohm's first full-time professional activity in the labor movement.

Becomes a Cloakmaker

In the midst of the campaign a committee of the Cloakmaker's Union approached Bohm with the request to

become the manager of the struggling Cloak Operators' Union. Bohm reminded them he was unacquainted with Yiddish—which he understands now—but the delegation insisted. He finally agreed. This was in 1884 and when he left this work about a year later, he had drawn up the union's first constitution, settled some big strikes and secured increased piece-rates and shorter hours. His chief difficulty was with the anarchists who through their efforts to capture the organization were impeding all constructive work. It was, therefore, with some feeling of relief that he took up his next task.

He had been called away to become the secretary and business representative of Ale and Porter Brewers' Union No. 1, and secretary and organizer of the Joint Executive Board of the Brewery Workers of New York and vicinity. In these capacities he was active in organizing the local breweries. The year 1888 saw the brewery workers locked out by the New York Brewers' Pool, which proposed to smash the existing unions in the industry. (Continued on page 6)

RATIONAL LIVING

The Radical Health Magazine
Just Out - Rich Winter Issue
Containing:

Many powerful, original editorial notes—An article about the visit of the Queen of Roumania, by one who knows—The Magic of Conscience, by S. D. Schmalhausen—Population and Happiness (describing birth control in Africa), by J. M. Stuart-Young, Nigeria—The Cause of Sinit, Mary Dunderidge—Sex Confessions—The Truth About Freudism—Food-Choppers and Their Faults (normal and abnormal nutrition), Dr. A. Argis—What Is Health? (Shows that you are not as ill as you have been made to believe)—From A Doctor's Note-Book—Simplified Rational Healing (What you can do yourself when ill)—A criticism on theosophy—27 Illustrations: Labor, Zille—Small and large families—Impressions from Russia—Despair, Kollwitz—War—Dust in Workers' Shops—Rhythmic Movements—Anti-Alcohol Propaganda in France, etc., etc.

A magazine published at a loss—No paid advertisements—No doctors, institutions, drugs or curing methods to recommend—It is also to teach its readers to become as independent from all such things and people as possible—Limited circulation—By the way, send a magazine to a friend.

Subscription, 12 numbers, \$5 (Europe, \$7), single copy, 50c. (Europe, 25c.) FREE sample copies to new readers.

AS A DOCTOR SELLS IT

By B. LIBER
An elegant volume of stories from life as seen by a physician, and illustrated by the author. Published by The Critic and Guide Co., New York. Price \$2. If ordered through Rational Living, \$1.50—FREE with a subscription to Rational Living if requested.
Address: Rational Living, Box 2, Station M, New York.

More than half your teeth are under the gums. Here lodge bits of food and the solid substances from tooth paste and powder. Here gum and pyorrhea develop.

Superior to Pastes and Powders!

Because it is liquid, free of grit and solid substances AMEGIN, the dread enemy of PYORRHEA, penetrates the gum issues, soaks into the deep places, destroys germs, cleans up pus.

AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your tooth brush sanitary.

AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums. Get the AMEGIN habit and know the joy of a healthy mouth and a germ free tooth brush.

AMEGIN
PRONOUNCE IT AMMA-JIN
PYORRHEA LIQUID
It Heals!
It Cleanses!

A Few Drops on your Brush

Ask Your Druggist About Amegin!

Product of Kertell Laboratories, New York.

Books Reviewed in The New Leader
and All Other Books for Sale at

RAND BOOK STORE
7 East 15th Street
NEW YORK CITY
Careful Attention to Mail Orders
Write for Complete Catalog

Dr. Theodora Kutyn
SUGGESTION THERAPY
Telephone TRAFALGAR 3010
217 West 72d Street
MODERATE PRICES
SUNDAY MORNINGS

DON'T SPECULATE WHEN YOU
BUY A HAT
McCann, 210 Bowery
HAS THE GOODS

Sixty Cups of the Finest
Tea you ever tasted—
for 10 cents.

**WHITE
LILAC
TEA**
At All Grocers. 10c a Package

Opticians
MAX WOLFF
OPTOMETRIST and OPTICIAN
820 W. 125 St., Bet 8th and St. Nicholas Aves.

DR. E. LONDON
SURGEON DENTIST
901 Eastern Parkway
Near Troy Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dr. L. SADOFF,
DENTIST
1 Union Square, Cor. 14th St.
Rooms 507, 39 & 41 St. N. E.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

Don't and Do

WHATEVER you do
Don't swear off smoking
It don't work.

I've tried it
Again and again
And then some.

Once I swore off smoking:
I threw my pipe away
Out of the window.
And far out in the snow
I threw it
On New Year's Eve.
And next morning
I shoveled snow
For three hours
And almost caught
My death of cold.

Another time
I swore off smoking
And to make it stick
I threw my pipe
In a mill pond
Full of water.
And when I got there
Early next morning
The water was frozen
And I cut my foot
With a sharp axe
Cutting ice.

And one time
I swore off smoking
And to clinch it
Swore another oath
Never to buy tobacco again
And to clinch that oath
I threw my money away.
Every cent I had,
Ten of them.
And next day
I was pinched
For shoplifting
In a cigar store.

So I say
Don't swear off smoking;
It don't work.
I've tried it
Again and again
And then some.
So what's the use?

However, every well-regulated New Year's Eve demands some swearing off. So in order to fill a long-felt want, I submit to my friends and admirers a choice of oath-bound resolutions that may be safely indulged in. Help yourself.

I solemnly swear not to buy a drink during the coming year so long as the private stock of my friends and neighbors holds out.

I will do all within my capacity to aid prohibition enforcement by diminishing the visible and invisible supply of intoxicants on hand, or still at the stills, large or small.

I will love my neighbor's home brew as my own. I will not enjoin the company I work for from raising my wages. Nor picket its premises.

I will operate my radio only between 12:01 a. m. and midnight.

I will not laugh at a brother laid low by a banana peel, nor smile at sin with a cracked lip.

But why continue to go on, or keep up when the intelligent reader (I wouldn't write for any other kind) has long tumbled to the subtle wisdom contained herein? Or in other words, is dead next to what I'm driving at, which, broadly speaking is but the application of the safety first principle to New Year's resolutions.

Lay Off, Please

They are jumping on my pet Taft again for accepting that \$10,000 a year pension Andy Carnegie set out for poor and deserving ex-presidents. Of course, Taft can't be called "poor." At least, the "good fellows" don't have to send him a Christmas basket just yet. To say, however, that those 10,000 Carnegie smackers would color his decision in favor of Big Biz, is rank slander.

Nobody has to bribe Mr. Taft to be kind to capital. He was born that way. The way he sees things the universe was created for the benefit of the people who can write checks in seven figures, and he sincerely believes that so long as there is porthouse and turkey on the table of Dives, there always will be enough slivers for Lazarus to keep him from standing in the bread line. That's his view. It may be the wrong view, but it and he came into the world on the same day and have been buddies ever since. So there is no more cause for bribing William H. Taft with \$10,000 to be good to those who have, than there is for bribing cats with liver to eat fish.

Moreover, Mr. Taft is an honest man. (And pray take me seriously just for once.) In fact he is one of the few honest-to-goodness honest men in politics. Only an honest man could have answered "God knows," when on a certain historical occasion a heckler in a hall full of people asked him what a working man without work or money was to do.

"God knows," answered Taft. Nobody but God, and least of all, the statesmen of the time, knew what to do with the sad case of such a man. But do you think that would have fazed any other peerless leader of that period? Forget it. One by one, until the last was done, they would have risen in their majesty and spoken also.

"A forty-three per cent. increase in the duty on tin-plated bath sponges will help the poor fellow."

"Placing woolen manicure sets for banty roosters on the free list will help the poor fellow."

"Hanging evil doers of great wealth higher than titan will help the poor fellow."

"Short ballots, direct election of dog-catchers, and catching predatory millionaires financing the campaign of the other fellow, will help the poor fellow."

"Coining money from the galvanized barn roofs at the rate of sixteen squares to one inch of eye wash will help the poor fellow."

"Bringing self-determination to Monaco, freedom of the sea to the Tyrolean navy, making the world safe for democracy, reducing the excess profit tax, eliminating stock dividends from divvying up, and emancipating bonds from bondage of taxation will help the poor fellow."

Oh, there would have been such a flood of unfailing remedies, sure fire panaceas, and infallible nostrums pouring from the mouths of the great as to drown the poor fellow in a tidal wave of prosperity. But Taft only said, "God knows" and let it go at that. He was the only square shooter in a whole generation of bunk shooters. For that and that alone I have loved him ever since. And you're no friend of mine if you keep romping on him for that lousy ten thousand he gets from Andy Carnegie. If I had it, he'd get twenty.

Adam Coldigger.

The Guilds-Commune Theory

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE Guild-Commune theory on the other hand, denies the sovereignty of the state, and almost denies it any function at all. In place of the state, it sets up a "commune" which it places in closer relationship with the guilds than Hobson's citizenstate. The commune would be organized locally, regionally and nationally. Each type would be closely connected with the corresponding type of guild.

Objections to the State

As outlined by Cole, the commune could, in no sense, be regarded as an extension of the present political state. The present state, Cole maintains, following Marx and Lenin, "is definitely an organ of class domination, not merely because it has been perverted by the power of the capitalist, but because it is based on coercion, and is primarily an instrument of coercion. Its essential idea is that of an externally imposed order, and its transformation into a form expressive of self-government and freedom is impossible."

In the second place, Cole continues, the state "is based essentially on a false idea of representative government which assumes that one man can represent another, not ad hoc, in relation to a particular purpose or group of purposes, but absolutely."

But "Smith can not represent Brown, Jones and Robinson as human beings; for a human being, as an individual, is fundamentally incapable of being represented. He can only represent the common point of view which Brown, Jones and Robinson must therefore have, not one vote each, but as many different functional votes as there are different questions calling for an associative action in which they are interested."

Not even as an instrument of co-ordination will Cole have anything to do with the state. For, he contends, the co-ordination of function is not in itself a function. "Either co-ordination includes the functions it co-ordinates, in which case the whole of the social organization comes again under the domination of the state, and the whole principle of functional organization is destroyed; or it excludes them, and in this case, it cannot co-ordinate them."

The Commune

Thus some other form of organization must be substituted. That organization, for lack of a better name, will be called the Commune. The Commune will be thoroughly representative of both producer and consumer. To its councils will come representatives from the industrial and

divine guilds, representing the producer. To them also will come representatives of the consumers' viewpoint, who have organized for their protection, as Cole suggests, in co-operative societies, "collective utilities councils"—having to do with matters of electricity, gas, water supply and the like; the health councils, cultural councils, councils concerned with education, drama and music, art galleries, museums, libraries and similar institutions. In addition there might be representatives from certain territories, organized, say, on a ward basis.

Functions of the Communes

The foregoing method of representation would apply to the local commune. The regional commune would be of a similar nature, except that it might give special representation to agricultural guilds. The national commune would be made up of "the representatives of the national guilds, agricultural, industrial and civic, of the national council, economic and civic, and of the regional communes themselves."

The communes should be given important duties. These duties might be divided into five sections:

- (1) Financial problems, especially the allocation of national resources, provision of capital, and, to a certain extent, regulation of incomes and prices;
- (2) Differences arising between functional bodies on questions of policy;
- (3) Constitutional questions of demarcation between functional bodies;
- (4) Questions not falling within the sphere of any functional authority, including several questions of external relations;
- (5) Coercive functions.

Most of these functions are self-explanatory. A number of them are co-ordinating functions. In the final analysis the commune should have a say over the prices charged. Under the plan as proposed, the price of milk be under consideration, the distributive guild, in consultation with the co-operative society representing the consumer, should set the price. If these groups be unable to come to a satisfactory arrangement, the matter would be brought for final settlement before the commune.

The commune would also be greatly interested in the capital outlay of the various guilds. For every outlay of new capital means the diversion of productive labor forces from one field to another. It is essential at all times, therefore, for the commune to preserve a balance between production for immediate use and production for use in further production, such as

the making of machines, the building of railways, etc. And this balance is a matter for civic organizations to decide as well as those representative of consumers and producers. For "if more is spent on economic services, there will be less to spend on education, which needs both incomes for the teachers and labor for buildings, books and equipment of all sorts."

The procedure for allocating future improvements and budgets, according to Cole, would be somewhat as follows: Each guild would make out a tentative budget in consultation with other guilds and with the various consumers' councils; the matter would then go before the finance committee of the commune, which would have before it all of the other budgets. This committee would then make suggestions on the basis of the available capital for all industries and the needs of the various guilds and of the community at large, and the allocation would finally be made by the commune, instead of, as at present, being left "to the blind play of economic forces and the machinations of financiers."

Provisions for social services which will be contributed at the communal expense, according to Cole and his followers will likewise be determined by the commune. As for the commune's power of taxation, that will be exercised by drawing the sum approved by that body "in the form of an agreed claim on the labor-power of the guilds." Moreover, any surplus realized by a guild in its annual working would, if Cole's proposal carried, "pass to the commune for its allocation, or be set off against the claim of communal services on the productive guilds as a whole. The commune would clearly control the currency, and the general banking system would also be communal."

In deciding questions of demarcation and functions arising between various guilds, Cole continues, the commune would have to formulate a set of rules or a constitution and would in effect become the constituent assembly or the constitutional legislature of the guild democracy. It would also have to create a judicial system to interpret these laws, but would make sure that this system subordinated itself to the commune itself. The national commune would have the power not only of passing laws, but, in disputed cases, of interpreting them, which interpretation would be binding on the

judges. "In a sense the guilds and other functional bodies would also legislate, . . . but they could only do so within the powers conferred by the communal constitution, and any law of a functional body involving coercion should, I think (writes Cole) only become enforceable in the communal courts after ratification by the commune," unless such coercive power had been definitely assigned it by the communal constitution.

The commune would have power of war and peace. It would have control over the military forces. It would serve as supreme representative of the nation abroad, although the trade, commercial, civic and cultural relations would be largely taken charge of by the various guilds and councils. It would have, in the last analysis, power of coercion over individuals and groups, but its aim would be to use that power only as a last, desperate resort, and to create a society of "free service, in the belief not that men must be driven, but that they are capable of leading themselves." Cole acknowledges that the society he has described seems quite complicated, but maintains that it is in reality much less so than the society of today, where groups are organized not so much to fulfill a social function, but to get the best of one's fellow men.

The advocates of the civic-sovereignty theory maintain that Cole, in advancing his proposals for a commune, has merely destroyed a state in order to build a state. For this elaborate structure would be a joint body representative of all of the major interests of society. If it were in a position to reach an agreement on problems presented before it, "it would have the substance, if not the form, of sovereignty, including the sanction of coercion, and would, further, through its share in the financial operations of the guilds, have an opportunity of wielding this power in such a way as to exercise a very large degree of control over the most important features of guild administration and policy."

Thus the effect of Cole's theory may be to grant to the commune far greater possibilities of interference with group autonomy than would be that of the application of the Hobson theory, which seeks to endow the state with final sovereignty, but provides few opportunities for its exercise upon the guilds.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

Moanings of the Moose

IT TOOK quite a while to get here, but it was surely worth waiting for. We mean the official version of the Great Passaic Strike. And by official we mean, of course, the report of the Department of Labor.

You know, boys and girls, we have down at Washington a great big, enormous Department of Labor with an eminent Moose at its head. Don't go around saying that we are calling Secretary Davis names, when we tell you that he is a Moose. The Moose in which he is so eminent is a fraternal order that has clubhouses all over the country and a membership close to a million. Every now and then some workingman who has taken a little mule into his system goes farther in his zoological research and joins up with the Moose, so that the order has the reputation of being quite democratic. When they were last looking for a Secretary of Labor they picked out Grand Moose Davis because it was evident he would know all about labor and its problems, he being a big Moose and undoubtedly having locked horns with the workers. Besides, he once piddled steel and had his picture printed in Collier's Weekly (that ardent champion of organized labor), as one who rose from the ranks to his present exalted position.

So the next time you buy a package of cigarettes or read in the papers how our wonderful Government raises so much money from its citizens every year, remember that some of your taxes go to supporting this Moose, and rejoice that he and the hundred and one employees of the Department of Labor are able to keep in such close touch with doings in the labor world.

To get back to the official version of the Passaic strike as recently handed out in the annual report of the esteemed Secretary of Labor, let us quote from page 27, where the Conciliation Service of the Department reports on the Passaic strike as follows:

"The striking employees were organized into a semi-military marching organization under the leadership of Albert Weissbord, who, it is alleged, was a member of the Workman's Circle, a communistic organization affiliated with the Third Internationale."

So the official truth is out at last, and aren't you all happy to think that down in Washington the big Moose and his contented employees are spending oodles and oodles of your money gathering all this invaluable information so that you may be right up to the minute on what is going on in the innermost circles of the labor movement, including, of course, the Workman's Circle and its sinister connections with Comrade Zinoviev!

The picture painted by the Big Moose of Weissbord's marching legions armed with looms and spindles, circling round and round the terror-stricken hinterlands of New Jersey is one that will remain in our memory as long as descriptive writing persists.

"Bombs were thrown with terrific detonations, the rat-tat-tat of machine guns rent the air—the present warfare has in the last five years taken a toll of some sixty odd lives."

The above, gentle reader, has nothing to do with revolution in Mexico, Nicaragua, or other backward countries to the south of you. Indeed, the warfare mentioned goes no further south than southern Illinois and the quotation from the New York Times of January 10 refers to an outbreak of animal spirits on the part of the native born one-hundred per cent. Americans who inhabit those parts.

It is understood that when word of this latest outbreak at Herrin reached President Calles of Mexico he called in his Secretary of State, and held a conference, and through the medium of the Presidential Spokesman issued a statement to the Mexican press announcing that the situation at Herrin was most grave, and that he was dispatching Mexican gunboats and armored cruisers up the Kaw and Ohio rivers in order to protect the rights of Mexican citizens in the embattled district. It is further understood that several detachments of Mexican Marines have been landed at Cairo, Illinois.

Upon landing, the Commandant of the Marines declared that he would disarm all combatants within rifle shot of Herrin. He established a censorship over the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Those in a position to know say that the real purpose of the landing of the Mexican Marines was to establish a stable government in Williamson County.

Another explanation given is that Mexico intends to dig a canal across Southern Illinois, joining Herrin to Chicago so that the machine guns and bombs may be shipped from place to place without undue interference with the normal life of the community. Still another reason given is that the Mexican government looks with anxiety upon the spread of Methodism in the Middle West and does not want to have a Methodist hegemony set up between the Rio Grande and Canada.

A great many of our more eminent reformers, including that Paragon of Purity, the Honorable Jimmie Walker, Mayor of New York, are horrified over a discovery made by the bright young crusaders of the New York World to the effect that the newsstands of Gotham have been selling magazines containing the photographs of undressed young women. Something is going to be done about this. Last Sunday from countless pulpits the psalm-shouters hurled their invectives against these unscrupulous news handlers who had the temerity to exhibit on their stands half-tone reproductions of the female form divine. The World has received congratulations on its fearless attack upon one-legged and tubercular newsstand proprietors, and with its customary modesty it prints these eulogies as front page news. May we add our humble encomiums to the swelling chorus? Frightened by the mighty outburst of public sentiment, the publisher of six near-art magazines has agreed that hereafter all the artists' models who appear on the pages of his public offering will be clad from tip to toe in Jeger union suits. Thus, the provisions of the will of the late Joseph Pulitzer are again nobly carried forward. The poor are to be protected from any contact with feminine beauty and the great underlying population is once more saved by the bright journalistic lance of Saint Herbert Swope.

McAlister Coleman.

Never Despair

At times life breaks upon us with her ill. A hopeless sky, a flight of lonely hills, And yet there is one saving word for us; Even the vanquished are victorious If from the wild disaster they arise To press on with new purpose and new eyes.

Yes, since the grind of ages first began, "Never despair" has been the word for man. Onward forever, breaking every bar; There is no time to parley or retreat; Up and away and onward toward the star, Though the Earth turn to ashes 'neath our feet.

Edward Markham.

Scanning the New Books

Mexico's Conquerors, New and Old

American Imperialism in the Steps of the Adventurer Cortes

By Joseph T. Shipley

"AS there was no war on the island, they decided to go and look for one." These words, from an old chronicle of Cortes, still apply to the foreigner's attitude toward Mexico. The press is giving full publicity to the outcries of vehement interest-seekers and power-holders. The Church proclaims that the Mexicans deny freedom. (It was in the name of this Church that Cortes first enslaved them.) The public is being given a thorough course in virtuous indignation. We are growing into the same attitude that led us, in the name of humanity, to acquire the Philippines; while our rulers, beholding how quietly we suffer the continued conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, how indifferently we accept the gentle release of Fall and Doheny, may be preparing another such piece of international politricks as led to the formation of the Republic of Panama.

The world of "gentlemen adventurers" runs merrily on: Cortes, whom Henry Dwight Sedgwick ("Cortes the Conqueror," Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, 35) calls the first of this gallant brood, wrought with straightforward invasion, with crowded massacre and paraded gifts of gold, what his successors of today carry on with slipper word and more secret gift, with gradual, financial invasion and more lingering industrial death. But, to those whose knowledge of savages is gathered from two daily struggles in the subway, whose acquaintance with high-handed piracy is limited to what the papers cannot hide of our capitalists' dealings and what they can spread forth of our bobbed-hair bandits', there is a thrill in the adventures of Cortes, who with his small band of black-guards conquered Mexico.

A Peer of Scoundrels

Mr. Sedgwick gives a very vivid picture of the long campaign, leading us with tense interest through the hardships and struggles. He is not historically reliable—though for that we can hardly blame him, as he frankly states that, where certainty is foiled by contradictory reports, he has chosen the vision he likes most. But the frank admiration the author has for Cortes, most persuasive and subtle scoundrel in an age of scoundrels, is confused by a notion that he must apologize for the many cruel deeds of the conqueror. To give Keats credit for having "never bestowed a happier adjective than 'stout Cortes'" is rather amusing when we recall that Keats should have said Balboa; but more serious errors in judgment mar Mr. Sedgwick's efforts to make the unscrupulous conqueror

seem not such a bad fellow after all. Once the author lapses into the language of the old chronicles, Cortes (told old) "stopped at Cuba, where an unclean spirit entered into him, he plumed with Diego Velasquez and evoked came of it." The Biblical warning "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin" is quoted for an Aztec chief, where none of its implications of luxurious cruelty and misrule hold, but gallant defence is being made against merciless invaders. A nicely of English is overlooked to condone Cortes: "Even so upright an historian as Macaulay, in speaking of Lord Clive's booty taken from the Indians of India, says: 'We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing, has ever, in any line of life created such a fortune at the early age of 34.' Cortes, also, was just 34 when he created his fortune and his King's." But Macaulay says no Englishman, not even Clive; no Englishman has created such a fortune as Clive stole. Why seek to cloak these acts with pious pretense?

The reason for this effort is that we have the ruling spirit of one age trying to present the morals of the rulers of another. In every age the morality of the powerful is right. When Cortes lived, the common man who stole a loaf of bread was killed, the noble who stole a nation was honored. In the name of religion a scientist was burned at the stake—and a civilization destroyed. Cortes justified his massacres by pointing out that the idolatrous Indians made human sacrifices—and his men, to cure their wounds, smeared on them the melted fat of dead Indians.

The pretended purpose of the early expeditions was "to explore new regions and to exchange glass beads for gold, but their real object, at least so some people thought, was to obtain slaves, for slaves had already become a very valuable commodity. The need of more manual labor was even then badly felt. Since the arrival of the Spaniards the natives had died as grain falls before the scythe of the reaper; European diseases, forced labor in mines, death in battle, discouragement and despair, had reduced it to a population of Santo Domingo during the governorship of Ovando

1505-1507, from 2,000,000, more or less, to barely one-tenth of that number. The law, to be sure, forbade making slaves of the natives except captives in war; but it was not difficult to evoke war."

War for such ends is always, with great show of humanity, justified in the name of progress. "Behold how we have enlightened the poor benighted natives!" Syphilis saps the vitality of the once superb South Sea Islanders—but he has become a Christian, and a merchant. Smallpox and sword exterminated the Aztecs; axe and fire destroyed their wide-spread structures—but Spain had slaves and gold, and God had more saved children. As Sedgwick puts it: "The Spanish adventures were often ruthless, they cared little for the sufferings of the Indians, they tortured them for gold, they burned them alive in order to frighten them into submission, but they ultimately succeeded in putting down wars between tribe and tribe, they suppressed the horror of humane sacrifice, and they did a good deal toward improving customs and conduct." One pious missionary, with proper scorn, calls the preliminary slaughter of 800 Indians by Cortes "the first preaching of the Gospel in New Spain."

DEMAND ON COOLIDGE TO WITHDRAW TROOPS

Three hundred citizens assembled at a Forum in the City of New York listening to Judge Jacob Panken unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we respectfully request you, Mr. President, in the interest of the peace of the world to order the withdrawal of the marines from Nicaragua and use your great office against intervention in Mexican affairs."

Five Day Week in Asheville, N. C.

ASHEVILLE, N. C.—The Asheville Advocate, labor weekly, announces that S. L. Bean, leading union tile and marble contractor has gone on a five-day work week.

Make your reservations today for the New Leader anniversary dinner

Wyoming Trade Unions Draw Up Comprehensive Legislative Program

The Field of Labor

How organized labor in the state of Wyoming is thinking is reflected in those proposals which are to be introduced in the present session of the legislature with the sanction of the State Federation of Labor or the United Mine Workers. An analysis of this legislative program follows:

1. Ratification of the child labor amendment to the United States Constitution.
2. Modification of the workmen's compensation law to bring within its provisions catering employees and those "entitled to medical attention and care in hospital" because of some "general arrangement" such as the miners, who pay for their medical attention and hospital service.
3. Enactment of the old age pensions bill similar to those of Montana, Nevada and Pennsylvania, which was presented at the last session of the legislature by the Federal Order of Eagles.
4. Enactment of Representative John Ramsey's bill abolishing the present system of prison-contract labor and substituting for it the state's use system, recommended by modern criminologists.
5. Amendment of the eight-hour law on public works to meet the objections raised by the State Supreme Court.
6. Amendment of the present "elastic" shorter work day law to force the observance of the forty-eight-hour week for women and minors.
7. State examination and licenses for barbers, plumbers and moving picture operators.
8. A law to make it possible for incorporated towns, cities and villages to submit to their electorate the question of raising by taxation a sum to be expended in establishing and maintaining concert bands for the musical education of the public and employment of musicians, presumably union men.
9. Amendment of old and enactment of new legislation to protect the worker in his collection of wages due him.
10. Improvements in the coal mining code.
11. The legal establishment of Labor Day on the "first Monday of September."
12. Confering on the Labor Commissioner and his assistants of the "power" as well as the "authority" to enforce the labor laws.
13. Improvements in the educational system by making military training "voluntary, not compulsory, and widening opportunities for kindergarten instruction."

SOCIAL LEGISLATION AS ANTIDOTE

That American labor has itself to blame in large measure for employers' welfare schemes which are undermining unionism in the larger establishments, particularly in the basic industries, is re-discovered by Conrad Iig, Secretary of the International Federation of Metal Trades, in his report describing conditions in the United States. Some American observers have remarked that the absence of independent political action by organized labor in this country and the lack of any emphatic and comprehensive demand for social legislation, has given the American employer the opportunity to cater to the need of workmen for security and protection in old age and illness. Conrad Iig looking upon the American scene with his European experience has written thus:

"This condition of affairs, may,

in great part, be due to the fact that there is no leading political labor party in the American labor movement. However, it is not to be taken for granted that this state of affairs will always remain as it now is. With the Americans, the longer time goes on, just so much the more the necessity for social legislation will also make itself felt. To be sure, it is not true if it is claimed that American employerism is more able to take part in competition, because it does not have to make any payments for social purposes. Since there are no governmental social legislative laws, the manufacturer has taken upon himself to make certain arrangement along this line in his own establishment. Hence, the expenses of an establishment for such purposes cannot be much less than in the case with us. All of these arrangements, such as the pension system, the insurance-systems, savings-banks, etc., are not sufficient, however, for the workmen, inasmuch as there are differences existing between one concern and another, and the workman becomes ever more dependent upon the concern. There is no doubt that the European system is greatly to be preferred to the American system."

In the face of the welfare offensive by the "bosses," an independent political party with a set of immediate demands is needed now more than ever.

Yipseldom

A Fine Yipsel Souvenir

About the finest publication ever issued by American Yipsels has just appeared in a 32-page magazine issued by the New England Young People's Socialist League. It is published as the Fifth Anniversary Review and records the activities of the league for five years. It is bound in an attractive cover, printed on good book paper, and has an attractive typographical display. Savelle Syrjala, who has served the Yipsels in a number of important offices, contributes the leading article, a history of the Yipsels since their organization before the World War. Aaron J. Parker, national director, contributes an informing article bearing the title of "Recalling Our Past." Eino Pimilid writes of Yipsel athletics; George R. Kirkpatrick offers an inspirational article on the "Significance of Youth in Social Progress," and other contributions consist of reminiscences and reviews of progress made by various circles.

There are numerous portraits of active Yipsels and Yipsel groups and a chronology of New England Yipsels and their work since 1920. Yipsels desiring this fine souvenir may obtain it by sending 35 cents to Lawrence Silverberg, 153 Washington street, Gardner, Mass.

Bronx Yipsels

Circle 3, Juniors, has admirably performed its duty. It has given the senior Y. P. S. L. a good part of the membership of the two Bronx circles. Recently it lost a number of active members and the circle is now making an intensive campaign for new members. The following officers were elected at its last meeting: Harry Davis, organizer; Selma Pittman, secretary and treasurer; Mollie Wasserman, educational director, and Jack Cohen, sergeant-at-arms.

Trusses

When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss bandage or stocking go there and see what you can buy for your money.

Then go to P. WOLF & Co., Inc.
COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES
1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A
Bet. 84th & 85th Sts. Bet. 4th & 5th Sts.
(1st floor)
New York City New York City
Open Even. 8 p. m. Open Even. 9 p. m.
SUNDAYS CLOSED
Special Ladies' Attendant

Santal Midy
Quickly Alleviates
PAINFUL URINATION
Avoid Imitations
Look for the word "MIDY"
Sold by all druggists

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

YALE ROSE
PLUMBING & HEATING CONTRACTOR
38 Mullock Street, New Haven, Conn.

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney,
Evenings and Sundays, 1436 Glover Street,
Bronx. Take Lexington Ave. Subway, Pelham Bay Extension, to George Ave. Station

THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

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

Part 2—Disputes With Employers

OF COURSE, fundamentally, the most important question before the Amalgamated Lithographers has been the relations of the union with the employers, particularly the minority organized into the National Association of Employing Lithographers. The open shop that the N. A. E. L. was able to establish as a result of the strike of 1906-1907 has been continued, but union members have been employed, though there have been no written agreements with the union. When the Amalgamated was established formally, Boston Local No. 3 took steps soon afterward to introduce a resolution committing the new union to trade agreements and arbitration and asking the N. A. E. L. for a conference. This was contrary to the principle of the old unions, who felt strong enough to establish their own conditions in the industry. In fact, the little objection that was raised against the resolution was based on the argument that trade agreements and arbitration were useless, since, in the end, the union obtained only that which its economic strength warranted. The employers have not warmed up to these overtures, but the Amalgamated has managed to protect its members' interests without any formal agreements and with only occasional isolated strikes.

The War Boom

With the outbreak of the war conditions changed. The shortage of labor and the attractiveness of better paying occupations placed the union at a strategic advantage. When the International Council in July, 1918, unanimously demanded that two increases in wages of \$2 each be granted by the employers, the request was acceded to. Simultaneously, the membership increased. In the boom year, 1919, more than 6,000 were enrolled.

The Employers' Association met in convention over the Decoration Day week-end, 1919. It received a communication from the Amalgamated Lithographers and then adopted a report of a special committee which indicated the conditions upon which negotiations with the union could take place. This included the recognition of the open shop policy, enforcement of agreements between the two bodies, use of individual agreements that are not incompatible with the general arrangements, arbitration, abolition of the union's apprenticeship ratio, a bonus system for increased production and the forty-eight-hour week. Shortly afterward it was learned that New York Local No. 1 was prohibiting its members from working their forty-eight hours in five days, and the first resolution was reversed and a new one accepted, stating that no negotiations looking toward an agreement would be entered upon until the antagonism toward the summer schedule of forty-eight hours in five days was removed. Technological reasons were behind this move. Still a committee was appointed in case a conference was deemed possible.

The Agreement of 1919

The Lithographers held their convention at Chicago in July of the same year and drafted an agreement as a guide in any negotiations with the employers. On August 15, 1919, an agreement was reached in New York City between the representatives of the N. A. E. L. and the Amalgamated Lithographers. This provided for wage increases of \$5 per week and for the forty-eight-hour week, and included the creed on industrial relations passed by the N. A. E. L. convention on the preceding May 30 and rejected the following day.

The agreement with the N. A. E. L. in 1919 did not make the fullest wage demands upon the employers. It was hoped that the reasonable increases would give the employers no pretext to inaugurate drastic wage cuts in the post-war period. At the same time, the Lithographers took up the cry that the forty-four-hour week be instituted. The employers granted this request, to take effect May 1, 1921, the same day that the unions in the Allied Printing Trades Council were to obtain the same concession. Then, in view of the general opinion that this might be achieved sooner than the set date, a proviso was added making the complete clause read thus:

"Forty-four hours as a basic work week shall be adopted on May 1, 1921, or earlier, provided at that time that basic work week shall exist nationally in the typographic trades." (Bold-face type indicates added portion.)

The "Bosses" Break Their Pledge
This proved to be a "joker." When May 1, 1921, rolled around, the printing trades found that the "bosses" had taken advantage of the industrial depression and the open-shop offensive to abrogate their agreement. The employing lithographers now announced that their pledge had been contingent upon the establishment of the forty-four-hour week nationally in the type-printing trades. The proviso which was supposed to have made possible the shorter week before 1921 now proved the excuse for violating the whole agreement.

Then, in December, 1921, the master lithographers, after refusing arbitration in October, declared a lockout to enforce a reduction of twelve and a half per cent. in wages in spite of the moderate increases with which the union had been content during the war. For several long months the struggle continued and in the end the employers had to give up their attempts to crush the employees. Im-

mediately after the resumption of work wages had to be increased in the bidding for workers to fill orders that had accumulated during the stoppage. Since that time the industry has prospered and wage increases have followed, justifying the position taken by the union at the time of the lockout. The union only last July obtained substantial increases for all classes of workers. It feels it is carrying out the newly stated wage theory of the American Federation of Labor. The prospects are bright.

The 44-Hour Week Demand

The bad feeling engendered by the disappointment of 1921 and the lockout of 1922 has made the workers very determined. They have also realized that the increasing productivity of the industry and the possible resulting displacement of workers justified lesser hours of work. Consequently, about two years ago a defense fund began to be collected in preparation for any emergency that might arise. In September, 1925, the convention of the A. L. A., meeting in New York City, decided to carry out a statistical inquiry into the state of the industry to throw light on the advisability of making the forty-four-hour week demand. Wages, degree of unionization, number and size of plants and related topics were studied. In May, 1926, the International Council considered the results of this investigation. It decided to launch a campaign to establish the shorter working week, but profiting from the difficulties of the International Typographical Union in attempting to carry out this proposal everywhere at the same time, the Council adopted a different plan of operation. Individual localities were to make their own drives, but arrangements were to be made so that

cities which would be likely to compete with one another would be tied up at the same time.

Local 1 of New York took the lead. A Forty-Four Hour Week Committee of twenty-five studied the problem. It decided to make April 1, 1927, the beginning of the new regime in order to give employers time to make adjustments. A membership meeting on September 23, 1926, adopted the committee's report. Chicago will probably fall in line very soon.

The one hundred and fifty-four plants in New York City constitute a little less than one-half of the number in the entire industry in this country. Therefore, the New York campaign will be a determining one. The special kind of lithography done in this center increases the chances of victory. Six plants in New York City already enjoy the shorter week because of the presence of type-printing departments. Twelve others in the country are in the same category.

The forty-four-hour week slogan has invigorated the organization. New members are joining, old ones are returning. The losses sustained in the lockout of 1922 are being recouped. The determined front of the union and the inevitability of the shorter week in line with industrial trends may induce the employers to accede to the demand. But some are obstinate. They want to put up a fight. They claim the union has just obtained wage increases and should be satisfied. They assert that a shorter week would put them at a disadvantage in the competition with alternative forms of printing. The Amalgamated Lithographers of America refuse to be frightened by these bugaboos. They are out to win.

(The End)

Ernest Bohm; Pioneer

(Continued from page 4)

In this battle-futile for the time being—Bohm took an active part boosting the boycott by organized labor, raising funds and keeping up the morale.

Ernest Bohm could not be content with simply living up to the letter of his obligations. He was constantly giving his assistance to young and old unions who needed his help and to those movements which aimed to better the conditions of the working class. It is for this reason that so many organizations feel honored to testify their appreciation of his labors. Thus, he worked with George H. Block in organizing the bakery workers, especially on the West Side of New York. He wrote a series of articles for the "Truth," exposing the tenement house clear making conditions. Later he was instructed by the Central Labor Union to write to Mayor Abram S. Hewitt concerning these conditions. This led to a voluminous and satirical correspondence, which was taken up with glee by the newspapers, particularly the New York World, which was advocating legislative regulation. Moreover, Bohm did not neglect the workers in his own occupation. He organized a Clerical Workers' Local Assembly of about three hundred members, having convinced James E. Quinn, Master Workman of D. A. 49, that these white collared employees were not "too close" to the "bosses." The organization soon fell apart.

The George Campaign

This is not the place to give a detailed account of the Henry George campaign of 1886. The reader will recall that it was provoked by the sentencing to prison of five boycotters against George Theiss, the owner of a beer-garden on Fourteenth street. As secretary of the Central Labor Union Bohm was in a position to use his influence in favor of the Socialist demand for independent political action. He took a leading part in the movement to nominate Henry George for mayor against Abram S. Hewitt, the Democrat, and Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican. He threw himself into the campaign with all his enthusiasm and vigor. Like other old timers, he loves to tell of the almost evangelical zeal and sacrifice of the old workers in the New York City election of 1886. It was a marvelous demonstration.

From then until 1921 Bohm confined himself chiefly to his increasingly arduous duties in connection with New York's central labor bodies. In February, 1889, a split had occurred in the old Central Labor Union. The progressive trade unions and the Socialists had withdrawn, charging political corruption, and founded the Central Labor Federation. Bohm became secretary of the new organization. So large was the following of the new group that the C. L. U. purged itself of some of its undesirable members. Later the two bodies merged under the name of Central Federation of Labor. In the meantime the C. F. L. had applied for a charter to the American Federation of Labor. In 1890 Bohm went to Detroit to attend his first convention of the A. F. of L. and was a witness to the crucial nine-hour debate which resulted in the refusal of a seat to Lucien Sanial as a delegate from the New York Central Labor Federation on the ground that the C. L. F. had sent the representatives of the Socialist Labor Party.

Joins the Bookkeepers

Bohm remained secretary of the Central Federated Union until it in-

curved the wrath of Samuel Gompers and was dissolved in 1921. The C. F. U. had been instrumental in organizing the Farmer-Labor Party in 1919, the New York branch of which Bohm had become secretary, and given refuge to the delegates of the suspended pressmen's locals. With the formation of the present Central Trades and Labor Council Bohm had to give up the secretaryship he had held for so many years.

It was not long before he found another opportunity for activity in the labor movement. His union, the Bookkeepers', Stenographers' and Accountants' Union, which he had joined in 1914, after leaving the Brewery Workers, had just been reorganized by the A. F. of L. to shake off Communist domination. Bohm was asked by the members to become their secretary and business manager. He took up this work with his usual zeal and enthusiasm began to build up the membership. His long experience and many contacts have served the B. S. & A. U. well. Every day he is out in the field making recruits or collecting tardy dues. The young folks whom he approaches with the message of unionism little realize that the elderly gentleman who is addressing them has been faithfully performing the same kind of work for the last fifty years. They little know that before them stands a pioneer of the modern American labor movement, pioneering now as he pioneered then, a half century ago.

Make your reservations today
—for the—
New Leader anniversary dinner

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

Dutch Labor Forces Fight Reaction Hard; Women War on Slavery

Labor Doings Abroad

THE Dutch Socialist Party and the Netherlands Federation of Labor are making a vigorous fight against the reactionary groups in control of the Government of Holland, according to reports found in late issues of Dutch labor papers. Holding 24 of a total of 100 seats in the Lower House of the States-General, the Socialists are able to hold up some of the military schemes of the clerical Cabinet and to modify its reactionary policy on some other lines. While the Federation of Labor, with almost 200,000 members, more than the total membership of the other six national labor organizations, always does its part in defending the interests of the workers on the industrial field.

From the beginning of the recent so-called Communist outbreaks in the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch Socialists have pointed out that, while it is quite true that the Moscow International has succeeded in finding a few followers in Sumatra and Java, the real causes of the uprising are to be found in the high-handed policy toward the native workers pursued by the former Governor-General Kerk Fock, and that his recall a few months ago came too late to calm the troubled waters. They have contended that the naming of A. C. D. de Graef, former Dutch Ambassador in Washington, as the new Governor-General, is only a short step toward the policy of liberal administration in the colonies that is needed to make uprisings superfluous.

When the army budget providing for increases in military expenditures was forced through the Lower House on December 23, the Socialists managed to rally 27 votes against it, to 51 in its favor, after their own proposal for a sharp reduction of the budget had been beaten. They also were supported by 29 Deputies in a demand for the abolition of corporal punishment in the East Indies, while 49 Deputies voted for the retention of this relic of barbarism.

In an editorial denouncing the death sentences pronounced upon three of the leaders of the revolt in Java, Het Volk, the leading organ of the Dutch Socialists, said on Dec. 27: "It is established that the leaders of the uprising, as tools of the Moscow branch offices in Canton and Singapore, were rather victims than leaders. To sentence them to death is nothing less than barbarism. No matter how dangerous and revolting were their methods, after all they were political opponents. It is understandable that one makes them harmless. But to kill political opponents in cold blood is gruesome. Anybody who approves these death sentences loses the right to express horror at the Italian and Russian methods of governing. These death sentences are all the more disgraceful because there is no doubt that the reaction in the Indies under the former Governor-General is largely responsible for the fact that the revolt was able to spread."

Het Volk's editorial is backed up by correspondence from the East Indies describing the origin of the uprising in detail and showing that the handful of "Communists" were only able to get a hearing among the natives by playing upon religious fanaticism and

pointing to the oppressive acts of the Dutch rulers.

On Dec. 15 E. Ribbuis Poeltier, secretary of the women's section of the Socialist Party, reported that 1,551 new women members had been won for the party during the special propaganda month of October, bringing the total women membership up to 12,050. In 1925 the dues-paying membership rose 3,327 to a total of 41,221, and the gain in 1926 was probably even larger. But the party leaders insist that the propaganda for new members must be pushed harder than ever, as with a popular vote of more than 700,000 in Holland, the Socialist Party ought to have many more in its organization.

More strength for the unions and the Socialist Party is expected to result from the functioning of the Dutch National Center for Workers' Education, which although only two years old, already has 15,000 members in 72 branches and is growing rapidly. In Amsterdam alone there are nine branches, with 1,600 members.

Socialists in Latvia Consolidating Position

That the Coalition Government set up under Socialist control in the little Baltic republic of Latvia last month is enjoying the backing of one of the most active and best managed Socialist movements in Europe is confirmed by late reports from that country.

In addition to the recent party activities in Latvia already reported in The New Leader, a conference of Socialist jurists was held in Riga in December at which a line of social legislation was laid down, including the establishment of children's courts, the abolition of the death penalty and compensation for innocent victims of court errors. It was decided to put these bills before the parliament at once. A special committee was appointed to consider the problem of abortion and report to the next conference. The conference also decided to set up a special bureau of legal advice for Socialist Party members.

The Old Reliable Place to Buy

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

Offices to Let

Attractive Offices to let in the recently reconstructed modern building of the Home Office of the Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, 237 EAST 84TH STREET. Apply week days between 9 a. m. and 6 p. m. Saturday, 9 a. m. to 11 only.

Cloakmakers Register!

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

Registration hours from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.

REGISTRATION OFFICES:

BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street (all shops up to and including 30th Street).

BRYANT HALL, 725 Sixth Avenue, at 42d Street (all shops above 30th Street and all avenues).

Bring your present dues books and working cards or striking cards.

Register by shops.

Registrations Will Continue Until February 1, 1927

All those that do not register by this time limit will have to join as new members.

Members registering now will pay dues from January 1, 1927.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Provisional Committee of Cloakmakers

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

A Radical Difference
will be made in the clarity and strength of your eyesight by the marvelous new "Punkal Glasses." Let us prove it to you by actual demonstration.
All Departments under the personal supervision of Dr. B. E. Becker.
111 East 23rd Street, Near 6th Avenue.
121 Second Avenue, Corner 6th Street.
115 East Broadway, Near Clinton St.
100 Lenox Ave., Bet. 115th & 116th Sts.
280 East 42nd Street, Near H. T.
895 Prospect Avenue, Near 153rd St.
1700 Fifth Avenue, Brownsville Bldg.

D. BARNETT L. BECKER
OPTOMETRIST OPTICIAN

PARK PALACE
3-5 West 110th Street
Elegant Ball Rooms for Balls, Weddings, Banquets and Receptions.
ROSENBERG & HERTZ, Props.
Telephone: Monument 4284
Cathedral 5971

UNION DIRECTORY

in case of sickness, accident or death!
 Death Benefit, \$250. Sickness Benefit, \$360 to \$900 for 80 Weeks.
 For Further Information Write to the Main Office or to the Branch
 Financial Secretary of Your District

the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby, Avenue, Brooklyn.
AS. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.
 Carpenters' Union 483 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
 Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

Abel Temple 842-747 EAST 84th ST.
NEW YORK.
Workmen's Educational Association.
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m.
Call for Matinees, Entertainments and

Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.

Financial Secretary of Your District

Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby, Avenue, Brooklyn.
S. CAMP, President. ALEX ECKERT, Financial Sec'y.
 Carpenters' Union 403 German Technicians & Draftsmen
ALBERT HELB, Secretary.
 Fur Dressers' Union No. 2

Abel Temple 842-747 EAST 84th ST.
NEW YORK.
Workmen's Educational Association.
Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m.
Call for Matinees, Entertainments and

LOCAL No. 1, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.
Office: 19 Fourth Avenue. Phone: Sterling 9732.
Regular Meeting every Monday evening at 182 Clermont Avenue, Brooklyn.
Executive Board meets every Friday evening, at the Office.
Office open from 9 A. M. to 6 P. M.
J. F. GATES, President. CHARLES L. PETERSON, Secretary-Treasurer.

A m u s e m e n t s

D R A M A

Goldoni's "Liar" to Have First American Hearing

The first performance in America of "The Liar," written by Carlo Goldoni for the Festa di Venice in 1750, will be given by the Lenox Hill Players, beginning Jan. 17, at the Lenox Theatre Studio, 51 West Twelfth street.

This comedy is one of the most robust examples of the Commedia dell'Arte and combines for the first time the extemporaneous antics of the comedians with disciplined and predetermined dialogue. Goldoni, with this play, added to the traditional Italian theatre such fresh plot and intrigue that the chief masks—Arlecchino, Brighella, Pantalone, Colombino and the Doctor—were reanimated with fresh color, vigor and interest, and the commedia was saved from the deathhouse of staidness which it faced.

The cast, under the direction of Elizabeth Ladd Church, includes Robin Radin, Blanche Cole, Rose Segall, Jerome Seplow, David V. Schenker, Charles Friedman, Dwight C. Lyman and Louis John Latzer. Settings are designed by Charles Friedman.

Biltmore to House New Circus Play

Charles L. Wagner's production of "The Barker," a new play of ten-show life, by Kenyon Nicholson, with Walter Huston in the title role, will open at the Biltmore Theatre Tuesday evening.

Besides Mr. Huston, the cast includes Claudette Colbert, Eleanor W. Williams, Norman Foster, Al Roberts, Florence Gerald, George W. Barbier, John Irwin, Raymond Bramley, Philip Heege, Mae Hopkins and Albert Hyde. Priestly Morrison staged the production, and the settings are by P. Dodd Ackerman.

"Bye, Bye, Bonnie" Makes Her Debut at the Ritz

A late arrival on Broadway last week was L. Lawrence Weber's new musical comedy, "Bye, Bye, Bonnie," which opened at the Ritz Theatre Thursday night. In the cast are Dorothy Burgess, Lottice Howell, Rudolph Cameron, Louis Simon, John Byam, Mabel Acker and others.

The book of the new production is by Louis Simon and Bide Dudley, with music by Albert von Tilzer and lyrics by Neville Flesoon. Edgar McGregor directed the production.

Nichols' "Sam Abramovitch" Coming to the National

"Sam Abramovitch," Anne Nichols' latest production, will open at the National Theatre next Tuesday night with Pedro de Cordoba, Mary Fowler, Lee Kohlman and Arthur Hohl leading the cast of one hundred. The book is by Francois Porche and was adapted by Charlton Andrews.

Werner Janssen is doing the musical setting and will lead the special orchestra score for the incidental music.

"The Girl Friend" at The Bronx Opera House

"The Girl Friend," the musical comedy, played at the Vanderbilt last season, will be presented at the Bronx Opera House by Lew Fields for the week beginning Monday night.

Eva Puck and Sam White, head of the cast, who take care of the lion's share of Herbert Fields' musical play, Gene Coghlan and Evelyn Cavanaugh are two important principals. The music is by Richard Rodgers.

"The Strawberry Blonde," a new musical show, will open a week's engagement on January 24 prior to a Broadway showing.

A last-minute booking, due to the close of "Princess Turandot," will bring a farce-titled "Where's Your Husband?" into the Greenwich Village Theatre this Friday night. It is the work of Ben S. Gross, a newspaperman, and has been tried out in Wilmington. The cast includes Alice Fisher, Betty Laurence, Zola Talma and others.

SACHA GUITRY



The talented French actor is now appearing in his own play "L'illusionniste" at Chanin's 46th Street Theatre.

BETTY LINLEY and ALBERT CARROLL



As the lovers in "The Dybbuk," Ansky's dramatic folk-tale, now playing at the Neighborhood Playhouse

Pinero Play to Be Revived With an All-Star Cast

Pinero's "Trelawny of the Wells," with a cast of well-known players will be revived here by George C. Tyler. In the cast will appear John Drew, Pauline Lord, Helen Gahan, Estelle Winwood, Mrs. Whiffen, Henrietta Crossman, Effie Shannon, O. P. Heggie, Otto Kruger, Rollo Peters, Wilton Lackaye, John E. Keller, Eric Dressler, Lawrence D'Orray, J. M. Kerrigan, Freda Inescort and Peggie Whiffen.

Rehearsals will begin today and the production is scheduled to open in New York on Monday, Jan. 31, at a theatre as yet unannounced. The play will be directed by William Seymour, who staged the piece when it was presented by The Players a few seasons ago.

Mr. Tyler's announced production of "En Garde," in which Helen Gahan had been scheduled to appear, has been postponed to make way for the Pinero revival.

Gaston's "Street-Parade" At the Garrick Theatre

"Street-Parade," an ironic play by William Gaston, with Ralph Morgan in the leading part, opens at the Garrick next Friday evening. Eleanor Griffith, Reginald Barlow and William Rainey are in the cast. There are eleven scenes in the play, the acts for which have been designed by Norman Bel Geddes. Alexander McKaig is the producer, and the play has been staged by Sigourney Thayer.

In addition to the actors, there are puppets by Remo Bufano. The incidental music has been composed by Ruth Warfield.

Broadway Briefs

The Civic Repertory Players will present five plays next week. "The Mistress of the Inn" ("La Locandiera") is scheduled for Monday night and Saturday matinee; Tuesday night, "Three Sisters"; Wednesday matinee and Thursday and Saturday nights, "Twelfth Night"; Wednesday night, "The Master Builder"; Friday evening, "John Gabriel Bockman."

Harry Nieman, composer of many popular songs, will conduct the Winter Garden orchestra during the engagement of "Gay Paree of 1927."

"The Red Lily" opened at Mamaroneck Thursday night, before being brought to Broadway for its premiere next week. David Arnold Balch is author, and the play will be presented by Sanford E. Stanton.

"Katja," the musical comedy at the 44th Street Theatre, begins the last week Monday. The production will go on tour.

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

Vanneesi, the Spanish dancer, and Ted and Betty Healy have been engaged for "A Night in Spain," which the Messrs. Shubert will present here soon. Grace Hayes and Morris Harvey have prominent parts in the new revue.

"New York Exchange" moved Monday night from the Klaw to the 49th Street theatre.

"The Padre," with Leo Carrillo, did not end its New York run last Saturday. It moved to the Comedy theatre Monday night where it will be known as "His Own Way."

"My Maryland," the musical romance by Sigmund Romberg and Dorothy Donnelly, based on the life of Barbara Fritchie, opened Monday at the Apollo theatre in Atlantic City. The play is due on Broadway shortly.

Robert Gleckler, following his illness of two weeks, returned to the Broadway theatre Monday night in his part of Steve Crandall, the boot-legging villain of "Broadway."

"Two Girls Wanted," at the Little theatre, celebrates its one hundred and

Mozart's "La Finta Giardiniera" At the Mayfair Tuesday Night

The American premiere of a comic opera by the great Mozart, "La Finta Giardiniera," will take place next Tuesday night at the Mayfair Theatre, 151 years after its European premiere at Munich, where it was first sung on January 13, 1775. It is being presented by the Intimate Opera Company, the director and conductor of which is Macklin Marrow, who last season directed Gluck's "Orpheus" at the Provincetown Theatre. The new organization also contemplates the presentation of a new opera based upon Elton Wylie's novel, "The Venetian Glass Nephew," with music by Eugene Bonner, and James Rosenberg's "Punchinello," with marionettes by Remo Bufano.

Mozart's music for "La Finta Giardiniera" was written for woodwinds, strings and horns, and it will be played upon the instruments for which it was composed. A new text has been written by the young American poet, Harrison Dowd. "La Finta" is in two acts. The time and period, Florence of a century and a half ago. The costumes are from designs by Milla Davenport, while Joseph Mullen designed the sets.

The cast includes Norma Millay, Richard Hale, Dorothy Chamberlin, John Alexander Rogers, John Campbell, Weyland Echols, Helen Sheridan, and Agnes George deMille.

LAURA HOPE CREWS



Plays the chief role in "The Silver Cord," the Sidney Howard comedy at the Golden Theatre

Shuberts Planning New Kalman and Vescey Operettas

Following their offering of "My Maryland," an operetta based on the Clyde Fitch play "Barbara Fritchie," with score by Sigmund Romberg and book by Dorothy Donnelly, the Shuberts will present three other operettas. "The Willow Tree" will be the next in order. The composer of "Countess Maritza," Emmerich Kalman, will be represented with a new piece, popular abroad, called "The Circus Princess." Armand Vescey, composer of "The Nightingale," is already working on the score of a new operetta. "My Maryland" opened in Atlantic City Monday night. It is due here in a fortnight. Two other operettas are also under consideration, the first tentatively called "The Father of His Country" and the second "Honest Abe."

fiftieth performance with the matinee this Saturday.

Georges Renavent added a fourth play to the bill with which he will inaugurate his repertoire season of American Grand Guignol in English at the Grove Street theatre Wednesday evening. It is titled "The Cocktail Interlude," and the leading part will be taken by his wife, Gladys Renavent.

Richard Herndon's production of "Sinner," the new comedy by Thompson Buchanan, is now in rehearsal under the direction of Allan Dinehart. Besides Claiborne Foster and Allan Dinehart in the featured roles, the company will include Mabel Madder, Hugh Huntley, Edwin Mordant, Raymond Walburn, Vera Allen, Dan Kelly and Allan Vincent.

William A. Brady, Jr., and Dwight Deere Wiman will present Jane Cow in "The Road to Rome," a new comedy by Robert Emmet Sherwood in Washington on Monday.

Mrs. Patrick Campbell, not seen here since 1914, will appear here under George C. Tyler's management in "The Adventurous Age," a farcical comedy by Frederick Witney in which she has played recently in England. David Hawthorne, an English actor, will play the leading male role.

Boni & Liveright will publish Eugene O'Neill's play "Marco's Millions" before its stage production, the first time this has happened with O'Neill's plays, except in the case of his one-act pieces. When Boni & Liveright bring out Philip Barry's last play, "White Wings," it will have been entirely rewritten by the author and, it is claimed, vastly improved.

Eugene O'Neill's "Lazarus Laughed" will be presented by the Chicago Play Producing Co. in March, under the direction of Mr. Marion Gering.

PEDRO DE CORDOBA



Heads the large cast in "Sam Abramovitch," Anne Nichols' newest production, opening at the National Theatre next Tuesday night

Vaudeville Theatres

MOSS' BROADWAY

Pat Rooney will present the California Ramblers, a musical combination, under the direction of Adrian Rollins, as the chief vaudeville feature of B. S. Moss' Broadway bill next week. Other acts include Willie, West and McGinty; Art Frank and Harriet Towne; Clara Barry and Orval Whitledge.

The screen program offers Adolphe Menjou in "Blonde or Brunette." Greta Nissen, Arlette Marchal and Mary Carr head the supporting players.

HIPPODROME

Chaney and Fox in a Harry Royce revue, with Lulu Winters, Mary Jane Wright, Patsy Brooks, Catherine White and Hugo Conn; Al K. Hall, assisted by Morris Lloyd, Genevieve Blair and Helen Ardell; Will and Gladys Ahern; Harry and Denis Dufor; Elsie and Paulsen; Fantino Sisters and the photo drama, "Manbait," with Marie Prevost, Kenneth Thomson and Douglass Fairbanks, Jr.

PALACE

Ben Bernie and Hotel Roosevelt Orchestra; Mr. Frisco; Harry Carroll's "Dancing Derby Revue"; Bert Erroll; Billy and Elsa Newell; Marguerite and Gili; Jackie Collier and Sister.

MUSIC

Philharmonic Children's Concerts Next Saturday at Aeolian Hall

ERNEST SCHELLING will begin his fourth season as conductor of the Philharmonic Children's Concerts next Saturday morning, January 22, at Aeolian Hall. The program will begin at 11 o'clock and will be repeated in the afternoon at 3 o'clock. The morning series is for the general public, the afternoon series is for public school children. The other concerts in the series are scheduled for February 5 and 19 and March 5 and 19, all at Aeolian Hall.

Mr. Schelling will illustrate his explanatory remarks with lantern slides. The first concert this season will be devoted to "formal construction," and the slides will show an analogy between architecture and music.

Souvenir note-books, who will be distributed to the listeners, who will be invited to act as "critics." Prizes will be awarded at the conclusion of the concerts for the best note-books submitted. Saturday's program follows: Suite for strings and harpsichord, Bach; Rondo, Haydn; Minuet from Symphony No. 35, Mozart; 1st Movement, Violin Concerto in A, Mozart; soloist: Oscar Shumsky; Allegro, Symphony No. 5, Beethoven; Turkish March, Beethoven.

With the Orchestras

NEW YORK SYMPHONY

Walter Gieseking will appear as soloist with the New York Symphony Orchestra this Sunday afternoon in Mecca Auditorium. Otto Klemperer will conduct the following program: Overture, "Academic Festival," Brahms; Concerto in C, Mozart; Symphony No. 7, Sibelius; 2nd Suite, Stravinsky; Salome Dance, Strauss.

The feature of next Friday's concert in Carnegie Hall will be the new work, "Scarlattiana," which Alfredo Casella was commissioned to write by the Symphony Society of New York. This composition is based on the works of Scarlatti. Friday's program will also include Bach's Suite in D and Symphony No. 7 in C by Schubert. This same program will be repeated in Mecca Auditorium next Sunday, January 23. On Saturday, January 22, there will be a Symphony Concert for Young People in Carnegie Hall, with Walter Damrosch conducting. Eftem Zimbalist will be the soloist. The program: Allegretto and Finale from Symphony in D minor, Cesar Franck; Concerto in A minor, Vivaldi; Fantasy on Rimsky-Korsakov's "Le Coq d'Or," Zimbalist; Prize Song from "Die Meistersinger."

JOLSON'S THEATRE, 69th St. & 7th Ave. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat., 2:30. The MESSRS. SHUBERT Present ELEANOR PAINTER

IN THE NIGHTINGALE A MUSICAL ROMANCE BASED ON THE LIFE OF JENNY LIND with STANLEY THOMAS A. RALPH LUPINO WISE ERROLLE "A fascinating production. Admirably sung."—Alan Dale, N. Y. American.

WINTER GARDEN Sunday Night Concert ALWAYS THE BEST SUNDAY ENTERTAINMENT IN TOWN! Stars and numbers from Broadway's current revue and musical comedy hits and other headliner acts SMOKING PERMITTED IN ALL PARTS OF THE HOUSE Buy seats early and avoid being one of the standees.

49th ST. Th. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:45. Matinees Wed. and Sat.

THE SENSATIONAL HIT! N-Y-XCHANGE "A Male 'Captive'"

—with— Alison Skipworth and Sydney Shields "Begins where 'The Cradle Snatchers' left off."—Eve. World.

JED HARRIS Presents

BROADHURST THEA. W. 44th ST. Mats. Wed., Sat., 2:30

BRONX OPERA HOUSE

149th St. E. of Third Ave. POP. PRICES | MATS. WED. & SAT.

LEW FIELDS Presents The Musical Comedy Hit "THE GIRL FRIEND"

with EVA PUCK and SAM WHITE Direct from the Vanderbilt Theatre with the original cast intact Book by Herbert Fields Lyrics by Lorenz Hart Music by Richard Rodgers

Week of January 24 "THE STRAWBERRY BLONDE" The Comedy Oddity With a Distinguished Broadway Cast

singer," Wagner; Blue Danube Waltz, Strauss.

PHILHARMONIC

The Philharmonic program for the concert this Friday afternoon at Carnegie Hall will be as follows: Suite in D Major, Bach; Prelude to Act II "Gwendoline," Chabrier; Prelude and Finale of "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Symphony No. 5, Tchaikovsky. Owing to the illness of Mr. Toscanini it was stated that the program as arranged by him would be conducted by Mr. Mengelberg. Mr. Toscanini, however, has so nearly recovered that he will be able to conduct this program himself at an early pair of concerts. The Saturday night and Sunday afternoon concerts at Carnegie Hall will be conducted by Hans Lange, assistant conductor of the Philharmonic Orchestra. The program will be as follows: Prelude to "Meistersinger," Wagner; Swan of Tuonela, Sibelius; Prelude and Finale of "Tristan and Isolde," Wagner; Symphony No. 1, Brahms.

Music Notes

Mieczyslaw Munz, pianist, will play for the People's Symphony at Washington Irving High School this Saturday night. The program: Two Sonatas, Scarlatti; Sonata, opus 11, in sharp minor, Schumann; Two Preludes, Etude Tableau, Rachmaninoff; Improvisation, Faure; Two Fairy Tales, Medtner; Twelve Preludes, Chopin.

The Flonzaley Quartet give their second subscription concert at Aeolian Hall Tuesday night. The program will include: Beethoven's Quartet in F minor, opus 95; String Trio in C minor, opus 9, No. 3, and Quartet in E minor, opus 59, No. 2.

Alexander Brailowsky first concert will be given this Saturday afternoon, at Carnegie Hall.

There will be a free symphony concert with David Mannes conducting at Carnegie Hall.

THEATRES

NATIONAL THEATRE PREMIERE TUESDAY EVE.

ANNE NICHOLS will offer SAM ABRAMOVITCH A POWERFUL PLAY OF LIFE by Francois Porche Adapted by Charlton Andrews with PEDRO DE CORDOBA, MARY FOWLER, ARTHUR HOHL, LEE KOHLMAN and Cast of 100 People NOTE: Avoid Traffic—come to the National via all subway lines. Exit opposite theatre, 41st St. and 7th Ave.

NEIGHBORHOOD PLAYHOUSE 466 Grand St. Drydock 7516

TO-NIGHT and EVERY EVENING (Except Monday) — MATINEE SATURDAY

"THE DYBBUK"

"Is, as before, one of the peaks of the New York theatre."—EVENING POST.

PLYMOUTH THEATRE

45th Street, West of Broadway Evenings, 8:30. Matinees, 2:30.

WINTHROP AMES' GILBERT & SULLIVAN OPERA COMPANY

Mon., Tues., Wed., Fri. & Sat. Evs. & Thurs. & Sat. Mats.

The PIRATES of PENZANCE

Thursday Evenings Only IOLANTHE

B.P.

A play you won't forget

THE LADDER

By J. FRANK DAVIS WALDORF Thes. 50th St., E. of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

The Theatre Guild Acting Company in

THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV

GUILD THEATRE 52nd Street, West of Broadway. Evs. at 8:30. Matinees THURSDAY & SATURDAY at 2:30.

Week of January 24th—PYGMALION Week of January 31st—THE BROTHERS KARAMAZOV Week of February 7th—NED MCCOBB'S DAUGHTER

SIDNEY HOWARD'S

THE SILVER CORD

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE, 18th St., East of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30.

Week of January 24th—NED MCCOBB'S DAUGHTER Week of January 31st—THE SILVER CORD Week of February 7th—NED MCCOBB'S DAUGHTER

UNANIMOUS OPINION OF THE PRESS: You don't have to know French to understand every word.

A. H. WOODS presents

SACHA GUITRY

AND YVONNE PRINTEMPS

in L'ILLUSIONNISTE (THE ILLUSIONIST) A comedy in a prologue 3 acts and an epilogue by Sacha Guitry

Chanin's 46th St. Theatre

Evening Prices: Orch., \$6; Mezz., \$5; Balcony, \$4. \$2 & \$2.50 plus tax.

"You never can forget this climax of sensational and terrific power!"

HORACE LIVERIGHT presents THEODORE DEISLER'S

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

Dramatized by Patrick Kearney

LONGACRE THEATRE 14th St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Matinees WED. and SAT. at 2:30.

CIVIC REPERTORY COR. 6th AVENUE & 14th STREET TELEPHONE WATKINS 7767

EVA LE GALLIENNE

WEEK OF JANUARY 17th

Mon. Evs. Jan. 17, "LA LOCANDIERA" Tues. Evs. Jan. 18, "THREE SISTERS" Wed. Mat. Jan. 19, "TWELFTH NIGHT" Wed. Evs. Jan. 19, "MASTER BUILDER" Thurs. Evs. Jan. 20, "TWELFTH NIGHT" Fri. Evs. Jan. 21, "JOHN GABRIEL BORKMAN"

Sat. Mat. Jan. 22, "LA LOCANDIERA" Sat. Evs. Jan. 22, "TWELFTH NIGHT"

Opening Mon. "THE CRADLE SONG" BY SIERRA

Eves. Jan. 24th EYES and SAT. MAT. 8:30 to 11:30. WED. MATS. 2:30 to 4:30.

at the Metropolitan Art Museum this Saturday night at eight.

MUSIC AND CONCERTS

PHILHARMONIC

CARNEGIE HALL, THIS SUN. AFT. AT 3 HANS LANGE, Assistant Conductor Wagner: "Meistersinger" Overture. Sibelius: "Swan of Tuonela." De Sabata: Juveniles. Brahms: Symphony No. 1. Carnegie Hall, Thurs. Evs. at 8:30. Fri. Aft. 2:30 ARTURO TOSCANINI, Guest Conductor Gluck: Overture, "Iphigenie in Aulis." Beethoven: Symphony No. 7. Beethoven: 3 Excerpts from "Romeo and Juliet." Respighi: Ballad of the Gnomes.

N. Y. SYMPHONY

KLEMPERER, Guest Conductor MECCA AUDITORIUM, Sun. Aft., Jan. 16 SOLOIST: GIESEKING WALTER BRAHMS, Academic Festival Overture; MOZART, Concerto in C; SIBELIUS, Symphony No. 7; STRAVINSKY, Second Suite; STRAUSS, Salome Dance. Tickets at Symphony Office, Steinway Place, 113 West 57th Street. (Steinway Place)

AEOLIAN HALL, Tuesday Evening, January 16, at 8:30

FLONZALEY QUARTET

BEETHOVEN PROGRAM: Quartets, Op. 95, Op. 69, No. 2 String Trio, Op. 9, No. 3. LOUDON CHARLTON, Mgr.

CARNEGIE HALL, Tues. Evs., Jan. 18, 8:30

CLEVELAND ORCHESTRA

NIKOLAI SOKOLOFF, Conductor (Steinway Piano)

In "The Girl Friend," the musical comedy coming to the Bronx Opera House Monday night

Bakunin's Code of Intrigue Started International On Road To Disaster

"Whence This Communism?" By James Oneal

I. European Origins

(Continued From Last Week)

AFTER 1861, for the next few years Bakounin gave his attention to organizing a secret international which included three orders: (1) the International Brothers; (2) the National Brothers; (3) the International Alliance of Social Democracy. The International Brothers were limited to one hundred who were to direct revolutionary revolts and serve as a secret executive with supreme power over the other two organizations.

"In their hands alone should be the making of programs, the rules, and the principles of the revolution. The National Brothers were to be under the direction of the International Brothers, and were to be selected because of their revolutionary zeal and their ability to control the masses," Bakounin designated himself the supreme law-giver. The organization was to "accelerate the universal revolution" and to create a "sort of revolutionary staff" to direct the world revolution. In 1867 the International Alliance attempted to "capture" a bourgeois congress called the "League of Peace and Liberty." Another attempt failing, the following year the Bakouninists abandoned the bourgeois organization and organized the International Social Democratic Alliance and then applied for admission to the International Workingmen's Association, as we have seen, by the Marxists in 1864. "Failing in 1862 to convert the Czar, in 1864-1867 to organize into a hierarchy the revolutionary spirits of Europe, in 1868 to capture the bourgeoisie, he (Bakounin) turned in 1869 to seek the aid of the working class."

Admitted to International

In the same year (1869) that Bakounin's Alliance was admitted to the International he met another Russian revolutionary, Sergei Nechayeff, a man who simply staggers students of his character and career. "He was a liar, a thief, and a murderer," writes Hunter, "the incarnation of hatred, malice, and revenge, who stopped at no crime against friend or foe that promised to advance what he pleased to call the revolution." Bakounin accepted Nechayeff as a valuable acquisition and both were soon cooperating in the work of writing a series of pamphlets in which banditry was approved as a form of revolutionary action and Stenka Razin, a robber chieftain of the seventeenth century, was glorified as a model for all social revolutionists.

"Robbery," declare Bakounin and Nechayeff, "is one of the most honorable forms of Russian national life. The brigand is the hero, the defender, the popular avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the State, and all of its social and civil order established by the State. He is the wrestler in life and in death against all this civilization of officials, of nobles, of priests, and of the crown." Hence terror, destruction and brigandage are to liberate the masses from intolerable sufferings and bring the bliss of a Stateless, ruleless and classless society of Anarchy. Those in the working class movement who hesitate or oppose this "revolutionary action" must be mercilessly attacked as mere time-servers, men lacking in the daring and proper comprehension of the requirements for a successful movement of the masses.

An Infamous Code

A "Revolutionary Catechism" outlined a personal code that was infamous in its teachings and which had a humorous sequel. The revolutionist must "penetrate" into all organizations, societies and institutions, including the secret police. Some enemies must be condemned to death and others must be permitted to live in the hope that their brutalities will drive the masses to revolt. The secrets of still another class must be obtained to "make them our slaves." A fourth category must be compromised in any way possible to render its members harmless while a fifth group, consisting of intellectuals and revolutionaries in general, must be drawn out into "perilous manifestations." The women are considered and divided into three

groups: (1) the "frivolous" type whose secrets must be obtained in order to compromise them and place them in the power of the revolutionists; (2) capable women but probably hopeless; (3) the women who accept the Bakounin-Nechayeff views. Honor, decency and ethics must give way to the need of "terrible, total, inexorable, and universal destruction."

As so often happens when a group subscribes to some anti-social code of conduct in their relations with others, this infamous code of Bakounin and Nechayeff came home to plague them. In 1870 they quarreled and Nechayeff intrigued to make Bakounin his slave. He suddenly disappeared from Geneva, where they had been associated in their revolutionary work, and Bakounin and other Russians discovered that they had been robbed of confidential letters and other valuable documents. Nechayeff had been careful to get letters of recommendation before he left Geneva and with these he proceeded to London.

A Daniel Come to Judgment

Bakounin's reaction to this affair is humorous. He immediately wrote to a friend in London, warning him against Nechayeff. "He will spy on you," he wrote, "and will try to get possession of all your secrets, and to do that, in your absence, left alone in your room, he will open all your drawers, will read all your correspondence, and whenever a letter appears interesting to him, that is to say, compromising you or one of your friends from one point of view or another, he will steal it, and will guard it carefully as a document against you or your friend. . . . If you have presented him to a friend, his first care will be to sow between you seeds of discord, scandal, intrigue—in a word, to set you two at variance. If your friend has a wife or a daughter, he will try to seduce her, to lead her astray, and to force her away from the conventional morality and throw her into a revolutionary protest against society."

Certainly, a Daniel come to judgment! Evidently the "Revolutionary Catechism" possessed the powers of "terrible, total, inexorable and universal destruction," but the Anarchism of Bakounin appears to be the result of blown up when the revolutionary code was given a practical application. However, all this was unknown to Marx and his colleagues when Bakounin made application for the admission of his Alliance to the International. Marx was acquainted with his general views and regarded him as the "amorphous pan-destroyer, who has succeeded in uniting in one person Rodolphe, Monte Cristo, Karl Moor and Robert Macaire." Bakounin's entrance into the First International was the beginning of a duel between the two men and their respective colleagues, which continued until the International was wrecked. When Bakounin's Alliance made application for admission to the International it was rejected at the suggestion of Marx, but the General Council agreed to admit its members as individuals if they joined affiliated sections. Bakounin formally dissolved the Alliance, but it is doubtful whether it was really abandoned. There is evidence to indicate that it constituted a "Left Wing" or "nucleus" within the International, with its own branches and publications. During the Paris Commune of 1871 Bakounin wrote a friend: "The Alliance must appear to agree with the International, though really apart from it, in order better to get around it, and to direct it. Therefore, efforts should always be made to place its members in a minority on any council, committee, or section of the Alliance."

The Road to Paradise

One of the chief aims of the Bakounin organization was the following: "The Alliance declares itself Atheist; it demands the abolition of all worship, the substitution of science for faith, and of human justice for divine justice; the abolition of marriage, so far as it is a political, religious, juridical, or civil institution." The State was considered a "conspiracy" against mankind, rather than

an institutional development, which was to be abolished by conspiracy and armed revolt. Property must become communized and classes equalized. All forms of authority, whether of elective bodies or even the referendum, must be demolished, so that "liberty" may be realized by the free, spontaneous and voluntary association of men and women. Bakounin's idea ap-

peared to be that mankind must shatter society to bits by "universal destruction" and that in some way the fragments would automatically coalesce into a "free association" out of which would come economic equality and social bliss.

Bakounin appeared at the Basle Congress of the International in 1869 and there supported a motion of a Marxist to give power to the General Council to expel any section adopting a program in conflict with the International's. The Marxists desired this power for the purpose of disciplining any sections which might follow Bakounin or others in any course not consistent with the declared views and purposes of the International. Bakounin and his supporters approved the proposal in the belief that they would soon be able to control the In-

ternational, change its views and purposes, and expel the Marxists. Theoretically, Bakounin opposed "authoritarian" principles and centralization not only in the State but in working class organizations as well. In the present instance he astonished his opponents by supporting the proposal to give this disciplinary power to the General Council.

However, he had displayed this same inconsistency in his first attempt at international organization. The supreme executive of the International Brothers was an autocracy with Bakounin as the lawgiver, and later, at Geneva in 1873, he attempted to organize a new international upon the basis of his philosophy.

"The congress that assembled there was not a large one," observes Hunter, "but, with no exaggeration whatever,

it was one of the most remarkable gatherings ever held. For six entire days and nights the delegates struggled to create by some magic means a worldwide organization of the people, without a program, a committee, a chairman, or a vote."

Its decisions opposed election of an "executive or administrative body. Nor were the decisions of the congress to have any authority. Anybody could join, believing anything he liked and doing anything he liked. Only those federations which voluntarily accepted the decisions of the congress were expected to obey them. Matters of principle were in no wise to be voted upon, and each individual was allowed to accept or reject them according to his wishes." Anti-authoritarianism, translated into reality produced impotence.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

California

Los Angeles

Branch Central, Los Angeles, meets every Thursday evening at 415 Bryson Building, Second and Spring Streets. On Jan. 20 A. J. Ohlander will lecture on "Americanism, the Great Phenomenon of the Ages."

Illinois

State Secretary Wm. R. Snow is working down-state, collecting dues and getting American Appeal subscriptions. Pennsylvania and New York had better get a hustle on themselves or Illinois will take the lead. Snow is preparing the field for a big organization campaign in the spring and a powerful Socialist Party by the next National election.

Cook County

The Executive Committee of Local Cook County, at a largely attended and enthusiastic meeting, formulated plans for the new year. The committee selected Andrew Lavin, Mike Ladevich and Meyer Hauszka to take charge of the Socialist Forum and Study Group. Meetings are planned for Miss Jessie Stephen of the English Labor Party for March.

Frank Kourin, former Bohemian branch secretary, was nominated as Socialist candidate for alderman in the 22nd Ward.

Colorado

The Socialists of Colorado will not let another fake ticket get on the ballot in that State. They are getting a good start toward reorganizing the State and preparing for future elections. They have elected the following State officers, who will place an organizer in the field: W. B. Arnold, Canon City; J. Berman, Denver; S. A. Garth, Colorado Springs; Allen Peeler, Durango; J. F. Kunc, Loveland; H. H. Sweetland, Brush; Philip Zimmerman, Holyoke; C. A. Bushnell, secretary, Holyoke.

Pennsylvania

State Secretary Hoopes writes he is receiving many encouraging letters from comrades who have pledged their best efforts to rebuild the organization. Some letters contained contributions for the State. Hoopes urges the Socialists to renew their subscriptions to party papers. He is enthusiastic over the proposed building of a powerful radio broadcasting station, to be known as DEBS.

Philadelphia

Local Philadelphia will hold a general membership meeting Sunday, Jan. 16, 8 p. m., at Labor Institute, 808 Locust street. All members of the Local are urged to be in attendance at this meeting, as matters of great importance will be considered.

Ohio

Reports from the various sections show that Ohio will soon be heard from in no uncertain terms. The City of Cleveland will have a referendum on the changing of the charter to knock out the manager plan. Local Cleveland has called a convention, to meet on Jan. 17 at Room 207, Superior Building, to discuss the referendum and proposed change of charter and lay plans to build a strong working organization.

Jewish Branch

The Jewish Branch has moved headquarters to East 108th Street and St. Clair, and from reports to the State Secretary, they have received new members. The branch has changed to a Ward Branch, and hereafter expect to build organization in their Ward.

Indiana

The State Secretary, Mrs. Effie Mueller, 229 South Keystone ave., Indianapolis, with the co-operation of the National Secretary, is urging all members to get their dues paid up to date. Comrades in Indiana who are not members of the Party, should send their application to the State Secretary, with at least 50 cents to pay for the first month's dues.

New Jersey

Newark

The English Branch met on Monday night and proved to be a meeting of the type held in the old days of enthusiastic activity. The studio adjoining the office of Dr. Reiss on Springfield ave. was packed to the

doors and 28 new members were admitted. S. H. Stille has been quietly working with this result. A few more members and the branch will have to meet in larger quarters. James Oneal spoke on "Forces That Lead to Socialism in the United States" and Organizer Stille reported his work. Two big debates are being planned and a party picnic will be arranged for next summer.

New York State

Buffalo's Good Record

The showing of Buffalo in regard to increased purchase of dues' stamps is remarkable in the estimation of State Secretary Merrill. Five years ago Local Buffalo had fallen behind Schenectady and other up-State locals in average paid-up membership as indicated from dues stamps purchased from the State organization, but in the last few years it has more than recovered its standing. While Buffalo bought only 240 stamps in 1924, it purchased 360 in 1925 and 530 in 1926. If other locals, declares the State Secretary, had done as well in proportion, the State Office would have been in a vastly improved situation so far as accomplishing real work is concerned. Of course, the presence of Organizer Herman in Buffalo for several weeks last year had considerable to do with the better showing of the local there.

State Secretary Merrill is planning to visit Hudson River locals in the near future. Locals in the western part of the state will be visited later in the season.

New York City

General Party Meeting

A general Party meeting has been ordered by the Executive Committee for Wednesday evening, Jan. 19 in the Debs Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street. Every Party member of Local New York City must be present. The object is to organize our forces for effective protest against the possibilities of war with Mexico.

Theatre Party

The Theatre Party arranged by Local New York City at the Provincetown Playhouse will be held this Saturday evening, Jan. 15. Paul Green's forceful play, "In Abraham's Bosom," will be enjoyed by New York Socialists. Those not having tickets should do so at once by phone, Stuy. 4620. Tickets purchased at the box office Saturday will be higher in price.

Enrolled Voters Meetings

Enrolled voters meetings last week brought in 14 new members. Special mention should be made of the splendid work done by the Comrades of the 22nd A. D. in handling their meeting. The meeting in the 6th A. D. on the other hand was neglected by the members and the results were not as good. Experience shows that Socialist sympathizers are willing to join the Party if we try to get in contact with them. With proper cooperation all district meetings of this character proved fruitful. The Bronx meeting on Jan. 17 was postponed. Enrolled voters meetings will be held in the week of Jan. 24.

Hennington Hall Forum

The Forum of the 6-8-12 A. D. with Judge Jacob Panken as director and speaker opened on last Sunday morning. A fairly good audience was present and Panken delivered a stirring and instructive summary of the

week's events. A discussion followed and Panken's handling of the questions and his replies brought warm comment. Comrade Panken has the faculty of making friends with his audience. It was agreed that this Forum will grow from week to week and become an instrument for progress on the East Side. One visitor coming some 30 miles out of town was so enthusiastic that he made a contribution of \$10, remarking that it was worth a dollar a session to him.

Manhattan

A number of enrolled voters meetings, lectures and possible Forums in addition to the four Forums will be held during February and March in various parts of Manhattan.

The Upper West Side Branch will be reorganized with the assistance of Pierre Di Nio. The members will be called to a meeting in one of the rooms of the Finnish Socialist Headquarters, 5th Avenue and 127th Street on Tuesday evening, Jan. 18. William Karlin will take charge of the reorganization work in the Washington Heights district.

Bronx

Enrolled voters meetings in the 6-7-8 and in the 3-4-5 A. D. will be held during the week of January 24. Postponement of meetings was due to the inability of the City Office to get out so large a mailing. Bronx Socialists are urged to volunteer one night a week to assist in addressing envelopes to reach 2,000 enrolled voters. This help is urgent if meetings are to be held.

Bronx Ball

Only a few weeks remain now to the event of events, the Annual Ball and Entertainment at the Hunts Point Palace, Sunday afternoon and evening, January 30. Ads obtained for the Ball Journal are gratifying and the sale of tickets considerably improved upon

last year's affair. Every Bronx Socialist must devote all the spare time possible to insure success. A splendid program, has been arranged for the afternoon concert. Among the singers is James Phillips, the noted baritone and Genevieve Kaufman, the talented soprano. Both artists will sing folk songs and other selections in several languages. A dancing number of an attractive character is also a feature and a celebrated pianist whose name will be announced shortly will be added. The Ball program under the direction of Dan Barnett's Radio Orchestra will begin the jazz at 7 p. m. and of course great excitement prevails as to who will receive the big prize, "The Essex Six Sedan, 1927 Model." Tickets are \$1.00 and can be obtained at every branch headquarters and in the Party Office in Greater New York.

BROOKLYN

2nd A. D.

The enrolled voters meeting of the 2nd A. D. scheduled to be held on Wednesday evening, January 19, will be postponed until a later date on account of the general Party meeting in the Debs Auditorium that evening.

4th-16th A. D.

This branch commenced its educational work with a series of lectures delivered by Esther Friedman on Tuesday evening. The first lecture was attended by a fair membership and indications that this undertaking will meet with success as it goes on.

6th A. D.

A series of lectures by Esther Friedman began last Friday. The attendance was far from satisfactory. Every effort must be made by the members to bring these lectures to the attention of our sympathizers. Five new members were obtained at an enrolled voters' meeting last Wednesday evening which comrades Panken and Claessens addressed.

22nd A. D.

This branch will this Friday evening open its Forum, which will run for the next eight Friday evenings. The first

speaker on Jan. 14 is Jessie Stephen of Great Britain. Every effort has been made to obtain a large crowd. Nine new members were added at the enrolled voters' meeting last Tuesday addressed by Comrades Panken and Claessens.

17th-18th A. D.

Samuel Kantor has volunteered to assist the City Office in the work of reorganizing this branch and a meeting of the former members will be called in a very short time.

23rd A. D.

This Branch is continuing their Friday night Forum. Branch meetings are held Monday evenings and are the best attended in the city. Monday, Jan. 17, the guest will be Louis Waldman, who will speak on some current event. Enrolled voters' meeting will be held as soon as the new lists are obtained from the Board of Elections on Feb. 15.

Queens

Miss Stephen Lectures

Tickets are going fast for the lecture by Miss Jessie Stephen on "Labor's Bid For Power in Britain," in Odd Fellows' Hall, 160th street and 99th avenue, Jamaica, Sunday evening, Jan. 16. The members of Branch Jamaica and Workmen's Circle, 221, are united in working for the success of the new Jamaica Lecture Forum and its prospects are bright. Readers of The New Leader are reminded that tickets for Miss Stephen's lecture are only 25 cents and that the seating capacity of the hall is limited.

New England

The Executive Committee has called on all Socialist sympathizers to write letters of protest to the State Department, to Senators Walsh and Gillette, and to their Congressmen, protesting against American intervention in Nicaragua, and protesting against our threats to Mexico.

Through the generosity of one comrade, an essay contest for Yipsel members will be started. Prizes of \$25, \$10, and three \$5 prizes are offered to Yipsels in New England, for the best essay, from 1,000 to 5,000 words in length, on some labor or Socialist subject. Essays must be submitted to A. J. Parker, 34 Fowney street, Fitchburg, Mass., not later than April 1.

Lectures in New England

Esther Friedman will tour this district from Feb. 13 to Feb. 25. All but four dates are taken. Branches or Workmen's Circles who want a date must write at once to the State Headquarters at 21 Essex st., Boston.

A speakers training class run jointly by the Yipsels and the Boston Central Branch has been started in Boston. It meets every Sunday at 5 p. m. at 21 Essex street. Comrade Rubinowitz gave a talk on "Education from a Socialist Point of View," last Sunday. Comrade Farrington will speak on "Calvin Coolidge and Socialism" Sunday Jan. 16.

Make your reservations today for the New Leader anniversary dinner

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS REGISTER!

All Waist and Dressmakers, Member of Local 22, MUST REGISTER and Receive OFFICIAL International Union Books and Working Cards

Registration Hours Are from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M.

REGISTRATION OFFICES:

BRYANT HALL, 725 Sixth Avenue, at 42nd Street
BEETHOVEN HALL, 210 East 5th Street
INTERNATIONAL UNION BUILDING, 3 W. 16th St.

Official International Books will be issued as follows:

Members holding pink books will receive new books upon payment of fifty cents (50c.).

Those holding any other colored books will receive new books upon payment of five dollars (\$5.00), which covers all arrears. Bring your present dues books and working cards.

REGISTER BY SHOPS

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Provisional Committee of Dressmakers

MORRIS SIGMAN, President.

For RHEUMATISM URACIDOL

(Made from Ash Leaves)
The best Herbal Treatment for URIC ACID, RHEUMATISM, GOUT, NEURALGIA.
It gives marked relief—To be had from
J. GOODMAN, Inc., Dent. C.
Druggists and Importers
1372 First Avenue
New York City
Mail orders promptly attended to

RADIOS and VICTROLAS

\$1.00 PER WEEK
Come and Hear the New
Orthophonic Victrola
The greatest invention in musical instruments of the century.

\$49.00 AND UP
Complete stock of German Records

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

MASK BALL FORWARD

פארוערטס מאסקען באל

NEW MADISON SQ. GARDEN

50TH STREET AND 8TH AVENUE

SAT. EVE. 19
FEB. 19

HARRY HERSHFIELD
Will Act as Judge for the Prizes
RUSSIAN 'HABIMA' PLAYERS
THE ENTIRE TROUPE WILL APPEAR IN MASKS
(Courtesy of S. HUBOK)

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 6885

Editor.....JAMES ONEAL
Assistant Editor.....EDWARD LEVINSON
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

Contributing Editors:
Victor L. Berger
Abraham Cahan
Harry W. Laidler
Joseph E. Cohan
Clement Wood
John M. Work
Joseph T. Shipley
Morris Hillquit
Algermon Lee
Norman Thomas
Lena Morrow Lewis
Wm. M. Feigenbaum
G. A. Hoehn
Cameron H. King

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
United States
One Year \$3.00
Six Months 1.25
Three Months75

To Foreign Countries
One Year \$5.00
Six Months 1.50
Three Months75

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1927

IF THE DEAD AWAKEN

IN VIEW of President Coolidge's attitude toward Nicaragua and Mexico, it is worth while considering what is the difference between a "liberal" Democratic President and a reactionary Republican. No man at the headship of the American republic more often chanted the ritual of the democratic faith than Woodrow Wilson. His sermons on self-determination for all nations became religious gospel for millions here and abroad during the World War, yet his Administration was crucifying Haiti behind a screen of censorship during the war. Coolidge is doing the same in Nicaragua. Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge have all followed the policy of the mailed fist in Latin-America.

Not until we had become an overseas power at the beginning of the twentieth century was the foreign policy of the United States committed to the doctrine that American power must back up our investments in Latin-America. Previous to that period the State Department contented itself with forwarding complaints to Latin-American governments. Secretary of State Bayard declared that to follow up such complaints with force or the threat of force would constitute unwarranted interference with the sovereignty of other nations. Roosevelt was the first to represent the higher consolidated capitalism. He announced that the United States would serve as a policeman in Latin-America not only for American bankers and capitalists, but for the bankers and capitalists of other nations.

Simultaneously with the appearance of imperialist Bonapartism appeared an American philosopher of blood and iron, Captain Mahan, who profoundly influenced Roosevelt and his successors, announced the doctrine of America as the agent of civilization. We were to bring our culture and benevolence to the "backward races" of the world, especially the Latin-Americans. The Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico were to become American lakes. The little nations contiguous to these waters were to be penetrated by American power, naval bases established, investments encouraged, and universal military service was to prepare us for the "virtues" of obedience and willingness to die for the new materialist American religion. Religious missionaries were to be encouraged as advance agents of our "civilizing culture." Mahan was one of the first to stress the importance of a canal across the Isthmus and the need of revising the Monroe Doctrine to make it adapted to the new age of the mailed fist.

A study of the party platforms of the two capitalist parties beginning with 1904 will also show the transformation. The Democrats soon became reconciled to the new era. The Philippines, for example, have served them as a political issue with no intention of doing anything more for Filipino independence than the Republicans. The capitalist press has witnessed a similar evolution with a few notable exceptions. Today there are American organs that speak in terms of the Napoleonic tradition. In no other nation are bankers and great magnates of capital more powerful than in this country.

If the dead sleeping on the battlefields of the Revolution and the Civil War could awaken and observe what they died for their opinion would probably be expressed in terms not fit for polite society.

MARKETING BUNK

ONE of the biggest American industries developed by the World War is the selling of a variety of bunk to gudgeons. In this respect it appears that we are the fool's paradise of the nations. During the war the American Defense Society, the National Security League and Ralph Easley's National Civic Federation sold the "red menace" to many purchasers. Charlatans, recognizing this as a fertile field of profits, appeared with promoters. Hundreds of organizations marketed special brands of bunk, each guaranteed to save the republic from perdition.

In recent years the market for this kind of bunk declined, but the Ku Klux Klan rose as the other bunksters disappeared. The Klan raked in millions, but the national and state heads quarreled over the plunder and the gudgeons began to wake up to the fact that they were being swindled. However, quite a number of lizards, kligraps and clatrapts retired with enough money to enable them to live the life of gentlemen for the rest of their days.

Now comes the Supreme Kingdom with Edward Young Clarke, who realized hand-

somely on the Klan bunk, which is to use our own John Roach Straton as salesman for a new kind of hokum. Straton is to provide the shirt front for the concern, and, according to the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph, he will be rewarded with a very large fee. Clarke's star in the Klan began to decline some years ago because of some notorious publicity he received regarding his relations with one of the women potentates. The alliance between Clarke and the Fundamentalist chieftain is about the most interesting business deal that has occurred in our generation.

The Kingdom is no peanut stand affair. These two worthies propose to sell various grades of membership ranging from \$12.50 to \$1,000, with Clarke reserving for himself a good deal of each membership fee. New York City has quite a number who may be able to spare a thousand or two and the plan seems to be to market as much of the bunk in Gotham as possible in order to give the concern a good start. With this capital and what can be gathered from simpletons in Georgia, the Kingdom bunk ought to be good for a few million dollars.

It is not clear what this precious pair expect to place on the market. One story has it that they will print large quantities of a booklet on Atheism as a starter and then swat the professional Atheists from Dan to Beersheba. Perhaps the Jews and Negroes as well as the Catholics will each be advertised as a menace, while science in general, especially evolution, will be hunted out as a dangerous heresy.

Here is something better than oil stock and Brazilian diamonds for those who manage to snuggle close to Straton and Clarke. It is declared that a twenty-fold profit is assured after a million simpletons have invested. Are you interested in this Bunk? Here's your chance.

A UNIQUE WAR

IF WE are to have a war with Mexico, why not have it for other purposes than those usually declared? We have had wars for "civilization," for the "rights of small nations," for the "preservation of order," for the "right of self-determination," for "making the world safe for democracy," for "vindication of national honor" and many other high and holy purposes. For some reason or other such wars have never been satisfactory. Discontent has followed and all the high intentions for which war was waged have never been realized.

Why not have a war frankly waged in the interest of oil corporations, William Randolph Hearst and his ranches, American banking interests, American owners of mines, and so on? Such a war would be unique. Even Coolidge suggests it in his message to Congress. "There is no question that if the revolution continues," he said, "American investments and business interests in Nicaragua will be very seriously affected, if not destroyed. The currency, which is now at par, will be inflated. American as well as foreign bondholders will undoubtedly look to the United States for the protection of their interests."

The New York Daily News puts it in terms of a modern Caesarism: "This country is the most powerful in the Western Hemisphere," it declares. "The time is near when we shall be forced to set up a suzerainty, a Pax Americana, over North America below the Canadian border." There is "vision" and "idealism" made practical by a program of empire from Canada to the Isthmus. With the considerations offered by Coolidge we at last may have a war for something more than abstractions. Where is the miner, the printer, the clerk, the farmer or steel worker who would not rejoice at the prospect of giving his bones for our investors and business interests in Nicaragua and for the even greater program outlined by the Daily News?

Indeed, these workmen may even have the joy of fighting for the "foreign bondholders" of other nations, as Coolidge points out. So all indications are that if we go to war it will at last be a crusade for oil, ranches, mines, trade and investments. Coolidge and cash forever!

FIGHTING THE PORTERS

THE Pullman Company, more than any other corporation in the United States, maintains the traditions of the slave regime. Its attitude toward the Negro porters is that of the miserly gouger whose insolence is in proportion to his greed. For several weeks it has maintained a policy of obstruction to any recognition of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

The claims of the Porters are before the United States Mediation Board, the preliminary hearings having been held in Chicago from December 8 to December 17. The mediators are to report to the full board and the sessions will be resumed later.

But in the meantime the "company" union had held elections under its servile agents and the Pullman Company claimed that the Porters were satisfied with the "company" union. This was answered by the representatives of the Porters presenting thousands of affidavits of Porters who declared that they had voted under duress. This evidence made a deep impression on the mediators.

Since the adjournment of the preliminary hearings the company has been discharging influential Porters who have been working for the genuine union. By this despicable method it appears that the corporation hopes to cow the Porters into submission to the corporation-conducted "union." It would not dare to act this way towards the conductors, who are solidly organized. The fat oligarchs who thus treat the ill-paid Porters are a good example of the fraudulent democracy vended by many of their tribe.

The News of the Week

Labor Advances In Two Nations

Foreign Minister Emil Vandervelde and his three Socialist fellow ministers will probably remain in the coalition cabinet of Belgium. This course was decided on at the special party convention held December 25 and 26. The ministers will remain under the close control of the party executive on condition that some important labor reforms be realized. Another party convention will be held early this year to take stock of results. This course is considered necessary to avoid giving the capitalist representatives an opportunity to put over some anti-labor decrees. In Finland the Labor cabinet has decided to release all political prisoners who were jailed for opposing the White Guard and the German soldiers under General Mannerheim in 1918. It is expected that some Communists jailed by the Conservative Government will also be released. Other items of the Labor program announced by Premier Tanner include the eight-hour day, social insurance, reduction of army expenses and the term of military service to nine months, shifting of the tax burden to the rich, adding small farmers with state credit, promoting international disarmament and enforcement of prohibition. The party executive will maintain the same attitude of control over the Labor Ministers as that exercised by the Belgians. A drive for new party members in October resulted in 11,000 new members, making the total membership about 37,000. The party press has also increased in circulation. The Socialist youth movement is also enjoying a rapid growth and in the general elections next summer the party hopes to have a majority in the new Diet instead of the 60 deputies out of a total of 200.

France Moving Farther Left

The swing to the Left in France which began with the elections to the Chamber of Deputies in May, 1924, and has continued, with a few immaterial set-backs, ever since, was accentuated last Sunday when 108 of the 314 senators composing the Upper House of Parliament were chosen by mixed electoral bodies made up of deputies, district councillors and delegates picked by the municipal councils. From the more or less conflicting reports now available, it appears that the Socialists gained the most, having won from ten to sixteen seats, while the Communist broke into the senate, although their representative, Emile Bachelet, is understood to belong to

the group of Communist dissenters and not to the 100 percent followers of Moscow captained by Marcel Cachin. Just how many Socialists were elected on the first ballot and how many owe their seats to Left combinations in the second and third balloting apparently will not be known until detailed returns are at hand. As the voting was done by a comparatively small number of persons, all the balloting was done on one day. The gains by the other parties of the Left were not large, so the political complexion of the Senate as a whole remains conservative and pro-Poincare. Among the reactionaries defeated last Sunday was Alexandre Millerand, the Socialist renegade and former president of the republic. Senator Billiet, founder of the reactionary "Bloc National," and one of the biggest dispensers of campaign funds in the last elections to the chamber, was also beaten. During the pre-election discussions, the Socialists laid emphasis upon the need of abolishing the senate altogether, but pointed out that as long as such a body existed they meant to capture all the seats possible. With a party membership well over 120,000, with more than 100 deputies in the chamber, with their weekly, *Le Peuple*, coming out again as a daily on January 22, and with their hold on the masses steadily growing, the French Socialists will assemble at their national convention in Lyon on April 17, in a well justified mode of cheerfulness.

Brokers Plan For Presidency

The party pot of capitalist politics bubbles and subsides while the stokers keep in mind the national auction in 1925. Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania recently issued a statement regarding the politics of his State that should go down as a classic in political literature while Governor Smith shyly hints that he would not be averse to presiding over the American republic for four years. McAdoo in the West carries a meat ax under his Klan nightshirt, ready to bring it down on Smith's bean. Pinchot, who goes out of office January 18, declares that for years the politics of Pennsylvania "has been run as a part of the business of certain great moneyed interests" who invest "in politics as they do in mills or mines or banks, and for the same purpose—to make money." He has no mercy on Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, the kid glove of the Republican party. Pinchot speaks of the machine as including "the lowest politicians," men who depend on crime and vice for their power. Resting on the criminal gang

is the "respectable element" like Mellon and the business magnates "who profit from the existence of the machine." These gentlemen "make common cause with gangsters, vote thieves, dive keepers" and so on. We rise to remark that the description also applies to Tammany in New York and the Democratic machine in Chicago. Meantime Olvany, the Tammany chieftain, observes that the "boom" for his boy, Smith, is floating nicely and is even liked in the Southern states. Franklin D. Roosevelt is certain of party harmony but we prefer to wait for the big Democratic circus in 1928 before subscribing to his view. In short, the brokers are preparing a successor to the Jeffersons and Lincolns. Isn't it charming?

Vagaries of The Sovietets

Slowly but surely the International Ladies' Garment Workers is pulling the cloakmakers out of the terrible disaster into which the Communist leaders led them. The union has made it plain that it will make no compromise with the misleaders and the organization from which they took orders. Moreover, the International will send no delegates to the Needle Trades Workers' Union of Russia and Moscow will understand that its representatives here have engaged in some more bungling. Whether this knowledge in Russia will do any good is a matter of conjecture. Recently the "staff of the world revolution" declared American jazz to be "bourgeois music, unfit for proletarian society." We hold no brief for our barbaric melodies but this outpouring of jazz is further proof that the Communist lives in a phantom world, not the one of reality. It so happens that jazz is the music of the American proletariat while the fox-trot and the shimmy, also barred in the Soviet holy land, are also the popular dances of men and women of the shops, stores and factories. Whether a solemn thesis of the Workers' Party has informed the Moscow philosophers otherwise we do not know. This theme in Russia, following the establishment of an academy for training proletarian clowns, makes normal human beings wonder whether those who subscribe to Leninism are not a little lacking in the upper balcony. Meantime American Communism has reached its lowest ebb. We doubt whether it has 5,000 members left. It started with sincere enthusiasts but today it has been transformed into a job-holding concern with the chief aim of annexing trade union treasuries. All that has brought the trade unions is civil war and ruin.

THE CHATTER BOX

Poet and Broker

Two broker men across the aisle
Sit and talk of bonds and stocks.
I sit across the aisle from them
And dream of stars and hollyhocks.

I sit and plan a gentle ode
To gentle things like summer rain,
To timid things like leaves at dawn,
To gorgeous things like hills in Spain.

They chat of millions made and lost,
Of U. S. Steel and Bethlehem.
Great God, how dark their souls must be...
God, how I pity them...

They sit and talk of balances
In sundry banks, and profits earned...
I wonder if the poems I mailed
Will be accepted or returned.

They talk of millions lost and made,
I dream of but a poet's fee.
And if they knew how small that is,
Great God, how they would pity me...

Not so very long ago, in this space we ventured on prophecy regarding the possibility of war between Mexico and this grand and uproarious oligarchy. We asked for immediate protest from all sane and liberal souls still left in America. Until the first news from Nicaragua and our marines at last petered into print, nothing stirred. True to radical form, we arise now at the last moment, when all the clouds have already gathered for the storm, and make stentorian pros and cons. Wall Street just laughs and goes ahead pushing their administrative mannikins along in the perilous game. Coolidge and Kellogg are loud speakers giving sound to the broadcasting from Station OIL, and they are in no way to blame for anything that will occur. The Army and Navy Club is all astir with prospects of riding their Admiral and General members to higher glory over the dead bodies of Central American soldiers. Through the virtue of censorship, our own boys will probably come through unscathed until the news slowly breaks with... our own lads... wounded and killed... in the interests of life and property of American citizens, etc., etc., etc.

Pretty soon Wall Street will steal the thunder from the last Doheny, Fall, etc., etc., and claim that we must preserve American interests in Mexican oil fields for more serious reasons than international diplomacy and the Navy will allow. Somewhere in the distant offing lies a great nation that is threatening our shores. Unless these oil fields are secured to American perpetual control, even though they lie in a strangers' household, then will our supply of fuel for American warships be curtailed. Leave it to our merchants in patriotic bunk to dish up super patriotic reasons for anything from petty larceny to wholesale butchery. Somewhere across five thousand miles of Pacific brine leers a sinister monster, that has nothing else to do except plan a little harrying raid on our sunny strands. Our Army and Navy wizards know all about it. But they won't say boo. Washington and the intelligence division have all the plots and plans. It won't be long, it won't be long, before that monster sneaks down upon our homes in the middle of a night and turns our smiling and happy homes into shambles. All this will happen unless all the oil in North and South America is in full control of our patriotic Rockefeller, Morgans, Sinclairs and Dohenys. And Mexico is perhaps the secret ally of that monster. The Army and Navy wizards know all about and won't say boo, as yet. And if the intelligence division hasn't all the dope now, they will later on. Just mark our poor prophetic soul, when the Bolshevik bugaboo is all worked out against Nicaragua and Calles, they will start this shivery tom-tom of fear pounding throughout the land.

And from what we know of dumbbells, morons and white-collar gentry, as evidenced by the stampe of 1917, who can tell but they will fall in line as readily again. All we can say in this moment of impotence and despair is: May Reason and Love of Humanity intercede and prevent the impending tragedy.

And for heaven's sake don't blame it all on Cal and Kellogg. We are most certain that neither of these entertaining twins know what it is all about.

Last week, the make-up man and who else broke up a little affair all our own, between H. L. M. and K. H. and Eva Pagan, all beloved contris, by omitting Eva Pagan's reply to H. L. M.'s poem of two weeks ago to K. H. We found our remarks printed about the absent poem, and we and every one concerned felt foolish and peeved about it. To make amends we print:

To H. L. M.

Because she dislikes dust
And Greenwich Village apartments
You say she lacks artistic temperament.

Because her verses are whippers
Lost in confusion of crowds,
You say her songs are like chocolate fudge.

Because she is indifferent
To the amative advances
Of all these sad young men
You say she lacks emotional depth.

How can you know that she worships a star,
You who cannot see
Beyond street lamps?
—Eva Pagan.

We wish to acknowledge from D. Van Nostrand Company, 8 Warren Street, N. Y. C., Publishers, "The New Universe," by Baker Brownell, Professor of Contemporary Thought, at Northwestern University. From a fitting perusal we feel that we are in for a few nights of absorbing sport in the realms of tangible dimension. We shall be happy to review it later. Also, "The Curtain Rises," four very actable one-act plays, by Benson Inge and Charles Chupet, and published by the Book Mart Publishing Co. of N. Y. There is the promise of Barrie and O'Neill in every one of the four little excerpts from this unbelievable world.

We are now reading Luigi Pirandello's "Shoot," published by P. P. Dutton and Co., of New York, and find it head and gray matter above much that we have come across in recent literary excursions. We hope to be more spacey with the book in a later issue.

We hope to be the barbecue master as the Yipsel dinner to Morris Norvick, their splendid tender in these parts, this Sunday night at Chez Lucien, East Tenth Street, New York City, at 8:30 p. m. sharp. We promise to be there bright if not early. So all in all, there isn't so much to do as the weeks roll on.
S. A. de Witt.

Nature's Lesson

One lesson, Nature, let me learn of thee,
One lesson, which in every wind is blown,
One lesson of two duties kept as one,
Though the loud world proclaim their enmity—

Of toil unsevered from tranquility,
Of labor, that in lasting fruit outgrows
Far noisier schemes, accomplished in repose—
Too great for haste, too high for rivalry!

Yes, while on earth a thousand discords ring,
Man's senseless uproar mingling with his toll,
Still do thy quiet ministers move on,
Their glorious tasks in silence perfecting!
Still working, blaming still our vain turmoil,
Laborers that shall not fall when man is gone.
—Matthew Arnold.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton

The Medievalists

THE Middle Ages continues to interest and excite the modern mind. It has often provided a retreat for the discontent. While Greece has often inspired the poet and Rome the historian, the Middle Ages has had an attraction that has been romanticized into a wish-fulfillment. While Hellenism has been made into a cult, and professors escape enmity by nurturing the Greek turn of mind, the Middle Ages has been made into a way of life and its philosophy into a form of spirit. Carlyle and Ruskin, who were ardent medievalists in their generation, turned back to the Middle Ages for their vision. Tawney, in one of the most scientific studies of the attitude of early capitalist thought, "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism," brings to his description of medieval economy and medieval ethics the glow and glamour of poetic diction. In certain circles the saying that to turn to the Middle Ages is to turn to truth has become a platitude. The medievalism of the late Maurice Hewlett was but the manifestation of this attitude in contemporary fiction. Gierke's characterization of Liebnitz as one "who in so many directions went deeper than his contemporaries, and who perhaps for that reason, so often turned his eye backward toward medieval ways of thought," is a clear expression of this attitude in historical criticism. The idealization of the Middle Ages by such contemporaries as Chesterton and Belloc, the enthusiasm of the radical mind of William Morris who found in the Middle Ages the only genuine art, and the time when there was "happiness to the maker and the user," are not nearly so significant as the reversion of the Guild Socialists, Sidney Webb and G. D. H. Cole, to that period for their inspiration and logic.

All of this mood of retreat, this tendency to romantic retrospection, is illuminating as to the inadequacy of our own civilization. Despite our Coney Islands, jazz halls, college retreats, cabaret caverns, burlesque orgies, radio fests, we are living under a strain that is everlastingly tugging at our equilibrium. Our world has become one of mad expedition, breathless efficiency, unceasing acceleration. We have become running gasping maniacs—human phantoms that have become dehumanized by the very creation of our own intelligence: the machine. We have become nervous, unstable mechanisms. Ours is a mad, nervous age. Our nerves are at incessant tension. We are nervous in love, nervous in hate, nervous in every plan and execution. The machine has mastered us. We have become its slaves and its puppets. Its advance has been our confusion. Our progress has also been our enslavement. It is only as man learns to master the machine that he will learn to master his life.

The Middle Ages represents a beatific antithesis. Its wars were small and unimportant as compared with those of the modern world. Its life was more quiet, stationary and relaxed. The frenzied rush of our day was alien to its experience. The fixity of its life gave an ennobling illusion of permanency to its passions and aspirations. These elements become livelier through the haze of remoteness, and, in the reminiscent eyes of the medievalist, assume a beauty that is unfading and unfickle. They offer peace to heaven to minds that shrink at turbulence. The entire recoil is part of this discontent of modern man. Arnold's flight to Obermann was but part of the same gesture. The mysticism of the German romantics had the same origin. Man has always yearned for a past that he has visualized as more beautiful than his present. His concept of a Garden of Eden, a time when sin was unknown, his myth of a Golden Age, and then a Silver Age, are all examples of this reaction as discovered in religion and myth. In his loves man is similar. He is always in love with the past because the present is bare of a beauty that he cannot attain. He craves the old, because the extant is insufficient, the future dubious. It is proof of his discontent that he never learned to organize his life in felicitous adaptation to his environment. He has never learned to understand his environment or himself. When profit is dominant, humanity must suffer. No social adaption can be sufficient when life is subordinated to gain.

Hearnshaw's "Medieval Contributions to Civilization" (Henry Holt Co.) which appeared five years ago, and Tupper's "Types of Society in Medieval Literature" (Henry Holt Co., \$1.50) which has just appeared, are but additions to this literature of retrospection. While Hearnshaw's symposium had been an earnest attempt to praise if not glorify the Middle Ages, Tupper's study is more an attempt to interpret than to romanticize. Nevertheless, the glow of appreciation is not absent. Tupper's description of the nature and manner of life of the lower classes in medieval society is excellent. The communal nature of medieval literature is wisely emphasized. The individualistic motif was discouraged. The quarrels of the classes, of the stations and occupations, are carefully noted. Tupper's discussion of the place and danger of chess in medieval society is arresting:

"For, while this ancient and honorable game is deemed by us of today a pastime well within the bounds of personal safety it counted in the Middle Ages almost as heavy a toll of victims as us. Alexander Neckham, a foster brother of Richard Coeur de Lion, laments the sudden fits of passion to which the players seemed peculiarly prone, and the brawls into which the game often degenerated."