

A Newspaper
Devoted to the Interests
of the
Socialist and Labor
Movement

NEW LEADER

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
One Year \$2.00
Six Months 1.00
Three Months75

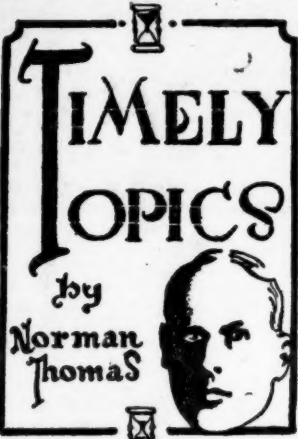
VOL. VII—No. 2

Published Weekly at
7 East 15th Street, New York, N. Y.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1927

Entered as Second Class Matter, January
19, 1924, at the Post Office at New York,
New York, under act of March 3, 1879.

Price Five Cents.



IN newspapers filled with murder stories and what not it is good to come across the story of the Alaska mail sled driver named Jewell who delivered his Christmas mail on time in a storm at a temperature of 58 degrees below zero. This, after all, is only one striking illustration of the magnificent every day responsibility on the part of the inconspicuous workers who keep our complicated and dangerous machinery going. On such loyalty, courage and skill as Mr. Jewell has shown—the despatches don't even give us his first name—we ought to be able to build a pretty fine civilization.

By contrast the same newspaper tells us that we have a civilization in which the American Secretary of War, Mr. Davis, feels obliged to advocate in a formal letter to Congress various governmental measures for the revival of private manufacture of the munitions of war. This is his Christmas message to the American people. Yet it has been generally agreed by all students that the private greed of armament makers has been a contributory cause to war. Achilles Loria, the Italian authority, even listed it as a major cause of the Balkan wars which were a prelude to the World War. Aside from all that there is something infinitely shocking in a spectacle of stockholders coining money out of war and the preparation for war. The complicity of the Dupont Company and similar ammunition makers here and abroad over the prosperity they derived from the World War gave terrible proof of what love of money will do to every fine feeling of human comradeship. In face of these facts Mr. Davis wants to revive private munition manufacture. If I were a Congressman I should oppose it bitterly. And yet it must be confessed that if we are to accept on the one hand the war system and on the other the supremacy of the profit motive there is a certain logic in Mr. Davis' request.

Some part of that logic may be removed if the principle of the proposed treaty with France outlawing war between our two countries can be extended to a general treaty for the outlawry of war. More of that logic will be removed if we set about to find a substitute in international cooperation for our present imperialism. The forthcoming Pan-American Congress in Havana which Mr. Coolidge is to address will give a fine opportunity to see whether the Administration will go beyond after-dinner sentiments to practical action. It has its opportunity in connection with the forthcoming elections in Nicaragua which might well be carried on under supervision of a Pan-American commission rather than under a committee of our own army officers.

Every one who knew anything of the facts felt an indescribable joy at the acquittal of Greco and Carillo by a jury in Judge Cohen's court in the Bronx. Their conviction would have meant the success of one of the rawest frame ups between American Fascists and certain police officials that could be imagined. Such a Fascist success would have menaced the whole labor movement. We are all safer and happier because it failed. But labor men will be fools, and worse, if the revelations in Judge Cohen's court of the extent to which Fascists will go against their enemies does not move them to new vigor in the fight against Fascism. We cannot fight Fascism among our Italian population by negatives. We must support anti-Fascist organizations and back up such anti-Fascist papers as *Il Nuovo Mondo*. Yes, and we must help the Greco-Carillo Defense Committee at 70 Fifth Ave., New York, to pay its just debts. It is all very well to thank Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hays and Isaac Shorr for their magnificent services. Lovers of decency and fair play in and out the labor movement will not expect them to take out all their pay in thanks.

The auspicious opening of the Amalgamated's cooperative houses in the Bronx near Van Courtlandt Park is an event of more than local significance, for housing is a national problem. Great praise is due to the union itself, to the Amalgamated Bank, to the Forward Association and to the individuals within their ranks who took the initiative in this matter. New York's housing law proved advanced.

(Continued from page 3)

Fraudulent Voters O.K.'d By Tammany

Corrigan, Democratic Magistrate, Gives His Organization's False Voters A Clean Bill

ELECTION "floaters"—illegal voters—more than 4,000 of whom are alleged to have contributed to the stealing of the election of Municipal Court Justice Jacob Panken, Socialist, in New York last November, were given a clean bill of health and an invitation to repeat their performance in a ruling handed down Thursday by Magistrate Joseph E. Corrigan.

Magistrate Corrigan, a judge of pronounced Tammany sympathies, wrote the ruling which is considered the most flagrant endorsement of election frauds ever given by Tammany Hall, never too reticent in such matters.

The ruling came in the case of David B. Kunster, a Tammany sub-district leader, who was arrested on complaints of Socialist watchers who accused him of voting from a false address. The arrest followed exposure by the Socialists and friendly elements of wholesale false registration in Judge Panken's district by Tammany men who live outside the district.

Kunster was prosecuted by the State Attorney General's office. He admitted he did not live in the district in which he registered as a qualified voter, but claimed he "did not know" he was violating the law.

In his ruling Magistrate Corrigan said: "I do not feel that I am called upon to decide whether or not the defendant was entitled to vote from the premises, 144 Rivington Street, where he claims his residence but I am called upon to decide whether or not he committed a crime in registering from those premises."

"In order to violate either Subdivision 2 or Subdivision 4 of Section 752 of the Penal Law the defendant must know at the time he registered either that he will not be a qualified voter in the district or he must know that the residence he gives is a false residence."

"There was no evidence in the course of the proceeding to show that the defendant acted other than in good faith. On the contrary, his actions were open and above-board. He was sustained in his action by the advice of counsel and claimed that what he did was done in conformity with the law and in the exercise of his legal rights. Consequently, whatever may be said as to the question of his actual residence, the essential element of guilty knowledge was lacking. Therefore no crime was committed, and the charge against the defendant is hereby dismissed."

A Beggar's Trust

A cable to the New York Times from Moscow declares that a big beggar's trust has been found in that city. That's nothing. We have had the biggest beggars' trust in the world for many years. There are millions of members, holding shares in the Republican and Democratic parties. They are always standing outside the legislative halls begging. Here are the biggest beggars' trusts in the world. Can you beat them?

NORTH DAKOTA MOISTURE

A wet faction of the Republican Party has been organized in North Dakota. As the G. O. P. often takes credit for the rain, the farmers of that state should be comforted with this new promise.

Your Own Super-Power

The super-power gang has established a powerful lobby in Washington with the view of having the nation's greatest riches voted to it. That crowd recognizes the value of your vote and you will become a super-power when you do.

Pennsylvania Miners' Homes Are Raided; Four Are Arrested

Four miners, arrested when their homes were raided at Donora, Pennsylvania on December 16, are being held under \$1,000 bail and will be given a hearing on charges of sedition on January 10. The men are Nick Knezevich, Ivan Ceh, Joe Hitiak and Matt Goretta, all of Donora.

The raid is alleged to have grown out of a dispute within the ranks of the Croatian Fraternal Union at that place. Members of the union, who had quarreled with the four men, denounced them to the local police as "reds" and the arrests followed. The charges are based on the alleged finding of Socialist literature in the homes of the defendants. According to a report received by the American Civil Liberties Union from the Pittsburgh branch of the International Labor Defense, the "evidence" consists entirely of literature printed before the world war, with the exception of a copy of the book "Russia After Ten Years" and a cartoon showing the working class bowed under the burden of American imperialism.

A local attorney, D. M. Anderson, has been retained by the defendants.

Berger Seeks Hearings on Detective Bill

Bill of Socialist Congressman Likely to Win Wide Support—Other Measures Offered

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON—A hearing on his bill to abolish the activities of private detectives and detective agencies in interstate commerce will be sought by Representative Victor L. Berger, on the resumption of the present session after the holidays, it was said at the Socialist congressman's office here today.

Mr. Berger expects to present evidence, it was stated, showing that the 20 states which now have laws seeking to regulate the activities of these agencies have generally found that such legislative efforts have been unsuccessful in abolishing or limiting the evils involved.

Hits Interstate Activities

Mr. Berger's bill would permit these agencies to continue in operation within the states, congress having no power to act in this respect, but would provide a \$5,000 fine and imprisonment up to two years, or both, for persons engaging in such activities between the states, and for common carriers or other agencies which knowingly aided or abetted in such activity. The bill specifically also forbids the employment of such private detectives and detective agencies in strikes and labor troubles.

Representatives of organized labor, which has suffered particularly through the activities of private detective agencies, are expected to support the bill before any hearing which may be obtained.

The generally felt need for some legislation to restrict or abolish these private detectives since revelations of the activities of the Burns men in the Fall-Sinclair trial has been indicated here by the introduction of several measures besides that offered by Mr. Berger.

Blanton Joins Move

Representative Blanton, of Texas, has offered a bill to prohibit the employment of such agencies to shadow jurors in federal trials; Senator Wheeler, of Montana, has a resolution in for an investigation of the activities of such agencies; and another measure for an investigation of the Fall-Doherty trial, which resulted in acquittal of these defendants, also has a bearing on the matter of the suspected activity of such agents in that case.

SHOCKING EXTRAVAGANCE!

Mr. Owen D. Young, chairman of the Board of the General Electric Company, one of our most powerful dynasties, brazenly declares that "the old notion that saving is an economic virtue" is not true. We should spend and be happy. Now that is a merited rebuke to miners, farmers, textile workers and the unemployed for their riotous living!

N.E.C. Sounds Call For 1928 Campaign Fund

Committee Begins Raising of Fund to Place Ticket On Ballot Throughout the Entire Country—Subscription Lists Issued

TO The Members of The Socialist Party, Comrades:

We are approaching one of the most important national political struggles in the history of the United States. Never have the prospects of the Socialist Party been more promising. Never have the old parties been so shamelessly committed to reaction, never so corrupt and visionless, never so barren of genuine issues.

In the Presidential Campaign of 1928, the Socialist Party will probably be the only opposition party in the field. It is the only national political party that makes a direct appeal to the workers of the nation, that raises vital political and economic issues, and that appeals to the idealism of voters who are disgusted with the old parties.

A Ticket in Every State

The national campaign will test the resources of the Socialist Party and its members as they have never been tested before. We must nominate tickets in every state possible. We must hold a national convention in April and nominate a presidential ticket. We must help unorganized states to be organized and help organized states where it is necessary. We must awaken our supporters and sympathizers to the importance of the national political struggle next year.

We cannot wait till the national convention of the party meets to undertake this work. It is necessary to begin now. Much work of organization can be done and must be done before the national convention meets.

For these reasons we, your National Executive Committee, are calling upon you to assist in raising an organization fund. With this call the National office is providing contribution lists for circulation among party members and friends. We urge you to immediately use these lists. Use them in your branch meetings, at public meetings, in your trade unions and other labor organizations, everywhere that a sympathizer may be found. Every member should make his or her own contribution as generous as possible.

As rapidly as lists are filled and returned, forward the contributions without delay to the National office. Work of organization is planned. We know the states that must be helped. We want this work done before our national convention meets. How soon it is done will depend upon your response to this appeal.

Comrades, let us go forward in one great drive for a greater and more powerful Socialist Party. A great campaign awaits us. Let us prepare the ground for an inspiring struggle, for a larger membership, more Readings and Milwaukee, more political influence, for an effective and revitalized Socialist Movement in the United States.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

Victor L. Berger
James D. Graham
Morris Hillquit
James Onal
Joseph W. Sharts
W. R. Shaw
Dr. Wm. J. Van Essen,
WM. H. HENRY,
Executive Secretary.

Reading Ready For Socialist Celebration

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

READING, PA.—Arrangements have now been completed for the public celebration in connection with the inauguration of the Socialist administration in this city, on Monday, January 2.

The new administration will be sworn in at City Hall at 10 a. m. The officials to take office are J. Henry Stump, mayor; James H. Maurer and George W. Snyder, councilmen, and Walter W. Hollinger, city controller. Under the commission form of government in force in this city, Stump, Maurer and Snyder will constitute a majority of the council of five members, and for the next four years will wield both legislative and executive power, subject, however, to State laws governing cities of this class in Pennsylvania.

The Socialist members elected to the School Board, Raymond S. Hofses and George D. Snyder, have already been sworn into office, but they will participate in the general celebration following the inauguration of the city officials next Monday.

The general celebration will consist of a public reception in the ballroom of the Rajah Temple from 4 to 6, dinner and speeches by elected officials and prominent visiting Socialists from 6 to 8.30, and dancing from 8.30 till midnight. Music for the entire program will be furnished by McLean's Country Club Orchestra.

The dinner will be served in the banquet hall of the temple, and will be limited to 1,000 plates. Reservations for the dinner, accompanied by check, must be made in advance, and should be sent to the Socialist Party, 628 Walnut street, Reading, Pa. The price per plate is \$1.50. Start the New Year right—in a Socialist city! Come to Reading, comrades, and help us celebrate this new achievement of our party!

50,000 Butchers To Strike in N. Y.; Large Fund Raised

A general strike call involving over 5,000 butcher workers throughout Greater New York will be issued shortly. Twenty-four hundred butchers will be called out in Brooklyn and 2,600 will be called out in the Bronx, Washington Heights, and the lower East Side.

To insure success of the coming strike the Hebrew Butcher Workers Union has set aside the sum of \$25,000 for the purpose of establishing Co-Operative Butcher Shops in such districts where bosses discriminate against Union Labor or refuse to sign the new agreement for the year 1928.

At present the kosher butchers work from 6.30 in the morning to 5 in the evening and Thursday from 6.30 in the morning to 7.30 in the evening. This strike is called to alleviate the hardships of a 60 hour week in the butcher industry. A contract for the next year will be demanded of the shop owners, setting the working hours from 7 to 5 and Thursdays from 7 to 7. In other words one half hour is to be taken off from each day. No change in the wage scale is demanded.

THEY LIKE TO BEG

If some of our American trade unionists had their way they would advise the British workers to give up their Labor Party and beg at the doors of Parliament instead of fighting for the workers within.

A Colorful Thought

Now don't get this matter about the reds all mixed up because you may stray into the wrong political camp. We'll explain. The Socialist Party is red and believes that useful labor should have the values it produces. The Republican party is also red and believes your farms should be taken under the red flag of a sheriff's sale. If you choose the right sort of red you are not likely to have a case of the blues.

159 Deaths in Nov., 2,002 In 11 Months Coal Miners' Dividends

Coal-mine fatalities in the United States in November numbered 159, according to information furnished by State mine inspectors to the United States Bureau of Mines, Department of Commerce. Thirty-eight of the fatalities occurred in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania; the remaining 121 were at bituminous mines throughout the country. The fatality rate for the month was 3.35 per million tons, as compared with 3.39 for the same month last year. The production of bituminous coal during November was 40,628,000 tons, giving a fatality rate for this branch of the industry of 2.98 per million tons, as against 3.07 for the corresponding month a year ago. Reports from the anthracite industry showed 6,902,000 tons of coal mined, 38 fatalities, and a fatality rate of 5.51 per million tons; the rate for November last year was 5.95.

Analysis of the 2,002 fatalities during the eleven months of the present year show a reduction in the death rate per million tons of coal for haulage accidents and for gas and dust explosions, and a slight increase for explosives and electricity. No change occurred in the rate for falls of roof and coal.

L.I.D. Reached 60,000 Persons During 1928

Publications Brought Message to Many Thousands More, Dr. Laidler Reports

DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy and Socialist leader, gave a short report of the League's activities during the last year at the annual dinner of the League, Thursday evening, at Irving Plaza, New York City.

Dr. Laidler declared that Norman Thomas, Paul Blanchard, Kenneth Lindsay of England, and himself had spoken during the year on social problems at 106 colleges before some 30,000 students and had addressed more than 30,000 others at city clubs, labor and women's organizations. Morris Ernst, McAllister Coleman, Nellie Seeds, Dr. William Pickens and others had also spoken in a number of colleges at meetings arranged by the League.

The League had published during the year two books on "New Tactics in Social Conflict" and "Prosperity"; pamphlets on the Electrical Power Situation by Evelyn Preston, "The Future of Capitalism and Socialism in America" by M. C. Harty, Scott Nearing, Sam Lewisohn and Morris Hillquit; on "Labor Conditions in Southern Cotton Mills" by Paul Blanchard, and was largely responsible for "The History of Socialist Thought" by Harry W. Laidler, published by Crowell and Company. A book on the power situation by H. S. Raushenbush is now in the hands of the printer.

It had actively promoted the work of the Emergency Committee of Strikers Relief, the Committee on Coal and Giant Power, the Committee on Justice to China, and the Greco and Carillo Committee. Dr. Laidler reported an increasing interest in social, industrial and international problems among the students

Mutual Admiration

Hamilton Fish, Jr., Republican Congressman from New York, wires the Flatbush Republican Club to pay "my respects to the Queens sewer ring, who have made the old Tweed ring . . . look like a lot of pikers." Now will Tammany please wire Fish its sentiments regarding the Republican oil pirates? Having done that we ask what they think about our Presidential Oil Ticket for next year. We repeat it. Fall and Sinclair on the Republican ballot and Doherty and Burns on the Democratic ballot. Any objections?

PROOF WANTED

If the twin parties of capitalism really represent the toiling masses, we have never heard of a farmer mentioning sheriff's sales or a wage-worker mentioning injunctions to prove it. Have you?

South Scored For Sweating Of Workers

Workers Do Not Even Have Small Protection Afforded Labor In the North

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—A new South is being created with the rapid development of industries but Southern states are far behind the rest of the country in the adoption of measures to protect the safety and health of wage workers, according to speakers at the twenty-first annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation here.

The only five states still remaining without accident compensation laws are all in the South—Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Broadus Mitchell, professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University, declared that, in spite of the fact that there is nothing novel in the labor conditions in Southern industries, "we are regularly asked to make allowance for long hours, low wages and comparative absence of protective legislation for workers' below Mason and Dixon's line."

"Industrialism in the South is new, but it is not novel in the light of history," Prof. Mitchell continued. "Wherever large scale production by machine methods has appeared in a country, the same excuses for selfishness or ignorance have been put forward. England went through the same phases a century ago, and the Northern States and Germany more recently. And the result in other cases will follow in the South—wages will be increased, hours diminished, workers will gain recognition for their organizations, and legal protections will be thrown around conditions of employment."

"Southern manufacturers, laborers as a whole, are exploiting labor just as they are exploiting cheap raw materials. Many agencies will combine to put a limit to their methods as they injure the community—public opinion, the competition of employers with each other for a relatively diminishing labor supply and the opening of alternate occupations."

"The South will be compelled to relinquish its industrial differential, and accept national labor standards."

Constructive Policy Needed
Professor Thomas W. Holland of the University of North Carolina asserted that "The Southern mill owner is well aware that his major competitive advantage over other parts of the country lies in the lower wages and longer hours of his employees."

"The industrial worker in North Carolina works longer hours, receives less money wages, and has less protection in case of accident, than a worker in a majority of the states in the union," he continued. "One of the things we need most in North Carolina is a constructive and intelligent policy toward social legislation."

Human Side of Industry Neglected
Mrs. Dexter Otey of Lynchburg, Va., declared that Southern legislators and governors are vying with one another to secure factories in their states, and while the new industrial development is impressive yet the human side of industry has been neglected.

"Industries are brought South, we are frankly told by official advertisers of the South's merits, because of a fairly abundant supply of cheap labor and because of freedom from interference on the part of labor unions," Mrs. Otey said. "Labor is cheap and wages are low. The fact is significant that the greatest development has been in the textile industry in which wages are lowest of all and the working day is long."

"The other accompaniments of the industrial South—night work, feudal conditions in employer-owned mill villages, lack of participation in community life—all bespeak a low level of cultural development," she continued.

Women Work Long Hours
Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, said that the bureau's investigations of women's work in nine Southern states showed that women were working longer hours than in the North.

"The outstanding fact," she asserted, "has been that in practically all of the Southern states into which we have gone, the percentage of women working 48 hours or less has been very low, in some of them so low that there is almost no percentage to be recorded. Roughly, the range in these nine states is from 1 per cent in Georgia to 21 per cent in Arkansas. Maryland is the one exception, due to the predominance of the garment workers in that state, who, with a strong union, have run the percentage up to 52 per cent. In the North, on the other hand, in the states we

(Continued on Page 2)

2,000,000 Aged Poor "No Problem" to Civic Federation

ABOUT a year ago, the National Civic Federation of which Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, is now Acting President, circularized Governors and Legislators throughout the U. S. asking them to take no steps in the adoption of old age pension legislation until a study the Civic Federation was then conducting, was concluded and the findings presented in their report.

James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and Chairman of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age

Pensions made public a letter he wrote to Mr. Woll in which he asked him how he, as Vice-President of the A. F. of L., which stands committed at several conventions to the promotion of old age pensions, could at the same time lend his name to an attack on this subject. Mr. Maurer furthermore pointed out to Mr. Woll that some of the investigators for the National Civic Federation were told definitely that one of the aims of the Civic Federation study was to discredit the findings of the various State Commissions, especially that of Ohio

and Pennsylvania. Mr. Woll made no reply to these charges.

At last the public has been presented with this report of the Civic Federation. Apparently because of the challenge issued by Mr. Maurer, the Civic Federation did not dare to ignore its actual facts and figures. An examination of a copy of this study reveals that the Civic Federation's findings support largely the contentions of the advocates of old age pensions that approximately 30 or 33 per cent of the people 65 years of age and over are not independent today.

The Civic Federation dare not contradict these findings which have been found in the investigations of the State Commissions in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Massachusetts.

In the general introduction of the report, however, the Civic Federation tries to maintain its position of falsification and misrepresentation. Instead of pointing out the enormous necessity for some constructive legislation in view of the fact that even if only one-third of the people now 65 years of age are dependent it means that almost 2,000,000 aged

persons are today in need of help, it goes on to emphasize that the majority of the aged people are not dependent but are self-supporting.

In other words, if 2,000,000 out of the 5,000,000 now 65 years of age in the U. S. are dependent, it presents no problem for solution as far as Messrs. Ralph Easley and Tecumseh Sherman and the Civic Federation are concerned.

Commenting on the report, the American Association for Old Age Security, headed by Bishop

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Green Won't Visit Italy; Raps Fascism

Head of A. F. of L. Declines Invitation to Visit Mussolini-Ridden Country

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Scathingly denouncing Fascism in the United States and Italy as utterly foreign to democracy and freedom and as autocracy in its most offensive form, President William Green of the American Federation of Labor has emphatically declined an invitation to go to Italy to study conditions there for himself.

President Green's attack on Fascism was made in reply to the invitation extended by Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel of New York City, president of the Fascist League of North America, Inc. He wrote Mr. Green following the Los Angeles convention of the American Federation of Labor, at which the Fascist principle of government was bitterly denounced in resolutions and in a speech by Mr. Green. In his invitation Count di Revel professed to be surprised at Mr. Green's attack on the Fascist regime and asked that he might visit Italy in the hope that he might obtain a different impression of Premier Mussolini, supreme Fascist boss.

Mr. Green's letter to Count di Revel follows in part:

"I understand you are the chief executive and the ranking officer of the Fascist organization in the United States. Because you occupy such a position you are, no doubt, in a position to speak with authority for this American Fascist organization. Will you please tell me why there is any necessity for such an organization in the United States and what its real aims and purposes are?"

"All the information we are able to obtain regarding Fascism in Italy leads to the inevitable conclusion that it is just as autocratic in its operation as is Communism in Russia. Each of these organizations extols the superiority of the state over the lives and liberties of the individuals. Each of these organizations has abolished free press within its respective jurisdiction. Is not this autocracy in its most offensive form? In Russia it is the dictatorship of the proletariat. In Italy it is the dictatorship of Fascism. The dictatorship practiced by each of these organizations is offensive to the American working man's conception of freedom and liberty.

"Premier Mussolini is very frank about this question. On one occasion he is quoted as saying, 'There can be no such thing as liberty. It exists but in the imagination of philosophers who seek their impracticable philosophy in the skies while mine is drawn from very near the earth for those on the earth.' Again, in April, 1923, Mussolini was quoted in the Fascist Review Geraichi as follows: 'Fascism is not afraid to declare itself illiberal or anti-liberal. It has always passed and if necessary will again pass, without the slightest hesitancy over the body, more or less decomposed, of the Goddess of Liberty.'

A Song of Prosperity

In the campaign of 1892 the Republicans organized singing clubs. One of their popular songs was directed to farmers. This was the chorus:

You'll be sorry that you voted wrong,
On that November morn,
When the sheriff brings his hammer down
And your dear old farm is gone.

We commend this to the happy farmers of the Northwest. Altogether new. Put a little pep in it. Sing!

Mail Order Firm Assails Strikers As "Lazy" and "Bunch of Loafers"

ELMER RICHARDS COMPANY

951-959 WEST 35TH STREET

CHICAGO, ILL.

9-20-27

30-3 bal. due \$21.11

LEGAL DEPARTMENT

HOME OFFICE

Mr. Robert Fulton
707 E. Walnut St.
Gillespie, Ill.

Dear Sir:-

So you are on strike?

And because you are on strike you think that we who work eight hours every day in the week should support you while you lay around and do nothing.

Why are you on strike?

Because you are not man enough to bargain with the world on your own merit. You can not say to your employer "I do so much work, and so much better than such and such a man and so I should have more pay" which should be the true basis of increased salary.

Instead you get in with a bunch of loafers who are too lazy to increase their efficiency, and say "We'll lay off for a few months, and then the boss will realize how important we are." And while you are laying off you live on the products of the labor of others--parasite on the Nation.

"Strike" is a high toned name for "Plain Orner Laziness."

If your creditors all sue you, you will have to pay cash for everything you get--and to do that you will have to work to live.

The first Settlers of Virginia were gentlemen who tho't themselves too good to work--the decree went out "Those who would eat must work." The condition is now reversed--the laboring man is now too proud to work, and the same decree will have to be issued against them.

Creditors victimized by lazy strikers can put a stop to this yearly loss by mercilessly closing down on each bad debtor who uses this way of avoiding payment of his just obligation.

Yours very truly

ELMER RICHARDS COMPANY

BER:CMS

Robert Fulton

Mgr. Legal Dept.

IN REPLYING PLEASE USE BACK OF THIS LETTER

The word "strike" is a high-toned name for plain, orner laziness," and the one who goes on strike does so because he is "not man enough to bargain with the world on his own merit," according to Robert Earl

Barclay, manager of the legal department of the Elmer Richards Company, mail order installment dealer in clothing for men and women, 951-959 West Thirty-fifth street, Chicago. The firm conducts a large national business and carries about 2,000

accounts with coal miners, but does not confine its dealing to that craft. The Elmer Richards Company expressed its complimentary views of strikers in a letter to a creditor, which the New Leader reprints above.

Belgian Workers Warned of Drive On Their Standards

Brussels. — Under the title "We Must Be Vigilant," the Brussels "Peuple" publishes an article by Mertens, general secretary of the Belgian trade union centre. Mertens says that the resignation of the four Socialist Ministers from the government will be a godsend to the Belgian employers in their fight against the organized workers. Mertens does not say this because he disapproves of the resignations, but because in his opinion everything goes to show that the Belgian employers have long been preparing for a war to the death to prevent the workers' wages from being at last adjusted to the level of the prevailing cost of living. The employers' first shot is the doubt they cast on the accuracy of the official index figures, upon which the workers are basing their just demands for a rise of wages.

Civic Federation Pensions Report Put Under Fire

(Continued from page 1)

Francis J. McConnell, of the Episcopal Church of Pittsburgh, and Abraham Epstein, formerly director of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, challenged the conclusions drawn by the National Civic Federation as not at all warranted from the findings of the Federation's report. "The Federation has merely set up a straw man and delights in knocking him down," declared a statement issued by the Association.

The statement follows: "No responsible group interested in the securing of justice for the dependent aged or in the promotion of old age insurance or pensions has ever contended that more than approximately one-third of aged persons were dependent for their support. Only from about 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 of the approximately 5,500,000 persons 65 years of age and over have been estimated to be destitute in old age.

"The Civic Federation's press release admits that 29.5 per cent of the aged persons studied by them have no property whatsoever. It is a well known fact that but few wage earners can remain gainfully employed after they have passed three score and five years. As a matter of fact many industries today refuse employment to men past the age of 40. With no property and no work, an aged person can hardly be anything but dependent.

"While the Civic Federation is careful not to mention in its release the actual percentages of dependence it found in the various cities studied, it declares that its findings reflect conditions similar to those found by the official Massachusetts Commission on old age pensions. This Commission reported an average dependency of approximately 38 per cent.

"There is really no difference of opinion between the Civic Federation and the proponents of old age insurance legislation as to the facts in the case. Even the Civic Federation admits that real suffering was found and the actual percentage of the aged individuals who had no means was too large considering our country's enormous wealth. The only difference lies in devising a solution to the problem. The Civic Federation seems to accept that as long as there are only 2,000,000 dependents, their destitution constitutes no problem as to interfere with the comfort of those of us who are complacent and well-to-do. They do not believe that this represents a serious problem for our country. The advocates of old age insurance and pensions, on

the other hand, believe that America is humane enough and rich enough to be able to meet the needs of this comparatively small number. The friends of the aged are convinced that America will not continue to neglect this mass of destitution and will endeavor in every way possible to seek a solution which will provide the men and women who have given their lives in constructive toil and in helping to build this nation with at least some measure of comfort in an honorable manner even as is being done today by the poorest of nations throughout the civilized world."

The statement of the American Association for Old Age Security challenged the Civic Federation's assertions that the problem will be met by industrial pension plans by citing the fact that the overwhelming majority of industrial pension plans are actually unsound and financially unguaranteed. Even in the case of few scientific and guaranteed pension plans a long term of service with the corporation generally ranging from 20 years and more is required. But according to statistics supplied by the U. S. Department of Labor only about 4 per cent of wage earners stay with one concern 20 years and more.

Attention must also be called to the fact that the National Civic Federation more than a year ago before its studies were completed cautioned governors and legislators to take no steps in old age pension legislation and to wait for its findings which would show different conditions than those found by several official state commissions which have studied the subject. This press release indicated clearly that the National Civic Federation knew that its findings would live up to its expectations.

South Is Scored For Sweating of Its Workingclass

(Continued from page 1)

have surveyed there, the range is from 13 per cent in Indiana to 68 per cent in Rhode Island. The bulk of the women of the Northern group really lies between 34 per cent and 68 per cent, with Indiana and Iowa, which have no laws regulating hours, and Oklahoma with a nine-hour law bringing the record down.

"The South in its rapid expansion will have to take into consideration a readjustment of these conditions," Miss Anderson concluded. "It cannot continue to expect that practically all the waking time of the workers shall be spent in the mills."

9,000 Counterfeits Nearly 9,000 bills have been introduced in the lower house of Congress in fifteen days, but so far as workers are concerned most of them are of the counterfeit variety.

TIMELY TOPICS

(Continued from Page 1)

tageous in providing a way to get mortgages at a reasonable figure and in giving tax exemption on the buildings. All these things simply prove how much can be accomplished by cooperation. Three hundred families have safe and very beautiful homes at a present rent which is really a purchase rent of \$11 per month per room. Those who know New York will know what a saving that means. These 300 families will doubtless be able to create cooperative stores and other cooperative features to their mutual advantage. Under American conditions and in face of the competition of chain stores I believe that we shall have to begin with cooperative housing on some such scale as this in order to lay the basis for further cooperative enterprises.

There are two obvious lessons in this Amalgamated housing achievement. First it furnishes proof of what a real union can do for its members. No company union can match it. No unorganized group of workers can even dream of such homes under their own control as these that Amalgamated has built. No union torn by internal factions could safely attempt it. The second lesson has to do with the need of municipal housing. I have said that the State Housing law is better than nothing because it has made it easier for the union to do its work. But the union began irrespective of the state housing act which as yet has stimulated no new building at all by limited dividend companies, much less any building at a price the neediest workers can pay. A large part of the working population of New York receives wages which makes \$11 per month per room sound like Park Ave. prices. These workers are many of them unorganized or their organizations are in no position to emulate the Amalgamated. We want to encourage cooperative housing. But it is little short of criminal to make the great masses of New York workers and their children wait for cooperative housing to rescue them from slums or packing box fire traps of the type so common in graft ridden Queens Borough. What the Amalgamated has done the City of New York can do on a somewhat simpler but more extensive scale for the sake of the children who will make or mar its future. We Socialists, after seeing the Amalgamated houses ought to fight harder than ever for our municipal housing program.

Whether the Socialist officials of Reading, Pa., who take office the first of the year will have to face a housing problem or not, I do not know. They will have plenty of other problems to face and at the present time no propaganda for the Socialist cause in America can be as useful as intelligent city administration in behalf of the masses of the people. We must wage our national fights but I look to local organization, to such campaigns as our Reading comrades have just waged, and to such successes in administration as they achieved or may achieve in Milwaukee and Reading for the best and most immediate results in building up the party. Best wishes to the Reading Socialists.

The National Civic Federation is at its old tricks. It tries to persuade us that all is well for men and women sixty-five years and over in America because in its investigations it found that not 90 per cent but only 29.5 per cent had no property and were largely dependent upon the charity of relatives or of relief agencies. Now, no intelligent agitator for old age pensions has ever said that 90 per cent of the aged lived in poverty. They have, following the studies of the Pennsylvania Commission, said that about 30 or 33 per cent were in poverty and they have insisted that the poverty of so great a number, even though it is not a majority, in a prosperous country like ours is reason enough for old age pensions. The National Civic Federation investigation it is generally known was conducted partly to discredit the Pennsylvania committee. It is charged that its investigators were so instructed that that towns were picked for inquiry where the existence of some sort of private pension system made old age dependencies less. As matters stand we are willing to take the Federation's own figures to support our case.

Incidentally it seems to us a sorry business that Matthew Woll, Vice-President of the A. F. of L. and President of the National Civic Federation, and men like him have been able to shove affirmative action on the basis of facts we now have both in the A. F. of L. and in the New York State Federation pending "investigation" we suppose of the Civic Federation brand. Mr. Woll is making a special drive in January for the A. F. of L. insurance company. That is good. But only state insurance for old age and unemployment can take from the open shop employers one of their best weapons against organization. That weapon is the provision they make of some miserable insurance against unemployment and old age. It is high time for labor to wake up on this matter.

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\$2,100,000 Monument To Rise Amid Poverty Of Miners in Indiana

Vincennes, Ind.—In his message to Congress, President Coolidge said: "Industrial relations have never been more peaceful." Maybe what he meant was that industry has never been more quiet. At least quiet is what it is here and in Hicknell.

There is no strike nor labor trouble, neither is there much work. The greatest asset of Knox county and its 50,000 inhabitants is coal mining. Now only about 300 men are working in the mines and that only 1 and 2 days a week. This condition began with the lockout April 1.

Those who had savings have spent their all. Suffering followed and as the Winter came on and the weather grew cold this suffering gained in intensity. Now about 4,000 men with their families are more or less, some entirely, dependent upon the food that is issued through a commissary donated by miners in other communities.

Let it be remembered how patriotic the miners were during the war when they were asked to donate to the Red Cross. They then responded by donating \$2 a month. But when the miners are in distress their only aid comes from the miners who are working in neighboring mines. And as the situation now is it is like dividing the last biscuit.

At a time when a head of a family received about \$4 worth of groceries each week one miner remarked to me: "Wouldn't it be hell now if they should stop this commissary?" Soon after these supplies were reduced in quantity and issued only every two weeks, due to the increased number of applicants.

Some of the miners were permitted to mine their own coal. For this privilege they first cleaned up the mine and in addition mined the company an equal amount of coal. Later they gave the companies twice as much. Then the Union stopped its members from agreeing to such terms. Therefore many are left out of coal. Few of these receive coal from charity, others steal. When caught they are fined. Most are unable to pay, and are sent to the Penitentiary.

Many school children have not enough clothes to keep them warm. Those that are kept home are not forced to return until helped by charity. Clothes are gathered from the more fortunate and in some cases mended and distributed by the Parent-Teachers Association and the American Legion. But their efforts give only feeble help, because of the vast number that are destitute.

Many children report in school that they had no breakfast the morning before, and the previous night they had to supper. Charitable milk is being supplied to those children but in small quantity. In some cases teachers take pupils for a dinner. The writer was in a hall where more than three hundred men were waiting through noon hour, because the commissary was delayed in opening, without a pretense to return home for dinner.

Many are the stories of brave men suffering hunger in order that their little

ones might have more to eat. Vincennes is located in this County and it is here on the site of Fort Sackville where the President urged: "A suitable monument should be erected to the memory of George Rogers Clark."

And they are going to spend a total of \$2,100,000; \$1,750,000 is to be appropriated by Congress. Already \$600,000 is appropriated by this state and county.

Wealthy Quakeress Wins Tiff With Penn. Mine Guard

Punxsutawney, Pa.—The little mining town of Rositter, Pa., was the scene of an amusing incident on Sunday, 18th, when Powers Hapgood and Mrs. Walter Cope, a wealthy Quaker lady of Philadelphia, invaded that territory "protected" by the injunction of Judge Langhan, of Indiana county.

Mrs. Cope, who could hardly imagine such a drastic injunction being issued by a judge in an industrial dispute, motored over from Philadelphia with Hapgood. She put some groceries in her car and had signs placed on it to proclaim to the world and the coal and iron police that it was "food for the strikers." Stopping before the village church, a company "cop" spied the signs on the car and sent out a S.O.S. call for the union secretary, Robert Skee. Bro. Skee assured the excited guard that he knew nothing of the car, did not own it and therefore refused to remove the offending sign. Powers Hapgood also refused to remove it, and when the guard seemed doomed to throw a fit, Mrs. Cope asked him if there was anything the matter with the sign.

"Don't you want anyone to know there is a strike?" she asked. After tempting the guard to arrest her for having the sign on her car, Mrs. Cope was satisfied that the Indiana county brand of "liberty" had not been exaggerated and she returned to Philadelphia, leaving the strike committee in the "civilized" mining town of Rositter richer by a donation of twenty 10 dollar bills.

The strikers relief committee of Rositter and one from the Central Union of Punxsutawney, the nearest large town, is commencing to function with some regularity now, and the prospects are that no one will be actually hungry on New Year's, though many children are still out of school through the lack of shoes and stockings.

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With the Working Farmers

Practical Benefits Prominent Feature of "Progress Builders" Activities—Leaders Socialistic

By Murray E. King

Roswell, N. M.

THE collapse of the progressive coalition in 1925, which turned the Socialist party back to an independent position and scattered the farmer, labor and liberal forces, brought together in Roswell, New Mexico, during that summer, a small conference of untitled leaders and fighters to devise ways and means to keep the fight going against the forces of reaction. This conference was composed largely of Socialists looking for a new Socialist approach to the wage-earners and farmers. Prominent among these was W. F. Richardson, author of the call and founder of the movement.

Mr. Richardson had a very definite idea of a movement which he thought would achieve this purpose. His idea was adopted with unanimity and enthusiasm and the result is the Progressive Builders of America.

How to construct an economic and political organization out of average American farmers and wage-earners that would gradually attain the position of a conscious movement, fighting for industrial democracy, was the problem Mr. Richardson laid before the conference.

Such a movement, these founders argued, would have to be based upon collective efforts and collective benefits. It would have to inculcate group solidarity and group consciousness by means of successful struggle and experience.

Co-operatives Hoped For

It would have to approach collective unity and co-operative achievement along the lines of easiest approach and least resistance. To accomplish this it would be necessary to build an organization that would confer benefits instead of load expenses on the members from the first. These hard-headed idealists knew from their long experience in the class struggle that the most potent arguments to draw the average individualist and conservative farmer and wage-earner into a new movement are actual dollars and actual protection. An organization that could put actual dollars in their pockets and confer actual protection could win them and hold them long enough to teach them the nature and value of organized power and educate them by means of written and spoken propaganda.

Now let us see how true Progress Builders theory works out in Progress Builder practice.

The first and simplest and easiest form of collective action is the kind upon which trade unionism is founded. It is illustrated in the case of a worker group collectively bargaining for higher wages, or a farmer group collectively dealing for higher prices for the things they buy. The founders of the Progress Builders saw in this kind of collective action the gateway to bigger things—to real co-operatives—to the attainment of their ultimate political and economic ideals.

Hence, the basic form of organization of the Progress Builders—the formation wherever possible of local groups to obtain the best bargains possible with local merchants and dealers. When thirty or more farmers and wage workers in a locality are organized, officials are elected whose duty shall be to use the buying power of the whole group as a lever with which to obtain discounts on purchases from those dealers who will make the greatest discounts in exchange for the patronage of the group.

Win Reduced Prices

The plan is apparently working out very successfully. There are a score or more merchants in Roswell, Portales, Elida, Hagerman, Dexter and other Pecos Valley towns who are now selling the necessities of life to the Progress Builders at discounts ranging from 5 to 20 per cent. Commodities covered include the whole range of groceries and dry goods, furniture, hardware, shoes, fuel, gasoline and other necessities. "The Union" here, as the local group is called, has just signed up with a dentist and a barber shop in Roswell. The writer has benefited personally in many purchases here as a member of the organization.

Merchants and professionals are glad to render service at a lower price for the sake of gaining assured, organized and large patronage. The union maintains and independent position as an organized buyer. It breaks off dealings with any dealer when the latter violates the contract or it becomes apparent that he is attempting to practice deception. The power of the organization to throw its collective purchasing power in any given direction at any time constitutes a weapon of considerable power in the battle against high prices.

Against monopoly, especially a local retail monopoly, the union has another weapon—the co-operative enterprise itself. The Progress Builders leaders believe that between the power of their local unions to transfer their trade from one dealer to another and the final power to establish co-operatives based upon trained and experienced organizations, they have something that can show definite and provable effects in saving dollars and demonstrating the power of organized collective action. They argue that these buying groups can be formed without capital or preliminary cost. No risk is attached to membership in them. They can compel the use of the present facilities for distribution at lower costs to the consumer. They can get definite benefits from organization without any

(Continued on page 5)

TWO INNOCENT MEN WILL LIVE

By Louis Stanley

THE thin, serious-looking foreman of the jury pronounced the long-awaited Greco-Carillo verdict. The tense hearers snatched up every word, impatiently waiting for the next.

"We find the defendants not guilty."

The rickety case that the Fascist in the United States, with the aid of the New York police had desperately constructed to vindicate Mussolini, crumbled to the ground. The vigilance of the radicals and liberals who, learning their lesson from the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy, had organized the defense, was amply repaid. The forces of reaction could be met with immediate and unstinted resistance. The Greco-Carillo Defense Committee, organized by Norman Thomas and headed by Robert Moses Lovett, at 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, is joyfully but unfortunately still in debt.

Calogero Greco and Donato Carillo had been in jail for five months awaiting trial. As vociferous anti-Fascist, they had been singled out by the Fascist League of North America as living sacrifices for the assassinated Fascist, Joseph Carisi and Nicholas Amoruso. The latter had been mysteriously killed in the Bronx on May 30th last, as, clad in their black shirts, they were on their way to participate in a Memorial Day parade.

Dictator Sought Rev Re

For a while it had seemed as if there were going to be no arrests, but the prestige of Mussolini here and in Italy, and the desire for revenge demanded "a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye." A month and a half after the commission of the crime, a score of anti-Fascist were rounded up. Greco and Carillo were indicted. To the Fascist it seemed certain that their victims were headed straight for the electric chair.

The co-operation of the police was admirable and the accused were without powerful friends. Had not the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti occurred in the meantime, the plot against Greco and Carillo would have been a huge success. However, the Massachusetts—or was it international?—affair had awakened slumbering liberals and radicals. They were alert to avoid a repetition of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and when the fate of Greco and Carillo were called to their attention they rallied to the defense of the innocent. The liberation of the two anti-Fascist became a pledge to the memory of Sacco and Vanzetti. The suc-

Vigilance on the Part of Progressive Forces Free Greco and Carillo, Anti-Fascists

cessful mobilization of the defense's ranks is the significant thing about the Greco-Carillo case. To be perpetually on guard, to be instantaneous in action is the moral of the tale ending thus happily.

Hays Opens Defense

The summing up by the defense began Thursday morning, December 22, 1927. Arthur Garfield Hays held forth first. It was the burden of his talk that Greco and Carillo had been framed up by the Fascist League of North America in conjunction with the police. He pointed out that the prosecution had not dared to call to the witness stand Count Di Revel, head of the League; Carlo Vinti, his secretary, whom Caldora, a witness for the defense, had accused of trying to bribe him; and Detective Cato, all of whom could explode the defense theory of a plot, if the charge were unfounded. Referring to Vinti in particular, he asked with more than rhetoric ardor whether any honest man would not seek the opportunity to refute accusations of bribery leveled at him if they were untrue. Hays made it clear that he was not raising the spectre of a plot merely for effect. He requested the jury to pass a resolution requesting the investigation of "this Fascist frame-up." At this point, Judge Albert Cohen intervened. He asked counsel to confine himself to summation but counsel insisted gently upon his and the jury's rights.

There was a brief recess. The reporters and inquisitive lawyers who crowded the small courtroom showed signs of expectancy. When all was silent again, the broad shoulders of Clarence Darrow leaned into view. The jury leaned forward.

It was lunch hour when Darrow began, but nobody paid any attention to that. For two and a half hours he wove his charm over the audience. Even District Attorney Henderson was soothed, emerging now and then from his enchantment only to growl. Judge Cohen forewent his custom of preparing his charge to the jury during summation of counsel in order to observe how Darrow performed.

Darrow Hits Death Penalty

The master lawyer had not practiced law for fifty years without developing a consummate technique. Still one felt that

his strength lay not so much in his intellect and experience, but in his humaneness. His love of human beings, his sanctification of life caressed every word he uttered. Kindness played over his face, directed his every gesture. Not once during the trial was he provoked into abandoning his composure. His calm was inward.

Speaking in a conversational tone, he addressed the jury. Seldom was his voice raised at all.

"You have the life or death of two men in your hands," he said, "which in my opinion is a responsibility greater than any jury should have."

He did not conceal his disdain for capital punishment. Again and again he made this clear, but never sentimentally. Neither did he become saccharine about the eighty-year-old mother of Greco or the wife and kiddies of Carillo. He sought no sobs. The jurors were simply lifted above the formalism of the law, softened in the harshness with which they had steelled themselves to their duty, and reminded of their kinship with humanity.

Darrow did not spare Mussolini and the Fascist dictatorship.

"The name Mussolini is only another name for despotism. Fascism was born in tyranny, and lives in bloodshed and fear. . . . I don't like bloodshed. I don't even like war, but I fear poor Italy has only had its first baptism of fire, that there is more ahead of her than there is behind her."

Darrow is not the kind of a lawyer who grows so cocksure of his case that his methods become slipshod.

"Juries are peculiar," he will confide to you. "One may never rely on them."

Fascist Witness Attached

He, therefore, takes every possible precaution to protect his client and in this case he did so with his usual scrupulous care. He analyzed the case of the prosecution. He scorched it with ridicule. At the bottom the State depended upon the witness, Rocco, who was also secretary of the Bronx branch of the Fascist League of North America. The weak identification of the witness aroused Darrow's scorn.

"It's the foolishness, craziest, silliest

identification ever made," he confided, "and let me tell you, it's the only breath of evidence against those men."

Neither was the speaker so bold as to claim that every shred of testimony for the defense was foolproof. On the contrary, he suggested that Caldora might be a prejudiced witness and that individuals who supported the alibis of the defense might not be entirely impartial. But Darrow's very frankness strengthened his case. The total impression one received from the evidence is what he tried to convey. There was nothing to the prosecution's case, there was a great deal to that of the defense.

After a belated intermission for lunch, Assistant District Attorney Albert H. Henderson commenced his summing up at four o'clock. At first his whisper was so low that he was inaudible, but soon he was thundering along in his characteristic manner. He attempted to turn the renown of his chief adversary to his own advantage by modestly admitting the superior skill of Darrow. Unfortunately, this confession was taken at its face value. Insinuations about the hypnotic influence that Darrow wielded and the supreme necessity of bringing the great lawyer all the way from Chicago to bolster up the defense's case, therefore, had no effect. For two hours Henderson boomed on, peppered with objections from the defense when he assumed unfair tactics. The candor of Darrow he dubbed an admission of guilt.

"Dangerous to Society"

The payment of Caldora's weekly wages by the defense he called a bribe and sought by this means to cover up the bribery charges against the Fascist League's secretary. He even went so far as to assert in his heat that the acquittal of Greco and Carillo would be dangerous to society and traitorous to the country. Darrow and Hays abruptly objected and Judge Cohen for once admitted the impropriety of the Assistant District Attorney's remark. Henderson, somewhat sobered by now, apologized profusely. Again when the prosecutor asserted venomously that the defense had concealed a certain written statement, made by a witness, and Hays repeatedly offered to place the document in evidence, the District Attorney retracted and took

pains to assure the jury that they should discount everything he had said in that connection. At last, Henderson wound up, striking a most noble note. He was for the American government and, of course, for the inevitable law and order.

The charge of Judge Cohen to the jury the following morning was exceedingly fair. His impartiality in the expounding of the law left the defense in a strong position. Particularly reassuring was the clarity with which he explained the doctrine of the presumption of innocence of the accused until there was presented proof of guilt beyond reasonable, beyond a shadow of a doubt. The choice he permitted among four verdicts for each defendant, murder in the first and second degrees, manslaughter in the second, and not guilty, allowed various interpretations of the crime, if not the play of compromise. Finally, the liberality with which he granted the requests of the defense to charge the jury with specified items augured well.

3 Hours of Suspense

Nevertheless, uneasiness developed when the jury had not returned within three and a half hours. The anxiety pervaded the corridor and the courtroom on the floor below which had been turned into a waiting room. The reporters unanimously voted for acquittal, while relatives and friends—and even some Fascist who stood aloof grew more anxious. When the jury filed back at 3:30 P.M., the tension was only broken for a moment. Some of the jurors wanted to have read the testimony of Rocco and Alfano, a witness, who had failed the prosecution. For four dreary hours the reading went on between changing of stenographers and sipping of water.

When the jury retired again, it was not for long. They soon emerged with a unanimous vote for acquittal. The rehearing of the testimony had convinced the one or two who had stood out for a verdict of guilty.

Congratulations all around!

This is a splendid victory over Fascism, but the defense committee is responsible for considerable financial obligations that must be paid. Without the work done by the committee, perjury might have sent Greco and Carillo to the chair. Contributions should be sent to the Greco-Carillo Defense Committee, Room 904, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City. —Editor.

TAMMANY SEEKS A CHANGE OF FRONT

By Politicus

IT IS in keeping with the myth of the "new" Tammany Hall that the Wigwam on East Fourteenth street in New York City is to be moved uptown to more respectable quarters. It is immaterial that the first announcements that the new location would be in the vicinity of Fifty-ninth street turned out to be premature. The new home will be in Union Square, it seems, only slightly northward from the present Wigwam, but in a decidedly better neighborhood. Most important of all, the associations with the sinister history of the "old" Tammany Hall will be obliterated.

So powerful has the legend become that the Tammany tiger has manured its claws, that the recent expose of graft in the sewer contracts in the Borough of Queens has seemed something detached from the true Tammany Hall. It is an exceptional occurrence we are to believe. So, no doubt, are the revelations concerning milk adulteration, capitalization of supposed epidemics for the creation of new medical offices, and favoritism in granting bus franchises. An examination of the history of Tammany Hall proves that we have but been treated to a continuous performance of corruption. Even removal from Fourteenth street will not purge the Wigwam of its sins.

Burr the First Boss

Tammany has not missed many opportunities in its time. It is true that twelve days had elapsed after the inauguration in New York City of Washington as first President of the United States before the Society of St. Tammany was organized on May 12, 1789. However, the time lost in starting has been amply made up since in concentrated activity. The founder of Tammany was William Mooney, who was supposed to have deserted the American army during the Revolution and joined the British forces. It was Mooney's idea that the middle and lower classes should unite to counteract the influences of the aristocratic elements. The title "Tammany" was derived from Tamanend, the name of a half-legendary Indian chieftain, who was supposed to have been good, wise, and liberty-loving. "Saint" was prefixed to the name in mock imitation of the Societies of St. George and St. Andrew that had remained loyal to George III. The use of a native Indian name, moreover, indicated the abhorrence by the Tammanyites of foreigners. What a contrast to the later policy of catering to aliens! The ceremonies and names of officers were Indian. There were Sachems and a Grand Sachem. All the Presidents of the United States through Jackson received the honorary title of Kitchi Okemaw or Great Grand Sachem. The election of "Al" Smith to the Presidency would afford a splendid opportunity for the revival of the Kitchi Okemaw. The first Wigwam or meeting place was at Barden's Tavern on Broad street.

The democratic propensities of the Society of St. Tammany were soon smothered by more practical considerations. In 1797 Aaron Burr, later a Vice-President of the United States and a traitor to his country, became the first "boss." The wigwam was

the "Long Room," adjoining Martling's saloon at Nassau and Spruce streets. Aaron Burr probably never stepped inside the Wigwam but he controlled the destinies of the society for a generation. The first thing Burr did was to obtain a financial club which Tammany could wield over the heads of its opponents. Taking advantage of the public scare about yellow fever, which had ravaged the city, Burr secured an innocent-looking charter from the State legislature incorporating the Manhattan Company in 1799 to supply pure water to the city. Tucked away in one clause, however, was a grant of banking powers. Thus it happened that the present Bank of the Manhattan Company came into existence. Business men now found that adherence to Tammany gave them credit at the bank.

A Charitable Institution!

The preoccupation of the Society of St. Tammany with political machinations made it necessary to separate the social from the political functions. In 1805, a charter was obtained from the legislature incorporating the society as a charitable organization "for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of said organization, their widows and orphans and others who may be proper objects of their charity." At the same time a political counterpart was established in the form of various committees which constituted Tammany Hall proper. Actually the society dominated the Hall.

The Society of St. Tammany excelled in political manipulation from the beginning. In its confidence it became brazen in its corruption. Even the Tammany-controlled city government had to rid itself of high Tammany officials who were caught red-handed. Benjamin Romayne was removed in 1806 for robbing the city of valuable real estate for which as controller he was trustee. Later the superintendent of public repairs and others met the same fate. Among the fallen was William Mooney, the founder, himself. None of these corruptionists suffered any loss of prestige. The Wigwam continued to honor them. Neither was Tammany Hall apparently injured by the disclosure that money had vanished which it had obtained from the legislature for a monument to the patriots who had perished abroad in the British prison ships during the Revolution.

For the remainder of the century Tammany remained true to form. It controlled the vote in New York City by a bold use of strong-arm men, stuffing of ballot boxes, multiple voting and transferring of inmates of the city's prisons and poor-houses to the voting places on election day for the purpose of voting for Tammany candidates. When the immigrant vote became important in the second quarter of the century, Tammany Hall suddenly dropped its hostility to aliens, particularly Irish and Roman Catholics, and began to cultivate their friendship. Just before election day, following year to thousands and at times literally tens of

thousands of these foreigners were naturalized by pliant judges. These newly manufactured citizens, of course, voted a straight Tammany ticket. Add to this the charities dispensed by Tammany and leading politicians to the poor, as in time of business depression or severe winter weather, and we can further understand the hold that Tammany Hall had upon the politics of New York. Finally, whenever a reform movement did get under way, Tammany suddenly sprouted wings, adopted the leading demand of its opponents as its own and confused the reformers by drafting some of the opposing candidates for its own ticket.

Abandons the "Pig Pen"

Just as today Tammany feels impelled to remove to more respectable quarters, so in 1811 it was forced to abandon the "Long Room" which its enemies had dubbed the "Pig Pen." A new Wigwam

was built upon the site of the Martling Tavern at Spruce and Nassau streets, where the old "Sun" building stands. Within half a century this also became outmoded and the present site on East Fourteenth street was secured. The funds of the society were insufficient for the construction of the new building. It was announced that a loan of 250,000 would be required. It is an index to the prosperity of the Tammany politicians that \$175,000 was subscribed at once. This was in 1867.

How did the Tammany leaders acquire their wealth? How did such "bosses" as Wood in the fifties and sixties, Tweed in the seventies, Kelly in the eighties, Croker in the nineties, Murphy in this century, and thousands of their disciples come to loil in luxury. The usual method was buying and selling legislators and judges for corporations seeking

Boulder Dam—What Is It?

All American Canal Problems

By Chester Wright

ONE of the interesting phases of the Colorado River project is the All American Canal, as it is called. At present the Imperial Valley is irrigated by water taken from the Colorado River at a point just north of the international boundary, carried south through Mexico and brought back into the United States after traversing some thirty-five miles of Mexican territory.

Under present treaty obligations, Mexico is entitled to one-half the water furnished by the canal.

When the canal was constructed engineers could not see how to overcome a range of sand hills lying between the river and Imperial Valley, and so carried the canal by its present route.

Proponents of the All American Canal held it essential to American interests that the entire irrigation system be north of the border and that is why the proposed new canal is called All American. Engineers now see no difficulty in the once formidable sand hills and inspection bears them out.

Of course, international complications will arise in this change of water routing, if it is made. At this point some interesting facts present themselves.

and never can be much more than that amount, owing to the relative geographical location of American-owned land and Mexican-owned land.

There will undoubtedly be a contest for continuance of Mexico's right to half the water supplied through the new canal after completion of Boulder Canyon Dam, if and when it is built. If Mexico could retain her right to half the water supplied, the Chandler group in Mexico would be enabled to bring under irrigation double their present amount of land and that group now owns the acreage which it would bring under irrigation.

This international phase of the question is puzzling many persons, including many in Imperial Valley, but I could not find any disposition to be unfair to Mexico in any redistribution of water rights under the All American Canal project. But the Americans do hold that their relation, in water redistribution, is more a relation between two groups of Americans, one in the United States and one outside the United States, where it escapes American taxation and American wage scales, than it is a relation, or a discussion between two nations.

It is said that most of the development of the Chandler land in Mexico has been with coolie labor at miserable wages, benefitting neither Mexico nor the United States and tending to degrade the living standards of labor in both countries.

It is reported that the Chandler group would support the Boulder Canyon project if the All American Canal feature were eliminated, just as the power interests would support it, as they have announced they would, if the power feature were abandoned.

(Another article in this series will appear next week.)

Ambitious to Enter White House, Heelers Grow Respectable

ing franchises or immunity from the law. There is hardly a public utility in the city today that can say it never played in this game of graft. Another way of getting rich with ease was to rob the city treasury but that was rather crude. As the years rolled by it became clearer and clearer that the most harmless procedure was to obtain contracts from the city at exorbitant bids. Murphy refined the method by granting franchises to corporations and then having his contracting company obtain the work of construction. The Pennsylvania terminal is a monument to this form of "honest" graft. Inside tips as to city improvements, of course, made many a fortune in real estate.

It is silly today to say that Tammany thrives primarily on protection of vice, not excepting the virtues of prohibition. At no time, indeed, was this the most important factor in its success. It is true that the criminal elements were useful on election day to stem the reform wave or even to contribute to campaign funds. It is an undeniable fact that the white slave traffic flourished with the connivance of Tammany officials. Those were comparatively small things, however. More and more it became obvious that an alliance with large corporations, that the obtaining of attractive contracts from the city and that inside information about future municipal developments were the most profitable lines of endeavor. There was no need to be entangled with sin. The Becker case a dozen years ago marked the end of the old era. Hence, the importance today of subway construction, new court houses and school buildings, improved streets, bus franchises, and just plain sewers in Queens. The "new" Tammany is only new in its methods of corruption. The removal of the Wigwam uptown is but another historic bid for respectability.

With Governor "Al" Smith of New York as its prize exhibit, Tammany has been throwing covetous glances at the White House. Hope of coming of age as a national political factor has been the inspiration in the crusade of the grown-up ward-healers to create the myth of a "New Tammany." Tammany is trying to shed its reputation, which is anathema to the millions of decent voters. Therefore, the struggle to cut physical ties with East Fourteenth street, the street of leg shows, con men, low dance hall dives and speakeasies.

New Leader Mail Bag

Editor, The New Leader:

The election returns are all in. To those of us who hold allegiance to the Socialist Party the results, in some respects—are encouraging, in others they are not. Where the party nominates colorful candidates who campaign vigorously, and on questions which they can understand, our candidates are elected or our vote is increased.

Some question has been raised as to the increase in the Socialist vote in New York City. The Socialist aldermanic vote went up 4,000 over last year's, and 7,000 over that of two years ago; the total aldermanic vote this year being 52,987. This is encouraging unless we consider that if we maintain the ratio, next year our vote will only equal that of 1922, when Edward Cassidy, running for Governor, polled 57,218 votes.

Norman Thomas, in discussing the lessons of the past election, advocates an all-year-around campaign, organization, the choosing of districts where we have the best chances of building up the organization, of candidates who will agree to run in those districts next year, and who will begin to work without delay.

This is an excellent program as far as it goes, but I am afraid it does not go far enough. Who of us does not recall the cry which followed every election during the past ten years when our expectations were not fulfilled? It was: "We must build up the organization; we must get more members into the party." But for some reason or other, the enrolled voters did not respond.

It should be evident to all Socialists who will look the situation straight in the face that our Party machinery creaks pretty badly, and that it is due for an overhauling. It is time to examine the functioning of our Socialist Party branches; time to find out whether our message gets across to the public; time to look into the question of leadership.

This is asking a lot, I know, especially because of two types to be found among party members. One is the cynic and the other is the loyalist. The cynic can see no good at all in the Socialist Party. Why he remains in it is a mystery. To him every action proposed is found to fail, and all prominent Socialists are insincere and only out for themselves. Now loyalty is a beautiful thing except when it becomes perverted. The loyalist is the opposite of the cynic. He is a great optimist, but most of the time his optimism has no foundation in reality. The Party and its representatives are always right, says he. The slightest criticism of a Party position or of a Party spokesman makes him hot under the collar. He is always ready to defend, but not to think; and he confuses loyalty to Socialism with loyalty to individuals. Of the two types I am not sure which is the worse.

A word on the practice indulged in by The New Leader of making overenthusiastic election predictions.

It is clear that we are "all wet" on election predictions. Only fools would be expected to take them seriously before election and promptly to forget them after election. And if we consider our adherents' fools, what a reflection upon us! On the other hand, if we regard them as children, psychologists will tell us that we are wrong there. They all warn parents never to make promises which they do not or cannot fulfill, because children do not forget, and even when they forgive, respect is lost which it is difficult if not impossible to win back.

No doubt, many Socialist campaign workers believe that "optimistic" predictions are a method of arousing enthusiasm, but it should be evident by now that this is a wrong method. The end does not justify the means. How to arouse enthusiasm, how to work for Socialism all the year around, and how to bring all our courage, intelligence and resourcefulness to bear upon this problem should be the concern of every one who has the best interests of the Socialist Party at heart.

Leonard Bright.

Dec. 23, 1927.

Editor, The New Leader:

Within this Christmas card, wishing you and your staff a Christmas happy in work for the cause of Socialism, I enclose a check for ten dollars. Please use this little Christmas gift in any way that may be of service to The New Leader.

I have taken notice of the appeals in The New Leader for the coal miners. A week ago Friday, I got off eleven boxes in care of James Mark, Clearfield, Pennsylvania. The eleven boxes contained fifty articles, including warm clothing and toys and candy for the children. The boxes were beautiful to look at, each article done up carefully in gay Christmas paper, and every article in good condition. So, please, put that to the credit of The New Leader as well as to Comrade Maurer's credit.

Jeannette Marks.

South Hadley, Mass.

EUGENE V. DEBS BIRTHPLACE

The birthplace of Eugene V. Debs as pictured in the American Appeal has now been prepared in picture form and also on postcards. The pictures are 9½x11 in., suitable for framing and the postcard picture is on the very best of material.

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Amusements



The Week On Stage

Christmas: Snowed Under

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE rush of holiday purchasing means a slackening of theatre-going; the week before Christmas not one new play came on. But once gifts and greetings are exchanged, entertainment works its way toward New Year's Eve; this week seventeen new plays send out their varied appeal. Of some, a few brief notes:

In "Behold the Bridegroom," at the Court, George Kelly has turned to more serious fields, presenting, with Judith Anderson doing stellar work, the tragedy of a woman who has spent her life in such a way that when true love comes to her, she feels herself no longer really worthy of the future it should bring.

Another drama in serious mood is the revival of Rostand's "L'Aiglon," with Michael Strange in the role of the second Napoleon. This production at the Cosmopolitan gives a new interpretation to the character of the weak prince, rendering him indeed so strong that history would have been changed, were this version true.

The majority of the offerings, naturally, are of lighter stuff. Fannie Hurst, for instance, in her first venture into the drama, "It Is To Laugh," at the Eltinge, gives but a tinge of pathos to the sentimental drama of Jewish life, promoted from the East Side that the parents regret to the glories of West End avenue. All turns out right in the end, however—as in "Restless Women," where Sydney Stone at the Morosco sets a daughter intriguing against her mother to save her from a new romance—which entangles the younger woman instead. At the Lyceum, "Celebrity" gives a picture of a champion boxer from an unusual and effective angle. At the Theatre Maque, "Venus" combines the theme usually associated with its name with an actual trip to the planet named after the goddess, Rachel Crothers revealing a more fantastic aspect of her activity. "Paradise," at the 48th Street, is a picture of the revolt of the small town girl determined to make good and show the family her true worth after all; the complications are elaborately amusing.

"The White Eagle," at the Casino, is the only musical comedy until "Lovely Lady" later in the week, and the musical version of Edna Ferber's "Show Boat." "The White Eagle" is by the man who did "The Vagabond King." Russell Janney; it was most heartily received, and especially in the ensemble numbers is colorful and pleasing.

At the Music Box, a night later than these, there opened "Paris Bound," by Philip Barry, already so well known as to stir keen anticipation. This was not disappointing, although the play has no more novel, not that marital unfaithfulness and triangular designs, it works smoothly, what with the playwright and his assistants in the shape of Madge Kennedy and a competent group. "Show Boat," Edna Ferber's novel, refurbished by Oscar Hammerstein 2nd, with Jerome Kern's music, now graces the stage of the Ziegfeld. More than usual, this piece captures and sustains, not the plot, but the mood of the original; the lazy Mississippi life (in non-flood days) is captured in song and chorus and general rhythmic str. . . . Other plays of the week—and some of these, receive more detailed treatment later.

IF WINTER COMES

Gustav Blum's new offering at the Bayes is a most interesting study called "Spring Song," by Virginia Farmer. The balance of the incidents is unfortunate; stress is laid upon the young sculptor, and it is a while before we recognize that the vital and effective element in the play is the movement in the life of the older woman. The analysis of the shaping that goes on in her is searching and true, as she moves from the love-seeking woman through a period of uncertain questing, when she does not understand herself, to the fulfillment of the impulse of motherhood. When the New York playgoer may tend to see something amusing in the sudden recognition of the mother-love that has a moment before seemed sweetest jealousy, and indeed the shift comes a bit too swiftly; still the relationship is true and in the play well founded, and had the emphasis been properly laid—would have been one of the season's profoundest studies.

As things are, the play is somewhat

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In Brief

"The Prisoner" at the Provincetown Playhouse tonight, has already attracted enough interest to sell out for six theatre parties. These will be held during the second and third week of the run by the Socialist Party, the Civic Club, the Fellowship for Reconciliation, the Gaba Fellowship Club, the Women's Peace Party, and the Society for Socialist Prisoners and Exiles in Russia.

On Saturday night, January 7th, in the Royale Theatre, New York City, Winthrop Ames' Gilbert and Sullivan Opera Company ends its New York engagement which has extended almost two years, save for a brief tour last spring and the summer months of 1927. On January 9, the company begins its first transatlantic tour in the Walnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia, and will not be heard in New York again until November, 1928. Probably for the first time, a comic opera organization will go on "the road" with its New York cast unchanged, except for three chorus girls.

Winthrop Ames has established new records for Gilbert and Sullivan in New York. On April 19, 1926, he produced "Iolanthe," which never had been a favorite opera in this country. Its first production in America in 1882 by the D'Oyly Carte Company of London ran 13 weeks and its longest subsequent engagements, until the Ames' revival, was 4 weeks. The Ames company has sung "Iolanthe," including its performances in repertoire, 35 full weeks, or over one-half the entire number of weeks the piece has been given in New York.

Walter Hampden has reached the 100th performance of Henrik Ibsen's comedy, "An Enemy of the People," at Hampden's Theatre. This will be a New York record for consecutive presentations of an Ibsen play. "An Enemy of the People" will continue the regular bill at Hampden's Theatre although Mr. Hampden will interrupt the run long enough to appear in four performances of "Hamlet" beginning with the Wednesday matinee of next week (January 4th).

Six directors, in addition to Hamilton MacFadden, will control the policy of the newly-organized theatrical producing firm of Hamilton MacFadden, Inc. The first production of this group will be "La Gringa," the Tom Cushing play, in which Claudette Colbert will appear and which is being done in association with Charles L. Wagner. The play is now in rehearsal and will have an out-of-town opening shortly, coming to Broadway late in January.

"The Puppet Players," of Baltimore, have launched the most ambitious season of their career, for the first time housed in their own theatre, the two-part theatre, the director of the organization, has taken over the Vagabond Theatre for 1927-28 and work is now in full swing. The season will comprise six productions: "The Miller and His Men," by Isaac Pocock, a "mellow drama" written in 1813; "The Elvies and the Shoemaker," by Ethel Sidgwick; "Gloria and Gillette," and "The Gnomes of the West," the two part-tomies by M. Jagendorf director of "The Children's Playhouse" of New York City; "Professor Topsy-Turvy and His Brilliant Thoughts," by Vera Macbeth Jones; "A Tale From India," a play based on an Indian legend; and "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

"Dauntless Eva Le Gallienne continues her fight against the malignant fates. This time she tilts all the mysterious powers embattled behind the two standard of superstition and custom. Just to make sense of the Civic Repertory, headed by Eva Le Gallienne, announces that the premiere performance of its third production of the season, "The First Stone," a new American play by Walter Ferris, will take place on Friday, January 13th.

Max Reinhardt's repertoire company which has been at the Century Theatre moving on Monday to the smaller Cosmopolitan Theatre on Columbus Circle, where the master producer will offer some of his smaller scaled productions—small in size, but not in the legitimate quality, we may be sure. Larger's "Periphery," a modern underworld drama, laid in the outskirts of Prague, will be the first offering at the Cosmopolitan. The cast has but one woman, a part played by Dagney Servades. Herman Thimig will play the leading role.

In Movies

"Helen of Troy," which opened at the Globe Theatre on December 24th, has advanced prices, will move over to the Paramount on January 7th, where it will play at popular prices. The reason for this quick release of a special production is due to the fact that the legitimate stage production is crowding the great movie laugh-getter out.

Merry Christmas and Happy New Year, that well-known team holding the stage throughout December, will open a new edition of follies for the year 1928. Instead of this popular production reviewing the past events of 1927, the entire program will be a prediction for the coming year.

A Musical Squaw Man
Among the more ambitious of the 11 Christmas week offerings on the New York stage, Russell Janney's musical version of "The Squaw Man," presented at the Casino as "The White Eagle," bids to outlast many of them. Which is not to say that "The White Eagle" is anything to shout from the rooftops about. By this time, Mr. Janney's productions are taken for granted as containing a fairly good ratio of tuneful music, a number of excellent voices and a chorus with quality as well as volume.

Allan Prior, one time operatic star in Italy, favorite of many American light operas, meets all the requirements of his enthusiastic admirers in the role of Jim Carson, former Captain James of the 16th Lancers, or some such British regiment. Marion Keeler is "Silvering," the wife of the Squaw Man, while Hazel Glen is his wife-to-be, after his Indian spouse has shuffled herself off by the pistol route. The story ends happily through the well-known willingness of Indian squaws to kill themselves when their husbands find them in the way around the wigwam.

There is excellent scenic effects by James Reynolds, while Richard Boleslavsky, the Russian gentleman, did the staging.



A Jewish Water-Carrier From the Film "50 Polish Cities in New York" at the Manhattan Opera House.

Poland's Ghettoes On The Screen

The old Manhattan Opera House has been showing all week a series of present day scenes in the towns and villages of Jewish Poland. These are in no way acted up or prepared with any artifice. The rabbi, the shamus, the town idiot, the toilers and traders, the mothers and sons and daughters in all their ragged simplicity come up to you for a sad greeting. Few of them smile. Even the children are somehow aware that their more fortunate kin in America will be looking at them from comfortable seats in a warm theatre. Those who have left these scenes years ago and settled here might well pay a debt to memory and go over to the Manhattan Opera House and view again the sad and poverty from which they sprang.

Not that there are no scenes approaching Poland's right here in Golden America. But the cursed Jew-baiting and hating land is so universally scurried with sorrow and tragedy for the Jew, that our own land is indeed a tenth Heaven in comparison.

Of course, the old hard-grained religious customs lend an air of unpleasantness to the scene for the liberalized mind. But one sees even in Poland that the ancient order of orthodoxy is passing. The Jew too is slowly losing his Fundamentalism, and accepting the first few tenets of science and Darwin.

All in all as a moving picture, this presentation at the Manhattan is a worthwhile experience.

—S. A. D.

ing year. For instance: Fred Hall will commend the Paramount ushers; Donald Thompson will find his pass at the box-office; Harriet Udehild will praise the stage presentations; Irene Thirer will not lose her season pass; Rose Pelswick will announce the Paramount program over the radio; the Capitol will stop giving the Paramount publicity; Ed Olmsted will not go to California; Uinn Martin will see a good stage revue; John S. Cohen, Junior's Secretary (Willie) will not call for a pass; Kelsey Allen will tell a new story; the Colony Theatre will not change its policy; the A. N. P. A. will tell the Naked Truth; Vic Shapiro will stick to U. A.'s policy of facts only for the press; Jack McInerney will not stage a tea; motion picture salaries will be cut ten per cent; no press agents will be fired in 1928; a Public usher will say damn, and there will be a seat for everybody at the Paramount Theatre.

"The Chinese Parrot," Paul Leni's second picture to be made in this country for Universal, comes to the Colony Theatre, Saturday, December 31st. Leni distinguished himself with his first American picture, "The Canary," which he adapted from the popular play by that name by John Willard, and regarded as the greatest mystery picture yet made. "The Chinese Parrot" is an adaptation of Earl Derr Biggers' story.

"The Prisoner" To Be Given at Provincetown For Socialist Party

"The Prisoner," by Emil Bernhard, translated by Alexander Berkman, will be given as a benefit performance for the Socialist Party on Sunday evening, January 8th.

"The Prisoner," the first play of this season's Provincetown Playhouse program, is by a German author, Emil Bernhard, a writer who has already earned a place in contemporary German drama. It is published in the series of plays brought out by the Volksbuehne in Berlin and has been produced under the auspices of this famous popular theatre in a number of smaller German cities where it has had a remarkable success. This year the Volksbuehne will produce the play in Berlin. However, the Provincetown Playhouse production will antedate that of the Volksbuehne, and New York will have practically the premiere of Bernhard's piece.

In form "The Prisoner" follows the lines of more conservative drama. It is in five acts, with only two changes of sets. There is no hectic shift of scenes; no attempt to carry on impression of the kaleidoscope of the whole machine age; none of the noise and confusion that seems to be considered necessary to a modern play. Yet concentrated within its five acts of tense dialogue there is real and deeply revolutionary material which needs no mechanical accessories to grip the audience.

The play deals with the question of war and the right of the individual to refuse to commit legalized murder even at the command of constituted authority. From this point of view it touches issues which concern all of us, in view of the heritage left by the Great War. But it touches even more poignant topics when it raises the whole question of the right of the individual to decide what he shall or shall not do according to his own conscience, even against the judgment of governments and masses, and the further issue of the efficiency of non-resistance in the face of violence and force, even when exercised by revolution.

The play is deeply Tolstoyan in feeling and design. It takes place in a Siberian prison and centers about the struggle between the prison warden and one of the prisoners who refused to carry arms in the Great War, and whose example, infecting whole armies, threatened with collapse the entire structure of Czarist militarism toward the end of 1916.

On the one hand you have all the authority and force in the hands of the prison warden, determined against all his better instincts to wring submission to constituted authority out of his victim. On the other hand, you have the victim, victorious through the miracle of meekness and the power of a new logic. As the play progresses and the tragic struggle unfolds, this lonely jail in a far-away corner of Siberia gradually becomes the center of the world stage, where are being decided the issues of the salvation of humanity. The prisoner persists in the face of all the efforts of authority and the temptation to assume leadership in a revolution of violence; under the impact of this strange power of the "terrible meek," the apostles of force break down and disintegrate.

THE PRISONER

By Bernard
Translated by
ALEXANDER BERKMAN
PROVINCETOWN PLAYHOUSE
135 MACDOUGAL STREET
Eve. Incl. Sun. 8:00-Sat. Mat. 2:10

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MR. W. B. CURRY
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FRIDAY, JANUARY 6
MR. EVERETT D. MARTIN
"Liberal Thought in America."
From Roger Williams to the
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Open Forum Discussion

MONDAY, JANUARY 2
DR. HELEN D. LOCKWOOD
"The Misery of the Wealth of Nations:
Mrs. Gaskell and Galsworthy"

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4
DR. SCOTT BUCHANAN
"Geometry: From Shapes to Figures"

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5
DR. E. G. SPAULDING
"Can Mind and Body Interact?"

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7
DR. RICHARD P. McKEON
"Philosophy and its Predicaments:
What is Truth?"

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Course 1. Literature—Books New and Old. Continued. G. F. Beck. Every Sunday at 5:00 P. M. Single admission 25

Course 12. The Great Romantics. John Cowper Powys. Five Fridays at 8:30 P. M. beginning January 13. Single admission, 50 cents. Course tickets, \$2.00.

Course 3. Philosophy—The Classical Age of Greece and Rome. Dr. G. F. Beck. Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. Single admission, 15 cents.

Course 13. Philosophy Discussion Class. Dr. G. F. Beck. Every Monday at 8:30 P. M. Single admission, 15 cents.

Course 15. The Scientific Method Applied to Social Problems. Dr. G. F. Beck. Every Tuesday at 8:30 P. M. Single admission, 25 cents. Course tickets, \$1.00.

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Course 16. Economics—The Ethical Implications of Economics. Norman Thomas. Five Tuesdays at 8:30 beginning January 16. Single admission, 25 cents. Course tickets, \$1.00.

Course 7. The Dance as a Medium of Creative Expression. Don Oscar Beque. Five Saturdays afternoons at 3:30 beginning January 7. Single admission, 50 cents. Course tickets, \$2.00.

Course 8. Speech Improvement. Miss Beatrice Becker. Mondays at 8:00 P. M. beginning January 9. Single admission, 25 cents. Fee for course of ten lessons, \$2.00.

Course 11. Poetry. A contemporary poetry forum. Leader Anton Remick. Every Tuesday at 8:15 P. M. Single admission, 25 cents.

For further information regarding the above write our office. Registrations may be made in person or by mail at Labor Temple, 242 E. 14th St., New York City.

The annual dinner of the school will take place at the Aldine Club Rooms, 200 Fifth Avenue, Friday evening, January 26th, at 7:00 P. M. Speakers will be Heywood Brown, John Cowper Powys, John Haynes Holmes, G. F. Beck, Edmund B. Chaffee. Tickets, \$2.50, may be secured at Labor Temple office.

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Friday Evening, January 26, 1928

at 7:00 o'clock

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John Haynes Holmes

SUBJECT:—"The Lecturer—and the Future of America."

Tickets at \$2.50 per cover

may be obtained at the Labor Temple Office, 242 E. 14th St.

Watch Makers Union To Meet Thurs., Jan. 5th

An open meeting for all Watch and Clock Makers will be held by the Amalgamated Watch and Clock Makers, Local No. 21, International Jewelry Workers Union, on Thursday, January 5th, 1928, at eight p. m., in Jewelers Union Hall, Room 607, No. 112-18 West 44th street (between Sixth Avenue and Broadway) New York City. A public installation of the new officers will be made by officers of District Council No. 1, I. J. W. I., and International officers. Refreshments will be served. All Watch and Clock Makers in the watchmaking trade in this city are invited to attend this meeting.

This local has been lately reorganized by General Secretary-Treasurer S. E. Beardsley of the International Jewelry Workers Union. The local is growing rapidly and indications are that it will soon have enrolled the vast majority of all Watch and Clock Makers in this city. This branch of the jewelry trade has for many years been without any semblance of an organization and as a result conditions among these very highly skilled mechanics have become deplorable. Wages are low, hours are long, conditions under which men work are intolerable. Beginning with this open meeting an intensive organization campaign will be waged throughout the city for the purpose of perfecting a 100 per cent. organization through which the bad working conditions in the watchmaking trade can be eliminated. All unorganized workers in this trade are again urged to attend this open meeting and listen to reasons why they should enroll as members of their union.

WEVD Programs

SUNDAY, JANUARY 1, 1928
24.5 Met.—WEVD—N. Y. City—1220 Kc.
12.30—Wesleyan's Entertainers.
1.00—Mr. and Mrs. Chatterbox.
2.00—Helen Ardelle, soprano; Walter Warren Ploch, baritone.
2.30—Lydia Mason, piano.
2.50—Helen Janke, contralto.
3.05—E. Sheffield Marsh, tenor.
3.25—Lydia Mason, piano.
3.25—Debs Opera Company in "Carmen."

MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1928
1.00—School Hour.
2.00—George Rael, bass.
2.20—Helen Ardelle, soprano.
2.40—Anna Siegrist, American poetry.
3.00—Norman Allen, baritone.
3.20—Merial Nelda, diseuse.
3.40—Tristan Wolf, tenor.
4.00—Lydia Mason, piano.
4.20—History in the Making.
4.40—Michel Ingberman, piano.
5.00—Dudley Powers, cello.
5.20—Master Institute of United Arts, soloists.
5.40—Robert J. McClelland, tenor.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1928
1.00—Speech Hour.
2.00—Irving Chetty, violin.
2.20—Richard E. Parks, bass.
2.40—Dorothy Brudvick, contralto.
3.00—Prof. Charlotte Peckay, N. Y. U. German literature.
3.20—Helen Bierling, soprano.
3.40—Helen Block, piano.
4.00—Lillian Dublin, Liedersinger.
4.20—Gertrude Glogau, piano.
4.40—Winifred Harper Cooley, problem drama.
5.00—Norman Allen, baritone.
5.20—Civic Repertory Theatre, reader.
5.40—Lydia Mason, piano.
6.00—Debs Trio.
6.20—Elsie Gluck, Labor Age.
6.35—Debs Trio.
6.55—New Leader Topics.
10.10—Debs Trio.
10.45—Jack Phillips, popular baritone.
11.00—Cardinal Dance Orchestra.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 4, 1928
1.00—Speech Hour.
2.00—Joe Immerman, piano.
2.30—Harvey Roth, violin.
2.50—American Laboratory Theatre, reader.

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Socialists in New York and vicinity and others who have visited New York within the past thirty years will remember Michael Cody, who was to be found at every Socialist, labor and liberal gathering selling newspapers. Cody handled only "The Weekly People." From now on, however, Cody has a new love.

Comrade Cody has had a run-in with the publishers of his old paper, and now sells only "The New Leader." Cody's years in the Socialist and radical movement date far back. He was busy in the days of the Greenbackers and of the Populists; he saw the Socialist Labor Party come and go. Cody's scrap with the publishers of the Weekly People came over a disagreement he had with the editor on the question of evolution. Cody finding the Darwinian theory not to his liking, Cody wants it to be known that he believes still in the principles of the Socialist Labor Party. He finds "The New Leader, however, to be "the only Leader," and therefore he sells it.

3.05—Elsie Rostell, Liedersinger.
3.25—Dr. Pedro Fernandez, N. Y. C. Spanish literature.
3.55—History in the Making.
4.10—Violet Branchey, coloratura soprano.
4.30—Conservatory of Musical Arts, soloist.
4.50—Michel Ingberman, piano.
5.10—Rose Bachova, soprano.
5.30—Wolf Sisters Trio.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1928

1.00—Speech Hour.
2.00—Crooning Ramblers.
2.20—Old Masters of the Clavichord.
2.40—Jennie Wallach, lyric soprano.
3.00—Adolf Otterstein, violin and lecturer.
3.20—Prof. Pauline Taylor, French literature.
3.40—Dorothy Johnson, soprano.
4.00—Roland Weber, Wilde's "Salome."
4.20—Lydia Mason, piano.
4.40—Rosa Kovar, contralto.
5.00—Mata Tilmann, American poets.
5.15—Norman Allen, baritone.
5.30—Wolf Sisters, string quartette and piano.
6.00—Vocal Quartette from the Debs Opera Company.
6.15—James Oneal, Backgrounds in American History.
6.30—Vocal Quartette from the Debs Opera Company.
6.50—Dudley Powers, cellist.
10.00—Vocal Quartette.
10.30—Robert J. Vran: popular baritone.
11.00—Sid. Fiedler and his orchestra.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1928

1.00—Speech Hour.
2.00—Joe Zimmermann, piano.
2.20—E. Sheffield Marsh, tenor.
2.40—Rocco Recagno, violin.
3.05—Lydia Mason, piano.
3.25—Marybeth Conoly, lyric soprano.
3.45—Norman Allen, baritone.
4.05—Peter Hugh Reed and Roland Weber, readings.
4.25—Oscar Goldstein, popular tenor.
4.45—Michel Ingberman, piano.
5.00—Tea Hour Music.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1928

1.00—Crooning Ramblers.
1.20—Michel Ingberman, piano.
1.40—Ludwig Lewishohn, reading by Roland Weber.
2.00—Katherine Wolf, violin.
2.20—Caroline Himmel, popular soprano.
2.40—Michel Ingberman, piano.
3.00—Katherine Wolf, violin.
3.20—Nuni Chastrot, occultisms.
3.40—Walter Warren, Ploch, baritone.
4.00—Debs Trio.
4.30—Elsie Duffell, soprano.
4.50—Milton Shrednik, piano.
5.10—Bobby Ulan, popular baritone.
5.30—Debs String Quartette.
6.00—Justine Roberts and her group impersonations.
6.20—McAlister Coleman, Labor Looks at the Week.
6.35—Irving Chetty and Rocco Racigno, violin and viola solos and duets.
10.05—Lillian Dublin, soprano.
10.40—Sidney Schumann, violin.
11.00—Debs Variety Hour.

Mathew Woll Will Debate Company Unions At the New School

"Company Unions and the Yellow Dog Contract" is the inviting subject of a debate to take place at the New School for Social Research on Saturday evening, January 7th. Mathew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, will take a critical position on company unions. The name of his opponent has not been announced as yet, but the New School is certain to find a worthy representative of the anti-trade union view. The New School is located at 465 West 23rd street, N. Y. C.

Norman Thomas and William English Walling To Debate Labor Party

"Resolved That the Best Interests of American Workers Require the Organization of a Labor Party for Effective Action on the Political Field" will be the subject of the debate to be held at the Brooklyn Jewish Center, 667-691 Eastern Parkway, on Tuesday evening, January 3, 1928. The speakers will be Norman Thomas, Director of the League for Industrial Democracy, and William English Walling, former Socialist.

Annual "Playboy" Ball New Year's Eve at Webster

The famous annual "Playboy" Ball will be held on again this New Year's eve at its old stand, Webster Hall, 11th street near Third Avenue. The usual array of rich music, costumes and artists will be present, with dancing that is dancing assured until long past the New Year has come in.

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Tremont Forum Starts Two Lecture Courses

The Tremont Educational Forum, conducted under the auspices of the 7th and 8th A. D.'s Socialist Party, Bronx, now entering upon the tenth year of public educational services, announces two series of lectures for January and February, 1928, which will prove thought-provoking and inspiring. Dr. Alexander Goldweiser, author of "Early Civilization, an Introduction to Anthropology," and (with Prof. Ogburn) editor of "The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations," will deliver four Friday-evening-consecutive lectures, on: "The Doctrine of Social Evolution," commencing January 6th, with the subject, "Evolution, Biological and Social"; the second lecture will deal with "Evolution of Industry and Science"; the third, with "Evolution of Society and Government"; and the last, with "The Human Control of Evolution: Progress." Dr. Mortimer J. Adler, of the Department of Psychology, Columbia University, and author of "Dialectic," will deliver four lectures on psychology in February.

Both lecturers are well-known scholars and popular lecturers, and those who will attend their lectures throughout, will receive an educational benefit of lasting importance, broadening their views and deepening their knowledge.

All lectures of the forum are held at its headquarters, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Avenue, Bronx, and are followed by questions and discussions; they start at 8:30 p. m. sharp. You will do your friends a good turn, by telling them about these lectures.

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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 ALgonquin 4622-3

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	United States	To Foreign Countries
One Year	\$2.00	\$3.00
Six Months	1.00	1.50
Three Months	.75	.75

The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the struggles 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, DECEMBER 31, 1927

Congress Must Investigate!

GRECO and Carillo, accused of the murder of a Fascist, have been acquitted by a jury. The trial brought out the fact that Italian Fascism extends to the United States, that it seeks to use American courts for its purposes, that it employs false witnesses and perjury to destroy its opponents, and that it will send innocent men to their death if this will extend its power.

The perjury employed against Greco and Carillo would have sent them to their death in Italy. A Fascist jury would have accepted the testimony of the perjurers. The records of the trial reveal that criminal bands of Mussolini are organized in this country. They have no more right to immunity than the bandits who rob and kill in American cities.

This case should not end with the acquittal of Greco and Carillo. "The next thing should be to indict and punish the perjurers," declares the Brooklyn Eagle. We agree. But something more is required. There should be a Congressional investigation of the activities of Mussolini's bands in this country. Mussolini has openly decided to subsidize his murder bands abroad. They are notified that they are to be compensated for any losses they may sustain by their criminal activities outside of Italy.

This means to underwrite violence, perjury and murder. The Greco-Carillo case shows what this country faces. Moreover, Italian bankers, commercial and business men and the Italian press have become extensions of Fascist sovereignty in this country. Most of them are unwilling accomplices of Mussolini. They are helpless. They must silently acquiesce in Fascist dictation or be financially ruined. Their economic and financial relations with Italy depend upon formal acceptance and support of the Slave State of Italy.

It is up to Congress to investigate this hideous thing. It is not a matter of discussion of ideas. It is the extension of organized terror and criminal activities of Fascist Italy into the United States. Congress cannot ignore it. Congress must act!

Work For The New Year

WE direct special attention to the call by the National Executive Committee which appears on another page. It marks the beginning of Socialist activities for the New Year, activities that will continue throughout the year and will not end till the election in November.

Our readers must be impressed with the spontaneous awakening of interest in the Socialist movement for several weeks. It dates from the elections last November. It is not confined to one or two localities. It is general throughout the country. Inactive Socialists have renewed their activities. New locals and branches are being organized. New members are being admitted. Inquiries regarding the movement come from all parts of the country.

The parties of capitalism are in part responsible. No nation has ever been more dominated by the owners of big capital and finance. Their parties in Congress are obedient poodles. On an important matter like investigating the super-power gang there is no party division. If there is any difference at all it is a minor difference within the parties, not any marked difference between the two parties.

Then unemployment with its consequent widespread misery can no longer be concealed. Coolidge "prosperity" is vanishing in opium smoke while the two-party brokers are arranging for another "round-up" of the voters.

The call of the National Executive Committee is timely. It should be answered with devoted and continuous service by members and sympathizers. With the weak states strengthened the rest is comparatively easy. Help them and then turn to our local tasks, a big convention in April, and an inspiring campaign!

Unions Facing Peril

THE tragic experience which the bituminous miners are facing and the reaction to their suffering by other trade unions offer an interesting study of the American labor movement. What is typical of this struggle is that the other unions as a whole do not appear to be much disturbed. Each union is not much disturbed unless an especially bad situation faces it. Of course, there is formal support by the other unions of the miners, especially by the more advanced unions like those in the needle trades, but this support does not assume the character of a crusade.

We may contrast this situation with the situation in the British unions when the miners in recent years faced similar hardships. There was not only formal support of the miners. The whole trade union movement was aroused and for months labor support of the miners was conspicuous news all over the world. So thoroughly were the union men of England interested that the miners' struggle involved the trade unions of the country in a general strike.

The contrast is a striking one. Here the sense of solidarity, with a few notable exceptions, is feeble

and in the higher range of the skilled occupations it hardly exists at all. Here the crusading spirit is absent. The United Mine Workers has been one of the strongest organizations in the A. F. of L. and its decline to a third rate power would be a blow to the whole trade union movement of the country. Most of the other unions do not see this or, if they do, they do not appear to care. They assume that their own position in their respective industries is secure and that the tendencies that threaten one powerful union can never concern them.

This attitude is dangerous to all the unions and to the future of economic organization itself. One reason for this is that our unions are divided into more unions than in any other country and this division tends to concentrate interest on the special problems each union faces. Intimate contact and inter-union sympathy which grow out of more compact organization of workers into a less number of unions are absent. The multiplicity of organizations promotes a psychology of separatism with consequent indifference to or half-hearted support of one great army of workers who face a tragic struggle for survival.

The plight of the miners would in any other modern country mobilize all the best thought and planning of the whole movement to avert disaster. That this does not prevail is ominous for the future. Even many in the movement of more progressive views and who realize the present drift are little. They fear that nothing can be done because old ways are too deeply rooted to be changed now. This we believe to be a mistaken view. Education is always possible, especially when a grave situation faces the whole movement. Such a situation now exists and it should summon all the idealism of those who understand to arouse the trade unions to the perils ahead.

Facing Want and No Work

POLITICIANS, high officials at Washington and editors are scared at a spectre that is slowly taking shape throughout the country. It can no longer be denied that widespread unemployment is creeping over the country. In the Twin cities of Minnesota the distress has swamped charitable agencies. Industry in general is affected and guarded admissions are being made by the gentlemen who preside over our destinies at Washington.

A striking editorial in the New York Times of Tuesday presents some data which are of sufficient importance that we are reprinting it in part on another page. But something more than unemployment is revealed in the Times editorial. The data which it assembles show the increased exploitation of the workers through inventions, more thorough organization and perfection of "scientific management."

What is evident in this survey is three important factors: (1) greater production, (2) a declining working force, (3) a decreasing payroll. It shows that in industries like Bethlehem Steel and General Motors a smaller force of workers are producing a greater volume of values than the larger force of former years. Consider transportation alone. Nearly 8,000,000 more cars were loaded in 1926 than in 1920 yet the number of workers has declined 250,000 in this period.

What does this development in big industries mean? It means that certain values and service once paid for are now reaped by owners without paying for them. No less than 250,000 workers have been cast aside in transportation while those still at work handle 8,000,000 more cars than the whole working force once did. This gives some idea of the exploitation of the working class and this gouging is heaped upon other gougings in the preceding decades of American industry.

No other system of production in history ever sweated so much unpaid labor out of the toilers as the capitalist system of production. It is bringing to the front one of its periodical absurdities—want in the midst of abundance. Our system is so productive that with intelligent organization and management it can guarantee the wants of all with a few hours of useful labor performed by every able-bodied person. Under present arrangements it is a sweating machine which enriches owners and condemns millions to periodical misery.

We do not wonder that Coolidge does not "choose to run" the concern for another four years. We wouldn't either.

A "Well Advised" Report

WE have no confidence whatever in the National Civic Federation's report on old age pensions. We did not expect it to present a favorable view and would have been surprised if it did. The Civic Federation is one of a number of opiate departments of the present social order and this report is another one of its drugs.

It declares that there are few of the aged over 65 who are destitute and that the number dependent upon relatives or charity range between 20 to 25 per cent. It declares in favor of a "well-advised movement" in the matter of old-age security, a "reasoned discussion of relief" and "sanity attested by facts embodied in cautiously compiled figures".

We are confident that the data gathered in this study have been "cautiously compiled". We are also certain that those who presented the report were "well advised". We expect both from any organization that sponsors Ralph Easley. That gentleman subscribes to the view that any social program that does not measure up to the standard of the fourteenth century is not "well advised".

To be more precise, we assert that the Civic Federation since its origin in the inspiration of the lamented Marcus A. Hanna has been an insurance society to protect the material interests of big capital and finance. Any suggestion to tax that crowd for the welfare of the veterans of industry is certain to receive a veto. It isn't "well advised" and "cautiously compiled figures" are necessary to put the suggestion into the discard.

The report is the view of American corporations. If any labor men accept it, this does not change its character no more than the working man who voted for Coolidge proves that Coolidge represents the working class. And that's that.

A Tammany Decision

A DECISION by Magistrate Corrigan, acquitting one of the election thieves runs true to form. After all, we know that there is little hope of cleaning polluted elections by Tammany judges. They are a part of the Tammany machine. They may not be listed and tagged at so many dollars each as in the days of Tweed but they serve the policy of "honest graft" just the same. What is necessary is to carry Tammany's dirty deeds to Albany when the Assembly convenes and then advertise its prize exhibit, "Al" Smith, throughout the nation.

WEVD

Flashes

Picked Up Out of the Air
From the Programs of Station WEVD, the Eugene V. Debs Memorial Station

A BIT OF JUSTICE

ONE cheering bit of news for everyone interested in justice is the acquittal of Greco and Carillo by a Bronx jury after seven hours and a half of deliberation. These two Italian workers who were accused of the murder of two black-shirts in the Bronx last Decoration Day, have had the support of most New York liberals and able defenders in the persons of Clarence Darrow, Arthur Garfield Hays, and Isaac Shorr. The Greco-Carillo Defense Committee, headed by Robert Morris Lovett, did much to arouse public interest in the case, and undoubtedly prevented a repetition of any Sacco-Vanzetti affair.

THE S-4 AFFAIR

To anyone who reads between the lines of the account of the sinking of the submarine S-4, it is evident that there is being some mighty hot criticism made by those in high places of the methods employed to salvage the wreck and attempt to save the men in it.

Secretary of the Navy Wilbur has replied to criticisms sent by women relatives of the drowned men that an inquiry into the whole business by Congress now seems likely.

Certainly the tragedy does not tend to heighten confidence in those behind the huge naval building plan which is now proposed. No one has been able to explain to the satisfaction of the public why such an elaborate program should be planned at this time, when we are supposed to be at peace with all the world, always excepting, of course, Nicaragua, Haiti, and such other little wars as our imperialists may dig up for us during the coming year.

WASHINGTON DOINGS

Speaking of Congressmen, they have apparently been too busy to do much except wish one another and their constituents Merry Christmas. The Progressives in Congress received unexpected Christmas presents in the shape of some fat committee assignments handed out by the old guard. Lobbies for the power interests and other special privileges are rejoicing over the sickness of Senator Walsh of Montana, which threatens to hold up the inquiry that the fighting little Senator proposes making into the activities of the big electric companies and their subsidiaries. Senator Norris has been sick, too, but not sick enough to prevent his taking a mighty blow at the vulnerable jaw of William Randolph Hearst. The editor's ridiculous accusations against the progressive Senator had a comeback which proved once more, if proof were needed, that Hearst is one of the most unscrupulous of our public liars. The pity is that his papers are so largely read by the workers, who still seem to think, despite a mass of evidence to the contrary, that the wealthy publisher is interested in defending the rights of the poor and oppressed.

BUTLER'S XMAS CARD

Up at Columbia University, Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler sends out a strange Christmas card, informing his surprised friends that as a matter of fact Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton marched under the same banner and had the same purpose in view. This would certainly astonish both of these eminent men, considering that Jefferson hated most of Hamilton's ideas, a hatred which was heartily returned by the first Secretary of the Treasury.

The hearts of school children in New York would have been uplifted had their owners attended a meeting held at the New York County Medical Society Building, where prominent physicians said that school hours in this town were much too long, and urged radical changes in the entire school program.

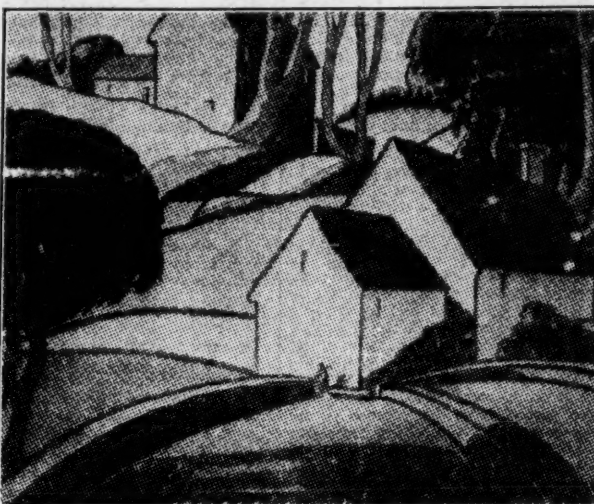
CELEBRATING CHRISTMAS

Between now and the next time I talk to you a large number of citizens will undoubtedly have gone to premature graves through drinking Christmas hootch and otherwise celebrating the era of peace on earth and good will to men. It is pretty safe to predict that the holidays will see numerous gang fights in Chicago and New York, the hijacking of bootleggers on the public road, and the eviction of more striking miners from Mr. Mellon's beautiful company houses. Speaking of miners, if you listen to our appeal and send warm shoes and clothes to those who are actually suffering in Pennsylvania and Colorado, because they choose to struggle for industrial freedom, your Christmas should be that much happier in the thought that you are doing something for your brother. If you haven't sent clothes or money to the miners it isn't too late yet. You may send your clothes or contributions to the office of the New Leader, 7 East Fifteenth Street, or to the office of the Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, where anything you give will be gratefully received.

Inheriting the Earth

An Egyptian parchment of 1800 B. C. is said to have established the fact that Egyptians had measured the earth at that time. Probably they wanted to know just how much Rockefeller, Ford and Morgan would eventually inherit.

THE EDGE OF THE WOOD



Drawn by "Gal" the Miner-Artist

The Madness of Capitalism

By Stuart Chase

JULES VERNE once wrote a story which he called the Mysterious Island. It was about four men abandoned on a desolate spot of land in the Pacific Ocean. Unlike Robinson Crusoe, they had access to no wrecked vessel from which supplies could be secured; they landed with their bare hands.

But there were growing things upon the island; there were animals, minerals—the age long background of human life. And in the brain of the engineer who led the party there was science. With their bare hands they set to work. It was a desperate struggle but, step by step, they forced back cold, hunger and desolation, and in the end transformed their island into a pleasant home which yielded food, shelter, clothing, comforts.

Thus Verne has shown us, in a small way, the problem which all society faces in a big way; which it has always faced. In the complexity of modern civilization and the machine age, we tend to lose sight of those stark realities upon which our social life is founded, and falling which we could but sink to the level of the brute.

To meet the demands of the Mysterious Island, every member of the shipwrecked crew put his shoulder to the wheel, as you or I or any other sane man would have done. On each man's labor the survival of the group depended. But suppose that one of the castaways had spent his days in sleeping on the beach; one had given all his energy in making mud pies; one had built a house on the shore by bringing stones from the top of the hill—when there

were plenty of stones nearer at hand; while the last, in his haste to clear a field, had carelessly burned off all the timber on the island.

Four madmen! Yes, mad indeed when thus seen in miniature. But in our great society these are precisely the things which untold millions of us are constantly doing. Their mad acts illustrate the four great channels of industrial waste.

1. The sleeper on the beach represents the man-power which on any given working day is doing nothing—by virtue of unemployment, preventable accidents and diseases, strikes and lock-outs—the idle rich, the Weary Willies. The great bulk, be it observed, are idle not because they want to be, but because they are forced to be.

2. The Mud pie maker represents the man-power which goes into the production of harmful or useless things—patent medicines, opium, superluxuries, war preparations, adulterated goods, jerry building, the bulk of advertising, quackery of all kinds.

3. The stone house builder represents the excess man-power required to produce and distribute necessities and comforts, because the technical arts—the best way of doing the job—are not made use of. Failure to use scientific management, failure to match production against the real requirements of the consumer, excess plant capacity, cross hauling, the idiotic methods in milk distribution, too many retail stores, city congestion, locking up of new inventions—all combine to force the taking of two steps where one would suffice.

THE CHATTER BOX

The World Tomorrow

Once we were plant; living tools were used. That through us you might reach a higher goal.—Till suddenly the power you abused, Swinging to us, revealed in each a soul.

These hands that, steel on steel, built up your pride, Shall seize their own creative work; and seated Where you were throne, we'll watch you leaden-eyed Pass in that shuffling march of the defeated.

—BENJAMIN MUSSER.

THERE is a letter before me from a fairly well-known writer inviting me to join him and his friends at a studio party to celebrate the passing of the old year, "and if you will you may contribute the spiritual part of the program. We will take care of the spirits. But if you don't want to trust our offering, you are at liberty to bring your own. Bootlegging being what it is, no one will feel offended." * * * and so on elaborating on the boozing and of the function. Writing the following may be a mean way of refusing an otherwise jovial and well-intentioned invitation, but I am just what I am, a hard-boiled declarative sentence on any subject that touches my pet hates and loves.

Now one thing I will never get through my dumb noodle; and that is the fetish for boozing among the self-established intellectuals of our day. Those new-fangled medicine men have an explanation.

Professors of brain ailments offer diagnosis. Patter-headed Baptists from the dry provinces screech a hateful harangue. Mealy mouthed evangelists scour the pot of hell and offer up its offal for example. * * * All of which adds to my confusion. None of these touches clearly on the tragedy—the cruel comedy of intelligent creative souls who wear a cheap concoction of gin and vermouth as a badge, and adulterated Scotch as a defiant motto against the legions of the Boob.

Please put me down on the Prohibition Question as one of those tolerant cusses who believes that any Dumb Dan or Dora has the sanctified and unassailable right to hootch him or herself to ultimate delirium, at reasonable prices, however. I am absolutely against governmental interference in that sort of suicide. And solely because the more dumbbells who pass out of the ugly picture of the present system through the whiskey route, the less encumbrance Socialism will have to carry when it arrives to set the world's house in order. Stupidity is sad enough when it totters about in an alcoholic Black Bottom. It is a hundredfold more brutal and tragic when sober. So in this faint hope that all stupidity will eventually drink itself to death under an unhampered wet regime, I oppose the present prohibition. As I make these remarks I am quite conscious of the smirks from our economic interpreters, and the guffaws from the deep thinking group of our world. But in a topsy-turvy opinion like mine can somehow scoot off into the credulous heavens and hook itself onto an orbit of authority.

But seriously writing, I am just plumb loosed by the sight of so many of our writers, critics, poets and artists who go in for systematic alcoholism. Now I just know what the gentle observer will say. Most of them are such nice smart people; most of them have fine minds and such clear vision on what's what in life. They find modern living ugly and boring, full of low contradictions, hypocrites, lies, swinish lusts and ignoble aims. Civilization plays a raucous discord against their finely strung senses. The madhouse noises are so unbearable. And whiskey has a magic that deafens the spirit to the bedlam, by playing a mad music of its own. And anyway, he continues in explanation, most talent and genius of a spiritual sort are doomed to material failure in a world that

worships through commerce and enshrines oil, steel and chewing gum as the universal gods. So gin builds for them an Aladdin city of sparkling spires and bejeweled turrets, a realm of romance in which these creative dreamers can spend a tolerable moment of experience. And so from them comes forth the catchword of flaming youth embattled against the Puritan graybeards. * * * "A short life and a merry one."

And well I might take up for them here a campaign of justifying their attitude. For I too can see very little in this unbecoming world to make me cry out with Oliver Twist for "more" of life in it. Yet I am loath to chime in with their philosophy of long drinking and fast living, for all of my knowledge of what is wrong with this bunco game of modern existence. Simply because I cannot for the life of me convince myself that so many of these intellectuals suffer one tenth the agony that they profess to drown in gin and julep. Long ago, when they first started poetizing and scribbling their great epics and novels, a cold world coldly advised them that the way to art and its perfection led through brambles of disappointment and over rocks and hills of arduous practice. They all had the spark in them. Genius was undeniably theirs. Resentful against a heartless and blind audience, they gradually migrated toward each other from all parts of the land until they met in the cellars and coffee houses of Greenwich Village. There they learned how to substitute pose for industry, and cheapjack juice for inspiration. Some of them actually succumbed to civilization and got jobs in the brothels of American Newspaperdom, or in the cabaret places of commercial publicity and ad writing. The old habits acquired during the days of struggle toward recognition on their real own clung to them. They still play-act at starved genius, and swig the sap of rye and sour mash. All in all they don't impress me with their bragging swagger. I really believe that they hate productive work of any kind, especially in that proclaimed sphere of their own, "art for art's own pure sake". And taking to hootch offers a fine sympathetic alibi for having been driven to its extremity by a stupid and unappreciative world. This all sounds bourgeois and conservative and Puritanical and all that, doesn't it? Well, there's a deuce of a lot more reason and truth in these chance remarks of mine about the subject than there ever will be in the whiskey guzzling act of our heartbroken intelligentsia. I dislike drunkards anyway. They smell malodourously, and their suppressed selves coming out under the liberating jerk of the gin bottle, when fully revealed, makes me wish at most times that the suppression had been so complete in the beginning that no force on earth or heaven were tremendous enough ever to bring it back to human sight and knowledge.

So now you see that I will not be at that New Year's party where my writer friend has so heartily invited me. I'll have a snatch or two of some old wine and a finger of bootleg rye myself perhaps, this New Year's night. But I shall do so only in the hope that this hypocritical Prohibition act be taken out of the national book of laws. For next to a pseudo-sufferer of the World's injustice and his martyrdom under alcohol, I detest the Anti-Saloon lobbyist, and the hangdog visage of the professional Dry. I will drink to the right of man to do with his life as he pleases within the light of non-interference with the life, liberty, and happiness pursuit of his neighbor, to the untrammelled tolerance of all persons by all others, and to a whole lot less sham and pose on the part of smart, fine souls who ought to know better than just booze their young lives to death, and just don't want to know.

And so let me close with wishing you all a happy New Year, a New Year with more promise for labor—the farmer, the white collar slave, and the countless millions of the poor and oppressed all over the earth.

S. A. deWitt.



BRISBANE REPORTS A MIRACLE

Magic powers of our ruling pirates as related by Arthur Brisbane, the man retained by Hearst to expound sorcery, glorify Babbity, and amuse those who find it painful to think:

J. Pierpont Morgan takes Judge Gary's place as chairman of the United States Steel board of directors. That will please stockholders. Mr. Morgan's father created the company, with the assistance of Judge Gary, James A. Farrell and other able citizens, and changed a half a billion worth of stock that Carnegie called "not even water, mere air" into stock, now worth more than \$220 a share, the 40 per cent. dividend included.

To change "thin air" to a solidly established stock worth more than a billion real dollars shows what American business can do.

THE HORRID RADICALS

From the "National Republic," organ of the Republican Party, edited by George B. Lockwood.

"How unscrupulous are the methods of the radicals is indicated by the outcry against the Rockefeller's in connection with the miners' strike in Colorado, which has fallen within the control of the I. W. W. The Rockefeller's, it is officially stated, own no mines within 200 miles of the place where the strike is being staged."

4. The field clearer represents the waste of natural resources. In lumber, coal, oil, natural gas, soils, minerals, the North American continent has been gutted by methods so improvident, so careless, that for every ton reclaimed, a ton or more has gone to waste.

So what is folly and madness for four men on a desert island, turns out to be normal business-as-usual in our great industrial society, considered as a whole. If society could be organized as the engineer organized his co-workers on the island, the present 40 millions of workers in America could, as we shall see, probably double the standard of living, utterly abolish poverty, slum dwelling, ugliness and crime, while using less raw coal and iron and lumber than we do at present, and working shorter hours.—"The Challenge of Waste."