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# THE NEW LEADER

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## Wall Street Guiding Washington Toward a Rupture With Mexico

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW LEADER:

By Norman

IT APPEARS that the end of the British coal strike last week. Actually the miners rejected the terms of settlement by a majority vote. So far, however, as can be learned from the dispatches sent to America, this proud gesture of defiance is not likely to win better terms. Instead the strike is disintegrating without any natural agreement. And what a real tragedy.

So far as an outsider, though a deeply sympathetic outsider, like myself, can judge, the recent strike of the cloakmakers in the hands of their Communist leaders had precisely the opposite effect from what was intended. The great evil in the cloak and suit trade is the jobbing system. This strike was said to be against the jobbers. Actually it seems to have strengthened the jobbers. The inside manufacturers are far from perfect, but with them the union can deal and against them it can enforce an agreement as it cannot against the jobbers and a lot of their fly-by-night sub-manufacturers. Yet a check-up in the industry shows that settlements were reached with scores of these irresponsible agents of jobbers, often on the deposit of merely nominal sums, before a settlement was reached with the inside manufacturers' association. Instead of using the inside manufacturers to beat the jobbers, the jobbers were used to beat the inside manufacturers. The result is a defeat all along the line for the union. The problem of the jobber is, if anything, worse than before the strike. This is a more serious result of the settlement than even the annual reorganization plan.

In other words, the very people who have talked most about the evils of "class collaboration" have practiced a particularly stupid form of "class collaboration." This is true not merely as regards relations with the jobbers, but as regards the particular intermediaries who were used in the settlement of the strike with the inside manufacturers. Mr. Rothstein is no leader of the proletariat.

It is time to stop getting drunk on phrases. The class conflict is a reality. Nobody recognizes that better than the old line A. F. of L. leader in time of strike, whatever he may say the rest of the time. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to carry on all life simply and solely on the basis of unremitting conduct of the class war. The workers themselves have interests not wholly summed up in the notion of class conflict. Every agreement represents some measure of regulated and necessary co-operation with the management of an industry. It represents, if you like, a type of "class collaboration" just as the big business that Soviet Russia does with the Chase National Bank, represents "class collaboration." The important thing is that the precise agreement and the precise degree of class collaboration which is called for by the existing situation should be accurately measured and judged by the workers. Each agreement should pave the way to a future agreement which should bring more power to the working class. When men who have violently criticized their working class opponents as "class collaborationists" use class collaboration so badly and badly as it was used in the cloakmakers' strike, they stand self-convicted of incompetence or insincerity or both.

Blessed be the man who invented the Bolshevik bogey. At least, that's what every good capitalist ought to say. The best hope for China is the complete victory of the Kuo Min Tang or National Party, which originated in Canton. Its leader, General Chiang Kai Shek, has recently established its power in Central China. For obvious reasons, Russia is friendly to this movement, but in no proper sense is it Communist. From every point of view it would be to America's advantage to show friendship to this movement. Yet most of our business men in the Orient and our diplomats—who usually are "Me, too," boys for the British—seek to damn this movement by yelling Communism.

Likewise in Central America, where our investors and banana barons fear (Continued on page 9)

### DEMOCRATS OUT OF PICTURE IN NORTHWEST

Labor, Socialist and Progressive Only Existing Opposition to Republican Party

By James D. Graham

HELENA, Montana.—For years it has been the desire of the Socialists to force the two old parties to combine their forces in order that the fight be a straight one between the Socialists and the capitalist-owned parties. This wish of the Socialists will soon be an accomplished fact in the Northwest States, owing to the disintegration of the Democratic party.

Old party politicians work in a political party for the money there is in it, and in many States it is no longer considered a good investment to run for office on the Democratic ticket. The Democratic party, lacking an ideal or a principle, attracts no others to it. In the northern tier of States, extending westward from Lake Michigan to the Pacific, the Democratic party has nearly disappeared.

In Wisconsin no Democrat's picture appeared in campaign advertising. The truth is, there were no signs whatever of Democrats seeking election to local offices. The candidates were Socialists or Republicans.

In Minnesota it was Farmer-Labor and Republicans. One failed to see anywhere in the North Star State any Democratic campaign advertising. The same thing was true of the Dakotas, Idaho and most of Washington.

The Democrats have almost disappeared from eastern Montana, although that State has a Democratic Governor, and its two United States Senators and one of the two representatives in Congress are Democrats.

(Continued on page 2)

### A Letter to a Banker

Advice to J. P. on How to Silence the Ripley-ites, Become a National Hero, and Continue His 685 Per Cent. Profits

DEAR J. P.: About a year ago I wrote you about one of your companies. Perhaps you didn't get it or you were too busy, for, as I recall it, the yachting season was on and I shouldn't have bothered you at such a time. My catboat measured about 15 feet—285 feet less than your "Corsair."

What I started to say was that Mr. Ripley has a piece about you in the Atlantic Monthly, a sort of highbrow magazine that you may not subscribe for. Of course, he doesn't mention you by name, nor George Baker, nor the rest of the bunch. He does use rather tall language about a lot of companies that you and the others are interested in; so tall, in fact, that Mr. Coolidge called in the Spokesman and had him make a statement; Sam Untermyer was interviewed, and the Exchange turned a couple of handspins.

Now, this Mr. Ripley must own a lot of stocks, for he knows nothing about so many different companies. He has the funny idea that stockholders have the right to know how much their companies make each year, what assets the companies have at the end of each year when proxies are collected for the re-election of your appointees as directors, and a lot of privileged stuff like that.

As I get it from some of your partners, such as Mr. Lamont and Mr. Morrow, your firm is hot for serving the people. I am writing this to give you a chance to be of real service.

I suppose it's no secret to you that you're not overpopular. If the people had to vote on their favorite financier I doubt if you would be very high up in the running. Of course, that doesn't worry you any, for, as Alexander Hamilton (next to Andrew Mellon, the greatest Secretary of the Treasury this country has known) once remarked, "We must preserve the control of the Government for the wealthy."

But just to make good on that service spiel and to try the spice of variety, suppose you try my plan.

Here's how to stave off that man Ripley.

"PITY THE POOR MILLIONAIRE. He certainly has his troubles keeping our 110,000,000 Americans happy and contented. And some people don't appreciate it."—The Poor Fish.

It was in this magnanimous spirit that "Anti-Ripley" sat down and wrote this letter to J. P., the banker. It seems that the First National Bank had been organized in 1863, when it was worth \$200,000. Today it is worth a mere \$270,000,000. And it has paid in dividends thus far the paltry pittance of \$139,000,000, only 685 per cent. above its original investment.

But J. P. has more trouble than that. In 1908 he organized the First Security Company. It started worth \$10,000,000. In the year 1925 it returned only \$4,500,000 in dividends. Yet some meanies have the ingratitude to suggest that the Security Company is a good out for the snoopy examiners who are seeking violations of the National Bank Act. They even go so far as to ask the busy J. P. to let them have a report on the condition of the Security Company. J. P. was too busy to do this until last December. Now he has taken the public into his confidence. First Security has given out the revealing information: "Investments—\$50,504,032.27." He figured it out to the last penny for us.

Now some people have the astounding nerve to want to know what "Investments—\$50,504,032.27" means!

### Socialism Seeks Better Life, Coolidge's Pastor Declares

#### SINCLAIR LEWIS RAPS FRIES

Would-Be Mussolini, Faced with Veterans' Censure, Backs Down

WASHINGTON.—Major General Amos A. Fries, chief of the chemical warfare service and recently elected commander of the American Legion in the District of Columbia, has ludicrously failed in an attempt to play Mussolini. He wrote a letter to the superintendent of schools virtually demanding the dismissal of a high school teacher because the teacher had written a definition of Socialism which was printed in the Forum magazine.

When the Board of Education decided that the teacher was wholly within his rights the pompous Fries announced that he would mobilize the Legion and all other "patriotic" societies to get rid of the teacher anyhow.

But at that point the Mussolini system broke down. Three press correspondents who had investigated the affair, and sympathized with the board in resentment of Fries's tone, took it up in the Press Club post of the Legion. They proposed a vote of censure against Fries, on the ground that he had used the name of the Legion without its consent, and had brought the order into public ridicule.

Then Sinclair Lewis, author of "Main Street," "Babbitt" and "Arrowsmith," got up before the Unitarian Laymen's League and asked "When did this man Fries, trained in the making of poison gas and with the power of the army behind him, become judge of what shall be the beliefs of teachers in our public schools?"

#### "Government Ownership," Green's Definition—Borah Needs Time to Think It Over

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The purpose of Socialism is to better conditions of life for individuals and for society, and in consequence, to promote brotherhood, joy and prosperity.

This is the view expressed by Rev. Dr. Jason Noble Pierce, pastor of the First Congregational Church, generally referred to as the President's church, as it is the one President Coolidge attends regularly.

It was given in response to an inquiry conducted by the Washington Star last week as to what Socialism is. The inquiry is an outgrowth of the discussion Maj. Gen. Amos A. Fries, chief of the Division of Chemical Warfare of the War Department, and head of the Washington branch of the American Legion, provoked when he sought to have the Washington Board of Education fire Dr. Henry Flury, a high school teacher, for writing a favorable definition of Socialism in the Forum School Magazine.

Fries Declines His Views

Among those whose opinions and definitions were sought were Gen. Fries, who declined to give a definition as he feared he would be misunderstood, Senator Borah, who said he could not prepare a definition within the five-day limit set by the Star, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, Miss Alice Paul, of the National Woman's Party, and William Mather Lewis, president of the George Washington University, and one of the leading educators of the country.

### Labor-Farmer Plea Against Ship Sale

Washington.—"Don Give Up the Ships!" is the slogan under which a notable group of national and international executive of labor and farmer organizations have joined in a protest against the proposed sale of the government's merchant fleet to private interests. They charge the shipping ring with putting obstacles in the way of the success of government operation of the nation's fleet, and they point out that in spite of this opposition the fleet has been steadily gaining in efficiency and in production of revenue.

Among the signers are D. B. Robertson of the Locomotive Firemen, James P. Noonan of the Electrical Workers, E. C. Davison of the Machinists, J. A. Franklin of the Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders, F. J. Flojzodal of the Maintenance of Way Employees, Timothy Healy of the Stationary Firemen, E. J. Manion of the Railway Telegraphers, T. C. Cashen of the Switchmen, Roy Horn of the Blacksmiths, H. F. Baker of the Farmers' National Council and W. W. Fitzwater of the Farm Labor Union of America.

### U. S. SHIP SALE OPPOSED

#### League for Industrial Democracy Appears Before Shipping Board

A committee of the League for Industrial Democracy, consisting of Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, Executive Directors of the League, and Mina Weisenberg, Secretary of the New York Chapter, presented to the Shipping Board at its hearing in New York City a written argument in favor of the continued ownership and operation by the United States government of a Merchant Marine, assuming that it remains the intention of the American people to have such a Marine under the American flag.

At the very least, the committee argued, the fact that the deficit for all operations of the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation has in two years been cut from over thirty millions to about fourteen millions makes the present an inappropriate time for a clearance in the sale of vessels which cannot possibly be disposed of without great loss. A summary of the committee's argument follows:

1. A privately owned and operated American Merchant Marine is practically impossible under present economic conditions without great aid and support from the government. This is proved statistically by an examination of capital charges and operating costs and by consideration of the disadvantages of American ships in competition for return cargo. There is a steady actual decrease in the number of American ships privately owned and operated in foreign trade.

2. No subsidy of a size that the American public or ought to grant will make possible a successful Merchant Marine under private ownership and management. The committee examines carefully the historical record of various discriminations in favor of an American Merchant Marine, none of which, as Admiral Benson and others have admitted, has succeeded in bringing about the desired end. This long history of the failure of American subsidies direct and indirect is confirmed by an examination of foreign experience, which shows that subsidies have had little effect in keeping up a country's Merchant Marine if other factors are unfavorable.

It is therefore a question of government operation or of the well-nigh complete elimination of the American Merchant Marine in foreign trade. A subsidy of sufficient size to bolster up a large privately owned Merchant Marine would be an intolerable burden on the citizens of the country not warranted by any of the facts of the situation.

3. On the other hand, government ownership and operation is possible now at a far less cost to the people and may eventually eliminate any deficit whatsoever. This is true because capital charges for government enterprises are notoriously lower than for private concerns. Operating charges in the shape of fancy salaries, publicity accounts, etc., are also lower.

4. Government operation presents other advantages which can partially, (Continued on page 2)

### U. S. DIPLOMATS STIRRING UP TROUBLE

Entire Nation Will Rally 'Round Calles If Washington Forces Issue

By Jose Miguel Bejano

AMERICAN diplomatic representatives in Mexico have been responsible to a great extent for most of the rifts created between the two governments, and they certainly are greatly to blame for the lack of understanding and comradeship existing between the two peoples. The harm they have caused in Mexico's international relations with the rest of the world is second only to the nefarious work of the so-called confidential or personal representatives of the White House during the Wilson administration.

The trouble with old-time diplomacy, still adhered to by a few ultra conservative or by disorganized countries, is that places are selected for men instead of men for places, and what would perhaps not be so harmful between nations far apart or of similarity of origin and ideology, certainly plays havoc between nations closely associated geographically or politically and diametrically different in psychology one from the other.

Diplomats are supposed to represent a government, which is supposed to represent a people; but, as a rule, they are only appointees of the nation's executive. This is unjust enough from the standpoint of the country represented, but the practice is deplorable if considered from the point of view of the country of destination.

Wall Street's Ambassador

The diplomatic representative of the United States in Mexico is the medium the Mexicans have to present their case before the American people. He goes to Mexico to observe and investigate, and his reports are the basis upon which the White House makes its judgments and decisions. He has a free hand to a great extent; he is nearly an autocrat. In the fulfillment of his duties he will be utterly unjust and inaccurate if he is not fitted for his task. He ought to know the country, the people, its history and its language, and first of all he must be an unprejudiced man of good will. Otherwise he will not understand and he will be a representative provoking misrepresentations.

The main source of friction between Mexico and the United States has been money and the interests representing it. More than a banker, a man identified with this system is a New York corporation lawyer, because he is the tool and the servant of the interests. He will never sympathize with the Mexican people and will always consider them as the defendant. The believer among many Mexicans now is that American capital immigrates into Mexico in the hope that the law may be broken there more easily and with less responsibility than in the United States, and if a tool of capitalism goes to Mexico as American Ambassador, in spite of Mexican hospitality, he will find many obstacles in his path.

The role of American diplomacy in Mexico seems solely to be to try to make the country safe for American dollars. It threatens the use of the whole force of the U. S. Army and Navy if dollars already invested are in danger, and offers to influence the flow of the almighty dollar as an incentive for good behavior.

"Foreign Gold" in Mexico

The Commercial Attache of the U. S. Embassy in Mexico City, convinced of the buying power of the American dollar, recently prescribed as universal cure for the ills of Mexico the investment there of American capital. However, the Mexicans are beginning to realize that U. S. money has had a great deal to do with their troubles. Foreign gold enslaves the Mexican people. Natural resources of Mexico are exploited for the benefit of foreign capital, as it makes dependent, salaried subjects of the natives. The future of Mexico lies in social justice, just what big interests, American or otherwise, so much impair. It lies in immigration, not of laborers who come to work for wages, but of settlers who make the soil produce for their own benefit. Money is not wealth, the world is beginning to realize.

There has been a great deal of neo-

cessary and some unnecessary destruction in Mexico, it is true, but the whole country is in a frank period of reconstruction, upon a sound, definite basis. Now and then there is friction, caused most of the time by attempts on the part of some authority or some interest or some church to encroach upon the rights of the poor. But industry, mining and agriculture are reviving and developing throughout the country and as long as capital has a conscience (as President Calles once said), is human and complies with the law, it has perhaps more facilities in Mexico than elsewhere.

President Calles, while supported by the majority of Mexicans, has three factors to contend with: the reactionaries, comprising the debris of the Diaz administration and the pseudo aristocrats, including the Catholic clergy and two of the most important newspapers in Mexico City; the extreme radicals, represented by social leaders backed by strong independent labor and farm organizations, and, lastly, his own people, who have tendencies toward the extreme left, and often criticize his efforts to maintain equilibrium and mainly his decision to keep with him men whom public opinion has branded as immoral, incompetent or reactionary. The only faction liable to start any trouble in Mexico is the ultra conservative or reactionary, who, misled by appearances and misjudging the government's tolerance, is becoming too bold. If a revolution were ever started by the reactionaries, however, the radicals, supported by practically the whole nation, would crush them for good.

A new government in Mexico, of a revolutionary origin, would have to be either more conservative or more radical than the present one, and indications point to believe that it would be more radical than the present one. From the standpoint of the present American administration, President Calles fully deserves its co-operation and is entitled to its whole support. The phrase launched some time ago: "Calles or Chaos" still holds good.

A man who has never had any experience in diplomatic activities; who has lived all his life in his own country; whose knowledge of the new world is theoretical and deficient; whose intellectual and social horizon is more or less parochial and hermetic, and whose only tongue is his mother's, is transported from Wall Street to the magnificent palace of the American Embassy in Mexico City. He finds himself stranded, like a chicken in a strange coop. Everything is new, unfamiliar and—he thinks hostile. He has to have an interpreter for all he sees, hears or reads. He longs for sympathy and he falls an easy prey to those who have been waylaying for him; his countrymen, always claiming and complaining against the Mexican government, and the bankrupt Mexican aristocracy, yearning for diplomatic parties and free collisions. The real Mexico he never sees, the real Mexicans he never knows.

Under these circumstances what might he be prone to abet: "Calles or Chaos"?

### Rail Injunction Judge And Alleged Crook Resigns

East St. Louis, Ill.—Judge George Washington English, of East St. Louis, next to Wilkerson of Chicago the most notorious of the United States judges in the conspiracy to smash the rail shopmen's strike of 1922, has resigned, beating by a short time an almost certain conviction of the United States Senate on impeachment charges. The impeachment by the House charged English with crooked bankruptcy rulings, use of obscene and profane language on the bench, arbitrary disbarment of a labor lawyer, and threatening conduct toward State officials and juries.

English was appointed by President Wilson on the recommendation of the late Samuel Gompers and became one of the less fortunate examples of the policy of rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies.

Worcester Rail Workers Strike  
Worcester, Mass.—Worcester street railroad workers in the freight and transportation department of Boston & Worcester Railway are striking for recognition of their union. About 200 workers are involved.

### Passaic Striker Elected from Jail

Passaic, N. J.—Adolph Wisniewski, member of Local 1602, United Textile Workers, the Passaic wool textile strikers' local, was elected a justice of the peace in Garfield, N. J., although he has been held prisoner over a month in Bergen county jail. The striker is in jail on high bail because of bomb charges which the union declares have been framed up against the eleven workers so held. Wisniewski is in a group of five under \$80,000 bail. Six others are held at Paterson, Passaic county jail, for \$210,000 total bail.

### U. S. SHIP SALE OPPOSED

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but only partially, be measured by money. Government operation makes possible the co-ordination of various services in transportation and communication. Its charges are not based on what the traffic will bear, but on costs and need. The condition of employees is usually more satisfactory. Hence the position of a great many labor leaders in favor of public operation. Government operation is more democratic and freer from the admitted evils of private understandings between shipping companies at the public expense. However, the international understanding which sooner or later must be reached with regard to an equitable division of seaborne traffic may better be reached by the government for its own agencies than for the private companies of its nationals.

5. The actual experience of the last two years is, on the whole, favorable to government operation despite the opposition of private interests which has been reflected in the Administration itself. Private capital could never have done what the government did in building up the Merchant Marine during the war. The American Bureau of Shipping once candidly stated that "the great danger of continued ownership and operation is, that with the increasing efficiency now being shown by the Shipping Board and with advancing freight and passenger rates there soon will be no apparent losses to the Federal Treasury." Since then freight rates have dropped. Nevertheless, the total deficit of the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation has dropped from \$20,068,788 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, to an estimated total of \$13,906,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1927, while the budget of the United States Shipping Board itself is only \$298,574. In estimating what the work of the United States Shipping Board has cost the people, we must not lose sight of its work in keeping down ocean freight rates through the influence of government owned ships.

6. The committee then points out that a number of other countries have experimented successfully with some measure of direct control over shipping.

7. Against these facts propaganda against publicly owned industries in general should not be heeded, for such propaganda is not justified. Here the committee recites such American governmental successes as the building and operation of the Panama Canal, the construction of Muscle Shoals Dam, the work of the Forestry Reclamation Department, the experience of New York and other municipalities in providing their water supply, and successful ventures in the electrical field in Los Angeles and Seattle, as well as in Ontario, Canada. The committee does not presume to dictate the form of machinery the government shall set up for the ownership and operation of a Merchant Marine. It believes that technicians and managers, consumers and workers should be more adequately represented on various boards of control than in the past. Efficiency should be studied and politics kept out. There should be a new faith in the possibility of efficient government service by those entrusted to the management of these affairs.

In short, in the opinion of the committee, in view of all the facts, there is no case at all for the hasty sale of ships now in possession of the government and there is a strong case for a carefully planned scheme of government ownership and operation of an American Merchant Marine.

### PROBE CLEARS ZAUSNER OF CHARGES

#### Investigation Finds Head of Painters' Council Innocent of All Counts

AN investigation of charges preferred by Local 905 of the Brotherhood of Painters against Philip Zausner, secretary of the District Council of the Painters' Union, has resulted in exoneration of Mr. Zausner and dismissal of the charges. The report of the investigation committee, together with a complete stenographic record of its two sessions, was made public this week. The report is signed by the five members of the committee—E. Jackson Snyder of Local 490, who acted as chairman; William Bayer of Local 454; J. Breen, 442; David Callanan, 892, and Samuel Lyons, 1,087.

The charges were preferred by Thomas Wright, recording secretary of Local 905, on behalf of his local union. Mr. Wright and two other members of his local were in constant attendance at the hearings, as were Mr. Zausner and Charles E. Lessing, who acted as his counsel. Several witnesses were called and arguments of both sides were heard.

Specific charges against Mr. Zausner were that on the 3rd or 4th day of June, 1925, J. Barnett paid to Mr. Zausner \$75 as an initiation fee. Another direct charge was made that on May 4, 1926, J. Davis paid a \$75 initiation fee "at the office window of the day secretary of District Council 9."

In respect to the first of the two charges, both of which were made on affidavits by Barnett and Davis, it was found by the committee that on June 3 and 4, 1925, Zausner was on the high seas sailing for Europe on a mission for the Brotherhood.

Davis' charge was not that he had paid the money to Zausner, but that it was turned in "at the office window of the day secretary." The committee found no proof that Zausner had received the money, or, if he had, that he had not turned it over to the financial secretary. Instead of attempting to prove that Zausner had withheld the \$75 the accusers sought to cast upon the accused the burden to prove his innocence. Nevertheless, Zausner offered proof which proved satisfactory to the committee, that the money had been turned over to the financial secretary. On this point the report of the investigating committee recites the procedure in admitting new members. When the applicant has passed his examination and is to be received by the local union "he must present to the latter his application, together with the receipt signed by the financial secretary. No new member can be accepted by the local in the absence of such a receipt. Since both Barnett and Davis were admitted to membership in Local 905 [the local which preferred the charges], the latter must have obtained from them the receipts of their initiation fees signed by the financial secretary, thus proving that the initiation fees, if first paid to the day secretary, were subsequently turned over to the financial secretary."

Other specific charges were that cash securities, bonds of \$1,000 and \$250 were received from employers, Alfred Rosenstain and Unity Painting Company, respectively, and that there is no evidence in the minutes that the money was ever turned over to the treasurer of the district council; that \$500 was received as a cash security bond from the Gotham Painting Company, which was eventually returned to the Gotham company, but that there is no record in the financial secretary's report of having received the \$500; that Philip Lukin paid initiation fees of \$25 and \$75, the first fee being returned to him, and that there is no entry in the minutes of the receipt of either payment; that the treasurer reports payment of \$120 to workers for work performed for the Rau Studio, but that no such payment was made; that the treasurer reports paying the sum of \$437 to men employed by the firm of Cohen & Grossman, while there is no record in the financial secretary's report that such money was ever paid into the treasury.

"On the basis of all these facts we therefore, conclude that the charges against Day Secretary Philip Zausner are entirely unjustified, and we have determined to dismiss them and to exonerate the day secretary from all charges of misconduct or incompetence in office, and from all other charges preferred against him by Local 905."

This report concludes the first investigation. There still remains the charge of misappropriation of funds by Financial Secretary Koenig. It was originally alleged that the missing funds amounted to \$30,000 and this estimate was later raised to \$100,000. This investigation is being made under the direction of the Brotherhood by its Auditor and another member of the General Executive Board. All the financial records are at the headquarters of the Brotherhood at Lafayette, Ind., and are being investigated, item by item.

### Perfect Teacher—New York Model



### GOVERNOR SMITH'S VICTORY—A LONG DISTANCE VIEW OF IT

(From the Boston Herald, of Nov. 4, 1925)

NEW YORK TRAFFIC IN SUBSTANTIAL DEMAND  
The strength in the New York tractions yesterday was doubtless directly attributable to the overwhelming victory of Gov. Smith in New York. Hearst likewise has been one of the principal advocates of the maintenance of the five-cent fare. The theory doubtless was that the Smith vote to a considerable extent discredited the Hearst influence. It was rumored in financial circles yesterday that Gov. Smith would shortly assert his leadership over Tammany and would insist that the New York city democracy adopt a constructive attitude on the transit problem.

### LAND WORKERS BUILDING THEIR INTERNATIONAL

Difficult conditions on the farms of the principal European countries during the last couple of years have not been able to prevent the consolidation of the unions affiliated with the Land Workers' International and the halting of the decline in total membership registered in 1923 and 1924, according to data presented to the fourth congress of the International, held in Geneva, Sept. 28 and 29, by Secretary George Schmidt.

After a fall from 448,000 to 364,921 on January 1, 1925, the decline was checked last year and on January 1, 1926, the membership was 365,352. Since then there have been further gains and the prospective affiliation of the Czechoslovak Land Workers' Union, as the result of impending unification of the Czechoslovak and German unions in that republic, is counted upon to bring a big batch of recruits to the International.

Delegates from eight of the fourteen countries affiliated with the Land Workers' International were at the Geneva congress. A resolution was passed calling upon the free trade unions in all countries to take steps to promote the organization of land owners. A resolution proposed by Duncan (Scotland) demanded the same protection and the same social rights for land workers as are enjoyed by industrial workers. Another resolution, calling upon the International Labor Office to place the question of working hours in agriculture on the agenda for the next International Labor Conference, was adopted against two votes (Poland). Schmidt introduced a resolution protesting against the persecution of land workers in various countries and urging that the Governments and the International Labor Office should see to it that in those countries where such rights of association has been established by law, land workers should be enabled actually to exercise it. This resolution was passed unanimously, as was also a resolution demanding protection for women and children employed in farm work.

### Democrats Wiped Out in Northwest

(Continued from page 1)

proximately 17 per cent, who were elected without opposition, twenty-six being Republicans.

Montana presented a still more interesting spectacle of Republicans being elected without opposition. In the second congressional district there were nearly two hundred Republicans elected to the legislature and county offices without opposition, exclusive of township officers. When the State official canvass is made the figures will likely show the number to be increased to almost two hundred and thirty.

A similar situation exists in North Dakota and Wyoming. In Idaho the Democratic party is in third place, the Progressives being second, but the Progressive vote has fallen off greatly and all indications are that the Democrats and Progressives will fuse in 1928. The lamb and the lion will lie down together, the lamb inside the lion, the Democrats absorbing the Progressives, or that part of the Progressives which does not return to the Republican fold.

It is true that the Democrats elected the Governor of South Dakota, but this was the only State office captured by them, and was caused by dissatisfaction against the Republican Governor, who was blamed for the State bank guarantee law not functioning. In South Dakota so many banks failed that the law guaranteeing the depositors that the State would protect them broke down, there being over twenty million dollars of deposits that the State could not make good. This gave South Dakota a Democratic Governor.

The foregoing is the situation that presents itself to the Socialist Party. Why should Socialists be discouraged with the outlook? A resolute and militant advance should be made by the Socialists in organizing their party thoroughly for the campaign of 1928.

### Senator Norris Scores Boss Vare as Robber

Washington—Senator Norris, who has returned from a campaign against Boss Vare, who was elected to the Senate from Pennsylvania on the Republican ticket, has issued a statement branding the count of votes in Philadelphia by the Vare machine as being obvious robbery and fraud.

He shows that in thirty-two precincts dominated by Vare only one vote per precinct was counted for W. E. Wilson, the Democratic nominee, while in forty-four other precincts no votes at all were allowed to Wilson. Thus a total of thirty-two votes was counted for the Democratic candidate in seventy-six precincts whose total vote was about 17,900. Outside of Philadelphia Vare was beaten by 50,000. Vare's henchmen announced the result of the election in some of his Philadelphia strongholds before the actual voting began.

Now that Dreiser's "An American Tragedy" is firmly established at the Longacre Theatre, Horace Liveright is preparing a company for Chicago to open late in November.

### JEWELRY FIRMS WEAKENING, SETTLE

#### Strikers Continue to Score Victories Despite Bosses' Use of Gangsters

THE members of the Novelty Jewelry Manufacturers Association are showing considerable signs of weakening in the new turn of events the strike of their workers is taking. For one thing, all their efforts of securing scabs have failed. Their attempts to induce their workers to go back to work have also failed. As these and other attempts have failed, they are hiring gangsters and so-called "detectives" to beat up the strikers on the picket lines. The police are also doing what they can by looking the other way when gangsters in the employ of the manufacturers beat up pickets.

Workers who were picketing the shop of the association's president, Hess and Wiener, located at 209 West 26th street, were clubbed with black-jacks by Burns "detectives." Other workers picketing the shop of Fishel and Bolle, at 327 East 29th street, were beaten up by gangsters, one of whom threatened some of the workers that their "brains would be blown out" if they showed up for picketing again. All this intimidation, however, has not affected the picketing in the least. A number of manufacturers who are members of the association have already yielded to the demands of the union, although many difficulties were placed in their way.

The Manufacturers' Association tied each member by a five thousand dollar bond that they would not break away from the association and sign an agreement individually with the union. Yet, in spite of this, a number of them have made agreements with the union, granting all the demands of the strikers, and have agreed to sign the union agreement four months later when they can be released from their bond with the association.

On this basis a number of other manufacturers are now negotiating with the union. The officers of the union feel fully confident that this break in the ranks of the employers' organization will result in the collapse of their association and the stubborn open shoppers will have to yield and sign up with the union.

The New Leader wishes to take this opportunity to thank some of the strikers who volunteered their services in helping the New Leader out in a difficult emergency that came up. The strikers who gave their services are: Abe Davis, Joseph Marko, Paul Revenier, Jim Caruso, David Gill and Sam Lubinsky.

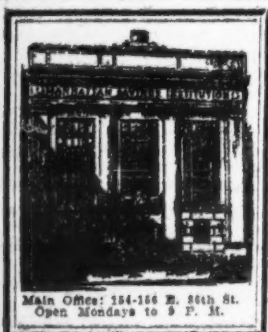
Baggage Man Killed on Job  
Somerville, N. J.—Arthur Butler, 24-year-old assistant baggage master for Central Railroad of New Jersey, was killed at the Somerville station when a bundle of newspapers struck him, hurling him against a telegraph pole.

**Community Forum**  
Park Avenue and 34th Street  
**Sunday, November 28**  
8 P. M.  
**Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes**  
"War, Guilt and the Present European Situation"  
11 A. M.  
**John Haynes Holmes**  
"Religion as an Opiate"

**The Bronx Free Fellowship**  
1301 Boston Road, near 160th Street  
**Sunday, November 28, 1926**  
8 P. M.  
**Rev. Leon R. Land**  
"Roman Catholicism and Orthodox Protestantism—Which Will Dominate America?"  
9:00 P. M.  
**OPEN FORUM**  
**PROF. JOS. MILLARD OSMAN**  
"The Development of Love in the Male and Female"  
Admission Free

**The Proletarian Study Group**  
Next Lecture of the Course on  
**Illusions of All Civilizations**  
A Critique of Class Ideology  
by  
**LEON SAMSON**  
at THE CARLTON  
6 West 111th St. (near Fifth Ave.)  
Wednesday, December 1st, 8:30 P. M.  
**Aesthetic Illusions**  
Bourgeois Theories of Beauty  
Discussed and Criticized  
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS  
ADMISSION 25 CENTS

**LABOR TEMPLE**  
14th Street and Second Avenue  
**THIS SUNDAY**  
5 P. M.—Contemporary Literature.  
**DR. WILL DURANT**  
"The Book of the Month"  
ADMISSION 25 CENTS  
7:15 P. M.—  
**EDMUND B. CHAFFEE**  
"Judging Our Pleasures"  
ADMISSION FREE  
9:30 P. M.—  
**SENATOR GERALD P. NEY**  
(of North Dakota)  
"The Revolt in the West"  
ADMISSION FREE



### Your Savings

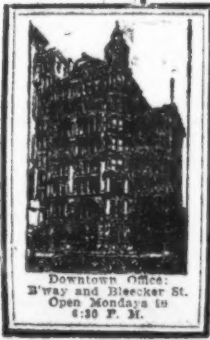
Deposited on or Before December 3rd will draw interest from December 1st, 1926

DEPOSITS made on or before the THIRD business day of any month will draw interest from the FIRST of the same month, if the deposit is left to the end of the quarter.

Last Interest Dividend **4%** Per Year on All Amounts from \$5.00 to \$7,500.00

### THE MANHATTAN SAVINGS INSTITUTION

Our Christmas Savings Plan Pays Interest  
Accounts of Organizations Welcome



Downtown Office: 37 Broadway and Bleecker St. Open Mondays to 9 P. M.

### Benefit Performance for Bronx Free Fellowship

The Bronx Free Fellowship, 1301 Boston Road, has taken over the Provincetown Playhouse for a benefit performance of "Princess Turandot" Friday evening, Dec. 3. This comic-romantic-poetic fantasy is excellent entertainment for young and old—sophisticated and unsophisticated. Tickets are on sale at the Fellowship and at the box office.

# PA. COAL STRIKE IS STAVED OFF

## Umpire Forced to Begin Investigation of Long-Standing Grievance

SCRANTON, Pa.—The strike threat by the general grievance committee of Hudson Coal Co. employees, representing 22,000 workers in 23 local unions, will not be put into execution at present. Umpire Neill, who had been given a week to take up the grievance of the Grassy Island colliery workers about the cut in their rock prices, came to the bat in the scheduled time and a final investigation into the case has been ordered.

This case is three years old. The affair is interesting as showing how nine grievances can drag on indefinitely until the companies are faced with a little unpleasant action.

Three years ago the Grassy Island miners used to be allowed a time pay allowance for the labor of removing rock from the middle of the vein. They were allowed pay for 40 hours, or five shifts, every semi-monthly pay, in addition to the payment per ton for the coal loaded. Five shifts at \$6.92 per shift, the day rate, put more than \$40 into their envelopes as an extra, above their tonnage pay. But three years ago Hudson Coal decided to cut down the rate and the men found themselves getting \$5, \$6 and \$7 for the rock work instead of the forty-odd. It was a big slash, and the union took the case before the conciliation board, representing miners and operators, on the grounds that the company had no right to change a rate during the term of an agreement. It went on to the umpire, who decided in principal in favor of the men, but failed to fix the rate. Again back to the local union and the superintendent. It climbed up through the conciliation board to the umpire. The custom calls for an umpire's decision in a month, but Neill had the case three months without action. So the grievance committee speeded things up by the strike threat.

Neill came to Scranton, and after scolding the grievance committee for its strike ultimatum, took up the case. Through his arranging the management agreed to have a union committee go into the mine and measure the rock that has to be removed, for the purpose of agreeing again on a rate for this "deadwork."

The strike threat did not have the sympathy of the district union executives. The Hudson Coal grievance committee, like all the anthracite company grievance committees, is made up of the combined local union grievance committees.

**N. Y. Central Body Aids Passaic**

Contributing \$15 from the floor to the Passaic strikers' relief, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York voted an appeal to all affiliated local unions for aid to the wool textile workers fighting in their ninth month for union recognition and conditions in the mills that will give them decent livings.

**For RHEUMATISM URACIDOL**

Made from Ash Leaves  
The best Herbal Treatment for RHEUMATISM, GOUT, SCIATICA.

It gives marked relief—To be had from

**J. GOODMAN, Inc., Dept. C**  
Druggists and Importers  
178 First Avenue  
New York City  
Mail orders promptly attended to



**PRELIMINARY NOTICE**

**Workmen's Furniture Fire Insurance Society**

The following paying stations will be maintained beginning with the 3d of January, 1927, for the accommodation of members residing in Hudson County and in that portion of Bergen County attached to the Home Office:

**EVERY MONDAY** from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, **FRATERNITY HALL**, 256 Central Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.

**EVERY THURSDAY** from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, **SWISS HALL**, West and 23rd Street (Oak Street), Union City, N. J.

Members are urged to take notice of this and avail themselves of these facilities.

THE BOARD OF MANAGEMENT

**NEGRO LABOR DINNER AT YORKVILLE CASINO**

86th Street Near Third Avenue  
This Tuesday, Nov. 30, 7 p. m.

Speakers:  
Samuel Untermyer, Norman Thomas, James Weldon Johnson, Eugene K. Jones, Hugh Frayne, A. Philip Randolph and **PAUL ROBESON in Songs**

Make reservations for both affairs at 2311 Seventh Ave. Phone: Bradhurst 0454  
Dinner, \$2  
Dance, \$1

**Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**

Feet. Do your duty. Hurry, get your cutie—Get your partner chick 'Fore it is too late.

Harlem's goin' to be there, All Manhattan, too. Brooklyn 'll be deserted, Even Bronx 'll leave its Zoo.

Johnnie Smith's preparing Music so ensnaring, 'Nough to make a dead man Charleston in his grave.

**MANHATTAN CASINO, 155th St. & Eighth Av. Friday Evening, December 3rd**

Hear the sax a-moanin' Sobbin' and a-groanin' Calling you on to the PULLMAN PORTERS' BALL.

# :-: New Paths For Socialism :-:

## I. The Weakness Of American Socialism

By W. J. Ghent

**"WITH NO INTENTION OF OFFENSE, BUT YET WITH NO SOFTENING OF TERMS," Mr. Ghent, who for almost two decades was among the leading publicists of the Socialist Party, gives his ideas on the present position of the Socialist Party. He finds what he believes to be fundamental weaknesses as the party is at present constituted. In a second article next week Mr. Ghent will expand what he suggests in the conclusion of the present article to be essentials of future American Socialist policy.**

**The New Leader is anxious to know the reaction of its readers to Mr. Ghent's arguments. It welcomes correspondence on the subject, which it will be glad to publish, with the proviso, of course, that no personalities are indulged in.**

are, then the future of social progressivism, particularly in America, is dismal beyond expression.

Any hope of a revival based upon an impending disaster to industry and an impoverishment of the workers is a delusive hope. Everything we know makes against such an outcome, and the stars in their courses fight against it. Trade-unionism, social legislation, welfare work, diffusion of stock ownership, the Federal Reserve system, the International Labor Office, Industrial Locarno, the League of Nations, and a hundred other instances of improving social mechanism throughout what is called the civilized world give promise of better times for labor. Even where labor is determined to wreck itself (as a part of it seems bent upon doing in England), it finds many obstacles in the way. The Socialist argument and the Socialist tactics of the future must be based upon a realization of the generally improving condition of the masses. If Socialism has nothing to offer in the face of that condition it had best shut up shop and throw the key in the ocean.

## INTERNATIONAL PRAISES DEBS

### Longuet Attacks Wilson—Avanti Lauds Stand During World War

IN the introduction to the sketch of life of Eugene V. Debs contained in International Information, the news sheet issued by the Zurich Bureau of the Socialist and Labor International, the sentiments of the representatives of the Socialist movement of the world are voiced as follows:

"In him the American labor movement loses more particularly a man of the highest personal integrity, for in a country where money-making is the highest aim in life and all politics are open to the suspicion of being merely a means towards personal enrichment, no one ever ventured to cast a doubt of this kind on Eugene Debs. His qualities of personal self-sacrifice and utter devotion to the ideals of the working class raised him into a real apostle of Socialism in the United States."

Beginning a detailed account of Debs' activities in Le Populaire, the Paris organ of the French Socialists, Jean Longuet writes:

"It is not merely the greatest figure of American Socialism, but also one of the greatest and noblest figures of International Socialism that has disappeared with the person of Eugene Victor Debs."

"A pure and beautiful type of fighter and of apostle, respected by all his fellow-citizens and esteemed by even his most bitter enemies, in spite of themselves; an incomparable popular orator, an admirable propagandist of the Socialist idea, of the burning vindication of the militant and suffering proletariat—such was the great evangelist of the Social Revolution on the other side of the Atlantic whose words went to the very heart of the masses."

"And he was surrounded by these masses with love and fervent devotion. I shall never forget the spectacle of the wonderful meeting we held together in Chicago in November, 1922, where I was able to see with my own eyes, in the form of numerous touching demonstrations, the affection, almost amounting to worship, which was bestowed upon their dear 'Gene,' as they fondly called him, by the working classes to whose service he had consecrated his life."

Comrade Longuet paid a great tribute to the courage with which Debs defied the tyrants in his Canton anti-war speech and defended the Russian revolutionists, brands Wilson's stubborn refusal to liberate Debs as the most disgraceful episode in the late President's life, and concludes as follows:

"To his last minute his noble heart beat only for Socialism and the emancipation of the proletariat. His memory shall remain graven forever upon the great heart of the working class, to which he gave his admirable talents and his very life."

"May his good wife, his brother, Theodore, so devoted and loving, and all our comrades in America, be assured of the fervency with which we are sharing their immense sorrow."

Avanti, official organ of the Maximalist Socialist Party of Italy, points out that Debs, although at the head of a Socialist Party comparatively small in numbers, was the real leader of the most advanced section of the American proletariat. It lauds his anti-war record, quoted his words of defiance upon entering the Federal Jail and concludes: "And he remained so until death."

connection with its savage rule. "The leading Socialists of Western Europe," wrote Mark Lewin in the Sozialistische Monatshefte (Feb. 20, 1923) "should, at the very beginning of the Bolshevik counter-revolution, have had the moral courage to discard all manner of secret methods and considerations, to reaffirm the real motto of Socialism, and to say to the whole world:

"Our hands and our theories are guiltless of the blood that is being shed under the protection of stolen Socialist banners. You must not seek real Socialism or Communism in a country where a bestial war of man upon man is carried on. On the contrary, you find there, in spite of altered and unfair declarations, nothing but the same old 'law-and-order' rule that has stunk to heaven these many decades and particularly during the present one. You find there the perfectly intentional employment of exactly those elements which we are endeavoring to get rid of through our system."

Had this been done, he says further, the moral appeal of Socialism would have been preserved. But the leaders "did not rise to this moral height"; the "soul of the revolution" was sacrificed, and the old order was re-established on firmer foundations.

Some of the European leaders did, however, from the beginning, take this attitude; and it happens that just in proportion to the promptness and thoroughness with which Bolshevism was repudiated in the various countries of the world has the real Socialist movement recovered its lost ground. But in America the party leaders, almost without exception, joined in acclaiming this hideous reaction, with the result that in a few months the party had become the unqualified supporter of Bolshevist savagery. Now that, thanks to the pestiferous activities of the local Communists, it has begun to see a new light, it finds that the movement has suffered an irreparable harm.

THE MATTER OF PROSPERITY

There are those who will say that among the main causes of the slump in social progressivism is the prevalence of good times. As a generalization, however, this view has small basis in either psychology or history. Certain individuals, it is true, have become, as they attained prosperity, indifferent or reactionary. Most of the careerists, lime-lighters, promoters, poseurs, rhetorical revolutionists and such like that have infested the movement and that have obtained supposedly permanent seats at the pie-counter, are no longer concerned with Socialism, radicalism or any other ism. They have got what they were looking for, and with cynical satisfaction they have retired from the scene.

But what is true of these flibbergists is not at all true of the mass. Its defection is due to other causes. Panics are not the generators of social programs, nor is prosperity their bane. As a rule, it may be said that every period of social progressivism accom-

panies a rising market. The depression of mind that attends a depression of industry gives no aid to a regenerative and reconstructive movement. Hope, confidence, belief in one another, a heightened sense of wrongs to be righted and the definite vision of a goal to be achieved—these are the essentials of a social awakening; and they appear, in the main, only when economic conditions provide them with a favorable environment. Mere reactions against hard times, whether in the fields or in the workshops, are transitory and for the most part ineffective.

No scholar now questions the fact that the French Revolution came in a time of marvellously expanding commerce, of growing industry and of increasing diffusion of wealth. In our own country the Fourierite awakening of the '40s came in a time of recovery from the panic of 1837. Though for a variety of causes not possible to dwell upon here it soon subsided, it was immediately followed, on the discovery of gold in California in 1849, by an unprecedented activity in the organization of labor. The trade-union movement, both industrial and political, of 1856 came on the upward swing from the frightful depression of the winter of 1854-55. The great social awakening which culminated in 1892 and in which Populism, Bellamyism, Single-Taxism and a hundred other isms blended in common action, was borne on the crest of flourishing trade. It was the year in which Chauncey M. Depew boasted that the Republican party had brought the nation to its topmost peak of prosperity. The pre-war decade, in which social progressivism in America reached its greatest triumph, was also a period (except for the little financial flurry of 1907) of expanding industry and increasing diffusion of wealth.

THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

There are throughout the world ferment and revolts and revolutions arising from such a multitude of factors that they can mean anything one wants them to mean and support or discredit any theory. There is no room here to deal adequately with the subject. I cite these epochs as evidence that depressions are not the generators of social programs. If they

### THE PRESENT SITUATION

In any survey of the field certain basic considerations must be kept in mind:

1—The trade-unions are now further from the Socialist party and from the Socialist ideal than ever before. In the pre-war decade the permeation of the unions progressed constantly; in the present decade there has been constant alienation. Any immediate hope, therefore, of united action between Socialists and Laborites is illusory.

2—The American people generally—wage-earner and non-wage-earner alike—have come to look upon the Socialist movement as essentially alien and hopelessly unassimilable to American thought and feeling. It is an old attitude; but in the pre-war decade it was gradually being dispelled, whereas in the present decade it has been immensely strengthened. An offhand conviction, a first impression, may be persuaded or argued away; a revived and reinforced conviction often proves to be a Gibraltar that cannot be shaken.

### PROHIBITION AND FUNDAMENTALISM

To these three conditions, for the existence of which the Socialist party is wholly responsible, must be added another, for which it cannot be blamed:

4—The Prohibitionists throughout the nation and the Fundamentalists in Tennessee, Texas and a few other states have created in the minds of

### FRENCH SOCIALISTS BACK PAUL-BONCOUR

By a vote of 2,945 against 104 the National Council of the French Socialist Party, at a meeting held in Paris Nov. 1, adopted a resolution introduced by Vincent Auriol expressing confidence in the actions of Jean Paul-Boncour as a French member of the Council of the League of Nations and authorizing him to stay on the job at Geneva until further notice.

As has been reported in The New Leader, the more radical elements in the French Socialist Party were somewhat dissatisfied with Paul-Boncour's stand on some question and they wanted the executive committee of the Socialist and Labor International to forbid Socialists from accepting appointments to League posts from bourgeois governments. The executive committee refused to do this, but it advised the various Socialist parties to keep close check on their members in such positions and it promised to help them adjust any difficulties that might arise in this matter. In defending himself against charges of being too nationalistic, Paul-Boncour insisted that there was nothing inconsistent in standing by his country as well as by Socialist principles. The resolution noted that Paul-Boncour would maintain close contact with the party on League affairs and would consult with its leaders in case the French Government should want him to do something against the interests of Socialism.

### Radio Makes Convert For Socialist Party, New Recruit Writes

(Copy of Letter)

Hon Judge Panken,  
Care WGX, General Electric Co.,  
Schenectady, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Accidentally I tuned in on WGY station last night, and hearing your speech, wonderful as it was, has changed my political views entirely.

I am thirty-two years of age, have always enrolled as a Republican, have always given my vote to the good of the party.

Until last night my vote and that of my family were intended for Mills and Wadsworth. But you can depend on our votes 100 per cent for you and your ticket, this year and forever in the future.

I can thank the radio for my eyes being opened, as no doubt your speech would have never reached the press.

I thank you, Hon. Judge, for your honest expression, and I am sure the political situation up this State, and in America as a whole, looks a whole lot different to me.

If (of course this is a pretty late hour) there is anything I can do for your cause, please let me know.

Yours truly,  
R. W.

Oct. 30, 1926.  
Syracuse, N. Y.

### GERMAN SOCIALISTS WIN MANY RECRUITS

Despite unfavorable industrial conditions and strenuous anti-Socialist propaganda by the Communists, the "Red Recruiting Week" run by the Social Democratic Party of Germany in October was a great success. Incomplete reports printed in the Berlin Vorwaerts of Nov. 3 show a gain of 40,693 party members and 44,398 subscribers to the party papers. As there are many more districts to be heard from, the final totals will be much higher.

The Socialist Culture League, founded at Leipzig in 1925, recently held its first convention at Blankenburg. It includes all organizations engaged in labor cultural work, i. e. the Social Democratic Party, the trade unions, local and district educational committees, Socialist teachers' associations, the "Friends of Children" (a Socialist organization for bringing up children in a Socialist atmosphere), Labor choral societies, Socialist youth unions, sport and dramatic societies, etc. Its aim is "to concentrate all friendly and allied organizations into a great cultured alliance, which, while guaranteeing all its component parts their full independence and their own life, yet combines them for the purpose of defining the Socialist view of life, strengthening the Socialist cultural ideal, deepening the Socialist cultural consciousness and, where possible, uniting for common action."

The Congress was largely attended, and a great success. The president of the League, Heinrich Schulz, opened it and A. Stein gave an address on "The Cultural Position of the Working Class," in which he urged the workers themselves to make good the shortcomings of their present educational position, as compared with that of the propertied class.

### Panken, Thomas and Claessens Will Hold Series of Talks with Enrolled Socialists

Judge Jacob Panken, Norman Thomas and August Claessens will address a number of meetings in various parts of New York City during the next few months. To these meetings the enrolled Socialist voters and sympathizers will be invited through personal solicitation and by mail. These gatherings are not intended to be merely mass meetings of a campaign character. The objective sought for is to establish more intimate contacts with every Socialist in the city and to have heart to heart talks with them as to the success and shortcomings of the last campaign.

Every effort will be made to become better acquainted and to make active Party workers out of every sincere and earnest Socialist. The splendid show-

**A WHITE TONGUE**

When your child is looking somewhat "out of sorts," look at his tongue. If his tongue is not in order, it is a sign that his stomach is not in order and needs a thorough cleansing at once.

**EX-LAX**

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

will eliminate all accumulated undigested waste matter from your child's system. It will regulate his stomach and liver, will restore his appetite, and in a few hours he will again be well and happy.

10, 25 and 50c. a box, at all druggists

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

**Superior to Pastes and Powders!**

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

AMEGIN, a SAFE dentifrice, is the oral prophylactic medication recommended by leading dentists. It will keep your teeth white, your breath sweet and make sensitive, bleeding gums firm and healthy. It also keeps your teeth brush sanitary. AMEGIN is pleasant to use, refreshing, exhilarating. No solid matter to get under gums.

Get the AMEGIN habit and know the joy of a healthy mouth and a germ free tooth brush.

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

Ask Your Druggist About Amegin!



# How the Courts Usurped the Role of Industrial Arbiters

By Morris Hillquit  
(An address delivered before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, November 11, 1926.)

THE law of every historical period is a faithful mirror of its social and economic conditions. When the ever-revolving wheels of industrial development and advance new problems of personal or property relations, new laws spring up to meet the situation. This is a natural process of adjustment of the political and juridical forms of society to its changing social and economic substance. The overshadowing problems of our day and generation are fundamentally industrial, pivoting on the relations of capital and labor and the respective rights of the producers of wealth and the consuming public. The last fifty years have witnessed a veritable revolution in the industrial world. New technical devices and perfected organization of labor have increased human productivity to a degree undreamed of by our fathers. New requirements of life have developed. New industries have arisen. The material wealth in all advanced countries has grown and is growing by leaps and bounds. The dominating question which engages the attention of all modern schools of social thought and determines most of the important political struggles is the distribution and control of this increased wealth. The owning classes are inclined to consider the natural and created wealth of the country as their indi-

## An Outline of the Origin and Development of the Injunction in American Labor Disputes

visions for factory control and the various forms of "workmen's insurance," such as government support in sickness, old age and during periods of unemployment. Jefferson's View of It In our country of individualistic political philosophy and common law system of jurisprudence the results are sought to be achieved by a process of judicial determination. It is assumed that there are in the Anglo Saxon system of law some eternal and immutable principles of justice which may be applied to all changing conditions of time and environment by the simple process of judicial reasoning. The medium of this judicial omnipotence are the Courts of Equity. "The powers of a court of equity," said the scholarly Justice Brewer, "are as vast and its processes and procedure are as elastic as all the changing emergencies of increasingly complex business relations and the protection of rights can command."

Thomas Jefferson, the inveterate foe of "judicial usurpation" in general and of the Federal judiciary in particular, expressed the same thought more irreverently and less approvingly when he characterized the Federal judiciary as "an irresponsible body working like gravity by day and by night, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its

noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisprudence until all shall be usurped." In the domain of industrial controversy the most general and effective instrument of the courts of equity has been the writ of injunction. Nothing can illustrate more strikingly the enormous powers of the courts in the United States than the development of the practice of injunctions in labor disputes. The practice has given rise to a formidable body of law on the respective rights of employers and workers in all the varied and ramified forms of their individual and collective contacts. And yet, the whole law is practically devoid of statutory basis or sanction. It is purely judge-made law, developed within the last thirty years. INJUNCTIONS AN INNOVATION For injunctions in labor disputes are a distinct innovation in the law. The first reported instance in which such a writ was issued in an English case was in 1868. (Springhead Spinning Co. vs. Riley.) There it was charged that the union of striking employees had posted placards in the vicinity of the employers' place of business with the following ingenious and characteristically English inscription: Wanted—All well wishers of the union not to trouble or cause any annoyance to the Springhead Spin-

ning Co. by knocking at the door of their office until the dispute between them and their employes is fully terminated. The court held that the posting of the placards amounted to intimidation and that the plaintiff was entitled to an injunction restraining their future use. The opinion in this case was not accepted by the courts of Great Britain as good law. It was expressly disapproved by the Court of Appeal in a subsequent similar action. Very few injunctions in labor disputes were issued in England between 1868 and 1906, when the Trade Disputes Act practically put an end to the practice. THE FIRST AMERICAN CASE It was not until twenty years after the first English case that a court in the United States undertook to restrain striking workers by a writ of injunction. In Sherry vs. Perkins, decided by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1888, the facts were similar to those of the Springhead case, the strikers displaying banners in the vicinity of the plaintiff's place of business which advertised the pending strike. The court enjoined the display of the banners as "a continuous unlawful act, injurious to the plaintiff's business and property and a nuisance." The Sherry case was not generally followed by the courts of other States. The practice of issuing labor injunc-

tions was resumed a few years later by the Federal courts, where it was soon definitely and firmly established. The first Federal injunction in connection with a strike was issued in 1892, in the famous case of Coeur d'Alene Consolidated Mining Co. vs. Miners' Union. In that case it was charged that the strike was attended by acts of systematic violence. District Judge Beatty, after reviewing the facts and commenting on the disputes between capital and labor generally, remarked: It is when these contests become so heated that violations of law, the peace of the community and the destruction of life and property are threatened that the courts are compelled to intervene. Undesirable as is the duty, the court which avoids it when presented would deserve only contempt. The technical basis of jurisdiction was stated to be the avoidance of a multiplicity of suits and the alleged insolvency of the defendant. NEW YORK FALLS IN LINE The Coeur d'Alene precedent was followed in rapid succession by Toledo, Ann Arbor R. R. Co. vs. Pennsylvania Co. et al. in which the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was enjoined by Judge Taft from continuing a peaceful strike on the ground that its objects were in violation of the Interstate Commerce law; the Farmers' Loan & Trust Co. vs. Northern Pacific

Railroad Co., where the court enjoined a threatened strike against a railroad in the hands of a receiver on the broad ground of public policy; and by the famous "omnibus bill" in the Debs case, in which the writ was issued for the benefit of twenty-three different railroads. In New York State the books record but few attempts to secure injunctions in labor disputes prior to 1895, and practically no successful ones. The first reported case in which such an order is sanctioned by a court of high authority is Davis vs. Zimmerman, decided by the General Term of the Supreme Court in the year last mentioned. The court admitted that there was no precedent in the State for an injunction in such a case, but met the objection by reference to the fact that there were adequate precedents in other jurisdictions and that there was no case denying the power of the court to grant such relief. The issuance of injunctions in labor disputes has since become a matter of common practice in the State as well as in the Federal courts, and has been characterized by a constant broadening out of the basis of jurisdiction and the operation and scope of the writ. In a second and concluding article on the injunction, to appear in The New Leader next week, Mr. Hillquit will trace the development of use of the injunction process by the courts to the point where the United States Supreme Court has ruled that "a strike may be illegal, however orderly the manner in which it is conducted." He will also deal with the widespread use of the "preliminary injunction" and its effects on strikes. In conclusion he will indicate labor's remedy.

## Vanzetti's Worst Crime

By John Dos Passos  
THE Charlestown House of Correction is built like a church in the shape of a cross. Visitors wait in the chancel and are ushered into the crossing where the high altar would be in a Catholic church. There, facing a warden at a desk, is a semicircle of benches. On all the benches are couples of people talking a little breathlessly. Of each of these couples one is a convict, the other is a friend, a brother, a wife. The visitors from the outside sit uneasily; they feel ashamed of the freshness of their cheeks, of the smell of freedom on their clothes; like visitors in a hospital they wish they were out again and feel ashamed of themselves for wishing it. The prisoners have only one wish; they keep glancing to the right and left over their shoulders. It is for fear of some-

thing that they keep glancing over their shoulders as they talk to the people from the outside. Vanzetti sits on the bench, thick-chested and calm. If you didn't know him you could tell that he was different. He has a look of broadbrowed calm about him. His lips don't tremble when he smiles under his thick moustache. But it is the calm of a man with his back to the wall. He, too, glances from time to time over his shoulder as if to make sure that there is nobody creeping up behind him. "Well, what do you think?" we ask each other. "The case is something separate, far

away, like a prizefight heard over the radio. "Pretty bad," says Vanzetti. "I have to work hard, very hard, now. There are many things I want to write and maybe I have not much time." He has about three hours a day to read the papers and write letters and articles. The rest of the time he works in the shop, making automobile license plates. "But it is so difficult to write in jail. Before, I could work hard nine hours, eleven hours a day, and then sit down and write. It poured out, straight from the heart. Often I would not have to make a single correction in an article. But now, word by word. It is so difficult to write in a cell." Somehow, we got talking about the clergy. Both the Catholic priest and the Protestant chaplain had written articles and made public statements against him. It was demoralizing to

the other prisoners to have a convicted murderer escape the chair year after year like this. "They hate me because I am an atheist," said Vanzetti. "If I went to them and made myself humble and said, 'Father, I am sorry, please give me absolution,' they would help me." They feel as bitterly toward him as doctors towards a sick man who won't buy their medicine. "At last I ask to see Father Murphy. He trembled like a leaf. I ask to see him to say to him, 'What have I done to him that he plot against me that way?' He trembled like a leaf and said nothing, only smooth words. If I would be a criminal he would want to save my soul. Maybe even the cardinal would intercede for me. They hate me because I am not a criminal." In jail, once you're caught in the trapnet of the law, the worst crime of all is to be innocent. Time was getting short. The hour would soon be up. And what about a compromise? What, if as a result of the change of front of many respectable people in Boston, of the Boston Herald's advocacy of an impartial investigation of the case, he should be offered a commuted sentence or a pardon? Since the Mooney case it's getting fashionable to imprison a man for life if you can't fasten any crime on him except that of being a radical. "Tell them," said Vanzetti quietly I shall refuse to apply for pardon or commutation or anything. Why should I, when I am innocent?"

## Medling In Nicaragua

By James Oneal  
EVENTS in Nicaragua are setting in bold relief the part that the United States has been playing in Central America for nearly twenty years. President Roosevelt came to the headship of the United States at the time when we turned imperialist. We had come into possession of overseas colonies as a result of the Spanish-American war. Roosevelt incarnated the spirit of the new capitalistic era. The new President announced that the United States was to play the role of policeman in the Western hemisphere. He was a conspicuous advocate of large families to provide cannon fodder for imperialist wars. While he was in office the policy of financial penetration and rule of Latin-American countries by American bayonets gave a modern imperialist twist to the Monroe Doctrine. American imperialism became the boss of the Western hemisphere. This policy has continued under Taft, Wilson, Harding and Coolidge, its general tendency being to interfere more and more in the affairs of these countries. Even the sainted William Jennings Bryan, as Secretary of State under Wilson, continued the policy and helped to tie these little countries to American bankers and investors. Governments were overthrown with the aid of American forces and dictators were kept in power by the same means. In the meantime, Mexico had her revolution and freed herself from the rule of Diaz and his brutal associates. Since the revolution in that country Mexico has had a long struggle with American imperialism, power over her oil and other natural riches and she is still contending for the right to rule without American interference. Because of Mexican denial of American insolence and power the weaker nations to the south of us are being drawn by ties of affection to Mexico as a big brother. This new situation has caused apprehension in Washington. The Coolidge administration stands for American banks, bayonets, coercion and despotism in Latin-America. Mexico represents the ideals of liberation from alien mastery. The two nations represent the difference between the robber and the liberator, between self-control and foreign control. That we are regarded

## American Government Guilty of Charges Levelled Against Mexico

as the robber and Mexico as the liberator should be a matter of profound humiliation for us. At the moment of writing Nicaragua is a stage of satisfying the roles played by the two countries. Adolfo Diaz has succeeded the bloody Chamorro as president of Nicaragua, but Diaz himself was made president in 1911 by American intrigue and coercion and he served as a tool of American power. Now that he is again the dummy at the head of affairs the American State Department issues a statement warning other nations against "interference" in Nicaragua. This is aimed at Mexico. Diaz claims that Mexico is permitting gun-running between Mexicans and Nicaraguan revolutionists. A Washington dispatch also declares that evidence exists "pointing to Bolshevik influences and hinting at a possible Bolshevik combination which would overlap the southern Mexican border into Central America and toward the Panama Canal." It is added that the State Department is in possession of many facts supporting all these statements. Now the State Department would have some justification for its holy attitude against interference in Nicaragua were it not for our own history on this score. The United States has itself interfered in Latin-America time after time in the past twenty years and has been especially brutal in its interference in Nicaragua. It continues to interfere when it takes the side of Diaz, an old tool of American imperialism, power, who has just returned to power and who will not serve the Nicaraguan people but will serve as errand boy of American bankers and investors. The "Bolshevist" charge is a screen behind which is hidden the exploiting interests of American bankers and capitalists. In the year 1920 the notorious Lusk Committee declared that the attempt of five Latin-American nations to form a federation was a "Bolshevist plot." The American protest is simply an objection to Mexi-

can interference in behalf of the liberation of Nicaragua and an affirmation of our own interference in support of American mastery in Nicaragua. We have become a slave driver in Central America, while Mexico has become the torch bearer of freedom for this region. Keep these facts in mind for the next few weeks may require intelligent thinking on our part.

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## Brownsville Painters to Dance This Saturday Night

One of the liveliest frolics of the season will take place this Saturday evening, Nov. 27, at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum. The affair is an entertainment and dance that will be run by the Painters' Benevolent Club of Local Union No. 917. This club, which was organized several years ago, has already accomplished a good deal of work in the interest of the painters. The nature of the painters' trade is such that because of the various chemicals in the paints they use, many members become afflicted with lead poisoning. This organization helps such members in very substantial ways. This affair's proceeds will help to swell the funds of the organization for this purpose. The arrangements committee promises that an unusually good program has been arranged which will be headed by Broadway headliner. A lively jazz band has also been engaged to supply the dance music. All friends are invited to attend. Remember the date: This Saturday evening, Nov. 27. The place: Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn.

## LECTURE CALENDAR

MANHATTAN  
Sunday, Nov. 28, 8:30 p. m.—AUGUST CLAESSENS, "What Socialism Is," East Side Socialist Center.  
BROOKLYN  
Friday, Nov. 26, 8:30 p. m.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, "Russia of Today." Also musical program. Educational Center, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.  
204 East Broadway, New York City.  
Friday, Nov. 26, 8:30 p. m.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, "Russia of Today." Also musical program. Educational Center, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.  
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## Workers' Sports

Tourist Club Mike  
Sunday, Nov. 28, we hike to High Mountain, Franklin Lake and Indian Gorge. Situated in the Preakness Mountains of New Jersey, it is well known for beautiful hemlocks, red cedars and winding brooks. From the summit of High Mountain can be seen the skyline of New York City, together with a view of the surrounding country for a distance of fifteen miles. Meeting place, Erie R. R. Ferry, Chambers street and Hudson River; time, 8 a. m.; fare, \$1; walking time, 8 hours; leader, Emil Pierre. N. N. members are welcome at all times, provided they are nature-loving proletarians.  
Friday, Nov. 26, 8:30 p. m.—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, "Russia of Today." Also musical program. Educational Center, Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.  
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# A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

## The Case of Snoot and Snort

**S**NOOT is a coal digger. So is Snort. They both work in Number Nine of the Nigardale Fuel Company. In fact, they toil in the same room, which means that both are in the same hole economically, socially and financially. In other words, Snoot and Snort are buddies, which implies that their interests, sympathies, predilections, prejudices and tastes are identical.

Now, according to the immutable law of economic determinism the actions of men are determined by their material interests. But if this be the case, Snoot and Snort unquestionably belong to that large and growing family of Scowflaws, for Snoot is a dyed in the wool Republican, while Snort is a rip-roaring Democrat.

Ordinarily the political afflictions of the two buddies do not disturb the serenity of their souls nor mar the beauty of their friendship. But at the opening shot of a political campaign, hostilities break out and continue until the votes are counted and the shouting is over.

It would be too painful to relate here all the numerous sharp, biting, cutting and barbed adjectives these economic Siamese twins hurl at each other's political heads when discussing the merits and demerits of their respective parties. It will suffice to state that if any of my readers know a cuss word or insult not included in the last edition of the unabridged dictionary of abuse he should send it to my friends Snoot and Snort as the only means of enriching the vocabulary of their political profanity.

Being domiciled in what is termed a doubtful state, meaning thereby that the citizens thereof possess that rare acumen which permits them to oust the rascals they elected at the previous election, the victories and defeats of Snoot and Snort are fairly equally distributed, enabling them to take turns about in the matter of crow and eating crow. Armistice is usually declared on the first Thursday following the first Wednesday of the first Tuesday after the first Monday of the month of November, whereupon victor and vanquished resume the even tenor of their ways, sharing like true buddies whatever vicissitudes Providence and the incoming administration may dump on their bruised and bleeding heads.

It also may be recorded that Snoot and Snort never quarrel over the fruits of victory for the good and sufficient reason that the spoils, if any, are gathered by the successful candidates over whom the windy war was fought. From this I take it that the gains or losses of our friends are of a purely psychological nature, by which I mean that the currency employed in the transactions lacks exchange value in the acquisition of such material substances as beans and bacon.

When I listen to the sulphurous political discussions between Snoot and Snort, and contrast them with the deadly calm which follows, I often wonder if my two friends are really serious in their contentions. Can it be that, instinctively at least, they regard the whole thing as a sport and that the peerless leaders for whom they root and rant are but the political Babe Ruths and Jack Dempseys who walk away with the gate money while theirs is the hoarse throat?

In the case of Snoot and Snort, it is easy to see that their political investments represent a total loss. But if men of their stamp draw only blanks in the merry game, how does it come that long-headed business men and soulless corporations spend untold sums at every important election to have their men placed in power? Stranger still, why do they bestow their financial blessings upon the very men over whom the Snoots and Snorts become so unduly excited? For it has been noted that opposing candidates and parties are frequently financed out of the same strong box.

Moreover, nearly all political battles are waged in the interest of the commoners and never, never, in behalf of the philanthropists who furnish the wherewithals of war. So if we assume that the candidates are all that they profess to be; that their hearts bleed for the downtrodden masses; that the measures and policies they sponsor are all intended to protect peasant and proletariat against the rapacity of the employers, exploiters and manipulators, who defray the campaign expenses of the candidates, then the question still remains: Are our industrial Dukes and Grand Dukes such dubs as to finance the campaigns of men and parties who parade as the staunch champions of the common man? Well, perhaps they are, and if so, we may yet discover brappers who pawn their pelts to purchase traps for brappers.

To the credit of Snoot and Snort it may be said, however, that outside of elections they do not let their political afflictions interfere with the main business on hand, which is to make both ends meet and go through life with the least expenditure of working hours and elbow grease. When they want a raise of wages they try to get it through their Union. If the hours of labor appear too long to them, they seek relief through the Union. If the pay for dead work is too low, or the price of powder too high, or the mule whacker passes too frequently with empties and taries, they take their grievances to their Union. And so it is again, when calamities such as unemployment, diseases, death or twins overwhelm them.

Of course, it is the unanimous opinion of Snoot and Snort that the Union has outlived its usefulness, and that the officers thereof missed their calling by not practicing the more honorable profession of hi-jacking. Nevertheless, they pay their dues into the Union, whereas, they could not contribute a thin dime toward the campaign expenses of their political idols. And since it is not the raised hand that makes the wheels go round, but the hand that digs down into the jeans, I often wonder if there is not a mysterious seventh sense which tells Snoot and Snort that politics of the common or garden variety is mostly foam and fury; or at best, a means of blowing off steam. While Unionism reaches down into the depths from which spring beans, duds, life and civilization, and is, therefore, something worth paying for.

I may be dead wrong in surmising that Snoot and Snort rant wrong and act right, for it is about as easy to fathom the depths of human behavior as to clasp hands with a slippery eel. But if I'm right then the old man Economic Determinism is on the job after all and my friend Goethe wasn't so far off when he said:

"Der Mensch in seinem dunklen Drange ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst."  
"Hold on, Adam, why in the 'ell 'ont you talk 'nited States?"  
"Coming, brother, coming. What this Goethe man tried to say in that awful lingo is:  
"Man in his mysterious urges is well aware of the right path, meaning that instinct is a safer guide than philosophy."  
Adam Coaldigger.

## Socialist View Of Syndicalism THE HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

**S**Ocialists criticize syndicalists both on the ground of tactics and of ultimate ideal. They maintain that, while independent working class political action has its dangers, economic action has also its dangers, but that both, taking by and large, can be used with very powerful effect by the workers. It is said that parliamentary leaders of working class parties becoming compromisers; so do leaders of trade unions, if they desire to retain their leadership. In fact, with thousands of followers on strike, faced with starvation, more pressure can often be brought to bear on a trade union leader to compromise in the settling of disputes than on a political leader advocating a particular law in a legislative chamber. While political leaders have deserted the working class, the number of leaders of trade unions who have betrayed the interests of labor are not few in number and as much "political" can be observed in the average union as in a political party. Representatives of labor in the legislative chambers can at least be depended upon to fight to give to labor freedom of action during trade disputes, as far as striking, picketing, boycotting and freedom of speech and assembly are concerned. They can be relied upon to favor labor legislation which protects particularly the weaker elements among the working population; to utilize the power of taxation to lessen the inequalities of wealth; to support public services for the social well-being and to work for the socialization of important industries.

Socialists have never, however, relied on parliamentary action alone for social advancement. They have ever sought to organize the workers in trade and industrial unions, and in co-operative organizations and to educate the workers in fundamental thinking, as well as to mobilize them in political movements. All legitimate agencies, they believe, should be used by the workers in their struggle for a better life. The economic weapon has certain advantages over the political. On the other hand, the hard won political weapon has advantages over the economic. For one thing, under universal suffrage, workers and capitalists are put on a par as far as actual voting is concerned. Each has one vote and one vote only. As the workers are in a majority, by proper cooperation, they can ultimately gain control of the legislative halls. There

are, to be sure, many obstacles in their path, but the task of winning a majority is not an impossible one. Furthermore, it costs in effort, time and physical discomfort far less to vote than it does to strike for better conditions. In each case sacrifice is required, but as a general rule not such great sacrifice in the political, as in the industrial field.

In the industrial field, it is true, have been excluded more from syndicates or trade unions than from working class political parties. But they have a distinct contribution to make to the movement for the emancipation of the workers, and the working class is the gainer if it provides some agency through which the brain workers can effectively serve labor. Many of the most important leaders in working class thought and action have been the so-called "intellectuals," and a very large proportion of the attacks hurled against domination by the "intellectuals" as such have come not from the workers but from lesser "intellectuals" striving to gain popularity among the workers. Besides, with the evolution of trade unions, "intellectuals" are being called upon to an ever increasing extent to serve labor in numerous capacities.

As for the defects of universal suffrage, two schools of thought have developed—the Socialist and Communist. Many Socialists admit the present defects of the democratic method as now operated. They believe, however, that a number of these defects can be remedied by "more democracy"—the application of the initiative and referendum, the direct recall and other democratic safeguards; by greater educational opportunities, by a more careful distinction as to problems which should be settled by the expert hired by the community and by the mass of voters, etc.

**Sabotage and the General Strike Criticized**  
Various points of view have been held in the Socialist movement regarding the use of sabotage and the general strike. Individual Socialists have severely condemned the use of sabotage as an important working class weapon on the ground that the secret and underhanded methods of warfare and the constant effort at deceit entailed in certain forms of sabotage have a vitiating effect upon the morale of the workers, and that practice of sabotage against employers is likely to lead to the use of the same weapon

between various factions of the working class movement. J. Ramsay MacDonald urges this position:

"Society [he says] is in process of change, and the workers who are toiling for greater justice are only retarding progress by following the wrongdoing of which they are victims rather than strengthening the social tendencies which make for their emancipation. The creative vitality of society is neither expressed nor strengthened by sabotage, riots, destruction of industrial capital, or any one of the other minor violences of the syndicalist program."

While believing in the strike as an important means of working class progress, Socialists do not feel with the syndicalists that every strike is of positive value to labor. Many a strike, entered upon at an unstrategic moment, with inadequate preparation and for unwisdom ends, has had a profoundly depressing effect upon the labor movement. It is true that in the early stages of a union, when the organization has little or no money, it is often better to strike and to depend upon financial support from other portions of labor and the general public than not to strike at all. However, most Socialist unions of the present day will agree that a large "war chest" is often a powerful aid both in securing a settlement before a strike is declared and in winning a victory after the men have stopped work; that while other organizations might generously aid a union with money in their treasury, such aid cannot be depended upon and should be regarded merely as a desirable supplement to aid given to the strikers by their own organization. The spectacular tactics worked out by syndicalists to attain their end in the French unions, furthermore, are more adapted to unions located in Latin countries than in countries where the workers come from the less emotional northern stocks. Furthermore, with the development of large scale production and the pitting of labor against vast aggregations of capital, the guerrilla warfare methods of the syndicalists are not likely to prove effective. A different kind of industrial stamenship is required.

Socialists frankly differ as to the efficacy of the general strike in bringing about the revolution. The difficulty they see in such a strike is that in attempting to paralyze industry and starve the capitalists, the working

class is likely to starve itself first. Such a strike is also likely to alienate many outside the immediate ranks of organized labor, to split up rather than solidify the ranks of labor, to cause the whole weight of the capitalist state to be brought to bear on those in leadership, to lead to violent combat, and, if not successful, to lead to a violent reaction. Its success in countries where chief power is not concentrated in one or two industrial centres and in countries where the industrial system is highly developed and of a complex nature is likely to be considerably less than in other lands.

At least the hope of the revolution should not be based on the success or failure of the general strike. Rather the workers should put their reliance on the development of economic forces, the increasing power of the workers in municipal, state and national councils, the ever more effective organization of trade and industrial unions, the assumption of increasingly important functions by labor in the workshops and in the field of co-operative distribution, the growth of public services at the expense of private enterprise, and the development of the Socialist way of looking at things among an ever larger circle of the population. The general strike may be utilized as a conscious effort or as a more or less spontaneous movement to supplement these other forces, and may at the critical moment, when other forces are ripe for a change, be exceedingly effective. But the workers are likely to be sorely disappointed if it is regarded as the one means of social salvation.

Since the general strike failed to materialize in France at various periods when the syndicalists were keyed up to its appearance, the French syndicalists now look forward to it as a much less immediate means of salvation than in the days before the World War. On the other hand, the employment of effectiveness of a stoppage of work in strategic industries in Russia during the revolutionary crisis, the use of the strike in portions of Germany during the Kapp attempted coup d'etat in preventing the return of the monarchy to power, and the 1926 strike in Great Britain in aid of the miners, among other partial or complete general strikes, have led to renewed interest in the general strike as one of the agencies of revolution.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

## GOVERNOR MINTURN A Labor Novel of the Northwest

By M. H. HEDGES

### Chapter XIX.

#### The Child

**A**LL through pregnancy, Agatha led a normal, happy, excited existence. As she often said she was visible proof of the conventional fallacy that modern woman need take child-bearing hard. "I'm a healthy beast," she told her husband one morning at breakfast, as she attacked a generous portion of toast and bacon. "Your mouth is too big for your face, Agatha Morrison."

"How dare you say such things to your lawful, wedded wife. Shame!" "I'll bet you'll bequeath our heir a mouth like that," he told her. "Just so he doesn't inherit the Minturn temperament I'll be satisfied," she retorted; "anything but that."

"And he'll have to be red-headed, poor youngster."

"Or bald."

"I could walk sixty miles today," she continued.

"If you had a steak as thick as my hand at the other end of the road. It's a good thing my law practice has

picked up or you would eat me out of house and home."

"You begrudge every bite I eat," she pouted.

"Not quite. But I know I'm going to be jealous of him. I see it all now, you two will plot against me."

"I'll have someone to love me at last."

"I'll go into the garden and eat worms."

"Cheer up, Danny, he won't be born a full-grown man."

"Thank God."

Thus they confessed their desire for a boy.

"If wishing has anything to do with it she'll be a boy," Agatha asserted.

"I suppose. You always get your way."

Dan was as absorbed in the preparations as Agatha. He secretly welcomed the excitement for it drew him away from the drab monotony and empty grayness of his own life.

As Agatha's time approached they went for long drives, taking food with them. They stopped beside budding fields, by swollen streams, on in woods sweet with the homely smell of earth. They sat down on warm sod, near running water, and read, and ate, talked and sang. They watched farmers at work in the fallow land; the crows wheeling over the upturned furrows; the uprising of flowers. They felt like simple, honest, healthy folk.

"I feel like a trea, honey," Agatha explained, "with my feet in the good brown earth. Rich sap sings in my veins. . . . Aren't you glad we are having him?"

"You blessed one, you never were so beautiful."

"Silly old flatterer."

"They kissed."

"We're just foolish old married lovers, aren't we?" she added.

"Hain't it so?"

For both of them the time passed quickly. . . . Years afterwards they looked back upon it as a season in which they had contrived to touch reality together.

That man of the fields was of unending interest to Dan. The rhythmic, stalwart figure behind the plow, or the motionless, pensive form upon the harrow intrigued him. His gaze

came back to him again and again. From Agatha to the toiler, and from toiler to Agatha his eye ran. There was something everlastingly restful in that stooped figure, those plodding horses, the unfolding furrows of dark earth. . . .

They played at love. "Our renaissance," they jestingly called it.

"It was never like this before," she said. "It's deeper, bigger. It is because he is coming, Dan?"

His eyes rested upon her with satisfaction. She had lost all her asperity. She was a thing of lovely curves—a hospitable heart.

(To Be Continued Next Week)

### ITALIAN SOCIALISTS MEET DESPITE IL DUCE

The drastic orders issued by Benito Mussolini prohibiting all organized opposition to his reign of terror failed to prevent more than 100 representatives of local units of the Socialist Party of Italian Workers (the successor to the officially dissolved Unitarian Socialist Party) from meeting in secret in Milan the last days of

October and outlining a program of agitation and organization.

The program calls for the unification of all the Socialist and labor forces of Italy and the defense of republican principles at all costs. It was decided to move the party's headquarters from Rome to Milan. Recent rumors about dissension between the leaders of the Socialist Party and the trade union chiefs were branded as lies and it was emphasized that all sections of the genuine Italian labor movement remained firm in their opposition to Fascism.



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## Frank Farrington Of Illinois

**O**F a certainty these are the times that try men's souls, especially the souls of any one connected with the labor movement. At first blush it might seem that the defection of a man like Frank Farrington, for twelve years head of the Illinois Mine Workers' Union, for twenty years a leader of workers, is enough to destroy the faith of any decent-minded person in labor idealism of any sort.

Here was an outstanding figure in the labor world, strong, courageous, a fighter through the whole great bulk of him, one of the pioneer unionists, a member of the Knights of Labor and later on one of the founders of the Mine Workers' Union, who up to the age of fifty-three had apparently given of his best to the organization. Year after year he would come out of conferences with the Illinois operators with contracts so favorable to his men as to be the envy of other districts. Year after year the rank and file of the miners re-elected him not so much because they loved him (Farrington was never in any sense a "popular" leader) but rather because his personality dominated what was once the strongest unit of organized labor in the country. And now, when he could have retired with honors he accepts the shady job of "labor counselor" for the largest coal company in the State of Illinois at a retainer of \$25,000 a year.

What can you say of a tragedy like that? The cheap and easy thing to say is that Farrington always worked for the Peabody interests and never had the interests of his organization at heart. As one who was intimately associated with the man through some of the stormiest years of his stormy career as a labor leader, I know that this is far from the truth. He took an inordinate pride, oftentimes childish, in his efficient conduct of the union. He was proud of the fact that Illinois was one hundred percent union as far as the miners were concerned. He was proud of the big building in Springfield which the union owned and where he had his immaculate headquarters, so different from the ordinary labor leader's offices. He was proud of the fact that the union under his leadership had forced through laws favorable to the miners, that his legal department secured vast sums in compensation for injured miners, that his books were kept correctly, that the newspaper of his district, the distinguished "Illinois Miner" was generally regarded as one of the best labor papers in the country.

No, the record of the man, the contracts that he secured, the manner in which he held together his organization—all give the lie to the statement that Frank Farrington was always a betrayer of his class. At one time or another he threw his influence on behalf of Alex Howatt when the latter was bucking the Kansas Industrial Court, he gave aid and comfort to the courageous group of Oklahoma Socialists who were publishing the Oklahoma Leader, he supported the miners' nationalization campaign and while he was by no means in sympathy with many of the editorial expressions of his own paper, he left the editor comparatively free which is more than can be said for a lot of labor leaders who are dominating the official labor press today.

If I were to look for the causes of Farrington's desertion, I would look far beyond the man himself to forces and folkways, the peculiar and sinister psychology that is over the American scene today.

Farrington, like all labor leaders, moved in two worlds. He would leave the wretchedness of a Southern Illinois coal camp with all the squalor with which his youth had been familiar, step into a Pullman and that same night be sitting in the lobby of a big city hotel waiting to confer with the operators. In both the coal-camp and the lobby he would hear cynical talk of the folly of idealism, of the necessity for a man "getting his." Always the object of bitter and frequently headless attack by the "radicals" of his district he came more and more to feel the futility of making any real fight for the underdog. Little by little he was psychologized into the go-getter attitude that is the attitude of the country as a whole today. Everywhere he turned, he saw corruption in public places, with men climbing ruthlessly over their fellows' backs to the applause of the multitude, the workers included. In comparison with the shrewd, cunning men with whom he dealt, the radicals appeared a particularly bootless lot with no program save abuse of the powers that be and no evidences of being able to manage affairs if by any miracle they should get into power.

And then in his fifty-third year, tired and with the scars of many hard battles on him, the operators came to him with their check for twenty-five thousand a year and the chance for a soft life. We may say that it is to his everlasting discredit that he took this opportunity to sell out his fellows. And so it is. This is no attempt to whitewash such a dirty business. But for those who can see a bit beyond the immediate deed, Farrington's downfall is simply another paragraph in the indictment of the entire sordid, debasing system under which we Americans live today. It was that system and not the Peabody Coal Company, its instrument, which broke him spiritually. It is against that system that all of us who want a better order must enlist for battle without quarter. It stretches out its slimy tentacles into every phase of activity. It is everywhere throughout the labor movement today, debauching leaders and rank-and-file alike.

Abhor Farrington's action as you will, if you are not among those who are doing what they can to wipe out this infamy of capitalism, you must be prepared to shoulder some of the blame that attaches to his action.

McAlister Coleman.

### Life and Death

So he died for his faith. That is fine—  
More than most of us do.  
But, say, can you add to that line  
That he lived for it, too?  
In his death he bore witness at last  
As a martyr to truth.  
Did his life do the same in the past  
From the days of his youth?  
It is easy to die! Men have died  
For a wish or a whim—  
From bravado, or passion, or pride.  
Was it harder for him?  
But to live—every day to live out  
All the truth that he dreamt,  
While his friends met his conduct with doubt,  
And the world with contempt.  
Was it thus that he plodded ahead,  
Never turning aside?  
Then we'll talk of the life that he lived,  
Never mind how he died.  
—Ernest Crosby.

# Passaic Strike Movie Raises Children's Fund; Its Lessons Reviewed

## The Field of Labor

THOSE who have not yet seen the moving picture of the Passaic strike—which, by the way, is for the benefit of the strikers' children—should do so at the earliest opportunity. It is significant not only because it depicts an historical labor struggle, but also because it is a contribution to what might be called proletarian art. As a record of the Passaic strike it is, of course, not complete. The camera was not always present nor could scenes be later re-enacted. Omissions and distortions are also due to the Communist slant of the directors. The International Workers' Aid takes complete credit for everything. The Council of Working Class Wives is also mentioned. No reference is made to Rabbi Wise, who created so much favorable sentiment; to McAllister Coleman, who aided in the publicity; to Clara Mitchell of the Emergency Relief Committee; to Norman Thomas, who turned the tide in the battle for civil liberties, and to the numerous other persons and organizations who contributed their share. In fact, the present writer understands that in the first showing in New York the arrest of Norman Thomas was included in the film. To the best of his recollection, it was deleted from the version presented almost two weeks later.

As art, the Passaic film indicates possibilities for the future. The Bakers' Union and the A. F. of L. already have pictures on the road. Unfortunately, no one knows of the whereabouts of these films, and the present reviewer cannot couch for their aesthetic or propagandist qualities. Labor dramas, however, have been in vogue for some time in the form of light comedy, burlesque or tragedy. The performances at the conferences of the League for Industrial Democracy, at the Workers' Theatre in New York, at Brookwood Labor College and at miners' meetings in Illinois have all been pointing out a technique and a content for labor drama. When these plays hit upon the comedy or tragedy inherent in workers' experience, they strike a responsive chord in the audience which few other forms of drama can hope to match.

There is, of course, much room for improvement. In the Passaic movie, for example, the narrative in the first part is woven about the factual information very skillfully. There is even the universal love-interest. This theme is soon eliminated. It would have been quite possible with a little thought to keep the interest of the story throughout the film without dropping down to the matter-of-fact incident of the strike. In this connection, one might ask what was the wisdom of introducing the boss' liking for the fourteen-year-old Breznac girl, which ostensibly results in her discharge. If Mrs. Breznac could have been manipulated through the movie she might have served as a unifying thread. A question which arises in the observer's mind is what might be the employment of Gus Deak, now president of the textile unions of Passaic, who plays the part of the "leader," so he is enabled to have the time to go about "agitating" among the men. The clubbing scene is very effective and it is possible to show it in slow motion its dramatic power could be increased. All in all, the potentiality of the cinema as labor propaganda and art is well demonstrated by the moving picture of the Passaic strike.

### "SAVE THE UNION" AMONG THE MINERS

What a galaxy of names appears on the "Save the Union" ticket that is opposing John L. Lewis and his slate in the United Mine Workers! For president there is John Brophy himself, for vice-president William Stevenson, for secretary treasurer William J. Brennan, not to speak of the candidates for other international officers. As delegates to the A. F. of L. convention are proposed among others the three already named, Alex Howatt of Kansas fame and Powers Hagwood, the Harvard graduate who has thrown in his lot with the miners and actually works in the mines. It is he who recently figured so prominently in the letter of Albert F. Coyle that Lewis waved before the A. F. of L. convention as a red flag. It is not too much to say that the future of the miners' union depends upon the success of the progressive ticket. In April the Jacksonville agreement expires. Only a

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Victory over the Lewis machine, bringing into office more vigorous men, can stimulate the unorganized to join the union. The insurgents' program of nationalization, which the U. M. W. conventions have adopted in the past, and which Lewis has thrown into the scrap-heap, is the only ultimate salvation in the coal industry. Furthermore, a victory for the better elements in the largest A. F. of L. union will reverberate throughout the entire American Federation of Labor. If the miners are intelligent and they are not intimidated and the votes are counted Brophy and the "Save the Union" ticket will win. L. S.

### FIRST UNION OF RADIO MEN FORMED

The first union of radio men has been organized. If you tune in on any St. Louis station you can be assured that union men are attending to the broadcasting, for there is a one hundred per cent organization here six months ago not a man was organized. This is due to the efforts of Local No. 1, which was originally responsible for the launching of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in 1891. More particularly credit is due to the business agent of Local 1. In accordance with the constitution of the I. B. E. W. this local formed a Class E of Local No. 1, consisting of workers in radio stations. When the new organizations had only unionized five per cent of the radio craftsmen an attempt was made to break it up. In the ensuing strike the offending broadcasting station was driven out of business. Now a hundred per cent union prevails. Considering the fact that the radio business has increased one thousand per cent since 1923, more than two million tubes being manufactured last year, the readiness of the Electrical Workers to take in the radio men augurs well for the future. L. S.

### BROOKWOOD GRADUATES CARRY ON

An interesting venture is this "Brookwood Fellowship Review," the official organ of the graduates of Brookwood Labor College, which has just made its appearance. It consists of ten mimeographed pages, which is well, considering the introductory statement by the editor, Martin Beardslee. He says that the paper "is to be a medium for shop talk among Brookwood graduates. Some day it may circulate outside the Fellowship, but that is not its purpose or concern. It should never get to looking so presentable that our real problems and sincere opinions do not get an airing." It is hard to judge from a first issue, but a number of comments may, perhaps, appear justified. There is the article by Andrew Schmolder, '26, who attended the National Student Forum Conference at Bridgewater, Connecticut, last summer. Writing on "A Worker Hobnobbing in the Student Movement," he offers some pertinent criticism of the young people he found there which throws light on the Brookwood attitude. He speaks of their "worship of the god 'wordiness,'" of their hesitancy in proposing changes in the present system and of the impracticability and intellectual character of their solutions." He sees in the student movement, however, a new ally to the labor movement, to which old trade unionists are still blind. Frank Borah, "Waste in Workers' Education," raises doubts as to Brookwood's success in turning out graduates who are active enough in the labor movement. His standards, of course, are high. He recommends that students already "connected" in the labor movement should be selected for the school. Arthur W. Calhoun of the faculty suggests two recent books to supplement courses taken at Brookwood—extension activity, so to speak. On another page is a letter from Anton Gardner of the Fellowship discussing the advisability of an assessment upon the members for the support of the endowment drive. In this respect the pride in "a larger Brookwood" is similar to the love of alma mater of regular collegiates. And, as expected, there is a section on personal news and letters. The editor is to be congratulated on his first number. The "Brookwood Fellowship Review" may yet be an important contribution to workers' education. Brookwood graduates are in the trade unions. They can be critical and realistic among themselves. They can exert influence on the school itself. As a group their effect is already beginning to be felt in many labor quarters. And, of course, that is how Brookwood hopes to impress itself upon the thoughts and activities of organized labor. L. S.

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# THE LITHOGRAPHERS' UNION STORY

By LOUIS S. STANLEY

## 1.—Introduction (1796-1896)

VARIED are the products of lithography. The huge posters that are faunted along our public thoroughfares; the rouged maidens that entice us on magazine covers until we take them home with us; numerous illustrations in books from Mother Goose to do luxe editions; checks and bonds of counterfeit-proof design; art at modernistic exhibitions that competes with the work executed in the classical media; the scores of musical compositions, good and bad; maps for weary travelers and exacerbated students; even to a growing extent, the typescript of books—all proclaim the glories of lithography. What an advance over the first attempts made in the last three or four years of the eighteenth century by the Bavarian, Aloys Senefelder, the inventor of the art.

The peculiarities of lithography, as is the case of other occupations, have determined the character of the labor problems that have arisen. Though "lithography" comes from the Greek meaning "stone-writing," it is fallacious to define that art or industry, as it has become, in these words. The inventor adopted the name because his first experiments through accident were with stone. The essence of lithography, however, is not the material used, but the method pursued. It is a matter of chemistry primarily, not of physics. As a recent definition puts it: "Lithography is a planographic or chemical flat surface printing process, which typography is a mechanical relief printing process."

**The Skill in Lithography**  
Lithography is based upon the simple chemical principle that grease attracts grease and repels water. Therefore, if a drawing is made with a fatty or resinous ink upon a porous stone or a metal prepared by planing and graining to enable it to retain moisture, water run over the surface and finally a roller, moistened with a similar ink, passed over the whole, then impressions may be taken of the original drawing as long as the latter remains distinct. If now the chemical composition of inks and papers are understood the result may be works of art. Mixing of colors with an eye to the qualities of the inks used to ensure permanence, make possible baking in tin lithography or meet other requirements necessitates much skill in the lithographer. Then, too, the expertness in setting and manipulating presses is also a factor to be considered.

Thus we have two general classes of workmen, those in the art room and those in the press room. In the former we find the designers, artists, engravers, pen letterers and photo lithographers, who attend to the execution of the drawing or the photographing of the image upon the stone or metal. In the press room are the transferers who lay out on sheets the transfer impressions taken from the drawing on the original stone or metal; the provers who make proofs for the examination and correction of the artist, engraver or designer; the pressmen, who operate the presses and perform the important task of mixing the colors; the press feeders, who assist the last group; and finally, the stone and plate preparers, who, though they deal with the art room as well, are generally classified with the press department. The last two classes require the least time to become proficient in their work, although experience in their branch is also a requisite.

**An Expanding Industry**  
We cannot emphasize enough in this preliminary survey that lithography is an expanding industry unlike brewing, for example, and that that fact must be kept constantly in mind in discussing the policies of the lithographers' union, particularly in the more recent period. Senefelder's basic principles have remained unchanged. Great improvements in the mechanics of the press and in the methods of polishing and graining stones and metals have occurred since the beginning of this century. Especially since the war revolutionary transformations have been taking place. First, the speed of operation has been increased by the offset press which interposes a rubber blanket to receive the impression before transferring it to paper. The process is often, therefore, spoken of as indirect lithography. Secondly, economy in the art room has been fa-

cilitated by the introduction of photo-mechanical methods. These changes have made lithography cheaper, faster and more artistic than formerly. Its commercial appeal has increased. Gone are the limited days of chromos, comic pictures, cigar labels and shop circus advertisements of the nineteenth century. There is an expensive future ahead. Moreover, contrary to expectations, the new devices have not eliminated the skilled man. In fact, he has become more necessary than ever. The photo and offset processes demand more expert knowledge and artistic perception than before. It is not enough to have a lithograph mechanically correct, it is also imperative that it be aesthetically attractive. There the lithographer is more the artist than the artisan. It is this which gives him his strategic advantage.

Exactly when lithography was introduced into the United States we do not know. There is evidence of work being done as early as 1816 in New York city, while the oldest lithograph extant was made three years later by Bass Otis, the portrait painter, which was printed in the "Analectic Magazine" of Boston. From time to time unions of lithographers seem to have been organized. In 1850 lithographers were represented at a big mass meeting in City Hall Park, called at the instance of the establishment of a co-operative clothing store by the German and English branches of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Union. Later in May, 1853, we hear of a strike of lithographic printers occurring in the same city. At that time similar organizations of the craft were also in existence in Philadelphia and other large cities. The business depression of 1857 and the Civil War put an end to organization efforts for the time being.

**The L. I. P. is Born**  
Around 1870 a union was once more formed in New York city. It affiliated with the Knights of Labor and became the basis of the national industrial union of lithographers that received a separate charter in 1882. All classes of workmen were admitted except the semi-skilled preparers and feeders. This organization remained with the Knights until 1890. It was known as the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada. Artists more or less remained aloof from it. It remained independent until its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor in 1906.

At this time organization work had to be done secretly for fear of the employers' discrimination. Old timers tell of the Hudson Association formed in New York city which was supposed to be a fishing and social club, and became the nucleus of the L. I. P., just described. The workmen of a large shop in Newark contributed much effective support to the cause of unionism. The Hudsons, as they were called familiarly, would do some fishing, to be sure, to keep up appearances, but the main topic of conversation was organization. They were more apt to discuss the baiting of possible members rather than of fish.

**The National Association of 1886**  
The first detailed information available as to country-wide organization relates to the National Association of Lithographers of the United States and Canada which was founded in New York city in February, 1886. It held its meetings in secret but its minutes have fortunately been preserved. A score of delegates were present from New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Boston and Philadelphia. A motion was carried to levy an assessment of five cents per week on all members of the different local associations to be used as a "defense fund" only. It was decided that nine hours were to constitute a day's work but that rates of wages and payment of overtime be optional with the local bodies. The expense of the National Association was to be paid by an annual tax of one dollar per capita, payable quarterly in advance. Local dues were left to the discretion of the component unions. In addition to the usual officers the position of statistician was created to collect from local statisticians all information pertaining to the state of

the lithographic industry. An important set of rules adopted referred to the system of apprenticeship. A ratio of one apprentice, registered with the union to five journeymen was established but no more than six apprentices in any one branch were permitted. Piece work for steam-press men, transferers and provers were prohibited and task and team work condemned. Among those elected to office were John L. Mackenzie of Cincinnati as president, Joseph Keogh of New York as financial secretary, and Richard Norris of New York as chairman of the Executive Board. The convention adjourned to meet at the call of the president. What happened afterwards waits upon the discovery of further documentary and traditional evidence. One thing must be remembered, however, that the regulations thus seriously promulgated were not always enforceable. They were guides to conduct, desirable goals, rather than strict laws. It was not until the nineties that the unions felt themselves sufficiently strong to insist upon the execution of more of their rules. They decided upon the labor regulations for the crafts and when they had their way the employer had to follow these as if they were a contract. The high skill of the workmen and their inclusive organizations often left the owner no alternative. Many bosses chafed under these restraints and when they themselves had sufficiently organized into the National Lithographers' Association (founded in 1888 after an attempt four years previously to this had failed), they decided to test the strength of their employes. Their opponent was the artists and the strike that ensued centered in New York. The historic struggle of 1896 will be our chief subject in the next installment.

### Coolidge Pastor Defines Socialism

(Continued from page 1)

ress of Socialism is related to the progress of capitalism. These two represent at the present time undesirable extremes. The ideals of both are valuable and we appropriate somewhat of both theories in our ownership of private and public property and the management of private and public business. The end of both capitalism and Socialism is man's welfare, and the largest detriment of that under any system is man's character."

William Mather Lewis, president of George Washington University said: "Our existing economic system of private enterprise is characteristically competitive, profit seeking and individualistic. In place of this system, Socialism would substitute collective, group ownership and management of factories, railroads and other industrial enterprises. Socialism stresses existing waste of natural resources and the hardships borne by labor, and maintains that the proper remedy is control by the Government or labor organizations or a combination of both. It is difficult to give a universally applicable definition of Socialism. In some European countries, where rewards of labor are comparatively small, the extreme Socialist, skeptical of legislative success, advocates securing control through violence. In other countries, where the wage scale is higher and commands comforts and even luxuries, and where strong and effective labor organizations exist, the conservative Socialist seems to find satisfaction in the gaining of successive social reforms rather than the uprooting of an entire economic system. In any country one might find many widely differing definitions and programs of Socialism merely by talking with Socialists."

Sen. Gen. Amos A. Fries said: "After thinking this matter over I cannot believe it would be wise for me to attempt such a definition. My motives and ideas in this matter with Mr. Flury have been altogether misunderstood. I think I should only be adding to that misunderstanding if I gave you a definition of Socialism. I thank you for the courtesy of your offer, however."

Senator Borah of Idaho said: "I'm very busy. How soon would you want it? What! Five days! I could not do it in that time."

William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor said: "Socialism is a political doctrine which provides for the substitution of Government ownership for private ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and transportation. It is based on a philosophy which extols Government ownership, decries private profit and deprecates private enterprise and initiative. Socialism is the creed of a political party which seeks to revolutionize industrial and economic conditions through political action and through the use of political machinery of the Government."

Miss Alice Paul of the National Woman's Party said: "I am afraid I could not discuss that topic because of my association with the National Woman's Party. We are interested only in equal rights for women, you know. I should like to help you, but I can't."

Senator Frazier said: "Well, it seems to me, Mr. Flury gave a pretty good definition of Socialism. Yes, I read it. Oh, no (laughingly), I should not care to have that reprinted as mine. I would rather be excused."

# Vandervelde Delivers Tribute To Matteotti; International Plans Change

## Labor Doings Abroad

UPON the occasion of the recent unveiling of a memorial tablet to Giacomo Matteotti, the General Secretary of the Unitarian Socialist Party of Italy, murdered June 10, 1924, by Fascisti, in the room in the Labor College at Uccle, near Brussels, where he had stayed for a short while not long before his assassination, Emile Vandervelde, Socialist Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Belgian Cabinet, delivered a speech in the course of which he said:

"Teachers and pupils of the Workers' College, you have had the idea of honoring the presence in this house, in April, 1924, of Giacomo Matteotti, our comrade, who two months later was murdered in the same street in Rome where in 1497 the Duke of Gandia was killed by the orders of his brother, Cesare Borgia.

"Matteotti came, in April, 1924, as a delegate of the Italian Socialists to Brussels, and on this occasion our school gave him hospitality. All those then present at our Easter Congress will never forget how among the delegates of the other countries who mounted the rostrum, this handsome young man appeared, with his brow lit up by noble enthusiasm, and amid the breathless stillness of the intent gathering, delivered in these simple words to the Belgian workers the greetings of the Italian comrades:

"Freedom is like air and water. One has to be deprived of them to know that without them one cannot live."

"He who spoke these words had only a few weeks left to live. Even as I saw Jaures shortly before his death, so now I saw Matteotti for the last time. I will not deal here with the immediate circumstances of the crime; I will only note one thing: that today in Europe it is possible to kill a man unpunished, if he happens to be a Socialist, a revolutionary.

"The murderer of Vorovsky was acquitted by a jury of Lausanne. The murderer of Jaures was declared irresponsible, though he was later found responsible at another trial. The murderers of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were not in any way molested. The murderer of Kurt Eisner goes free. The three hirelings who murdered Matteotti were sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but were excused four years of it and at once set at liberty."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions, held in Amsterdam, Nov. 4 and 5, the budget for 1927 was made up for submission to the next meeting of the General Council, in connection there was a full discussion of the financial position of the I. F. T. U. Amendments to the rules are to be submitted to the General Council concerning its future meetings.

There was a discussion with Secretary Smit of the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees on the relations between manual and non-manual workers' unions and on the question of giving the latter a larger representation in the international trade union movement and the International Labor Office. This question has already been placed on the agenda of the next international trade union congress in 1927.

The quarterly known as the International Trade Union Review is from Jan. 1 to be issued monthly in a modified form. Instead of having two separate international trade union committees for youth and workers' education, there is to be a joint international trade union committee for youth and educational questions.

There was a full discussion of the situation of the working class in Italy with a representative of the Italian National Trade Union Center.

The meeting was attended by President Purcell, Vice-Presidents Jouhaux, Mertens and Leipart and Secretaries Oudegeest and Sassenbach.

### ARGENTINE FEDERATION GAINS STRENGTH FAST

Reports received from Buenos Aires via the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions indicate rapid progress by the new Argentine Federation of Labor.

Among the latest local unions to affiliate with the new body are the Domestic Servants' Union of Buenos Aires and the General Workers' Union of Pergamino and Carhue. Propaganda committees have been set up to

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recruit the workers in inland localities which have hitherto been neglected and groups have been formed which intend to affiliate with the national center as soon as they have consolidated into unions.

The Syndicalist National Center in, on the other hand, steadily declining. It recently lost the printing workers' union. In the resolution in favor of secession passed at a meeting of this union it was stated that the leaders of the Syndicalist Center had brought the movement to the brink of ruin by their divisions and their neglect of constructive and practical trade union work.

### Dutch Unions Speed Up International Strike Aid

Among the resolutions adopted at the Utrecht convention of the Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions, briefly reported in The New Leader of November 13, was one calculated to facilitate prompt assistance to foreign unions in case of great strikes.

It was laid down that the executive, in agreement with the affiliated organizations, may immediately place at the disposal of the total sum constituting the Dutch National Strike Fund. The same body may also make a loan to a foreign national center, for which the same maximum total is fixed. It is expressly stipulated that all such aid must be sent through the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Strike Fund of the Dutch National Center was founded five years ago, and is maintained by a weekly contribution of about 1 cent by every member of the Federation. It amounts at present to more than \$400,000. Both in the Danish strike of 1925 and in the British strike of the present year experience showed that assistance could not be sent with the requisite promptitude. It is highly satisfactory, therefore, that one of the centers affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and one which has never failed to respond generously to every appeal for international aid by the I. F. T. U., should facilitate and accelerate its future gifts in this way.

### Mexican Union Claims About 2,000,000 Members

The Mexican Federation of Labor (commonly known as the "Crom," an abbreviation formed from the initials of its name in Spanish) now numbers, according to statistics given by Ricardo Trevino, its secretary, some 2,000,000 industrial and farm workers. There are over 2,200 industrial unions and about 2,700 rural organizations.

Local groups of workers and farmers from every part of Mexico are making urgent appeals for more public education; hence, the 1927 budget for the Ministry of Public Education provides for the increase of rural schools to 5,000. Not only will the number of schools and teachers be increased; education will also be reorganized so as to place elementary instruction on a basis of four-year courses, which will be carried on together with the practical industrial and agricultural education now being imparted.

**Coal Blasts Preventable**  
"Coal mine disasters due to rock dust explosions, like that at Rockwood, Tennessee, Monday, in which 29 miners were entombed, are preventable by the simple and inexpensive safety device of sprinkling the underground workings with rock dust," declares the American Association for Labor Legislation.

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# The New Leader Mail Bag

**Mr. Flury's Position**  
 Editor, The New Leader:  
 I am complying with your request for a copy of my reply to the Superintendent of Schools when called upon to explain my political views. The School Board voted to retain me, thus winning one of the finest and most clear cut issues for freedom of thought.

You have my permission to publish the letter, since all the correspondence in the case was thrown open to the public.

Public sentiment is almost unanimous in my favor.

This is a great victory for real Americanism.

Cordially yours,  
**HENRY FLURY.**  
 Washington, D. C.

**Dr. F. W. Bellou,**  
 Superintendent of Schools,  
 Washington, D. C.  
 My Dear Sir:

Since our conversation of Friday, October 8, I have been thinking over the subject of our interview, and I am of the opinion that it would be highly improper for me, in my official capacity as a public school teacher, to go into a discussion of my private political, religious, or other beliefs.

I was perfectly willing, as one man to another, to answer your questions, as I am always willing to talk over my personal opinions as an individual at any time. But I have consistently refrained from discussing political, religious and other controversial matters in my classrooms and educational work and I must decline to do so now.

You have the right, as an American citizen, to your opinion of Republicanism, Democracy, Socialism, Prohibition, Fundamentalism, Modernism, Progressivism, and any other disputed subject; I have the same right. Neither of us has the right to use official position or authority for the propagation of his personal beliefs in these matters.

The definition of Socialism which I contributed to the October number of the Forum Magazine, one of the leading and best known magazines in America, which is contributed to and patronized by many eminent thinkers and leaders of this country, was sent over the name of Henry Flury, a plain American citizen, without any reference to the fact that I am a teacher or to the school in which I teach.

I had, of course, a perfect legal right to offer a definition of Socialism, as I have the right to offer one of prohibition, the protective tariff, the single tax, the Ku Klux Klan, Catholicism, Judaism, or the principles of Thomas Jefferson. You, as an American citizen, have the same right. So does any citizen.

I cheerfully comply with your request.

quest that I make a statement of my patriotism. I am a staunch patriot. I am a firm believer in the strict enforcement of all laws, both those that I dislike and those that I like, and I conscientiously obey them. I believe that Socialists should obey anti-Socialist laws; that anti-prohibitionists should obey the prohibition law and vice-versa and that if Socialism should ever be adopted in this country, anti-Socialists should obey Socialist laws as readily as they today expect Socialists to obey anti-Socialist statutes. I am sure that all advocates of law and order will agree with me that there can be no stricter code of obedience than this.

You will recall that I exhibited to you my Honorable Discharge from the United States Army signed by Captain Eugene H. Morier, dated Dec. 9, 1918, at Camp Martin, New Orleans, La., which you took and examined while I explained that I did not wait to be drafted but volunteered.

Respectfully yours,  
**HENRY FLURY.**

**A UNITARIAN SOCIALIST**  
 Editor, The New Leader:

When I accepted engagement as a campaign speaker of the Socialist Party I had no idea that I was committing professional suicide; but the following quotations, taken from two letters recently received from Unitarian ministers in reply to an appeal sent out by me in behalf of the Harlem Community Church, of which I am the pastor, will, I am sure, be read with interest and surprise by your readers as proof that even in a liberal church it is harmful to be known as a Socialist.

No. 1. "The fact that you are a Socialist probably does not commend you in the judgment of the officers of the American Unitarian Association. I also am a Socialist."

No. 2. "In writing for help you have perhaps made an error in mentioning your work for the Socialist Party. I am afraid that you have thereby checked a number of responses to your appeal which might have been forthcoming. Most of our ministers are rather conservative and what you call 'the distasteful and incongruous work of an elevator runner' appeals far more to them as an honorable labor than addressing crowds for the Socialist Party." (This minister sent a contribution.)

In my appeal for help in aid of my church I referred to my discovery by the Socialist Party and to my subsequent engagement and stated that because of my employment by the party I was relieved of the distasteful and incongruous work of an elevator runner and permitted to be present at the church every Sunday night instead of on alternate Sunday nights as hitherto, and was thus enabled to bring about a pleasing and encouraging improvement in the attendance. My appeal was for contribution towards a fund to enable me for at least one year to devote all my time and energy to the church. The result, in part, has been this painful discovery, that a Unitarian minister may be penalized for being a Socialist. Verily, Socialists have much real work yet to do.

**ETHELRED BROWN.**  
 428 St. Nicholas Ave., New York City.

**Glove Workers Approve Wage Increases Won**  
 Gloversville, N. Y.—Fulton county glove workers, numbering nearly 10,000, have ratified the wage schedule offered them by the conference of their own committee and the employers. Wage increases of 10 per cent and more have been won.

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# Amusements

## DRAMA

### And Now the Movies

By Joseph T. Shipley

THE growth of the motion picture industry, told with all the romantic glamor of an Arabian tale in Simon and Schuster's "A Million and One Nights," has another less frequently painted side, one which all the publicity of the producers ignores, but which gleams luridly from beneath the surface of "The Public and the Motion Picture Industry," by W. M. Seabury (Macmillan, \$2.50). Mr. Seabury, once counsel to the Motion Picture Board of Trade and the National Association of the Motion Picture Industry, has had intimate contact with the business side of the film world, and the volume he presents is an array of abuses and defects in the present system, leading up to the proposed statute which Mr. Seabury offers as the remedy in his concluding chapter.

The first phase of the industry that is emphasized as abounding in abuses is the growth of the firms engaged in it toward trusts, in illegal combination in restraint of trade. The most obvious of these groupings is that effected by the producers, known as Block Booking, which forces the exhibitor to contract for a season's output of pictures, in order to get the two or three features he may really desire. Opposed to this is the Circuit Booking, the exhibitors' device for securing lower rates by purchasing a chain of theatres. A chapter that tears the veil of pretense from the lofty moving picture promoter's brow and exposes the vanity and empty lying in his claims at cultural development through moving pictures is the one that traces the efforts at censorship, recognizing the futility of all such practice. The attitude of the movies toward life, for instance, is admirably disposed of, largely by quotations: "DOES THE PRESIDENT GO TO THE MOVIES?" President Coolidge is asked his opinion on about everything from cabbages to kings, and often responds with trenchant comment. The other day someone asked him his views on motion pictures, and he later was quoted indirectly as entertaining the belief that "American films have been of great advantage in bringing our life and customs before the world."

"Life and customs," Mr. DeMille, for instance, poses a scene of a little dinner of some fifty persons, which is served on an island in the middle of a cozy dining room about the size of the Thirteenth Regiment Armory, and between courses some of the guests lightheartedly dive into the surrounding water. Or the same effulgent director gives a screen party in a room just a bit larger than the Krueger Auditorium, at which some 2,000 guests dance on a floor of polished black glass. Mr. Griffith will toss off a trifle of "Western" stuff and have his heroine trapped in a mountain cabin by human brutes intending her no good at all, and the beautiful young girl will escape through the trackless wil-

derness pursued by slaving bloodhounds and stagger into a safe haven with her permanent wave justifying every claim of the hairdresser.

"In the films everybody above the rank of wage earner lives in a gorgeous palace on the Long Island north shore, with pink striped umbrellas all over the matchless lawns; all libraries in private houses look like rooms in the new wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and not to own a Russian wolfhound means inclusion in the ostracized set. As for the passion of love, it invariably leads to the hymeneal altar, and you don't dare hint anything different. . . . Yes, indeed, the movies bring American life and customs before the world."

The tremendous questions involved in the international aspect of the moving pictures, the extent to which nations elsewhere are seeking to protect their "infant" industry against the giant American film works (and such more recent things as the alteration of an American war film for German consumption) are touched upon, but space is here lacking to do more than suggest that the problem exists; Mr. Seabury considers the special problems of a number of countries besides our own. The law he proposes seems thorough, indeed, but hardly such as will satisfy one who knows how statutes can be wrung to interpretation by the group in power. The law is mainly prohibitory; it would call for the separation of production and distribution from exhibition, even by prohibiting a theatre from using more than 25 percent of its time with the works of one distributor. It would prohibit unusual increase in price, block booking, circuit booking at terms which discriminate against the individual exhibitor in the same locality, and the maintenance of a blacklist, as well as the resale of posters and the breach of contract by stars. But while we may accept these matters, it seems less sound to urge the prohibition of free pictures by church or other groups, as harming the local picture houses. Nor can we accept, especially from one who has said he thinks censorship futile, such a clause as "prohibiting the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of any obscene motion picture or advertising matter relating thereto, and of any films or advertising matter that are immoral, unpatriotic, irreligious or which portray distorted or untruthful representations of our national life, manners and customs. . . . This is a glorious loophole for the easy destruction of such films as the workers of the land may some day come to have, with faithful portraits of conditions and with true pictures of American life as it is. But while any censorship is in the power of any man, truth will not have full voice. And the title page of this stimulating—warning—book bears Edison's reminder: "Whoever controls the motion picture industry controls the most powerful medium of influence over the people."

CLARE EAMES



One of the principal players in the new Sidney Howard play "Ned McCobb's Daughter" opening Monday at the John Golden

### Actors Theatre to Revive O'Neills 'Beyond the Horizon'

Eugene O'Neill's "Beyond the Horizon," the second production of the Actors' Theatre, opens at the Mansfield Theatre next Tuesday night. Robert Keith, Aline MacMahon and Thomas Chalmers will play the principal roles. The other players include Malcolm Williams, Judith Lowry, Eleanor Westenhoef, Albert Tavernier, Victor Killian, Joseph McInerney and Elaine Koch. James Light directed the production and Cleon Throckmorton designed the sets.

The Moscow Theatre Habima, which had been expected to open at the Mansfield next week, has been delayed and the company is now scheduled to sail from Southampton this Saturday. The New York opening, accordingly, has been set for Dec. 13, at which time "Beyond the Horizon" will be moved to another theatre.

### Shaw Awarded Nobel Prize for "Saint Joan"

George Bernard Shaw has been awarded the 1925 Nobel Prize for Literature.

Upon being notified of the honor, Shaw expressed surprise and remarked, "I suppose it was because I didn't do any writing in 1925." It is generally understood that the award is based largely on Shaw's play "Saint Joan," published in 1924. The play created much comment and discussion when produced here by the Theatre Guild some seasons back.

The prize amounts to more than \$30,000.

### Film Studios in Hollywood May Shut Down Dec. 1st

The motion-picture studios here and on the Pacific Coast have been given until Dec. 1 to unionize. Most of the studios here are unionized, but none at Hollywood. The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Motion Picture Operators, the Federation of Musicians, the Scenic Artists Union are all involved, but the unions directly affected are the carpenters, screen painters and helpers. The demands of the unions are for a union shop, an eight-hour day, time and a half for overtime, double time for Sundays, pay for six legal holidays, and the union scale of wages.

### Guid to Start Repertory Program at Golden Theatre

The Theatre Guild announces that it will put its repertory plan into operation at the John Golden Theatre on Dec. 29, when Sidney Howard's play, "The Silver Cord," will be produced. Thereafter "The Silver Cord" will alternate with Mr. Howard's "Ned McCobb's Daughter," which opens there next Monday.

The cast of "The Silver Cord," now in rehearsal, will include Laura Hope Crews, Margalo Gillmore, Elisabeth Risdon, Elliott Cabot and Earle Larimore. Several of these players will also be appearing in "Ned McCobb's Daughter."

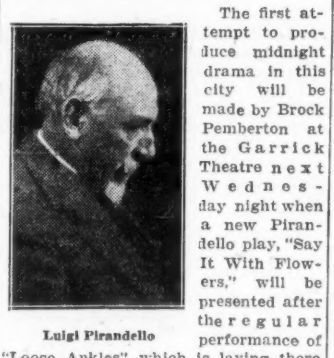
### Vivienne Segal will sing the prima donna role in "The Desert Song" when the musical comedy opens at the Casino November 30.

### ALBERT CARROLL



Has the role of the lover in the Hindu drama "The Little Clay Cart" now holding the boards at the Neighborhood Playhouse

### Brock Pemberton to Experiment With Midnight Drama



The first attempt to produce midnight drama in this city will be made by Brock Pemberton at the Garrick Theatre next Wednesday night when a new Pirandello play, "Say It With Flowers," will be presented after the regular performance of "Loose Ankles" which is laying there now at regular performances. The curtain will rise at 11:30 o'clock, and the performance will be over at a little after 1 o'clock.

In his original announcement, several weeks ago, Mr. Pemberton declared that he believed that New York night life had now reached a point that justified the performance of plays at midnight.

### "Potemkin" Film to Be Shown At Biltmore Sunday, Dec. 5

"Potemkin," the Russian film, sponsored by the Soviet film bureau, will be presented at the Biltmore theatre beginning Sunday, Dec. 5. The Ankinio will present it on a two-day schedule with the original musical score used in Berlin, composed by Prof. Edmund Meisel.

Several times "Potemkin" was sent through the mills of the censors, whose final cuts only eliminated those parts believed too strongly realistic. Portions dealing with the revolution of 1905 were left intact. "Potemkin" is the name of a battleship on which the crew mutinies, with the rebellion spreading from the sea to the land, all at the beginning of the 1905-1906 revolt.

The picture was produced in Russia under the direction of S. M. Eisenstein, a young man of 27.

Marion Abel has joined the cast of "Katja," at the 44th Street Theatre.

### Premiere of Cecile Sorel Postponed to Next Tuesday

The premiere of Cecile Sorel and her Comedie Francaise company will not take place until Tuesday evening, owing to delay in the arrival of the S. S. Roosevelt. The late arrival of the boat will not allow sufficient time for rehearsal of the company, necessitating a postponement.

The initial production will be "La Maitresse de Roi," and will be housed at the Cosmopolitan Theatre. The production requires some eighty supers who must be trained, and a large orchestral accompaniment. In view of the importance of the situation it was decided to postpone the opening night. Tickets purchased for Monday night will be good for the opening performance Tuesday night.

### "Is Zat So?" Next Week at the Bronx Opera

"Is Zat So?," presented by Earl Booth in association with the Messrs. Shubert, will be at the Bronx Opera House beginning Monday. This is the comedy by James Gleason and Richard Taber which had over a year's run on Broadway.

"Howdy King," a new comedy, will be presented by Anne Nichols the week of December 6, prior to its showing on Broadway.

### ANN HARDING



With Lowell Sherman in "The Woman Disputed," now in its third month at the Forrest Theatre

CECILE SOREL



And her company from the Comedie Francaise will present a short season of French repertoire at the Cosmopolitan Theatre, opening with "Maitresse De Roi" Tuesday night

### Pleasant Intelligence

Good Fun in Good Theatre at the Provincetown Playhouse

"PRINCESS TURANDOT," in an English adaptation of the Russian version of an Italian play about China, written by Carlo Gozzi in 1761, is given delightful revival by the Provincetown Players, under the direction of Leo Bulgarov. The manner of the presentation, from the settings of Robert Van Rosen and his bizarre costumes, to the play with the audience, makes share the fun with the audience, quite contemporary. A play by Sophocles, by Moliere, by any of the great dramatists through the ages, might be shown bare of adornments, in the spirit of its age and country, and still hold our attention, move us profoundly. With less searching works, and especially with comedy, national and period fashions change so swiftly as to leave contemporary attitudes behind; unless such pieces are presented in a spirit of fun, if not of burlesque, they will be as flat as campaign speeches of an old election. The division of opinion in Russian circles, as to whether the old plays should be caught with the original spirit, or reflected through the prism of our more sophisticated minds, is thus really a question of which play one intends to revive.

"Princess Turandot" lends itself to the modern handling. The company is introduced to the audience by two clever handlers of the tomfoolery, J. Edward Bromberg and Victor Sharoff; after they are named, and the parts each is to play are indicated, they step back on the stage, and in sight of the audience dress for their roles. There is throughout the performance such exaggeration and horseplay as shows the actors are having a thoroughly good time; much of this is infectious. The story of the drama, more seriously presented in Puccini's opera, which had its American premiere last week, is simple enough to be good material for the romping of the company. The one danger of this sort of thing is that it may come to grow boring as the evening wears on without change of mood; this the Provincetown Players avoid by the adroitness of their antics and the aptness of the references with which the adapters have larded the piece. The closing line is, Bromberg to Sharoff: "I'll meet you at the Automat."

The acting honors go to Jasper Deeter, as the Chinese King, despairing over his heartless daughter, but powerless against her tyranny. Sada Gordon as the Siren was well cast, and Barbara Bulgarov, despite the high pitch of her accent—which indeed added a further note of artificiality to the cleverly artificial piece—was quite able to bear the brunt of our inspection as the most beautiful and haughty princess of the world.

W. L.

### Jenny Lind Heroine of New Operetta "The Nightingale"

The Shuberts presented in New Haven "The Nightingale," a musical romance based upon incidents in the life of Jenny Lind. Peggy Wood played the title role and Stanley Lupino appeared as the principal comedian. Others in the cast included: Lee Beggs, Alexander Gray, Violet Carlson, Eileen Van Biens, Nicholas Joy, Robert Hobbs, John Gainers, Lucius Henderson and Clara Palmers.

The "Nightingale" is by Guy Bolton and F. G. Woodhouse, with score by Armand Yecsey. After a short run in Philadelphia, the operetta will come to New York.

### Ethel Barrymore Opens Monday In Somerset Maugham Comedy

The Charles Frohman company will bring Ethel Barrymore in W. Somerset Maugham's comedy "The Constant Wife" to the Maxine Elliott theatre Monday evening.

The cast supporting Miss Barrymore includes Mabel Terry-Lewis, Cora Witherspoon, Verse Treadale, Jeanette Sherman, C. Aubrey Smith, Frank Conroy, Walter Kingford and Thomas A. Bratton. The play has received favorable comment out of town.

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EVENINGS, 8:30

FLORENCE REED  
IN  

## THE SHANGHAI GESTURE

  
BY JOHN COLTON  
CHINANS THEATRE  
46th St. W. of Broadway  
Mats. Wed. & Sat.  
EVENINGS, 8:30

### "Manon Lescaut" to Be Shown at the Cameo Sunday

The Film Arts Guild will present Sunday at the Cameo Theatre Lya de Putti in "Manon Lescaut." Miss de Putti will be recalled for her splendid work in that excellent German film, "Variety," shown on Broadway early this season.

This Ufa production is notable for its cast, which includes Vladimir Gaidarov, the able Russian actor, who is playing the role of Des Grieux. Others in the cast are Lydia Potemkina, last seen here in "The Waltz Dream"; Fritz Greiner as the licentious Marquis de Bil; and Siegfried Arne, a well-known character artist of the German screen. The film was directed by Arthur Robison, and follows closely the story of Abbe Prevost.

### Broadway Briefs

The Civic Repertory Players will present no less than four plays at their theatre on Fourteenth street next week. Two Ibsen dramas, "John Gabriel Borkman" and "The Master Builder" will be presented; the first on Wednesday matinee and the latter on Saturday night, December 4. Golden's rollicking comedy will be played Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday evenings, and next Saturday matinee; while "Three Sisters" will be given Monday and Thursday nights.

John L. Shine and his Irish players presenting T. C. Murray's drama,

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THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement. Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Association...

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

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1926

A UNIQUE DINNER

ONE OF the tragedies of American life is the inheritance of color prejudice from the days of Negro slavery. This inheritance has found expression in social ostracism, consigning Negro workers to the unskilled occupations, and even keeping them out of the trade unions.

These remarks are introductory to an event which we believe requires special mention. There are labor dinners and labor dinners, and now for the first time the Sleeping Car Porters are arranging a dinner which will certainly prove to be an interesting affair.

However, it will not be an exclusive affair. It is hoped that representatives of trade unions who have received invitations will attend. The labor movement recognizes, or should recognize, no color barriers, and this dinner recognizes none.

THE THOMPSON REPORT

WHAT appears to be a forecast of the report to be made by Carmi A. Thompson on the Philippines appears in the New York Times. He will report against early independence for the Filipinos, but will urge certain changes in the administration of the islands.

This is due to the fact that supervision of the islands is under the War Department and its agent, Governor General Wood, an army man. He has surrounded himself with army advisors known as the "Cavalry Cabinet," who think in terms of military men, refuse to consider recommendations of Filipino leaders, who seek to impose discipline and the idea of obedience upon the population, and in general consider the Philippines as an enlarged military barracks.

These recommendations can only be regarded as concessions to what has been a strike of Filipino political organizations against the rule of Wood and his military Junkers. Thompson even soft-pedals the economic program for the Philippines by advising against any "ruthless" exploitation, but does urge that the Philippine Government give up its ownership of coal mines, certain railroads, cement plants and other enterprises on the ground that they are losing money.

This report is the best evidence we have of wide discontent of the little brown men with American imperialism. The program is for slow but extensive penetration by American capital in return for some concessions made to the Filipinos that will ease the injuries inflicted by Wood and his cronies.

DYING DEMOCRACY

OUR readers will do well to read the interesting survey of the political situation in the West by James D. Graham on another page. Graham has recently made a first-hand investigation of the political trends in this region. He is a keen observer, and for more than thirty years he has been an intelligent observer of economic and political changes in the West.

In this survey we have a confirmation of what a few in the East have surmised. The Democratic Party has been disintegrating for several years, and this trend continues at the recent election. In many sections it does

not even nominate candidates. It has generally served as a safety valve for discontent. When the working masses became dissatisfied with the skinning the Democratic Party served as a reservoir into which discontent could flow. The modern tendency is for the discontented to either stay away from the polls or to follow the habit of voting for Republicans once more.

In the East the Democratic Party constitutes an organization of city capitalism, a fungus attached to public utility corporations and nursed by "honest graft." It continues as a competitor of the Republicans to serve the same capitalist interests. In the South it has served as the instrument of Negro subjection and is coming to be the special representative of the new capitalism in that region. It is shaken by the motley elements that compose it, The Koo Koo, Protestant, anti-evolution, anti-Negro element of the South, in conflict with the Catholics, public utilities, urban machines and "honest graft" elements of the North.

The Republicans constitute a more solid organization, although some of its state organizations have been captured by the Ku Klux Klan. The Democratic Party displays the symptoms of a dying organization, and this offers a good opportunity for Socialist organization and education. The next two years may witness some surprises in American politics.

CONSCRIPTION

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE declared for conscription of capital in the "next war" as well as labor, in his speech at Kansas City. Senator Reed answers that conscription of capital is preposterous as "business would be paralyzed; the wheels of industry would cease to move; the entire machinery of trade and commerce would stop."

In the first place there need be no alarm about conscription of capital. There will be none. Capital is king. Coolidge knows this and Reed ought to know it. Coolidge has to play his part in preparing men of military age for the role of conscripts of King Capital in the next war. To reconcile them to it he declares that King Capital will also become a conscript.

What Coolidge really means by conscripting capital has already been worked out by the War Department. The industries have been studied and classified into zones. Plans are all prepared for mobilizing the industries for service in war. It is expected that within a few months the whole industrial life of the nation will become a monstrous war mechanism, but this does not mean that investors and owners will be deprived of that chief inalienable right of man—the right to sweat dividends out of labor.

Real conscription of capital would be to take over all the plants of production and permit no capitalists to take dividends. That would be a violation of Coolidge's religious belief. He believes that God created capital and that it is the duty of man to worship it and serve it. Coolidge would not be guilty of desecrating his creed.

On the other hand he believes that God created laborers to serve capital. Therefore, it is proper to seize the laborers and march them into the trenches. The workers will get the conscription and all that goes with it. Capital will merely be organized for war-time instead of peace-time production and that is the only conscription it will get. Senator Reed throws a fit without any justification. Business will not be paralyzed. It will thrive and wax fat as it did in the last war.

IMPORTANT LECTURES

WITH the increasing use of the injunction in labor disputes, the narrowing of the field for trade unions by court decisions, the rise of company unions and the inferior status of working people before the courts, the course of four lectures on "Labor and the Law" to be given by Morris Hillquit in the Rand School of Social Science is timely. We call special attention to this course, which begins on December 2, because of the importance of the theme for members of trade unions and others who are interested in the current trends.

Few men are as capable of presenting this series as Morris Hillquit. In addition to his training in the law he has had wide experience as a legal representative for many trade unions. Combined with his knowledge of economic history and the history of the labor movement, this course will prove invaluable for those who attend it.

Incidentally, we may remark that the Rand School is having the most successful season since the reactionary period following the war years when efforts were made to destroy it. As Ben Hanford once said of the late Eugene V. Debs, it was "knocked down, but never knocked out." Today it is becoming the Mecca of young men and women seeking sound instruction in the social sciences and its service to the working class measures up to the best in the years before its enemies resorted to every means to destroy it.

No Master

Saith man to man, We've heard and known That we no master need To live upon this earth, our own, In fair and manly deed. The grief of slaves long passed away For us hath forged the chain, Till now each worker's patient day Builds up the House of Pain.

And we, shall we, too, crouch and quail, Ashamed, afraid of strife; And, lest our lives untimely fail, Embrace the death in life? Nay, cry aloud and have no fear; We few against the world; Awake, arise, the hope we bear Against the curse is hurled.

It grows, it grows, are we the same, The feeble band, the few? Or what are these with eyes aflame, And hands to deal and do? This is the host that bears the word, No Master, High or Low! A lightning flame, a shearing sword, A storm to overthrow.

—William Morris.

The News of the Week

The Chinese Civil War

All indications are that in the struggle between the northern and southern forces in China the Peking Government has broken down. The representatives of the Powers in China pretend to recognize something which they call a government, but it is a ghost. Whether the Powers will soon be treating with provinces and states or will engage in some sort of intervention to stabilize a tottering China, such stabilization to serve themselves rather than the Chinese, remains to be seen.

Two of our most noble patriots are in court. After nearly three years Albert B. Fall, ex-Secretary of the Interior, and Edward L. Doheny, oil magnate, are facing a jury on a charge of conspiracy. A little item of \$100,000 was paid by Doheny to Fall. What was it for? It is the mystery surrounding this transaction which the jury is expected to solve.

Two Patriots At the Bar

Incidentally it should not be forgotten that Russian shipments of oil as a substitute for coal helped to break the miners' strike. Some industrial plants and railroad locomotives were altered to use this Russian oil. Meantime Russian workers contributed funds to the strikers, but this was offset by the export of oil to England. Cook is settling on terms that could have been obtained three months ago, which action, curiously enough, follows the action taken by the "revolutionary" leaders in the New York garment strike. Just what Cook expects to accomplish in Moscow we do not know, but while he is there he might get some explanation of the export of Russian oil to England. While the

assumption that Fall received the money in return for his connection with the leasing of certain great oil properties to the Pan-American Petroleum and Transportation Company, with which Doheny is connected. It is this theory which the Government is trying to prove. Having obtained a jury, the prosecution moved to lock it up, to which the defense made a vigorous objection on the ground that it was an "insult" not only to the lawyers for the defense but to Doheny and Fall as well. However, the judge decided to lock up the "twelve men, good and true." Perhaps he thought that the jury was not safe, considering that telephonic inquiries had been made of one juror's family as to his religion, business and politics. Our own opinion is that it would be well to provide guards for the building in which the trial is being held, especially at night, for one can never tell what might happen. No chances should be taken. Of course, we would not "insult" any godly patriots, but precaution is never regretted, and it will do no harm.

British Miners Settling Strike

After twenty-nine weeks of a bitter struggle the British coal strike is coming to an end. A national conference of the miners has rejected the Government offer of arbitration and has recommended district settlements, but no agreement is to be final until submitted to another conference to be held Friday. "Emperor" Cook and his colleagues are being bitterly criticized. He has announced that he is going to visit Moscow and the Soviet press "hails" the miners' district voting as "one of the greatest and most significant events of modern times." We are inclined to think that it is a tragedy. When a strike of such national proportions reaches a stage where the men are compelled to make as many settlements as there are districts we fall to see in this the "most significant event of modern times." Incidentally it should not be forgotten that Russian shipments of oil as a substitute for coal helped to break the miners' strike. Some industrial plants and railroad locomotives were altered to use this Russian oil. Meantime Russian workers contributed funds to the strikers, but this was offset by the export of oil to England. Cook is settling on terms that could have been obtained three months ago, which action, curiously enough, follows the action taken by the "revolutionary" leaders in the New York garment strike. Just what Cook expects to accomplish in Moscow we do not know, but while he is there he might get some explanation of the export of Russian oil to England. While the

Miners' strike is petering out the Imperial Conference in London has issued a long report on Imperial relations within the Empire. The London Daily Herald makes the pointed comment that "There is not a mention of India, nor of Malaya, Nigeria, Kenya, the Sudan, of all those colonies and protectorates and dependencies or mandates areas." To us this is the significance of the report. The vassal peoples abroad have the same status as before and the rest matters very little.

Mussolini in The Lead Again

No matter what the various other European dictators try to do in the line of promoting reaction, Mussolini seems to be able to take the lead away from them at any time. This week, while reports from France indicate that probably all the so-called plots against the Big Black Shirt's life, including the one involving Zaniboni, the ex-Socialist Deputy, were staged by Ricciotti Garibaldi and other Fascist provocateurs agents on Il Duce's own orders, he continued to screw down the lid on the witches' cauldron he has established in Italy. Following the approval by the Senate of Mussolini's law re-establishing the death penalty and setting up special military courts for political offenses, comes news of the arrest of Captain Giulietti, former head of the Italian Seamen's Union and successful organizer of the co-operative merchant fleet that was the pride of Italian labor before it was smashed by the Fascist regime in the interest of the ship owners. The Rome correspondents aver that Giulietti was wanted on charges of having made away with most of some 15,000,000 lire belonging to the Seamen's Union. What probably happened was that Giulietti managed to secret these millions so that they would not be confiscated by the Fascist, who raided his offices when the Seamen's Union was dissolved by force in 1922. Of course, such service to his union would be regarded as a high crime by the Fascists. Now Fascist militia have replaced the regular carabinieri as frontier guards for the purpose of tightening the control there, two anti-Fascist priests have been jailed for thirty days and two former Communist Deputies and four other alleged dangerous persons have been ordered not to leave certain territorial limits for five years. Holland reports that the revolt of natives in Java is being crushed, but with considerable difficulty. Communal elections in Bulgaria showed big gains by the Socialists and Communists, despite terrible post-election persecution by the Government.

THE CHATTER BOX

Little Italy

God, give them light in Mulberry Bend... Tear down the hovels. There it is said The Borgias still live in a ghostly way, And Da Vinci lies dead. God, give them music on Mulberry Bend, Tunes out of Naples, tunes and guitars, Someone has plundered the sun of the sky, And stolen the stars.

Some day a Dante will rise among the motley of Mott street and pen its tragedy. Today it is being written in horrible cantos of terse prose on police blotters. Hardly a murder, consummated or attempted, reaches the public print these days without some victim or perpetrator who traces his name and life back to the seething gutters of little East Side Italy. The Jewish quarter furnishes its quota, and the Irish East and Hudson River sections still keep in sight. But for quite a while in these queer days, the Latins have been furnishing most of the criminal romance of our city.

Criminologists will come forward and offer at once the age-old reason: the Italians are a hot-blooded race and given to quick violence. Phenologists having thumbed the heads of every race since the Neanderthal gorilla, find that the Sicilians have more bumps of murderous intent on their craniums than all other peoples including the Scandinavian. Social workers will bemoan the lack of sufficient settlement houses, and Baptist missions in Hong Kong will still insist that the world will be saved only through an extensive religious revival in Sardinia. And above all, every erstwhile Italian bootlegger who has reached reestablishment and private bankerdom on Lafayette street will decry most bitterly the reflection upon the intense patriotism and civic orderliness of his less fortunate compatriots.

Unhappily, the cause lies beyond any police blotter, or private panacea. Italy is no more to blame for the delinquencies of her emigrants, than she is for the "Graphic" or the marital maladjustments of "Daddy" Browning. The shame and the blame for our entire criminal pastime is one hundred per cent. American. During the years of unrestricted immigration, our astute statesmen, our Congresses, our executives and the rest of the political banditti were so earnestly engaged in public pork barrel spoilation that they never found time to intelligently direct the flow of foreign brawn and life against the future interests of their land. Into the few ports the hordes came, and there they stayed. Huge festering Ghettos and slums received and held millions of Jews, Italians and others. Poverty they brought with them, and poverty grew up with them. Saloons, disorderly houses, dope dens, and all other horrors of an enforced decadence sprang up like poisonous mushrooms in dark alleys and over ugly gutters. New tenements withered into hovels. A plague of squalor came and has always remained. In this earthen Sheel children were born, out of the unholy of all wedlock, the union of the abysmal poor. The horrible trinity of police officials, ward healer, and vice peddler made pecuniary and political profit at first. Then came the development of the grafting gangsters, into outright plunder, and murder. By a mysterious providence for a time, these gangs out of East Side gutters, from the East river to the Hudson plied their vicious trade without much interference from officialdom. And only when the fever broke out into symptoms of open and indiscriminate theft and murder did the conscience of our well-fed gentry awake, and with it a most ineffectual attempt on the part of the politicians to stem the tidal wave of crime.

To us who have lived quite closely through the evolution of the present-day criminal out of the packed and plundered poor of the years gone by this problem is neither intricate nor beyond normal understanding. All this latter-day talk of assimilation and Americanization of the foreigner has proven to be empty and even a cruel jest. The only thing our immigrant has thoroughly acquired unto himself that is fully American is our undiluted greed for money. The ideals so steadily followed by the Garryized Steel Trust, the Oil Combines, and the rest of our hundred per cent institutions toward getting the cash and to hell with the rest, has slowly crept in upon the dull minds of thousands of young men and women of our unparadise alums. And hundreds of them, finding menial labor and scanty pay envelopes as a tortuous means toward the dollar ideal, have taken to the outlawed methods of business, such as bootlegging, dope peddling, sticking up shopkeepers, burglaries and banditry of every shape and form. Out of these low beginnings underworld organizations, patterned after the Gary and Schwab methods for efficiency and production, have grown to respectable size and influence. Recent investigations by independent newspapers have proven how even respectable lawyers and bond bailiers have waxed pretty and prosperous out of the illicit fortunes of the thieves and killers. With the first taste of affluence, night life, high living, women and all the other trimmings that go with wealth, such as only our plutocrats have enjoyed in the past, these children of slum cellars, these erstwhile river rats and now almost respectable gentlemen of purse, at least—have enjoyed the taste of Lucullan indulgence, and will have no more of the dirty old days. The ever-recurrent result being more robberies, each succeeding one becoming more daring and more open, until a murder is committed, a policeman is shot, a squealer spills the tale, and the gang is hounded into the death-house.

The Baumes law is invoked as a last desperate means to stop what is now beyond any control. Strange as it may seem, and hard-boiled as we all are to prophetic muttering, the French Revolution was preceded by just such a crime wave as we are experiencing today. We are garnering the grain our despicable grafting American officials planted on Suffolk Street and Mulberry Bend forty years ago. The sans-culottes are arising in a blind, blundering manner, slowly now, but irresistibly later on.

Unless the slums of our foreign quarters are wiped out within the next decade, and decent, livable homes afforded the millions who fester there now, a Frankenstein our greedy money-masters have created there will arise out of those hope-and-light-starved hells to juggernaut and destroy its makers. That the Italians furnish the most of our criminal element today is significant only in that this section of our immigrant population are the poorest and the most exploited of the rest. That they have taken to dope peddling, hooch brewing, low gambling and even uglier crime, is probably due to the fact that they have assimilated American business ethics more thoroughly than the rest. "Get the dough, no matter how you get it, as long as you can get away with it," is an American precept that is as paramount with our highly respectable industrialists as it is with the Falls, Dohenys, Sinclairs, Daughtries, Gerald Chappmans and other pure stock of our land. The Italian doesn't take to the cloak and suit business, or law, or medicine as deftly as the Jew, or to political graft as neatly as a Tammany Hall Hibernian.

And since he, too, is feeling the growing-pains of prosperity, and having tasted a bit of life, likes it well enough to ask for more, he seeks a swift route to his desire. And since he is without means for the aid of brilliant legal talent and a trifle slow witted, what, with poor wine and adulterated dope, he usually gets caught long before he has reached the financial heights of a Whittemore, a Chapman or a Bum Rodgers. And he goes to his doom without publicity or profit to the legal condors. And certainly with no glory to the land of miraged opportunity and slums of pestilential reality. The slums must be destroyed or they will destroy us all.

S. A. de Witt.

Critical Cruisings

By V. F. Calverton Science and Poetry

OUR age has been one of rapid transvaluation. Ancient standards have become modern contradictions. Old traditions have faded. Truths have dissolved into prejudices. Our sense of values has been shaken at its root. In no age have there occurred so many changes in fundamentals.

Our new life has created new criteria. We are beset with catastrophe, and need organization to avoid chaos. We must inventory our budget of attainments and aspirations. The inadequacy of old ideas is our greatest handicap.

"When attitudes are changing neither criticism nor poetry can remain stationary," writes I. A. Richards in his intensely arresting and provocative volume just published under the title "Science and Poetry" (W. W. Norton Co., \$1.00). When this essay originally appeared in the English "Criterion" it evoked comment that with its projection now in book form should mount into controversy. It is with the growth of the scientific and disappearance of the magical attitude that Mr. Richards is mainly concerned.

Criticism and poetry are part of life and can no more escape its fluctuations than the tropics inspire a snowstorm. If life changes, the social forms that determine it alter, and the style and substance of its expression become modified. Mr. Richards, however, is not interested in the effect of sociological changes upon the touchstone of poetic substance, but in the effect upon poetry of the psychological attitude that has been created by the development of modern science and the rapid retreat of religious belief and mystical conviction. It is in this change, that he perceives the waning of poetic intensity and inspiration.

Mr. Richards' contention is that poetry and science are irreconcilable. They embody different and conflicting attitudes of mind. "In its use of words," Mr. Richards observes, "poetry is just the reverse of science." Developing his argument in more detail, he maintains that in poetry "thought is not the prime factor." His illustration is apt—"It is never what a poem says which matters, but what it is." Expatiating upon this distinction he adds:

"It is not the quantity of words a writer has at his disposal, but the way in which he disposes them that gives him his rank as a poet. His sense of how they modify one another, how their separate effects in the mind combine, how they fit into the whole response, is what matters. As a rule, the poet is not conscious of the reason why just these words and not others best serve. They fall into their place without his conscious control, and a feeling of rightness of inevitability, is commonly his sole conscious ground for his certainty that he has ordered them aright. It would, as a rule, be idle to ask him why he used a particular rhythm or a particular subject. He might give reasons, but they would probably be mere rationalizations having nothing to do with the matter. For the choice of the rhythm or the epithet was not an intellectual matter (though it may be capable of an intellectual justification), but was due to an instinctive impulse seeking to confirm itself, or to order itself with its fellows."

In this discussion Mr. Richards is both subtle and scientific. The effect of poetry is emotional and not intellectual. It is not fundamentally a contributing factor to human knowledge. At one time, when it was to metaphysics that human intelligence turned for its inspiration, the poet's function was significant as a form of spiritual interpretation of the universe. Today, when metaphysics has been lassoed by science, when ontologists become pragmatists and epistemologists economists, the intellectual function of the poet has been narrowed into the infinitesimal. It is not to the poet that we retreat for an understanding of the phenomena of our planet. It has been science that has revolutionized our conceptions, provided us with intellectual clues and fortified us with intellectual controls. The old ideals and abstractions that haunted and obsessed the poet, the gleam of the eternal, the nature of God, the influence and spirituality, the problem of good and evil, have been resolved into the archaic, God has become an anachronism. Ethics has become a study in the relativity of mores. Free will has become a myth. Love has become an adventure of sex-desires, rationalized into momentary orderliness and dependent upon complexes and compulsions, wish-fulfillments and dream-obsessions. Science has cauterized the spiritual. It has reduced great ideals into economic realities.

Two resolutions are possible for the modern poet. If he becomes a morbid mystic of the type of Robinson Jeffers he removes himself from contemporary reality and must justify himself by the medievalist credo of a Wai-do Frank:

"The experience of Mystery is the beginning of participation in a truth merely beyond the scope of accepted words. The man who receives mystery in his mind is already part of the truth; for Mystery is the first perception of truth and is ineffable only in terms of inadequate language. Hence the laws of cause and effect, the laws of logic, the laws of scientific research and experiment, the laws of mathematics are sub specie aeternitatis null and void."

This justification is fatuous. In the light of the achievements of modern science, the avenues of world-phenomena that have been charted, the intricacies of human reaction that have been scanned, any attempt to deny science and exalt mysticism, to discard cause and effect and advertise Mystery, is reprehensively ridiculous and absurd.

The other resolution is at least more simple and progressive. (To be concluded.)