

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

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

VOL. VII.—No. 56

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1928

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

Price Five Cents

IS MATTHEW WOLL TRUE TO LABOR?

MATTHEW WOLL is probably the most influential figure in the American Federation of Labor today in spite of the fact that the organization of which he is President, the International Photo Engravers Union, is at present entitled to only 83 out of 29,385 votes at the A. F. of L. convention.

Woll has risen to the top through sheer ability and tireless energy. Samuel Gompers recognized his high qualities. We know that Gompers looked upon Woll as his successor. He placed Woll on important convention committees of the A. F. of L. from the time he appeared as a delegate in 1916 for the first time. Woll has been Secretary of the Committee on International Labor Relations since then and, therefore, has been largely responsible for the isolation of the American Federation of Labor from the labor movement of the world. Woll was Secretary of the Committee on Report of the Executive Council until he became a member of the Executive Council when he was elected Vice President of the American Federation of Labor in 1919. In 1920, 1921 and 1922, when the workers' education movement was taking on national proportions, Woll watched it as Chairman of the Committee on Education. He has since been Chairman of the A. F. of L. permanent Committee on Education. Most important of all, he has stood guard over the all-important Committee on Resolutions since 1923, at first as Secretary and since 1927 as Chairman. In short, he has probably done more than any other individual to lay down the policies of the American Federation of Labor. Trade unionists have allowed their thinking to be determined by what came out of the A. F. of L. conventions and what came out was decided by Woll. Now we are beginning to have doubts as to whether Woll has been leading us fairly.

Nobody can accuse Woll of laziness. We have always wondered how he has been able to find the time to take care of his many activities. No doubt, as a good executive he has chosen assistants who carry on the actual work under his supervision and do not mind having the credit go to him. And he has certainly been given the credit.

Mr. Woll's Many Activities

It is not Woll's knack at getting publicity that gives us concern. It is rather the fact that he has within his hands so many important activities. Certainly they give Woll power but what disturbs us most is where he is leading us with that power. Take the International Labor News Service (ILNS), for example. As President of the International Labor Press Woll is able to control the news that goes into labor papers using the ILNS clip-sheet. We have noticed that ILNS material has been highly colored to support the administration of the A. F. of L. and attack progressive tendencies in the labor movement. That is an enormous responsibility for one man to shoulder—feeding trade unionists with news which is fit for their consumption.

Then, too, as Director of the Legal Bureau of the A. F. of L. Woll has an important voice in guiding the policies of the American Federation of Labor. It is true that Woll is a lawyer by education, practically the only labor leader in America with such a distinction. That should make him peculiarly fitted to handle legal work for the A. F. of L., but on the other hand, despite close association with the labor movement, he has not outlived his legal training. He has remained legally-minded and it is a question whether the problems of the labor movement can be solved by lawyers.

Woll has also been Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Workers' Educational Bureau and as such has controlled its destinies. Has the W. E. B. prospered, although it has practically been the Educational Department of the A. F. of L.? On the contrary. Woll has forced out all unorthodox groups and

reduced the W. E. B. to a book publishing enterprise. And we know what he tried to do to Brookwood, the most successful of the institutions still affiliated with the W. E. B., because it refused to take dictation from him.

Woll has also founded and is now the President of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company. How much energy he has thus caused to be drained off from good trade union work, we do not know, but it is plain that the big insurance companies and big businessmen have not opposed his enterprise. On the contrary, they have helped to make it a success, the one by administrative advice, the other by purchasing policies.

Woll's Presidency of the International Sportsmanship Brotherhood has also troubled us immensely. We could not see why he had to bother with such an organization. Certainly he is not a sporting man himself. We do not even know that he has any athletic hobby. Now we hear all kinds of rumors about the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, which cause us to wonder what kind of a game he is playing. Perhaps his surplus energy has flowed into wrong channels.

The Bosses' Civic Federation

What worries us most, however, is the fact that he is Acting President of the National Civic Federation. He appears in public just as much as the head of this organization as he does as spokesman for the American Federation of Labor. We have begun to wonder which is his real job. We have always been under the impression that the National Civic Federation was an employers' organization. We have never quite understood how a labor leader could be a member of a bosses' organization, no less take a leading part in its activities. Perhaps there are extenuating circumstances that he has to tell us about.

A word to you directly, Brother Woll:

You can judge that we are deeply perturbed by your development. You have ability. You are diligent. But are you not on the wrong track? Recently all sorts of information about you has come to us. We hope that what we hear is not true. We know that the thousands of trade unionists who read *The New Leader* would like to be set right about the facts in the case. We are confident that you will oblige them and settle the many doubtful points which puzzle them. We count on your cooperation.

We have thought the matter over very carefully and we have concluded that we could serve the labor movement best if we place before you some of the questions that have been troubling us. We should like to enumerate them in as simple a form as possible and invite your answers.

We know that it would be too much for us to ask you to reply to all the queries at once. It would be fair, would it not, to expect you to answer them with some fullness at the rate of one a week? We shall be pleased to give you all the space you need. However, it would be necessary that we receive your reply by Tuesday of the week of publication in order to meet the practical necessities of printing. Your answer to the first question should, therefore, be received at *The New Leader* office by January 14, 1929. If we do not hear from you by then, we shall try to answer the first question in the next issue as well as we can. We hope we can have your authoritative reply instead.

These are our questions:

1. Is it true that the National Civic Federation, of which you are Acting President, is really an employers' organization?

2. Is it true that the National Civic Federation has opposed state old age pensions which the American Federation of Labor has favored since 1907 and that you have sabotaged favorable action on old age pension legislation by the A. F. of L.?

3. Is it true that you have never lifted a finger to prevent the National Civic Federation from killing old age pension legislation which has been favored by the A. F. of L. since 1907?

Aiding Unions Or the Bosses?

4. Is it true that you have been working with the National Civic Federation to establish the company unions alongside of the trade unions on the basis of mutual recognition?

5. Is it true that you have never done anything which might displease the National Civic Federation, but that on the contrary, you have always done those things which have been satisfactory to the National Civic Federation?

His Record Is Questioned



MATTHEW WOLL, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor and Acting President of the National Civic Federation.

6. Is it true that you have used the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, of which you are President, to further the employers' welfare offensive, contrary to the principles of the American Federation of Labor?

7. Is it true that you have favored the establishment of a state constabulary, although organized labor has opposed this institution as one of the most dangerous of strike-breaking weapons?

8. Is it true that you tried to defeat the Passaic textile strikers even after they had agreed to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor?

9. Is it true that you acted as an informer to the police on the Communist leaders of the fur strike of 1926 instead of attempting to correct the violations of trade union integrity through trade union channels?

10. Is it true that your wife has been in the real estate business in Chicago and that that fact influenced your action in exempting the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities from censure by the A. F. of L. on the ground of academic freedom, while at the same time Brookwood Labor College was condemned without a hearing?

11. Is it true that you shaped the political policy of the American Federation of Labor during the last national election and organized a "labor tariff league" with the expectation of political reward?

12. Is it true that the general trend of your views and actions have made the National Civic Federation practically the guide of the American Federation of Labor and thus contributed to the impotence of American trade unionism?

There may be other questions we should like to put to you later. In the meantime, we shall eagerly await your replies. Our readers, especially those who are members of trade unions, are invited to state whether your answers satisfy them.

Question No. 1

We have sent this question to Matthew Woll by registered mail. Any reply he makes will be printed in *The New Leader* next week. If he should fail to answer, we shall answer it ourselves.

"Matthew Woll, is it true that the National Civic Federation of which you are Acting President is really an employers' organization?"

Mr. Whalen, You're Not P. T. Barnum

HONORABLE GROVER WHALEN:

Police Headquarters,
New York City.
Dear Commissioner:

It's so customary for you to have your name on the front page of the papers these days that we are sure you won't object if we Socialists follow old-line newspaper precedent and write you another little note on our own front page.

Well Grover, you sure are raising hell around our fair city. Some of it is good in our opinion and long overdue. And some of it is just plain circus stuff. And some of it is setting up some mighty dangerous precedents, which we are all bound to regret.

We don't mind the fact that they were about to fire you at Wanamaker's and that all that noise about "a great executive making huge sacrifices" was so much publicity apple-sauce. You got away with it and it didn't do any particular harm.

Nor do we object to your pinching these poison liquor sellers. To be sure *The Evening Telegram* pretty much forced your hand in that respect.

You know what makes us sore. We wrote you about it a couple of weeks back. We mean this "strong-arm" stuff. When one of your inspectors gives out a statement that a man with a police record is "public property" that's going pretty strong. When you give your hired men carte blanche to beat up any whom they "suspect," that's going the limit.

We wonder how many of these so-called "suspects" that you have been herding around in pretty obvious violation of all their civil liberties have committed any crime other than being just poor people

who are out of luck. A poor man is always under suspicion according to police ethics. We don't notice that you're piling any Harry Sinclairs or big Wall Street gamblers into your shiny patrol-wagons.

We had a Mayor once and a good mayor he was too, as capitalist mayors go. His name was Gaynor and he said:

"A policeman is only a citizen dressed in blue clothes and brass buttons, with no right or power to arrest without a warrant which all his fellow citizens do not possess." And he also said: "Crimes and vices are evils to the community, but it should never be forgotten by a free people that they have far more to fear from the growth of the vice of arbitrary power in government than from all the other vices and crimes combined."

Now think that over. It is pretty good policy for any police commissioner to remember.

You say that your strong-arm citizens dressed in blue clothes and brass buttons have taken some sort of intelligence tests.

Judging from what we know about some policemen we don't imagine that those tests were very difficult. Did they include reading and writing? And were these cops told that in cases of industrial disputes they were to remain neutral? Are we to see a repetition on a larger scale of gang violence on the part of the police that characterized recent strikes in the garment industry and succeeded in kicking the exploited subway workers back to their rotten jobs?

It looks very much as though you were heading in that direction with your regular "round-ups."

And then one more thing. How about that fellow Rothstein who was murdered on

the fourth of last November? Isn't one reason why you're in the job you're holding due to the fact that you were going to clean up the Rothstein case?

Of course the memory of our citizenry is notoriously short-lived. But there are some of us who can go back two or three months without suffering a mental breakdown. And while of course this speaks for "suspect" stuff makes good reading, we are very curious to know what has become of this cause celebre. We did see a picture of some of your boys opening a safe in the murdered man's apartments. That was just the other day. Strange that they found only a couple of electric light bulbs and a telephone book. How long since gamblers have been locking up electric light bulbs in great big safes? And particularly in this instance as Arnold Rothstein was known to have made elaborate records of all his extra-legal transactions.

Which brings us back again to the old subject of the Rothstein correspondence. Is that to be kept a secret from all of us forever? What have you got at police headquarters, a bunch of mystery-players?

When the shouting and the tumult over speakeasies died down and the old places open up in new quarters, will you give us the names of some of the big shots in Tammany Hall who were mentioned in those Rothstein letters? When the last "suspect" has been efficiently and intelligently beaten up in the back-room of the furthest police station, will you have some of your men go out and take in the real folks back of this shooting? Surely you don't think we fall for this McManus business. Isn't the proposition to try him for murder with

VERY often the scientists in exploring ancient ruins come across some object that throws much light on some ancient civilization. It may be a monument, or an inscription on a wall, or a few tools picked up in a grave. In any case it is a mute record and a guide to some aspects of the civilization of the period.

The same thing is true of modern civilization. There recently died in Baltimore a gentleman by the name of Harry Symes Lehr. He was a monument to a phase of American "civilization." Back in the eighties and nineties Mr. Lehr was an eminent person. His name was frequently in the headlines of the daily papers. For about twenty years he has been buried from public view but the announcement of his passing recalls another era in which he was some personage.

In those days a new rich spawned by the graft and the scandals following the Civil War constituted what they called "society." The chief aim in life of these worthies was to invent means of spending some of the loot they enjoyed. Those engaged in a "trade" were not eligible to membership in the charmed circle of the wasters. Only 100 percent parasites could qualify.

This aristocratic code had come down from the days of the old landed aristocrats who ruled in the Hudson Valley from the colonial period into the early forties. They ruled vast acres and many subjects. They held their own courts. They had their own police officials. They were represented in the Assembly. They set the fashion in dress, manners, and "right thinking." The merchant and trader were regarded as vulgar, a little above the laborers but certain-

ly not to be mixed with the wasters of the feudal nobility to find a class like this aristocratic gentry.

The upstart millionaires whose fathers crawled out of the swindles of the Civil War period had oodles of cash to spend. They adopted the social code of the old landed aristocrats, including aversion to the "trade," but an exception was made of Harry Lehr. He was the son of bankrupt old German and Dutch ancestors but he had good looks, was agreeably impudent, and was not overstocked with brains. Coming to New York in 1887, Harry charmed Mrs. William Astor whose income was chiefly obtained from the early land speculations of an ancestor. The eminent lady took Harry in charge and his winning ways made him acceptable to "society."

Now the wasters desired new ways of wasting, new ways of spending their useless lives. The old round of dinners, receptions and parties too often left the lounge lizards jaded. Here is where Harry found opportunity and fame. The male lizards had little liking for him but were inclined to accept the view of Stuyvesant Fish who is reported to have said that Harry was an "amusing cuss" and that the female lizards "needed him to play with."

So Harry began to play and to amuse the members of "society." One of his intellectual treats was a dinner to "Prince Jock of the royal family of Siam." Now Jock proved to be a monkey, the property of Joseph Leiter, heir to the millions accumulated by his daddy in Chicago real estate. Dressed in evening clothes and a tall hat, Jock felt at home among his equals and they felt at

ning, so there! Harry made a "hit" and henceforth his place in "society" was assured.

On another occasion Mrs. Fish gave a dinner to the "Emperor Fleero" and when that worthy appeared who should it be but Harry with a cardboard crown and an appropriate costume. The lizards voted it a "wonderful evening" and Harry was conceded to be just too cute for anything. There were wonderful stories in the newspapers about Harry and the mystic circle of the upper "clawes" with its night life, its gaiety, its flashing jewels and Paris gowns, and there was a constant flutter as to what would next issue from the capacious brains of Harry.

Much wealth which "American freemen" heaped into the laps of the wasters was consumed. Miners burrowed in the earth to keep the lizards warm. Consumptive girls sewing garments in tenements paid rent to the wasters. Farmers then in a period of "deflation" disposed of wheat at a loss to gamblers in the market. In mills, shops and factories workers were pouring dividends into the pockets of the lizards. The original "stakes" gathered by the parvenues in the Civil War graft period were added to year by year by workers in industry while Harry devised means of spending the incomes.

So Harry continued to play his role and a garden party caused another sensation. This party was given to "Senor Burro" which proved to be a white donkey which Harry had found, rented or stolen. Then there was the "Looking Backward" ball which won new honors for Harry. At the

Stump For City-owned Power Plant

Reading Socialist Mayor Says Consumers Are Being Overcharged for Electricity

READING, Pa.—A proposal for the acquisition of a municipally-owned electric plant featured the annual message of Mayor J. Henry Stump, Socialist, to the members of the city council this week.

Citing the successful operation of the city-owned water plant and pronouncing himself "a firm advocate of municipal ownership," Mayor Stump told the members of the council that a city-owned electric plant would result in cheaper lighting bills. Some cities pay as low as 2 cents a kilowatt hour for electricity while Reading pays a basic rate of nine cents, he pointed out.

"Our city is not dependent entirely—and it should not be—upon taxation of its people for revenue with which to bear the expenses of government, and to secure many needed and desirable improvements and comforts. Our municipally-owned and operated water system is the best example and argument in favor of public utilities under ownership and management of the people themselves, and operated for service and economy rather than for profit. At reasonable rates—and our rates are more than fair for the best water and service that can be provided—the water system is self-supporting, and at the present time, I believe, provides enough revenue to make necessary improvements and extensions; and I therefore recommend that the building of the Hegel-Gehl reservoir, and the reconstructing of Hampden reservoir be done as soon as possible out of current water revenues.

"Being a firm advocate of public ownership of public utilities, I urge that serious thought be given to such municipally-owned and operated utilities as are permissible under State laws, with special reference to the acquisition of a municipally-owned electric plant. I feel certain that such a plant, if owned by the City, would be as great an asset as is our present water system. Many other cities, served by publicly-owned electric plants, have much lower rates than Reading—some as low as two cents per kilowatt hour, while here, for domestic service, we pay a basic rate of nine cents. A low rate in this city would eliminate consideration of a municipal ice plant, for a rate for electricity based upon production costs, would bring electric refrigeration within the reach of most householders—and would even bring electric cooking within their reach."

The Union Health Center Specializes in Dental Work

Accounts given almost daily by workers who visit the Union Health Center bear out the statements made by health workers that it is impossible for wage earners, even those who receive more than an average wage, to secure adequate health protection through the usual channels. For example, it is estimated that proper dental care for a family of four means an outlay of about \$360, and medical care for a family of four means an outlay of \$360, not including major operations and lingering illnesses.

Recently the dental department of the Union Health Center examined 400 boy apprentices in a school of a certain industry. According to Dr. Max Price, chief of the department, it was found that there was an average of seven cavities in each of the ones examined. "The fact that we found an average of seven cavities per boy," said Dr. Price, "is sufficient to indicate the condition of the teeth. Let it be remembered that these boys come from the homes of the better paid workers where the standard of living is higher than it would be in a lower paid group. And yet, the care of the children's teeth would have been further neglected had it not been for the examination undertaken by this institution." Dr. Price further explained that in "cash returns" the examination did not even pay for itself. "But, as an institution we can afford to make such an examination because of the educational value it is bound to have on the boys in question."

There were boys in this group who had as many as twenty-eight cavities! What must be the condition of the teeth among children of the average wage-earner? The readers of THE NEW LEADER are invited to come and see the place, one of the finest modern dental institutions for labor in this city.

Socialist Party Adopts New Constitution

Revised Rules Permit Affiliation of Supporting Groups Not Organized Along Political Lines

ANNOUNCEMENT comes from the national headquarters of the Socialist party that the proposed new constitution of the party has been adopted by a large majority. The changes voted by the membership are very important in some respects, the main changes being in the dues system, creating a National Committee and providing for the affiliation of various groups of voters and organizations with the party.

Under the old constitution national dues were fixed at 25 cents per month so long as the national membership remained less than 25,000, one-half to be retained by the state organization. The new constitution provides for annual dues of one dollar per year "or such larger amount as the member may voluntarily choose to pay." The National Office is to receive one-half of the dues and the balance goes to the state organization. As in the past the National Office will issue a distinctive stamp to be affixed to membership cards. It is also provided that state organizations may make provision for any additional membership dues within the respective states. Annual dues are payable on or before March 1st of each year.

Members of branches of Language Federations, the new constitution declares, "shall pay the same party dues as others but Language Federations shall have the right to retain all dues of their members above \$1.00 per annum for their special purposes, and to divide such excess with their branches on any basis they may determine."

The idea back of the annual dues of one dollar per year is that members as a rule contribute more than their dues to the party anyway and special provision is made for "payment of a larger amount as the member may voluntarily choose to pay" in the expectation that many members will make a substantial party contribution when they pay their annual dues in March of each year. Of course, the usual sources of income from lectures, debates, picnics and entertainments will also continue to be available.

Clubs May Affiliate

Throughout the new constitution "active membership" is referred to and this means membership in the regular party branches which does not differ from membership under the old constitution. But to the regular party membership the new constitution permits organization of members along occupational lines if they so choose. "Groups of party members," reads the first paragraph of Sec. 3, of Art. X, "may also organize on occupational or language lines and they may also organize Socialist clubs for political, social or cultural purposes or for purposes of sport or mutual benefit."

Thus if a group of workers in the same industry desires to organize a Socialist branch they may do so. Members may also establish special clubs as defined above with the view of interesting sympathizers in cultural, social and other activities and who might not be interested in the activities of regular party branches. Another type of membership is also created by this section together with a special dues system which is an entirely new feature. This second paragraph of the section defines this form of membership as follows:

"In addition to the individual members the Socialist party shall have with it group membership consisting of progressive and labor organizations, such as cooperatives, educational or labor fraternal benefit societies or trade unions, in sympathy with the aims and methods of the Socialist Party. Such organizations shall pay to the party annual dues equal to 25c per year for every member in good standing and shall be entitled to representation in the local, state and national conventions of the party, the basis of representation for local conventions to be fixed by the respective local organizations of the party, and the basis of representation in state and national conventions to be fixed by the respective state committees of the party."

National Committee Created. This makes provision for the direct affiliation of any organizations of workers with the party and payment of a small annual fee for each member with the right of representation of such organizations in local, state and national conventions. In all cases of special organizations it is provided that their avowed principles and action shall not be inconsistent with those of the Socialist Party. Participation in old party primaries is excluded as well as support of candidates of the capitalist parties.

The National Executive Committee is composed of nine members, including the National Chairman but in addition to this committee a National Committee is created with one member from each state and an additional member for each 25,000 votes cast at the preceding presidential election for the Socialist candidate for President. This committee is not new in the history of the Socialist Party as a similar committee was maintained many years ago.

However, there is one difference. The old committee elected years ago based representation exclusively on the party membership in each state. The new committee gives one member to each state and an additional member for each 25,000 Socialist votes that are cast in the state. The National Committee is intended to check and review the work of the Executive Committee. It is to meet in session once each year on the fourth Sunday in May and hold special sessions when voted by two-thirds of its members. The provision for a National Committee insures that at least one party member in each organized state will be required to keep in touch with the work of national organization and propaganda by being a member of this committee.

The new constitution also includes a new form of application for membership which reads: "I, the undersigned, recognizing the necessity of an independent working-class political party aiming at the collective ownership and democratic administration and operation of the collectively used and socially necessary means of wealth production and distribution, hereby apply for membership in the Socialist Party. In all my political actions while a member of the party, I agree to be guided by the constitution and platform of the party."

This clause had caused some discussion because the words "class struggle" were not included yet it clearly emphasizes the labor character of the party as well as its aim which cannot be reconciled with the views of any group or class which seeks to perpetuate the capitalist system. The new constitution will go into effect in March and instructions will go to all divisions of the party from the National Office explaining the changes that have been made.

Allen-A Scab Hosiery Sent Back to Mill

PHILADELPHIA.—(FP)—When President E. J. Shave of the Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union heard that a shipment of Allen-A hosiery had reached town, he interviewed the department store manager, explaining that the stockings were being made by strike breakers. The manager, anxious to have no quarrel with labor on his hands in an off season, returned the entire shipment to Kenosha, Wis.

President Shave, who is also secretary of the Virginia Federation of Labor, passed the good word on to the Hosiery Workers Union with the advice that other central labor bodies go and do likewise.

Barnet Wolf Surprised At Queens Birthday Dinner

Learning of the recent fiftieth birthday of Barnet Wolf, one time Socialist Alderman and active Socialist for thirty years, a group of Queens County party members and friends surprised him at a dinner in the Homestead Hotel, Kew Gardens, Wednesday night. Mrs. Wolf succeeded in enticing Barnet to the hotel without him suspecting what was ahead.

Nearly 30 party members, friends and relations were present and an enjoyable evening was spent. James O'neal presided as toastmaster and among the members were Comrades O'Connor, Clarke, Walter Wolff, Mrs. Zameckin, Harry D. Smith and Barney himself. Harry Smith presented Barnet with a set of Prof. Beard's "Rise of American Civilization" and a copy of O'neal's "History of Local 10" of the Ladies Garment Cutters. Mrs. Wolf received a bouquet of flowers.

Barnet responded to the speeches in a reminiscent mood in which he recalled experiences in the labor movement of years ago, expressing hearty appreciation for the esteem displayed by his friends in arranging for the surprise.

A REMINDER OF OUR "GILDED AGE"

(Continued from page 1) clothing reversed and with masks attached to the back of their heads. This affair was voted to be "astonishingly novel" and Harry was certainly a darling. Another affair was voted equally novel when Harry appeared in evening dress with his pants turned up. No, we are mistaken, it was his trousers. Only the vulgar ever talk about pants.

Well, time passed and Harry faded from the picture although the lizards still received their alms from the generous workers of the nation. The lizards may yawn, they may also yearn for Harry; they may tire of their existence, but the workers on the farms and industry never tire in their generosity to the lizards.

Harry's star declined when it was rumored that he was contemplating a merry prank. A female lizard was to give a bathing suit dinner at the suggestion of Harry when it was rumored that he intended something that would make the noble dames look ridiculous. The clouds gathered as the lizards sulked. The ladies

MR. WHALEN, YOU'RE NOT P. T. BARNUM

(Continued from page 1) the idea that his "perfect alibi" will get him off? And isn't it true that nobody at headquarters has enough on anyone in connection with the case to make a jury bring in a verdict? We're just asking in a dumb manner. We're not intimating that all this heated bustle on the part of those citizens in brass buttons makes a good

100 Per Cent Subsidy Paid on Air Mail, Department Declares

WASHINGTON.—(FP)—For every dollar the government now receives from the air mail stamps it sells, it is paying out more than \$2 to private contractors to render the service. This is the result of the first two years of "business basis" period since the postmaster general sold the government's air mail equipment to private companies and gave them contracts to carry the mail at \$3 a pound. W. Irving Glover, second assistant postmaster general, made this explanation when he asked the House Appropriations Committee to provide the sum of \$5,000,000 to cover deficit in the air mail service. He said the deficit in the coming year might be over \$7,000,000.

When the government sold its planes and other property in the first air mail lines, the administration's pretext was that it wanted to allow private enterprise to save money for the government. Now Glover says the deficit will grow steadily larger. On Jan. 1 the postmaster general began a survey of the books of the private companies to see whether he could prove that they are charging too much for their service. Meanwhile the business men who use the air mail are being subsidized to the extent of over \$500,000 a month through half-cost carrying of their letters.

Labor Halts Gas Co. Grab
SPRINGFIELD, Mass. (FP).—Having halted the Springfield Gas Light Co.'s effort to raise rates and reduce the quality of its gas, Pres. John F. Gateless of the Central Labor Union has called on other organizations to join the fight. The C. L. U. has spent \$2,000 and donated Gateless' time in the case. The central body employed chemists, engineers and attorneys in the single-handed fight.

VICTOR HUGO CIRCLE
Le Cercle Victor Hugo invites booklovers to its next luncheon at which Rosika Schwimmer, author, and Willy Pogany, illustrator of Tisza Tales, will speak on Hungarian stories and folk art. Rosika Schwimmer and Willy Pogany, both natives of Hungary, have achieved in the book the creation of genuine Hungarian atmosphere. The luncheon of Le Cercle Victor Hugo will be held Saturday, Jan. 12th, at 1 o'clock at the Civic Club, 18 East Tenth Street. Booklovers invited.

Dr. Liber to Lecture
Under the auspices of "The Road to Freedom," a course of lectures will be given by Dr. Benson Liber on "Radicalism and Personal Life" at Manhattan Lyceum, 66 East 4th St. The first lecture of the course, "Sex Life and the Radicals," will be given Jan. 11 at 8:30. Admission fee is 35 cents. For the course of four lectures, one dollar.

The Bronx Forum
Dr. Alfred W. Martin, Associate Leader of the Ethical Culture Society, will deliver his second lecture Friday night at 8:30 o'clock before the Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Ave., near Tremont Ave. Subject: "The Distinguishing Features of the Great Religions of the World."

"I feel like a stacker in not sending in more subs. The \$2 is for renewal, the extra berry is a gift to the paper."
Claude M. Daniels, Utah.

FIFTH ANNUAL New Leader Dinner

Tuesday Evening, February 12th
(Lincoln's Birthday)

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD NORMAN THOMAS
Editor, The Nation Director of the
League for Industrial Democracy
MORRIS HILLQUIT PAUL H. DOUGLAS
International Secretary of the of the University of Chicago
Socialist Party

on
"THE FUTURE of SOCIALISM in THE UNITED STATES"

At WEBSTER HALL

119 East 11th Street, New York City

Reservations

Should Be Made Immediately at The New Leader, 7 East 15th Street
Algonquin 4622 - - - - \$2.50 per plate

Shoe Workers to Rally In Brooklyn January 11

The lockout of its employees by the Morrison-Silver Shoe Co., 54 West 21st street, New York City, is now in its eleventh week. The firm demanded a 50 per cent reduction in wages, with open shop conditions, and individual contracts. This firm has a signed agreement for one year with the Shoe Workers Protective Union, expiring March 1st, 1929.

In refusing to accept this ultimatum by the firm, the crew was locked out, and in the eleventh week remain 100 per cent solid for the cause. The workers have decided to hold a mass meeting at the Amalgamated Temple, 11 Arion Place, on Friday night, January 11th, to enlighten the shoe workers in general regarding this wonderful fight for union conditions, and the future welfare of the shoe workers of Greater New York. "Protect Yourself by Being Organized" is the slogan. The following speakers will be heard: A. I. Shipplack, manager, International Pocket Book Workers Union; Arturo Giovannitti, Italian Chamber of Labor.

Thousands Shiver on Ford Auto Job Lines

DETROIT.—(FP)—Mobs of men are pouring into Detroit, in response to unpaid wages carried by every newspaper in the country that Ford intends to hire 30,000 more workers by next spring. The milling mass of 32,000 more workers who crowded into the cattle pen at Ford's River Rouge plant the first morning swept away wooden barriers like toothpicks in a wild rush for work.

At the Briggs plant at 8 o'clock on a wintry night hundreds of men stood outside the gates in ankle-deep snow waiting for jobs. Dodge is running half time and Hudson is running full time for only a short time to catch up on new models. Thousands of men are pouring into Detroit from the south and west, lured by newspaper and radio announcements.

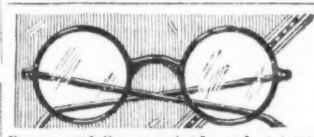
New York L. I. D. Chapter To Hear Strachey, Starr

"British Labor Faces Power" will be the subject discussed at the coming meeting of the New York Chapter, League for Industrial Democracy, Friday evening, January 18, 1929. The speakers will be John St. Lo Strachey, the editor of "The Socialist Review" and Mark Starr of Brookwood. This meeting will be held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Frank, 146 West 12th street.

Baltimore Supports Brookwood Labor College

BALTIMORE.—(FP)—Baltimore Federation of Labor, feeling that Brookwood Labor College was not given a fair opportunity to defend itself at the New Orleans convention, has asked the A. F. of L. Executive Council to reopen the case.

Tell the Advertisers you "Saw Their Ad In The New Leader."



Eyes carefully examined and glasses scientifically fitted — Moderate Prices
Office open 9 a.m.—9 p.m.

Q. Q. Goldin, Inc.
Formerly Polen-Miller Optical Co.
Optometrists—Opticians
1890 LEXINGTON AVENUE
Cor. 16th Street
New York City

When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.
Then go to P. WOLF & CO., Inc.
COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES
1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A
Bet. 84th & 85th Sts. Bet. 4th & 5th Sts.
New York City New York City
Open Even., 8 p.m. Open Even., 9 p.m.
SUNDAYS CLOSED
Special Ladies' Attendant

All Makes of Typewriters Bought, Sold, Exchanged, Repaired and Rebuilt

Pearl Typewriter Exchange and Repair Co.
291 West 26th Street 1141 Broadway
PENNSYLVANIA 4726 LONGACRE 3101

Milwaukee Wage Law Endangered

Non-Socialist Aldermen Succeed in Abolishing Pay Inspection Service

MILWAUKEE.—(FP)—When Milwaukee workers voted for non-Socialist aldermen last spring they were digging themselves into a grave from which the minimum wage ordinance can no longer rescue them. This became apparent when the capitalist majority in the city council, big enough since last April to override Mayor Hoan's veto power, abolished the jobs of the inspectors who have enforced the wage law.

Inspector Frank Boncel of the iron-workers union had forced dishonest contractors in the last three years to pay up \$160,000 in wages to workers whom they had attempted to cheat. The minimum wage ordinance with real enforcement meant comparatively decent wages to Milwaukee workers employed on city contracts. But the contractors were awake on election day and the workers were asleep.

Organizer James Sheehan of the Federated Trades Council says, "Now the big contractors have got the anti-Socialist aldermen to turn the trick and put the law out of business. Eight years ago through the efforts of the union the minimum wage law was put in effect. Now its enforcement will be a bad joke on labor."

Sheehan also stated that the reduction of Socialist representation in the Wisconsin legislature, the result of the November election, was encouraging employers to renew agitation for a state constabulary which would be used against the unions in case of strikes and lockouts. This will be fought by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor at the same time that it attempts to get amendments to the private law that has been violated by the Allen A company in its 11-month lockout of union hosiery workers in Kenosha.

"Editor and Publisher" Admits Business Influence On Press of the Nation

Editor and Publisher, trade paper, admits the subtle censorship of the business system over the press in an editorial defending its attacks on the Minnesota gag law. "We ask," states the editorial, "if the press of this country is not now sufficiently hedged about by elements which tend to restrict the natural freedom of writing men, without this Minnesota law . . ."

"Every reader of Editor and Publisher knows that the economic, social and legal restrictions on the press of this day have reached a point where they intimidate newspaper men. Our vaunted freedom has very narrow limits for most of us as it stands."

"If you think to the contrary, we ask you to start telling all available truth that is valuable to society, let the chips fly where they will, and see what happens to you in a day or a week. Most newspaper men in this day are honest with the public in spite of and in defiance of laws and pressures that work in favor of privilege."

GEORGE C. HEINICKE

853 Broadway Room 1122
New York City
Phone Algonquin 6841
United States and Foreign Patents and Trade Marks; 22 Years' Experience; Moderate Prices. Registered United States and Canada

WHITE LILAC TEA

Finest Tea you ever tasted—Sixty Cups for 10 cents.
At All Grocers. 10c. a Package

FRESH CUT FLOWERS DAILY Fred Spitz

3 SECOND AVENUE
(Near Houston Street)
New York
Telephone Dry Dock 8880-8881

S. HERZOG Patent Attorney

110 Nassau Street
Evenings and Sundays, 1498 Glover Street.
Rm. 2. Take Lexington Ave. Subway, Fulton Day Extension, to Zerega Ave. Station.



Irritable Bladder Catarrh
Soon cleared up by genuine Santal Midy
Effective—Harmless
Sold by All Druggists

WHY LOSE COURAGE?

When business is good, when your family life is happy, when your children bring good marks from school—and you are still gloomy and disheartened, it is a sure sign that your stomach is out of order and should be regulated at once.

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will drive the impurities out of your system, will regulate your bowels and liver, will drive away the blues, and you will soon again be cheerful and happy.

At Your Druggist—10, 25 and 50c a Box

HEALTH FOODS

YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN AND NOTHING TO LOSE
by eating only
Natural Unprocessed and Unadulterated Food
such as we deliver to your door

Send four cents in stamps for our Catalog

HEALTH FOOD DISTRIBUTORS
113 EAST 34th STREET
(Between Lexington and Park Avenues)
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y. Phone LEXington 6926

Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society, Inc.
ESTABLISHED 1872

Main Office: 227 EAST 84TH STREET
(Bet. 2nd and 3rd Ave.)
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

A cooperative fire insurance society for working people. Fifty-three branches throughout the United States. Membership on June 30, 1927,—49,000. Assets \$650,000. Insurance in force, \$51,000,000.
No Profits or Dividends for Stockholders!

A yearly assessment of 10c for each \$100 insurance covers all expenses.

A deposit of \$1.00 for every \$100 is required which is refundable in case of withdrawal.

Workingmen and women protect your homes in case of fire. Join the insurance society of your own class.
No members at large admitted. Business transacted only through branches.
For Further Information apply at 227 East 84th Street.

Business Concentrates on the South

Steel, Rayon and Textiles Among Fields of Major Operations

By Art Shields

BIRMINGHAM—1929 will see hundreds of millions of dollars put into industrial construction in the south by the big trustified and semi-trustified corporations of the north. Small factories and small companies survive, but as tiny fiddles in the orchestra big business directs.

Note a few of the developments that will change the southern map in 1929: While Muscle Shoals is hamstrung by the pocket veto a \$35,000,000 nitrate plant will be built at Hopewell, Va. by Allied Chemical & Dye Co. Later units may bring total construction costs to \$125,000,000—all for fertilizer, explosives, and chemicals. The same James River port town will witness the expansion of the Tubize Rayon Co., now employing thousands of artificial silk workers.

Rayon Trust Expansive

The rayon trust already employs 30,000 below the Dixie line, mostly mountain folk. New plants now going up in the southern highlands will bring another 10,000 mountaineers into its clock-punching system by late 1929 or 1930. As I write, Birmingham steel mills are shipping 35 carloads of structural beams to Asheville, N. C. for a \$10,000,000 Enka rayon plant to employ 5,000. Other new mills are under way in nearby Georgia and Tennessee highlands. The rayon companies are in the world-wide rayon cartel formed in 1926.

Big business forges on in cotton textiles. Alabama Power Co. will be operating its own chain of 10 cotton mills and villages by spring. Mergers are planned elsewhere. Duke interests are said to be concerned in a proposed \$40,000,000 merger of Carolina and Georgia companies. The southern cotton industry has for some time been semi-trustified through associations that regulate production.

\$10,000,000 Pullman Plant
New U. S. Steel building totaling \$7,000,000 will double the corporation's rolling and galvanizing capacity in the Birmingham area. The Pullman company is erecting a \$10,000,000 car building plant in Alabama. Large rubber, paper, textile and other factories bring 1929 industrial construction in Alabama towards the \$100,000,000 point. Railroads, power companies and other utilities are spending enormous sums throughout the south.

This big business evolution is along open shop lines and is opposed to social legislation. In some cases it will mean better company housing, group insurance, a little paternalistic reform. But hardly higher wages or shorter work days. Unemployment will continue. Farmers quitting the land outnumber new jobs to be filled.

Real improvement of labor conditions must depend on the workers who are now attempting to unite their ranks somewhat after the example set by the employers. The Piedmont Organizing Council in North Carolina has made a promising beginning which Virginia labor is following. Chattanooga and Burnsville trade union conferences and the support unions are giving to the Summer School for Women Workers in industry indicate more cooperation in the job ahead. A difficult job, for big business is setting a stiff pace.

Photo Engravers to Get 40-Hour Week

Members of Photo Engravers Local 1, largest in the country, will have a five-day week in 1934 as the result of a five-year contract. Two months of 1929 will be worked on the 40-hour basis with a month added each succeeding year until 1934 when the 40-hour week becomes general. The terms of the contract are expected to govern other engravers' locals throughout the country.

THE Workmen's Circle

The Largest Radical Working-Men's Fraternal Order in Existence
85,000 MEMBERS
\$3,200,000 ASSETS
750 Branches All Over the United States and Canada
Insurance from \$100 to \$1,000
Sick benefit, 15 weeks per year, at \$5 per week. Many branches pay additional benefit from \$2 to \$5 per week. Consumption benefit, \$200 or nine months in our own sanatorium, located in the most beautiful region of the Catskill Mountains—besides the regular weekly benefit.

For information, apply to
THE WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
175 East Broadway, N. Y. City
Telephone Orchard 6616-6617

Young Kenosha Hosiery Strikers in Inspiring Fight



The Scotch Twins, Lillian and Ellen Baird in the Hosiery Workers' "Jail Party." These two girls developed leadership in the Allen-A strike and have toured the Middle West, addressing meetings.

Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Gloss, Allen-A strikers tried to have the Prison authorities admit their three year old boy and sixteen month old twins, but were refused. At the last minute a relative came forward to care for these little ones.

Rand School Will Help to Build Party

August Claessens, executive secretary of the Socialist party in New York City, has this week sent a letter to the officers of all the branches, urging them to see that the party membership takes full advantage of the remarkable educational opportunities offered by the Rand School. Observing that the city campaign will be under way within a few months, and that we ought to have more numerous and better equipped speakers than ever before, he calls attention to three features of the Rand School program for the term now just beginning.

On Mondays, 7 to 8:20 p. m., beginning January 21, Algonquin Lee will give a course in Socialist Economics. This, says Claessens, is a subject which every party member ought to study, and he especially urges all recent recruits to join the class. On Tuesdays and Thursdays, at the same hour, beginning February 5, Comrade Claessens himself will conduct a class in Public Speaking. This, it is hoped, will be the means of fitting a large number of comrades to go on the soap box next summer.

Later in the term there will be a Campaign Speakers' Institute, under the joint direction of the party and the school. Only persons who have already a basic knowledge of Socialism and who know how to speak in public will be admitted to this group, which will devote itself to a special study of municipal issues from the Socialist point of view.

THE NEW LEADER is informed that the Rand School, being desirous of serving the party to the limit at this time, is making a special concession in the matter of fees. The school's regular tuition fees are very moderate; but under the offer now made, any person who has joined the party within the last six months and who registers for the course in Social Economics will, if he completes the course with an eighty per cent attendance record, get a refund of half the fee; and the same offer is made any party member, who, with Secretary Claessens' approval, takes up the course in Public Speaking and one other study course in connection therewith.

Among other features of the Rand School program that will appeal to active Socialists are the lectures on Labor and the Law and on Social Legislation, by Louis P. Goldberg, Jacob Panken, William Karlin, Samuel Orr, Louis B. Boudin, Morris Hillquit, Florence Kelley, John B. Andrews, Abraham Epstein, and Bryce M. Stewart; the Friday evening symposium on Socialist Theory and Practice; and Marius Hansome's illustrated lectures at 7 p. m. on Tuesdays, dealing with the influence of natural conduct on social evolution, as well as his course in Contemporary Sociology, at half past eight on Tuesday evenings.

German Socialists Will Discuss Armaments

ZURICH.—The Party Congress of the Social-Democratic Labor Party of Holland has now been postponed to Feb. 16 and 17. It will be held in Nymwegen. The executive is submitting to the Congress the draft election program. The Social-Democratic Party of Germany Congress will open in Magdeburg March 10th. It will occupy itself chiefly with the question of armaments. Feb. 2d and 3d took place the National Assembly of the Socialist Party of France.



Mr. and Mrs. James Bennet married five days before going to prison were content to postpone their honeymoon until after the strike is won.

Socialist Becomes Swiss Vice-President; Local Victories Scored

ZURICH.—According to parliamentary custom in Switzerland there is an order of succession observed in the choice of President of the National Council. The Social-Democrats provided the President for the period 1920-21, and as Comrade Muller died in May, 1921, another Social-Democrat, Dr. Kloti, now president of the Town Council of Zurich, was chosen as vice-president for the rest of the session. In December 1921 Kloti took over the Presidency. In the year 1926 the Social-Democrats again provided the vice-president of the Council in the person of Comrade Robert Grimm. The following year Grimm should have been appointed president. The Bourgeois parties, acknowledging in principle the right of the Social-Democrats to provide the president, refused to accept Grimm because he had been president of the General Strike Committee of Olen in November, 1918. Before the winter session of the National Council, Grimm sent a notification to the chairman of the Social-Democratic Group, Arthur Schmid, saying that he would not wish to be the cause of the further barring of the group from the presidency, and that he therefore declined to stand as a candidate under any conditions. The Social-Democratic Group therefore unanimously proposed as vice-president the party secretary for French Switzerland, Ernst Paul Graber. Graber was then appointed vice-president of the National Council.

For one of the two seats which became free in the highest Swiss Court of Justice, the Federal Court, the Social-Democrats proposed Dr. Blocher (Basle). Dr. Blocher was chosen by the Federal Assembly by 117 votes to 101. The Social-Democrats are therefore now represented in the Federal Court by three comrades—Comrades Zgragden, Brodtbeck and Dr. Blocher.

At a number of recent local elections the Social-Democrats have again made important progress. Of special importance was the election success in Biel, where the Social-Democrats are in power, and where they increased the number of their seats on the Council from 31 to 34, whilst the representatives of the bourgeoisie sank from 27 to 23. The Social-Democrat Guido Muller was re-elected unopposed as mayor with 51,112 votes.

Socialists Protest Against Militarism in Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE.—The German Social-Democracy in Czechoslovakia decided at its meeting Dec. 13 to issue the following manifesto: "The Party representation of the German Social-Democratic Labor Party has received with indignation the information that the government is said to intend to introduce a bill which would provide for the practical militarization of the whole civil population. Such a plan, which would outstrip the unhappy military service law of the blackest days of the old Austrian tyranny must be met with the most vigorous opposition by all opponents of the ever-increasing military preparations, and above all by the masses of the workers of the country. And more especially women, the bearers of new life, must energetically refuse to be drawn into the service of human destruction."

N.Y. Central Wage Scale Considered

Rail Shopmen Watching Developments on Demand for Small Pay Increase.

EYES of 100,000 railway shopmen—union and non-union—in the industrial belt of America extending from New York and Philadelphia to Chicago are focused on the deliberations of the arbitration board which is hearing the demand of the New York Central shopmen for an increase of \$1.42 a day. If the 12,000 to 16,000 union shopmen of the Central win a substantial raise, other roads in the east are expected to follow. The arbitration hearings, as a result, may determine the wage scales to be paid machinists, boiler-makers, sheet metal workers, electrical workers, blacksmiths and railway carmen on important eastern lines.

The Pennsylvania, next to the New York Central the biggest railway employer in the country, has in the past followed wage increases won by union men on the Central. The non-union road usually announces its own increase as a "voluntary" grant, not even bothering to go through the form of negotiating with its dummy company unions.

Smaller roads such as the Lackawanna, Erie and Jersey Central—some of them anti-union—also announce, a few weeks after a union victory on the New York Central, a "voluntary" wage increase. Union officers point out that the step is necessary, otherwise the better mechanics would leave for the better-paying jobs.

Union arguments are being closed this week by Donald R. Richberg, attorney for the federated shop crafts. Supporting him are Pres. B. M. Jewell of the A. F. of L. railway employees department, E. F. Hogan of the Railway Carmen and Otto S. Beyer Jr., consulting engineer for the shop crafts on the Baltimore & Ohio. The decision of the board is expected about the middle of the month.

Melvin MacLauri, assistant to Vice Pres. Walber of the Central, is in charge of the company's case against wage increases, with Jacob Aronson as chief counsel. Walber, on the arbitration board, is in charge of the New York Central's labor relations.

\$7.50 A Day Is Asked

Conspicuous in the closing railroad argument was a statistical table purporting to show that railroad mechanics' wages are higher than those in outside shops in cities served by the Central. The figures covered but 90,000 employees and were compiled from "confidential" information given by big anti-union firms such as the Interborough Rapid Transit, New York's subway firm that employed the entire A. F. of L. last summer from attempting to organize its workers. The American-LaFrance fire engine company, which locked out its union mechanics at Elmira, N. Y. last year, General Electric and Pullman were other firms aiding the Central with figures which could not be challenged as to their authenticity or relation to the present wage hearings, because they were "confidential."

Th unions, on the other hand, presented statistics covering 1,500,000 non-railway shop workers, 95% of whom enjoy higher wages than the New York Central pays men in similar trades. These figures are public and readily verifiable.

Anti-Fascist Congresses Are Planned

Barbusse's Likely to Be Communist Affair—Socialists Friendly to Other

PARIS.—The idea of an international Anti-Fascist congress is at present being put forward from two directions. It was started by the well-known writer Henri Barbusse in his capacity as President of an "International Anti-Fascist Committee." Barbusse, who is a member of the Communist Party, and whose name figures in all the organizations which carry out united front manoeuvres, such as the "International Workers' Relief," cannot complain if his latest undertaking incurs the suspicion of being a united front manoeuvre in the service of the Communist Party.

But quite apart from the political and party intentions of the promoters of this Congress, the true character of Barbusse's undertaking will be shown by whether or not he is willing to accept as the basis of the Congress the fundamental demand: "The restoration of Democracy in Italy and other Fascist countries." Unfortunately, in view of the well-known attitude of the Communists, it is impossible to count on the laying down of this principle. There can therefore be no question of Socialists participating in this Congress, since there would be great danger that the discussions at such a Congress, not based on the democratic principle, would prejudice the struggle against Fascism rather than help it.

Secondly, the "Concentrazione di Azione antifascista" (Anti-Fascist Combination in which are united the Partito Socialista Unitario dei Lavoratori Italiani (affiliated to the L. S. I.) and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro d'Italia (affiliated to the I.F.T.U.) as also the Maximalist and the Republican Parties of Italy and the Italian League for the Rights of Man has decided to consider the question of the organization of an international Anti-Fascist congress.

The Anti-Fascist Combination intends to address itself to the Labor and Socialist International as regards its participation in the Congress for which it is planning. The matter will have to be considered by the Executive. The chief difficulty in the way of the idea is the technical drawback that it will perhaps not be easy, so soon after the great International Congress of the L.S.I. in Brussels, which was the occasion of such a vehement anti-Fascist demonstration, especially in the speeches of Turati and Vandervelde, to get up another international demonstration of equal vigor. However these technical and financial difficulties may be solved, it is perfectly clear already, that as far as the Parties of the Labor and Socialist International are concerned, this is the only Congress at which there can be any question of participating, since it may be expected that, in contradistinction to the Communist demonstration under the aegis of Barbusse, it will be prepared and run entirely on the basis of the restoration of democracy.

While we are on the subject, don't overlook the other offer of THE NEW LEADER. With a new sub we give you a choice of 6 splendid books. (See ad on another page).

Bracke Demands France Evacuate The Saar Valley

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
PARIS.—During the debate on the Budget of the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the French Chamber on Dec. 4, Bracke, as representative of the Socialist Group, made an important speech in which he discussed the most outstanding problems of French foreign policy. Bracke quoted in the course of his speech the election program of the French Socialist Party, in which the immediate and unconditional evacuation of the Rhineland is demanded. He added: "Before turning to another question I wish to speak of another necessary evacuation, that of the Saar District. I know the situation, I have been in this district, and belong to those who have the right to declare that, when the population is asked for which country it will decide, it will answer with the word Germany."

Bracke made a very sharp attack on Briand's speech in the Assembly of the League and declared that if, with Briand, we were to regard the industrial progress of a country as a danger to peace, then all hope of peace was lost. With regard to the League of Nations, Bracke said: "The League of Nations puts us in a position to say to each of the peoples: 'Your fate lies in the hands of the governments. Turn to your government and tell it what you wish it to do; bring pressure to bear on your government; remind it that it is its duty to work for peace in an atmosphere of complete openness through the establishment of understanding between the people.'"

Stuttgart Socialists Win Striking Victory

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
BERLIN.—At the Municipal elections of Stuttgart, Dec. 9, the Socialists raised their total vote from 24,984 to 40,611 and obtained 10 seats as against the 7 held hitherto. The Communists lost about 600 votes, but retained their 4 seats. The Democrats lost 2 out of 6 seats, the German Nationalists 3 out of 7, the German People's Party 1 out of 4, whilst the Centre won a seat and the right of the People's Party and the Christian People's Service Party obtained one seat each. At Ulm the Socialist vote increased from 3,790 to 5,351, and their three seats remained in their hands. The general result of the recruiting campaign undertaken by the Socialist Party during the last week of October is the enrollment of 41,744 new members. Eight thousand five hundred and sixty-four of these are women and 33,180 men.

Amsterdam Answers Woll's Tariff Plea

AMSTERDAM.—(FP)—Answer to the high-tariff declaration of Matthew Woll is in the Economic Supplement of the Press Reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, which points out that the first step toward better conditions for labor here and abroad is international cooperation. Such cooperation of labor bodies was rejected on grounds of national autonomy by the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor. The Supplement appeals for affiliation of American labor with Amsterdam on a basis of mutual autonomy in matters where autonomy is essential.

9 Socialists Win Seats In Roumania

Amnesty, Police and Electoral Reforms Leading Demands of Party in Parliament

BUCHAREST.—On Dec. 12th Parliamentary Elections, the first free elections took place in Roumania. It was an unusual sight—no police to terrorize the electors; no burgomasters to order them about; free speech for all parties; the right to hold meetings without giving notice; no stealing of ballot-boxes. The election results gave about 75% of the votes for the National Zaranist-Social-Democratic coalition. The National Zaranists (peasants) will probably have some 320 seats.

The Social-Democrats show a return of nine members. These are comrades Dan (Chotin), Fluera (Schifal), Gherhan (Kosita), Jumanca (Grades), Lucian (Arad), Mirescu (Bucarest), Pistiner (Cernowitz), Radacanu (Temesvar) and Ramovan (Storozynets). Dr. Pistiner had already been Deputy for two sessions; he is Town Councillor in Cernowitz. Gherman, Miners' Secretary, has also been Deputy. Comrades Fluera, President of the Trades Union Commission and Jumanca were members of the Regency Council in Transylvania during the revolution. Comrade Dan, Town Councillor in Cernowitz, is director of the Consumers Movement in the Bukovina. Radacanu is Secretary of the Party; Mirescu, Trade Union Secretary; Lucien was Town Councillor in Cluj and Ramovan is County Councillor in Cernowitz. In the last two Parliaments there was no Social-Democratic Deputy, and in the one preceding that only Comrade Pistiner.

The Social-Democrat Deputies intend to make their first object the carrying through of the amnesty; then the restoration of autonomy to the sick insurance associations, which during the last eight years have been run by Government officials, and the alteration of the electoral law, which forced the Socialists on this occasion to enter on an election coalition. In spite of this coalition, however, the Social-Democrats carried on their election campaign quite independently and held all their election meetings separately.

The Communists, in spite of the large sums of money at their disposal, and the extensive propaganda which this enabled them to carry on, did not succeed in getting a single candidate returned and polled comparatively fewer votes than at the last elections. They were not in any way interfered in their election propaganda. The Liberals, who polled 1% million votes at the elections for the last Parliament—votes, it is true, which did not represent voters, since the last elections were dominated by cheating and terrorism—have this time probably received about 150,000. They will have about 12 seats. The Averescu group, which was in alliance with the Jorgists, will have four seats, as will also the Party of the former Minister of Labor, Lupu. The National Minority Parties have at their disposal altogether 30 seats, while the extreme Nationalists do not count even one.

Tell the Advertisers you "Saw Their Ad In The New Leader."

LECTURES — FORUMS — SCHOOLS

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

7 East 15th Street Algonquin 3094

New Bulletin Announces Thirty-two Courses, Including Those Listed Below. Copy Sent on Request.

SATURDAY, JAN. 12—4 P. M.
Research Methods
Louis Stanley
To help those who wish to learn how to do original study.

THURSDAY, JAN. 17—7 P. M.
Essentials of Marxism
Algonquin Lee
For advanced students.

FRIDAY, JAN. 18—8:30 P. M.
Symposium on Socialist Theory and Practice
First topic, "Attitude of American Socialists to the Trade Unions."

MONDAY, JAN. 21—7 P. M.
Socialist Economics
Algonquin Lee
A not too difficult study of basic principles.

MONDAY, JAN. 21—8:30 P. M.
The American Renaissance
Prof. Alexander Goldenwieser
The lecturer does not think us a nation of Babbitts and Robots

CULTURE CLUB

A co-ed social club desires to merge with similar organization of young men and women interested in the finer things of life. Address N. L. Box 98, Station "D," New York.

Catalog of anti-religious books free
ATHEIST BOOK STORE
119 East 14th St. New York City

MONDAY, JAN. 21—8:30 P. M.
The Music of the Nations
I. A. Hirschman, Lecturer
Nathaniel Robin, Pianist
First recital, "The Music of Russia."

TUESDAY, JAN. 22—7 P. M.
The World We Live In
Marius Hansome
First lecture, "Man Under Tropic Heat" (Stereopticon).

TUESDAY, JAN. 22—7 P. M.
Elements of Social Psychology
Joseph M. Osman

TUESDAY, JAN. 22—8:30 P. M.
Psychology of Personality
Joseph M. Osman

TUESDAY, JAN. 22—8:30 P. M.
Appreciation of Literature
David P. Berenberg

FRIDAY, JAN. 25—8:30 P. M.
Philosophy and Social Thought
Dr. V. Jerauld McGill

Forum Every Saturday at 2 p. m.

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union
Eighth St. & Astor Pl.
At 8 o'clock

Sunday, January 13
DR. NORMAN ENGELL
"Politics and the Main Street Mind"
Tuesday, January 15
DR. H. H. SHELTON
Professor of Physics
"Radiation"
Friday, January 18
MR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
"Freedom of Speech and the Press—John Milton and Afterwards"
Open Forum Discussion
ADMISSION FREE

At Muhlenberg Branch Library
209 West 23rd St. (near 7th Ave.)
At 8:30 o'clock

Monday, January 14
DR. MARK VAN DOREN
"Macbeth"
Wednesday, January 16
DR. SCOTLAND BUCHANAN
"Fiction—The Logic of Character"
Thursday, January 17
"The Development of the Organic View in the 18th and 19th Centuries"
Saturday, January 19
MR. MORTIMER J. ADLER
"Probability—The Weight of the Facts"

GEORGE PIERCE BAKER

Professor of Dramatic Art at Yale University

on
"THE CHANGING DRAMA"

January 17—"Readjustment—O'Neill,"
January 24—"The Present and the Outlook."

Course tickets, \$2.50. Single admission, \$1.75. Thursday evenings at 8:30

ANITA BLOCK'S Final Lecture

on
"Significant Plays of the Current Season"

Single admission, \$3.00. Wednesday Evening, January 16, at 8:30.

PARK AVE.
at 34th St.

THE COMMUNITY CHURCH

NEW YORK CITY

SATURDAY FORUM ON CURRENT EVENTS

January 12
JOHN ST. LOE STRACHEY
Editor of "The Socialist Review"
"Inside the British Labor Party"
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
7 East 15th Street Algonquin 3094

The East Side Open Forum

Church of All Nations
9 SECOND AVE.

January 13, 1929—8:30 P. M.

Speaker
A. J. BUTTREY of Labor Temple

Subject
ECONOMICS AND HUMAN LIFE

Admission Free Everyone Invited

"LABOR TEMP." 14th St. and Second Ave.

Sunday, January 14, 1929

9:00 p.m.—Dr. C. P. Beck on "The Battered Cistern"

7:15 p.m.—Dr. E. B. Chaffee on "The Keltic and the Outlaw"

8:30 p.m.—Forum—Bishop Francis J. McConnell on "Religion and Labor"

Admission Twenty-five Cents

DISCUSSION

THE GROUP

A Clearing House of Opinion

Auditorium—150 West 35th Street

Tuesday, January 15, at 8:30 p. m.

JOHN COOPER POWERS

will speak on
"IS OUR CIVILIZATION DOOMED?"

Prof. Alexander Goldenwieser will speak on
"Fears and Remedies"

Tuesday, January 22, at 8:30 p. m.

Admission Free. Organized 1918
S. A. Seligson, Director 283 Madison Ave.

Upton Sinclair's 'BOSTON' and the NEW LEADER for One Year

Both for \$5.00

(A SAVING OF \$2.00)

Write to The New Leader, 7 E. 15th St., N. Y.

(This Offer Applies To New Subscriptions Only)

WAR—MORE FOLLY THAN CRIME

By Henry W. Pinkham

A DISTINGUISHED publicist has lately affirmed the necessity of a political equivalent of war, if war is to be abolished. Referring to the multilateral treaty of peace, he could not "take seriously" any project of peace that makes no provision for the development of agencies of international government to supersede "the present international anarchy." Mr. Walter Lippmann's argument (*Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1928) is as plausible as it is mistaken. It certainly should not go unanswered.

To call war "one of the ways by which great human decisions are made," is not to tell the whole truth. It should be added that decisions so made are likely to be unmade by further war, that they have no relevancy to justice, and that they involve an immeasurable and irreparable loss to justice, and that they involve an immeasurable and irreparable loss, a loss in human life which is the most precious thing in the world. The World War was a demonstration—a sufficient one, it is to be hoped—that either civilization will destroy war, or war will destroy civilization. Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson goes further: "If mankind does not end war, war will end mankind. This has not been true in the past. But it is true in the present. For the present has produced something new. It has produced science."

The urgency of the present situation, according to H. G. Wells, "a race between education and catastrophe," calls for a fresh examination of the alleged "function" of war. Granted that war has been resorted to by sincere men for good ends. Did it in fact promote those ends, or did it retard them? In the United States such inquiry may well deal especially with the two wars so generally considered both noble and advantageous, the Revolution and the Civil War. Here are two cases of rebellion and secession. One was a success and we glorify it. The other was a failure and we condemn it. (I speak as a Northerner, disregarding the sentiment still common in the South.) Our secession from England was admirable. The secession of the Southern States was detestable. To be sure, the secession of Panama from Columbia was justified—according to our government, which did not delay for a single hour in recognizing Panama's independence. The principle of self-determination, which President Wilson stressed in treating of European conditions, seems to warrant the South in withdrawing from the Union. Norway separated peacefully from Sweden a few years ago. Does any one think that Sweden ought to have made war on Norway—in Lincoln's phrase—"too save the Union?"

Our fathers in the thirteen colonies had real grievances against the British government, and the Declaration of Independence is a noble statement of the rights of man. But there were able and earnest champions of America in England. The colonists were by no means unanimous in demanding independence. Some of the finest families in Massachusetts, their property confiscated, found refuge in Halifax. Certain revolutionary leaders had private reasons, not altogether creditable, for desiring a change of government. The war was a drain on the wealth and the human stock of both countries. It checked the progress the colonists were making. It embittered feeling toward the mother-country, feeling which even to this day demagogues deliberately inflame to divert attention from their own raceability. It glorified war in the minds of the American people and went far to make us ready for the wars in which we have since engaged. What might have been conjectured, but it is not unreasonable to think that if we had continued politically attached to England we should have avoided the war of 1812. As a part of a larger whole, perhaps we might have emancipated the slaves without bloodshed.

Of the Civil War one may speak with more positiveness. It was a failure, a mistake, a disaster. It did not save the Union, except in outward form. On the contrary, it made a deep and wide chasm between the two sections, a chasm that sixty years have not obliterated. It did not free the slaves, except on paper. It postponed their real emancipation we cannot tell how long. It greatly intensified the antagonism of whites and blacks.

The opinions we hold regarding our own cherished wars, with their "heroes" like Washington, Lincoln and Lee," afford the acid test of the intelligence with which we are devoted to the cause of peace, as we all claim to be. The Mexican War is generally regarded as disgraceful. "Our squallid war with Spain"—thus William James referred to that. If our object in entering the World War was to make the world safe for democracy, then we failed miserably. That war suspended democracy in every belligerent country and was followed by a widespread flouting of democracy, a scornful repudiation of individual liberty, and the violent setting up of dictatorships. If the World War removed certain grievances, it created twice as many new ones. Had the United States kept out of that war, it is probable that peace would have been made in the summer of 1917. That would have been a "peace without victory," based on mutual concession if not mutual condonation—the two things for which Pope Benedict, being a Christian, had pleaded that summer. By going into the war we prolonged it a fatal year and a half, till European civilization tottered on the brink of ruin.

And collective homicide is the institution which, according to Mr. Lippmann, there is no hope of abolishing until a "political equivalent" has been substituted for it!

Our Civil War was virtually an international war, being waged by two well-organized governments, each in control of its own extensive territory. Our Revolution, conversely, despite the separating ocean, may properly be called a civil war, being a rebellion against the lawful government. Civil war in the sense of a violent clash between classes or factions within a single nation is not a serious world problem today. No thoroughly civilized country, with a government even half-way decent and a population that can read, needs to fear a violent revolution except, indeed, as a consequence of international war. International war makes violence and bloodshed familiar and seemingly honorable, and withal produces desperate conditions. Revolutions in several countries followed the immense disaster of the World War. New governments were set up in some cases with hardly any violence, based on the will of the overwhelming majority. In other cases there was strife and bloodshed, but nowhere anything approaching the destructiveness of the war that had preceded.

'War is Fool's Business... It Does Not Deserve Ethical Rating... To Call it Wrong is to Flatter it'

ized country, with a government even half-way decent and a population that can read, needs to fear a violent revolution except, indeed, as a consequence of international war. International war makes violence and bloodshed familiar and seemingly honorable, and withal produces desperate conditions. Revolutions in several countries followed the immense disaster of the World War. New governments were set up in some cases with hardly any violence, based on the will of the overwhelming majority. In other cases there was strife and bloodshed, but nowhere anything approaching the destructiveness of the war that had preceded.

The habit of seeking political and social changes by the method of electioneering rather than by violence is not the bottom reason for the present infrequency of internal wars. That reason is the widespread recognition of the fact that violence within a nation is injurious to all parties, that it breeds more violence, and that it is no guaranty of improvement. Less costly and more effective methods of changing the status quo are now generally used simply because common sense has revolted against the foolishness of violence. Civilized men have learned to curb impatience and passion sufficiently to employ a reasonable method, like reasonable beings, of accomplishing their

will. Once they had resolved to be done with bloodshed in the ordering of their domestic political affairs, there was no difficulty in finding a peaceable political method. Voting in some fashion has come down from time immemorial. Ballots were in use long before there were any bullets. It was not necessary to elaborate an electoral system, although that was done as time went on, and every such system is still far from perfect. The one and only thing indispensable, however, was the firm determination to be done with blood strife. Any other method of effecting change was preferable to that.

International wars of religion may be adduced in this connection with greater pertinence and profit than internal wars. For generations they were waged in the name of Christ and His Church. They were sincerely supported by wise and good men who deemed it a duty to suppress soul-destroying heresy by exterminating incorrigible heretics. Their logic was unimpeachable. Said one sovereign: "If God is going to burn the heretics in hell forever, why should I not burn them here and now?" Wars of religion are now obsolete throughout Christendom. They ended in 1645 and there is no danger of their return. What stopped them? Was it some new institution or agency, some "equivalent" method, devised by a clever ecclesiastical Lippmann, of establishing the truth of theological propositions and winning the acceptance of them? By no means. It was simply the common sense of common people which, often despite the logic of the learned, discerned the irrelevance and futility of physical force in the realm of religion.

A similar appreciation of the part of common people of the irrelevance and futility, the vast destructiveness and abysmal folly, of collective homicide as a political method, will likewise put an end to international wars for the purposes for which they are now waged. New international agencies are not at all a prior necessity, although they are desirable and will appear in good time if war is abandoned. If men are trying to put out a fire by throwing gasoline on it, it is well to stop them whether a supply of water to be substituted for the gasoline is available at the time or not. For at any rate gasoline will only make the fire worse. So collective homicide only makes bad human relationships still worse. To resort to it as a method of improving the status quo is to jump from the frying-pan into the fire. It is to commit suicide in order not to die of smallpox. One had better take a chance with smallpox which is by no means always fatal. In the nature of the case, human life being the ground of all values, collective homicide—an exactly descriptive term for war—is the most injurious course that can be chosen, whatever the circumstances.

Benjamin Franklin said as much long ago: "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

ago: "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

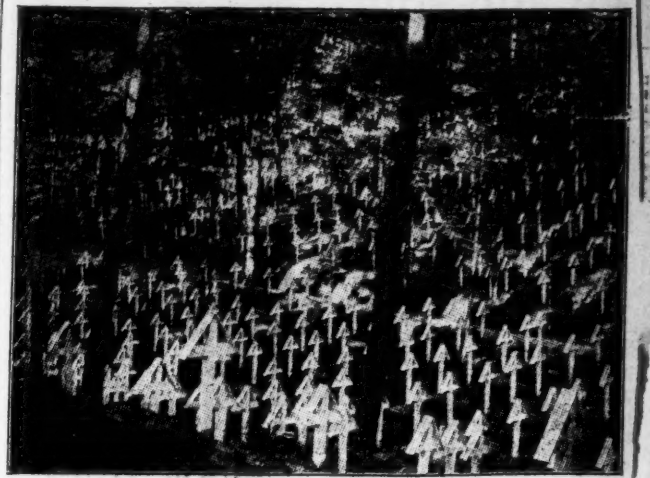
Already there are efficient agencies for dealing with international disputes—a Court of Arbitration, a World Court, a League of Nations. The good offices of all of these are available to any nation that asks. When the governments concerned are enlightened, and when they care more for the welfare of their peoples than for their own pride and for that vague, undefinable thing called national honor, they can maintain peace. War is always a proclamation of the bankruptcy of statesmanship.

Outside of governments international organizations to promote common interests of civilized folk through wide-ranging investigation and discussion and through cooperation are numerous and are multiplying. Distance, once so serious a barrier between peoples, has been practically annihilated by modern invention. Peoples are becoming acquainted with each other as never before. In this condition there is great promise. Governments too often are in large part the instruments by which privileged classes take advantage of the masses. Governments make war for the supposed interests of favored classes or groups, as well as for their own prestige. "No people ever went to war with another people. Governments have gone to war with other governments." So spoke President Wilson at his intellectual and moral best, a year before he succumbed to the pressure for war. Governments being what they are, the insistence that before war between the nations will be abolished there must be "an international government strong enough to preserve order and wise enough to welcome changes in that order" is a counsel of despair. At least until war has been abolished there can be no such government. At present, not in governments but in peoples, in the common sense and common decency of the common men, is our hope for peace.

The pending multilateral treaty has been welcomed and praised by almost every government in the world. Probably none could do otherwise without incurring the amazed wrath of its people. The World War made the world war-weary, and governments are obliged to recognize that fact. But it is peoples rather than governments that possess a genuine will for peace. Governments have their powerful military and naval departments, the personnel of which love the cause of peace quite as the silvermouths of Ephesus loved the religion of St. Paul!

Since the Armistice of 1918, peace organizations have multiplied in many countries. The truth about war has been disseminated as never before. It has not been necessary to wait fifty years for the opening of sealed archives before the facts regarding responsibility for the catastrophe of 1914 could be published. The myth of a guilty nation, once so widely

The War Seeds Sprout



accepted, has been exploded by expert investigators. War lies have been exposed. In bitter years of bereavement, impoverishment, debt, unemployment, unstable money, anxiety and fear, the lesson has been driven home to the common people far and wide that war does not pay. Victors and vanquished have suffered and are suffering and will suffer on the whole in equal measure. It has come to pass that multitudes are immune to war madness. "Never again!" is the watchword in many languages, of many persons, in many lands. It will not be easy to fool the peoples again and persuade them that some new war is necessary and righteous.

III.
Mr. Lippmann presents a long list of the causes of war. The impossibility of removing them all seems evident. But there is only one underlying cause, and the removal of that can be speeded up indefinitely. That ultimate cause is the belief, until recently well nigh universal, that war is a method, and not seldom the only available method by which precious human values can be conserved and human progress achieved.

The idea that war is sought for its own sake as affording the release of certain subjective impulses clamoring for expression is sheer nonsense. Certainly the normal human being has no insatiable longing for the experiences of modern warfare. The chance to be blown in pieces by a gun fired miles away or by a bomb dropped from the sky, or to be consumed by murderous gas, or to be disemboweled by a bayonet, is not, in itself considered, irresistibly alluring. Nor is the average man strongly inclined to bestow such boons, if he can, upon fellow-men whom he never saw before, against whom he has not the shadow of a grievance except that they happened to be born under another flag than his. That human nature craves war is a fantastic notion originating in the study, not on the battlefield.

The more horrible war is and the more violently it outrages human nature, the more credit is due to men for waging it, if and when it is in truth the only available means of achieving supremely important goods, or realizing noble ideals. But the thorough-going peace-maker denies that such condition ever did or ever will exist.

The case against war rests finally on the single postulate, which few will deny, that, generally speaking, a living human being is preferable to a corpse. That there are individual exceptions to this proposition is evidently held by those who justify capital punishment. Something can be said for the killing by authorized agents of society of those who have in-

entionally taken human life. There is no glamor about these legal killings, no ardent competition for the hangman's or electrocutioner's job. War is different in that it is indiscriminate, wholesale killing, and is full of glory. In war good men kill good men; choice youth from universities kill choice youth from universities; honest, home-loving workingmen kill honest, home-loving workingmen; Christians kill Christians, each side with the blessing of its clergy who invoke the name of Christ, the Prince of Peace. The word that fits such conduct is insanity. Bernard Shaw said in the midst of the World War: "The longer I live, the more firmly I am convinced that the other planets use our earth as their lunatic asylum." Dean Inge, looking back upon the incredible war years, says: "We were all stark mad together."

War would not be so preposterous if it were only the "enemy" that perished. Said Mr. George Harvey in 1918, with that ethical insight which so well fitted him to select Presidents for the United States: "Our chief duty before God and man is to kill Huns." Unfortunately killing in war is approximately life for life. In order to rid the earth of a murderer it were necessary to kill some upright and useful citizen at the same time, then it is safe to say, capital punishment certainly would have few defenders. But every bad "Hun" that was slain cost the life of some good man, say, an Englishman, or a Frenchman, or an American.

The winning line of attack upon war is not to depict the horror of it, nor to denounce it as wicked, but simply to demonstrate its futility and waste, to point out its utterable stupidity. War is worse than a crime: it is a blunder. It is fools' business. It is irrationally without stint or limit. It does not deserve ethical rating. To call it wrong is to flatter it, as a fool is flattered when you call him a knave. Not hard hearts but muddled heads, shallow thinking, uncritical acceptance of false tradition, should be blamed for persistence of war. Rousseau said that rulers would refrain from war if they knew their own interests: "They men will honest, home-loving workingmen is preferable to a corpse. That there do not need to be good, generous, disinterested, public-spirited, humane. They may be unjust, greedy, putting their own interests above everything else; we only ask that they shall not be fools."

Not to be fools! That seems a modest requirement, perhaps not too much to ask of the rulers of the United States, the sovereign people.

The way to abolish war is to abolish it. No equivalents need be sought. All that is necessary is common sense and the use of it. A modicum will suffice.

The Lies Men Die For

From the Introduction to "Falsehood in War-Time"

By Arthur Ponsonby, M.P.

LET us attempt a very faint and inadequate analogy between the conduct of nations and the conduct of individuals.

Imagine two large country houses containing large families with friends and relations. When the members of the family of the one house stay in the other, the butler is instructed to open all the letters they receive and send and inform the host of their contents, to listen at the keyhole, and tap the telephone. When a great match, say a cricket match, that excites the whole district, is played between them, those who are not present are given false reports of the game to make them think the side they favor is winning, the other side is accused of cheating and foul play, and scandalous reports are circulated about the head of the family and the hideous goings on in the other house.

All this, of course, is very mild, and there would be no specially dire consequences if people were to behave in such an inconceivably caddish, low, and underhand way, except that they would at once be expelled from decent society.

But between nations, where the consequences are vital, where the destiny of countries and provinces hangs in the balance, the lives and fortunes of millions are affected and civilization itself is menaced, the most upright men honestly be-

Falsehood and Deceit Found Indispensable in War

lieve that there is no depth of duplicity to which they may not legitimately stoop. They have got to do it. The thing cannot go on without the help of lies.

This is no plea that lies should not be used in wartime, but a demonstration of how lies must be used in war-time. If the truth were told from the outset, there would be no reason and no will for war.

Anyone declaring the truth: "Whether you are right or wrong, whether you win or lose, in no circumstances can war help you or your country," would find himself in gaol very quickly. In war-time, failure to lie is negligence, the doubting of a lie a misdemeanor, the declaration of the truth a crime.

In future wars we have now to look forward to a new and far more efficient instrument of propaganda—the Government control of broadcasting. Whereas, therefore, in the past we have used the word "broadcast" symbolically as meaning the efforts of the press and individual reporters, in future we must use the word literally, since falsehood can now be circulated universally, scientifically and authoritatively.

Many of the samples given in the assortment are international, but some are exclusively British, as these are more easily found and investigated, and, after all, we are more concerned with our own government and press methods and our own

national honor than with the duplicity of other governments.

Lies told in other countries are also dealt with in cases where it has been possible to collect sufficient data. Without special investigation on the spot, the career of particular lies cannot be fully set out.

When the people of one country understand how the people in another country are duped, like themselves, in war-time, they will be more disposed to sympathize with them as victims than condemn them as criminals, because they will understand that their crime only consisted in obedience to the dictates of authority and acceptance of what their government and press represented to them as the truth.

The period covered is roughly the four years of the war. The intensity of the lying was mitigated after 1918, although fresh crops came up in connection with other of our international relations. The mischief done by the false cry "Make Germany Pay" continued after 1918 and led, more especially in France, to high expectations and consequent indignation when it was found that the people who raised this slogan knew all the time it was a fantastic impossibility. Many of the old war lies survived for several years, and some survive even to this day. There is nothing sensational in the way

of revelations contained in these pages. All the cases mentioned are well known to those who were in authority, less well known to those primarily affected, and unknown, unfortunately, to the millions who fell. Although only a small part of the vast field of falsehood is covered, it may suffice to show how the unsuspecting innocence of the masses in all countries was ruthlessly and systematically exploited.

There are some who object to war because of its immorality, there are some who shrink from the arbitrament of arms because of its increased cruelty and barbarity; there are a growing number who protest against this method, of attempting to settle international disputes because of its imbecility and futility. But there is not a living soul in any country who does not deeply resent having his passions roused, his indignation inflamed, his patriotism exploited, and his highest ideals desecrated by concealment, subterfuge, fraud, falsehood, trickery, and deliberately lying on the part of those in whom he is taught to repose confidence and to whom he is enjoined to pay respect.

None of the heroes prepared for suffering and sacrifice, none of the common herd ready for service and obedience will be inclined to listen to the call of their country once they discover the polluted sources from whence that call proceeds and recognize the monstrous finger of falsehood which beckons them to the battlefield.

The Biggest Sport Kicks The Bucket

By Gertrude Weil Klein

THERE has been almost as much written about Tex Rickard since his death as there was about Lindbergh when he completed his flight across the Atlantic. Front page stuff, too. Headlines in all the papers. Thousands upon thousands of words regimined into columns of type to tell the world the story of Tex Rickard.

I tell you, it makes me sick. All I feel like saying is: "Dead? Yeh? Well, what of it?" But I can't let it go at that.

Here was a man who never made a move, never did a thing, never had a plan or an idea—so far as you and I and the rest of us were concerned—which wasn't tied up with money-making. Here was a man, who so far as his regard for, or interest in, suffering humanity or even the plain cabbage-patch variety of humanity, want, was a complete zero. I'm not saying, mind you, that if an old pal down on his luck went to Rickard with his palm out, he'd go away empty-handed. No, no! I understand he had his private pension list. Maybe he did. Why not? When all the other thrills have become mere tickles, there's still quite a kick in a private pension list and

the heavy philanthropists go in for them quite regularly.

These are not the kind of giving I'm talking about, but the giving of one's best thought and energy toward making life more bearable for the poor unfortunate of this earth. The thing that gets me is that such men live almost unknown and die almost unnoticed, while the Rickards and the Valentines get wealth and acclaim while they live and public funerals when they die.

Just within the last year, two men, whose achievements rank them among the great, died. One was the Japanese scientist Dr. Noguchi (undoubtedly I've misspelled his name, it's been in print so rarely) and the other was the American x-ray specialist (to my shame, I don't even remember his name). Both these men sacrificed their lives that you and I, and—indiscriminately—the thousands that jammed Madison Square Garden for a last look at a "great man," might benefit thereby. Their passing was hardly noticed.

What has given to Rickard this fame? Just what did his amazing genius consist of? Chiefly this. He sank enough money into the prize-fighting game to prevent anybody else from having a look-

in. He never gave another promoter a chance to get a foothold. He could and did outbid everybody else for any kind of a worthwhile match. He had unlimited funds at his command, many millionaire friends who knew he had a sure thing and were willing to back him. And then the smart newspaper boys helped him to the rest. He was always affable to newspaper men, always had a story, always was good copy. And there you have it. Plenty of money and plenty of ballyhoo. Not such a difficult trick after all.

For one thing, though, he may be entitled to a medal. He made his show expensive enough to enable the rich yokels to give their patronage with propriety and even swank. Once, the proletarian among the sports, patronized chiefly by the proletarians, it became an aristocrat, or at least a nouveau riche, under Rickard's tutelage. He trimmed the rich yokels good and plenty and he made them like it. \$50.00 was nothing for a ring-side seat, and ring-side might as well have been called seaside, for the fight was way out beyond the horizon somewhere and all you got was the thunder of the waves as it rose from the sea of humans about you.

Maybe his game was honest. I don't know enough about it to say. Certainly it was no crookedness than in the old days when all that was necessary for a fight was a draughty hall, some broken down chairs and a couple of fighters. Maybe this tight-lipped, cold-eyed, poker-faced man didn't get himself mixed up with such a dirty crowd as were the "late Rothstein's confederates, but he was nevertheless, just a born gambler with a flair for publicity. If the enormities that have been heaped on him were congratulations for his honesty, then all of us who manage to keep outside of jail should be clapping each other on the back.

And do you know who's to blame for it all? Radicals and reformers. It was our kind, back one hundred years or so ago, who struggled and fought for free education for the masses. Public schools. And we won. We got public schools and compulsory education and now everybody can read. And what do they read? Blige and garbage. Now I ask you can you tie it?

Tex Rickard laid out in a \$15,000 casket has a public funeral because the yokels have learned to read and write. It is to weep.

The Best in Books FREE

With a New Yearly Subscription

to THE NEW LEADER

(Because of the value of these handsomely printed, cloth-bound volumes our offer must be limited to NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS only)

Your Choice of Any One of These Books and The New Leader for One Year

\$2.00

By H. G. Wells
Social Anticipations

The Misery of Boots—The Great State—Discovery of the Future—Fundamental Idea of Socialism.

By Jack London
Essays of Revolt

The Apostate—The Dream of Debs—How I Became a Socialist—The Scab—What Life Means to Me—Revolution.

THE NEW LEADER
7 East 15th Street
New York City

Enclosed you will find \$2.00 for which you will send The New Leader for one year and (Name of Book)

Name

Address

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

WE GO A BIT FEROCIOUS

WE haven't been spending many sleepless nights over the fact that a lot of New York theatres are dark because of poor business.

That is the present "slump" in theatricals is not breaking us down much. For as far as we are concerned they can keep their old theatres black as Egypt. That is most of them. You see we know one or two theatrical people, actors and critics and such. And in our opinion they're not so hot. They are in their own opinions, however. You would think to hear some of them talk that life in Manhattan did not start until the turn of the Broadway lights and that those galaxies which the scientists have been telling us about lately had their being in box-office receipts.

There has been a great howl over the way that British Johnny, St. John Ervine tackles his job and wears his clothes and speaks his curiously accented English.

It's the boy who writes his pieces a whole day late so that his master-mind may have plenty of time to function. Now we are not noted for our strong affection for the English and things British in general. And we are not here to boost him. What we rise to ask is what difference in the world or out of it, does it make that this boy thinks about the plays he goes to see. He knocked the lights out of one of the few amusements we've seen this year. We mean "The Front Page," the newspaper play. Sinjin says that the Chicago newspapermen portrayed in the show are not true to life. That he can't imagine where they get their bad manners and odious conduct. As we understand it, Mr. Ervine has spent most of his life between London and the North of Ireland. And we seriously doubt if there are many visiting Chicago newspapermen in those parts. Our point is, who cares what this rather cocky and certainly patronizing foreigner does think about any play. It's our policy to refuse to recognize him and most theatrical critics for that matter, always excepting Gil Gabriel, on the ground that they really do not matter.

There's certainly nothing particularly sacrosanct about their jobs that gives them to right to high-hat all the rest of humanity. A coal-digger out in Illinois sloshing around in a wet mine is a lot more valuable member of society than a be-spattered theatrical critic. And that goes for most writers, including newspaper columnists.

I'm all fed up on the idea that giving a linotype a lot of poorly assorted words is any sort of sacred calling. Some of the grandest folks I know don't read a book a year and think that "The Strange Interlude" is the name of a race-horse. They seem to survive remarkably well without going near a theatre. And I doubt if any of them are wildly excited over F. P. A.

Of course they know nothing of the power and glory that hangs over the chubby form of a critic on a first night. They think, these simple friends of mine, that most theatrical and writing people are a bit soft, as God knows they are.

Music is just another subject of which I am deucedly ignorant but I get no light from most musical criticism. It strikes this benighted layman that the main equipment for a musical critic is a fancy vocabulary. I hear a fellow get up and play on a violin and it's all right by me. But the next morning I read a lot of blarney about his "emotional tonal effects" and how his "elan vital" was all over the platform, and I sink without a murmur.

You know I have a sort of suspicion which may be wholly unwarranted that these critics don't know what it's all about but have to get something down on paper. So they write profusely with an air of profundity and we suckers fall for the stuff and say, "Oh, an artist must receive greater rewards than an average worker." You know the old gag about the professor and the brick-layer and what a shame that the so-called "mental worker" gets a smaller pay than the boy with the trowel. Well, you'll notice that I'm in a rather savage mood this week and I'm going to go right on and state that in my opinion a lot of college professors, particularly the economics crowd with whom I come in contact are being ridiculously over-paid.

In the first place they are not handling real stuff. There are more than traces of poison in what they peddle. They are describing to our youngsters a world which simply does not exist and never did outside of the text-books. Again I must make such honorable exceptions as Tugwell and Chase and some of the younger crowd. Tugwell himself says in the introduction to his remarkably brilliant book, "Industry's Coming of Age": "Value and distribution furnish problems till but our study of them is conditioned by their formulation in the England of the mid-nineteenth century."

Of course, and that formulation was conditioned to bluster up the laissez-faire philosophy of a group of exploiters who raised merry hell in merry England. Many of our teachers still apparently believe that it is their function to perpetuate this philosophy although it has been repeatedly shown to have been false. Mass production is making a joke of old-line economics. And let they go blandly on in a world where the principal law is the law of change, and there ain't no Ten Commandments, turning over the old hokum. To give these fellows as much or more than an honest brick-layer is simply another fantastic idea in a topsy-turvy world.

Gosh, we didn't expect to end up like this. We started in to say that there is altogether too much fuss being made about a lot of second-hand people who are hitched up with our theatre. And here we are in the midst of laissez-faire and all those big words. But that's what happens when you have a driving force that is as powerful as Socialism. It functions in strange ways. Because it is one of the few rational things left. You go out in the morning with Socialism and you have undertaken that research magnificent which gives all your life its color.

Adventure waits around every corner. Always on the horizon is a gleam. And yet these poisoners of thought on the lecture platform or in the press would have our young folks believe that Socialism is a dead theory first expounded by a rather drab old man in the reading-room of the London museum. Hasten the day when we shall have the power to broadcast to all the world the true beauties of the cooperative life.

McAlister Coleman.

Those statistics of exports to various parts of the world are very interesting. They show in part how much we are capable of producing without the producers keeping it for themselves.

It may be true that useful labor produces all values but that truth isn't valuable unless you translate it into Socialist votes.

Mayor Olvany is thinking real hard as to who will succeed him next year. When he knows the answer he will be kind enough to let the voters ratify his decision.

Scanning the New Books

"That Woodhull Woman"

By Harriot Stanton Blatch

WHY shouldn't "The Terrible Siren" (Harpers, N. Y.), be as interesting as a novel, since truth is stranger than fiction, and since the story of Victoria Woodhull loses nothing in the telling by Mrs. Emanuel Sachs?

Victoria was the seventh of ten children. The father of the brood was Reuben Buchman Claffin, horse trader, gambler, counterfeiter. The mother, Roxanna, was an ardent Methodist, very responsive to the revival spirit, swaying, spinning up and down the church aisles until she fell in a trance. Victoria saw spirits from the age of three.

The children of Homer, Ohio, were punished if they went to play at the Claffins, but they went, nevertheless, for Victoria drew them like a magnet. In spite of dirt, rags, tangled hair, her beauty of features shone out. She had flashing eyes, a vibrant voice. She was compelling when preaching on the Mount of Olive.

As they grew up the family lived by its wits and the two sisters, Victoria and Tennessee, by their beauty as well. Driven out of Homer by a citizens' committee, Buck led his flock to Pennsylvania and put up a sign on the main road, "Have your past read and future told, T. Claffin." Victoria made spirit music and turned tables. Mother and daughters took a house in Cincinnati and hung out their shingle: "Tennessee Claffin and Victoria Woodhull, Clairvoyants." Law suits arose over the character of the place and the city asked them to move on. This part of the career of the Claffin sisters covered the tempest-tossed sixties. Mrs. Sachs had to search far and wide to reach the facts for only vague rumors of this colorful past ever seeped through the east in the seventies.

It was in 1868 that the family came to New York, the finger of fate directing the trek.

"Victoria was in Pittsburgh; and while she was sitting at a marble table her favorite spirit visitor appeared in his Greek tunic. . . . He never had revealed his identity. Now he wrote 'Damocles' on the table.' . . . He commanded her to go to New York City to a house at number 17 Great Jones street. . . . She found the hall, the rooms that she had seen in her vision. She wandered into the library, idly picked up a book. It was the 'Orations of Demosthenes'." Then we are given the next logical developments:

"Neither Colonel Blood nor Demosthenes was a good provider. And when all the hungry Claffins flocked to Great Jones street, Buchman took his golden goose to Commodore Vanderbilt, who was the logical prey of fake healers."

Tennessee magnetized the commodore during the most active period of his life; apparently, she did him no harm. He agreed to back a Napoleonic scheme. . . . The Claffin sisters needed ideas as much as money:

"The public was listening to 'The Lady Brokers,' and when Stephen Pearl Andrews met Victoria Woodhull he saw the ideal trumpet for his ideas. What she had learned from Col. Blood she already impressed. Her voice was musical and captivating. She worshipped learning and here was a man who knew more than Col. Blood."

On April 2, 1870, there appeared in the "New York Herald" an announcement signed by Victoria Woodhull that she was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. A month later "Woodhull and Claffin's Weekly" made its first appearance. It carried advertisements of leading financial houses and announced it would support Mrs. Woodhull's candidacy.

Mrs. Woodhull was now a writer as well as speaker on sex, marriage, human society. It will surprise Socialists to learn that Mrs. Woodhull was a Socialist "leader," and, according to Mrs. Sachs, "is figured in every history of Socialism in America." Suspicion entered my soul that exaggeration was to aid in the thrill of contrast. Suspicion turned to conviction with this item: Mrs. Woodhull "was the first suffragist to have an official hearing in Washington" and "the suffragists were amazed when they heard about it in the papers."

Good judgment as to likelihood often saves one from falling into the pit of misstatement. It is likely that two war-horses like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, having had State legislative hearings since 1854, ignored the Congressional committees as sounding boards for their propaganda when they organized the National movement? Why, if Mrs. Sachs had dug back only one year she would have found herself at a hearing arranged by the National Woman Suffrage Association. She would have heard Charles Sumner, a member of the committee, say that in his twenty years of service he had never seen so many committee members in attendance, nor heard such able presentation of a cause by its supporters! The truth about the Siren is all one can swallow comfortably!

But to get back to the story: "When Commodore Vanderbilt died in January, 1877, and left about nine-tenths of his fortune to his son, William, the other children contested the will on the grounds the testator was mentally incompetent. In an effort to prove this, plaintiffs brought on his connection with Woodhull and Claffin. . . . A conservative jury might discredit the Commodore for trading through the 'lady brokers,' but the defendant would be lost if Tennessee and Victoria went on the witness stand with their Demosthenes. . . . and the dramatic revelation that might occur to either."

It was generally believed that Victoria and Tennessee were paid to go to England and stay there during the trial. . . . We next hear of Victoria in December, 1877, when she delivered in London her lecture, "The Human Body the Temple of God."

According to Mrs. Sachs, one English paper said:

"Her nervous style of utterance, her little womanly ways, so out of keeping with the matter of her lecture, pleased the audience; she certainly pleased

John Biddulph Martin, the younger son of Robert Martin, a partner of Martin's Bank, one of the oldest banking concerns in Lombard Street."

Mrs. Sachs gives an absorbing analysis of a woman of beauty and charm who attracted men to use them to secure what she wanted at the moment. Sometimes the desire was as reasonable as that to get away from a rasping home. She attached Dr. Woodhull. She was beautiful and had the gift of speech. She lacked ideas. She attached Col. Blood. She needed money and acclaim. She attacked Commodore Vanderbilt. She wanted to edit a paper, write and speak on high themes. She attached Stephen Pearl Andrews. She wanted to play statesman at Washington. She attached Benjamin Butler, M. C. She wanted to rest and be respectable. She attached Biddulph Martin.

Perhaps the chief value of the Terrible Siren is the sidelight thrown on American life. The author fits her heroine into her time so perfectly that she does not seem so exceptional as the ultra-patriot would like us to believe. This book should find its place in the library of every writer on the Savage Seventies.

On Criticizing Books

"HAI!" I said, "just what I've been looking for!" It was a book called "How to Criticize Books" (W. W. Norton) and by the editor of a book section (Llewellyn Jones)—even if it be but in the Windy City. So now I should learn! With copious and frank acknowledgments, Mr. Jones borrows many good ideas on the various subjects that come within the scope of his volume; so that those who are novices will find valuable help—especially in the practical "Do's" at the close. But, oh! when he speaks for himself!

Is it because of Volstead that Mr. Jones puts the grapes the fox could not reach in only one of his errors in fact; he tells us we have "escaped the fallacy" that society can be saved by agreeing on any program—which, unless he means (which he does not say) that society cannot agree, is manifest nonsense. He states that the "Essays and Studies by the Members of the English Association" have been published annually for the past thirteen years, when they were not issued, if my recollection hold, from 1915 to 1919. He quotes a passage describing a certain Claire, containing this sentence (among others of the sort): ". . . But this taste for severity and pallor was no indication of aestheticism; it was as sensuous and esthetic as another's love for deep banks of flowers. . . ." then comments: "The author has not, on her own responsibility, told you a single thing about Claire." To whom, then, has she been speaking?

Even when he relies on others, Mr. Jones is not always lucky enough to escape revelation of his poor taste. His curious attempt to explain the effect of the word "Ghastly" by the pronunciation of the "h" which, he tells us, suggests the "thrust" movements of fear, makes us wonder why we do not feel the same, when we are told, for instance, that today the ghost will walk. His judgment is not always sound.

The "Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry," which Marcus Graham has compiled, is now announced for February publication. A most representative group of radicals and poets sponsors this collection: Walter Byner, Countee Cullen, Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chapin, Joseph Freeman, Louis Ginsberg, Ernest Horn, Hippolyte Havel, Alfred Kreymer, James M. Marks, Benjamin M. L. Wood, Clement Wood to name only a few. Such a group should ensure the value of the volume.

Besides original English poetry of the past and of our own time, there are translations from fifteen foreign languages; almost four hundred poets are included. The pre-publication price is \$2, and copies may be ordered from Nicholas McWhorter, Treasurer, Box 3, West Farms Station, New York. Due date, edition, \$4.

Harlem membership rally this month. Several thousand leaflets have been printed which will be distributed among the Evening High Schools, and young people generally in the neighborhood. At present the circle is cooperating with the Social Party in a series of lectures at the Harlem Headquarters at 82 East 106th St., Sunday mornings, at 11 o'clock. Musical programs are interwoven.

Song Books Published by N. Y. P. S. L. The New York League has published a New Yipsel Song Book. The copies retail at ten cents with orders of at least twenty at five cents each. Other Yipsel circles that are interested will communicate with the Executive Secretary of the City League at 7 East 15th St.

Three More Junior Circles! Three new junior circles have been organized. In Bensonhurst a circle started with nine boys will meet Monday evenings at the Workers' Circle School, 7316 20th Ave. Mr. Gebner will be the director. Harry Sokolofsky and Sam Sklar were elected delegates to the Junior Conference. Another circle called "Chums" was organized at Williamsburg, 190 McKibbin St., Friday, Twenty boys and girls joined. Esther Lassin is president, Roslyn Davidson, secretary, Helen Tansen, publicity agent. The following were chosen to represent the club in the Junior Debating Tournament: Rose Nefrick, Sol Agronoff, Louis Caruso and Esther Lassin as alternate.

Third new circle is in Rockaway, 156 Beach 86th St. Thirteen boys and girls were present last Monday. Mr. Afro spoke on the "Ideals of the YCL."

Senior Central Committee Elects At the last meeting of the Central Committee, held Jan. 2, the following were elected: President, Hy Kaplan; vice-president, Evelyn Edelstein; secretary, Samuel Duman; treasurer, David Katz. The Organizing Committee consists of Ben Kaye, Nat Shifman, Ben Grossman, Sam Duman, The Entertainment Committee, David Katz, Jessie Singer and Ben Kaye. Delegates to Youth Committee, Reichline, Singer, Duman, Katz, Chairman of Athletics Committee, Hy Kaplan; of Educational Committee, Ben Kaye. The next meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 15.

Junior Conference and Constitution The monthly meeting of the Junior

Executive Committee was held Jan. 6 at the Forward Building. Mr. Yarnak was chairman. Jack Blitt reported the standing of the clubs in the debating tournament as follows: Arc won from the Marco, New York from the Alce, Crest from the East Flatbush. The new constitution was read and adopted. Dorothy Bard, Rhoda Okun and Jack Blitt were elected as athletic committee. The Chums Circle (Wmsburg) and the Youth Circle (Jersey City) were admitted to the League.

Eleve Molot and Adele Arnowitz, both of Circle 6 Intermediates, deserve special mention for their efforts in relief work.

Coming Events The Junior Dramatic Contest will be held Saturday, Jan. 12, at 7 o'clock in the Rand School, Sunday, Jan. 13, at 4 p. m., at the Bronx Center, 1103 Boston Road. Amikos Circle will debate the Flatbush Seniors on: "Resolved, that the U. S. Constitution be Amended to Permit Congress to Pass a Uniform Marriage and Divorce Law." Benjamin Schweitzer, Herman Brown and Benedikt Kabakow of the Amikos will argue the negative. Charles Dundy, Hy Kaplan and Jack Zuckerman of the Flatbush Circle will take the affirmative. Henry Jager will lecture on "Machine: Promise or Menace?" Sunday, Jan. 13, at 5:30 o'clock, at the Williamsburg Senior Circle at 139 Sumner Ave., Brooklyn. J. L. Afro will speak over Station WED on "The Tale Before Youth," Tuesday, Jan. 15, at 8:40 p. m.

tification of split infinitives might be accepted, were it not for the examples he adduces. The sentence "And lastly the sense of the sentence requires that the infinitive shall be split to avoid ambiguity," in addition to its poor sound, is ridiculous, and not at all what Mr. Jones intends: "may require," or "sometimes requires" being what he should have said. Mr. Jones completely misunderstands the passage he mentions in Milton's "Lycids." He—Why go on? The lesson to be drawn from this volume is, that a frog who tries to become a bull can never be more than a bull-frog.

William Lea.

Vinal Verse

RECENT volumes from Vinal include "The Kingdom of Towers" by Allan Dowling (\$1.50), "This Man's Army" by John Allan Wyeth (\$2.), and "Ravings in Delirium" by Dr. Ary Flaks (\$2.).

The first of these, with extravagant jacket-praise, contains some vivid verse, including "Itinerary," a sonnet on "The Ancient Beautiful," and a few brief bits addressed to Baudelaire, Ernes, Dowson, and others. There is an effort at dramatic expression in the bank of the volume of which I hope Mr. Dowling will repent. He is perhaps at his best in "On Baudelaire's Intimate Papers": The cry, the horror of the hollow hill. The floating mass—no heart can face it! Let opium sheen the skirts of the black hole.

Over the bar of a determined will Flared high in sky as hand can place it The plunger of the flesh sends up the soul.

Mr. Wyeth, in his fifty-odd sonnets on the war, achieves a casual, real effect, as of buddies sharing the various aspects of "the life of Riley" that was trench warfare and the days alongside. The run of the chopped conversations through the sonnets is skillful, and adds to the naturalness of the work. Especially pleasing to me were the "Concert by Elsie Janis," the "Hospital Train" and the humor that runs through such bits as "The Old Army Game"—and adds the final tag "nice la guerre!"

One of Dr. Flaks' poems contains the stanza: I took her to a specialist on the lung. Who auscultated and perused her quite a long.

And as befits a specialist to do. He examined her until he was through.

Careful consideration of a number of the 389 pages of this volume lead me to believe that the publishers are not attempting to titillate the risibilities of those whose bile needs brightening, and that the book seriously is composed so as to justify its title.

Joseph T. Shipley.

Revolutionary Verse

The "Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry," which Marcus Graham has compiled, is now announced for February publication. A most representative group of radicals and poets sponsors this collection: Walter Byner, Countee Cullen, Ralph Chaplin, Ralph Chapin, Joseph Freeman, Louis Ginsberg, Ernest Horn, Hippolyte Havel, Alfred Kreymer, James M. Marks, Benjamin M. L. Wood, Clement Wood to name only a few. Such a group should ensure the value of the volume.

Besides original English poetry of the past and of our own time, there are translations from fifteen foreign languages; almost four hundred poets are included. The pre-publication price is \$2, and copies may be ordered from Nicholas McWhorter, Treasurer, Box 3, West Farms Station, New York. Due date, edition, \$4.

Harlem membership rally this month. Several thousand leaflets have been printed which will be distributed among the Evening High Schools, and young people generally in the neighborhood. At present the circle is cooperating with the Social Party in a series of lectures at the Harlem Headquarters at 82 East 106th St., Sunday mornings, at 11 o'clock. Musical programs are interwoven.

Song Books Published by N. Y. P. S. L. The New York League has published a New Yipsel Song Book. The copies retail at ten cents with orders of at least twenty at five cents each. Other Yipsel circles that are interested will communicate with the Executive Secretary of the City League at 7 East 15th St.

Three More Junior Circles! Three new junior circles have been organized. In Bensonhurst a circle started with nine boys will meet Monday evenings at the Workers' Circle School, 7316 20th Ave. Mr. Gebner will be the director. Harry Sokolofsky and Sam Sklar were elected delegates to the Junior Conference. Another circle called "Chums" was organized at Williamsburg, 190 McKibbin St., Friday, Twenty boys and girls joined. Esther Lassin is president, Roslyn Davidson, secretary, Helen Tansen, publicity agent. The following were chosen to represent the club in the Junior Debating Tournament: Rose Nefrick, Sol Agronoff, Louis Caruso and Esther Lassin as alternate.

Third new circle is in Rockaway, 156 Beach 86th St. Thirteen boys and girls were present last Monday. Mr. Afro spoke on the "Ideals of the YCL."

Senior Central Committee Elects At the last meeting of the Central Committee, held Jan. 2, the following were elected: President, Hy Kaplan; vice-president, Evelyn Edelstein; secretary, Samuel Duman; treasurer, David Katz. The Organizing Committee consists of Ben Kaye, Nat Shifman, Ben Grossman, Sam Duman, The Entertainment Committee, David Katz, Jessie Singer and Ben Kaye. Delegates to Youth Committee, Reichline, Singer, Duman, Katz, Chairman of Athletics Committee, Hy Kaplan; of Educational Committee, Ben Kaye. The next meeting will be held Tuesday, Jan. 15.

Junior Conference and Constitution The monthly meeting of the Junior

Executive Committee was held Jan. 6 at the Forward Building. Mr. Yarnak was chairman. Jack Blitt reported the standing of the clubs in the debating tournament as follows: Arc won from the Marco, New York from the Alce, Crest from the East Flatbush. The new constitution was read and adopted. Dorothy Bard, Rhoda Okun and Jack Blitt were elected as athletic committee. The Chums Circle (Wmsburg) and the Youth Circle (Jersey City) were admitted to the League.

Eleve Molot and Adele Arnowitz, both of Circle 6 Intermediates, deserve special mention for their efforts in relief work.

Coming Events The Junior Dramatic Contest will be held Saturday, Jan. 12, at 7 o'clock in the Rand School, Sunday, Jan. 13, at 4 p. m., at the Bronx Center, 1103 Boston Road. Amikos Circle will debate the Flatbush Seniors on: "Resolved, that the U. S. Constitution be Amended to Permit Congress to Pass a Uniform Marriage and Divorce Law." Benjamin Schweitzer, Herman Brown and Benedikt Kabakow of the Amikos will argue the negative. Charles Dundy, Hy Kaplan and Jack Zuckerman of the Flatbush Circle will take the affirmative. Henry Jager will lecture on "Machine: Promise or Menace?" Sunday, Jan. 13, at 5:30 o'clock, at the Williamsburg Senior Circle at 139 Sumner Ave., Brooklyn. J. L. Afro will speak over Station WED on "The Tale Before Youth," Tuesday, Jan. 15, at 8:40 p. m.

The Party representation of German Social-Democracy in Czechoslovakia passed a resolution on Dec 13 stating that "the Party representation of the German Socialist Labor Party considers the elections irrefutable proof that the majority of the voters has pronounced itself against the governing Parties, and that the German-Czechoslovak Government Coalition no longer enjoys the support of the majority of the population. Even the introduction of more unfavorable voting regulations, which worked out to the disadvantage of the Labor Party, could not prevent the defeat of the Government Parties."

It is here that I take issue with the lady. Sing by all means. Even if you have to appear before workmen and give them the joy of your talent. And if you are not acclaimed as readily by the crowds who gather only to the brass braying of the press agent, remember that to have given joy to thousands of poor people is also something to write home about.

For the artistic soul's sake of Miss Ray Porter Miller, I hope the Engineering Hall is filled with men of the shop and women of the factory next Saturday night. Also that not one critic is there. And that a good time will be had by all.

THE CHATTER BOX

THE one grief there is to be found in the work of John Keats is captioned by his own self-pitying epitaph . . . "Here lies one whose name was writ in water . . ."

It would have been happier to have destroyed such traces of his personal life. It is cruel to place a fame-hungry spirit with the opiate-laden music of "Endymion." Imagine "Daddy" Browning, posing alongside of an engraved tablet whereon appears inscribed the entire "Ode to a Grecian Urn." Imagine the queer publicity-Papa gesturing and saying, "Kiddies, this is my latest ballad . . ." Then try and conjure up how this concoction would look on the front page of the "Daily Mirror" . . .

There are many ways of explaining away this flaw in the god that our present day literateurs and critics make of John Keats. Most of them would take the economic interpretation method to show that he desired public acclaim so that his books would sell and give him his living needs. Therefore, the surge for recognition. There might be no fiercer way of indicting the present civilized state than to offer the case of John Keats vs. Nineteenth Century Capitalism. But the twentieth century would have scotched him sooner. The fact remains, however, that his gift could not lift him above the carping passion for fame. Because it was not gratified soon enough, he burned himself and his priceless genius on the pyre of self-commiseration. Sometimes I hate the memory of John Keats for a low treason to Art.

The true artist is an amateur. The moment he consciously creates his work for sale, the artist dies. How to earn a physical livelihood at some alien endeavor in order to pursue undisturbed fancy is the brutal problem of creative talent. It is for this reason perhaps that all revolutionary movements since time's record were caught up and carried on by men of letters, poets, painters, musicians and the like.

Something there is in the promise of a change to fire the creator with hope for a world where he will not be humbled to prostitution so that his bones will have marrow and his body warmth. As I go over the long list of contemporary novelists, poets, the stars of music and decorative arts, even my short memory can select dozens of these who first started in the radical circles and philosophies.

Surely the newspaper world is thronged with men and women who came to the Socialist publications, like the old Masses and the New York Call, with voice attitude and self-effacement. They were the warp, wool and pattern of revolutionary fabric.

They wrote and dreamed and worked within the untrammelled spaces of their dreams. Many of them did odd chores on the side in order to secure enough food and shelter to carry on with physical comfort.

As soon as they left for the "Big Time Circuits" at swell salaries or sold a book that became a best seller, or put on a play that flooded the box-office with reservations, they had arrived at a profession, and just dropped down from the world of ideals.

The crabbiest artist, the testiest worker in things of intellect, keeps a dream inside of him that glows and survives the trickeries of existence. All art rises from an ideal. And even when the individual goes into the bordello to be priced and tagged, long after he becomes coarsened, painted and boldly professional, there are prickings, and cringings, and pimplings within.

That is why, with some reason, so many of them take to drunkenness, and even to other forms of temporary oblivion. Show me a man or woman who once had a vision of loveliness and freedom, had to starve in its light, and then yielded to the beckonings of ease through prostitution, and you usually point to a booze-artist or a dops-sniffer. In most cases anyway, I shall never forget the post-card an old worker on the New York Call, Edmond McKenna, once sent me from the South. "Dear Sam, Pardon the sock, but I'm now pushing the keys in a harlot's house. I'm working for the Hearst papers . . . Ed." I ask for a grimmer poem out of the abyss in which a Keats might find himself were he thoroughly conscious of his own low yearnings for fame and fortune.

And until the Revolution comes wherein the soul of man will be measured by sunlight and laughter, there is nothing we can do about it. Except, of course, to help bring the New Day about as speedily as possible. I suppose that is why so many of the harder artists are still radicals.

Which brings me to the case of little Miss Ray Porter Miller, lyric soprano, whose concert takes place at the Engineering Hall Auditorium next Saturday night, January 19.

On my desk lie a number of tickets sent to me by her manager with a request to sell them among friends, and so help assure the chanteuse of an audience. Presumably, numbers of others have been so circularized, and will respond with even heartier cooperation.

All last summer, at the Unity House, the workers who came there for their vacations were pleasantly regaled by Miss Miller's voice. Her ability was quite evident, and her generous responses to the clamor for encores gratifying indeed.

The story of any poor boy or girl who aspires to a career in the musical world is never very beautiful. Instrument and voice are equally tyrannous over body and spirit during the years of training. The question of money expended and the sacrifice of family and friends is full of grief. And when the interminable ages of training and privation are done, there comes the first public appearance.

This experience in our dizzy days is dreadful. If you are poor, and your bit of reputation is built up only among poor people, you are particularly perturbed about getting an audience together. Big halls are financially impossible. You choose a small place. Advertisements are prohibitive. You depend on friends and such space as a "New Leader," for example, can afford you. You send tickets to friends to sell for you. You sit at home waiting for checks from these friends. If only you got is enough to cover expenses! In the meantime you worry about the fact that too much worry may give a nervous quality to your performance. In spite of that you keep worrying about the big newspaper critics. Will they come? How can one make them come? After all, you want to know what they will say about your voice. You imagine that if they say you are a second Patti, you really are the goods.

You find that they won't come because you are in a small hall. Big critics don't waste their time on small hall concertists. You keep fretting yourself about this thing and that. Perhaps neglect practice. And surely do your voice little good by all this sad business.

It is here that I take issue with the lady. Sing by all means. Even if you have to appear before workmen and give them the joy of your talent. And if you are not acclaimed as readily by the crowds who gather only to the brass braying of the press agent, remember that to have given joy to thousands of poor people is also something to write home about.

For the artistic soul's sake of Miss Ray Porter Miller, I hope the Engineering Hall is filled with men of the shop and women of the factory next Saturday night. Also that not one critic is there. And that a good time will be had by all.

S. A. de Wit.

Organization Education Solidarity

FREE YPSSEL YOUTH

JACK WASSERMAN

EDITOR

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

Local Elections in New York City The Bronx Boro Committee at its first meeting of the year elected its new officers. They are: Chairman, Winston Daniels; secretary, Gadel Smith; treasurer, Bernard Brainerd. Activities for the next few months were discussed. Cooperation with the Bronx S. P. in conducting their Annual Ball, a theatre party, and issuance of a monthly activity bulletin were passed on.

Circle Six, Manhattan, has chosen the following comrades to act as its debating team: Seymour Goodman, James Sardielli and Mike Kuzmick. Jack Schuyler and Harold Goldfinger are the alternates. Comrade Upton Modell will give a talk this Sunday on "Reparations and the Workers." The Circle meets at 8:30 p. m. sharp at 62 East 106th St.

The following officers were elected at the last meeting of Circle Six, Brooklyn: Organizer, Abe Bonal; Educational Director, Morton Salzberg; Treasurer, Julius Rossman; Secretary, Rose Weinberg. Installation will take place on Sunday, January 20th, at 8:30 p. m. All Yipsels invited.

Circle Thirteen, Brooklyn, elected the following comrades to positions of trust: Organizer, Ben Rosenfarb; Educational Director, I. Ietrowsky; Treasurer, Minnie Wachtel; Recording Secretary, Louis Hyman; Corresponding Secretary, Mary Wachtel; Athletic Director, Max Hochberg. A Social Committee was also elected. This group meets on Sundays at 4 p. m. at 60

British Socialist Editor Visiting In United States



John St. Lee Strachey

New York Socialists will have an opportunity to hear John St. Lee Strachey, editor of "The Socialist Review" of England this Saturday, Jan. 12th, afternoon when he will speak at the Rand School on "Inside of the British Labor Party."

When Strachey joined the Labor Party he created almost as big a stir in England as had been created by the son of Stanley Baldwin and the daughter and son-in-law of Lord Curzon. As the son of the late John St. Lee Strachey, former conservative editor and proprietor of the most important conservative review in Britain, the (London) "Spectator" and the cousin of Lytton Strachey, author of "Queen Victoria" and "Elizabeth and Essex," it seemed fore-ordained that he follow the rest of his family into the conservative party. This break with the past which many of the sons of the old Tories have made show the great social ferment which is at work in England today. In the Fall of 1924 he contested the Aston Division of Birmingham and in spite of the Zinoviev letter and the Red scare he reduced the conservative majority from 4,000 to 2,000; this in the home of the Chamberlains and the stronghold of protection. After this election he spent considerable time investigating the banking problem and wrote a book on the dictatorship of banking, called, "Revolution by Reason."

Strachey became editor, in 1926, of the "Socialist Review" the official monthly organ of the Independent Labor Party which he still edits. This magazine was founded after the War by Ramsay MacDonald who was its first editor. In May 1926 all England was shaken by the General Strike. Strachey took part in this struggle in the Birmingham area. The lock-out of the miners continued for many months after the General Strike ended. In June of that year Strachey started a weekly newspaper, "The Miner" as the official organ of the Miners Federation of Great Britain. It rallied the miners all through the 1926 lock-out. It reached a circulation of over 100,000 copies weekly. It has now become the official Trade Union paper of the Miners Federation of Great Britain but Mr. Strachey has resigned its editorship.

Party at Work

(Continued from Page 7)

attended. After the routine work plans for obtaining new members were discussed, it was decided that hereafter our meeting start at 8:30 regardless of how many members will be present. The next meeting will be held on Thursday, Jan. 17, at 11 Arlon Place, the Amalgamated Temple. Everyone is invited.

18 A. D.
The first meeting under the new arrangement was held on Jan. 4 at the Rockaway Mansion, Room 2. A very fine response was given to the invitations sent out. J. N. Cohen addressed the comrades on "Topics of the Day," reviewing all the current happenings of the day. The general discussion following was illuminating. Joseph A. Weil, of the Williamsburg Section will address the comrades at next Friday's meeting, Jan. 11, on "Socialist Tactics and the Trade Unions." Comrade Weil is master of his subject and an invitation is extended to all Socialist Party members and sympathizers to be present.

The newly elected officers were officially installed and all pledged their best efforts to build up the branch. One of the officers is Florence Millin, our recording secretary. Comrade Millin comes from a family with a radical tradition. Mother Millin was an old Russian revolutionary. Sister Edna joined the party during the war. Sister Sarah is now one of the mainstays in the 23rd and now Florrie makes it complete, her activity in the 18th. More power to the Millins—may their tribe increase.

23 A. D.
The branch meets every Monday night in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum in the room of the Socialist Party at 8:30 p. m. Following short business meetings, Henry Jager is delivering a series of talks on "The Elements of Socialism" for the benefit of the many new members who recently joined this branch. At the first of these talks a very excellent attendance was in evidence and the lecture was highly appreciated. An intensive drive is now on to get back all delinquent members as well as new members in order to maintain the standing of this branch as the largest and most active branch in Kings County. The Friday evening 8 p. m. re-opened last Friday night with August C. Auspices' speaker. A fairly good attendance was present at the lecture.

Brownsville Labor Lyceum
1929 will mark the change in the attitude of the Brownsville Comrades in the activities for the Socialist cause. Minnie Weisberg, organizer of Branch 23, is actively engaged with the officers of the Lyceum to revive the interest of all radical elements to strengthen the Lyceum as well as the Socialist Party in this district. Under the direction of Max Rosenberg, the manager, it has kept out of financial difficulties. Educational activities are now in full force with the Friday night Forum, to begin January 20, in addition, the public installation of the officers of the Lyceum will be held soon, notice of which will be printed. Comrades and radicals of Brownsville, who are interested in assisting the movements, may, at all times, come to the Lyceum, for any and all information. Suggestions will be readily given.

Brighton Sheephead
An interesting lecture was held Friday, Jan. 4, at our headquarters, 225 Brighton Beach Ave. The speaker was Frank Crosswaine, who spoke on "Socialism—Fact or Fancy?" The hall was filled to capacity. A lively discussion followed the address. Friday Jan. 11 A. J. Shipley will speak on the topic "Socialism and the Labor Movement in Palestine" Party.

Varied Song Program By Ray Porter Miller This Saturday Night

Ray Porter Miller, soprano, will present a varied program in her recital this Saturday evening, January 19, at the Engineering Auditorium, 29 West 39th street, in New York City. It will include songs by Mozart, Rimsky-Korsakoff, Tchaikovsky and Deems Taylor. The complete program follows:

- (1) Sento nel core; Se Fiorindo e fedele, Scariatti. Non più di fiori (from "La Clemenza di Tito"), Mozart.
- (2) Aria: Ah, fors' è lui (from "La Traviata"), Verdi.
- (3) Claire de Luna, Faure. L'Ance Blanc, Hue. Erotica; La Pesca de l'Anillo, Pizzetti.
- (4) O, nie vpletai tsvetov (Bring to me no fragrant blossoms), Gilev. O yesli, to moglo (If you but could), Rimsky-Korsakoff. Psenia gaitana (Gaetana Song) (from "The Rose and the Cross"), Gilev. Ochevo (Why), Tchaikovsky.
- (5) The Lament of Ian the Proud, Griffes. The Messenger, Deems Taylor. Ho, Mr. Piper, Pearl Curran. Were I von Star, Fay Foster.

"Blackbirds" in Midnight Show For Porters Union

For the benefit of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a midnight show in which the entire cast of the principals of Lew Leslie's "Blackbirds" will take part, will be given Tuesday evening, January 22nd, at the Lafayette Theatre, Seventh Avenue and 131st street, New York City. Other well-known stars will also take part in the performance which will start at 12 midnight. Tickets, ranging in price from \$1 to \$2, may be obtained at the theatre and at the office of the union, 239 West 136th street.

"Rasputin, The Holy Sinner" At Fifth Avenue Playhouse

Following the engagement of "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," Killing the Killer, "Grass" and "Easy Street," the current bill at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, a new Russo-German film, will have its American premiere. It is "Rasputin, The Holy Sinner," a new film study of the erotic monk who held the power of Russia in the palm of his hand. "Rasputin, The Holy Sinner" was produced in Germany with a cast of Russian actors. Its treatment of the Rasputin theme is a novel one, based chiefly on the sensuality and degeneracy of the crafty charlatan.

In the cast are Max Neufeld, as Rasputin; Renato Renee, Victor Kutchura, Ivan Bodny, Ivan Golovin, Nikolai Pudin and Grigory B. Batumalin.

"Sunrise" at Roxy Next Week

"Sunrise" comes to the Roxy Theatre on Saturday for its first presentation at popular prices. It will be presented with the Fox Movietone symphonic accompaniment of its original engagement, as scored by S. L. Rothafel and Erno Rapee, and recorded by the Roxy Symphony Orchestra under the latter's direction. Janet Gaynor and George O'Brien have the principal roles, and the supporting cast includes Margaret Livingston, Farrell MacDonald, Bodil Rosing, Ralph Sipperly, Jane Winton, Arthur Housman and Eddie Boland. The film, which is conceded to be one of the most important events in the history of motion pictures, was directed by F. W. Murnau from the story by Hermann Sudermann, as his first American effort.

Lecture Calendar

NEW YORK

Sunday, Jan. 13, 11 a. m.—Henry Jager, "Machine—A Promise or Menace." Harlem Educational Center, 61 East 106th St. Musical program, Don Wolinsky, pianist. Auspices, Harlem Branch, Socialist Party.

Sunday, Jan. 13, 8:30 p. m. August Claessens, "The Unhappy Appointments of the Week." Cultural program, Bleasnor Levenson, readings from Modern Poetry, 96 Avenue C. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6-8-12 A. D.

BRONX
Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Alfred W. Martin, "Distinguishing Features of the Great Religions of the World." Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Ave. Auspices, Socialist Party, 7th A. D.

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. Louis P. Goldberg, "The Injunction—Its Effects on Labor and Capital." Marquette Mansion, 156th and Beek Sts. Auspices, Socialist Party, 3rd A. D.

Tuesday, Jan. 15, 8:30 p. m. Norman Thomas, "The Socialist Program for New York City." Ampleman Cooperative Apartments, Moshulu Parkway and Van Cortlandt Park. Auspices, Socialist Party, 6th A. D.

Friday, Jan. 18, 8:30 p. m. August Claessens, "These United States." Tremont Educational Forum, 4215 Third Avenue, near Tremont Ave. Auspices, Socialist Party, 7th A. D.

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Leon R. Land, "Why Marriage Fails." Marquette Mansion, 156th and Beek Sts. Auspices, Socialist Party, 3rd A. D.

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. August Claessens, "The Socialism of George Bernard Shaw—His Views on Marriage, etc." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Rockaway Avenue, 23rd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. Henry Jager, "The Hoover Prosperity." Williamsburg Branch, Socialist Party, 23rd A. D. Branch, Socialist Party, 4-14th A. D.

Friday, Jan. 11, 8:30 p. m. A. I. Shipley, "Socialism and the Labor Movement in Palestine." Brighton Beach Branch, Socialist Party.

Friday, Jan. 11, 9 p. m. Jos. A. Weil, "Socialist Tactics and the Trade Unions." Rockaway Mansion, 895 Rockaway Ave. Auspices, Socialist Party, 18th A. D.

Sunday, Jan. 13, 11:30 a. m. Nathan Charnin, "What I Saw in Soviet Russia" (Lecture in Yiddish). Savoy Mansion, 63rd St. and 20th Ave. Auspices, Workmen's Circle and Socialist Party, Bensonhurst Branch.

Friday, Jan. 12, 8:30 p. m. Dr. Zhitlovsky, "Jewish National Workers Alliance." Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Rockaway Ave. Auspices, Labor Lyceum.

NEW JERSEY
Monday, Jan. 14, 8:45 p. m. August Claessens, "The Socialism of George Bernard Shaw." Labor Lyceum, Mercer St., Trenton, N. J. Auspices, Socialist Party.

Some Plays for Parasites

By Paul Sifton

PAUL SIFTON
As seen by
Clair Sifton

IT IS possible that what I have to say about plays for parasites will be woefully lacking in good taste. It may be necessary to name names—the Shuberts, the Theatre Guild, Jed Harris, the New Playwrights Theatre, Sophie Treadwell, Eugene O'Neill, Channing Pollock, and, perhaps, St. John Ervine and Charley Ross.

But I am sure you will agree that what is known as good taste is usually a conspiracy of lying flattery among parasites or, as they prefer to be called, ladies and gentlemen. Good taste is really the height of bad taste. When Hamlet came home from Wittenberg to Denmark he found everything being carried on in perfect good taste, the same sort of good taste that was evident almost everywhere in the United States ten days after the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti by the best people of Massachusetts and the Nation. Nobody was saying anything. Hamlet was a liberal. He had an infallible nose for good taste, but he didn't quite know what to do about it. What was it he said: There's something rotten in the state of Denmark. And then for the remainder of the play he proceeded to do practically nothing.

Until recently, President Coolidge has been the national model of good taste, having said nothing positive about anything except live quail, pig iron, paint brush handles, Christmas trees and George Washington. He has, it is true, dropped several hints that the United States was God's gift to an ungrateful, stupid, blanky blank and you-know-what world. I will not give a complete list of the subjects on which Mr. Coolidge has had the good taste to say nothing, but if somebody in the privacy of his apartment should mutter Daugherty, Denby, Fall, Forbes, Sinclair, Doherty and Mr. Will Hays, the pope of Hollywood, it will be all right by me.

Mr. Hoover, who has successfully said nothing on practically the same subjects, promises to carry out the Coolidge policies. His silence before and after his election shows that his capacity for good taste is almost equal to Mr. Coolidge's. Like the emu, he can, when greatly provoked, utter sounds. In Mr. Hoover's case, the sound is almost always identified as "Socialism!" This, considering the generally known fact that Mr. Hoover wears a collar, while the emu does not, is considered quite a feat.

This discussion of emus and Hamlet and Hoover and the state of the nation as measured by its reverence for good taste leads me—shall I say logically—back to what I started to talk about, the Theatre.

For the theatre is suffering from an epidemic of good taste, and now lies close to the point of death. The American theatre was misbegotten in a veller of good taste more than a hundred years ago, shortly after the popularity of "Beggars Opera" died out. Since then, and until Shaw and the early O'Neill, the American theatre was a half-way house between the saloon and the bawdy house, with the maidlin cowardice of the one and the fauence of the other. Things, forces, men, women, buzz-saws, bloodhounds, villains and Little Eva were always what they seemed. When the author, for the sake of the plot, had to put his characters into a questionable position temporarily, he permitted them to preserve their innate good taste by going a half-turn to the footlights and whispering the lead rope to the audience.

The theatre was peopled behind the footlights with absurd postboard figures: I-belled Hero, Villain, Kind Father, Harsh Father, Heroine, Temptress, Mother, Little Sunshine, Honest Workman, Kind-hearted Employer, Dishonest Employer, Brave Soldier, Spirit of Democracy, Tyranny, and so on. Every play was a clacked deck of cards. The dealer never gave his characters an honest shuffle—but once in a great while the actor did it for him, as Joseph Jefferson did with Rip Van Winkle.

The people out in front, sitting in the orchestra chairs, and up in the balconies and the gallery, believed in these dummies on the stage. Why shouldn't they? The dummies were in the very best taste of the times. They behaved as everyone pretended real people behaved.

In those days, black was black and white was white outside and inside the theatre and anything with a trace of red was a flaming scarlet.

The theatre catered to parasites, partly because the parasites bought the best seats in the house, but chiefly because there was no one else to cater to. Down in the orchestra and up in the gallery alike, sat men and women who believed in a religion of parasitism, a religion of "getting ahead," of living on velvet. Democracy was a polite fiction. It served the same purpose as the boxing ring against hitting below the belt. The gallery looked at the orchestra and the orchestra looked at the boxes and each went home with new determination to get a better seat next time.

Because the popular sentiment about Democracy and the dignity of man had no real meaning for the audiences, they wanted no discussion of it on the stage. It could be praised, taken for granted, but it could not be analyzed, debated and made a real thing. No when they went to the theatre they meant business. They

preferred to hear a ham bellowing the hallowed lines of Shakespeare, to contemplate Frankie Bailey's figure and revel in the tantalizing ambiguities of Anna Held's revolving eyes. They wanted to see John Drew go through the conventional drill of a gentleman. They wanted to see Augustus Thomas pull the rabbit out of the hat in a different way. When Belasco came East with his dog collar and his sets so real you could smell the roses on the wall at the back of the stage, they didn't object because he had the good taste to keep the familiar dummies of the drama for his characters. Gilbert and Sullivan was all right and very amusing and anyway, all the ridiculous characters in the pieces were foreigners and that was fair enough.

Along came Ibsen and Shaw and the more intelligent of the parasites welcomed them with money deposited at the box office. They had become less sensitive about the moral, political and economic fictions which have made our country what it is today. Some of the parasites went so far as to become disgusted with the system which enabled them to buy orchestra seats. But, mostly, the consensus of opinion among the people who went to the newer plays was that Ibsen was deep and you never could be sure what he was driving at and Shaw was so clever that you couldn't help laughing, even when he was being very daring and paradoxical.

The word was getting around that man had at least three dimensions and that women didn't have wings folded under their shirtwaists.

Parasites, finding themselves more or less securely established in business, real estate, banking, manufacturing and the so-called professions of law, medicine and teaching, developed a new interest in themselves. What made them get, what made them fall in love, marry, covet other men's wives and vice versa, why they took to drink and why, finally, with riches, all these tears?

Timidly, the theatre offered some answers. The parasites preferred the answers which were no answers. They developed a tremendous taste, in the first twenty years of this century, for the prevarication in three acts that the rich really have a heluva time and the poor have everything but money. Channing Pollock, that sincere but tiresome tinpot Messiah of the theatre, recently staged this great moral tract all over again at tremendous expense and with the latest mechanical innovations in his play, "Mr. Moneybags," which flopped with a quickness that is most encouraging.

But, speaking of Pollock and "Mr. Moneybags," I can't get too cheered up over its failure because I have a feeling that it failed, not because of its revelation of the unhappy lives that hide behind the cliffs of Park avenue, but because, in the first place, he told the story badly, and, in the second place, because he put on in spots such disgustingly accurate caricatures of modern business that the richest parasites, who are the only ones who can buy seats in the orchestra nowadays, decided that it would neither be amusing nor worthwhile to look at themselves on the stage.

Going back a bit, about fifteen years ago the Washington Square Players and the Provincetown Playhouse gave the American Theatre about the only real plays it has ever had. Here Susan Glaspell, John Reed, Philip Moeller, Edward Goodman and Eugene O'Neill wrote and produced something new—one act plays that put real people, many-sided people on a stage, let them behave as they would—or almost that. In one act they packed more truth than Clyde Fitch had in all his neat jobs of playpenning. Upton, the Shuberts, Frohman and Erlanger were busily engaged in finding new names for the three sides of the love triangle. If they copied or stole from the rebels down in the Village, they disguised and cheapened the imitation almost beyond recognition. After all, they couldn't risk offending the orchestra seats and those in the balcony who dreamed of sitting in the orchestra next year, or when they got married, or when that little deal went through.

Out of the Village rebellion the American theatre got three things, the Little Theatre, Eugene O'Neill and the Theatre Guild. All have failed, all have done much. We should be thankful for so much.

(Mr. Sifton will conclude his article next week with some observations on the Little Theatre movement, Eugene O'Neill and the current offerings of the Broadway stage.)

The Week on Stage

By Joseph T. Shipley

WHIPPED CREAM

DELIGHTFUL—delicious—pastry, this latest offering of the Theatre Guild, to the delicate taste of its patrons! From the Hungarian of Sil-Vara, it moves its way along with rhinestone brilliance, with no lingering or recurrent value, but with all the sparkle and bright display of holiday celebration. There is a plot, something about a wife and a mistress, neither of them quite that, but one a mother of the son Counselor Von Echarde has not seen in the sixteen years since his birth, the other woman he might have married if other arrangements had not been equally agreeable and more convenient. This desire of the mother to give her son a proper environment for his maturing years brings her into the Counselor's household again, and the son discovers more about life in the ten days he is there than teacher could have taught him in a . . . But, even during the second act, I discovered in conversation

that the play is one of those that reverse the old saying: it was forgotten though not gone. The talk was not of this or that thought evoked by the action, but of this character's revelation or growth; but of the way in which Alfred Lunt broke mischief through the corners of his eyes, the little tug at her tie that marked Lynn Fontanne's perking.

For Lynn Fontanne, with scarcely more than street makeup, displayed a power of bodily control, of facial and corporal disposition, that is intimately revelatory of the moment's mood, that catches the little fluctuations of the gaiety or more sober concern (though really never quite sober, or quite concerned!) and makes them real for us. And Alfred Lunt outdoes himself in keeping pace with her; so that their final curtain, in which there are several moments, important to the play's mood, with no word spoken, is as likely as anything the season has to offer in final words, to keep the audience seated till the last, in pleased attention.

FOND HERO

Certainly the most popular, and probably the best, of Walter Hampden's roles these many years, comes back in "Cyrano de Bergerac," at this theatre. This "heroic comedy," which only the twilight of sentimentality holds from the imminent night of true tragic death, which sweeps from a bombastic hyperbole to a tender pathos—gives the actor opportunity for a most varied exhibition of his powers; and reveals him again, as we know him, rich in resources of dignity and depth, agile in body and spirit, sensitive to the surface and the core of his character's being. The familiar episodes of the drama run their course, with a summoning of interest as unflagging as intense. Whether it be the humor of the baker's rhyming recipe, the gallant defiance of the ballade while dueling, the ironic strain of the love that ascends the balcony—a situation more potent than Rembo's, though of less poetic handling;—whether it be gaiety or sadness, the audience is carried along, is swept through almost the gamut of feelings, as it watches a colorful performance, sparkling with bright spangles, fit setting for the central jewel of the leading work of Walter Hampden.

HO-HO-HOBOKEN!

Not far across the river—indeed, surprisingly near!—theatrical time has turned back 60 years. Chris Morley's Old Rialto Theatre is giving Dion Boucicault's "After Dark or, Neither Maid, Wife, Nor Widow" to thunderous audiences. Is it just for a lark, or is it by our close connection with the crudities of our fathers that we so eagerly hiss, and stamp, and shout, and toss our coins to the players? (Save that the sophisticated actor reminded us it was not 1868, but 1929, by scornfully tossing the pennies back into the audience!)

On what crude fare our forebears fed! We know the villain by his high hat, moustache, and eternal cigar, even if the hero must wait for the evil one's lopped-off ear to betray him. The pattern is slightly varied; it is not the heroine who is rolled off the track, after being hurled from the den of iniquity in front of the onrushing train: "the most novel effects ever seen on the stage!" . . . But with murders, and the tabloids that exploit them, teach us that what we throw ourselves back to, for an evening's mood, is the emotional depth and intellectual height of many of our fellow citizens. The evening's hearty laughter leaves a sober after-thought.

Fuller Leaves for France

Former Gov. Fuller of Massachusetts has left New York for France under an assumed name. "I feel like a ship that has been tossed about in stormy seas and rolled by high waves," he said. "I have had my troubles but now I am happy and satisfied."

THE WOMAN SOCIALIST

A Meeting of the Faithful Few

By Pauline M. Newman

EVERY movement has its faithful few. These few are usually the life of the movement. They supply the enthusiasm. They encourage the sceptics. They inspire the indifferent. They are the bone and sinew. In short they are the ones without whom no movement could succeed. And the Socialist Party is no exception to this rule. The "Politics," by our active comrade Eleanor Levinson; Evelyn and Jessie Wallace HUGHAN on Socialism; Mary Dawson on a "Fair Wage Plan"; Jessie Lloyd, who reads from "Conditions in Russia" next Sunday; Mrs. R. Panken will speak the following Sunday. Other women are to speak on the subject. These women are fortunate to possess radios had better "listen in." I may add right here that Miss Tolleson ought to get more cooperation of women Socialists who can manage to write a speech and deliver it over the radio. I think Miss Tolleson is up against a hard proposition in securing women Socialist speakers for her afternoons. However, I would suggest that she get in touch with more of the trade union women and others who are doing worthwhile work and not let the program get too filled up with the so-called equal-rights advocates—it is a waste of time and whatever it is that makes the radio go!

Women on WEVD

Miss Tolleson has arranged for a series of talks by women covering various subjects including "Women and Politics," by our active comrade Eleanor Levinson; Evelyn and Jessie Wallace HUGHAN on Socialism; Mary Dawson on a "Fair Wage Plan"; Jessie Lloyd, who reads from "Conditions in Russia" next Sunday; Mrs. R. Panken will speak the following Sunday. Other women are to speak on the subject. These women are fortunate to possess radios had better "listen in." I may add right here that Miss Tolleson ought to get more cooperation of women Socialists who can manage to write a speech and deliver it over the radio. I think Miss Tolleson is up against a hard proposition in securing women Socialist speakers for her afternoons. However, I would suggest that she get in touch with more of the trade union women and others who are doing worthwhile work and not let the program get too filled up with the so-called equal-rights advocates—it is a waste of time and whatever it is that makes the radio go!

We Protest

We protest, even though no one cares whether we do or not! But it is getting a bit tiresome to have celebrations of one organization or another and see the flag take all the glory for themselves. God bless the subject! We attended the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the United Hebrew Trades recently. Knowing how many women have helped to build up the U. H. T. it was a shock to us to find that there was not one woman representative on the platform! In my box alone there were four women who have given years of service to the labor movement on the East Side; who have, I know, given more freely of themselves, their energy and their health as well as their ability than a good many of those who occupied a place of honor on the platform! I mention only four. I could mention a hundred without any difficulty, women who spoke, women who organized, women who wrote, women who did the work for which there was no glory and no recognition, but went on doing it because they believed. They had faith. These women should have had someone

to represent them at the anniversary! It was a grave error on the part of leadership to overlook that (A voice from somewhere) "Protest as much as you want, who cares? Indeed, who cares? Some day the men leaders in the organization will wake up and find that there are many who go there—and then . . . let us get there first!"

The Swedish Elections.

Stockholm—The Social-Democratic women of Sweden entered the election campaign for the House of Representatives which took place middle of September full of hope. Thirteen women comrades were standing as candidates, though on two of these had safe seats. These two were the only two elected. The future Second Chamber will in consequence include only three women deputies, two Social Democrats and one Conservative as against seven Social-Democrats and two Conservatives in the last Parliament. This setback forms part of the setback which the Social-Democratic Party suffered as a whole, involving the loss of fifteen seats.

The election may be described as a panic election. All the bourgeois parties had formed an electoral alliance in order to prevent the Social-Democrats to get the majority in the Second Chamber. No weapon was too disreputable for the bourgeois electoral block, which had at its disposal 90 percent of the press, to use in millions of posters and leaflets broadcast throughout the country the Social-Democrats were represented as a second-rate collection of highly dangerous internationalists. As part of its campaign of misrepresentation and intimidation, the bourgeois block made particular use of a bill to modify the death duties introduced by the Social-Democrats in the last Parliament and which was represented as an attempt on the part of the Social-Democrats to confiscate private property. By this means they succeeded in frightening masses of simple people and in particular many women among the property-less classes, into voting for the Conservatives.

On the basis of these figures the new Second Chamber will consist of: 90 Social-Democrats, 8 Communists, 32 Liberals and Peoples Party, 27 Peasant Union, 73 Conservatives.

SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

National Headquarters

The National Office of the Socialist Party is located at 2653 Washington St., Chicago, Ill. William H. Henry is National Executive Secretary. Inquiries regarding organization, speakers, literature, 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.

The New Constitution Adopted

The membership has adopted the new national Constitution by a big majority. New dues stamps, application blanks, membership cards and the new Constitution will be ready for use in a week. A formal statement will be sent to the State District and Federation of Socialists and to the local branches and members at large, giving full information of putting the new Party law into effect.

National Executive Committee Calls

The call sent out from the National Executive Committee through the National Office asks that every Socialist make a regular monthly donation to an organization fund and it is beginning to bear fruit. Letters are already arriving at the National Office with pledges for monthly contributions. The committee will take this call seriously and send in their pledges and donations to the National Office. The committee will take this call seriously and send in their pledges and donations to the National Office.

Did You Sign the Monthly Pledge?

If you haven't signed up for a monthly donation to the National Office for organization purposes, then do so right away! Mayor Dan Hoan of Milwaukee started his monthly donation at \$10.00, but the second time he came in to pay his pledge he increased it to \$25.00. Dan Hoan never reneges in his loyalty to the party.

Florida

The new State Secretary is M. E. Edison, Room 1, Union Station, Tampa. All Socialists in Florida should write to Comrade Edison, pay their dues up to date and offer him their full cooperation. The National Office is hoping to have an organizer in that state in the near future. The recent election showed good vote for the Party in the Sunshine State and a big party organization is being built there.

Utah

Secretary Kennedy reports sending a letter to all the Socialists in his state, giving them a report on the vote in the recent election and lining up for work. Kennedy is in the best position to take advantage of the present opportunity.

Arizona

Comrades M. and Mrs. Combes of Los Angeles are preparing to move to Arizona, where they hope to locate permanently and begin the building of a strong state movement. Comrades in Los Angeles who know these good comrades have nothing but praise for their excellent qualities.

California

Murray E. King, former editor of The American Appeal, has been elected Literature Agent of Local Los Angeles and the Local has voted to make a drive for subscriptions to The New Leader.

Banquet to Sinclair

Local Socialists and friends of Upton Sinclair recently gave the noted Socialist a dinner in honor of his fiftieth birthday, which nearly 400 people attended. Sinclair devoted most of his remarks to the "patrician city of Boston" and the Sacco-Vanzetti case, saying that the world is just beginning to realize the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti will be judged the greatest blot upon the name of the State of Massachusetts. The booklet, a conservative magazine, has according to Sinclair printed an exoneration of Sacco for the Bridgewater crime. Sacco's plays and letters, with a complete bibliography, have been published by the innocent victims of "Boston

Maryland

Party member of long standing in Baltimore and with experience as a national organizer desires to make the acceptance of a comrade in the South or who is in a position to travel, to an article of merit during the day old Socialist meetings at night. The call is to make capitalism pay for its propaganda. The idea is to go to the South in winter and North in summer. It means hard work and offers are wanted. Address proposals in care of The New Leader at York.

Virginia

A State Convention of the Socialist Party of Virginia was held at the Richmond local is progressing, with new members ready to be added. The vacancy of State Chairman was filled by the removal of Comrade Bowdoin. A state convention will be held in Norfolk in February and a debating convention will be held in Orange or Roanoke ninety days later, and the resolution offered by Local 100 is accepted by the members of the state. George, Secretary of the Party, will keep in close with the Party work in his state. Edman will take over his while George is absent.

Illinois

R. E. Davis is Dead. R. E. Davis, one of the old timers in the Socialist movement and well known in St.reator, Ill., died on December 17th after a few days illness. Comrade Davis was an engineer and never neglected an opportunity to spread Socialist propaganda among those with whom he came in contact.

Massachusetts

The Roxbury Socialist Club and the Young Peoples Socialist League are holding study classes and a speakers' training class every Sunday at 4 p. m. sharp. The class is open to the public.

New Bedford

The New Bedford Local will hold a meeting Thursday, Jan. 31, on the subject of Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance at the Labor Temple, 741 Pleasant St.

Ether Friedman's Dates

Ether Friedman will speak on Sunday night, Jan. 13, at Lowell for the Lowell Workers' Circle; on Monday, Jan. 14, at Maynard for the Maynard Yipels and party branch, and Wednesday, Jan. 16, at Worcester for the Ladies Auxiliary of the Workers' Circle.

Berger's Speeches

Congressman Berger's speeches can still be mailed out free up until March 4. Branches, sympathizers and members-at-large are urged to order 200 or more at once to the State Office, 21 Essex St., Boston, Mass.

Yipels Dance

The Harvard Socialist Club and the Yipels will hold a dance the evening before Washington's Birthday, Thursday, Feb. 21, at 6 Byron St., Boston.

New Jersey

At a well attended meeting of the State Committee last Sunday, with other comrades participating, a proposition by State Organizer Sutton to maintain himself by income derived from the sale of books and party paper subscriptions while traveling in the state in his "Vanguard Traveling Library" truck, supplemented by part of the income from monthly pledges, was accepted until such time as the state may again be in a position to support him on a straight salary basis.

It is proposed to circularize more than seven thousand names of possible sympathizers. A call is here made for local volunteers to work at the headquarters, 33 South Orange Ave., Newark, whenever they can spare a few hours, to assist in addressing envelopes. Call up Mitchell 3873 as to when best to report for this duty.

State consultations extended to George H. Goebel two weeks ago by comrades on hearing of his marriage are being renewed by those who meet Mrs. Olga Goebel. The marriage of a piece of party work has had to be done it was always in order to suggest "Let George Do It." George has done a good job. He is now more than ever boasting Lenin, Tammany, where he met his bride, and Olga says that she is quite satisfied to share George with the party.

All well-wishers will rejoice with Jersey comrades to hear of the rapid recovery of Charlotte Bohlin, whose doctor has now told her that interest and activity in the party will be good for her. Those who may have feared to disturb a visit to their comrade need hesitate no longer.

New York State

The State Constitution. State Secretary Merrill announces that the approval of a State Constitution for the Socialist Party will be made a special item of the meeting of the State Executive Committee. The report of the Constitution Committee of the July State Convention was referred to the State Executive Committee for its consideration. The final disposal has been held up by referendum on the National Constitution of the Party. Pending the action of the State Executive Committee, the present rate of dues to the State Organization will remain in force.

Albany Forum

Superintendent of Forests Howard of the State Conservation Department, will address the Albany Morris Forum Sunday, Jan. 13. Morris Hillquit has been elected to the Forum for March 24, and Norman Thomas for April 7. Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt is to speak Feb. 10.

Rochester

Local Rochester has announced that it is willing to hold a conference dinner during the month of Feb. The Albany conference dinner will be held on March 24, with Morris Hillquit as the principal speaker.

New York City

General Party Meeting. A very important meeting of the membership of all branches in Local New York City will be held on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16, at the Peoples Home, 7 East 15th St., 8:30 p. m. sharp. The principal order of business will be the revival of the Socialist Action Committee with jurisdiction in New York City and the State of New York. The manager of the National Campaign and previous to that Executive Secretary of the Socialist Action Committee, will report on the State of the Party. The members of its various sub-committees, Norman Thomas and Morris Hillquit, and other members of the former Socialist Action Committee will speak on the necessity of reviving this committee for work preparatory to the coming municipal campaign. Chairmanship and personnel of the new Socialist Action Committee will be elected that evening pursuant to the motion passed at the last general membership meeting. It is essential that every active member be present at this general party meeting.

Theatre Party

The City Office has obtained the Provincetown Playhouse for a theatre benefit performance for Friday evening, Feb. 1. The play is a revival of Eugene O'Neill's series of one-act plays under the name of "The Great Day." The members of the Party and their friends contemplating seeing these plays are requested to keep in mind the date and let the Party have the benefit of their patronage.

Important Debate

A debate on an interesting and timely topic will be held on Friday night, Jan. 25, at the Community Church, under the auspices of the 6-812 A. D. with the cooperation of the City Office. The topic is, "Is Monogamy Inevitable?" The debaters are J. C. Calverton, editor of the Modern Quarterly, author of "The Bankruptcy of Marriage," "Sex Expression in Modern Literature" and "The New Spirit" and August Claessens, who has lectured and written on the sociological phases of the sex question and is an interpreter of the Socialist point of view at present. The question will be debated by Bax, Rappaport, Wells, Shaw and other Socialist writers, will defend the proposition, "That Constant Sex Relationship

Is Indispensable to Individual and Social Happiness." V. F. Calverton is as able a speaker as he is a brilliant writer and presents rather forcibly the negative view on this question. Tickets are now on sale, limited and reservations 75c and \$1.00 and can be obtained by mail from the City Office, Socialist Party, 7 East 15th St., 6-812 Headquarters, 96 Avenue C, Grand School, Community Church, Office and Labor Temple, 2nd Ave. and 14th St.

Crosswalk Banquet

Arrangements are complete for the testimonial banquet given to Frank Crosswalk, to be held Thursday evening, Jan. 24, at the Park Palace. This affair has been arranged under the direction of the City Office. Henry Gross is in charge of arrangements. Reservations are coming in and all those who desire to be present are urged to respond without delay. The program will include known Harlem soprano will contribute to the musical program of the evening. Reservations are \$2.50 per plate. Address, Henry Gross, City Office, 7 East 15th St., Phone Algonquin 7682.

City Central Committee

A well attended meeting of the City Central Committee was held on Wednesday, Jan. 2, Secretary Claessens opened the session and read credentials of the delegates. Simon Berlin was elected chairman, Joseph Well, vice-chairman. Minutes of the Executive Committee contained reports relative to the number of branches, membership, etc., for the year 1928; also that a new branch had been chartered in the 2nd A. D. Bronx and a statement of the financial condition of the local, progress of theatre parties and other affairs. A Grievance Committee, consisting of Joseph Well, A. Tuvim, A. N. Weinberg, A. Resnais and Jacob Stein was elected to investigate certain charges.

Nominations were made for officers for Local New York for the term of 1929. Permanent chairman, Simon Berlin; P. Clarke, Joseph Well, Jacob Bernstein, Recording secretary, Joseph Tuvim, Henry Gross, Max Nelson, A. N. Weinberg, Minnie Meister, Audre Herman, Volke, Leonard Bright, Minnie Meister. Members of the City Executive Committee: William Karlin, Joseph Beckerman, J. C. Calverton, Celia Roter, Wilho Heiman, Julius Gerber, Louis Sabloff, Louis Waldman, Jacob Bernstein, Louis Well, Irving Knobloch, A. Mollin, Emil Bromberg, Joseph Tuvim, Louis C. Colberg, Minnie Meister, Joseph Stein, I. M. Chatcuff, Sadie Rivkin, Carl Cummings, Leonard Bright, Ernest Welsh and Walter Dearing.

Secretary Claessens reported the death of Comrade Heinrich Rix. Central Committee rose to pay its last respects to our departed comrade. Motion was carried to the effect that the Women's Committee of the Party be represented at the City Central Committee through a fraternal delegate. Also that a meeting of organizers of branches and delegates to the City Central Committee be called to consider the engagement of County Organizer. On roll call some delegates from 30 branches were present and the condition and activities of their respective branches.

MANHATTAN

1-2 A. D. A special meeting will be held Friday evening, Jan. 11, at the East Side Socialist Center, 204 East Broadway. Officers for the year will be elected and other activities planned. This branch meets every second and fourth Fridays of the month.

3-5-10

On Jan. 8, a brief business meeting was held. The next meeting will be held on Jan. 22 at the home of Comrade Hughan, 171 W. 12th St. Election of officers was held with the following results: J. W. Hughan, organizer; Andrew McGuire, financial secretary; Ernest K. K. Harren, treasurer; Rebecca Turner, Celia Roter and Ben Blumenberg, delegates to the City Central Committee. Comrade Kaye will talk at the next educational meeting on Feb. 5 on the subject, "My Trip to the South." At 9:10 p. m., Comrade Fichtler, speaker for the evening, was introduced by chairman and in his talk on "After a Trip to Russia," he gave a very comprehensive view of the Russian Revolution, describing in detail the life of the workers and peasants there and stating that in spite of the general misery which prevails the Russian worker has become in truth the aristocrat and the "favorite child" of the new government, benefiting to the highest degree possible at the present time culturally and physically. He maintains that the Soviet Government is striving towards the Socialist State and that this Russian Revolutionary period will, historically speaking, become the greatest epoch in the world's history. A factor in the world politics and as a Socialist State.

East Harlem

The Sunday morning forum, under the auspices of the Harlem branches, held its opening session last Sunday. Frank Crosswalk delivered the first address. It was very well received. The program was rendered by Miss Alice Crawford, accompanied by Miss Helen Jones, pianist. The program was given every Sunday morning at 11:30 sharp. Frank Crosswalk is the director of the forum. Next Sunday, Henry Jager will speak on the Machine-Promise or Menace. All Socialists residing in East Harlem are requested to cooperate towards the success of this forum.

North Harlem

An intensive drive is being made among the Negro workers of Harlem for the organization of a strong Socialist branch and a number of activities that will be announced later. Headquarters have been obtained at 2311 135th St. Frank Crosswalk is in charge of the work. The group working with him is also planning to bring together all Negro Socialists and sympathizers throughout the country in an organization to be known as the United Colored Socialists of America. A monthly organ will be published soon and the prospects are that a nation-wide drive will be made to insure the success of better results than have been obtained for some time among members of the Negro race.

6-5-12

This branch will meet Monday evening, Jan. 14, and following the business meeting, Frank Crosswalk will be present and will deliver a talk on some current topic. The Sunday evening forum established by this branch held its first session last Sunday. Comrade Claessens, who will be the regular lecturer for the next several months, discussed the important events of the week. In his talk he included an analysis of the working of the Dawes Plan, the report of S. Parker Gilbert, the Cruiser Bill and the Borah Peace Treaties; the police shake-up, the push cart scandal involving the Science and One Scientific Congress. After the talk, a literary program was given by August Claessens. The program consisted of the reading of the Rubiyat of Omar Khayyam. Next Sunday night, Eleanor Levenson will assist in the cultural program of the evening with a reading of Modern Poetry.

22-23

A fairly well attended meeting of the branch was held last Tuesday evening in the new headquarters. Secretary Claessens was present and delivered a talk on "Motives Behind Recent Legislation in the Restriction of Immigration."

BRONX

General Party Meeting. A very important meeting of the Bronx members will be held at the County Headquarters, 1167 Boston Road on Tuesday, Jan. 15, at 8 p. m. The principal order of business will be the last minute drive to insure the success of the Bronx County Ball which will be held on Saturday night, Jan. 26. Every effort must be made to obtain 100 per cent attendance for this meeting, as the four-man drive to print shortly and increased sale to sell and collect

discussion following the business meeting on the present international situation. The County Ball will be held this year at the New Terrace Gardens, 180th St. and Boston Road. A handsome souvenir journal will be printed. Five prizes will be distributed, including an Atwater Kent Radio, a set of silverware, clock, table lamp and a good set of books. The concert program, which will be announced in detail next week, will consist of the finest pianists and a dramatic soprano and tenor.

Central Branch

This branch will meet Tuesday, Jan. 15, at 8:30 p. m., at the county headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

7 A. D.

This newly organized branch is making excellent progress. Beginning with but a few prospects there are now eleven members and a number of comrades are canvassing the neighborhood under the direction of Mr. Mollin. They are very successful in bringing in new members. The meetings will be held every second and fourth Tuesday of the month at the office of Dr. Mollin, 1405 Walton Ave., S. A. D.

Members of the 8 A. D. branch, as well as members of other branches throughout the city and their friends who are residents of the Amalgamated Cooperative Apartments, will gather in the lecture hall of Building 8 on Tuesday, Jan. 15, at 8:30 p. m. The guest of honor of the evening will be Norman Thomas, our recent candidate for president. He will speak on the Socialist program from New York City. Every effort is being made to obtain a record attendance among many Socialists and sympathizers living in these apartments.

7 A. D.

The program for the Tremont Educational Forum, which meets every Friday evening, is being held under the auspices of the branch in their club room, 4215 Third Ave., near Tremont Ave., is now completed for the next two months. The speakers and subjects are as follows: Friday, Jan. 11, Dr. Alfred W. Martin, "Distinguishing Features of the Great Religions." Jan. 18, August Claessens, "On These United States." Jan. 25, Dr. Alexander Fichtler, noted educator, who spent last summer in Russia, on "My Impressions of Russia." Dr. Mortimer J. Adler, Department of Psychology, Columbia University and author of "Jah. etc." will give the following lectures: Feb. 1, 1929, "What is a Social Stimulus? The Nature of a Social Situation." Feb. 8, "Is Man Instinctively a Social Animal?" Feb. 15, "What is Social Mal-adjustments? Personality as a Sum of Social Traits." Feb. 22, "What is a Social Stimulus? The Nature of a Social Situation." Feb. 29, "What is a Social Stimulus? The Nature of a Social Situation."

KINGS COUNTY

4-14 A. D. Immediately following the Friday evening lecture forum at which Henry Jager is delivering a series of talks, an important branch meeting will be held Friday evening, Jan. 11. Branch officers will be elected. Both the branch meetings and the forum meet at the Williamsburg Mansion, 297 South 5th St.

16 A. D.

The membership is entering the New Year with a resolution to make 1929 a memorable one in the social and political affairs of the district. To provide funds for an effective campaign this fall, a ball is to be given at the Colonial Mansion on Feb. 23, the net proceeds of which, together with the profits of the journal, is expected to provide sufficient funds for adequate distribution of propaganda. Efforts are being made for cooperation of other districts from where a goodly representation is anticipated.

15-19 A. D.

The first meeting this year was well attended. (Continued on Page 6)

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. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 34th St., Room 12 Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Sunday at 10 p. m. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

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

Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 p. m. D. GINGOLD, MEYER POLINSKY, Sec'y-Treas.

HEBREW BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 374, A. M. O. & B. W. of N. A. 115 E. 9th St. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at 8 p. m. ISSE LEFF, President L. KORN, J. BELSKY, Secretary.

WORKERS!

Eat Only in Restaurants that Employ Union Workers

Waiters & Waitresses' Union

Always Look for This Label. For This Label. LOCAL 1 162 E. 23rd Street Tel. Gramercy 0843 FOCUS RIFKIN, President LOUIS RUBINOFF, Sec'y-Treas. Regular meeting 2nd and 4th Thursday at 8:30 p. m. 210 East 20 St.

When You Buy Cloth Hats and Caps

Always Look for This Label

FELT or WOOL HATS

ALWAYS LOOK FOR THIS LABEL

THE UNITED HATERS OF NORTH AMERICA

REGISTERED

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members. S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Room 2700-10, New York. Board of Delegates 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 6569, A. F. of L. 7 East 14th Street, Algonquin 7678 Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 167 East 33rd Street Fred Faslabend, N. Ullman, President. Rec. Sec'y. A. Weimer, J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec. & Treas. Wm. B. Chisling, Business Agent

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER NEW YORK Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Office: 21 W. 15th St. Orchard 1357 Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office. All local meetings every Wednesday MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

Pressers' Union

Local S. A. C. W. A. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at 8:00 p. m. 11-27 Arion 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 M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas. 175 East Broadway, New York City Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11016, A. F. of L. 7 East 14th St. Phone: Algonquin 7682 Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock in the office LOUIS FELDHEIM, President ED. GOTTESMAN, Sec'y-Treas. LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

Bonnaz Embroiderers' Union, Local 1, I. L. G. W. U.

7 East 13th Street, Tel. Algonquin 4319 Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union Z. L. FREEDMAN, President LEON HATTAR, NATHAN REISEL, Secretary-Treas.

WHITE GOODS WORKERS' UNION

Local 62 of I. L. G. W. U. 3 West 10th Street, New York City TELEPHONE CHELSEA 3750-3757 A. SNYDER, Manager

Hebrew Actor's Union, Office, 31 Seventh Street, N.Y.

Phone Orchard 1923 REUBEN GUSKIN, Manager

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 485, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS, DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS Regular Meetings Every Wednesday Ev'g. at the Labor Temple, 243 East 34th St. FRANK WOLLENSCOFF, Fin. Sec'y. I. LEFKOWITZ, President ALVIN BOESTNER, Secretary

United Hebrew Trades

115 EAST BROADWAY Telephone Drydock 8610 Meets 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8 P. M. M. TIGEL, Chairman W. WOLPERT, Vice-Chairman M. FEINSTONE, Secretary-Treasurer

FUR DRESSERS' UNION

Local 2, International Fur Workers' Union Office and Headquarters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn, Pulaski 0798 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 Executive Board meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday at 8:00 p. m. 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

THE LABOR SECRETARIAT OF NEW YORK CITY

A Cooperative Organization of Labor Unions to Protect the legal Rights of the Unions and Their Members. S. John Block, Attorney and Counsel, 225 Broadway, Room 2700-10, New York. Board of Delegates 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 6569, A. F. of L. 7 East 14th Street, Algonquin 7678 Regular Meetings Second Wednesday of Every Month at 167 East 33rd Street Fred Faslabend, N. Ullman, President. Rec. Sec'y. A. Weimer, J. Rosenzweig, Fin. Sec. & Treas. Wm. B. Chisling, Business Agent

PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD

OF GREATER NEW YORK Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Office: 21 W. 15th St. Orchard 1357 Board meets every Tuesday evening at the Office. All local meetings every Wednesday MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager HYMAN NOVODOR, Sec'y-Treas.

Pressers' Union

Local S. A. C. W. A. Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at 8:00 p. m. 11-27 Arion 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 M. GREENBERG, Sec'y-Treas. 175 East Broadway, New York City Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday evening

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

Local 564, I. U. of T. Office: 206 W. 14th St., City, Local 504 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at Seaboard Hall, 210 East Fifth St. Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursday at BETHOVEN HALL, 210 East Fifth Street CHAS. HOFER, Pres. & Business Agent. MAX LIEBLER, Sec'y-Treas.

LABOR LYCEUM

949 Willoughby Ave., Brooklyn Large and small hall suitable for all occasions and meetings at reasonable rentals. STAGG 3643 Labor Temple 243-247 EAST 34th ST. NEW YORK Workers' Educational Association Free Library open from 1 to 10 p. m. Hall for Meetings, Entertainments and Balls. Telephone REGENT 10098

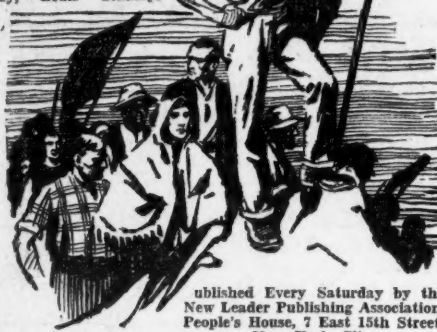
NEW LEADER

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, Algonon Lee, Harry W. Laidler, Norman Thomas, Joseph E. Cohen, Jessie Wallace Hughson, Wm. M. Feigenbaum, John M. Work, McAlister Coleman, Joseph T. Shipley, Louis Stanley.



SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One Year Postpaid in the United States \$2.00
Six Months Postpaid in the United States 1.00
One Year to Canada, \$2.50; to other Foreign Countries 3.00

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1929

Professor Dewey vs. Matthew Woll

IT is significant that within a few days after the appearance of *The New Republic* last week it was difficult to obtain a copy at the newsstands. That issue carries Professor Dewey's article on "Labor Politics and Labor Education" and it deserves careful reading by every member of a trade union. It shows the present trend in the unions.

Professor Dewey does not confine himself to the case of Brookwood Labor College which he calls a "scholastic lynching," but relates this injustice to other actions and tendencies, with Matthew Woll as a text. What impresses us is the fact, not stated by Professor Dewey but logically inferred from his article, is that leaders like Mr. Woll, who spend so much time in denouncing the Bolshevik bogey, themselves embrace the chief tenet of Bolshevism.

One thing common to Fascism, Bolshevism and other dictatorships is that each believes that it has discovered a final truth and that variation from it requires a heavy penalty. Trotsky and his associates in Russia are in exile for disagreeing with the leaders of his party. Fascism has imprisoned or exiled every active opponent of it. Brookwood Labor College is the victim of the same procedure and the reasons given for its condemnation do not conflict with the reasons supporting Fascism and Communist domination.

Perhaps the most astonishing revelation made by Professor Dewey is the statement that Mr. Woll is now a member of a Commission of the National Civic Federation that is working out some plan of cooperation between company unions and trade unions! We wonder what members of the trade unions think of this amazing performance.

One reason for trade union representatives entering the Civic Federation years ago was on the assumption that they would win some of the big capitalists, to a favorable attitude towards trade unions. We do not believe that one open shop employer in that organization has been won to trade union organization. The Woll commission means that instead of winning the open shop and "well-fare" capitalists to trade unionism the latter would be allied with the "company union." We wonder whether Mr. Woll will consider it treason for members of the unions to resist any plan for fraternal relations with the "company unions." At any rate, the Civic Federation has successfully "bored within." Do organized workmen and women want more of it? It is a good theme for discussion in their local and central bodies.

Another Dictatorship

WITHIN a few weeks after Roumanian peasants ousted a corrupt Liberal regime which had plundered Roumania for many years Yugoslavia, by a royal coup d'état, becomes a dictatorship under King Alexander. By sweeping decrees Parliament is dismissed, the constitution is suspended, local elections are abolished, the press comes under a severe law limiting comment, ministers are responsible only to the King who issues laws, appoints public officials and officers of the army and fixes the line of dynastic succession. Certainly another strange installment of a world "made safe for Democracy."

Yugoslavia was the creation of the Paris Peace Conference, a concrete example of "self determination" as the victors understood it. Three quarrelsome nationalities, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as well as Moslems, Catholics and many of the Orthodox Church, were "united" under one government. Surrounding Yugoslavia are Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary and Roumania, each with more or less appetite for territorial expansion. Of some 80 million people living in this section of Europe it is estimated that about 60 million have either racial, religious, national, economic, or territorial prejudices of one sort or another against Yugoslavia.

If one remembers the old complexities of the Balkans before the beginning of the World War and compares them with the conflicts and prejudices of today he will be able to properly estimate the job of the peace-makers. This region is still a storehouse of explosives that may again set the world on fire.

The report of the Department of Agriculture presents figures to show that the value of farm land has continued to decline. The same thing is true of the farmers' votes.

Probably the reason why the Socialist vote was not larger last year was because many voters wanted their votes to count. They are like the union rope maker who died happy because the noose that strangled him bore the union label.

A Needed Investigation

A WALKER man on the New York transit commission, a young, inexperienced Democratic engineer with no ideas about the job to the Port Authority of New York—appointments like this may be good politics for Governor Roosevelt; they show no progressive leadership. These bodies together with the Public Service Commission may furnish the acid test of Roosevelt's administration. They can ruin any system of social control. Bad appointments wipe out brave words about state control of water power. It is moreover disquieting that the Governor should so greatly overemphasize the importance of haste in developing St. Lawrence water power. It is not nearly so important to develop that power right away as to see that it is developed under right conditions. And, as appeared from Professor Karapetoff's illuminating statement of technical problems in the power industry before the L. I. D. conference, the generation of power is much simpler than its proper distribution.

Now we can have little confidence in Governor Roosevelt's attitude on power distribution so long as he accepts complacently the legacy of a Public Service Commission which permitted the Brooklyn and New York gas and electric merger under terms which about doubled the stock of the new company and have already added an estimated load of \$32,000,000 in extra dividends which the consumers must pay. For its sins of omission in this case alone Governor Roosevelt should investigate a Public Service Commission which has proved so poor a defender of consumers' rights. We emphatically endorse Norman Thomas' suggestion in his column last week that the Governor should look into this matter. He has the necessary power under the Moreland Act.

Grafting on Peddlers

ONE of the most contemptible forms of graft and petty persecution of which Tammany administration has been guilty for many years is that related to pushcart peddlers. These poor street peddlers have been hounded by officials and made to pay tribute out of their meager earnings. This grafting continues and yet despite ample evidence of it submitted to the December Grand Jury it failed to make out a single indictment. That body merely recommended a few reforms.

So the grafters go their way unmolested and Tammany continues to do business at the old stand. A few months before the election Boss Olvany told a sob story in the *Times Sunday Magazine* relating to the "charitable" works of his organization in this city. The substance of the story was that Tammany is a kind mother to the distressed masses, distributing substantial aid to them every year.

What Tammany does is to assist voters in distress in cases where they either are known to support Tammany in elections or that they are likely to support it. As a corporation dealing in offices, jobs, contracts, legislation and other commodities, it gives back one dollar out of a hundred which it sweats out of the city. The poor peddler or shopkeeper who openly opposes Tammany is terrorized. Life is made so miserable for him that he either surrenders to his persecutors or else he is finally driven out of business. In many cases even if he votes the ticket the victim is expected to pay a little graft for the privilege.

For a grand jury to overlook such facts that are notorious is to give free rein to a form of meanness that is disgusting in the extreme. If the fat politicians must have graft let them look elsewhere than to the street peddler and his kind. The poor man has enough to carry without having Tammany grafters astride his back.

Preparing Suicide

STRIVE as they will our militarists cannot explain away their preparations for poisoning whole populations in the next war. Moreover, General Fries, before the House Appropriations Committee this week, has admitted that the civilian population face death from gas attacks but he minimizes the danger by citing protective measures being worked out by the War Department.

The substance of the Fries testimony is that large supplies of gas masks have already been distributed throughout the United States in areas that may be the scene of gas attacks. The government, he declares, has developed the most effective gas mask in the world, ignoring the fact that this merely provides an incentive for a more powerful gas to penetrate the "most effective mask."

New York City is among the areas likely to be attacked by poison gas and Fries tries to soothe our apprehensions. When the gas alarm sounds we are advised to go into an "upstairs room," plug the keyhole, seal all other air vents with paper, and we will be safe till the oxygen is exhausted. When we begin to feel uncomfortable we can use a device that will admit air purified of gas.

Now the reader may visualize all this for the population of large cities and have some idea of the hideous struggle by men, women and children when poison vapor is released. He can also imagine the whole population of a city like New York seeking refuge in "upstairs" rooms. Think of this advice as applied to one twelve-story apartment and the panic of all the occupants to find security "upstairs!"

This is what is issuing out of capitalism all over the world and Socialism is the price of averting this horrible nightmare.

For Socialist Self-Education

THE attention of party members in New York City is called to an article appearing on another page under the heading "Rand School Will Help to Build Party." Not only do we need more and better speakers, but it is necessary to promote greater intellectual activity among our whole membership. The Rand School's program for this winter and spring terms leaves no excuse for the lack of Socialist knowledge and understanding in our ranks. Any branch which does not have at least a few of its members enrolled in one or another of the classes to be conducted by such men as Comrades Berenberg, Claessens, Hansome, Lee and Stanley will have failed in its duty to the movement.

The working people constitute the big majority of the nation's voters but you can't



Hunger

Machinists' Editor Calls for Aggressive Policy During 1929

WASHINGTON—(FP)—Editor Fred Hewitt of the *Machinists' Journal*, in the January issue of this official organ of the International Association of Machinists, calls for a militant year of agitation by the entire membership in 1929. He states the program of the union, including certain measures generally branded as radical by A. F. of L. executives at convention time.

"We favor freedom of speech and of the press; also public ownership and operation of all public utilities," he declares, referring to the action of the recent convention of the I. A. of M. at Atlanta. "The I. A. of M. has never been classed as a conservative organization. As a matter of fact it has always believed, and still believes, there is room for radical improvement both in our political and industrial life. . . . We are a militant organization, and will not hesitate to support our members in an aggressive movement to enforce recognition of their rights, and will back them to the limit in maintaining conditions already gained."

The eight hour day, five day week, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and the "social wage" rule are among the measures the Machinists have specifically endorsed.

"White Coal" Displaces Many Alabama Miners

BIRMINGHAM—(FP)—Hydro-electric power has nicked about 3,000 Alabama coal diggers off the payroll in the last few years, reports reveal. The 3,000 miners were loading 2,000,000 tons a year more for Alabama power plants and another million tons for use in Georgia if the rivers had not been harnessed for "white coal." Other miners will lose their jobs after the opening of the 144,000 horsepower Jordan Dam by Alabama Power Co. this January. The state was already getting 82.1 per cent of its electric energy from waterpower, and in adjacent Georgia 86.8 per cent was from this source.

Boom times for Alabama mining are gone, for years at least. In 1928 production fell to 17,500,000 tons, less than any year since the strike and depression of 1920-21 and less than 1913. Some mines were shut for months and others were on two and three days a week.

Waterpower indeed is not the only factor curtailing the state's coal trade. One million tons used to be sold to coal burning ships touching at Gulf ports. Now half these boats use oil burners, and this business has dropped to 500,000 tons. Then there is competition from oil and gas in the southwest, and in common with all regions the sales to railroads have been cut by the installation of late type locomotives consuming less coal per ton mine.

Further loss of trade is possible to competing coal fields since the northern wage cuts. Alabama operators may cut wages again here in reply, but local labor prices have already been cut to the bone and another reduction might increase labor turnover to the danger point. Men getting only \$2.50 to \$5.00 a day for part time work are putting up with about all they can stand.

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—The Hosiery Workers' Union is taking an active part in the drive to reduce hours of work for women in Pennsylvania. The present law allows 54 hours of work a week. The proposed measure, to be introduced in the state legislature in January, would limit the working hours to 44 a week.

by ABRAHAM CAHAN

"American Socialism Re-Examined"

A new series of articles in which the famous editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* startlingly challenges the basic facts of American Socialist policy

to be published exclusively in

THE NEW LEADER

The first article in this long-awaited series will be published in THE NEW LEADER Next Week—Tell Your

About It.

TIMELY TOPICS

By Norman Thomas

ONLY NINE LYNCHINGS

JUST when we Americans were rejoicing that only nine human beings were lynched in our free republic in 1928, the great, tolerant, Christian, Democratic state of Mississippi brought the number of them up to eleven—five in one year for Pat Harrison's bailiwick! The last man was burned at the stake and Governor Bilbo has no "time or money to investigate 2,000 people." Well, it's no surprise that a state like that stands at the foot of the list in all those respects by which social well being is measured. How long will we Americans be disgraced by even one lynching in a year?

REPARATIONS AND SLAVERY

During the next few weeks or months we are going to hear and see the words "capacity to pay," over and over again.

Since they are applied to Germany and Germany is far away, and since the arguments about "capacity to pay" will be diplomatic and dull and very statistical, most of us will probably pay no attention to them and turn over the pages of our paper to something more congenial. Nevertheless the negotiations for the revision of the Dawes Plan which are about to

Norman Thomas enter the stage of a meeting of a commission of experts to consider Germany's capacity to pay will be very important to the well-being of American farmers and workers and, indeed, to the peace of the world.

If Germany is to be treated like a patient cow to be milked as dry as possible, some serious things are likely to happen. In the first place sooner or later the cow is likely to kick. In the second place foreign statisticians are likely not to allow enough fodder to keep the cow even moderately contented. In other words, they are not likely to allow any margins to satisfy the just demands of the German workers for an improved standard of living. There is very little evidence, for instance, that that bright young man, Parker Gilbert, who is a kind of czar under the Dawes plan, has ever thought much about what the workers have a right to ask.

If Germany's capacity to pay is set too high with little regard to the needs of her own people, their low standard of living will reduce their effective demand for American foodstuffs and other materials and will create a dangerous low wage competition in the markets of the world which will hit us all. On the one hand American investors in German stocks and bonds will want us to receive more and more goods from Germany. On the other hand American manufacturers and workers scared by this artificially forced type of competition will want higher and higher tariffs. Even if they get them they cannot save the situation. There is no adequate protection against a nation of skilled workers like the Germans slaving away at low wages for the benefit of foreign bond holders. It is just plain common sense to say that the farmers and workers of America in terms of dollars and cents now, and greater security against the menace of war in the future, will do far better to think internationally about the well-being of the German workers than nationally about the profits governments and individuals may hope to derive from a defeated enemy.

The minute we begin to think internationally about these German reparations we shall have to think internationally about the allied debts to the United States. It is possible to separate the two classes of debts logically and diplomatically. It is not possible to separate them in fact. The victorious allies will at least demand from Germany what they have to pay the United States. It would pay us over and over again not as a matter of capitalist justice but of good sense to forgive the allied debts if by so doing we could help clear up the whole reparations problem and promote disarmament. Since the victorious Republican party won't hear of that, all that is left is for us to hope that German capacity to pay will be interpreted as intelligently as possible so as to lighten the slavery of her workers to foreign bond holders and to lessen as far as possible the terrible risk to the world of enforcing such slavery on any nation.

WILLING BUT NOT GOOD

Mr. Hoover has come back from taking goodwill to Latin America and bringing goodwill back—maybe. He will redouble his efforts to increase our markets abroad

while a Congressional committee has begun its hearings to raise our tariffs so as to keep foreign goods out of our market. The recent Pan-American conference has won a genuine triumph in preventing war between Paraguay and Bolivia, the latter country being in hook to our bankers. It has also drawn up some new arbitration agreements and provisions for adjusting claims which may be of service. But our marines are still in Haiti and Nicaragua. The Senate apparently is about to ratify a peace treaty which means less and less the more it is explained. And very likely the same Senate will then pass the bill for the big navy, though the latter may be blocked by the determined opposition of its opponents. Now out of this curious picture who can shape a program of economic and political relations with other nations which will guarantee peace? Certainly not the Republican Party even if its newly elected President is the most traveled American.

REFORMING THE CALENDAR

Congress is considering a bill to reform the calendar. An attempt is to be made to obtain international agreement on a revised calendar of thirteen twenty-eight day months with one extra "year day" to make the three hundred and sixty-five. There are lots of arguments for the convenience of such a change in our workaday world. The readjustment between the old calendar and the new would not raise serious difficulties. Yet we have small hope for such a revision in the near future. Even if there were no religious opposition to it on account of its effect on religious holy days sheer inertia and prejudice would block the change.

Did you ever think how tremendously conservative we are in some matters of custom? The international use of the metric system would save an immense deal of trouble and greatly simplify the lot of our children in learning weights and measures. But nobody expects the system to be adopted in America. Great Britain clumsily clings to her cumbersome non decimal currency. All we English speaking peoples cling to our crazy system of spelling which is an outstanding obstacle to the extension of English as a world language and is said to cost our children years of extra time in school. I confess that I who see no rational argument at all for our system of spelling am always inclined to be a little irritated and puzzled when I receive a phonetically spelled letter! Such is the power of habit.

A LAME DUCK SESSION

In the world of politics we are again enduring a lame-duck session of Congress which is a travesty on democracy and an invitation to corruption. A few selfish representatives year after year their own advantage block the Norris amendment. And as yet there isn't enough public opinion to force so simple and obviously useful a reform. We're too lazy.

Even dictators have more trouble with these matters of custom and habit than with weightier questions. It is reported that Mustafa Kemal of Turkey is having more trouble introducing the Latin alphabet into his country than in all the political changes he has made.

Which proves, I suppose, how far from intelligent we are about our own interests. Lots of things interest me more than reforming the calendar or revising English spelling. Still I hope that my grandchildren in the Cooperative Commonwealth of the future will always be able to know which day of the week Christmas comes on and not have to worry about spelling the English language as much as their poor old grandfather.

THEY WON'T ANSWER

The other day I wasted hours listening to a Republican and a Democratic speaker who followed me in explaining the principles of our respective parties. Neither of them had thought two minutes in advance what to say. They told stories supposed to be humorous, talked about Lincoln, Jefferson and human nature and otherwise acted like second-rate preachers. But—and this is the significant point of the experience—they did not even try to answer my argument or to say that it would not be a good thing to bring about the changes we Socialists ask. They only hinted they were impossible. Now I have had similar experiences before. They illustrate the extraordinary fact that in capitalist America politicians don't consider it good tactics before average audiences to openly defend the economic system which they really support. From Hoover down they are afraid of Real Socialism. That is why they want to keep the people frightened of some bogey-man they call Socialism. The more reason, then, for us to keep on advertising the real article.

A NEW TAX GAME

A letter from Comrade Streiff of Portland, Oregon, tells me of the good fight some of our Socialist comrades are making against an extraordinary income tax framed to catch the poor man. The trick is this. Those who pay property or personal taxes may use them as offsets to their income taxes. That catches the wage worker and the renting farmer who have no offsets. This precious law seems likely to be the first fruit of the Hoover landslide in Oregon. It's fine to know that our comrades are on the job. I look to Portland and to cities the size of Portland in other states to lead the way in a Socialist and labor advance beginning as in Reading with municipal affairs.

Injunction Hobbles

Silk Workers' Strike

SUMMIT, N. J.—(FP)—Organizers and members of the Associated Silk Workers are forbidden to speak to employees of the struck Shanasarian silk mill in Summit, to engage in any picketing or in any strike activity, according to terms of a temporary injunction given the firm by Vice Chancellor Church. The injunction may be made permanent, if the silk boss's attorneys win in a further hearing before Judge Church January 15. The Shanasarian shop signed up with the union after a 2-months strike granting the 8-hour day and union recognition to 55 employees.

New Leader Gilt-Edged Security

By OUR FINANCIAL EDITOR

THERE was no sharp rise in NEW LEADER STOCK during the week. Correspondents in many cities and states advise us that while money is tight, there are many prospective investors who realize that THE NEW LEADER brings gratifying returns. The fact is being more generally recognized than ever before that the stock is not reasonable but an all the year around necessity. Investments made at this time, are certain to bring big results to labor union activities, Socialist Party organizations and other groups interested in publicity, education and organization results. Returns will also be seen in the coming Spring elections. Now is the time. You build for the future when you take up the issue now being offered by your paper, THE NEW LEADER.

The "flu" chased Tim Murphy out of Pennsylvania. When he returns, he will fire in the subs with his accustomed regularity.

"The best little truth teller ever printed." John W. McIntyre.

"THE NEW LEADER grows better and better." Eleanor Brannan.

Alexander Craig and W. T. Ewen order "Boston." Wm. Mark Taylor and Howe D. Higgins also order this epoch-making novel.

Theodore Debs finds nothing but praise for the work that THE NEW LEADER is doing.

Just a few more sets of "Boston" on hand. Just a short time remains to take advantage of the premium offer.

THE NEW LEADER will celebrate its Fifth Anniversary with a dinner at Webster Hall, (Lincoln's Birthday), Tuesday, Feb. 12th, out of town as well as New York Boosters, should keep the date in mind.

"THE NEW LEADER is one of life's necessities, I cannot do without it." Mrs. Pauline Melinger, Erie, Penn.

Alex McLennan of British Columbia continues to keep THE NEW LEADER flag flying.

"I have about come to the conclusion that the Socialist platform offers the only ray of hope," writes Frank E. Johnsen of Idaho. A sub and an order for pamphlets accompany the letter.

IT'S HARD TO MISS AN ISSUE

While on the move, Elias Kusley of Maryland missed a couple of issues. He says that when he says "missed," he don't mean anything else. The same mail brought his renewal, of course.

George H. Goebel (is there a Socialist who does not know him?) sends THE NEW LEADER a New Year's gift of \$5.

We receive many letters in which the correspondents say that they are the victims of the "prosperity" that has a strange hold on great masses of workers. The sending in of a renewal means a real sacrifice to some of our most loyal supporters and the spirit they show, is a real inspiration to the staff of THE NEW LEADER. If some of our readers who are sitting pretty, relatively speaking, could read some of the letters to which reference is made, they would show more pep in boosting the circulation of their paper.

"Our Leader and THE NEW LEADER are leaders indeed," is the view that accompanies the renewal of one of Milwaukee's enthusiasts, Arpad Molnar.

THE PROFS ARE FOR THE COURSE

Five of the professors in Bucknell University sign up for the course in general information and knowledge that has THE NEW LEADER famous.

What's in a name? Nothing so fit boosters for our paper are concerned. Here's B. W. Van Winkle of California renewing and sending in two new sub

So many orders for "Boston" I reached us that THE NEW LEADER justified in presenting the city dade Beantown a bill for publicity work. By through our efforts the city of Bos will be known wherever books—good books—are read. Not a day passes but the orders come in for Sinclair's magnificent novel, "Boston" (in 2 vols.) a year's subscription to THE NEW LEADER. Here are the names of a few of the boosters that one day's in brought in.

George D. Sauter, St. Louis; Taw Wistl, Massachusetts; M. Wagman, I. troit; Sam A. Goldman, Massachusetts; Jack Holdridge, California; A. W. Olin, Kentucky.

"I hope to boost for our paper as I as I live." C. D. Mann, Elmira, N. Y.

Among the list of singles, we find Dr. E. J. Mitchell of Wisconsin, John Fradel of Pennsylvania, Frank Benson of Illinois, E. A. Hagye of Pittsburgh, Stanley Marsh of Duluth, Wm. R. Gilbert, Milwaukee, who says that he has enlisted in THE NEW LEADER army for life.

And still the orders for "Boston" and THE NEW LEADER roll in. Here's a couple among the new Sam Goldman of Lynn and Jo Putnam of Philadelphia. Jo's sales, talks by two-fisted salesmen, high-powered pep speeches, etc., are necessary to make the alert and foresighted to take advantage of the "Boston" LEADER offer.