

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

# NEW LEADER

With Which  
Is Combined

THE AMERICAN APPEAL

Founded by  
Eugene V. Debs

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## More Light On Wilson's Holy War

Lansing Called Britain "Inhuman" and  
"Repugnant"

THE curtain is lifted a bit higher on the diplomatic machinations which eventually led the United States into the World War and the sacrifice of 120,000 American lives in a "war to end war." Several years behind the foreign offices of Germany, Russia, England and Austria the United States government at last is publishing "diplomatic papers" dealing with the World War. Like the series of papers issued by England and France, and like those dishonest books issued by Germany and Russia and France in the earlier of the post-war years, the American "Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States," World War supplements, carry with them no assurance that the documents presented were not "selected" or "edited" to please the war-makers' sensibilities.

The 1915 supplement to the foreign relations papers, issued this week by the State Department in Washington, offer sufficient material, however, to uphold the position of the Socialists and others who opposed entrance into the war by the United States. The charge made by so eminent a historian as Charles A. Beard that the Wilson administration did not exercise as firm a hand against British "atrocities" and violations of American rights on the seas as it did, finally, against German activities, is substantiated by none other than Robert Lansing, Wilson's Secretary of State during the war period.

Robert Lansing, while counsel to the State Department, made a memorandum on a conversation he had with Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, then British ambassador to the United States. In this memorandum, Lansing expressed himself firmly against the British policy of trying to starve the civilian population of Germany. This policy Lansing termed "inhuman" and "repugnant." He urged the British government to discontinue its food blockade.

This memorandum reads:

Washington, May 27, 1915.

In a conversation which I had this afternoon at the department with Sir Cecil Spring-Rice I said to him that information received from many sources indicated that Germany was not suffering from lack of food, but on the contrary had sufficient to last until the harvest, and that after that there would be a great abundance, as all arable land had been planted with grain and other food crops.

I asked him why, in view of this fact, his government should be so determined to keep foodstuffs out of Germany. I said, "You admit that you cannot starve Germany by interrupting food and imports, and yet you continue your efforts to stop the trade and lay yourself open to the charge of inhumanity by attempting to reduce Germany by starvation."

He replied that what I said was true, but that knowledge of Germany's food supply had been only recently obtained by his government.

I asked him if, knowing the facts and the futility of their "starvation policy," it would not be a wise course for his government to accede to the proposal, which was made some time ago, that Great Britain would permit foodstuffs to go to the civil population provided Germany would cease her submarine warfare on merchant ships.

I POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE IDEA OF STARVING MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN SEEMED TO MANY PEOPLE AS INHUMAN AS DROWNING THEM; THAT THE LEGALITY OF THE ATTEMPT WAS NEITHER HERE NOR THERE. SINCE THE VERY IDEA WAS REPUGNANT TO THE HUMAN SENTIMENTS OF MODERN SOCIETY; THAT THE ATTEMPT OFFERED A MORE OR LESS PLAUSIBLE EXCUSE FOR GERMANY'S SINKING OF UNARMED MERCHANTMEN, AND THAT GERMANY WAS, AS HE KNEW, USING THIS EXCUSE WITH CONSIDERABLE EFFECT.

The Ambassador replied that what I said was convincing; that he knew that the purpose of starving the German people had made a bad impression in this country, although we had done the same thing in our Civil War, and that the Germans asserted that their submarine warfare was only retaliatory.

I asked him, "Why, then, does not your government relieve themselves of the odium of pursuing an inhuman policy by agreeing to allow food to go to the civil population of Germany? You have nothing to lose, because you admit you cannot starve the nation into submission, and you have much to gain, because you will put Germany in the position of having to stop her submarine attacks or else bear alone the stigma of being cruel and inhuman. Whichever way the German government decides, Great Britain would seem to be the gainer. I DO NOT SUGGEST THIS COURSE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, BUT SOLELY ON THE GROUND OF EXPEDIENCY. IT SEEMS TO ME THE POLITICAL THING FOR YOUR GOVERNMENT TO DO."

He replied with marked emphasis, "You are entirely right. It would be the very best course my government would take, and would put Germany in a serious dilemma. I shall suggest it to Sir Edward Grey and urge its adoption."

I said to him that if he proposed to his government to take that action, I earnestly hoped that he would not mention having had any conversation with me on the subject, that he must understand I had spoken confidentially and personally, and that to have any one in the department making, even unofficially, such a suggestion, and especially advancing argument in its favor from the British standpoint, would be most embarrassing.

The Ambassador replied that he understood my position and would promise that our conversation would be treated as secret and not mentioned in any way. He added, "The suggestion will be my own, and so will the arguments in its favor. I will not mention your name or your government in connection with the subject."

He spoke again of the tactical benefit to his government if the course proposed should be adopted, and of the favorable effect which he knew it would have on public opinion in this country.

He left me with the impression that he was heartily in favor of the suggestion and would do all that he could to have his government adopt it.

ROBERT LANSING.

Lansing, as he admits, did not make these suggestions to Britain because of his "humanitarianism." It was "expediency" he was interested in. He suggested that his plan would put Germany into a hole. He thus revealed a partiality to Britain long before his country had entered the war against Germany. In the light of this partiality, it is easy to understand why he was so anxious to conceal his part of the conversation with Spring-Rice. Despite Lansing's strong characterization of England's war-time tactics, he like Wilson, who is reported to have expressed similar views before he decided to enter the "war for democracy," within a year had concluded themselves to the idea of fighting side-by-side with this nation which used "inhuman" and "repugnant" means. Spring-Rice had given the impression that he would do all he could to have his government adopt Lansing's suggestions. He failed. England preferred to give her small army of propagandists in the United States and the interests of American holders of British bonds more time to whip up a war spirit here.

Sensational and sordid is the story of war-time intrigue by the great military powers to secure the support of Italy, Bulgaria and Rumania in the year 1915, as related by official dispatches and correspondence just made public by the State Department. Incidental to the purchase of Italy and Rumania by the Allies and the buying of Bulgarian support by the Central Powers is a revelation of the strictly business attitude taken by the British administration toward the conflict at that period. The Lusitania sinking and the stopping of American cargoes by the British fleet caused endless protest from Washington, which was not at all concerned with the rights of small nationalities or the right of self-determination.

Ambassador Walter Hines Page, in a cable to Secretary Bryan, May 8, 1915, reports a confidential disclosure made to him by the political editor of the London Times, that "England, France

(Continued on Last Column)

# A Year of Black Reaction Ends 1929 Brings a Challenge to Young America

THE bells that toll a requiem for a dying old year also announce the arrival of a new one. The old we know, the new we cannot fathom. The old passes into history with the United States the greatest imperial power since the Caesars ruled from the banks of the Tiber; feared abroad as Rome was feared, our ruling classes gorged with wealth and their appetite still unsated.

Within the span of a single generation the United States has evolved from a debtor to the leading creditor nation. Out of the industrial hopper the nation's toilers grind vast fortunes for a few to enjoy. This era is marked by mergers and billion dollar corporations that are gathering in the productive and distributive powers of the nation. The dollar

sign has followed the flag all over the world. In all quarters of the world American capital is engaged in factoryizing and dollarizing other peoples, transforming them into robots.

The old year was also a year of "prosperity." Never in all history has an owning class been more prosperous. From banking houses, great corporations and financial journals have come a chorus of praises for "prosperity." Vast dividends have been declared and the clink of dollars has drowned the cry of the farmer whose land was sold at a sheriff's sale. The muscles, tissues and brains of millions of workmen have been drained as no race of slaves was ever drained before. From their labor has gushed vast riches that flow into the money cats of our great masters.

## While Coolidge Celebrates

Yes, it has been a "prosperous" year, but somehow it did not interest that electrician who, a week ago, hung himself in Highbridge Park after nine months of unemployment. The old mother garbed in rags who fainted of hunger while peering in a Brooklyn window Christmas eve did not dispute it when a patrolman picked her up. She was too weak to answer questions. The several hundreds of children in Oklahoma City who were shoeless have not been asked. Whatever their elders may think, the children obtained shoes from the proceeds of a charity ball while Calvin Coolidge was preparing for a vacation on the estate of one of his wealthy keepers. But it was a "prosperous" year. The tall hats, the large panaches, and the empty heads know.

It was a great year for another reason. Not one oil thief or one accomplice of the oil thieves spent a night in jail. All the administrative, police, executive and judicial powers of the nation could not jail those who stole potential billions of wealth from the nation. But the majesty of the

law was not idle. Many thousands have been caged, some for many years and for trifling thefts. The third degree, solemn judges, and justice blind and gagged sent the petty offenders to prisons just to show that there are some who must not break the law.

Then the old year brought with it the dirtiest political campaign in our history. Like a strumpet maudlin with low grade gin American politics ambled through a shameful orgy of booze and bunk. Emptied of honor and stuffed with the dollars of capitalists and bankers the two parties swined their way into the same dirty pen. There they were fed by their keepers while hired couriers advertised the wares of the two parties. Each swore fealty to our ruling Babbitts, each revived ancient hates, and each ignored the burning questions of the hour. The wounds made on our social life will leave scars for years to come. The electoral struggle revealed how low the politics of capitalism can sink when its leaders become fat in the service of our ruling classes.

## The Living and The Dead

No less sad was the collapse and plunge of many trade unions into this political swirl. Our labor history has had its great days of courage, of noble striving, of inspiring battles and willingness to do and dare. Men have gone to prison to make the union legal. They helped to wring the suffrage from unwilling property owners. They destroyed the debtors prisons. They struck at class education and won the public school. They smashed compulsory militia drill ordered by uniformed popinjays. They persevered for years through eight-hour strikes. They faced bull pens in the west, deportations in Michigan, Colorado and West Virginia. Some died at Latimer, in the Coeur d'Alene and in the Hocking Valley. Lives of women and children were also given in the fearful holocaust at Ludlow.

But could the dead have awakened this year and observed the officials who inherited the old glorious banners what would have been their emotions? Here are droves of trade union leaders gathered around John J. Raskob, multi-millionaire and proprietor of an open shop industry. Organized and drilled for political service to the party housed

in the General Motors Building! Bankers, corporation attorneys, super-power magnates, masters of great industrial plants—these are the gentry chosen as cronies by labor men. The old banners mingle with the colors of the great masters of American life and the trade unions are dragged in the dust in behalf of a Tammany politician!

It is well that the dead cannot awaken. Then New Orleans and the annual congress of labor gathers to—deliberate? No. With grave problems facing the organized toilers men rise to condemn John Dewey after he has given a generation of wonderful service to the ideal of democratic education. And why? He had visited Russia, wrote a few articles, and is called a "Communist." Brookwood Labor College, an institution that would have been a shrine for the fighters of the old generation, is condemned without a hearing or a trial. A military man extols a policy of conscripting labor in the next war and he is not challenged, although the bill he approved has been condemned by the A. F. of L. news service. Oblivion is kind to the old fighters who did not live into the old year that is passing.

## Peace and More Cruisers

And as twilight gathered at the end of the old year the party nobles in the U. S. Senate deliberated over the peace pact negotiated by Secretary of State Kellogg. We still have vivid memories of the bloody storm that swept over the world and we are not unreasonable. We want peace. We do not want another bloody shambles. But this peace pact does not bar any power from going to war for any of the reasons which they cite as justifying war. The top hat gentlemen who head the foreign offices have been careful to state that it does not erect any barriers to waging war.

It is merely a "moral gesture" and this is the net result eleven years after the armistice was signed. Coupled with it is the fifteen-cruiser bill—a "moral gesture" accompanied with more engines of destruction! The old year greets the new year with this doddering statesmanship which promises to land us all again in the ditch.

Then the last week of the old year brings with it some war disclosures from the Federal archives at Washington. On April 26, 1915, nearly one year after the outbreak of the

World War, England, France and Russia secretly agreed that if Italy would join the Allied side the latter would be permitted to annex the Trentino, the Southern Tyrol, Trieste, Istria, Dalmatia, numerous islands off the Dalmatian coast, and with the prospect of other loot. Secretary of State Bryan two weeks later received a cable from Ambassador Page in London announcing this agreement.

It was nearly two years later that the United States entered the war. Woodrow Wilson declared that he had no knowledge of any secret treaties yet our Ambassador to England cabled Wilson's Secretary of State the news of the secret treaty with Italy two weeks after the treaty was negotiated! If Bryan knew it he certainly did not keep the knowledge from Wilson. What's the answer? The old year poses the question. The New Year will probably answer it. What becomes of the Fourteen Points, "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at," and what of the young men who died and those who are crippled if Wilson knew that one of the secret bargains for loot had been ratified before he called us to the colors?

## An Appeal To Youth

Finally, a few days before Christmas a research chemist declared that a new gas for use in war had been invented, a gas so terrible that even military experts hesitate to recommend its use. The chemist declares that "War will never again be fought with shot and shell." That is, human beings will be poisoned wholesale, both civilians and soldiers. And this is not a "moral gesture." It is a hideous prospect for this gas is known to the leading powers of the world. In short, as the old year passes it passes on to the New Year the possibility of civilization committing suicide.

Yet in this America with its mass production, its billionaires and its unfortunates; with its free oil thieves and injunctioned strikers; its parties of booze and bunk, piety and profits; its declining trade unions and spiritless leaders; its politicians juggling with more cruisers and its chemists

experimenting with poisons intended for human beings, not rats; in this America another generation is coming of age since the end of the World War.

The future belongs to youth. So does the New Year. It is you who will face the tragedy being prepared for you by the masters who have our industries and whose political agents make the law, interpret the law, and enforce the law. It is youth in the unions that must emancipate them from sterility and the poison embrace of the National Civic Federation. It is youth that must mobilize the political forces that may be used to wrest power from those who now have it.

These are your causes. Myths, prejudices, wealth, power and cunning stand in the way. Sweep them aside. Begin the New Year with determination to win a world of social equity and industrial democracy before the guns begin to roar and clouds of poison vapor destroy mankind.

## Commissioner Whalen Plays With Fires

Some Polite Advice To A New Police Chief

HON. GROVER WHALEN:

Police Headquarters:  
New York City

Dear Grover:

We have written quite a lot of letters to your boss, the Mayor. But he seems to be too busy to answer. So we are writing to you, for a change.

We hope that reading this won't interfere with your going to fires or reviewing Western Union messenger boys or seeing the City Hall reporters or getting into the talks.

We know that you've been mighty busy front-paging ever since you got the job, but we thought perhaps you might like to learn how your show went over with a considerable body of citizens whose opinion is not consulted by the old-line critics. We mean the working-class people of New York City.

On the whole, we are not amused. Maybe we're crotchety, and hard to please, but we are not throwing up our hats about anything you've done so far.

### Like Willie Stevens—He Likes Fires

Let's see now, after you had your pics taken unteem times, you turned around and canned three or four high police officials. This was making heap big clean-up according to your friendly press. But some of these were honest, hard-working cops, as cops go and we are not yelling for the heads of any individual cops. Never have. What we are after is breaking the rotten alliance between the police department and Tammany Hall that has been in force in this city since Walker knows when. And how does making goats out of coppers like O'Loughlin and Valentine stop that?

And then you have done the old, old game of walking around Bagdad in disguise. And you found two naughty policemen talking to each other. Oooh! You gave out word that cops are not to chat on posts. That's all right with us too. We are not for constabulary kaffee-klatches. But what the hell!

And then, ding-dong! ding-dong! "Oh, for the life of a flyerman." You've been running to more flyers, you old smoke-eater. But aren't you a bit mixed up? You're Police Commissioner, not Fire Commissioner. A man named Dorman has that job; at least he had, the last time we read a theater program. Honest, you don't have to put out all the fires around town. Of course it's loads of fun to see the pretty engines go toot, toot down the block and get in on all the flash-lights. But after all—

### Verging on a Public Nuisance

But what really irritates us is not this baby stuff. We didn't expect much else. It's the damnable hypocrisy and down-right cruelty that's underneath your so-called "clean-up" of criminals. You had your cops go out and drag in about three hundred "suspects." What they did to these wretches in the various station-houses before they arraigned them in court we don't know, but we have our suspicion. In other words you have restored the vicious, old third-degree stuff with a vengeance. You have given carte blanche to a lot of ignorant, hysterical men in uniform, who think their jobs are in danger, to do what they will with practically defenceless citizens, merely on the ground that at some time or other these citizens might have offended against society.

And that's why we can't pass you up merely as a rather cheap publicity seeker. Of course, anyone who has ever been connected with the advertising department of a large New York department store might be expected to go in strong for publicity.

No, Grover, you are getting to be a public nuisance. You are undoing all the work that a lot of intelligent, industrious, sober scientists have been doing to make a real study of crime in this town.

The indiscriminate and sensational jailing of a car-load of "suspects" may serve to keep some of the people fooled. It makes red-hot reading. It's a swell red-herring to draw across the trail of the corruption of a city department by a bunch of hard-boiled Tammany politicians. But it isn't real stuff.

### Now Go to Work

Suppose that by jailing two or three hundred people at a time when it was practically impossible for them to get bail or consult counsel, you did succeed in capturing a possible stick-up man or so? Is that worth the price of admission to your thriller? We don't think so. We are alarmed at this sort of monkey-business and rightly so. We have seen just that sort of thing happen in the case of suspected "reds" and we don't care for a repetition. There are certain things called civil liberties which apply even to poor people. For the sake of making a Whalen holiday it looks to us as though these same civil liberties were about to be abrogated.

So, Mr. Commissioner, now that you've had your fun and all the clippings are in your scrap-book, please settle down and go to work and be a police commissioner and remember that we are paying you to preserve order and detect crime and that you're not one of the Four Marx Brothers.

Very sincerely yours,

THE EDITORS OF THE NEW LEADER.

P. S.—We have just learned that one of the dangerous criminals picked-up by your "dragnet" was a member of the Young Peoples Socialist League engaged in the horrible crime of soliciting funds to feed the men, women and children of the Paterson strikers.

## The New Leader Publishing Association

The annual meeting of The New Leader Publishing Association will be held Monday evening, January 7, at 8:30 p. m., at the People's House, 7 East 15th Street, in the Studio.

The order of business will include:

- 1—Election of a Board of Directors for the ensuing year.
- 2—Report of the Editor.
- 3—Report of the Business Manager.

All members of the association should attend.

Members of the Socialist Party desiring to join the association are invited to attend.

By order of the Board of Directors,

MORRIS BERMAN, President.

JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

(Continued From First Column)

and Russia made a bargain with Italy April 30, agreeing to cede to Italy very large parts of Austria, some of which has a Slavic population, if Italy comes into the war within a month. This was done without consulting Serbia and against her wishes. Italy will soon come in if she keeps her agreement, to be followed by Rumania. I have heard unofficial confirmation of this agreement here.

Minister Charles Vopicka, at Bucharest, Oct. 19, 1915, reported to Secretary Lansing that the Rumanian king was trying to prevent Rumania from going into the war for the Allies "against Bulgaria." He added that "There is a scheme on foot to sell to Germany at fancy prices the whole of Rumania's crop through an economic society which was formed here a few days ago—of course, for the consideration that the members of the society, which would mean more or less all Rumanian landowners, would favor Germany."

On Oct. 27, Vopicka reported a detailed plan he had made earlier for the Allies to get Bulgaria's support by pledging to Serbia enough of Austria's territory to lure Bulgaria into a similar deal for Macedonia. But it was Germany and Austria who hid highest for the Bulgarian armies.



## Cruiser Bill Put Before Kellogg Pact

Militarists Fighting Desperately Against Postponing Authorization of More Battleships

By Laurence Todd

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Desperate resistance by a little band of anti-militarist senators failed to save the Kellogg war-renunciation pact, in a parliamentary scramble in the Senate before the holidays, from being pushed aside in favor of the \$274,000,000 cruiser construction bill. The bill, introduced by Senator Norris, La Follette, Frazier, Nye, King and others, tried to compel Chairman Borah of the foreign relations committee to hold the treaty at the head of the program of the Senate. But Borah admitted that he was under agreement not to advance the treaty before the holidays.

Borah had made a deal with Senators Moses and Jim Reed, before getting his committee to report favorably the Kellogg war-renunciation pact, on Nov. 18, by a vote of 14 to 2. This deal, as divulged by Moses, was that the treaty should not be taken up in the Senate until the \$274,000,000 naval construction bill, providing for 15 new cruisers and 1 airplane carrier—should be well under debate. In other words, Borah permitted Moses and Reed to dictate that the naval program should be first assured before the discussion of the peace treaty should even be begun. After that, Moses and Reed stopped their filibuster in committee and voted against reporting out the treaty.

To add to the evidence of weakness on the part of the other 14 senators, Moses and Reed secured from the others a report—without recommendation—of their own resolution designed to kill the effect of the pact. This ended the attempt of advocates of the pact to get it "out of the Senate by Christmas." Borah carried the report of the pact in his pocket 24 hours and then presented it to the Senate. He indicated that it would lie on the table until after the holidays.

Shipstead With Big Navy Crowd Shipstead of Minnesota, Farmer-Labor, voted, as his progressive friends had feared, with the big-navy element. He first supported the ruling of Vice-President Dawes against a point of order on bringing up the cruiser bill. Then he voted against Norris' motion to adjourn. Hedra changed his vote, and Norris voted with the majority on both rollcalls, in order that he might later move reconsideration, thereby bringing further pressure on the navy advocates to allow the treaty to have the right of way.

But Borah, expressing fears that several days of "unfortunate friction" would result from further debate, offered a compromise. He asked unanimous consent that at 2 o'clock on Jan. 3 the cruiser bill be made the unfinished business, and that on the same day the Kellogg pact be brought up in open executive session. Advocates of the early ratification of the pact demanded information as to when Borah would bring up the treaty, on Jan. 3. Reluctantly, Borah promised to move on that day that the treaty be taken up and kept before the Senate continuously until it should be disposed of. He said he could not take that motion now, because he was under promise not to do so. King made him agree further that if he were not present on Jan. 3, he would favor allowing some one else to move the taking up of the treaty. After this evidence of lack of faith in Borah, the opposition agreed to his proposal. Its meaning is that the cruiser bill will have the right of way unless and until the treaty is ordered, by a majority vote of the Senate, to take its place as the business to be handled. And the treaty can be dropped at any time for further debate and vote on the cruiser bill.

Naval Bill Defeat Is Possible Defeat of the naval construction bill.

## BURIED ALIVE!

18 Years In A Patagonian Dungeon Suffered By Russian Socialist Youth

(By A New Leader Correspondent)

BUENOS AIRES.—November 14.—It was eighteen years since Simon Radowitzky was imprisoned in the dungeon of Ushuaia (Terra del Fuego) on account of a crime committed in 1909.

Simon Radowitzky is a Russian by birth. A revolutionary from his earliest youth, he went as an emigre to Argentina. In the year 1909 the First of May Demonstration was suppressed with bloodshed, and the crowds taking part in it were fired upon, several persons being killed and a large number wounded. The man responsible for this cruel deed was then Chief of the Police of Buenos Aires, Colonel Ramon L. Falcon, who always exercised his office in a spirit of the bitterest hostility to the Socialist organizations.

Simon Radowitzky, then 18 years of age, took a resolution to avenge the sufferings and injustice endured by the workers, and killed the Chief of the Police, Falcon. Radowitzky, who admitted having committed the crime and accepted all responsibility, was condemned and has been in prison ever since, enduring untold miseries. The workers of Argentina regard Radowitzky as a martyr to their cause and have repeatedly endeavored to effect his liberation. These endeavors have been unsuccessful. Now that his imprisonment has lasted 18 years, the Argentine workers have again begun a campaign for his release and the international proletarian should with one accord and without regard to party differences, espouse the cause of the liberation of Radowitzky who, imprisoned, as a boy of nineteen, has now passed 18 years of his existence in a living death.

is admitted by spokesmen for the private shipbuilding interests to be a possibility of the final weeks of the 70th Congress. Letters, telegrams and resolutions are coming to senators from educators, clergy, trade unions, civic organizations of various kinds and from anti-militarist citizens, urging that the big-navy program be postponed until the Hoover administration shall have a chance to survey the world situation.

That delay is precisely what the shipbuilding and armament and big-navy people fear most. Their eyes are fixed on the coming British election, with its almost certain outcome in the abandonment of the present British policy of refusal to reduce armament. If the British Labour Party wins this election—some time in April or May—its first act after taking office will be to call for a conference for reduction of the burden of armament without awaiting the naval parity arranged for 1931. It will repeat its declaration of this year, that it stands for prompt and drastic reduction of naval and land forces, and that it repudiates the Tory reservations placed upon the Kellogg pact. Such, at least, is the action which the big-navy element fears from the British. It is therefore determined to secure the biggest possible naval construction appropriation from Congress before the actual program of the British people is made known through the coming election.

While British labor takes the high moral ground that war is a social crime, to prevent which the British workers in shipyards and munition factories are willing to make sacrifices in order to save the world for future social progress, the American labor union policy toward the naval bill is admittedly selfish. The American labor union forces demand that naval ships and equipment be constructed by union men. Since private plants do not employ union men, the unions are against the passage of any naval bill which does not give at least half of the work to government yards where union men are employed. The American labor attitude is an invitation to the big-navy lobby to compromise. But the British labor attitude gives an effective argument to the teachers, ministers and civic organizations backing Norris' demands.

## U. S. Pledges Support to Shippers In War to Wrest Marine Supremacy From Great Britain; Rate War Begun

Conflict Over Havana Trade Presages Wide Conflict Between Leading Imperialist Nations

By Louis Stanley

BACKED by the United States Shipping Board, the Ward Line has challenged the right of an English rival, the Cunard Line, to enter the passenger service between New York and Havana, Cuba. This action emphasizes the growing conflict between the British and American Empires over shipping as well as other matters.

When the Cunard Steamship Company, Ltd., announced that it would transfer one of its ocean-going vessels, the "Caronia," during the winter season to participate in the New York to Havana business, the United States Shipping Board, a governmental agency, sent a communication on Nov. 22 to the British company, intimating that the latter better stay away. The letter was a most extraordinary defense of private interests. Said the Board:

"We recognize that in a technical sense, American vessels have no preferential rights on this trade route; it will, however, be the privilege of this Board to have American vessels at all times available for the transportation of American commerce with Cuba, should private American tonnage become insufficient from any cause whatsoever."

The Board feared that the American ships would suffer from the competition of the more commodious "Caronia" and resented the competition of the British during the busy winter months. "Such competition," said the Board, "has a quality which this Board feels compelled to note with a view of assuring American operators that they will be protected."

Sparks That May Become a Conflagration

The British line disregarded the warning of the United States Shipping Board. A month elapsed before it knew the punishment that would be meted out to it by the British line. On Dec. 20, Commissioner E. C. Plummer of the United States Shipping Board appeared before the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, explained the situation, and suggested the imposition of discriminatory duties on "British vessels when engaged in traffic between ports independent of the British Empire and ports of the United States."

The axe fell again the following day, when the United States Shipping Board, after a conference with the American ship owners engaged in the New York-Havana service, announced that it would assist the "President Roosevelt" of the government-owned United States Line to the Ward Line for direct competition with the "Caronia." The "President Roosevelt" is even a larger trans-Atlantic liner than the "Caronia" and can make more speed.

The next day the Ward Line announced a twenty-five per cent reduction in rates from New York to Havana on the "President Roosevelt" as well as on its other vessels. Other American companies have since followed suit. The Cunard Line may follow their example later. Then we shall see a pretty rate war.

This incident is but the flare-up of smoldering embers that may yet produce a mighty conflagration. Both the British and American Empires rely on shipping for communication, transportation and defense. Britannia has been mistress of the seas. America intends to wrest this honor and power from her. It is part of the strategy of American imperialism, intent upon defeating the British capitalists in all parts of the world.

American Interests

Overtaking the British In June, 1914, the British Merchant Marine amounted to 18,892,000 gross tons, and the American to only 2,027,000. In June, 1923, the first figure had risen to 19,179,000 tons; the second to 11,171,000. The British had gained only 287,000 tons, the Americans 9,144,000. The British were still supreme but their lead had been cut down.

Then again during the calendar year 1914 only \$186,926,000's worth of domestic exports left this country in American vessels, or 9 per cent of a total of \$2,071,058,000. British ships carried away \$1,011,691,000's worth or 50 per cent. In 1923 the total domestic exports amounted to \$4,758,864,000. American vessels took away \$1,419,967,000's worth or 30 per cent and British \$1,333,325,000 or 28 per cent. The United States had regained the position it had occupied before the change to iron-clad vessels in the middle of the last century.

There is still another way of observing the change that has taken place in the relative status of the British and American merchant marines. During the five years ending 1914 the net tonnage of American vessels entering American ports was 4,752,954, that of the British ships 17,900,598. In 1923 the figures had changed to 22,000,529 and 18,819,736, respectively. Similar results are obtained by comparing the statistics for ships clearing American ports. The United States has become more self-reliant since 1914.

It is the World War that gave the American Merchant Marine its big boost. The outbreak of hostilities found the United States, as our figures have shown, dependent upon foreign vessels for its foreign trade. Congress created the United States Shipping Board in 1916 to regulate American shipping, investigate conditions, and make recommendations to Congress as to methods of developing the American Merchant Marine. When the United States entered the war in April, 1917, the United States Ship-

## THE WAR IS ON!

Gen. Bullard, Admiral Plunkett and Security Leaguers Survey Scene After Successful Assault on High-Priced Dinners

Hotel Astor Front, Dining Room Sector, (By Our War Correspondent).—Pacifists, Socialists, warships, government ownership, communism, preachers, professors, the capture of New York City, paternalism and the constitution got all mixed up in a perverted speech by Gen. Robert Lee Bullard before the Hardware Club in New York the other day.

From it all came the conclusion that hardware men in 24 states are directly interested in the building of 15 new cruisers at a cost of \$135,000,000 because it means fat contracts for them. All sorts of business men in 47 states stand to pocket profits from cruiser building, Gen. Bullard reminded the manufacturers.

Not merely 15 armored cruisers, but many times 15, were demanded by Rear Admiral Charles P. Plunkett in a fire-eating speech before a preparedness dinner of the National Security League.

The Washington agreement of 1921 to limit battleship building was described as a British-Japanese plot against the United States by Henry A. Wise Wood, who urged disregard of what Europeans think about America. "What the hell do we care what they think about," he shouted as Security Leaguers applauded wildly.

Major General Weigel deplored the Washington treaty provision forbidding the United States to develop naval bases against Japan and Britain in the far Pacific.

Mrs. William Cunningham Story asserted that "free speech is carried or to a degree that is appalling in New York City."

Martin W. Littleton, attorney for Fall and Sinclair in the oil cases, asserted that war is certain and that the United States should have the best and biggest navy afloat.

ing Board was authorized to create the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the purpose of building ships. Last year the name of this agency was changed to the Merchant Fleet Corporation.

Government Subsidies Demanded

The Emergency Fleet Corporation built about three thousand ships but since its object was merely to provide for an emergency, most of these vessels were of a design that did not make them serviceable for long after the crisis had passed. By the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 the United States Shipping Board lost its right to build any more vessels, but was permitted to complete such construction that was for the best interests of the United States, and was directed to sell on the best terms possible those ships still in its possession. From 1921 to 1923 some thousand vessels were sold at prices which were notoriously not only below what they had cost the government originally but also less than the replacement value at the time of sale. A four billion dollar investment had shrunk to one-tenth that amount. The Shipping Board still operates 23 steamship lines, all but the United States Line being run by managing agents on a commission basis.

As soon as the war ended, the American shipping companies set up a powerful lobby to drive the government out of the shipping business, and at the same time secure aid for themselves from the public treasury. They claimed that they could not operate on a profit without financial assistance from the government. The figures we cited before indicate that the United States has overtaken England in American foreign commerce. They do not know that the Americans have lost part of the advantage which they had gained as a result of the World War. Thus between 1921 and 1926 the United States built 14 vessels totaling 137,000 gross tons, while Great Britain built 600 vessels of 3,500,000 gross tons. In 1921 there were 843 privately owned American ships in foreign trade of 2,964,113 gross tons and 1,716 Shipping Board vessels of 2,656,904 gross tons, or a total of 10,620,717 gross tons. In 1927 the corresponding figures were 825 of 2,197,507 gross tons and 789 of 4,093,950 gross tons, or a total of 6,291,457 gross tons. In 1921 American vessels accounted for 48.2 per cent of the net tonnage of vessels that cleared our ports in foreign trade, in 1927 39.5 per cent.

It is perfectly plain that while more American commerce is carried in American bottoms than before the World War the British are in fact making a strong bid to recover lost ground. Thus, on June 30, 1926, there were steel steamers and motor ships under construction in Great Britain of a gross tonnage of 838,000, and at the same date in 1927, 1,385,000. In the United States the corresponding figures were 119,000 and 144,000 gross tons.

A Subsidy Measure Enacted The Merchant Marine Act of 1920, which was intended to help private ship owners, could not prove its worth, because its passage coincided with the collapse of the world shipping industry. The fierce competition that ensued led President Harding at the instigation of Chairman Albert D. Lasker of the United States Shipping Board to sponsor a ship subsidy bill. This measure actually passed the lower house on November 29, 1922, but was killed by a Senate filibuster.

It was not until May 22, 1923, that a law was finally enacted. The Jones-White Shipping Act avoids the use of the terms "subsidy" or "subvention." It has two main provisions. In the first place it creates a revolving loan fund of \$250,000,000 to help ship owners. The rate of interest is to be at least 5-14 per cent, when the vessels upon which the loans are granted operate in the coastwise trade or are inactive, but during such period when the vessels are operated in foreign trade, the rate of interest is to be the lowest rate on government bonds, usually a little over three per cent. In the second place, mail subventions are granted under conditions which prove that the Jones-White Act has an eye on naval as well as mercantile purposes. The ocean mail service is utilized to provide very substantial financial assistance to American ship owners. Vessels to receive mail contracts must be of steel and propelled by steam or motor. They must be American-built, registered under the laws of the United States, owned by Americans, officered by Americans, and bearing

LABOR TO TESTIFY FOR RADIO WASHINGTON (FP).—Chiefs of many international unions are to gather Jan. 15 in Washington, at the invitation of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to take part in the hearing before the Federal Radio Commission on the plea of WFL, the Chicago labor radio station, for the right to broadcast after 6 p. m.

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## Administration State Wins All But Three Posts In Sheet Metal Union, 28

Members of the Sheet Metal Workers' Union, Local 28, elected officials last Saturday at Arlington Hall, the vote being taken by voting machines. The hours of voting were from 10 a. m. to 6 p. m. and 1,850 members voted.

The election was a spirited one and the administration candidates with three exceptions were elected over an opposition which does not declare itself progressive. An independent group nominated a ticket which endorsed most of the administration candidates of whom about five are Socialist sympathizers.

Ben Cohen was re-elected Business Agent although not supported by the administration. Others elected were Richard Pattison, President; John Ruel, Vice-President; John Brown, Financial Secretary; Robert J. Nolan, Recording Secretary; William Hertenstein, Treasurer; Ben Cohen, William Butler, George Rohage, William Brandt, and Andrew Moffatt, business agent.

## Eastman Yields Pality Pensions To Kodak Workers

ROCHESTER, N. Y. (FP).—Out of the \$20,000,000 profits coined by the Eastman Kodak Co. in 1927 from its 20,000 workers, a small sum is to be paid to them in the form of 50-50 Eastman pension and insurance philanthropy. The scheme calls for \$150,000 a year from the firm and an equal amount which the workers must dig up through the Eastman-owned Kodak Employees Association, a company union.

An initial sum of \$650,000, half of which must also come from the workers through the company union, starts the fund out. Pensions will be paid to men over 65 and women over 60 on the basis of 1 per cent of their earnings for each year before 1929 and 2 per cent thereafter. For a worker employed for the past 10 years at \$1,500 a year, the pension would be \$150 annually.

Hailed as splendid philanthropy by the New York press, the Eastman pension and insurance scheme in reality represents but three-quarters of 1 per cent of the firm's 1927 profits. Profits in 1926 were \$16,800,000 and in 1925 were \$18,000,000. Profits for 1928 are expected to climb near the \$25,000,000 figure.

Morrison-Silver Shoe Strikers Appeal For Aid The lockout of employees on the Morrison-Silver Shoe Co., Inc., in New York is now in its seventh week, without any break in the ranks. This firm has a signed agreement with the Shoe Workers' Protective Union until March 1, 1929, but broke the agreement with the organization because the members refused to accept a reduction of wages.

The strikers hope the shoe workers of Greater New York will give their moral support to this worthy cause, which is also a battle for the shoe workers in general. Financial assistance will be greatly appreciated. Send to John Kirk, care of International Pocket Book Workers' Union, 53 West 21st street, New York City.

Labor Controls Edmonton EDMONTON, Alberta.—(FP)—The December elections put Labor in control of the Edmonton city council by capturing 4 of the 6 contests. Labor now has 6 seats and the conservative opposition 4. On the school board the representation is Labor 3, opposition 4.

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## Woll To Quit Engravers, Report Says

He Will Devote More Time to Insurance Company, It Is Said

PRESENTER MATTHEW WOLL of the Photo Engravers Union will announce his resignation sometime before March 1, according to authentic information in the New York printing trades; Edward J. Volz, first vice president; and head of the New York union, will succeed him.

Woll's expected resignation from the position he has held for 22 years was precipitated by the demand of directors of the Union Labor Life Insurance Co., of which he is also president, that he center his attention on that institution. He is also acting president of the National Civic Federation, chairman of the Workers Education Bureau board, editor of the Photo Engraver, associate editor of the American Federationist, president of the Intl. Labor Press, served as Samuel Gompers' right hand man on the war labor board and was chairman of the labor committee of the council of national defense.

Whether the labor life insurance chief will resign as fourth vice president of the A. F. of L. executive council is not known. It is usual for executive council members to hold high position in their international unions. That Woll may resign that position is possible, due to his disapproval in not being elected A. F. of L. president to succeed Gompers. With William Green apparently well entrenched in that office, Woll's chances of heading the labor federation seem remote. On the other hand his close friendship with heads of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and with captains of industry through the National Civic Federation will be of material assistance to him as head of the Union Labor Life Insurance Co.

## Council Reorganized In Cal's Home Town

NORTHAMPTON, Mass.—(FP)—When Calvin Coolidge returns to his home town of Northampton, he will find a vigorous labor movement because a young hosiery knitter succeeded in reviving the Central Labor Union. After Francis B. Ertel, member of the Hosiery Workers national executive board had organized Northampton hosiery mills, he realized how much easier the job would have been if he had had the united backing of organized labor. Further, he reflected how much stronger the knitters union would be, in case of sudden attack by the employers, if it could rely on a strong central body. The new Central Labor Union, whose membership already represents 20% of the city's population, resulted from Ertel's energy. A dozen unions are represented and young Ertel is vice president. He did the job armed with A. F. of L. credentials obtained through Pres. Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers.

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## Injunction Bill Fight Postponed

**Labor Tells Senate Committee It Considers The Shipstead Bill Worthless**

WASHINGTON (FP)—President Green of the American Federation of Labor has given up the fight for anti-injunction legislation in the present Congress.

When Andrew Fursueh, president of the International Seamen's Union of America, and author of the Shipstead anti-injunction bill, told the Senate Judiciary subcommittee, at the close of its hearings on Dec. 19, that the subcommittee substitute measure was worthless, the last chance of progress in this session was ended. It was Fursueh, with Matthew Woll and John P. Frey, who induced the resolutions committee and the convention of the Federation, at New Orleans in November, to declare the Norris-Blaine-Walsh bill unworkable. Now Green has determined that the Federation's whole attitude on anti-injunction legislation shall be reviewed at the meeting of the executive council in March.

The Shipstead bill, brief and simple in its terms, limited the jurisdiction of federal district courts, in issuance of injunctions, to dealing with protection of property that is "tangible and transferable." Only by limiting the authority of federal district judges in this way, Fursueh argued, could the use of injunctions for strike-breaking and union-smashing purposes be stopped.

### New Bill Proposed

Senators Norris, Walsh of Montana and Blaine of Wisconsin, a subcommittee of the Judiciary committee, held extensive hearings on the whole matter. They decided that the Shipstead bill would not be held constitutional and effective when it got to the federal supreme court. Its terms, they believed, were too vague; also, it deprived patentees and other persons of the right to defend their rights by injunction. So the three pro-labor senators drafted, with the expert help of Donald Richberg, Chicago counsel for labor organizations, a substitute bill. This substitute does not seek to limit the jurisdiction of equity courts, but does guarantee to organized labor the rights of free organization, immunity from federal court after discrimination because of union membership, and especially outlaws the yellow-dog contract and legalizes mass picketing. Any restraining order issued by a court in a labor dispute is limited to five days duration, so that the workers' side of the dispute may be heard in open court and the question of further proceedings be decided on the evidence submitted by both sides.

Fursueh told the subcommittee that this bill would be declared void by the courts, because it attempts directly to protect labor. He said the supreme court had already killed a law of Arizona, on the ground that the law sought to protect labor as a special element or interest in the community.

### Action Long Delayed

Instead of bringing this suggestion to Norris, Walsh and Blaine immediately after the New Orleans convention, Frey and Woll did not communicate with the subcommittee at all, so far as is now known. Fursueh waited until the final hour of hearings. The subcommittee was left with a bill on its hands which was attacked alike by anti-labor and labor spokesmen, yet which represented the best judgment of three of the best pro-labor lawyers in the Senate.

What the executive council can do when it meets in March, to induce any Senate committee to seriously take up the Shipstead bill, is not evident. The Senate Judiciary committee in the next Congress will be less liberal than the present one. Unless the new administration should ask for definite anti-injunction measures—a move now thought quite unlikely—the anti-injunction agitation has been defeated for an indefinite period—perhaps for years.

## Teletypesetters And Open Shop Drive Face Printers' Union

**Editor and Publisher Predict New Machine Will Throw Thousands Out of Jobs**

ALBANY, N. Y.—(FP)—In the midst of a lockout against union printers in his Albany newspapers, Frank E. Gannett, publisher of a chain of newspapers in New York State is preparing to install Teletypesetters in his composing rooms with the probability that the majority of all his linotype operators may be thrown out of work. By Gannett's device, the whole operation of setting type becomes completely automatic. Only the telegraph operator, sending the copy from a distance, perhaps of thousands of miles, is essential to the production of type.

Introduction of the Teletypesetter will drive thousands of printers from their trade, Editor & Publisher says. Unlike the linotype machine, which cheapened production costs and enlarged the number of jobs for all printers, the Teletypesetter kills the printer's job altogether. A typist in Wall Street, sending out the market quotations by telegraph, can operate automatically thousands of linotype machines in all parts of the country, once the device is perfected.

The new invention, coupled with the open shop drive of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, now concentrated on all Albany newspapers places the International Typographical Union face to face with the most serious problem it has confronted since the hand-setting of type gave way to machine composition. The A. N. P. A. open shop drive, headed by H. W. Flegg, announces that the Albany lockout is the concern of all publishers, and that once the fight against union printers is won there, the open-shop drive will be pushed to other centers.

### Working With Hearst

Thus the I. T. U. faces a double threat—that of an open-shop drive and of automatic typesetting—from one and the same publisher, Gannett. He owns two of the three Albany dailies. He is trying to buy a Brooklyn paper. Hearst owns the other, and it is significant that the two owners of two of the biggest newspaper chains in America are not only acting as a unit in Albany, but have settled long-standing disputes in Rochester. Whether both organizations will initiate the open shop and Teletypesetter drives simultaneously in their other properties is another grave problem confronting the national printers union. Hearst recently operated his Seattle Post-Intelligencer for more than a year on the open-shop plan.

Gannett conceived the need for the Teletypesetter after he had finished buying up a chain of big newspapers across upper New York State from Albany to Buffalo. "I wish," he told the inventor, "there was some way I could tie up all my plants, so that I could set the bulk of the type from one central plant, say Rochester." His wish thereupon became fact.

Through Teletypesetter, the telegraph operator in Wall Street can operate the machine which will set type concerning stock prices in 2,500 daily newspapers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, displacing in that one job thousands of union linotype operators in the individual newspaper composing rooms. On local copy, the reporters, according to Gannett, can be trained to write their copy so that it will be set, without further editing or use of any human labor whatsoever, on the linotype machine. Thus telegraph operators in the central offices of press associations, reporters and 250 a week typists may eventually displace the 50,000 or more linotype operators who are members of the International Typographical Union.

### Woll and Berry Silent

Gannett talks vaguely of negotiating with the I. T. U. over the changes resulting from the new invention. He asserts that as the linotype 30 years ago not only failed to put hand printers out of work, but actually added to their numbers through the cheapening of printing, so the Teletypesetter will have the same effect now. Experienced printers, however, believe the new machine may kill the machine operators' jobs pretty effectively. Printers would be needed only to set type for advertisements and headlines, to correct errors and make up the pages. Even in these fields the Monotype and similar machines are succeeding in reducing human labor involved to a semi-automatic level.

In Albany the 230 locked out union printers continue their struggle through the publication of their daily, the Albany Citizen. Wide support has been given

them by merchants, news dealers and the general public.

More than a month after the 230 printers had been locked out of Albany newspapers, neither President Matthew Woll of the Photo Engravers nor Major Berry of the Pressmen has said a word in support of the Typographical union.

New York Typographical Union, Local 6, has given \$50,000 to the Albany Union and has pledged \$500,000 more. Re-counting offers of financial assistance to the Albany publishers by New York State and City publishers. Leon H. Rouse, president of New York Local 6, said: "We will match the publishers dollar for dollar to prove that the day has not yet dawned in this country when big money interests can combine and destroy the Typographical Union."

INDIANAPOLIS—(FP)—Asked for an expression of union policy regarding the Teletypesetter, Secretary Woodruff Randolph of the International Union, said:

"The policy of the International Union concerning the Teletypesetter cannot at this time be expressed, inasmuch as no policy would be declared in advance of definite knowledge as to the purpose and effect of the machine. The attitude adopted by the International Union in the past as to the use of labor-saving machinery has been proven sound. Of course all new machinery introduced into the printing industry has been operated by union men."

## Roumanian Government Postpones Promised Amnesty Until 1929

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BUCHAREST.—In connection with the celebration of the Independence of the Independence of Greater Rumania, a far-reaching amnesty was planned by the new Manu Government for Dec. 1st. The workers of Rumania, at the Social Democratic Party Congress at Cernovitz, voiced their political demands of the new Government in an unanimously accepted resolution, which included among other things, that for a comprehensive political amnesty. The Assembly demanded, as a proof of the serious intentions of the new Government which would be widely recognized as such, that a change should be made in the political system, that the political persecutions set on foot by the former oligarchical government should be stopped as quickly as possible, and that M.Gh. Bujor and all the other victims of the arbitrary administration of justice now pining in the infamous dungeons of Rumania should be set free.

The amnesty was to be not so much an act of mercy as of removal of the crying injustice suffered by the victims of the Siguranza tribunals. Now, however, the Jubilee Celebration and with it the amnesty have been postponed to 1929. The decision, however, means that the political prisoners will have to endure the tortures to which they are subjected in the prisons of Rumania, for another six months at least. If the new Government, which claims to be based on respect for law and liberty, and not to represent a mere change of personnel, but a new system, is to be faithful to the promise which it has made, if it intends to meet the demands of public opinion and consciousness of right of the civilized world, then it must issue an immediate amnesty, liberate M.Gh. Bujor, now confined in Dofana, and deliver the unfortunate victims of political oppression and violence from the dungeons in which they are buried.

## Polish Socialist Party Enters Opposition Bloc In War On Pilsudski

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

WARSAW.—The Polish Socialist Party (P.S.P.) has formed a parliamentary alliance with the two other important parties of the Left, the People's Party (Wyzwolenie) and the Peasants' Alliance (Stronnictwo Chlopskie). The three parliamentary groups have agreed "to set up a permanent conciliation committee for the protection of the Republic and of Democracy. The object of the Committee is to bring about cooperation between the three parties in regard to all questions affecting the consolidation and protection of the Republic, of Democracy and of the parliamentary system. In all other respects the parties maintain full tactical freedom, but will endeavor wholeheartedly to observe mutual consideration."

The new block of the Left disposes of 12 seats in the Sejm out of 444, and thus forms the second strongest group. The Pilsudski block consists, since the crossing over to it of the 9 ex-Socialist deputies, of 135 members. The right opposition group consists of 88 members and the national minorities group of 70. The Left opposition group represents over 3 votes as against 2.8 millions for the Government block, and thus as far as votes are concerned is the strongest group.

Deputy Ponczak, who was elected Chairman of the municipal council of Lublin as representative of the P.S.P., has crossed over to the new Pilsudski group. The group of the P.S.P. in the municipal council and the Lublin local section have severely condemned this betrayal of the Party.

### Socialist Unity In Bulgaria

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

SOFIA, Bulgaria.—Representatives of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Federation, the Right-wing group which was excluded from the party last year, and the "New Way" group (ex-Communists), have recently been holding conversations with a view to amalgamation. It is stated that there are no longer any serious obstacles to unity. Amalgamation is likely to be an accomplished fact.

## Trotsky Aide Is A Suicide In Soviet Jail

**Dubko, Detained For Investigation, Kills Self In Protest Against Cruelties**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

BERLIN.—The News Leaflet of the Russian Social-Democracy "RSD" gives the following report of the situation in the prisons of Soviet Russia:

The two Moscow prisons which are under the authority of the G. P. U. (the Lubianka and Butyrki prisons) are filled to overflowing. The prisoners sleep closely massed together; the straw mats on which they lie and the blankets which cover them are simply crawling with vermin. The food is very bad; the bread is not properly cooked and contains indigestible ingredients mixed with it; the soup is made of mouldy potatoes and offal. Political prisoners are not separated from the ordinary criminals until after a space of two weeks, and then only on special request. Amongst the political prisoners there are many workers and peasants. Many of the Communists, opposition, foreigners and Russians, are to be found in the prison.

The most prominent and intractable of these are in severe solitary confinement, whilst the others enjoy certain privileges. They are placed in the labor division (Butyrki) and perform certain services in the prison, clean the cells, fetch the food, work in the kitchen, etc.

Twice a month whole troops of prisoners are sent to the Solovetski Islands and Meml. In the concentration camp at Kem there are at present 18,000 prisoners, in the concentration camp at Solovetski Islands 27,000. Conditions in the Solovetski camp are so terrible that amongst those imprisoned for criminal offences the island goes under the name of "Red Saghallen" (from the notorious penal settlement on Saghallen in the time of the Czar). Amongst the political prisoners are to be found the most varied types. Socialists who live together in a strong comradeship association, workers imprisoned for taking part in strikes, and peasants for taking part in agrarian movements or for some other agrarian offence, the so-called "offenders" condemned in the Schachtly trial; followers of Trotsky, foreign Communists and Chinese students, accused of assuming an opposition attitude in the Chinese question as against the Comintern policy. In the Butyrki prison is kept in solitary confinement the Trotskyite Mratschewski, an old Bolshevik, one of the leaders of the Red Army, formerly Officer in Command of the Defences of the North West district.

In the Leningrad prison for those undergoing investigation Dubko, a former secretary of Trotsky (a member of the highest Economic Council) was determined. His fate recalls the most terrible cruelties of the Czarist regime. At the time of his arrest he was already very ill, being tubercular and suffering from an acute tumour in the stomach. In order to secure transference to the hospital Dubko began a hunger strike. Thereupon, on the borders of the prison authorities, he was forcibly fed, which so much affected his already shaken nervous system, that, at a moment when he was not under observation, he threw himself from the second story of the prison on to the court-yard below. He was not killed on the spot, but terribly broken, and died two weeks later, after the most appalling sufferings in the prison hospital. Not only in the provinces but also in the prisons of Moscow there have of late been a great and increasing number of cases of cruel treatment of prisoners and, as a consequence, of attempts at suicide amongst these.

Want People Trained for Government

The demobilization of superfluous troops and the stabilization of finance are declared two leading immediate problems. "This renders necessary the undertaking of productive enterprises hand in hand with the disbandment of troops," so that the demobilization of troops may not work additional hardships on the people so long victimized by extortionate demands of mobilized and demobilized soldiers.

All this will only be "the spade-work" of reconstruction. The new national government must be an all-dominating force, "the pivot of the Political Tutelage campaign." Eventually, the goal is popular government.

"Before we could witness the development of popular government, we should look to organization and growth of district self-government." A census must be taken, the land must be surveyed, police forces must be created.

### Foreign Capital Sought

"When after the people have had proper training for the exercise of their powers, the scope of district self-government should be enlarged by granting the privilege of self-government to the people with a record of creditable administration so that the extent of district participation in national affairs will be augmented, and when the day comes when district self-government in the provinces becomes the rule rather than the exception, the Government will surrender all administrative power to the people so that they may, according to the proper methods, frame the organic law of the nation—the Constitution—and recognize the government on the basis of popular election."

The manifesto then proceeds to state the views of the government on "economic reconstruction."

"To provide the people with the wherewithal for their clothing, food and dwelling as well as facilities for locomotion, the main essentials of economic reconstruction must be given attention. A distinction should be made of private enterprises and government enterprises, so that the factors governing the judicious separation of the one from the other will be based on a wise grasp of the facts. This means to say that in all cases in which an enterprise may be entrusted to private hands and wisdom suggests its exclusion from Government initiative, such enterprises should be left in private hands. But in this eventually the Government should afford encouragement and protection so that private enterprises will prosper and undergo healthy development. To foster the growth of private enterprises the National Government can no longer delay the enforcement of tariff autonomy, and hereafter plans will be made and executed to relieve the people of oppressive taxes, the system of taxation will be improved, the currency will be unified, and the financial conditions will be generally developed. In the cases of enterprises of a monopolistic nature and constituting the cardinal industrial enterprises of the Government, these should be inaugurated by the government instead of being entrusted to private hands.

"These enterprises for which the Government is responsible will in future be given close attention by the Government and will be launched as soon as the details of a comprehensive program are worked out, and the program itself will present the objectives of the reconstructive activities of the Government. From the standpoint

## New Chinese Government Sounds Dictatorial Note In Special Manifesto

**Trade Unionism and Student Activity Frowned Upon—Foreign Capital Is Sought**

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

NANKING, China.—The internal policies of the new National Government of the Chinese Republic are the subject of a special manifesto approved by the State Council at a meeting Oct. 26th, presided over by President Chiang Katshek. The outstanding feature of the manifesto is enunciation of a program of "encouraging" those private industrial enterprises which, it is deemed advisable, should remain in private hands.

"Enterprises of a monopolistic nature," it is held, should be inaugurated by the government "instead of entrusted to private hands." But since it is not possible for the government without capital or technical skill to embark on these enterprises, the manifesto says, the aid of foreign capital should be sought. At the same time the sovereign rights of the Chinese Republic must be closely guarded.

The manifesto opens with the usual acknowledgment of the inspiration of Sun Yat Sen. The plan of revolution stipulates "that the revolution must pass through three phases." The period of "Military Supremacy" is passed. "The Period of Political Tutelage" is now at hand, while "the Period of Constitutional Administration" is an object to be strived for.

The manifesto returns a number of times to the necessity for "pacification" of disorderly elements, particularly bandits, military and otherwise, and Communists. "Our first duty is to ameliorate and pacify the conditions of society and to get rid of all peace-disturbing elements so that the foundation of reconstruction may be made secure." "The militarists have been fishing in troubled water and aggravated the sufferings of the people while the Communists have been active in propagating their seditious doctrine, making the lot of the people more intolerable." "Mindful of the sufferings of the people the National Government will do its utmost to bring relief to the suffering masses and to stamp out the curse of banditry and the menace of Communism." "Peace of society is the first requisite condition to success in reconstruction."

### Want People Trained for Government

The demobilization of superfluous troops and the stabilization of finance are declared two leading immediate problems. "This renders necessary the undertaking of productive enterprises hand in hand with the disbandment of troops," so that the demobilization of troops may not work additional hardships on the people so long victimized by extortionate demands of mobilized and demobilized soldiers.

All this will only be "the spade-work" of reconstruction. The new national government must be an all-dominating force, "the pivot of the Political Tutelage campaign." Eventually, the goal is popular government.

"Before we could witness the development of popular government, we should look to organization and growth of district self-government." A census must be taken, the land must be surveyed, police forces must be created.

### Foreign Capital Sought

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"These enterprises for which the Government is responsible will in future be given close attention by the Government and will be launched as soon as the details of a comprehensive program are worked out, and the program itself will present the objectives of the reconstructive activities of the Government. From the standpoint

of the urgent needs of the people, it is of foremost importance to initiate those cardinal enterprises which at once give new energizing power to the economic conditions of society. Hence the construction of additional railways, the conservancy of rivers and canals, and the opening of public roads are all enterprises that should not be delayed. But since it is not possible to embark on industrial enterprises without incurring heavy financial investments which seem prohibitive to the limited financial power of society and the restricted progress of science in our country, success in the near future is unpromising. It is therefore our purpose to adhere firmly to the principles of equality and reciprocity and of full respect for the sovereign rights of our Republic and with these principles in view to seek the aid of foreign capital as far as possible and to utilize men of technical ability so that great results will be achieved with a great economy of energy."

### Student Activity Opposed

The manifesto ends with plans for a far-reaching educational campaign. The educational situation "is so discouraging that the very existence of our race has been imperilled." In connection with education, the manifesto takes a position against the participation of students in public affairs, which activity has been such a great factor in recent years of Chinese struggle with progress. The manifesto is emphatic: "No immaturely developed student lacking in knowledge and sound development will hereafter be permitted to take part in struggles on the political arena. He will be equally deemed disqualified to join in movements harmful to society and ruinous to themselves."

The new government, in conclusion, summarizes its philosophy:

"Let the most intellectually advanced supply the initiative; let the less intellectually developed do their part in executing plans; and let the ignorant cooperate in ways they can."

The paternalistic, even dictatorial, policies thus announced have the merit, at least, of being frank. The new government has suited its actions to its words. A previous manifesto to labor opposes any form of "class-consciousness" as destructive of the best interests of the nation. Those labor unions which exist have the features of the Fascist governmental-controlled associations. The third party, Congress of the Koumintang, the government party, which, after long delays, is soon to be held, is to be made up of delegates half of whom have been hand-picked by the government. The regularly elected delegates of the local branches have automatically become an opposition group.

Thus it will be seen that vigorous action on the international field against the foreign exploiters of China will have no counterpart as far as internal policies are concerned. If anything internally the vigorous policy of the government is to be against popular movements, particularly an independent and aggressive trade unionism and a vigorous participation by students in public affairs. Roughly speaking, the function of the new National Government seems to be to unify the Chinese nation and remove the more distasteful features of foreign interference so as to permit the development and extension of home industry.

## Court Calls Landis Group Lawless Body

**Carpenter's Union Wins Injunction Against Chicago Open Shop Corporation**

CHICAGO—(FP)—The text of the Illinois Supreme Court's denunciation of the conduct of the Citizens Committee to enforce the Landis Award of 1921 against the carpenters' union is even more damaging to the so-called best citizens of Chicago than were the early reports. Such pillars of society as Thomas E. Donnelly of the open shop printers, the late James A. Patten and others are branded by the Supreme Court decision as lawless intruders seeking by unlawful means a dictatorship over the labor policy of the building contractors and setting up an illegal boycott.

The court recites that the Landis Committee, an Illinois corporation, had up to the time of the decision (Dec. 20, 1928), spent more than \$3,000,000 in various attempts, many of them illegal, to destroy the carpenters' union, though the union had in advance refused to become a party to the Landis award and was legally entitled to follow its own course with the contractors.

A strangehold over bank credit needed by contractors was aimed at by the Landis committee, which, according to the court "conferred with the Mortgage Bankers Association, appealing to it to cooperate and sent letters to the bankers asking them to support the citizens' committee and to insist that borrowers in the case of building operations let their contracts only to those who had signed up with the committee." The committee attempted to pin the stigma of treason on contractors who continued to deal with the union. Chairman Donnelly said they would make such contractors "feel ostracized the same as were those who during the war did not come through 100 per cent American."

"What the defendants (the committee) did," says the court, "amounted to an indirect illegal boycott against the complainants (the union)." It required "the contractors to allow the committee to dictate their labor policies." Its intervention was "that of intruders upon the rights of strangers."

The injunction asked by Attorney Hope Thompson for the union was therefore ordered granted, including the clause against the use of gunmen by the Landis committee.

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Tuesday, January 1 New Years Day NO MEETING	Wednesday, January 2 DR. SCOTT BUCHANAN "Tragedy—The Metaphysics of Morals"
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LECTURES	
GEORGE PIERCE BAKER Professor of Dramatic Art at Yale University on "The Changing Drama"	
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5:30 p.m.—Dr. G. P. Baker on "The Book of the Month—Elizabeth and Essex by Strickland—Strachey."  
7:15 p.m.—Edmund B. Chadwick on "Some Thoughts for the New Year."  
8:30 p.m.—Joseph Guernsey on "From Cathedrals to Skyscrapers."

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# ONE YEAR OF SOCIALIST RULE IN READING

The following are excerpts from an article written for the Philadelphia Public Record by a man who was assigned to the task by that publication. Despite certain shortcomings it is an interesting tribute to the Socialist administration of Reading from an anti-Socialist source. It should be remembered that the city government is in the hands of workmen who have had no previous experience in public office and yet their Socialist education has equipped them for their difficult task.

By John T. Gibbs

TEN months of Socialist rule in Reading have produced what?

Good government; probably the best Reading has ever had.

This is a claim report of an extraordinary thing. On election day in November, 1927, by 12,000 votes, a Socialist Mayor and a Socialist majority in City Council were chosen by the city of Reading to rule its destinies for four years. On the first Monday in January, 1928, these men took office. Since then they have had a chance to demonstrate what men of their party can do with a city of 120,000 souls, mostly native born.

Have these men made a success? The people of Reading can answer this. And they have answered.

Last Election Day America voted for a President, following a campaign marked by the most intense excitement in years, and issues so sharply drawn that almost any citizen was whirled into one or the other of the two big national parties—Republican or Democrat.

Reading could not escape this enthusiasm. Yet 7,300 voters in Reading did escape it. They went to the polls and voted Socialist. Because they hoped their candidate for President might win? Of course not. To swell the Socialist vote and make a demonstration? Only partly. Why, then?

What The People Say

They voted 7,300 strong in a hopeless fight mainly to express their confidence in and enthusiasm for Reading's Socialist Mayor and Council. That's Reading's answer.

The answer may also be found in the attitude of those who did not vote the Socialist ticket. This correspondent has talked with Republicans and Democrats, men and women, bankers and merchants, laborers and officeholders, policemen and loafers, asking all the time what the Socialists have done.

Here is a composite view of these conversations:

"What sort of government are the Socialists giving Reading?"

"Well, we can't complain."

"Is it good?"

"Yes."

"Is it better than those given by Republicans or Democrats?"

"Well, I guess it is. Yes, I must give them credit; it is."

"Are they honest?"

"Absolutely."

"Are they efficient?"

"Almost too much so. You know these Socialists know more about economics than most people and they are running everything scientifically."

"Good Business"

"Have they put any Socialist doctrines into practice?"

"How can they with the Clark act staring them in the face?"

"But aren't any of their attitudes on public questions more liberal, more favorable to workers, more antagonistic to the property classes?"

"Let's see; they have a strike on here in a hosiery mill. The Administration permits picketing and there has been some disorder, but not much. The police are charged with favoring the strikers, but it has not been noticeable. Reading was always pretty liberal that way. We always permitted radical rallies here, so the Socialists cannot improve on that. On the other hand, they have shown no marked antagonism to capitalists, except that they grant them no special favors. They deal with the banks and the banks have no cause to complain. They have adopted a principle of paying all municipal bills on time in order to get a discount, but that's not a Socialist principle; it's merely good business."

Contrast the above with the feelings which undoubtedly were felt here, there and everywhere throughout the country just a year ago, when, after the election, the news was flashed across the land that the Socialists had gained absolute control of a pretty large city, situated in the middle of one of Pennsylvania's most prosperous farming communities. Imagine what fears of Red Bolshevism must have afflicted thousands who know nothing of Socialism except what they had read of the Russian terror. Fancy the terror in the strongholds of those ultra-conservative organizations who are continually preaching the danger of a workers' uprising. Consider also the vague tremor of disquiet which envelops most of us at the mention of the word Socialism.

More Than A Change of Administration

Now, to those who view such things philosophically, a Socialist is nothing more than a person whose views oppose the capitalistic structure of society now prevailing, and who wants to change it. It is a matter of fact that a great majority of the Socialists believe this change must come gradually. Understanding this, it is seen that a Socialist victory anywhere in the United States means merely that there has been a change of government.

An examination of the 10 months of Socialist rule in Reading shows that it has meant something more than this. In the view of almost everybody it has meant a rather sharp reduction in political trickery and a more candid facing of governmental problems. However, the Socialists have not even attempted to put into practice any Socialist doctrines, nor have they sought to impose Marxian principles.

The Socialists are not to blame for this. They would like public ownership of public utilities and even public ownership of what they call the "tools of production." They would like to see Reading's big factories ruled by commit-

tees of workmen. They would like to eliminate capitalism or apply it only to the Government.

But the City of Reading is not a sovereign community. Its officials are sworn to obey the Constitution and laws of the United States and the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. One of these laws is the Clark act, for the government of third class cities, of which Reading is one. The scope of this law is wide and its provisions very exact. The powers and limitations of city officials are strictly set forth therein and the Socialist rulers of Reading must keep within the lines laid down by this law or else find themselves facing either Court action or impeachment proceedings.

Have Complete Control

This has been true of every community in the United States which has elected Socialist officials. It has been true for a long time of Milwaukee, Wis., where Socialists are regularly in power, and of Schenectady, N. Y., where there was once a Socialist Mayor. In such communities all the Socialists can do for their doctrines is to apply them to matters such as municipal ownership of local utilities, the establishment of public markets and such strictly local affairs.

Reading's Socialist administration upon taking office the first Monday of last January, therefore, found itself unable to put Socialism into practice. It had just won by 12,000 votes, a large plurality over both Republican and Democratic nominees and a clear majority for one of its candidates—the Mayor.

Reading has the commission form of government, consisting of five Councilmen, one of whom is Mayor. They are elected for four-year terms, but not simultaneously. Three were elected in 1927 and two in 1928. In 1929 the terms of these two will expire.

The three Socialists elected last year were: Mayor J. Henry Stump, George W. Snyder, who was named to the Department of Parks and Public Property, and James H. Maurer, who has charge of finances. The two holdovers are J. H. McConnell, Superintendent of Streets and Public Improvements, a Democrat, and William Smith, Superintendent of Public Safety and Health, a Republican. Mayor Stump, Snyder and Maurer form a clear majority of the Council.

Faced with the impossibility of imposing Socialist doctrines on Reading, the Administration last January determined to confine its activities to a good government program and to set an example. First of all, the three members

of the city; it has been unusually liberal to the schools, and it encourages public meetings and rallies without police interference.

Equalize Assessments

The Socialists won last year on a platform of equitable realty assessments. The issue was raised because of the neglect of a previous Republican administration and the blundering of the then-existing Democratic administration. Up to 1926 practically nothing had been done to adjust Reading's assessments. They were at the prewar level. Meanwhile, real estate had skyrocketed along with other increases in the cost of living. The administration of Mayor J. Keim Stauffer, Republican, from 1920 to 1924, avoided tax assessment boosts, but the cost of running the city government naturally grew and when the Democratic administration of Mayor William E. Shorman came into power, it began to look for more revenue. It was not until 1926 that it raised the assessments and it raised them so high that the public marched down on City Hall by the thousands, protesting so vehemently that the increases were withdrawn.

In 1927, unable to run the city any longer on the small revenue, the Democratic administration once again raised assessments and refused to heed public protests. Shorman ran for reelection and was opposed by former Mayor Stauffer. Into this fight the Socialists threw themselves, charging both old parties with unequal assessments. So great was the public indignation that the Socialists were swept into office, mainly on this issue.

The Socialists have kept their promise to equalize assessments, but they have not materially reduced them. They engaged the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Philadelphia to assess the whole city on a scientific basis. This resulted in enormous increases in valuations on Penn street and other central city properties, but almost general, although slight reductions on dwellings.

This new assessment was only recently completed and appeals are now being heard in City Hall. The appeals are fewer than ever before. The Socialists point with pride to this.

Forced to Float Loans

Not even the big business interests and large property owners are kicking. They know it is useless, as the method of appraising the property is known to all to be just. In this no favors have been given to any interest.

The Socialists, however, have met with one criticism. They have been active

announced that they would engage in no private business, but devote their entire time to their jobs. This they have done. The Mayor is paid \$4,800 a year and the other Councilmen \$4,200. On this they promise to live.

Payroll Pruned Down

Every day, and often at night, you will find the three Socialists on the job at City Hall or else out on some other work of the city. This is not generally known by the people, as it is not spectacular news, but it is true. That's one reason for those 7,300 votes.

A great shakeup of public officeholders was expected when the Socialists took office. Nothing happened. Every municipal employee, including the policemen, was called in and told if he would be efficient and do his work well he would not be disturbed in his job.

It is true, however, that some old officeholders lost out. The new administration went over the city payroll and discovered many sinecures and a number of inefficient workers. They were promptly dismissed, but always for cause and always after a fair hearing. In their places were put some Socialists, but not all the jobs vacated went to party men. In several instances Republicans and Democrats were named.

The result has been a remarkable display of loyalty to the Socialist administration on the part of city employees, especially the police. An honest cop in Reading has absolutely nothing to fear from his bosses, not even political influence.

For instance, the administration has made it a rule to treat everybody alike regardless of wealth, race or creed. If a policeman stops one of Reading's big manufacturers for speeding his auto, he does not tremble, because his prisoner gets no more consideration from the administration than a humble foreign laborer. There is no pull of any kind.

This has been an annoyance to the politicians. One of the minor, but often granted, political favors of modern days is exempting a person who has violated some traffic law. When your car is tagged you notify some politician friend and he tells you to forget it. This is done by Republicans and Democrats everywhere for the purpose of making friends and votes. But not in Reading. Not even Socialists get any favors. The administration leans over backwards in this and one of the minor faults, found with it is that it is not "human."

However, it makes up for this by being "human" in other ways. It has greatly improved the park and playground areas

of the city; it has been unusually liberal to the schools, and it encourages public meetings and rallies without police interference.

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It is true, however, that some old officeholders lost out. The new administration went over the city payroll and discovered many sinecures and a number of inefficient workers. They were promptly dismissed, but always for cause and always after a fair hearing. In their places were put some Socialists, but not all the jobs vacated went to party men. In several instances Republicans and Democrats were named.

The result has been a remarkable display of loyalty to the Socialist administration on the part of city employees, especially the police. An honest cop in Reading has absolutely nothing to fear from his bosses, not even political influence.

For instance, the administration has made it a rule to treat everybody alike regardless of wealth, race or creed. If a policeman stops one of Reading's big manufacturers for speeding his auto, he does not tremble, because his prisoner gets no more consideration from the administration than a humble foreign laborer. There is no pull of any kind.

This has been an annoyance to the politicians. One of the minor, but often granted, political favors of modern days is exempting a person who has violated some traffic law. When your car is tagged you notify some politician friend and he tells you to forget it. This is done by Republicans and Democrats everywhere for the purpose of making friends and votes. But not in Reading. Not even Socialists get any favors. The administration leans over backwards in this and one of the minor faults, found with it is that it is not "human."

However, it makes up for this by being "human" in other ways. It has greatly improved the park and playground areas

of the city; it has been unusually liberal to the schools, and it encourages public meetings and rallies without police interference.

Equalize Assessments

The Socialists won last year on a platform of equitable realty assessments. The issue was raised because of the neglect of a previous Republican administration and the blundering of the then-existing Democratic administration. Up to 1926 practically nothing had been done to adjust Reading's assessments. They were at the prewar level. Meanwhile, real estate had skyrocketed along with other increases in the cost of living. The administration of Mayor J. Keim Stauffer, Republican, from 1920 to 1924, avoided tax assessment boosts, but the cost of running the city government naturally grew and when the Democratic administration of Mayor William E. Shorman came into power, it began to look for more revenue. It was not until 1926 that it raised the assessments and it raised them so high that the public marched down on City Hall by the thousands, protesting so vehemently that the increases were withdrawn.

In 1927, unable to run the city any longer on the small revenue, the Democratic administration once again raised assessments and refused to heed public protests. Shorman ran for reelection and was opposed by former Mayor Stauffer. Into this fight the Socialists threw themselves, charging both old parties with unequal assessments. So great was the public indignation that the Socialists were swept into office, mainly on this issue.

The Socialists have kept their promise to equalize assessments, but they have not materially reduced them. They engaged the Manufacturers' Appraisal Company of Philadelphia to assess the whole city on a scientific basis. This resulted in enormous increases in valuations on Penn street and other central city properties, but almost general, although slight reductions on dwellings.

This new assessment was only recently completed and appeals are now being heard in City Hall. The appeals are fewer than ever before. The Socialists point with pride to this.

Forced to Float Loans

Not even the big business interests and large property owners are kicking. They know it is useless, as the method of appraising the property is known to all to be just. In this no favors have been given to any interest.

The Socialists, however, have met with one criticism. They have been active

announced that they would engage in no private business, but devote their entire time to their jobs. This they have done. The Mayor is paid \$4,800 a year and the other Councilmen \$4,200. On this they promise to live.

Payroll Pruned Down

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had the power of holding men to him.

He worked and slaved for years and built up a Socialist organization here and then held it together by the sheer force of his personality, even during the dark days of the world war when Socialism throughout the world was in decline.

Maurer became head of the State Federation of Labor, he went to the State Legislature, he held jobs in the State Government. He was ever a champion of the working man and a foe of the capitalistic system. But he always kept his Reading organization alive.

Berks county is an old-time Democratic stronghold, but the city was split, sometimes Republican, sometimes Democratic. Between the two older parties, Maurer shoved his wedge of Socialists. He won a trifling victory here and a minor engagement there, but he was out to win the city government and he was thwarted term after term.

At one time he grew so strong and so threatening that the Democrats and Republicans had to unite against him, abandoning their old party labels and forming the American party to beat his candidate. They succeeded that time, but last year they neglected to combine and Maurer's men swept the city.

Maurer himself did not become Mayor, but merely one of the Councilmen, in charge of the finance department. But he is the great Socialist leader and to him must go the credit for the Socialist victory.

Expect Victory Next Year

And the future?

All admit that the Socialists have a chance of winning the two extra Councilmanic seats in 1929, unless both old parties combine against them, and even then it might be possible.

This combination of Republicans and Democrats has not yet appeared on the political horizon. Both sides were too busy in recent months fighting the Hoover-Smith battle to bother much over local affairs, but now that the Presidency is settled, the politicians are looking once more toward the city and its affairs.

The Presidential fight was bitter and has left scars. At the present writing it is doubtful if an attempt to bring about a union against the Socialists would meet with any success. But long months elapse between now and next September's primaries and in those months anything can happen.

Even if they do unite the Republicans and Democrats will face a formidable foe. Entrenched in office and in the confidence of a majority of the people, the Socialists are going to be hard to beat, both in the Councilmanic and school elections.

The question arises: How does it happen that, right in the midst of Pennsylvania's agricultural region, there should exist a group of native-born American Socialists, a group so strong that it has sent members to the State Legislature and now is in absolute control of the city?

Maurer Is Responsible

The answer is easy—it is one man—James H. Maurer.

Years ago James H. Maurer was a Socialist voice crying out in the wilderness of Berks county. But he was a powerful voice. He was eloquent and tireless and

## The Social Workers—Defense And Criticism

By John A. Fitch

Editor, The New Leader:

I have read with a good deal of interest the leading article appearing on the front page of The New Leader for December 15th entitled "The Hell of Poverty."

Naturally, I sympathize with a good deal of what you say. You have, however, done a very grave injustice to a hard-working body of people who are anxious to abolish poverty as you are. You refer with a good deal of sarcasm to the representatives of "organized charity."

You make no specific charge against them, but by inference you charge them with cold aloofness and a machine-like attitude toward persons requiring help—statisticians of poverty rather than red-blooded fighters against the evils of poverty—persons who pry into intimate private affairs for apparently no reason excepting that the poor are in their power. All this is quite as mistaken a concept as is the charge that Socialists are all atheists and free lovers. And, if you will pardon me for saying so, it is as essentially ignorant an attitude as is the latter.

You have departed here from what I believe your usual custom and have made some serious charges without informing yourself as to what the truth may be with regard to the people whom you are condemning.

The expression "worthy poor" is alien to the vocabulary and to the thinking of the social workers as it is anathema to you. The investigations that are made by the visitors of the Charity Organization Society and similar societies are made not to discover who are the "worthy poor" in the sense in which you use the term, but because the very purpose that you and they want to accomplish would be defeated if that were not done. You would hardly take the position, I imagine, that every individual who says he is poor is genuine and honest. You know as well as they do that there are professional beggars and you have no more desire to encourage that mode of living than have they. It is necessary, therefore, to know something about the people to whom assistance is given.

The Charity Worker's Routine



# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## OH, BY THE WAY, A HAPPY NEW YEAR

As those who have followed this column from time to time may have gathered, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, is no boy-friend of ours. Au contraire, as we say in our impeccable French. We think he is a sort of arm. Arm is hard to describe in cold print, but it means a mixture of a stuffed shirt and just an ordinary—Well just an ordinary, if you get what we mean.

Nevertheless Dr. Butler lately has been getting off some stuff that meets with our heartiest approval. As someone else said about someone else, Butler sounds better than he is.

In his annual report as President of Columbia, Butler says:

"If the emotional illusions and the intellectual barrenness of current political controversy could be put away, and if the American people would discipline themselves to look facts in the face as they really are, the political life of the nation would take on a much finer form."

Come to our arms, Nicholas. Muvver's boy said a lot. But has he sat down and thought what it would mean if the American people became suddenly pregnant with political ideas founded on the facts of American life? Has he thought that his own political party, namely the Republican, would be kaput? And that the Democratic party would complete the suicide at which it has made so many hopeful attempts?

Surely, Doc, you don't mean the half of what you say. Facts? Why there are enough facts in the U. S. Census reports to start a first-class political revolution here any mild Tuesday. And since when has Nicholas Murray Butler stood beneath a red flag?

If the American people ever got a good look at the facts, all your pals on Wall Street, all the fat investment bankers, all the high-hat gyp artists who keep you in your job and come across every now and then for a new dormitory for your college would be out panning for cots in a flop-house.

So of course, you wrote that as you write all your "liberal" mullalley with your tongue very much in your cheek. But just the same it's true. We Socialists have been saying it for years back. It's the purely "emotional illusion" that has been keeping us ham-strung. It's the "emotional illusion" harbored by so many liberals and progressives that you get somewhere by "cleaning up the old parties from within" that makes us go slightly ga-ga and bite the table-leg.

And speaking of biting, it's always been a wonder to me that George Bernard Shaw has not taken to mayhem in a large way.

He is certainly long-suffering. Even meek, though you hardly think of him as such.

I mean the courtesy with which he treats his interviewers. Apparently no fool sets foot in England but what he or she hastens to interview Shaw. And what questions they ask! All about life and immortality and the future of the universe.

To all of these questions Mr. Shaw is supposed to come back with some snappy wise-crack.

He gets out of his bath in the morning and settles down to throwing away the mail, when the doorbell rings and he is informed that there is a gent outside who has come all the way from Peru, Indiana, to ask him if he believes in a future life. And when he has settled that, he turns around to find a lady correspondent for a McFadden paper asking him how he keeps fit and a couple of interviewers from the Hollywood Hoopla wanting to know about the artistic possibilities of the movies.

The latest of these bores to report his interview with the excessively amiable Shaw is Gabriel Wells, a New York book-collector. Mr. Wells says: "When I asked Shaw how, with his strong views about everything in general, he became reconciled with the world, he replied, 'I am not reconciled with the world.'"

This seemed to have knocked Mr. Wells for a row of first editions. Think of it, here was someone not reconciled with the world. Who ever heard the like of that? And George Bernard Shaw of all persons!

Mr. Wells rallied gamely however and came back with this novelty, "Do you think you could have made a better one?"

One can imagine the expression in Mr. Shaw's face as he gazed on Mr. Wells. What Shaw said was: "Of course I do. Why even you could have done better in making the world."

I think Shaw was a bit optimistic but at any rate he was polite to the bitter end, whereas anyone not endowed with the patience of a saint would have socked Mr. Wells in the jaw after the first question.

My God, the genius who has spent his splendid talents fighting all the rottenness and bigotry of this world, who has given to it as his last will and testament a plan for making it over, having to stand up and be asked whether or not he is reconciled to this world! St. Joan did you say? We move for the canonization of St. Bernard.

And, boys and girls, do you get the deadly familiarity of Mr. Wells's questions? Aren't they exactly the questions that every dumb conservative is forever asking, even of us smaller fry?

They come along and say, "You Socialists are always kicking. Do you think you could make things any better if you were in power?" And while we are not George Bernard Shaw's answer should be the same as his. "You can bet your bottom boots we can. Get off our backs for one minute and we can deliver to you within a reasonable period a world that will be so much swifter and more exciting and altogether more beautiful and amusing and inspiring than this thing you have now, that you'll think you've been living in a mad-house, as indeed you have."

Who is there who is reconciled to the world as it is today, who is any better than a milch cow? Reconciliation with the world is the beginning of senescence. The day that you decide that the world is "a mighty fine place after all," go and get your glands examined. You need a rejuvenation expert to put into you the healthy germs of revolt and antipathy for things as they are. No one who is alive but is at war with life. When the Armistice in that struggle is declared, it is Death who signs the document.

McAlister-Coleman.

## Scanning The New Books

### "A Proletarian Golem, Groping His Way"

By Leonard D. Abbott

"PRISONERS ALL" (Knopf, \$4) is a book that, like Somerset Maugham's "Of Human Bondage," deals with the hopes, the fears and the disappointments of our human lot. It cannot be described accurately as a Socialist book; yet any Socialist might profitably ponder it and learn something from it. It shows how some Socialists are made, and it also shows how some lose faith in Socialism. In the eyes of Thomas Mann, one of the most gifted of living German novelists, it marks the path of "a proletarian Golem, heavy as mud," who "gropes his way, has encounters which astound him, goes daft, runs amuck, makes his own way, craftily yet bunglingly through a period that degrades and smirches him and yet in many respects is so peculiarly his own."

Oskar Maria Graf, the author of the book, has published poems, tales and a novel as well as this autobiography. He is only thirty-four years old, yet at times he seems to have lived in, suffering and experience, through cons. He took part in the World War; became a smuggler of contraband food-stuffs; and was drawn into the revolutionary struggles of post-war Germany. The four principal themes of his book are sex, work, war and revolution, and all are treated with brutal realism.

The first life that Graf knew was that of a peasant. His father was a baker in Bavaria. Graf thoroughly disliked his environment, and fled from it, as soon as he could, to the city of Munich. He was utterly impractical. He had neither influence nor money. But he cherished the ambition to become a writer.

Two of the vividdest pages of the book tell of his first sex experience—with a prostitute. Nothing could be more hideous, unless it is the account of his marriage, a few years later, to a woman who is utterly unsuited to him. "The marriage was unhappy," he says, "from first to last." Yet the book ends on a note of sex idealism. As Graf emerges from a Munich prison in which he has been confined by the Noske soldiery, he is greeted by a "dark girl" to whom he has now attached his affections. "A miracle has burst upon me," he writes to her, "and salvation, faith and hope. I love you! I love you unutterably..."

The Revolution in Munich  
In the early years of his life in Munich, Graf was reduced to something very close to beggary. He would work for a while (as an elevator boy, as a miller), then would throw up his job and wander off as a tramp anarchist, or devise plans for coaxing money from those who had it.

Nothing could have been less congenial to this natural rebel and misfit than regimental life, yet, when the World War broke out, he decided to enlist and was sent into Russia. The pages in which he deals with the War are farcical. He was once so near to the front that he could hear the firing of guns, but he spent most of his time cleaning out stables and performing menial tasks for the officers of his regiment. After three years of army life, during which he had been imprisoned several times for insubordination and had seen the inside of several hospitals, he deliberately feigned insanity in order to obtain his discharge from the army. His ruse was successful.

The really memorable section of the book describes the revolutionary ferment in Munich following the end of the War and the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia. Graf himself participated in social agitation, and on one occasion even organized a public meeting (at which he tried to make a speech and only succeeded in making a fool of himself), but his narrative is chiefly valuable as that of a passionate and sympathetic observer of the birth-pangues of the new Germany. The progress of events left indelible impressions on his imagination. The marchings and counter-marchings of workmen and soldiers; the conflicts of leaders; the rivalry of Majority Socialists, of Independent Socialists and of Communists, are all conveyed in living prose.

We get a detailed pen-portrait of Kurt Eisner, Independent Socialist, who led a successful coup d'état in Munich, but was later assassinated. We see Ernest Toller, the young poet and dramatist, who spoke, with Eisner, at great mass-meetings in the open air. It was during this period that the Spartacist leaders, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were murdered in Berlin. A little later, Gustav

Landauer was killed in Munich by a ravening mob. The entire atmosphere was charged with subversive and often mutually destructive energies.

"Prisoners All"  
Revolution in Munich was succeeded by the counter-revolution of the Hoffman Government and the Noske troops. Civil war raged in the streets, and workmen were shot down by the hundreds. The moving passage in which Graf suggests the title of his book has to do with this counter-revolution:

"Everywhere there were files of arrested workers, harassed, beaten till the blood flowed, their arms held above their heads. On either side and before and behind marched soldiers, who bawled when an exhausted arm dropped, struck the prisoners in the ribs with the butts of their rifles, and hit their trembling victims with their fists. I wanted to cry aloud, but I clenched my teeth and swallowed my rage. My eyes were hot with tears. I caught many a glance and nearly broke down, then pulled myself together and gazed into the eyes of another prisoner."

"These are all my brothers, I thought overwhelmed with grief; they were born into the world, trained by the rod, flung out to fend for themselves; they were apprenticed and the rod was still in use; as journeymen they were exploited, and in the end they became soldiers and fought for those who beat them."

"And now?  
They have all lived a dog's life, as I have, and have always had to obey orders and to cover, and now, because they tried to bite, they are killed."

"PRISONERS ALL"—  
This pessimistic passage is in harmony with the spirit of the book as a whole. The total impression conveyed by Graf is that life is a chaos in which sloth and sensuality are dominating factors. The animal appetites are represented as triumphing over the idealism of humanity. Yet, in spite of all, life goes on. Its huge and undying intensity is undeniable. Nothing can stop it. Our feet are in the mud, but we reach out to the stars. Perhaps, some day, the ideal will actually triumph over the sordid real. This seems to be the ultimate meaning of Oskar Maria Graf's startling book.

### Fertile Darkness

IN the depths of the primal, womb-like darkness, D. H. Lawrence seeks—protection from?—solution to?—the questions life puts him. Refuge or research, indeed, are but different attitudes in the same quest; both strive to escape the ignorance (hence the fear) life leaves us of its purposes. In "Nursery Rhymes for Children of Darkness" (McBride, \$1.50) Gladys Oakes travels the same path, in anguished questing, that scarce admits its tension, parades a light-heartedness, giving us "nursery rhymes," no more—but, "for children of darkness."

It is the eternal conflict of soul and senses that troubles Gladys Oakes; the eternal need to explain away evil if there is God of good. Her theme is Judas, Salome. Thais, return constantly to this division, and the search for unity of spirit-control and free, spontaneous passion. In 1922 ("Chinese White") the poet wrote

Dance, little demon, dance and sing,  
He merry!  
Fly on a cloud to the woods, and  
sing  
On a berry.  
Exult, exult in your purple wing,  
There's no time to rue.  
What matters it you're the devil's  
thing?  
He is God's too.

And "Of Mary Magdalene," added, after the volume had won the \$500 poetry manuscript prize, because "it is beyond my will to omit the poem from this series," plays in Mary's mind her love of Judas' body against her love of Jesus' soul—and ends by giving Jesus little human bodily attributes and crying a last cry for Judas:

I shall have a little hut with him, with  
olive trees and aloes,  
For only half a god is Jesus healed  
of such a woe—  
And perhaps he'll have a red-haired  
child and bless unholo lovers  
(O, Judas, my beloved, your arms be-  
fore I go!)

With the skill and complexity of modern spirits, whose psychanalysts, while offering on the one hand greater self-knowledge, presents with the other

shrewd tricks of self-deception, Gladys Oakes finds many patterns for her dark mood.

And he whose greatest pride is to be  
proud  
Will laugh because he must not weep  
aloud....

Frustration greets him from his mir-  
rored eye;  
He bows to it, and says, 'Serenity!'...

Yet must I chant—my heart beat—  
and my breath  
Stake its high, mortal glamour against  
death.

Such lines as these recur so often that, although they appear in portraits of others, they tempt us to attach them to the poet herself, as revealing the bravery of one who faces life in defiance of its present purposelessness, who seeks solution but will smile over romantic hopes of finding, who says to her lover (in the sturdy "Ballad of Yellow Hair and Red Beard") "For we may be together then... when you are alone."... The secret lies somewhere in darkness, perhaps of the womb. Plough, then, through darkness! There is the simple, rich loam of life in "To the Harvest," which most directly faces life's fundamental urge:

For the gentleness we're rich with  
knowing  
Nothing at all is gentle quite as these:  
A rooted flower or a fern growing—  
Nowhere such downward power, such  
upward ease.

### The Yankee Glacier

PASS by a shop window or open a newspaper in Costa Rica and you will like as not, be informed that Lucky Strikes are toasted and do not harm the throat—"estan tostados, protegen su garganta." Clamber up the Volcans of Poas in that little nation and you will pass trim bungalows owned by young Americans who came down to the tropics with the proverbial shoestring and now own acres of coffee plants. Everywhere in Central America there are marks of this inevitable glacier of Yankee civilization that is burying the dirty and picturesque past under a thick strata of tooth-paste and rubber trees. That, at least, is what one gathers from Mr. Ruhl's book, "The Central Americans. By Arthur Ruhl. Scribners, \$3.00."

Central America is paying a prodigious price for this "civilization." Much of her material wealth comes as the precarious prosperity of a single-crop system. In Costa Rica, for instance, where that crop is coffee, the higher the standard of living is raised, the more wants that are created, "the stronger will be the pressure to grow coffee, to grow it on an organized rather than on a small and personal scale, and the less will people be tempted to grow other things, such as corn, beans, rice, etc., which the country naturally uses for food. And the more coffee-growing is done on a large and organized scale—i.e., industrialized—the more will the Costa-Rican peasant-proprietor tend to become a simple wage-

earner. Most of the chauffeurs who now hang around the plaza looking for a fare used to work little farms of their own out in the hills."

The result of this vicious process is a small, partly-foreign dominant class of handymen and a working class existing precariously near a state of penance and an industry dependent wholly upon a foreign market. One reads of bloody rioting in Colombia and wonders when Central America will be experiencing similar unrest. When it comes it will not be unanticipated as a landowner's statement to Mr. Ruhl proves: "Yes, there'll be trouble one of these days..." From Mexico, that storehouse of social dynamite, deep explosive ideas that will some day make themselves felt."

The author describes his visit with none of the odious condescension of the usual Yankee visitor. He has an appreciative eye for the picturesque and exotic jungle country. But his remedies for the ravages of the imperialist glacier are nothing if not futile. The situation is not one that can be improved by self-spoken diplomats who take the trouble to learn Spanish and to know the name of a Spanish poet or two, or by enlightened and benevolent landlords. Glaciers aren't like that.

Norman Studer.

### Navy Censoring Stories Of Hoover Trip South

Naval captains are censoring every piece of copy sent from President-elect Hoover's battletide. Many correspondents of liberal newspapers are complaining that they cannot send their observations on opposition encountered in South America to Yankee imperialism's latest survey of its dominions. All newspaper dispatches must pass through several government channels before becoming available to the papers to which they are directed. First the commander of the Maryland or the Utah must approve them. While in the Pacific, the radio transmitted the stories to an American cruiser in the Galapagos Islands, which relayed them to the government's Arlington station.

Hoover, it is admitted, has spoken with the correspondents in the frankest terms about the purpose of the tour, to boost American trade and to show Latin America the power of the colossus of the north. No quotations were permitted from his speeches on these occasions. On the Atlantic, press dispatches must pass through government stations at the Canal Zone or Porto Rico for transmission to Arlington. Thus the truth about Hoover's reception in Latin America will not be known until the mail brings native newspapers from the south, and the few critical reporters on board are landed in New York and released from navy censorship.

### Hillman Gets Harmon Award

Pres. Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has been awarded the Harmon Foundation gold medal and \$1,000 for his "outstanding public service." The union's achievements under Hillman's presidency, said the Harmon directors, included a successful plan of unemployment insurance, two cooperative banks with small loan features and \$2,000,000 housing cooperatives for members.

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## THE CHATTER BOX

"HERE'S wishing you all, A Happy and Prosperous New Year" . . . What a phrase! Time worn as a pre-buffalo nickle and as trite as a ward-healer's handshake. From too much shuffling even the gods have lost their lustre. From too teary dawdling in musical sentiment even "dear old mother" has faded just a little. If ten yard steam shovels, fifteen ton tractor-trucks, movie actors and divas wear out with a surfeit of usage and repetition, why should so frail a human product as a string of words be less immune under similar stress?

For myself, there is confidence that all my friends mean what they express to me in their cards and oral greetings. I know how sincerely the echoing wishes rise from my heart. Yet all the while there is the sense of a frayed garment, the aura of a serge suit that wear has rubbed into a sad shine. We who have become sens' ve to a warping custom, and rebellious to ancient dullness ought to set our sharper sight to fashion newer and brighter ways of ushering in a New Year.

Surely the added hokum of wild party and hootchery that has attended these seasons since men ceased counting by the moon, ought to be flung into the garbage dumps of time.

But when I started out on this rampage against "Here's wishing you a happy and prosperous etc.", there was no intention of dragging it along historical ruts. Rather I meant to set up a few old and unerasable grudges to pop at, and so make a merry time for all.

In this organized lunacy we call modern society, there are three classes whose Happy and Prosperous New Year Wishes ring with particular hilarity in my ears.

Whenever Tommy Campbell, the neighborhood mortician, (vulgarily known as "undertaker") sends out his batch of pretty cards with the seasonal salve about happiness and prosperity, the very backlash of its incongruity gives us mighty little chance for a grin. Why should one whose own happiness and wealth depends upon our being bumped off in the shortest moment want us to be so full of joy and health and material riches, that we would keep him and his caskets, his sombre wagons, and solemn attendants, without employment for ever so long a time. And really, if all his wishes for us came to full being, he might shuffle off before us, and then, (perish the rare concept), we would have the mean job of burying him?

But as he mails his greetings, there is the settled assurance that more certain than any of his phrases or ours is Death itself. Men and women and babes keep dying off in no ordained manner except that of long established habit. And unless some miracle of science intervenes, here is one habit mankind will never break away from completely. And in this certainty our friend Tommy Campbell does his pious wishing to us, but continues to plan ahead for the balance of the year on how to bury us with accepted and honorable fashion. . . .

Along side of him stands our wise and loquacious pal, Calhoun Webster Steuermayer, counselor at law, defender of lawbreakers, advisor in bankruptcy matters, collector of stubborn debts, procurer of marital freedom, chaser of intricate decisions and ambulances. His wishes to us all for a prosperous and happy New Year ought to raise a gargantuan giggle from Mars to Arcturus.

Let us be short with his ilk. Too much condemnation is not his just share. True he sought a quick route to an easy life, using petty tricks of words, and low means of evasiveness to escape useful, arduous labor. But such is the life of creators, and makers of bread, and candles and cloth, that most men and women shrink in dread from its starved promise and wage. The madhouse, we call civilization looms above their cringing souls and they seek to escape the shadow.

But let us consider for a moment what a happy, healthy and prosperous year for the public, would mean to the average lawyer. Good health would keep him from dying, ergo, no estates to play mud pies with. Happiness would keep the families together. No divorces to coin into their grievous gold. No accidents, no broken limbs, "no loss of personal services" to sue insurance companies with, or scare into contingent fee settlements. Prosperity would involve no bankruptcies for us or our fellow tradesmen, no commercial trickeries to invent, and no debts to collect.

Scott the Great! One could go on in this way enumerating dozens of things that lawyers, fathers, and which a happy and Prosperous New Year would not supply. Then what would be left, save a few real estate matters, a corporation paper or two to draw up, to the countless thousands of batters-at-law for income and employment? Laugh, Celestial Clown, laugh! Here in a world that boasts rational existence, a highly respected profession wishes us all a joyous, healthy and wealthy year, in which the fulfillment of their expression would mean certain economic misery for themselves. And maybe, they in turn expect us to wish upon ourselves, death, divorce, mayhem, crime, bankruptcy, injuries by insured and responsible media, and so on, to assure that our reciprocal wish will grant them a real "happy and prosperous twelve months to come . . ."

It is obvious by now that I mean to haul in lastly Drs. Chiselbone and Tickletongue. Let these and their kind stand forth as the crudest joke that Western Capitalism plays upon its people.

It has become the standing complaint of their over-jammed profession that folks nowadays are entirely too healthy. Hence they suffer in income. Hence they are thoroughly disgusted with their lot. Here they have gone and studied and milled and slaved for seven long years, and when it is all over, they enter a world that is on the health upgrade, with consequent lessened demand for their services.

Confound it folks, we are playing a giddy joke on that ancient and honored profession. Here in the East, thousands of idle and able medices have been sitting for months, waiting, fuming, praying that the black cloud of the Western flu epidemic reach us in time so that their Xmas might indeed be merry. While we of course would lie quivering in chills, agues and fever to the tune of "Jingle bells" and "Holy Night" . . .

Galloping Gizzards! They too are sending out the same New Year's cards. And we in turn must truthfully reply, "May we all have the gout, the pils, and the Spanish delight, may the microbes of seventy plagues seize us, may we all toss and shiver and gyrate on our beds for twelve months of operations, and blistering temperatures, may every disease sweep over us in recurrent hurricane, so that you, dear doctors, will indeed have a Prosperous and Happy New Year . . ."

Now, I'm too sizzling mad to go on. Let me just wish you all who are not the average doctor, lawyer and undertaker, a happy New Year. Until Socialism puts this crazy house of ours in order, I must decline to receive from, and must out of sheer self-preservation refuse to send to any of the above mentioned gentry, the usual New Year's Greetings. . . .

S. A. de Wit.

## The Social Worker

Continued From Page Four  
tened and are peacefully going ahead as if everything is for the best and nobody even questions the validity of present-day tactics.

The author of the "Current History" article, Abraham Epstein, declares that the modern social worker believes he "must treat each case as an expert technician and diagnostician" and that social work no longer has "a definite goal and a charted course. In the past decade it has, it seems to the layman, merely been drifting on a sea of vague and confusing ideas."

In short, the old idealism has been largely supplanted by the business outlook and it is this that warrants criticism. About "Minimum" Wages  
We were about to close with the above observation when our attention was directed to the current number of the "Survey" which carries a discussion of the beginning wage for a single worker in industry which is estimated by the budgeters at from \$12 to \$18 per week.

Details are given of the necessary items which need not concern us here.

In the same issue there are estimates of a beginning salary for social workers which is placed at \$34.60 per week, about three times the income assigned to the wage earner. Details are also considered and they include books, a vacation, lectures, conferences, amusement and other necessities. Why is there no allowance, even though it be a bare minimum, for cultural items for the worker in industry? Is it because, unconsciously, many social workers have come to regard the worker as a mere physical asset to industry, a "hand" to be preserved for the owners of industry, but a mind that does not require even a modicum of cultural and esthetic riches?

This attitude merely emphasizes our criticism that social work has largely come under the influence of the business Babbitts and that it has thereby lost much of the former idealism which looked forward to some fundamental changes in the social order.—Editor, The NEW LEADER.



# N. Y. Labor Hears Muste On Charges

Tells Central Trades Council That A. F. of L. Charges Are Unfounded

**BROOKWOOD** won a moral victory at the New York Central Trades and Labor Council on December 20. It was the first opportunity that A. J. Muste, dean of Brookwood Labor College, has had to present in public his reply to the charges made by American Federation of Labor officials at the New Orleans Convention last month.

The question of Brookwood came up incidentally as a part of the report of Charles F. Sinnergan, delegate of the New York Central Trades to the A. F. of L. convention. Sinnergan declared in his report that the A. F. of L. officials had shown "conclusively" that Brookwood was "working against the American Federation of Labor." Chairman Mulholland with more than usual efficiency rushed through the motion to adopt the report of the delegate. It was after that that A. J. Muste and the other friends of Brookwood were given an opportunity to defend themselves and the institution they represented.

Muste began by stating that he was not anxious to embarrass the Central body. He simply wanted to defend Brookwood whose faculty were all members of a local represented in the New York Central Trades and Labor Council. He considered himself a good unionist and a friend of the American Federation of Labor. For years he had been an officer of the American Federation of Teachers. He was not speaking as a Communist. He cited the attack of the "Daily Worker" and the "Freiheit," Communist organs, upon him and Brookwood. He pointed out that the statements of students used at the A. F. of L. convention had come from persons who had sored on Brookwood. He reminded his hearers that soring occurred in every school. There were more than 100 other students whose opinions might be cited as decidedly favorable to Brookwood.

Referring to the charge that he was a radical, Muste defended his position eloquently. He did not know whether the delegates were radical but if they did not stand for better social order as he did, then they were not. He cited the preamble of the A. F. of L. to show that the class struggle is explicitly recognized there. As to the accusation that Brookwood was anti-religious, he stated that he was still a minister in good standing. He took great pains to answer the charge that students of Brookwood had supported the Save-the-Union movement in the miner's union. The students who had gone to the Pittsburgh convention had gone contrary to the wishes of the Brookwood faculty. When they had returned a detailed analysis was made at that convention and the general run of opinion both of the students who had gone to Pittsburgh and those who had not was unfavorable. The misconception about the convention arose from a student-member of the miner's union, who in order to protect himself in his organization, had made public statements which were contrary to his own belief as explained in a private letter that Muste read to the delegates. In conclusion, he asked that Brookwood be given justice.

Faunie Cohen of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and Abraham Lefkowitz of the Teachers' Union, who are directors of Brookwood, also took up the cudgels. Only Delegate Peabody of

# Latest Communist Split Brings Riot When Expelled Leader Speaks in New Haven

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

**NEW HAVEN.**—The factional war in the Workers (Communist) Party broke into a riot between the factions at a mass meeting in New Haven on Friday of last week when the police reserves of the city were called out. James P. Cannon, leader of the expelled insurgent faction, had been announced to speak in the Labor Lyceum and about 200 Communists attended.

Cannon's appearance on the platform was the beginning of the "proletarian struggle." A police alarm brought the riot squad and when they arrived the hall was in an uproar. The police surrounded the building and cut off all means of escape. The fighting "comrades" were quieted when Cannon again tried to orate.

This was the signal for the regular faction to again shout Cannon down and the bedlam was louder than ever. Another alarm brought the police again to the scene and the "comrades" were again separated. Cannon was loud in his protest against the conduct of his former cronies but as he and his associates had as members of the party disturbed and broken up non-Communist meetings outside have little sympathy for him. The police dispersed the crowd when it became

came evident that the meeting could not proceed without a row.

The Workers (Communist) Party factional war has continued and assumed many forms since the year 1921 when the party was organized but the present war is the first that has led to many expulsions throughout the country and the organization of the rebels into a faction to fight the regulars who have the support of Moscow. The Communist movement in Canada is also having a similar fight and it is accompanied with expulsions. Its most prominent leader has been expelled together with some others. The war has spread to every country where there is any movement and it grows out of a division into Stalinists and Trotskyites.

Recent issues of the English organ of the party in New York have been filled with pages of dreary controversy, taking the form of long "theses," counter "theses," broadcasts, proclamations and ultimatums to which Moscow officials themselves have added a liberal number. The expelled Cannon faction have established an organ of their own but they labor under the disadvantage of not having access to the finances of the ruling executive in Moscow.

the machinists spoke for the opposition.

The friends of Brookwood did not want to put the matter to a vote because they admitted that the Central Trades had better conform with the position taken by the A. F. of L. convention, implying that its charter would be endangered. If the vote had been taken that evening, Brookwood might have been vindicated.

## Lincoln, Neb., Labor Paper Rebukes A. F. L. On Brookwood

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

**SIoux CITY, Iowa.**—The "Unionist and Public Forum" of this city reprints a leading editorial from the "Nebraska Craftsman," organ of the Central Labor Union of Lincoln, Neb., which shows some resentment in the West against the A. F. of L. condemnation of Professor John Dewey and Brookwood Labor College. "Is the American Federation of Labor afraid of free criticism?" it asks, and, in part, continues:

"For some time past it has been the habit in America to pin the tag of Communism on anyone who voices opinions in any way contrary to orthodox and conventional views in economics or politics, and now officials of the A. F. of L. in their anxiety to appear 'respectable' are following the example in this respect set by every reactionary interest in the land. At the recent convention of this organization held in New Orleans, the convention went so far as to call John Dewey, America's recognized great educator, a Communist, and to expunge from the records of the convention proceedings all references to him that had been made. This occurrence was in connection with the attack made on Brookwood Labor college in this country. And all because the college had had the temerity to criticize the policies of the A. F. of L. in some particulars while at the same time presenting all phases of social, economic and political subjects in the spirit of scientific investigation.

"Matthew Woll, who in addition to being a member of the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L., is also an officer in the National Civil Federation, most of the members of which are opponents of organized labor, led the attack on Brookwood College, which resulted in the convention voting to outlaw this institution, and the recommending that all affiliated

## Decision On Tom Mooney This Summer

California Executive Refuses To Be Rushed By Pleas For Frame-Up Victims, He Tells Older

**SACRAMENTO, Cal. (FP).**—Tom Mooney, universally believed innocent of the Preparedness Day explosion, must not in San Quentin while Gov. Young of California takes the time to look into the case. Mooney started his 13th year in prison last summer.

In a letter to Fremont Older, veteran newspaper defender of Mooney, Gov. Young writes that he will not complete examination of the record until after the 1929 session of the Legislature. He says he will go into the case in detail on his next vacation.

Young also said: "A governor doesn't like to be pushed into a thing that he may decide is right, and he can't afford to allow himself to be pushed into a thing that he may find is wrong." He expressed himself as not yet convinced of Mooney's innocence, and implied that nothing would be gained by bombarding him with letters and petitions until he is ready to take up the matter. In a recent letter to Judge Griffin, who sentenced Mooney to death in 1918, but who has since then constantly asserted that Mooney was framed, the governor states he resents implications of political cowardice in his conduct of the case, and that such charges won't help Mooney any. In another letter he said he does not agree with Mooney's feeling that applying for a parole is an acknowledgment of guilt. Mooney holds that only a full pardon will compensate him for what he has unjustly endured.

unions withdraw support. By such action the A. F. of L. places itself in the same class with those benighted bigots of Arkansas who have recently voted a constitutional amendment in that state making the teaching of evolution in any state-supported institution a crime."

A department of news and views of particular interest to the women of the Socialist Movement.

# THE WOMAN SOCIALIST

## Our Position Justified

By Pauline M. Newman

There are times when we entertain a moment of doubt. There was one time, however, when we in the women's trade union movement knew we were right, when we fought the members of the National Women's Party. We knew our ground. We knew that their little chatter about "freedom from production," "positions," and "interfering with the career of women" did not apply to the laundry workers toiling, even today, for twelve and fourteen dollars a week; to the candy workers whose weekly pay is ten or twelve dollars a week. Those phrases did not apply to the women who work in foundries in the stock yards, and in Southern mills; whose chance for "achieving a career" is likely as mine to be appointed director of the firm of J. Pierpont Morgan!

But the members of the National Women's Party persisted in talking, declaring, and proclaiming, though never with a knowledge of what they were talking about, especially when they became the champions of the working women. When facts failed them, fiction did just as well—it got them onto the front page of the newspapers. And that was what they were after—most of them anyway. They just loved to see their names in print, especially when they appeared side by side with the names of one of the four hundred. It meant so much to them, and (in print) to these women who are financially able to commute to Europe for purposes of learning all there is to know about the women's movement.

**Not Opposed to Entire Program**  
At first, we of the trade union movement, tried to make them understand that we are not opposed to their program (as a whole) if they will keep their hands (and their tongues) off legislative measures concerning working women. We conferred with them when they had the courage to appear and argue with us) on the particular phases of their platform which we would be willing to support if they would leave legislation dealing with the conditions of the wage earning women to those who have themselves gone through the mill, and were the first to struggle for the rights of their fellow women workers; who have spent more than half a century trying to improve the economic and political status of the wage earning women; who championed their cause not with a lot of bunk but by organizing them into unions; by fighting not for them but with them in their daily battles against low wages and long hours, yes, and against sex discrimination, by demanding and fighting (and won through our own efforts) for equal pay for equal work.

The National Woman's Party did not

know (or did not give a d—) if they did what we had to endure before our hours were shortened, whether through the unions or through an act of the legislature. To the tired girl, it matters but little how it is done, as long as the hours are cut down from an unlimited number to 60 a week, then to 55, then to 50, then to 48 and then, well, it is a matter of a few years only when there will be no enough material to write another book on the "Long Day." But these are mere details. The chief thing is not to interfere with ambitious women by reducing their working hours. After all, why should the members of the National Women's Party understand the meaning of the shorter work-day for those who actually work? Have any of their spokesmen ever spent ten hours or more in a foundry or in the stock yards—sweat deep in blood? Have they ever tried the cotton mill in the summer months? They might have talked less about that "career" if they had.

**Refused Jobs!**  
Finally, when they found that the labor movement as a whole, and organizations such as the League of Women Voters, were against their program and challenging the sincerity of their many misleading statements (and I could fill a book with them!) they issued a proclamation to the people, and especially to the legislators of America, that because of the protective legislation now enjoyed (enjoyed, mind you!) by the working women, the employers refuse them jobs. They were sure that a tremendous number of women have lost their jobs because there were laws in some states prohibiting women to work nine or ten hours a day. They were so sure of this "poor working girl" who has to suffer from the protection our governments bestowed upon her!

Their statements were challenged at a conference called by the Women's Bureau of the Federal Department of Labor in Washington some two years ago. An investigation was suggested by the members of the National Woman's Party did not like that suggestion. When asked to serve on the committee they presented terms which would have turned the investigation into a huge joke. (Space does not permit to go into this.) In the Women's Bureau agreed to undertake the investigation. The findings were exactly as we thought they would be. We knew we were right. Our position is justified!

Miss Smith's Analysis  
In the December Bulletin of the Women's Trade Union League, Miss E. H. Smith, for years Legislative representative of the National Women's Trade

Union League, gives a fine analysis of the Bureau's findings. In part she writes: "According to the advance sheets of this report, the findings of two years' investigation show that labor laws for women have raised industrial standards for millions of women, and likewise for many men. Especially have they shortened the hours and eliminated overtime for women and also for men. They have often directly increased the number of jobs for women."

"Something else determines the division of labor between men and women in industry. Mainly, it is the fact that women can be hired 'cheaper' than men. That is the plain, unvarnished, regrettable and unpalatable truth of the matter. Of course, it is also true that other factors enter into this question of opportunity, sometimes more heavily, but usually less. The woman applicant may not get the job if it is not recognized as a 'woman's job'—one that women have always done, in the textile or sewing trades, for example, or in stores, restaurants, laundries, or kitchens. Or, no matter how capable the woman, or how unprejudiced the employer, she may not be accepted if he thinks customers, or the community will be shocked by her presence in a job; or if he thinks the entrance of women will cause dissatisfaction and hence disturbed morale of the men on his force—for workmen naturally fear the competition of women. But mainly it is the classification of 'women's jobs' that is rooted in the minds of men-employers, employees and the public, too. Employers act accordingly. They also pay accordingly, and great hosts of unorganized women accept that pay."

"These are the things, not laws limiting hours of work or regulating conditions of work, that determine the kinds and numbers of jobs that industry offers to women. 'The question comes, then, on the effect of labor laws which apply to women only, in a world where men and women are on unequal footing because they are unequal in bargaining power.' 'About 3,000,000 women are directly affected by the labor laws for women, some types of which are found on the statute books of every state in the union. An investigation was suggested by the members of the National Woman's Bureau has analyzed these laws, has studied their history and scope, along with the story of women's economic advance. It finds, in general, that the states where women's employment is most highly regulated by law are the states where women have been gaining most rapidly in numbers employed, and have gained proportionally more than men. Correspondingly, it is in the south, where industry is least regulated by laws for women, that men have retained a proportional lead over women. The Bureau had previously found that in the states where hours are least regulated by laws that women's wages are lowest."

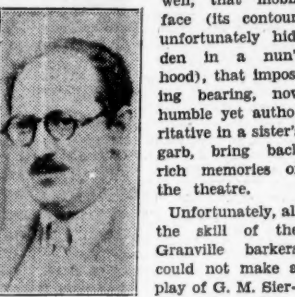
# AMUSEMENTS THEATRES

## The Week On Stage

[ By Joseph T. Shipley ]

### THE QUEEN'S RETURN

With all the glamor of a new theatre in her own name, Ethel Barrymore has come back, the first of her family for several seasons. That voice we know so well, that mobile face (its contours unfortunately hidden in a nun's hood), that imposing bearing, now humble yet authoritative in a sister's garb, bring back rich memories of the theatre.



Joseph T. Shipley

The three successive plays, rather dramatic descriptions of an old man's home, a maternity home, and an orphanage—have vivid moments, but reveal, even in the stellar part, a feeble and antiquated attitude toward life. It is only the sense of goodness that wells from the essential being of Miss Barrymore that makes us believe one can use such methods of organization and discipline as here we watch, and still be loved. Sister Gracia lectures the orphanage boys as though they were solemn adults; they give her a true Horatio Alger response, and go to bed consoled—forgetting, starved though they are, to eat their supper!

### ON YOUR "MUST" LIST

Even in the holiday crowding, I want to take time again to tell you to go and see "A Play Without a Name," at the Booth. A second visit intensified my delight in this rare play, which a mature, intelligent being can enjoy without moving back toward the exaggerated emotions of adolescence or the feeble understanding of childhood. The ending has been made more definite, but without (as I feared) losing its power. The dialogue, and the little phases of understanding between the words, are among the most sensitive contributions to current theatre.

There is much I want to say, but I must content myself with a word of the acting. The work of Peggy Wood at the close of Act I is unforgettable in its poignancy; while she spells "J. u. . . ." the emotion rises (as in a hush the last, pure note of a violin) to so high a pitch as to throb beyond the reach of our senses. It is a moment of great joy welling over, deep disappointment; behind it, we feel that even this joy will be sorely tested. It is a moment of genius. Kenneth McKenna, in every tone and gesture, shows a full understanding and a complete control of the rich personality he represents; I know no more sensitive work than his among the actors of this generation. Most intelligent and sympathetic acting, in brief, intelligent and moving play—so sound, one almost forgets it has its "hot" sex episode.

### NEW CINEMA

A bewildering new moving picture theatre, nearing completion at 52 West Eighth street and is to be opened in January by the Film Arts Guild, to be known as the Film Guild Cinema. In

## Fear Ottinger Will Block Power Inquiry

That the suggested appointment of Albert Ottinger to the Federal Trade Commission is for the purpose of stopping the inquiry into the financial dealings of the power industry was discussed Friday morning by Stephen Raushenbush, author of "Power Control" and secretary of the National Committee on Coal and Power. Speaking before the conference of the League for Industrial Democracy, he said that the Commission had not yet investigated the propaganda work in the schools of many New York State companies, and that Mr. Machold, former president of the Northeastern, who recommended Mr. Ottinger for the post, was naturally eager to have this soft pedaled.

"More important is the investigation of the intercompany transactions of the power industry which is now going on, and which many companies located in New York City would give a lot of money to have stopped. A commissioner as distinctly on record as giving the companies a blank check approval as Mr. Ottinger, could do much to halt, delay and frustrate such an investigation. It is bad enough to have all the propaganda activities of the New York Edison and Consolidated Gas left undiscovered without having the investigation halted which would bring out how regulation is being defeated at every turn."

This theatre, it is promised, among other things: Films can be projected simultaneously on four screens, three of which are black. The whole interior architecture of the house can be transformed

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### THE QUEEN'S RETURN

In a flash—from, say, a Gothic cathedral to a night club, or whatever other setting is appropriate to the picture being shown. The designer of this unique cinema, the first of its kind in the world, as well as Symon Gould, the director of the Film Arts Guild and the founder of the little cinema movement in America, are so confident that it will mark, in a movie theatre architecture, an epoch similar to that introduced by the perfection of sound-synchronizing apparatus, that they have been guarding their secrets closely. Details, however, have been learned from Frederick Kiesler, the architect and stage designer, formerly with the International Theatre Exposition, who is directing the construction of this theatre and is responsible for its many innovations. Mr. Kiesler has created three distinct types of moving picture theatres which he calls the "ray," the "double cone" and the "megaphone."

The one being built here is of the last named type, designed, as its name implies, to solve the problems of sound, and also to increase the scene surface and to permit instantaneous change of the interior of the theatre to suit whatever film is being played. The spectator in this theatre—it will seat 500, all on the same plane sloping down to the stage—will find himself in a hall resembling the inside of an ordinary camera with the bellows extended. He will be facing, as the photographic film does, the camera's shutter. The walls of the theatre are parallel, but he will not see them, for, placed out from each of them, is a black screen that spans the entire hall, running at an angle to meet the stage arch. These two black screens are 55 feet long and 20 feet high. They are joined overhead by another black screen that shuts off the entire ceiling and slopes down to meet the top of the stage arch. It is 55 feet long, 28 feet 6 inches wide at the back, and 37 feet 6 inches wide at the stage arch. The stage itself has a completely new form, which Mr. Kiesler calls the "screenoscope," which is a device providing new openings for the screen, eliminating the proscenium and the usual curtains. Instead, Mr. Kiesler has substituted a "camera-eye" opening and also "diaphragmatic" openings.

The whole, funnel-like theatre, is thus one huge four-sided screen. The picture, Mr. Kiesler says, can be thrown on all four screens at once so that the spectators themselves are suddenly and literally "immersed" in the drama that is being played. In a war film, for instance, this theatre would allow him to see long lines of trucks, as in "The Big Parade," running down the screens at his side and airplanes flying over his head on the ceiling screen while the personal drama was being enacted on the saucer screen on the stage. Another possibility claimed for the new theatre is that, by throwing slides on the three black screens, the architecture of the house can be transformed in the twinkling of an eye into the appropriate setting for the drama that is being concentrated on the white screen. We shall watch with interest the development of these devices.

### GENTLEMEN ALL

"Potphar's Wife," at the new Craig Theatre, in addition to its pure entertainment, which is swift and valid enough to make us wish it had the deftness of Oscar Wilde, instead of the rather flat dialogue of E. C. Middleton, raises an interesting question of gentlemanly tactics.

Potphar's wife, of course, is a sweet young thing whose elderly husband leaves her to seek elsewhere the vibrant responses her young, healthy being craves. One man, who is a "gentleman," one who is a chauffeur. Yet neither acts like a gentleman. The first behaves like a cad; the second, well, if he were intelligent, he would resemble the chauffeur of Bernard Shaw's "Man and Superman"; as it is, he treats the woman as he should through sheer British bull-headedness. When she turns upon the reluctant knight and accuses him of assault, he tells the truth and shames the female, until the case against him is dismissed. Then he proves he is what he is by doing what only an Englishman would do: he returns to Maidham Towers (is there any symbolism in that name?) for his wages; and when the opportunity to deliver a sermon is given him, he takes it instead of his pay.

The friends of Mrs. Potphar (Countess of Aylesbury) as an ardent lot of scandal-mongers as any social level supplies. The seduction scene makes us wonder whether the chauffeur is quite what a man should be, in his coldness in the face of Frances Carson's efforts.

### IN BRIEF

E. J. Ballantine is directing the revival of Eugene O'Neill's "S. S. Glencairn" at the Provincetown Playhouse. He directed the first O'Neill play that was ever produced. It was in 1916 at the Wharf Theatre in Provincetown, Mass., where the present Provincetown Playhouse had its beginning, and the play was "Bound East for Cardiff." This one-act play is now a part of "S. S. Glencairn." E. J. Ballantine is not only directing the present revival, but also playing the part of "Smitty," the part he played in the 1924 production. "S. S. Glencairn" is scheduled for January 1st.

Upton Sinclair's "Singing Jailbirds," which is now being received with enthusiasm by New Playwrights Theatre audiences at the Provincetown Playhouse, will be produced shortly by the Provincetown Theatre in Brussels. Production is planned for January, according to information received from Belgium today.

Motion pictures at last are to employ regularly the services of a psychologist. He is to devote himself to every branch

### CIVIC REPERTORY

THEATRE, 14th St. at 6th Ave.  
Eves. 8:30.  
Dec. 31, 1928. Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30  
WEEK OF DECEMBER 31, 1928  
Mon. Eve.—"The Merry Widow" (The "Merry Widow" Theatre, Director)  
Tues. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Tues. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Wed. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Wed. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Thurs. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Thurs. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Fri. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Fri. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Sat. Mat.—"The Cherry Orchard"  
Sat. Eve.—"The Cherry Orchard"

### "HOLIDAY"

"A joyous revel in which there was much sprightly froth, some vivid characters in a seriously interesting romance, and a cast of players remarkable for the excellence of their acting—Percy Hammond, Herald-Tribune.

ARTHUR HOPKINS presents PHILIP BARRY'S New Comedy with settings by ROBERT EDMOND JONES.

Plymouth

Thurs. 8:45; Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35

### ROXY

World's Largest & Finest Theatre  
Greater Theatre • Under Personal Direction of S. L. ROYCE • 1000 Broadway

### SECOND WEEK

William Fox Presents

"Prep and Pep"

with Fox Movietone Score

Also a Stage Show of Dazzling Beauties

Entire Roxy Ensemble—350 Renowned Artists

Roxy Symphony Orchestra

8 De Luxe Performances

Saturday and Sunday

of the business, from the purchase of stories to the solving of sales problems. Dr. William M. Marston, psychologist and lecturer in psychology at Columbia University and New York University, has just been placed under contract by Carl Laemmle, president of Universal Pictures Corporation. Dr. Marston's title will be the Director of the Public Service Bureau, creating an entirely new department for the purpose of applying psychology to every branch of the activities of Universal Pictures Corporation.

Shirley Warde and John Marsden will replace Kay Stroom and Clark Cable when "House Ungrated," the Hollister-Lonerger play which Bernard Steele is producing, reaches New York during the week of Dec. 31. Miss Warde recently closed in "The Lady Lies" and Mr. Marsden played the recalcitrant lover in "Behold the Burgomaster" and opposite Margaret Lawrence in "The Behavior of Mrs. Crane." Prior to that Miss Warde and Mr. Marsden played opposite each other in "The Goose Hangs High."

The Little Carnegie Playhouse is presenting Livia Maracci, young Italian-American concert soprano, with the first American showing of the European photoplay spectacle, "Lucretia Borgia," which had its premiere at a special performance last Friday night. Clad in the costume of the title role, Miss Maracci sings two operatic arias of the period and character of the screen production, the cast of which includes Conrad Veidt, Lina Hald and Paul Wegener.

The De Pacht Symphony Ensemble, now playing with "Little Lilies" at Johnson's Theatre, will give a concert at Carnegie Hall on New Year's Eve, December 31. For that evening they will be replaced in "White Heat" by the De Pacht London Ensemble, which will accompany the Chopin operetta in London early next year.

In addition to the De Pacht Symphony Ensemble, the concert at Carnegie Hall will include Paul Althouse, tenor of the Metropolitan Opera Company; Esther Dale, the noted soprano, who appeared with Maurice Ravel when he conducted several concerts here last season, and other well known singers.

The Messrs. Shubert have added the new Shubert-Jamaica Theatre, 165th street, to their chain of theatres, and it will open on Monday evening, December 31, with the musical comedy, "Just a Minute." The new house, with a seating capacity of 1,839, will book exclusively legitimate attractions.

Blanche Yurka, star of Isen's "The Wild Duck," at the 46th Street Theatre, is completing a book called "Some Women of Isen's." The volume will contain studies of Gina in "The Wild Duck," Rebecca West in "Rosenheim," Ellida in "The Wild Duck," and Hedda in "Hedda Gabler." Miss Yurka has been working on the book for a year.

As soon as he is enough rested from the task of re-staging the Rostand comedy, Walker Hampton will put into rehearsal a play by Jacinto Benavente, the foremost contemporary dramatist of Spain, or Anton Chekov's "Uncle Vanya."

"The Great Cinema Murder," an all-talking mystery story, will be made by Universal. Carl Laemmle, president of the Provincetown Playhouse, is the author of the story. The play is based on a murder occurring on a talking picture set. The author formerly a court and police reporter on the Brooklyn Eagle, has included many incidents in the story recalled from his newspaper days.

John Gray, who plays the role of Joe Pezidi, the deceiver, in "Tin Pan Alley," now at the Republic Theatre, has just completed the draft of a new play of Broadway and show business as yet untitled.

The title of the new play by Walter Ferris and Basil Hathorne in which Brady and Wilman are to present the latter, has been changed from "Render Unto Caesar" to "Judas." Rehearsals are under the direction of Richard Edelsky.

### THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTION

OWING TO THE SLIGHTLY LARGER SEATING CAPACITY OF THE THEATRE GUILD, TICKETS ARE NOW AVAILABLE FOR ALL PERFORMANCES

## Wings Over EUROPE

Martin Beck Theatre  
45TH ST., WEST OF 6TH AVE.  
Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:30 Eves. 8:30

### THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

## MAJOR BARBARA

GUILD THEATRE  
West 52nd Street  
Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

### THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

EUGENE O'NEILL'S

## STRANGE INTERLUDE

JOHN GOLDEN THEATRE  
58th Street, East of Broadway  
Evenings only at 5:30

### Philharmonic - Symphony

WILLIAM MENDELSSOHN, conductor  
Carnegie Hall, This Afternoon, at 3:00  
Special Concert for the American Association for the Advancement of Science and CARNEGIE HALL, JAN. 3, at 8:00  
Soloists: MARGARET KROOK, Contralto, and RICHARD CROOKS, Tenor.  
MAHLER, "Das Lied von den Enden"  
Arthur Judson, Mgr.

## On WEVD

230.6—New York City—1300 K.C.  
230.6—WEVD, New York City—1300 KU  
SUNDAY, Dec. 30

12:30—Program starts.  
2:00—Dorothy Kamowitz, piano.  
3:15—Paul Sifton, "Plays for Parasites."  
3:45—Betty Bright, contralto.  
4:00—Mary, W. Dewson, "Fair Wage Plan."  
4:45—Chas. A. Wagner, poet.  
MONDAY, DEC. 31  
12:30—Program starts.  
12:45—Emily Vetter, soprano.  
1:00—New Leader, clippings.  
1:20—Betty Farr, contralto.  
1:40—S. Pearl Turner, Thinking Thru.  
4:00—Bess Shapiro, soprano.  
4:20—Anton Romatka, Roper Temple Poetry Forum.  
4:40—Caspar Fishback, violin.  
5:00—Gertrude Weil Klein, Rebel Poem.  
5:20—Betty Goldkopf, piano.  
5:40—Pashka Scherer, contralto.

### TUESDAY, JAN. 1

2:00—Dr. W. E. DuBois, "Future of Darker Races."  
2:20—Helen Fagan, piano.  
2:35—Women's Peace Union, "Making War Impossible."  
2:50—Nat Kerson, violin.  
3:05—Charles Smith, "Bigotry in Arkansas."  
3:20—Hannah Janner, soprano.  
3:35—Rabbi Sidney E. Goldstein, "Challenge of 1929."  
3:50—Alice Soloff, composer.  
4:05—Sara Gruen, "Narcotic Menace."  
4:20—Maude A. Tollefson, contralto.  
4:35—Rev. A. Wacker Slaten, "Social Objections for 1929."  
4:50—James E. Phillips, basso.  
5:05—Traverse Clements, "Mooney-Billings New Drive Freedom."  
5:20—"Singing Jail



# SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

## National Headquarters

The National Office of the Socialist Party is located at 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. William H. Henry is National Executive Secretary. Inquiries regarding organization, speakers, organizers, leaflets, books, supplies and Socialist Party publications should be addressed to the National Office. If there is no local organization in your vicinity, you may become a Member at Large by applying for membership to the National Office.

## What of the New Year?

What of the New Year? Will the Socialists of this nation show their colors and get busy building a powerful organization? Judging from the letters coming to the National Headquarters from all sections of the country, we feel confident that the answer to that question will be yes. Every day pledges of monthly donations to the National Office are coming in for the purpose of placing organizers in the field. Start the New Year right and help put the Party where it should be with a large membership and the spirit that wins.

Throughout this country there will be a large number of city elections and already comrades are making plans for a real battle. If we will it, then the Socialist Party of America in 1929 can be made a fighting organization.

**A Good Suggestion**  
O. A. Kenner, secretary of the Rocky Mountain District, makes a good suggestion—it is not a new one, but it is well to remind our comrades again. The idea is for each local and branch to have a live literature agent; that he or she is to get the literature from the National Office and see to it that it is put into the hands of people who are interested. Comrades who are making the fight alone constitute themselves as such literature agents and cooperate with the National Office. Let us hear from a thousand comrades within the next week!

## Illinois

**Chicago**  
The Socialists of Chicago are rounding up their forces for the Aldermanic campaign next spring. Dan W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, is giving valuable assistance in getting the campaign properly started. He is to hold a conference with the local comrades at National Headquarters on Saturday, Jan. 5, at 3 p.m. Active comrades, friends of the Socialist movement, trade unionists, have been invited. That evening at 8:30 a dinner is to be given in honor of Comrade Hoan at Kopp's Restaurant, corner Division and Madison streets, where a further discussion of the coming campaign and party activities will be held.

## Kirkpatrick-Douglas Debate

The debate arranged between George R. Kirkpatrick and Prof. Paul H. Douglas has been postponed until Sunday evening, Jan. 27. It will be held at the corner Marshallfield and Van Buren streets. The subject is "The Class Struggle." For further information on this debate, readers in the vicinity of Chicago should get in touch with the Cook County Office. Telephone: Haymarket 2016.

## West Virginia

Read this: "We had an enthusiastic meeting of the State Executive Committee last Sunday. All agreed that the time was ripe for building the Party in West Virginia. Each member pledged to help the movement by contributions, distribution of literature and by taking subscriptions for The New Leader, and that they will start at once. The right spirit prevailed at this meeting and from now on we shall gain and hold ground. Money was donated to the State office to help on the deficit. The State books were audited and many important business transactions. All agreed that the voters in West Virginia who supported our ticket can be induced to come into the Party if we have a good campaign. I am able after Jan. 1 to tour the State in the plan of organization and hustling with The New Leader. I am going to give it a whirl!"

—John F. Higgins, State Secretary.

## Wisconsin

**Milwaukee**  
State Secretary Benson orders a large number of dues stamps and reports that the big vaudeville shows presented by Party members on three Sundays in succession were very successful. The Milwaukee comrades are arranging Christmas parties which are to be given by some of the branch organizations and a big party by the entire membership is to be given on Dec. 30. Social affairs are a necessary part of life in the Socialist Party, and our comrades should keep this in mind. With proper management they will not only make money with which to carry on Party work, but will at the same time provide entertainment for the next twelve months.

## Oklahoma

Here is the right spirit in a letter from Oklahoma, one of many such letters coming to the National Office. Comrade Edwards says: "Your letter received and contents read with much pleasure. In fact it contains the call to action which thousands of local rebels in the cause have been waiting for. If ten thousand Socialists would pledge and pay a dollar each month for the next twelve months that would mean a good sum for organization work for 1929. If each who claims to be a social rebel will do his or her share in a financial way toward building up a militant Socialist Party, we can make the plunders of the people quakes in their boots at the next election. Yes, gladly I pledge one dollar per month for the next twelve months."

## Massachusetts

Ethier Friedman will be available for lecture dates for a week beginning Jan. 13. The Workmen's Circle at Lowell has already arranged for a meeting, the Maynard Local of the Party, and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Workmen's Circle at Worcester have all taken dates as well as the Dorchester Forum. For subjects are: "The Challenge of Waste"; "This Compromising Marriage"; "Labor in Politics"; and "The Kellogg Peace Pact and Preparedness."

Joseph M. Coldwell, an old timer and one of Debs' prison mates, will be available for lecture dates on "Industrial Feudalism." Terms are \$5 (or \$10 on Sundays) and round trip fare to Providence.

Congressman Berger's speeches can still be used without postage. They are excellent propaganda, especially the ones on Unemployment Insurance, Old Age Pensions, the Income Tax and Imperialism. They cost only \$4 per 1,000. Readers who can send them out, even if they can't pay for them, are asked to write at once to the state office, 21 Essex street, Boston.

## Connecticut

**AD BRINGS RESULTS**  
Advertising in The New Leader brings results. The Connecticut Socialist Party advertised "The Commonwealth Call" for each local and branch for two weeks and we have received orders from two states in the union, also a number from Canada. In most every case they mention seeing the ad in The New Leader. We still have a number on hand. Send in your order with 12 cents to W. E. Davis, Room 82, Foll Building, 23 Church St., New Haven, Conn.

## Executive Committee to Meet

The State Executive Committee will hold its last meeting of the year at the office of Morris Rice, Foll Building, 23 Church St., Sunday, Dec. 31, at a p.m. All members are urged to be present. The meeting will be made at this meeting. The Executive Committee will also make a report.

## New Haven

A general meeting of Socialists and sympathizers will be held at the Workmen's Circle Educational Center, 73 Lehigh Ave., Wednesday evening, January 2.

## Bridgeport

Don't forget the twenty-sixth annual banquet of the Socialist Party at the 12th District Socials Club, 291 Bunnell St., Saturday evening, Dec. 29, 8 p.m.

## Idaho

**To Idaho Socialists**  
Chairman Felton and State Secretary Cannon have sent a three-page letter to Socialists and sympathizers in the state which reviews the work done by the Idaho organization in the recent campaign. The letter is well written, backed by eleven locals and while the Socialist vote is not large such votes are cast in every county. For dues paying member in the state there were between 25 and 30 votes cast. The local secretaries are urged to get a copy of the letter and use it in their local list of names as a working basis for party organization. The former Progressive Party was sold by its leaders and the Socialist Party has a decided and contest is being made to liquidate same. The Sunday morning forum held in conjunction with the Workers' Circle Branch is successful and arrangements are being made in progress for holding a ball on February 23 at the Colonial Mansion. The membership is busy and plans for a journal and selling tickets for the affair.

## New Jersey

### One Big Union

During Christmas week party news is somewhat scarce, but there is one item of interest. This is a campaign announcement concerning an old campaigner reading: "Mrs. Amalia Hacker announces the marriage of her daughter, Olga, to George H. Goebel on Saturday, the 22nd of December, 1928, New York City." Here's to George and his new wife! May Olga be as helpful and loyal a comrade wife to our good friend, George, as was Margaret, whose death a few years ago caused such general mourning among the many who have learned to respect and love both George and Margaret during their many years of cheerful self-sacrifice for the new day. They are honeymooning in Florida, staying at the Everglades Hotel, Miami.

Branch meetings go on as usual, which, of course, is not quite as it should be. Since they should improve in many respects, to accomplish the work necessary to be done at this special time, and of course, this applies not only to New Jersey.

## New York City

**Central Committee**  
The monthly meeting of the City Central Committee will be held on Wednesday evening, Jan. 3, in Room 402, Peoples House, 7 East 15th St. Branches throughout the city have elected or are electing new delegates and this will be the first meeting for 1929. The principal item of business will be the nomination of permanent officers, including the new City Executive Committee.

## Referendum

The results of the balloting on the National Referendum, A, 1928, have been announced. The voting was not as heavy as it should have been but this was largely

due to the tardiness of the part of some of the Western locals in submitting a referendum with a hundred and one sections. Needless to say, the balloting was extremely laborious. The total number of ballots turned in to the City Office was 476. The vote in favor of the many articles varied between 464 and 417.

## Christmas Eve Dance

The social held last Tuesday night, Dec. 24, under the auspices of Local New York City, was highly successful. A big crowd was present and spent an enjoyable evening. The dances by Madam Dorsha were much appreciated and the Santa Claus Bazaar disposed of every gift. Special mention should be made of a number of comrades who worked hard for the affair. Particular mention must be made of Louis P. Goldberg and Eleanor Levenson. Both worked like Trojans and their help was invaluable. The Women's Committee, including Adele Zamenkin, Mrs. Joseph Tuvim, Hilda Claessens, assisted by Rebecca Turner, Arthur Passberg and his lady friend, and a number of Y. P. S. L. members, deserve credit for their work. At the door the committee that handled the work so efficiently included: Rebekah Peck, Beckerman, Ben Kaufman and Rosalind Goldstein. There were many more comrades too numerous to mention who contributed to the success of the affair.

## QUEENS

Friday, Dec. 28, 8:30 p.m.—August Claessens, "These United States." Workmen's Circle Center, 186th Beach 86th St., Rockaway Beach. Auspices, Socialist Party, Rockaway Branch.

Wednesday, Jan. 2, 8:30 p.m.—James O'Neal, "The Crisis in the American Labor Movement." Kingsway Mansion, 16th St. and Avenue P. Auspices Kings Highway Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 4, 8:30 p.m.—August Claessens, "The Socialism of George Bernard Shaw—The Author, His Work, His Main Thesis—The Equality of Income." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman St., Auspices Labor Lyceum and Socialist Party, 234 A. D.

## NEW YEAR'S RESOLUTIONS

### The Socialist's Ten Cardinal Points

1. If I am in sympathy with Socialist principles I will affiliate with the nearest branch of the Socialist Party or become a member-at-large.
2. If I am a party member, I will endeavor to be present promptly at all party meetings and functions.
3. I will try to do my share in meeting the party obligations and will pay my dues as far in advance as possible and thus relieve myself of all worries as to my standing as a member and incidentally lighten the burdens of the financial officers of the party.
4. I will render 100 per cent co-operation as far as lies in my power when committee work is to be done and party undertakings are to be promoted.
5. I will get a supply of application cards from the organizer and keep them available at all times so that I can sign up sympathizers to join the party.
6. I will subscribe and get new subscribers to the party press so that I will be fully informed regarding the movement here and abroad.
7. I will attend general party meetings in order to be conversant with the problems confronting the organization.
8. I will patronize Socialists and Socialist advertisers wherever possible.
9. I will join as active in my union if my occupation is organized. I will assist labor in its struggles to the extent of my ability, employ union labor whenever available and buy union labor products wherever possible.
10. I will try to do something each day to advance the cause of Socialism or to count that day lost.

Whose law, descending sun, Social light accomplished Of all that might be done, EDWARD PERKINS CLARKE

## Public Forums

### BROOKLYN FREE FELLOWSHIP

"Fellowship's Challenge to the World" will be the subject of Dr. Leon Rosser's lecture in the Brooklyn Free Fellowship, meeting at 42nd Avenue Temple, 1591 Boston Road, at 8 p.m. Fellowship service on Sunday night, Dec. 30. At the 9 o'clock Open Forum, Professor Theodore Goodman will speak on "Finding Ourselves in the Modern World."

## The Brownsville Labor Lyceum

219 SACKMAN STREET, BROOKLYN  
Large and Small Meeting Rooms  
Facilities for Balls and Banquets  
MAX ROSEN, Manager Dickens 3237

## BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 174, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A. Officers and Headquarters:  
Labor Temple, 243 E. 34th St., Room 12  
Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 A. M.  
Employment Bureau open every day at 8 P. M.

## Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. C. W. U.

100 East 23rd St., Madison Square 1931  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
D. GINGOLD, Manager MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

## Embroidery Workers' Union

UNION, Local 6, I. L. C. W. U.  
Exec. Board meets every 2nd and 4th Tuesday, at the Office, 10 E. 101st St., Melrose 2699  
CARL GRABHER, President. M. WEISS, Secretary-Manager.

## HERREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 115 E. Broadway Orchard 7766  
Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday  
L. KOEN, President. J. BELSKY, Secretary.

## WORKERS!

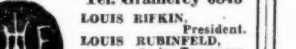
Eat Only in Restaurants That Employ Union Workers

## WAITERS' & WAITRESSES' UNION

For This LABEL  
162 E. 23rd Street Tel. Gramercy 0843  
LOUIS RIFKIN, President. LOUIS RUBINFELD, Sec'y-Treasurer.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8 P. M., 210 East 5th St.

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# UNION DIRECTORY

## THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the Legal Rights of the Union and Their Members.  
J. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 222 Broadway, Rooms 2700-10, New York.  
Board of Directors meet at the Labor Temple, 243 East 34th Street, New York City, on the last Saturday of each month at 8:00 P. M.

## UNITED Neckwear Cutters' Union, Local 369, A. F. of L.

7 East 15th Street Algonquin 7078  
Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 102 East 23rd Street  
Fred Passabend, N. Ulman, President. J. Rosenweig, Vice-Pres. Wm. E. Chisling, Business Agent

## PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Office: 31 W. 10th St., Orchard 1357  
Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office.  
All locals meet every Wednesday  
MORRIS BLUMENFELD, Manager  
HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

## Pressers' Union

Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at 11-27 Arden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
MORRIS GOLDIN, Chairman  
JACOB ENGELMAN, W. BLACK, Rec. Sec'y.

## Joint Executive Committee OF THE VEST MAKERS' UNION

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
PETER MONAT, Manager  
Office: 175 East Broadway  
Phone: Orchard 6235  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 1016, A. F. of L.  
7 East 15th St. Phone: Algonquin 7082  
Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock, in the office  
EDWIN FELDHEIM, President  
LOUIS GOTTMAN, Sec'y-Treas.  
LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

## Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 66, I. L. C. W. U.

7 East 15th Street Tel. Algonquin 4379  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union  
L. F. FREEDMAN, President  
LEON HATZEL, NATHAN REINSEL, Secretary-Treas.

## WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. C. W. U.  
3 West 16th Street, New York City  
TELEPHONE CHelsea 7-58-5727  
A. SNYDER, Manager

## Hebrew Actor's Union, N.Y.

Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.  
Phone Orchard 1923  
REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

## German Painters' Union

17-17 49th, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS  
Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 34th St.  
Following is a brief summary of the Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays  
I. LEFKOWITZ, President  
ALVIN BOETTNER, Secretary

## United Hebrew Trades

115 EAST BROADWAY  
Telephone Drydock 5618  
Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M.  
Executive Board same day, 9:30 P. M.  
M. TIGEL, Chairman  
M. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman  
M. FEINSTEIN, Secretary-Treasurer

## FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, Int'l Fur Workers' Union  
Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn. Phone: 348-798  
Reg. Meetings, 1st and 3rd Mondays  
M. REISS, President.  
JOSEPH KARASS, Vice-President.  
SAMUEL MINDEL, Rec. Sec'y.  
ALBERT HILL, Fin. Sec'y.  
HYMAN KOLMIKOFF, Bus. Agent.

## N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL CAP MAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Office: 135 SECOND AVE.  
Phone Orchard 9600-1-2  
The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday  
S. HERSHKOWITZ, Sec'y-Treas.  
OPERATORS, LOCAL 1  
Regular Meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday  
Executive Board meets every Monday  
All Meetings are held at 133 SECOND AVENUE, New York City

## See that Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 554, I. U. of M.  
Office: 206 W. 14th St., City.  
Local 564 meets on 2nd Thursday of the month at 210 East 5th Street.  
Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 210 East 5th Street.  
CHAS. HOFER, Pres. & Business Agent.  
MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## LABOR LYCEUM

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Workmen's Educational Association  
Free Library open from 1 to 10 P. M.  
Halls for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone RKOent 10528

## The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

3 West 16th Street, New York City  
Telephone CHelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

## The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union

LOCAL NO. 10 I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 281 East 14th Street  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING AT 195 East 160th Street  
OFFICE: 381 EAST 101ST STREET, Telephone MEtrose 5614  
FRED E. JOHNSON, President  
HARRY P. ELBERT, Fin. Sec'y

## Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

11-15 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. AMALGAMATED BANK BLDG. 3rd FLOOR  
Telephone: Algonquin 6900-1-2-3-1-3  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

## NEW YORK JOINT BOARD

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
31 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y.  
ABRAHAM BECKERMAN, Gen. Mgr. ABRAHAM MILLER, Sec'y-Treas.

## INTERNATIONAL Pocketbook Workers' Union

Affiliated with The American Federation of Labor  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
53 WEST 21ST STREET, N. Y. Phone Gramercy 1023  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, CHAIM GOLDMAN, A. L. SHULOFF, Chairman Secretary-Treasurer Manager

## Millinery Workers' Union, Local 24

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union  
Downtown Office: 640 Broadway Phone Spring 4548  
Uptown Office: 30 West 37th Street Phone Wisconsin 1270  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M.  
HYMAN LEDEBERG, J. MALINICH, NATHANIEL SPECTOR, ALEX ROSE, Chairman Ex. Bd. Rec. Sec'y. Manager Secretary-Treas.

## INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS' UNION

OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 0065  
PHILIP A. SILBERSTEIN, General Pres. HARRY BEGOON, General Sec'y-Treas.

## New York Clothing Cutters' Union

Office: 44 East 12th Street  
Stuyvesant 5566  
Regular meetings every Friday at 210 East 51st Street  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office  
PHILIP ORLOFSKY, Manager I. MACHLIN, Sec'y-Treas.

## AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS

OF AMERICA, NEW YORK LOCAL NO. 1  
Office: AMALITHONE BLDG., 285 WEST 11TH ST. Phone Watkins 7704  
Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday at ARLINGTON HALL, 19 ST. MARK'S PLACE  
ALBERT E. CASTRO, President  
A. J. Kennedy, Frank J. Flynn, Vice-Pres. Fin. Sec'y. Rec. Sec'y. Treas.

## N. Y. TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION No. 6

Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.  
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHELDY'S HALL, 87 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN  
LEON H. ROUSE, President  
John Sullivan, Vice-President  
Jan. J. McGowan, Secretary-Treas.  
Theodore F. Douglas, Organizer

## N.Y. Joint Board, Shirt & Boys' Waist Makers' Union

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
Headquarters: 621 Broadway (Room 523) Phone Spring 2228-2230  
G. GOOZE, Manager  
Joint Board meets every Second and Fourth Monday.  
Board of Directors meet every First and Third Monday.  
Local 243—Executive Board meets every Tuesday.  
Local 246—Executive Board meets every Thursday.  
These meetings are held in the Office of the Union

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9  
Office & Headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 409 Willoughby Ave., Phone STAG 4621  
Office open daily except Mondays from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.  
Regular meetings every Tuesday evening at the Office.  
CHARLES PFLAUM, Fin. Sec'y. WILLIAM WEINSTEIN, President  
FRANK P. LUTZ, Treasurer. CHARLES WISER, Vice-President  
ANDREW STREET, Bus. Agent SAMUEL POTTER, Rec. Sec'y.

## Furrier's Joint Council of N. Y.

Local 101, 103, 110 and 113 of THE INTERNATIONAL FUR WORKERS UNION OF U. S. & C.  
28 W. 21st Street  
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00 p. m. EDWARD V. McGRADY, Manager

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS and JOINERS

OF AMERICA—LOCAL 2163  
Day room and office, 160 East 65th Street, New York. Phone: LEgh 3481  
Regular meetings every Friday at 8 P. M.  
ALEX. FORBES, Pres. GEO. KORNLAND, Vice-Pres. James McCONNELL, Rec. Sec'y.  
THOMAS SHERMAN, Fin. Sec'y. CHAS. BARR, Treasurer. WILLIAM FIFE, Bus. Agent

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 104th Street Telephone: LEgh 3481  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at 210 East 104th Street  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street  
TRADORE SILVERMAN, NATHAN ZUGHAFT, Financial Secretary-Treas. Recording Secretary.

## Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, N. Y. C.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 160 East 65th Street  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5416. Clarence M. Barnes, Secretary

## Organization Education Solidarity

### FREE FOR THE YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN EDITOR

## Published Every Week By The New Leader for the Young Peoples Socialist League

### Circle 1

A meeting of the new Circle Four Seniors of Bensonhurst was held last Friday evening, Dec. 21, to sign up for the charter. Fully twenty young comrades signed up for membership. The following were they held: Alice Cohen-Aitman is



# NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.  
Editor: James Oneal  
Assistant Editor: Edw. Levinson

## Contributing Editors:

Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, Abraham Cahan, Algonen Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hoggan, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAllister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Cameron H. King.



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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party, supports the program of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand, it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. 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 29, 1928

## Mr. Coolidge, Santa Claus

WHILE celebrating the Christmas season President Coolidge played Santa Claus to the shipping interests by placing a large plump on their Christmas tree. The Ward Steamship Line with six ships in the Havana service is meeting competition with British lines, whereupon the Shipping Boards transfers the President Roosevelt to the Ward Line. What a nice Christmas present for the Coolidge Administration to make to private enterprise! The Ward Line must appreciate the Coolidge sentiment of that "charmed circle of diminishing expenditures, diminishing tax rates, and increasing profits."

Farmers may go to ruin, but Mr. Coolidge tells them not to look to the government as a Santa Claus. Thousands of miners and their families may freeze, but they do not come within the Coolidge "charmed circle." Government aid is not for the toilers of the nation. It is for the owners of industry. Do the pig iron magnates of Pittsburgh want a higher tariff rate? Coolidge jacks it up. Do the shipping interests want a ship? Here, take the finest one the government has.

There is really nothing unusual in this exhibit of paternal care for the propertied classes by the government. The only thing surprising about it is that the politicians and editors who stand for it also insist that it is alien to American policy. They accept it as applied to Big Business and reject it as applied to workers; bless it in one instance and curse it in the other. It is a two-faced policy that runs through all our history. It is paternalism which land speculators, slave traders and commercial men enjoyed in the early days of the Republic. Then it was the turn of factory owners and manufacturers. Then for a banking class ere the guns of the Civil War were silenced. Now it is the super-power class and the shippers, and the pig iron masters, the steel magnates and a variety of special property interests.

Federal administration and much of state administration have always been paternalistic to the upper range of property owners and the toilers of the nation have been without that paternal consideration. When we puncture the myth of "individualism" we will use government agencies for human welfare and not for the enrichment of those already enriched by the fostering care of government power.

## Did Wilson Lie?

PUBLICATION by the State Department of certain official correspondence in the year 1915 lets a few secrets out of the bag. One of the most valuable documents is a cable to Secretary Bryan of May 8 from Ambassador Page in London, who reports confidential information he had received from the political editor of the London Times regarding the secret bargain made by England, France and Russia with Italy to bring the latter into the war. The consideration was Italian annexation of Austrian territory, including many Serbs. Of course the bargain was unknown to Serbia.

Woodrow Wilson always insisted that he knew nothing of the secret bargains of the Allies till he arrived in Paris but here is evidence that his Ambassador to England reported one of the bargains to his Secretary of State in 1915, the year in which the bargain was made! Are we required to still believe that Wilson was ignorant of these secret treaties?

The more we learn of the inner history of the "war for democracy," the more we are convinced that it was a crime against humanity.

## The Miners' Humiliation

THE contract offered by the Central Pennsylvania miners to the operators is a disheartening item in the general trade union stagnation of this period. With the union membership reduced from 55,000 during the war period to less than one-fourth of that number it is evident that the proposal is an unwilling admission of the weakness that has come to a once powerful organization.

The terms of the contract include a wage reduction of from 15 to 25 per cent of the Jacksonville scale and practically signs away the right to strike by making the decisions of arbitrators final. The right to hire and fire is also conceded as an exclusive function of the operators which makes it possible for the employers to weed out the best fighters for the union, leaving the submissive type alone to carry on the work of ionization.

This proposal would never have been possible in the days when the miners were inspired by Social-

ist sentiment. That period before the war was one of continued growth and expansion and of the most inspiring battles that have ever been waged in American labor struggles. The miners engaged in their work with a religious fervor. It was the high tide of unionism in the industry.

The after-war period is also the period of the rise of conservatism in the councils of the union, decline in membership, weakness, and humiliating concessions to the operators. This has also happened in a number of other unions. Socialist sentiment has been the soul of expanding unionism and without it spiritual and physical decline is inevitable.

## The Battle of the Monsters

A WRITER in a recent issue of *Sales Management & Advertisers' Weekly* considers a phase of recent economic development that has been largely ignored. Just as thirty years ago trust organizations were gathering in the "independents" so today there is a battle between the powerful giants and the lesser monarchs for mastery. This important struggle reminds the writer of the "monsters of prehistoric times" who "had a way of exterminating each other."

The author bases his article on a study of the income tax returns since 1918, dividing the corporations into three classes, class A, class B, and class C. Those in class A are the greater corporations, the B class is of next importance and the C class ranks last. The presentation and analysis of the data are too detailed for consideration here but what the writer shows may be surmised by his leading statement:

"When a handful of corporations," he writes, "scarcely more than might find executive quarters in a single office building today, reach such proportions that more than a third of the net income of every corporation in the country pours into their coffers, it is time to take stock of industrial integration and consider what has happened since the Supreme Court loosed Big Business from the tether of mere size and conferred upon it the benefits of the rule of reason."

What this means is that concentration of capital and power in the hands of a few of the giants is proceeding apace. Corporations in the third class must eventually go the wall. Those in B class are better able to fight, but in the long run the great monsters will swallow most of them, leaving a few stragglers to survive as fossils of a previous age.

The article throws further light on Coolidge "prosperity." It is a war of industrial dynasties with the weaker principalities certain to be absorbed by the powerful overlords. We do not weep for the lesser corporations or rejoice with the big ones. However, when the battle of the monsters is over it will be easier to persuade the masses of the reasonableness of another change, that of transfer of power and property from a handful of men to the nation as a whole.

## Judgment

Liberal in 1912: "Just one more trial, please. I just cannot resist voting for Roosevelt."

Liberal in 1916: "Just one more trial, please, I just cannot resist voting for Wilson. He'll keep us out of war."

Liberal in 1920: "Just one more trial, please. Cox favors the League of Nations."

Liberal in 1928: "Just one more trial, please. Al Smith simply must not be deserted."

Liberal after death: "Just one more trial, please. We need a Messiah to reform hell."

Judgment: "No more trials. A hot cinder for you till you wake up."

A writer in the *New York Times* wants to know if we can spare one warship for the fight against cancer. Well, war itself is a cancer of civilization.

A research chemist announces a new gas so terrible that whole armies can be snuffed out like a candle. Wish that atrocity on Socialism if you can.

Discussing a device to drive away troublesome squirrels by giving them an electric shock, a writer says that "squirrels must straddle." Now we know how to classify the professional politicians.

We think that the "hundred neediest cases" should be enlarged to include a few million people whose chief need is knowledge of how to vote for themselves.

One charge which the Socialist movement has never had to answer is that Socialism would create millionaires and mendicants.

The war to end war promises to end in war before the next ten years.

Just to keep the record straight we wish to remind you that the large cities reporting graft and official relations with criminals are not controlled by Socialists.

Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. seems to think that the way to meet the problem of unemployment, restore the shattered miners' union, remove the injunction menace, and organize the millions of the unorganized is to fight recognition of Russia.

If the working people of this country were able to cash into dollars every promise made by capitalist politicians in the past twenty-five years we would all be millionaires.

Because of the Socialist vote the *New York World* thinks the Socialist Party is done for. Well, in 1840 the opponents of slavery extension polled only a little over 7,000 votes but twenty years later Lincoln was elected President. We have been killed too often to believe that the day of our funeral has arrived.

Will the politicians at Washington, who for eight years have been promising to relieve the farmer, please note that he has nothing left of which he can be relieved?

Will some bright farmer and at least one clever wage worker please step forward and tell us what they won on election day? Bankers and trust magnates are barred as they know the answer.

## From the NEW LEADER MAILBAG

JOHN L. LEWIS

Editor, The New Leader:

John L. Lewis, present president of the U. M. A. will be in office for the next two years because he had no opposition.

The Socialist Party has not placed an opponent against him. Perhaps it has tried but failed. It was the duty of the Socialist Party to see that a candidate capable of holding office ran against John L. Lewis. The greatest labor organization in the United States at one time, now at a critical period in its history, faces ruin. This could be averted if a candidate was put into the field.

The only hopes I see, even though they are dismal, is in the National Miners Union.

The New Leader in its editorial section some time before the election was satisfied with the position the A. F. of L. took in the election. The A. F. of L. was neutral and the editorial stated that it was a good thing because they saw that both parties (major) never helped labor. Yes, if the A. F. of L. saw evil in both sides why did it not come out openly for the Socialist Party, for the party that had for vice-president James H. Maurer, a man who for more than sixteen years was a member of the A. F. of L.? Not only that, but he was president of the A. F. of L. in Pennsylvania.

I hope that you may answer this letter in the columns of the New Leader.

LEO SITKO.

Atlas, Pa.

The above letter offers a good opportunity to again state the position of the Socialist Party on the trade unions. The Socialist Party did not nominate a candidate against Lewis and it did not try to. The Socialist Party cannot save any trade union and no trade union can save the Socialist Party. Each must save itself through intelligent action and education by its own means.

But this does not mean that the Socialist who is also a member of a trade union should not be active in his union, helping to save it from disintegration and helping it to choose devoted officials. On the contrary, he should prove by his devotion to the union and his agitation for more progressive policies that the Socialist is a better union man than any other.

There was a time when the United Mine Workers were thoroughly permeated with Socialist ideas and that was also the period of its greatest power. Many officials were members of the Socialist Party. Was this accomplished by the Socialist Party directing and ordering its members who were also members of the union? Not at all. The Machinists and a number of other organizations were also powerful and growing and for the same reasons. Individual Socialists carried on splendid educational work on their own initiative and followed it up with devoted service to the organization in every case in which it engaged.

The unions were not injured. They were immensely helped and by the year 1912 the highest tide of Labor and Socialist idealism was reached in the trade unions.

Contrast this with the S. L. F. which started more than thirty years ago to organize and direct its members in the unions and then went on to organize opposition unions. It miserably failed and brought with it hates that continued for many years.

The I. W. W. began with outside assaults and its fate is known. Then came the Communists who organized and directed little cliques within the unions, doing the very thing our correspondent supports. What is the result? John L. Lewis was never stronger entrenched in his organization. Our correspondent proposes to link up with a group that is largely influenced by Communists and thus will repeat an old tragedy.

Our correspondent is mistaken when he declares that The New Leader before the election approved the A. F. of L. non-partisan political policy. Time after time we criticized that policy not only in editorials but in special articles. He is unable to cite a single issue in justification of his mistaken impression.—Editor, The New Leader.

Editor, New Leader:

"Sure, progress is a wonderful thing," remarked an acquaintance at lunch, the other day. He had just been told that workers produce over a hundred times as much as they did forty years ago. "Why is it," he was asked, "that farmers burn food for fuel because they have no money for coal?" "Some of them are poor managers," he replied. "Sure. Some of them wear B. V. D.'s all winter to save the prices of heaves."

Well, my new acquaintance was a young business man, so we took up the subject of the figures relative to labor—displacing machinery, the increase in the number of small storekeepers, the increased "earnings" of the mail order, department and chain stores. He agreed that there are too many stores and that the great inventions are of little or any social benefit. "Why doesn't someone do something about it?" he asked. "The newspapers might help." Patiently I told him that at various times I had sought to enlist the support of the press. At such times I was told, "This paper is not the least bit radical." Then I learned that the paper was mortgaged to the local bank, the latter was mortgaged to Wall Street and of course even if I had remained a dumb Republican, I would not have believed that the "Street" is radical. And more along this line.

Yes, this little business man admitted that he thought the Socialist wanted to "divide up." Many newspaper readers still think that, he was informed. He reflected for a time and then remarked, "By golly, the press is rotten, isn't it?" "That's the first wise remark I've heard you make today," said I. "By the bye, let me take your subscription to a paper that isn't rotten. The New Leader."

"Well, you see,—well, you see my folks are not Socialists." "Neither are mine," said I, as I left him at the door.

H. E. Beatty, Scranton, Pa.

## NOW IT CAN BE DONE

THE NEW LEADER is in receipt of a check for one hundred dollars for subscription cards ordered by State Secy. Sarah Limbach of Pennsylvania. These cards will be used by Organizer Tim Murphy who is starting work in the Pittsburgh district. Comrade Weisberg of The Jewish Daily Forward will cooperate in getting Socialists and other intelligent citizens to sign on the dotted line. Wagers are being made that the \$100 worth of sub cards will be disposed of quicker than the \$25 worth that Tim ordered a couple of weeks ago.

Were we given to moralizing, we would say, Go thou and do likewise: Pennsylvania as far as prospects for our paper are concerned, is no different than other states but with the work being done there by Comrade Murphy, the subs are going to roll in for a long time to come. No, we will not moralize, but THE NEW LEADER expects many others to follow his example.

## TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

### A TREATY FULL OF HOLES

IT is difficult to get up any very great amount of Christmas enthusiasm for the Kellogg Pact outlawing war. He will be a very stupid statesman, indeed, who cannot find some excuse under its various qualifications and interpretations to justify almost any war. On the other hand he will be a very stupid advocate of peace, indeed, who cannot use the treaty as a psychological point of vantage in fighting war. Hence the ratification of the treaty is desirable without encumbering it with further reservations obviously designed to stifle it.

The only reservation for which there seems to be any need or excuse is a declaration that the United States does not accept in advance any obligation to go to war with a nation which may be presumed to have broken the treaty. Even such a reservation as this is not necessary on the face of the treaty and ought not to be pressed if it will cause trouble. Its importance lies in the fact that already opinion in Europe in certain quarters has jumped to the conclusion that the Kellogg Pact indirectly commits us to an obligation to enforce peace which we have not accepted directly.

Perhaps the weightiest argument for the ratification of the treaty is that the failure of our Senate to approve it will vastly increase European suspicion and distrust of America. Any future administration will be impotent to take any initiative for world peace for fear of the Senate.

TO MAKE PEACE REAL

Since it is almost certain that the Kellogg Pact will be ratified sooner or later, our job is not to work for the treaty or exhaust ourselves cheering when the treaty is ratified. Our job is to try to make the treaty mean something.

The first instalment on that job is not to make fools of ourselves by accompanying the ratification of a treaty to outlaw war with a big navy bill which will be an invitation to a new naval race.

The other day in Philadelphia I discussed this navy bill with one of our militant Rear Admirals, retired but not tired—this time a very benevolent friendly gentleman who utterly refused to be specific about why we needed the new cruisers. He gave us the usual mechanics of parity which gets us nowhere. But in spite of his caution the cat is out of the bag. The argument for a big United States navy is not to protect our own shores but to protect our commerce against Great Britain. The danger to our commerce is not merely a direct war against England. England has heretofore never permitted another nation with which she is at war to trade with a neutral if she could help it. And she usually could. Now no talk of parity will meet this case, yet it is idle to talk disarmament and ignore it. The logical thing to do is to work out some agreement on freedom of the seas. (Great Britain has usually acted as if that last word "seas" were spelled "zele.") Professor Howland of Yale has recently suggested that the United States might very well refrain from claiming a right to trade with a nation which has broken the spirit of the Kellogg Pact as well as of the League of Nations by going to war without submitting its dispute to some process of peaceful adjustment. Great Britain in turn might well renounce the right to interfere with commerce, save by a legitimate blockade. In the case of "private wars" of her own in contradistinction to "public wars" approved by the League of Nations against an aggressor nation.

Here is at least a basis for discussion. Certainly the Labor government we all hope for in the near future will be easier to talk to than the Tory imperialists now in office in Britain. Yet even these gentlemen show they desire no naval race with America. Where there is a will to peace there is a way. No navy is big enough to prevent war or to insure victory in war. The recent announcement of a new poison gas more deadly than any known before emphasizes the fact that unless we can prevent war nothing else will matter very much. The prevention of war is a many sided task. Some progress is made by the Kellogg Pact. Some confidence has been gained by the success of Pan-American efforts to avert war between Bolivia and Paraguay. Some hope there is in American public opinion which has already drastically reduced the original preposterous 71 ship bill of the Navy Department. But there is an immense deal yet to be done and it will take Socialism, applied not only nationally but internationally to do it.

### THE UNITED HEBREW TRADES

Forty years of history for the United Hebrew Trades, the completion of which was just celebrated, have been rich in human heroism and human achievement. Much has been accomplished. More remains to be done for the emancipation of the workers. Is it not regrettable that out of all this history of human striving, of hopes and fears, of victories and defeats, the New York papers dwell on the fact that President Green of the A. F. of L. and Matthew Woll of the National Civic Federation congratulated the United Hebrew Trades on their war against Communism? To struggle against Communism in the form it has been presented to American labor has unfortunately been a necessary task for our unions. It is not the struggle against Communism which ought to stand out in forty years' history. A negative struggle against Communism will avail the workers little or nothing. We need a rebirth of the splendid spirit which inspired the early days of our American unions in the struggle to deal positively with the immense problems of unemployment, company unions and imperialism.

### GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER

If Tammany can get away with the Rothstein murder and all the other scandals that center around Jimmy Walker's administration by Grover Whalen's grandstand plays, his wholesale roundups of alleged criminals, his exhortations to a free use of the nightstick and the rest of it, then once more Tammany will have proved that most of the people like to be fooled most of the time.

### A TESTIMONIAL

Advertising in The New Leader brings results. We advertised "The Commonwealth Calendar" in The New Leader and have received orders from most every State in the union, also a number from Canada. In most every case they mention seeing the ad in The New Leader.

W. E. DAVIS,  
Room 82, Poli Bldg.,  
23 Church St.,  
New Haven, Conn.

### Geneva Office 1929 Program

Washington—(FP)—Slavery, unemployment, hours of work of salaried employees, and certain questions of maritime employment regulation will be considered at the Twelfth session of the International Labor Conference, which will meet at Geneva May 30 next, according to an announcement made by Lelifer Magnusson, chief of the Washington branch of the International Labor Office.

### INVENTIONS PROMISE AND MENACE

While politicians talk invention goes on changing the face of human affairs. The first of two recent inventions to come

to public notice is wholly good. The successful printing of an entire newspaper on paper made from pulp of corn stalks is likely to do more for the farmers of the corn belt than Hoover and Smith and all their promises put together. It is also likely to do more to spare our forests and help the process of reforestation catch up with destruction than all the efforts of those who have warned us against the dangers of the ruthless destruction of forests.

The second invention, unless by chance it helps to scare us into peace is of no such admirable sort. I refer, of course, to the announcement of Dr. H. I. Jones that a new poison gas named cadcyli is already known to the chief governments of the world "is a deadly poison which would destroy armies as a man might snuff out a candle." In the event of any large scale war, of course the governments will use this gas, in spite of paper agreements to the contrary. Our hope lies in building peace, in killing the tiger of war, not in trying to frown down his teeth.

### THE BOULDER DAM COMPROMISE

It is characteristic of our times that no one doubts the ability of our engineers to accomplish the magnificent feat of damming the Colorado so as to provide flood control, water for irrigation and electric power. What we still doubt is the capacity of our politicians and people to see that this power is used to the maximum social advantage. The Senate went backward in passing the Boulder Dam bill which did not even give preference to public ownership and operation of hydro-electric power. But Coolidge might have vetoed a better bill, and there is still a good chance that pressure of facts and aroused public opinion will compel Hoover to hang on to this great power resource. A well informed inquirer tells me that the Edison Company of Southern California, one of the implacable foes of government ownership is moderating its objection to government development of power because the government doesn't have to pay the high interest rates forced on private corporations. So they may be glad to let the government develop the power if they can distribute it.

Another proof that distribution is going to be the crux of the power situation and that no plan of developing power by government agencies at a few points will do much to bring the monopoly to heel. At least the Boulder Dam bill gives a chance to cities and corporations to bid for government produced power. Which is something.

### OF COURSE NOT

"After reading some numbers of THE NEW LEADER, a friend of mine could not resist subscribing," writes Hans Burkhard of Pennsylvania. "The paper is constantly improving," he adds.

Another reader who sent in a new sub with her renewal, is Mrs. Duncan Gray of New York.

Orders for Sinclair's "Boston" continue to roll in. This truly great novel will be read and discussed for years to come.

### JUST WHAT THE DOCTOR ORDERED

Dr. E. G. Grah of Indiana, writes: "Certainly I want THE NEW LEADER. It will come out of the wilderness after a while with all the wrinkles ironed out."

"I don't know when my sub expires and I do not want to miss a single issue. Here's my renewal and a new one." E. H. Stuart, Wisconsin.

C. H. Bloom, Illinois; J. M. Cumming, New Hampshire; Christ R. Haugen of Indiana, are among those who take advantage of the premium of "Boston."

Yes, the habit of sending a new sub with a renewal is growing. S. Bojanovich, Chicago, does that very thing.

"I find it absolutely necessary to renew as I enjoy going behind the scenes with THE NEW LEADER in its fearless and characteristic style. It deserves to grow bigger and bigger and I long for the struggle to deal positively with the immense problems of unemployment, company unions and imperialism."

### YE EDITOR GOES HUNTING

James Oneal bags nine more, four of 'em renewals.

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Dr. E. G. Grah of Indiana