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# The New Leader

A Weekly Newspaper  
Devoted to the Interest  
of the Socialist and Labor  
Movement.

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## DEBS NAILS DAVIS LIE

### REPORT DAVIS WAS LAWYER FOR DEBS IS CAMPAIGN BUNK

**Socialist Scotches Report  
He Was "Glad to Hear  
His Old Friend" is on  
Democratic Ticket.**

By EDWARD LEVINSON

To Candidate John W. Davis and his backers in the Democratic wing of Wall Street goes first prize in the youthful Presidential campaign for unmitigated, brazen lying.

The curse of Davis' known opposition to union labor is an outstanding obstacle in his journey to the White House. To lift the curse, Davis started himself or permitted to be widely circulated the tale that, in his devotion to the Constitution, he went so far as to defend Eugene V. Debs and "Mother" Jones in a union organization fight in the courts of West Virginia in 1913.

Davis' backers among the newspapers seized upon the report and featured it prominently. They realized that, plastered as he is with big retainers for the Standard Oil, the telephone trust, union-hating coal operators, and his known intimacy with Sheriff Don Chafin, Davis has no possible point of appeal to the common people. The strongest thing the usually agile New York World could say about Davis was an apologetic "Wait and see."

With Morgan's lawyer finally put over on the tired and dejected politicians crowded in Madison Square Garden, the "Brass Check" press of Chicago went Davis a step better. They featured inspired stories, unhampered by facts, giving the implication that Debs was for Davis.

The story was wired to New York, where the dailies reported Debs was "glad to hear that his old friend had been nominated."

The entire false fabric was shattered within a few days. First Mother Jones, in Los Angeles: "Young man, no lawyer ever defended me in West Virginia or elsewhere," she told a reporter.

Debs had already given an interview (printed in last week's New Leader), announcing he would back La Follette. He set the Davis fable at rest with the following wire:

"Elmhurst, Ill., July 11, 1924.

"Answering your inquiry, there is no truth in the report that John W. Davis defended me or tendered his legal services in my behalf at any time. The truth is that I never saw Mr. Davis or ever had any dealing with him whatever. The story is pure fiction and I do not know how it originated."

"EUGENE V. DEBS."

Candidate Davis' friendship and services to the Morgan and the coal interests—especially in the Colorado case—and the oil trust and the telephone trust is unchallenged, and Davis himself is proud of it. His service to Labor, beyond lip-service, still remains to be proven. His work for Debs and Mother Jones is a clumsy lie.

New as to Debs being "glad" to see "his old friend" nominated:

The following telegram from Secretary Bertha Hale White, of the National Socialist Party, is fully explanatory:

Chicago, Ill.

"The New Leader:

Chicago papers carry Debs' picture and story conveying impression that Debs endorses Davis as acceptable candidate. National Secretary of the Socialist Party immediately communicated with Dr. Holway of Lindlahr Sanitarium who has personal care of Debs. Dr. Holway gives unqualified as-

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### What Tammany Hall Is Thinking About

In an interview with reporters, Judge Olvaney, successor to Boss Murphy in Tammany Hall, had the following to say when asked about the candidacy of John W. Davis for President:

"Mr. Davis is a fine man. Not only will he not be knifed, but you watch and see what fine support he will get."

"There is no doubt he will deal fairly with all the State organizations in the matter of appointments. I know we can expect fair treatment from him. He is a very square man and a regular fellow."

### PENNA. ORGANIZES FOR LA FOLLETTE

HARRISBURG, Pa.—A call for a conference of Pennsylvania representatives of Labor and farmers' organizations here next Monday for the purpose of promoting the candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette for President was sent out today by James H. Maurer, member of the National Committee for Progressive Political Action and president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. The call also was signed by Charles Kutz, of Altoona, chairman of the Pennsylvania Farmer-Labor party, and Darlington Hoopes, of Norristown, secretary of the Pennsylvania Socialist party.

The call was sent to the organizations affiliated with the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, several State organizations of the railroad brotherhoods, clothing workers not affiliated with the State Federation, and members of the State Grange and State Socialist Party.

Among those invited are the District Presidents of the United Mine Workers of Pennsylvania.

### La Follette's Manager Hails Socialist Support

CHICAGO, Ill.—The first formal declaration of Eugene V. Debs that Socialists should actively support the La Follette Presidential candidacy, was hailed with joy when shown to Congressman John M. Nelson, national manager for the Wisconsin Senator.

Said Nelson: "It is a statement to be appreciated by the great mass of people behind Senator La Follette. It is fine that Mr. Debs has seen fit to grasp the golden opportunity."

### Maryland La Follette Convention Called

BALTIMORE, Md.—Preliminary to a campaign in Maryland for Senator Robert M. La Follette for President, a State-wide convention of delegates of all the progressive political organizations in Maryland has been called for August 3 in Baltimore.

In addition to naming a State committee, adopting ways and means to raise funds for the local campaign and preparing to consolidate the various political units which are supporting La Follette, a slate of eight Presidential electors will be named.

Every labor, farm, Socialist and other progressive political organization in Maryland will be invited to send delegates.

## Opportunity is Here!

An Address to the Members of the Socialist Party

THE Socialist Party has just held the largest, most successful and enthusiastic convention in years.

It gathered in the determination to take its rightful place beside the victorious Socialist and Labor movement of England, France and other countries.

### THE CONFERENCE OF JULY 4

WHEN the Socialist Party came to Cleveland it found, in the immense public hall of that city, the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, consisting of more than a thousand delegates, representing millions of members of the great railroad, miners, needle trades and many other unions, organized farmers, the Socialist Party and kindred advanced groups.

It witnessed the adoption of a platform of forward-looking measures, the nomination of an independent Presidential ticket and the acceptance of the proposal to hold a nation-wide convention in January, 1925, to consider organizing a large and permanent party of Labor and other progressive political forces opposed to the parties of exploitation.

THE circumstances which brought this forth are easy to understand.

As the Socialist Party had warned, the barbarous forces, unleashed by the war, opened a period of dark and extreme reaction. The predatory financial classes and their political agents holding office have sought ruthlessly to destroy trade unions by the reckless use of injunctions and the open-shop drive, and to crush the farmers by wiping out the value of their crops. They have engaged in a riot of corruption, crime and betrayal of trust of such mammoth proportions that its exposure has caused a veritable political earthquake. They have refused to assist wholeheartedly the stricken peoples of Europe to resume the production and exchange of goods in order to rebuild the shattered world. They have denied to the workers in our

country a just return for their labor which would keep industry going.

### LABOR'S AWAKENING

THIS flagrant capitalist misrule has at last awakened the masses in our country. The knowledge that similar evils had brought about the political organization of their fellow workers in other lands and their marked achievements since, especially the inspiration of the Labor Government in England, the Socialist Government in Denmark, and of the recent elections in France and Australia, has aroused them to an attempt to secure like benefits here.

For the Socialist Party there has been no purpose in all its years of effort but to stir the masses to this imperative necessity. For this reason it entered the Conference for Progressive Political Action at its beginning and heartily participated in its work.

The convention of this body has now been held. It was the first national, political outpouring of the toilers of America. While a Labor party has not been formed in name, owing to the varying election laws of the several states and lack of time before election, a party of Labor is being realized in fact. The first great step has been taken. Relations with the capitalist parties have been broken. The rest will inevitably follow.

### SOCIALIST PARTY ACTS

BY an overwhelming vote of the convention of the Socialist Party, it was decided that our place is in this political revolt of the American workers. It is our duty to give it loyal and devoted service and the utmost cooperation.

It is likewise our duty to maintain the autonomy and integrity of the Socialist Party, and as an organized party to continue with renewed energy and in larger fields our mission of enlightenment and our struggle for the complete release of

(Continued on Page 2.)

## DEBS TELLS WHY HE SUPPORTS LA FOLLETTE

"Battle Bob" Endorsed—  
Declares Labor Party is  
in Sight—Praises Cleveland Convention.

(The following was written by Eugene V. Debs as a supplemental word to the "Address to Members of the Socialist Party," which appears on this page.)

By EUGENE V. DEBS

It is with real pleasure, no less than with a deep sense of the fervent spirit and the loyal devotion to the cause of the toiling and producing masses, that I applaud and give my unqualified approval to the eloquent and thrilling appeal of the "Address to the Members of the Socialist Party of America," issued by the Committee representing the National Convention of the party held at Cleveland, which has just concluded its deliberations and adjourned after completing its arduous labors and so successfully meeting and overcoming the difficulties in the complicated situation that confronted it as to arouse and inspire renewed hope and courage in the long and sorely-tried membership, and open the road and clear the way to a wider field of vital activity than our party has yet known.

The appeal made to the rank and file in behalf of the Cleveland Convention is a clarion call to duty that thrills like a trumpet-blast, and what member is so lost to the cause as to be insensible to its inspiration and significance?

I shall not attempt in this brief expression of my approval and appreciation of the splendid work accomplished by our delegates at Cleveland to enter into any analytical detail of the deliberations and proceedings which led to their final action in determining, by an overwhelming majority, to cast their lot with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and make common cause with the progressive forces represented there, in the Presidential campaign this very important year.

### No Ordinary Situation

I have to confess frankly that with certain features of the convention of the Progressive elements and with certain actions in their proceedings I could not possibly, under ordinary circumstances, find myself in agreement. To yield to the weakness and cowardice of expediency has always been repugnant to my nature, and especially so since I pledged my allegiance to the Socialist movement.

But the situation that confronted our delegates at Cleveland was anything but an ordinary one. It was indeed unprecedented and extraordinary in every sense of the term. The wisest and most far-seeing among us could not have forecasted such a peculiar and remarkable event in our industrial and political development, especially after our rigid training in the inflexible school of "No Compromise."

Certain it is that the most progressive elements of American Labor were represented at the Cleveland Conference, and equally certain that these elements fairly represented the organized Labor movement, with which, generally speaking, we have never heretofore been in vital touch, and without which the Socialist Party could never hope to develop its power or fulfill its mission.

### A New Stage

After years and years of agitation and education the progressive

(Continued on Page 2)

## Many Comrades Rush to Give Blood to Help Branstetter Through Crisis

### Critically Ill



OTTO F. BRANSTETTER

CHICAGO, Ill.—That a man who has loyally and unselfishly served the Socialist movement does stand high in the affection of his comrades was beautifully demonstrated at the American Hospital, Chicago, where Otto Branstetter, former National Secretary of the Socialist Party, lies on a sick bed, hovering between life and death.

A fourth operation was to have taken place. When, however, Branstetter was taken into the operating room, the surgeons discovered that he was too weak to withstand another operation, that he would have to have an infusion of blood to give him a fighting chance to pull through.

Winnie Branstetter, the brave little wife and comrade who has been by Otto's side since he was laid low, and who even now never leaves the hospital except when she is forced out by doctors and nurses, tearfully telephoned to National headquarters, asking if there were some comrades willing to give some of their blood for Otto.

Within an hour no less than a dozen comrades were at the hospital, ready to give their blood and lives, if necessary, in order to save their comrade. In another hour more comrades arrived. At the end of the afternoon many more were on hand. On the second day after his condition became known, there were at least two dozen comrades ready to

serve if needed. There were men and women, comrades from all parts of the country on their way home from the Cleveland convention. No sooner did they hear that a transfusion of blood was necessary to save Otto's life than they came at once to the hospital to offer theirs. One after another they arrived. Lillith Wilson of Pa., Roscoe Dooley of Oklahoma, Kellam Foster of Chi-

cago, Roger Fenimore and Charles Fenimore of Chicago, Elizabeth Goldstein of New York, W. R. Snow and Audrey Beebe of Chicago, Katherine Klaus of Illinois, Emil Herman of Washington and scores of others.

And even the technician of the hospital, who tested the blood of all those who came, and found only three who reacted properly to Otto's blood to be of any service, admitted that it was an unusual thing indeed to find people so disappointed as the comrades were, because they could not give their blood for a friend. This technician explained that the blood of one person could only be of use to another in an emergency of this kind when there is not too strong an affinity between the albumen in the one to that of the other. If there is this strong attraction, clots are likely to form which may be more harmful to the patient than of help.

So that out of the many comrades who called at the hospital, the only ones picked out by the physicians as being fit for the transfusion were Lillith Martin, Katherine Claus and Roscoe Dooley. The others were almost heartbroken.

The operation will be performed Sunday morning, and when Otto pulls through, he will owe his life to these loyal comrades, who were willing to pay with their life's blood for the services which he so unselfishly gave to the cause of Socialism.

NEXT TUESDAY

SOCIALISM'S GREATEST ORATORS

ADMISSION FREE

Congressman Victor L. Berger, Morris Hillquit, James H. Maurer, George E. Roewer, Jr., Leo M. Harkins, John M. Collins, Joseph W. Sharts Will Open the 1924 Campaign in New York, Tuesday Evening, July 22, at the People's House 7 East 15th Street.

Attend this Demonstration, the Opening of the Great National Campaign for La Follette and the Labor Party.

A Full Report of This Meeting Will Appear in The New Leader Next Week



## DEBS TELLS WHY HE SUPPORTS LA FOLLETTE

(Continued from Page 1)

forces of American Labor arrived at this stage of their development. Here were its chosen representatives in convention assembled, proclaiming their purposes to sever their relations with the old capitalist parties and to organize their forces for independent political action in the service of the toilers and producers of the nation, a situation of hope and promise the Socialist Party in the twenty-seven years of its pioneering and unceasing agitation and education had done more to bring about, in my humble opinion, than all other agencies combined.

And now, at this supreme juncture, this golden opportunity, to have refused to join issue with these gathering forces of liberation, after the many years of toil and tears, of sacrifice and martyrdom in setting them in operation, would have been the height of stupidity and folly and the depth of desertion and betrayal.

Of course the platform is not as we would have it, nor is Robert M. La Follette a Socialist or a member of our party; but what of it in the light of the rich and abundant harvest that is certain to issue from the broadcast sowing of the seed of solidarity among the hitherto dis-severed and enslaved producers of the land?

It is in no spirit of vanity or presumption that I declare a willingness to appeal to the shades of Marx, Engels and Leibknecht upon this vital issue, for were these Titans of emancipation still clothed in living flesh, I have the positive conviction they would have advised and approved the course taken by our delegates at this historic Cleveland Convention.

### Authority Intact

No fundamental principle of Socialism has been or will be in the least compromised. The autonomy of our party is absolutely inviolate and within our party our authority remains supreme. We carry forward our propaganda and promote our activities not only as before, but with a renewed and revitalized energy and enthusiasm inspired by this supreme opportunity, and more thrilling and sustaining than ever before.

Though he is not a Socialist we need not blush or apologize to give our support to Robert M. La Fol-

## New York Socialists Vote Full Approval of La Follette for President Candidacy

"The Socialist Party has just begun to live. This is the beginning of Socialism's triumph in America, not the end. The decision of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, the La Follette candidacy,—all these are symptoms of revival and not death."

It was in this manner that Morris Hillquit, American Socialist leader, answered critics within and without the party who see in the Socialists' support of La Follette a surrender of Socialist principles.

An enthusiastic meeting of nearly 1,000 members of the Socialist Party in Greater New York heard Hillquit's address and the discussion that preceded it. A motion to endorse the stand of the Socialist

Party and the La Follette candidacy was carried with but a few dissenting votes.

The Socialists backed their endorsement with contributions from the floor that totalled \$500. Contributions of \$50, \$25 and smaller sums were showered on Chairman Algernon Lee in rapid succession.

After the expenses of the meeting are paid, 20 percent will be sent to the Socialist National Office, 10 percent each to Local Kings and Bronx, 5 percent each to Locals Richmond and Queens, and the remainder to Local New York.

The motion to back La Follette and the Socialist stand was made by William Karlin, Socialist attorney, and a delegate to the Cleveland conventions after a report by Lee and almost two hours of discussion on the floor.

Lee, Judge Jacob Panken, Ossip Walinski, head of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union, Simon Berlin, Abe Tuvim, Alexander Kahn, James Oneal, and Karlin spoke in favor of the action of the Socialist convention.

They declared the present situation is the greatest opportunity the Socialist Party has ever faced. The

workers of the nation having made a political revolt and cut loose from the two capitalist parties, they maintained, it was the duty of the Socialist Party to make common cause with them.

Dr. Louis Sadoff, Meyer Gillis and Comrade Steinberg spoke in criticism of the party stand. They were dubious of the possibilities of a Labor party, they said, and asserted the Socialist Party should have nominated its own ticket despite the independent Labor candidacy of Senator La Follette.

Karlin ridiculed the stand of those who, he declared, wanted a Labor party "over night." He said: "Some of the comrades think we can get a Labor party by praying for it. They are disappointed because Comrade Hillquit has not produced a Labor party out of the palm of his hand. These things can't be handed to you on a platter. It is a matter of hard work and slow development but nobody doubts we are getting there."

Hillquit read a message from Eugene V. Debs in which the latter gave his full approval to the stand of the party.

Julius Gerber presided.

## APPLEGARTH IS DEAD

Pioneer of British Unionism Dies at 91—Lived in U. S. for a Time.

LONDON.—Robert Applegarth, 91 years old, one of the pioneers of British trade unionism, died at his home at Thornton Heath last Sunday. Death was due to old age.

Applegarth was born at Hull in January, 1833, and had to begin earning his own living at the age of 11. In 1855 he emigrated to the United States, living in Illinois, but he returned the following year, settling in Sheffield. In America, he heard Lincoln speak a number of times, and it was his proud boast in later years that he had been one of his followers.

In Sheffield, Applegarth became active in the local union of his trade, and when the movement for a national organization began he threw himself into it heart and soul. In 1862 he became general secretary of the newly organized Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, an office he filled with extraordinary ability until 1871.

Applegarth was one of a little group of trade union officials, commonly known as the Junta, which took the lead in the great movement of the '60's for the organization of national unions and of local central bodies, in resisting the attempt of organized employers to get unionism outlawed, in preventing the amendment of the law of master and servant in 1867, and the passage of the Trades Disputes Act in 1871, and in creating the Trade Union Congress which had its first meeting at Manchester in 1868. The others members were Allen of the engineers (what we would call machinists), Guile of the ironfounders, Coulson of the bricklayers, and Ogden of the ladies' shoe workers.

Applegarth, Allen and Ogden were for several years associated with Marx and the other leaders of the International Workingmen's Association, and took an active part in the great popular movement which prevented the British Government from recognizing the slaveholders' Confederacy during the Civil War in the United States.

## An Address to the Members of the Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1.)

humanity from the thralldom of capitalism.

Comrades: We want new opportunities for service to the toilers of the nation. Our speakers, writers, organizers, executives and membership will be called upon to do their share in this inspiring struggle. To serve loyally means to earn respect and confidence and to fulfill our own clearest aims.

The new activity will create fresh vigor in our party. Indifferent members will resume activity. Many who fell away because our past endeavors seemed to be fruitless will joyfully return. There will be a concrete and vital purpose in the work of the Socialist Party.

Out of this significant start, the workers of America may soon build up a Labor party which will take its place beside the British Labor party and the similar parties throughout the world in that international brotherhood of Labor which alone can make the new civilization.

### OUR DUTY

THE delegates to this convention of the Socialist Party have shown by their unmistakable decision that they are ready to grasp the wonderful possibilities of the situation.

At a banquet held during the convention the unprecedented sum of \$3,500 was spontaneously poured into the treasury of the party by the comparatively tiny fraction of the members there,

as an earnest of their abiding faith in the glorious future of the party.

From his sick room, our own Gene Debs sent to the convention this splendid sentiment:

"I hesitate at this distance to intrude upon your deliberations, especially as I have full faith in the loyalty and judgment of our delegates and shall willingly abide by the action of our convention. I think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances, but at the same time to hold the Socialist Party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles and keep the red flag flying. I hope, above all, there will be no division, but that all will unite loyally in carrying out the program adopted by the convention. I need not assure you that my heart is with you. In this crisis, as in the past, the Socialist Party is the party of the working class and faces the future with absolute confidence and without fear."

Are you ready to do your share? This is our supreme opportunity. Will each and every one of you contribute what you can to enable the Socialist Party to become more powerful than it has ever been?

Will each and every one of you work as never before in the service of Labor and Socialism?

Labor in America is on the march! All together! Forward to victory!

NATIONAL CONVENTION  
SOCIALIST PARTY,  
Cleveland, Ohio, July 8, 1924.

## COMMUNISTS DOUBLE CROSS ST. PAUL

CHICAGO, Ill.—The Central Executive Committee of the Workers' party called a conference here July 11 and nominated William Z. Foster and Ben Gitlow for President and Vice-President, to run under the name of the Workers' party.

Five members of the national executive committee of the "National Farmer-Labor party," which was organized at St. Paul, June 17, have ordered the withdrawal of the names of Duncan McDonald and William Bouck.

William Mahoney and Alice Lorraine Daly, representing the organized Farmer-Labor party groups in Minnesota and South Dakota which gave a semblance of other than Communist flavor to the St. Paul meeting, and who are members of the N. E. C., did not sign the statement. Of the five that signed the statement for the "National Farmer-Labor party," C. A. Hathaway and Joseph Manley are known members of the Workers' party, and Scott Wilkins and Alfred Knutson represent paper organizations in Ohio and North Dakota and are perhaps also members of the Workers' party.

The National Committee selected by the St. Paul Convention included a long list of names which was paraded in the columns of the Communist press, but so far as known not one was consulted when the Workers' party decided to repudiate the actions of the St. Paul convention.

William Mahoney is reported to have expressed utmost surprise at the action taken and to have declared that the claim of the five members of the N. E. C. to the effect that the newly organized party pledged its support to the candidates of the Workers' party was base misrepresentation. However, the action taken by the Workers' party, Mahoney declares, clears up the situation, for the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota as well as that of every Northwestern State wants to and will support La Follette.

Duncan McDonald and William Bouck, candidates of the St. Paul convention, are understood to have expressed no opposition to the action of the Communists in nominating their own ticket. It is not believed the National Committee will take any action either. The secretary of the newly organized "party," A. C. Hathaway, as well as the secretary of the Federated Farmer-Labor party, and of the many other paper Farmer-Labor "parties" in the various states, it is understood, will find their sphere of work inside the Workers' party campaign. The "united front," it is stated in an official statement of the Workers' party, did not succeed, and hence it became necessary to draw in all of its various members working on many fronts, for a campaign under its own colors.

McDonald issued a statement explaining why he withdrew in favor of Senator La Follette.

"When I recently permitted the Farmer-Labor party to use my name in St. Paul," he said, "I did so with the express understanding that it be only provisional, contingent on the outcome of the Cleveland conference of the La Follette group. I had never hoped to secure other than a protest vote against old party candidates. Neither was I deluded into believing that we could compete with the popularity of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin."

### Lectures and Forums

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### FINANCIAL

#### NOTICE

The First National Bank of Okmulgee, located at the city of Okmulgee, and State of Oklahoma, is closing its affairs.

All note holders and other creditors of the Association are therefore hereby notified to present the notes and other claims for payment.

PAUL T. STADY, Cashier.

Dated, May 22, 1924.

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# President Elect Calles of Mexico, Socialist, Declares Social Justice is Supreme Aim

## KU KLUX STAND OF SOCIALISTS WINS PRAISE

SOCIALISTS CONDEMN THE KLAN

From the New York Times

The National Convention of the Socialist Party seems to have encountered none of the difficulties experienced by some others in recalling the name of a certain masked and hooded organization whose deeds called for condemnation. The Socialists at Cleveland deserve credit for the courageous and straightforward manner in which they went at the task:

We emphatically condemn the Ku Klux Klan and every other effort to divide the workers on racial or religious lines, and to effect political purposes by secret or terroristic methods.

From the Socialist point of view this has the merit of not only branding the Klan, but of associating with the Klan other practitioners of "secret or terroristic methods of political purposes," who would be none other than the Communists. The collocation is fair enough. Terrorism is not only the enemy of democracy and liberty, but it calls forth terrorism. Wherever in Europe outside of Russia the Communists have made a show of strength the reaction has been toward the Klan philosophy and practice of the Ludendorff-Hitler bands.

Incidentally, the Socialists, in condemning the Klan by name, have served notice that at least some of La Follette's supporters are aware that the Klan exists. La Follette himself was apparently too busy with other matters to insert in his platform any reference to an issue which most people have found it difficult to overlook. There is no end to the number of evils which the La Follette eye has discerned on the American horizon; but the menace of sectionalism and bigotry has escaped him. Thus we have the odd spectacle of a "bourgeois" candidate building his platform around the old Socialist doctrine of economics as the mainspring of society, and a Socialist platform taking cognizance of a non-economic factor like religious and racial antagonism.

### THE SOCIALISTS CONDEMN THE KLAN

From the New York World

On the Ku Klux Klan issue the Socialist Convention at Cleveland did not dodge or trim or take refuge in roundabout phrases. It declared in straightforward fashion:

We emphatically condemn the Ku Klux Klan and every other effort to divide the workers on racial and religious lines and to effect political purposes by secret or terroristic methods.

No other party has been anywhere near so honest or so outspoken. Senator La Follette, who is the Socialists' candidate for President, was silent about the Ku Klux Klan, and the Cleveland Progressive Conference took its cue from him. To their honor, the Socialists came out in the open. They stand by themselves in saying what they mean and in saying what needed to be said.

### AGAIN THE KLAN

From the New York Bulletin

It may be painful, but it is certainly true, that the only political party that has had the courage to come out flat-footedly and denounce the Ku Klux Klan is the Socialist minority. The plank in the Socialist platform reads:

We emphatically condemn the Ku Klux Klan and every other effort to divide the workers on racial and religious lines and to effect political purposes by secret or terroristic methods.

Substitute nation for the word workers and you have the plank that no political platform worthy of the name ought to be without this year. Republicans, Democrats and La Folletteists alike have all had their

Land to the Peasants, Full Political and Social Freedom for All is Enunciated as Ideal of 100 Years of Revolution in Southern Republic.

By PLUTARCO ELIAS CALLES  
President-Elect of Mexico

It has been human, altogether too human, for the people of the United States to judge Mexican history by the standards of their own career as a nation. They have, for instance, likened our War of Independence to their own revolution against England. This attitude is fundamentally erroneous and is responsible for much of the misunderstanding between the two nations. It has given us a false reputation. The time has now come for clearer insight and fuller appreciation of what the last 100 years of Mexican history have involved. A new reading of our political history is essential—it conditions a fuller sympathy between us as neighbors and friends.

The history of Mexico during the last 100 years may be compressed into a single phrase, a single motif, a single end—the achievement of social justice. Where the outsider has seen nothing but tumult, revolt, restlessness, lack of discipline, bloodshed, there has really been a consistent striving for a single end. A common motif has bound all of the revolutions and counter-revolutions in Mexico—a common thread, common ideals, common hopes and dreams have blended all of our struggles into one great century-old struggle for the resurrection of the Indian and half-Indian who is Mexico. That is the meaning of the last 100 years of Mexican history—to give the enslaved, oppressed and humiliated masses of Mexico a status of full, economic, political and social equality.

Our War of Independence was not fought solely to separate us from Spain. There was a more immediate reason back of the rebellion of the 500,000 Indians who rose in 1810 and followed the standard of Hidalgo and fought for eleven hard years until victory against Spain was assured. The Indians had been robbed of their lands by the Spaniards in Mexico. The Indians had been forced to labor gratis for the Spaniards in Mexico. The Indians had suffered violence and abuse at the hands of the Spaniards in Mexico, and the War of Independence was fought, from beginning to end, rather for the liberation from the Spaniard in Mexico than from the Government of the Spaniards in Spain.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Spaniard in Mexico represented political, economic and social dominance. He was the master and the oppressor of the masses. It is only fair to say, however, that the last 100 years of revolution have not been a race struggle but an economic and political one. It has not been against the Spaniard but against the master of the economic life of the nation that the struggle was carried on. It has been a war against oppression and not a war against a race. It has been a war for freedom of the Indian and at no time a war for the extermination of the foreigner.

The War for Independence failed

opportunity and have all passed it by. The odds are enormous that a vast majority of the party in each instance would endorse such a plank, but political expediency as seen by party leaders has prevented. With each of the major parties, and the independent ticket in the bargain, trying assiduously to see how few people's feeling they can hurt, a small matter such as moral principle goes by the board. It takes some people a long time to find out that convictions are a political necessity, and that convictions are not much use unless one has the courage, first, to state them, and then, to fight for them.

internally, even if it succeeded externally. Spain recognized the independence of Mexico, but the Indian remained a slave in fact even if he was nominally a free man. That simple fact made peace impossible. The Indian and half-Indian were not liberated economically by the War of Independence, and the struggle went on. The many subsequent revolts, the tide of passion and hate, of success and failure, of hope and defeat, carried the dream of freedom for the Mexican masses from one struggle to another without real peace at any time during 100 years.

If the Diaz regime gave the impression of peace and quiet, it was merely a smoldering interlude between one passionate striving and another. It was a peace of oppression and in some instances of attempted extermination of the Indian, who craved his freedom. One need only mention the Yucatan and the Mayas to recall the fact that the peace of the Diaz regime was an oppression not only by the Spaniard in Mexico, but one shared in by other foreign and certain native elements whom he favored.

It was against this oppression that Madero revolted in 1910, just 100 years after Hidalgo's cry had initiated the series of Mexican disturbances. Madero's movement was a logical continuation of Hidalgo's; it was not an abrupt break with the past; it was merely one more attempt to carry forward the fundamental motive of Mexico's struggle for freedom. A hundred years of civil war against a Protoc-like oppressor who is now Spaniard, now the clergy, now a rare combination of foreign exploiters bleeding their interest and influence with the native Mexican who belonged to their group—that has been Mexico's history during the last century. It has been 100 years of revolution, with program and principles unchanged. The dreams of Hidalgo, Juarez and Madero are one.

After the successful revolution of Madero, the old story repeated itself. The revolution having succeeded, the enemies of justice set about to thwart its aims, to deny its purposes, to undo its work. Huerta's coup failed. The people of Mexico were too deeply stirred to be easily cowed again. Carranza sought to deviate the ends of the revolution and was overthrown in his turn. The people, in their anger, have risen and destroyed the plans of any who have tried to deny their hopes and blight their dream of freedom and justice.

We are now at a critical period of our history. The question at stake is whether the objectives of the century-old struggle are to be allowed to develop peacefully or not. These objectives must go on. The seed of democratic justice is too deeply and too widely sown for it to be denied at this hour. The two cardinal aims of the revolution—land and liberty—must succeed. The land must devolve back to the Indians. It is their own land. It is not taking lands from others to enrich the Indians, but a matter of simple justice. Before the War of Independence, and since, the Indians have been stripped of their common lands by force—they have been robbed. The process of devolution now going on merely restores to the Indians what is rightfully and justly theirs. There can be no peace in Mexico unless the land program of the revolution is carried out. No Government in Mexico can last unless it recognizes the age-long cry of the Indian for land. That is the meaning of our history. Next to land, the revolution has involved a demand for freedom—political and cultural freedom—mainly cultural, the right to an education, the right to schools, the right to share the thought, the dreams, the achievements of the race. The revolution has already begun to carry out that aim. It has given much attention to education, and that program, like the land program, must go on because it is too late to stop it.

It is only he who is blind to the meaning of Mexican history who thinks that what has already been done in that direction can be undone or that it can be stopped from further progress. The program of the revolution must go on. The mass of the Mexican people must achieve a full status of Mexican citizenship. The friends of Mexico must recognize that fact. Those who want peace and quiet in Mexico will welcome a peaceful carrying on of a democratic process. It is only the enemies of Mexico who will try to undo the results of a 100 years' struggle and achieve their own undoing in the process.

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## SOCIALISTS WIN PA. FREE SPEECH BATTLE

OLD FORGE, PA.—Following a long battle lasting over a year, free speech forces scored a victory here, when a successful free speech test meeting was held under the joint auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Socialist Party last Saturday. Birch Wilson, the Socialist Party speaker, whose forcible ejection from Old Forge on June 9, 1923, started the free speech feud between the Civil Liberties Union and Mayor Costanzo, was the chief speaker at Saturday's test meeting.

Further Socialist Party meetings will be held in Old Forge "to ensure the right of peaceful assembly," according to a statement issued by the Union. Saturday's meeting was held after Mayor Costanzo agreed to keep hands off, but future meetings will be held without consulting the Mayor, the statement declared, as the Mayor "has no right under any law to give or withhold permission for meetings."

The \$3,000 suit for false arrest filed two weeks ago against Mayor Costanzo, Sheriff Reap and Chief of Police Bender of Old Forge by the Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Birch Wilson is still pending in the Court of Common Appeals of Lackawanna County. According to the Union it took almost a year to find a local lawyer "with sufficient courage to fight the Old Forge officials in the courts." The facts in the case as given out by the Civil Liberties Union are as follows:

"On June 9, 1923, Birch Wilson and Girolamo Valenti went to Old Forge to address a meeting of Italian workers. Prior to the meeting, while waiting at the home of a friend, they were seized by local policemen acting under orders from Mayor Costanzo, and by Sheriff Reap and a party of State troopers. They were taken to the Town Hall and searched by the Mayor, the Sheriff and a State constabulary sergeant. Their literature was taken away from them, and they were warned not to appear in Old Forge again. The following week, on June 13, Wilson and Valenti returned to Old Forge and were again seized by local policemen and Sheriff Reap acting under orders from Mayor Costanzo and again run out of town. The Mayor declared that he would keep Socialists from speaking in Old Forge 'now and forever.'

"The case was called to the attention of Governor Pinchot and Attorney General Woodruff, who spoke strongly against the policy and acts of the local officials. The successful free speech test meeting held on Saturday night was Birch Wilson's third

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## Dressmakers Union Organizes Fund to Aid 'White Plague' Victims

The members of Local 22, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, have decided to introduce a Sick Benefit Fund for such of its members as have become incapacitated by illness, and a Tuberculosis Fund for those who have become the victims of the "white plague." With the establishment of this fund which began to function on July 1, the local is undertaking the big task of giving aid to sick members.

There have been a great many motives which have prompted the establishing of such a fund, Secretary Schoenholtz pointed out.

He said: "The majority of our members are women and very few of them belong to any Sick Benefit Society or Fund. In case of sickness the only organization to whom they can appeal is the Union, and in the absence of such a fund the Union can do but very little."

"We have now a considerable number of workers previously members of Local 23 who have become members of our local as a result of the amalgamation of Locals 22 and 23. Those members have enjoyed the benefits of a Sick Benefit Fund, and it was obviously abnormal to have two classes of members in one local, one with and one without Sick Benefit."

"The method of raising such a fund has been adopted after a careful study and the following procedure has been adopted:

"1. All those who are members of our Union will automatically become members of the Sick Benefit and Tuberculosis Benefit Funds. The payments by members will be only thirty-five cents a month. In comparison with the benefits derived this is a small sum, and seems very insignificant indeed."

"2. Payments to this fund are to begin July 1st, and each member

attempt to exercise his Constitutional rights in Old Forge."

must then pay at least three stamps in advance in order to become a member of the fund. This will be applied as payment for the months of July, August and September.

"3. Payment to members for Sick Benefit will not begin until October 1st, and no one will be entitled to Sick Benefit unless six stamps have been paid for."

"4. All new applicants will have to undergo a doctor's examination before being admitted to membership."

"We especially request chairmen and chairladies and the active members of the shop to work for the plan and make it a success. It is up to them to enlighten the members of the importance of this undertaking and to acquaint them with the benefit system which this fund will inaugurate."

I. SCHOENHOLTZ,  
Secretary.

## UNIONS URGED TO AID LA FOLLETTE FUND

WASHINGTON.—Financial support for the La Follette-for-President movement was sought from national labor organizations in an appeal sent out by officials of the Conference for Progressive Political Action which endorsed the Wisconsin Senator's independent candidacy at its Cleveland Convention.

The appeal was made by William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, and Arthur E. Hilder, Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the conference. They said plans for raising an adequate campaign fund, chiefly by small contributions from the working class, would be laid before the conference's National Committee when it meets here Friday to select a Vice-Presidential candidate and perfect campaign plans.

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# WHY FARM AND CITY LABOR MUST COMBINE

## An Analysis of the Economic Basis for Cooperation Between the Workers of America.

The present movement for the organization of a Farmer-Labor party has had a precursor in the People's Party of 1892-1896.

At the Omaha convention held in July, 1892, were represented, together with the farmers' organizations, Knights of Labor and the "Nationalist" clubs, i. e., the followers of Edward Bellamy—the name "Nationalist" was derived by them from "nationalization" (of industry). The Nationalists, though not numerous among the delegates, exerted some influence in framing the Omaha platform. The Socialists of the West threw themselves into the new movement. The Socialist Labor party opposed it very vigorously as a middle-class movement.

The bulk of the Socialist Labor party at that time consisted of German Social-Democrats who had been brought up on the proposition of the Gotha platform of the German Social-Democratic party that all non-proletarian elements of modern society form "a single reactionary mass." It logically followed that any cooperation between the party of the proletariat and that reactionary mass could only result in obscuring the class-consciousness of the proletariat. The Socialist Labor party held that the proletariat formed the majority of the population of the United States. All it lacked was class-consciousness. As soon as it could, through its political arm, the Socialist Labor party, gain control of the machinery of government it would in a perfectly law-abiding manner, through the control of a majority in both houses of Congress, of the Executive branch of the Government and of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, enact the whole program of Socialism into law.

The Socialist Labor party spoke of itself as a "revolutionary" party, but the "revolution" it was contemplating was to be carried out in strict conformity with the laws for such cases made and provided. The Socialist Labor party frowned upon any advocacy of rebellious methods.

If I may be permitted to introduce a personal element into this discussion, I wish to say that I had but

recently come from Russia, where the peasantry "constituted" the majority of the population, and the only hope for Socialism, in the opinion of most of the Russian Socialists of that period, lay in winning the support of the peasants. To me the cooperation of the farmers, of Labor, and of the pioneers of Socialism, accomplished at Omaha, was the augury of a real Socialist movement. I turned to the census statistics of the population of the United States and was struck by the utter lack of foundation for the assertion of the Socialist Labor party that the proletariat formed a majority of the voting population of the United States. The Chicago local of the S. L. P., under the leadership of the late Thomas J. Morgan, together with the Labor unions of the city, joined the Populist party in 1894, and I joined with them. This was but a few months after the organization of the Independent Labor party in Great Britain. At the county convention of the People's party, Morgan introduced a resolution incorporating the platform of the Independent Labor party into that of the People's party organization of Cook County and his resolution was carried. The crux of the resolution was Plank Ten, demanding "public ownership of all means of production and distribution."

TABLE I  
PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION

Social-Economic Groups	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Farmers	24.3	24.9	24.0	19.9	16.3	15.5
Farm laborers	23.1	19.1	13.2	15.1	16.1	10.0*
On home farm				8.0	8.7	4.4
Hiring out				7.1	7.4	5.6
Entrepreneurs	7.2	7.8	7.0	7.2	7.3	7.6
Professional persons	3.5	4.0	4.5	5.4	5.4	6.6
Salaried employees	2.8	3.6	6.0	7.3	6.3	9.6
Industrial wage-earners	27.4	29.5	32.7	34.1	38.2	42.4
Domestics	7.8	6.2	6.4	5.0	4.1	3.1
Unclassified	3.9	4.9	5.3	6.0	6.0	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Includes agents, salesmen and office employees.  
\* The number of farm laborers reported by the census is incomplete, by reason of the fact that the enumeration was made in January, instead of in the spring, as at former censuses.

It appears from the preceding table that at the last decennial census the industrial wage-earners together with the hired farm hands formed less than one-half—48%—of the bread-winners in the United States. It must be borne in mind, however, that the hired farm hands are scattered on small farms, which tends to the development of an individualistic outlook rather than of proletarian class-consciousness; moreover, a great many of them look forward to advancing to the position of farm tenants and eventually of farm proprietors.

Thus the seal of genuine proletarian class-consciousness is only the

By ISAAC A. HOURWICH

But we were bitterly denounced by Daniel De Leon in "The People." The leaders from the Socialist Labor party of 1897 and 1899 brought with them into the Socialist Party the dogma that the proletariat formed the majority of the voting population of the United States, with resultant "uncompromising" policy, which condemned any form of combination with any other organizations.

It was not until after the last Presidential campaign that the Socialist Party realized the necessity of revising its old policy, which had thwarted its growth for a generation. The change of attitude may be traced to the influence of the Russian Revolution which proclaimed a coalition of industrial wage workers and small peasant proprietors. After this brief historical survey I shall give a summary of the results of my study of class divisions in the United States, which was first published in "The Journal of Political Economy," in 1911, and covered the decennial censuses from 1870 to 1900, supplemented by the results of Professor Alvin H. Hansen's analysis of the Census figures for 1910 and 1920.

TABLE II  
Social Economic groups

	Males	Females
Farmers	23.0	5.8
Farm laborers on home farm	8.0	8.2
Hiring out	7.9	4.2
Entrepreneurs	7.7	4.7
Professional	4.8	10.1
Salaried employees	7.1	7.9
Industrial wage-earners	35.9	26.0
Domestics	0.9	23.3
Unclassified	4.7	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0

class of individual wage-earners, which has for the past half century advanced from 27.4% to 42.4% of the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations.

But it must be borne in mind that there are other factors which produce a very essential variation of these figures. In the first place, there is a very marked difference between males and females. The figures have been analyzed by me for the XII Census (1900). No later figures are available. The results are shown in the table next following:

TABLE II  
Social Economic groups

	Males	Females
Farmers	23.0	5.8
Farm laborers on home farm	8.0	8.2
Hiring out	7.9	4.2
Entrepreneurs	7.7	4.7
Professional	4.8	10.1
Salaried employees	7.1	7.9
Industrial wage-earners	35.9	26.0
Domestics	0.9	23.3
Unclassified	4.7	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0

It appears from the preceding table that the percentage of industrial wage-earners among women was considerably lower than among men. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the majority of women of working age are not engaged in "gainful occupations," according to Census terminology; the percentage of such women between 20 and 24 years of age in 1920 was 38.1 and between 25 and 44 years, 22.4. The housewife lives in the individualistic environment of the home, which is in itself not productive of proletarian class-consciousness.

We must next consider the element of race. In five States of the South the majority of the individual wage-earners in 1900 were Negroes, viz:

In Mississippi	64.7%
In Georgia	58.4%
In Florida	57.7%
In South Carolina	55.4%
In Alabama	54.1%

But they were all disfranchised. The effect of the disfranchisement of the Negroes upon the class distribution of voters may be studied from the figures for the male bread-winners of Louisiana at the twelfth Census. If we eliminate the Negroes who are not property owners, the percent distribution of voters by class alignment will appear as follows:

Farmers	52.8
Entrepreneurs	9.0
Professional and salaried employees	10.7

For the past ten years he was a cordial supporter of the party and an active member. Socialists knew Hourwich as a controversialist. Always the question mark; always the impish devil. No matter what position the party took, he was there with a question, a suggested discussion. It exasperated the Comrades. But it led to thought, and thought led to clarity. In that way, his influence was completely good.

Trade unionists also knew him. In 1912 he joined the staff of the Cloakmakers' Union as "chief clerk"—as they called it—or expert adviser of Local 1. It was the time of the "Protocol" and excited discussions as to what the needle unions should do next. The unions had their ideas. So did Hourwich. He carried his local, and for years it was known as "Local Hourwich." But he didn't carry the whole union, and there followed discussions that have not yet died down. But Hourwich knew what he believed in, and he was ready to fight for it, even at the risk of losing a much-needed, well-paying job.

The Government service knew him. An expert statistician, he served both the Federal Government and Public Service Commission of this city for years. In Washington he was on the Census, both the 12th and 13th. In 1900 the 12th Census was taken, and Hourwich studied and digested the figures on mines and mining and on quarries. The excellent volumes on those subjects published by the Government were his work, although few people know that the Socialist and Labor agitator was able to do such objective work for the Government. Likewise, in 1910, he digested the figures on mines and quarries for the Census and was responsible for the remarkably fine reports in the completed volumes on those subjects.

Hourwich wrote a remarkable book on "Immigration and Labor" in 1913. In the book—backed up by acres of statistical tables—he proved that so far as America is concerned, there is no immigration problem, but only a Labor problem. The book was recently revised and brought up to date, but the thesis was unchanged. Hourwich was true to his demand for no immigration restrictions to the very end of his life.

Socialists were fond of calling Hourwich the arch-opportunist. But

## Both Classes Represent 63.5 Per Cent of Working Population of the Nation.

Industrial wage-earners (white) 27.0  
Servants (white) 0.5

Total 100.0

Lastly, class divisions vary quite materially by states. In 1900 the industrial wage-earners formed a majority in only the following seven States:

In Rhode Island	60.7%
In Pennsylvania	58.6%
In Connecticut	57.1%
In Massachusetts	57.0%
In New Jersey	54.7%
In Montana	51.9%
In New Hampshire	50.2%

On the other hand, in 19 farming States of the South and West the percentage of industrial wage-earners in 1900 varied from 11.5 to 37.6. As we have seen, from 1900 to 1920 the ratio of industrial wage-earners in the United States as a whole increased from 34.1% to 42.4%. At this rate the industrial wage-earners in these 19 States are still a minority of all bread-winners.

From the available statistics the time when the industrial proletariat will have become a majority of the voters in three-fourths of all the States cannot be foreseen. In other words, no amendment to the Constitution which may be required to put Socialism in operation can be carried by the votes of the industrial proletariat alone.

The conclusion forced upon the student by these figures was formulated by me in the New Review as far back as 1913: "If the aims of Socialism are to be accomplished by the action of the wage-working class alone, unaided by other social groups, revolutionary Syndicalism holds out to its followers the promise of success within a reasonable time." (Today I should have to substitute a Communist coup d'état for revolutionary Syndicalism.) The other alternative is fusion on candidates at elections, each party retaining its political identity. The effect of this form of political cooperation is that two or more minority groups by combining become a majority and can control legislation.

The industrial wage-earners, together with the farmers and hired farm hands, represents today 63.5% of all bread-winners, a potential majority of all voters.

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missed by the United States Circuit

Court of Appeals here.

## PLATON BROUNOFF, SOCIALIST, COMPOSER, LECTURER, IS DEAD

Platon Brounoff, who died Friday night in St. Luke's Hospital, New York City, was a Russian composer, music teacher and lecturer on musical subjects. He was born at Elizabetgrad, Russia, sixty-one years ago, and had lived in this country since 1891. He received his professional training at the Imperial Conservatory in St. Petersburg, studying under Anton Rubinstein and Rimsky-Korsakoff.

Brounoff was an old Socialist, and he gave much of his time and energy to the movement. He played at hundreds of social affairs for the party, gave whole recitals for branches, and at one time he delivered a series of Socialist lectures under his own auspices and at his own expense, later printing them in leaflet form. He composed the music for the Socialist song, "The Torch of Liberty," using the party's emblem, the Arm and Torch, as its theme.

Brounoff was a man of real charm and delightful humor. He was genuinely anxious to serve his cause and made real sacrifices for it. His old friends will never forget his great mane of hair, his curious Russian accent, his quaint humor, and his big, booming voice.

# AN ABLE CRITIC AND FRIEND PASSES

By the death of Isaac A. Hourwich the Socialist movement of the United States loses one of its most picturesque, most lovable characters. At the same time, it loses the man who was probably its most severe critic. Hourwich was a many-sided man—and yet fundamentally he was a simple soul. Years ago he used to delight in wearing a scarf pin fashioned in the shape of a question mark, and his friends knew that he was properly labeled with the interrogation point. Later, a few of his disciples took to wearing the same sort of pin, and he switched. He wouldn't be regular, not even with his own friends. He began to wear a pin fashioned with the head of the devil and the impish head remained in his tie to the end. And no more fitting symbol of the man could have been found than that grinning imp.

Isaac A. Hourwich was in his 65th year; he was a well-known lawyer, author, statistician, lecturer; but he remained a joyous youth to the end, questioning, laughing, and by his gaffly methods stimulating the Socialists of America to thought. Hourwich was a native of Russia, born in Vilna in April, 1860. He received a thorough Russian education, but before he was 20 he was a revolutionist, an exile to Siberia

## Recollections on the Life and Work of Isaac A. Hourwich, Talented Socialist and Economist.

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

(where his son, Nicholas I. Hourwich, was born), and a rebel against everything and everybody—including the Socialists themselves.

In 1890 he came to America. He had been admitted to the Russian bar, he had a standing as an economist and statistician, and as author of the remarkable book, "The Economics of the Russian Village," that extended far beyond the boundaries of Russia.

In America, he studied law, and worked for his Ph.D. degree at Columbia, received his doctorate in 1893, the same year that he was admitted to the bar here. For a while he practiced law in Chicago and he was an instructor in economics in the University of Chicago. That is why, by the way, to the very end many people called Hourwich "Professor." A Socialist, Hourwich was always "heterodox." In 1892, when it was considered a crime on the part of the faithful for anyone to have political dealings with any non-Socialists, Hourwich was active in the Populist party. For that, he was considered something like a "traitor" by the theologians of the then Socialist Labor party.

Again, in 1906, when the first Russian Revolution resulted in the creation of a Duma and a partial amnesty, Hourwich went to Russia and ran for the Duma on the "Cadet" ticket! He was defeated.

In later years, he voted the ticket of the Socialist Labor party, with which he had less in common than with any other Socialist group. But since most Socialists were voting for the Socialist party, he had to be different. That S. L. P. vote used to cost him a lot of money, too, because he was for years on the staff of the Government in Washington, and he had to make two trips to New York to register and to vote.



# Justice for Our "Traitors" and "Patriots"

"I am an Avowed Traitor to Capitalism; I Uncover to No Flag that Wall Street Waves," Debs Declares—A Few Questions to Mr. Brisbane.

By EUGENE V. DEBS

ALL the Christian (?) and civilized (?) nations of the earth, including the United States, and all under the absolute domination of capitalism, are preparing with feverish intensity for the next world war. Thus did the last international slaughter succeed in putting an end to war.

"Preparedness," we are assured, is the sole preventive of the awful conflict, just as "preparedness" prevented the last appalling massacre.

Hegel made the sage observation that "all we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history."

The great capitalist exploiters and profiteers, a few hundred in number, who own most of the country, practically all its industries and resources and have absolute control of the Government, are to a man for "preparedness," but not a solitary one of this aristocratic ruling gentry will go to war when it comes. They will conscript their slaves as they did in the last war to do the fighting and furnish, for the glory of "our country" and its "stars and stripes," the requisite number of corpses and cripples, widows and orphans. And in reward for their "patriotism" and in full satisfaction of their "heroic" services they will receive an alleged "bonus" (accent on the "bone"), and the corpulent Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and High Pensioner of Andrew Carnegie and the Steel Trust will waddle up to the center of a great aggregation who did not go to war and solemnly lay a wreath on the bier of an "unknown soldier."

As I contemplate this tragically farcical spectacle, conducted with spectacular pomp and ceremony, I cannot resist the expressive slang of the street: "Hot dog!"

Also, "What fools these mortals be!"

If that dead soldier, the pitiful victim of a vain, wanton and inglorious sacrifice, had been living and looking for a job, especially if he had been a kinky-headed "nigger," not one of that silk-hatted, begowned and epauletted gang shedding crocodile tears over his mutilated corpse, Taft and Pershing especially included, would have deigned to "honor" him any more than they would a vagabond dog.

Let it be admitted here that every capitalist, banker, landlord, profiteer and exploiter represented by Wall Street, who constitute the American ruling oligarchy, the most powerful in the world, is a supreme "patriot"—not an exception among them. They are uniformly opposed to war, and that is why they believe in "preparing" for war and thereby making war inevitable.

Now it is a well-known fact that the owning and ruling class of a nation hold as subjects the people of that nation. They have the economic and industrial means of life in their keeping and this power of life and death is reflected in the weakness, cowardice, and subservience of the masses, and in the control and corruption of the Government to serve the ends of the reigning dynasty.

When the ruling masters say "War," the echo of the slaves promptly follows and "War" is the hysterical and "patriotic" demand of "the people." The press, the rostrum, the pulpit at once take up the cry and frantically shout for "War." The politicians from the President up and down to the last keeper of the dog pound join in the clamor; everybody is for "war" and woe to the luckless wight who refuses to stand up when some squeaky organ in the movies grinds out the "Star-Spangled Banner," or to take off his hat like a trained monkey when the "stars and stripes" are waved in a parade by some cheap military underling. He is turned upon savagely, denounced as a "traitor," and may consider himself in luck if he escapes assault by the servile and insane mob—he being the only real man, the only genuine PATRIOT in the whole outfit.

Let it be clearly understood that the great body of the people, with but rare exceptions, including politicians, preachers, professors, editors, judges, office-holders and army officers, high and low, as well as salary and wage-slaves, are always with and for the ruling masters who own their jobs, control their means of life, and therefore have the power to force their slaves, lackeys and vassals to do their bidding.

A very few high-souled, courageous, self-respecting preachers took a stand against the late criminal slaughter and they were driven from the pulpit, insulted and outraged, some of them thrown into jail, in all of which their pious clerical brethren joined with the fiercest gusto to the delight and "well done" of their profiteering masters. The handful of genuine Christian ministers thus condemned as "traitors" were the true patriots and their shameless and cowardly assailants who professed to be the "patriots" were the real traitors.

And will any one dare say in the presence of this disgraceful and humiliating spectacle that it required a braver, truer man to howl with the mob of Christ's "patriotic" betrayers than to stand out alone as a "traitorous pacifist" and share in His crucifixion to prevent the wicked and wanton slaughter of humanity, the ruin

and desolation of nations, and keep the peace of the world?

And now I am going to insist that all who are for "preparedness," all the "patriots" who want the nation to "arm to the teeth," shall go to war and get into the trenches when the war comes. Every solitary one of them! Both men and women, the old as well as the young, shall go to the front and fight, if they are for war, or silence their clamor and forever hold their peace. In shouting for war and remaining in the rear while their dupes are dying like dogs in the trenches, they are not "patriots" but traitors; the meanest, vilest and most cowardly and contemptible kind of traitors, and I dare to charge them with their dastardly treason to their faces.

In the midst of the anti-slavery agitation, when the State and the Church were the blood-hounds of the Southern slave owners Wendell Phillips, the towering Titan in that great conflict, said: "I want the epitaph on my tomb to consist of but two words: 'Traitor and Infidel'—traitor to the Government that upholds slavery, and infidel to the Church that sanctions the crime."

And so say I today! I am an avowed traitor to capitalism; I uncover to no flag that Wall Street waves; I am and shall be while I have breath the uncompromising enemy of the power that is today looting this nation, impoverishing the people and by every known design keeping them in ignorance and degradation, and finally driving them to war and destruction.

The capitalist profiteering system is directly responsible for all these crimes, including the shameful prostitution of the Government, the corruption of every social institution, and the craven vassalage of the masses, and to this system of loot and plunder, of oppression and de-

gradation, of war and crime, I am the implacable "traitor" and willing to be branded accordingly. I would scorn with loathing and contempt the title of "patriot" bestowed by that foul and corrupting power.

The time will come when both the "patriots" and "traitors" of this benighted and subservient age will have justice done them.

They will exchange places in history.

The truth will finally prevail.

We shall wait, work and win!

A few days ago some of the purest, truest and noblest of women, representing the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, an association organized to prevent war and bring lasting peace to the world, met in convention in this country. It was a notable gathering of the foremost women of the various nations represented, and the convention was in every way a signal honor to the United States and should have commanded the highest respect and consideration. How were these eminent women, these apostles of peace and good-will received in these ultracapitalistic peace-loving United States? They were shamelessly misrepresented and brutally insulted by the press, the preachers chiming in as usual; they were branded as "parlor pinks," "pale pacifists," "sentimental weaklings," "lachrymose females"; they were bluntly told they were not wanted here and all but driven out of the country. I felt humiliated, outraged and indignant when I read and heard these vile and cowardly abuses heaped upon these brave and humane women by their craven, cowardly and "patriotic" traducers in the name of our vaunted "Christian civilization."

I now propose putting a plain question to those who are dinnning it into the ears of the people by day and by night that we must have military

and naval "preparedness" after the world was all but blown to hell by that infernal thing. And I shall begin with Arthur Brisbane, the journalistic representative of Hearst's multiplying millions, whose pen is mightier than his sword, for while he is putting others to the sword as his "patriotic" duty you could not hire him to take a sword in hand himself.

I want to ask Mr. Brisbane if there is a yoke of mules in or about New York that could pull him into the first line trenches where "grey rats" were red muzzles, if war is declared?

And next I want to ask Mr. Brisbane if he would have a glittering steel bayonet buried in his belly and turned around in his guts for all Hearst's many millions? And if not, why not?

Of course he is too old to go to war and so are all the hords of "super-patriots" who are yelling for "preparedness"—they are all too old, or they have liver complaint, or weak hearts, or flat feet—and if they were called upon to go to war themselves and have their own smug anatomies perforated with leaden slugs and ripped into bloody shreds and tatters; if they had to have their own eyes gouged out and suffer the hellish torture of shell-shock and gassing, every mother's son of them would prove to have cold feet and every solitary one of them would be a "cowardly pacifist," a "parlor-pink," and utterly opposed to war.

My next question is, how many of the editorial prostitutes of the capitalist press went to the last war and served in the trenches, or will go to the next? Not one that I know!

How many of the preachers who decorated their pulpits with the flag of Wall Street and who yelled for war like madmen were in the trenches in France when red hell was let loose by the profit-monger-

ing rulers of the world? How many will be in the trenches in the next war?

Not one that I know!

They are with rare exceptions for "preparedness" and for war to "save the country;" they are ready to fight for the "flag" but it is always their "flock," their "herd" and not themselves who do the fighting. They stay at home and masquerade as followers of the "Prince of Peace."

It is to be noted in this connection that the plutocratic gentry who own the country never fight for it. The great majority of those who do the fighting and dying don't own a square inch of it.

The most abject, hypocritical and cowardly creature I know is the editor, the preacher, the politician, the professor and other white-collared prostitutes and vassals of capitalism who pose as "super-patriots," who cry for "preparedness" and who glorify war and force the common herd to march into the lurid jaws of hell to be slaughtered like hogs and cattle, while they themselves lie back and revel in the ease and comfort provided by their intellectual prostitution and their shameful betrayal of the people to their sordid, exploiting masters.

One of the sickening and disgusting features of the "movies" since the war has been the picture of Pershing, in almost every performance, in his great army overcoat, the stern expression under his military cap, a la Napoleon, straining hard to look the "popular hero" to win applause for "preparedness" and support for the next slaughter. Of course Pershing is for Militarism, and so are all the uniformed army and navy officers of high and low degree, and it is to be noted that nearly all of them returned safely from the late war. Officers and private soldiers are two very different things as I happen to know.

We are told of a Negro soldier who fluked under fire and started for the rear at a rapid clip. He had made great progress in his flight when he was halted by an officer. He eyed the officer keenly to make sure he was an officer and then exclaimed, "Great God, I didn't think I had got so far back." It is in the rear, far in the rear, where heroes like Pershing are made and saved to the people.

## OPEN SHOPPER JAILED

ST. PAUL.—H. H. Bigelow, uncrowned business king of St. Paul, must go to Leavenworth prison for tax-dodging. He pleaded guilty in the Federal district court to defrauding the Government of \$148,000 in taxes which should have been paid by Brown & Bigelow.

A stern judge decided that payment of the taxes and fines of \$10,000 on the concern, Bigelow and two associates were not enough, but added two years in prison for Bigelow.

Many still believe that the power of Bigelow's millions will save him from the disgrace of going to prison like any other criminal.

Will He Go to Prison? But whether he goes to prison or not he stands guilty on his own confession of a crude attempt to cheat the very Government whose flag he has waved for many years, and under whose bounty he has not only gained riches but special favors in protecting him from the costs of his international amours.

There is a lesson in the career of Bigelow which every citizen should bear in mind as a protection against the brand of bunk which is still being used to fool the public. For Bigelow stands for a kind of hypocrisy under which the spoils are secured from a hoodwinked people.

Back in 1913, when Louis Nash was a candidate for mayor, Bigelow gave out public statements describing Nash as the people's candidate and appealing for Labor support. At the very time he was operating a scab shop.

In 1920, when J. M. Clancy, H. C. Wenzel and A. E. Smith were running for the city council, Bigelow was one of the loudest in raising the hue and cry against them as bolsheviks, free lovers and what not. At the very time he was engaging in his secret love affairs with the Russian countess whom he brought to this country.

Strong Anti-Labor Employer

A little later Bigelow was one of the prime movers in the campaign to intimidate leaders of the union printers, who were battling for shorter hours. In his offices were laid some of the plans for the plot which afterward resulted in the sending of F. A. Hurst, Chicago gunman, to Stillwater prison for beating up an innocent high school principal in mistake for a union leader.

Bigelow locked out union workers before any demand was made on him.

Of course, Bigelow kept in the background. The poor devil of an agent went to jail. There was pull enough to prevent prosecution of those who hired the thugs. Public authorities refused even to prosecute them for perjury in spite of apparent contradictions on the witness stand.

And all the time that Bigelow was holding forth as a business and civic

## Facts for Campaigners

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company Shows Apartment Houses Can Be Built and Rented at \$9.00 a Room and Bring a Fair Return on the Investment.

If you are paying more than \$9 a room for rent, you are being gouged.

This statement is not made by any organization of tenants, liberals, or uplifters, but by the staid Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which has just completed 54 houses in Long Island City to test the theory of officials and members of the Lockwood Investigation Committee that builders were misrepresenting the facts when they claimed that \$25 a room was a minimum rental if they were to get a conservative return on their investment.

Walter Stabler, comptroller of the insurance company, said from the outset that his company would get a good return for this investment. He is more than certain of the financial stability of this large housing project now that it is completed, and every one of the 2,125 suites rented and the actual costs been obtained.

At the price which the development was estimated to cost the Metropolitan figured that \$9 a room rent would not only be possible but profitable.

It develops now that each house has cost \$1,000 less than was conservatively estimated by the builders; for that is the amount that has been turned back on each house to the company.

The final reports as to cost are not yet ready, but enough is known to state that the total investment by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company will approximate \$7,500,000; that the rentals are over \$1,000,000.

Figuring expense of operation at what are believed to be liberal allowances, there seems to be no doubt that a net return of at least 8 per cent will be realized.

The plans for all the houses except eight provided on each floor, two apartments of three rooms and

leader he was secretly cheating the very Government which honored him out of its taxes.

There are many Bigelows but only a rare one gets caught. What he was doing did not strike him as wrong. Hundreds of other big business men see no harm in cheating the Government—if they can get away with it.

The difference between many of them and ordinary folks is that the latter do not consider themselves as the only patriots, do not become civic leaders, do not set up as models of deportment and virtue—and have to pay their taxes.

In short, it takes a Bigelow to become a real 100 per cent hypocrite!

dining alcove, four apartments of four rooms and dining alcove, and two apartments of five rooms. Every apartment has a complete bathroom, for which no rent is charged. For the dining alcove, \$6.75 is charged or three-quarters of the rent of other rooms. Steam heat, hot water and janitor service are furnished. All apartments have electric light facilities. Gas is used for cooking. Both light and gas are, of course, paid for by the tenants.

The houses are five stories in height and between the houses is a court or side yard twelve to sixteen feet wide running from the street to the rear yard. These yards are to be in grass with trees, shrubs and flowers. There are no interior dark rooms. The work was begun on August 16, 1922. There are about 14,000,000 front bricks, as every exterior wall is faced with front brick. These were imported from Holland at a saving of \$8 to \$10 per thousand, or a total saving of \$112,000 to \$140,000. These brick were of splendid quality as to texture and color and were among the first brick imported to this country in 100 years. The remainder of the brick needed were bought here. In all about 32,000,000 were used. Rough lumber of unusually good quality and cut to proper lengths of 5,600,000 feet was bought on the Pacific Coast, brought by steamers through the Canal and landed a short distance from the Lites. Flooring of about 1,400,000 square feet from the Middle West and doors and trim from one factory at Louisville, Ky. The Labor unions kept their promise to do their part in producing these homes for working people and persons of small income.

The contractor agreed to return all savings made under the contract price. The contractor's work is now completed and tentative figures show a saving of at least \$1,000 per house.

All the apartments, 2,125 of them, are rented and have been for several weeks and there are at least 10,000 disappointed families who could not be accommodated. Persons with income above \$4,000 were not considered as the buildings had been erected to help those actually needing low rents. The rule usual with many landlords excluding families with children was reversed by giving preference to families with children.

It was pointed out by officials of the company that houses can be built for less in smaller cities due to the reduced real estate values.

## THE INSIDE ON HELEN MARIAR

By ADAM COALDIGGER, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt. D.

Some of the more cantankerous of you may be wondering what qualifications this Helen Mariar Dawes has for being Vice-President and I shall proceed to enlighten you.

It seems Helen Mariar was a banker and sprung to arms in the Service of Supply that time we made the world unsafe for Democrats. After the war was over, a couple of inquisitive Congressmen who should have known better, got up a committee to find out what happened to all the jack we blew in paying off our debt to Lafayette. They couldn't figure out how Lafayette got to have so many heirs. Well, they asked this Dawes to come down to Washington and tell them something about it and that's where they made their big mistake.

They said to Dawes: "How come your outfit spent \$56,781,988,666.03 for one month's supply of pickled peaches?" or some similar question. And Dawes, having picked up a lot of rough soldier talk along the Chicago Lake Front and on the side-streets of Paris, come right back hard at them and says: "Helen Mariar." The newspaper boys, who had been sleeping on the press-table, woke up at this and sent word all around the country that Dawes was a hard egg and cursed dreadful.

Naturally Coolidge who would like to cuss Congress, but can't think up anything much worse than "tut," or "fe" made Dawes head of the Commission to Rehabilitate the Devastated Finances of Europe. Dawes got him a pipe and a tough look and went over there with a couple of press-agents and hollered "Helen Mariar" at everybody until they cooked up a new scheme for taking the rest of Germany's shirt. This is what is known as the "Dawes Plan."

But the chief reason for honoring Dawes is the Minute Men. You boys will recall something about this gang. They were got together by Helen Mariar to boost for the Open Shop. They called themselves Minute Men because one is born every minute.

Dawes went around Illinois telling the Chicago Chamber of Commerce and the Rotarians and the Kiwanises and the Civitans and the rest of the high-minded organizations whose hearts bleed for the unhappy conditions of scabs and gunmen, that the only thing that will save this glorious democracy of ours is to have an Open Shop all around. By Open Shop we mean a shop where the opportunity is open to any worker to earn one dollar twenty a day if he works real hard from six in the morning until six at night and

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**I. W. W. Raise \$68,000 and Repay Bail Bond Forfeited by Haywood**

Repayment of the bail bonds forfeited by William D. Haywood, former I. W. W. leader, and seven associates who fled to Russia instead of returning to Leavenworth Prison in April, 1921, has just been completed by the I. W. W. without loss to the bondsmen. This announcement was made by the American Civil Liberties Union.

According to the statement, the \$68,000 was raised by the sale of special bail bond stamps among I. W. W. workmen "in the harvest fields, lumber camps, on docks and ships." The sum collected covered not only the ponds of those who fled to Russia and other countries, but also of several other I. W. W. members who had jumped their bail in other cases.

never listen to the naughty union men who come around and tell him to organize.

So after such a glorious record can anyone doubt the qualifications of Helen Mariar for the Vice-Presidency?



# THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

### NATIONAL NEWS

#### The N. E. C. Meeting

The first meeting of the new National Executive Committee will be held Tuesday, July 22, at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, N. Y. In addition to National Secretary Bertha Hale White, the following will attend: Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, James H. Maurer, George E. Roemer, Jr., John M. Collins, Leo M. Harkins and Joseph W. Sharts.

National Chairman Eugene V. Debs is taking a rest cure in a sanitarium and is unable to attend.

Comrade Hillquit will report on the meeting of the National Committee of the Conference for Progressive Political Action Friday in Washington, and plans will be made for the greatest national campaign in the history of the party.

### CALIFORNIA

**San Francisco Ticket Nominated**  
The following ticket was nominated by Local San Francisco at its county convention:

For Congress: William McDevitt and Isabel King.

Assembly: Tom Feeley, Frank Lintner, Rose Walker, Mads Christensen, A. L. Schonek, Wm. Aberle, Max Seiler. State Senate: Geoffrey Noel; County Committee: Nelson Billings, Herman Kopelow, Chas. Lengenman, Mr. and Mrs. Macaulay, Starthorn, Hoberg, Walter Walker, Hoppe, Kirk, Frank, Mr. and Mrs. Davis, Thelma Bushnell, Planert, Steiner, Swanson, Koblick, Keller, Mrs. Macy, Hugo Ernst, Jane Hartford and Joe Gazetta.

### WASHINGTON

#### Esther Friedman Dates

The attention of Washington readers is called to the following schedule of Esther Friedman. Please cooperate with the National and State office in making these meetings a success:

July 23, Van Zandt; July 24, Lynden; July 25, 26, 27, 2:00 p. m., Bellingham; July 27, 8:00 p. m., Blanchard; July 28, Anacortes; July 29, Mt. Vernon; July 30, Sedro-Woolley; July 31, Arlington.

### OHIO

#### Communists Fail to Fool

The Toledo Socialist Party at a special meeting, rescinded its action to send delegates to the conference scheduled for the purpose of forming a "Farmer-Labor" party in Lucas county.

The Socialist local decided to repudiate the conference at the suggestion of Councilman Thomas C. Devine, who asserted it was an endeavor to organize a local branch of the Communist Farmer-Labor party which held its convention recently at St. Paul, and which was repudiated by Senator Robert M. La Follette.

Councilman Devine identified H. P. Bruckner, who is arranging the meeting, as the secretary of the local branch of the St. Paul Farmer-Labor party. He argued against the local Socialists having anything to do with the movement.

It is likely that other organizations will decline to send delegates as a result of the action of the Socialist local.

The conference was called ostensibly to form the Farmer-Labor party and put a complete list of candidates in the field for State and county offices this fall. The Socialists contended that inasmuch as they already have a list of candidates that they can do themselves no good by sponsoring another set of candidates.

At the meeting, Councilman Devine gave a detailed report of the Socialist National convention at Cleveland to which he was the party's delegate and also of the Convention for Progressive Political Action in which he served as a delegate.

Devine said the Socialist convention voted to sponsor La Follette's independent Presidential candidacy because his platform holds out all the immediate demands of the Socialists. He said that it is an adventure for the Socialists, but that regardless of its results, it cannot injure or jeopardize the Socialist

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Cleveland Endorsed

Declaring that the Socialists of America, by their alliance with the Conference for Progressive Political Action, have secured an opportunity to gain the attention of millions of workers who are unschooled in the principles and philosophy of Socialism, J. Henry Stump, organizer for the Socialist Party of Berks County, urged all party members to bend every effort for a vigorous campaign this fall at the regular monthly meeting of Local Berks County.

Stump's remarks were seconded by George W. Snyder who was also a delegate from this city to the Cleveland conventions. John A. Aulenbach, who was also at Cleveland, stated that he had been selected by the State Committee of the Socialist Party of Pennsylvania to attend a State conference at Harrisburg on the twenty-first of this month in which delegates from various Labor, farmer and progressive organizations will attempt to lay plans for State action similar to that taken nationally by the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Various shades of opinion were expressed, but the majority of Socialists present appeared satisfied with the action taken by their national convention.

### RHODE ISLAND

Local Providence is paying for the services of an organizer for four weeks, and Comrade Alfred Baker Lewis, has been assigned to the task of building up a strong organization in this section. Good reports are being looked forward to.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Weisbord On Tour

Albert Weisbord, New England District organizer, has been having some splendid street meetings throughout the State, with large collections and book-sales; during the past week, he has spoken in the following cities:

July 9, Pittsfield; 10, North Adams; 11, Greenfield; 12, Northampton; 13, Northampton; 14, Holyoke; 15, Springfield; 16, Worcester; 17, Boston; 18-19, Haverhill. Everywhere the people crowd forward eagerly to hear the message of Socialism, and what Labor is endeavoring to do in the realm of politics. The La Follette-for-President campaign is on in full swing in this State.

#### Thompson Meetings

C. W. Thompson, of New Jersey, started a two-weeks' tour in the New England District with a meeting July 14 in Providence; 15, Attleboro; 16, North Attleboro; 17, Brockton; 18, Quincy; 19, Braintree (where he will speak at a field day arranged by the Braintree-Weymouth Branch.) His tour next week will take him to Worcester, 20; Gardner, 21; Fitchburg, 22; Leominster, 23; Maynard, 24; Haverhill, 25; Boston, 26.

### MAINE

Organizer Alfred Baker Lewis, back from a short tour in Maine, reports the foundations laid for a party organization in that State. In less than three weeks' work sixty new members-at-large were secured, and locals formed in Madison and in Skowhegan. Names of reliable people who promised to help arrange meetings, have been secured as well, and a large number of "New Leader" subscribers. There does not seem to be the slightest persecution of Socialists in this State; in fact, in Madison and Anson, the leading Socialist is postmaster, and the chief of police is a member of the party.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### La Follette Campaign On

The opening gun of the Socialist Party Presidential campaign was fired in the State of Massachusetts, when Comrade Albert Weisbord, New England District organizer, on

a tour on his way back from the Cleveland Conventions, spoke at a noon-day meeting at the gates of the General Electric Company, Pittsfield on Wednesday, July 9. The crowd stood in the hot sun, listening intently for more than thirty-five minutes, and most of them appeared that evening at a street-corner meeting in the center of the town, at which Comrade Weisbord discharged a whole battery of guns for the campaign. The crowd, collected through the efforts of Comrade Albert Sprague Coolidge, member of the Pittsfield Local, who acted as chairman, kept growing in size until the auto truck in which Organizer Weisbord was speaking had to be moved further down the side street so that the crowd would not block traffic.

Almost \$9 worth of pamphlets were sold, and a collection of \$19.15 taken. The local comrades voted the meeting "the best Pittsfield has ever had" and enthusiastic plans are being laid in Pittsfield to continue the bombardment among the workers of Pittsfield.

## New York Activities

### NEW YORK STATE

#### State Convention

The State Convention will be held Saturday and Sunday, July 26 and 27 at Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue. A large delegation is expected to attend, and there will be interesting discussions upon the party's next step, especially with reference to a State ticket.

#### Signing Petitions

The nominating petitions will soon be ready.

Comrades are urged to sign only Socialist Party petitions for Socialist Party nominations. When the canvasser comes be sure that you are signing to put your own party on the ballot. This is important.

Alexander Schwartz will speak Friday night, July 25, in New Rochelle, at Maple and Main streets.

State Secretary Merrill has issued the following communiqué:

Locals of the Socialist Party, Greetings:

The national convention of the Socialist Party of 1924 has passed into history. Not since the St. Louis convention of 1917 has a convention of the Socialist Party been compelled to face such an issue as confronted the delegates who gathered at Cleveland on the 6th of July. The reception or rejection of the action of the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, representing three million American organized workers, was of supreme importance to the future existence of our party. Our convention met the issue, and the action that it took inevitably means a genuine Labor party in this country.

We had the choice presented to us of becoming an insignificant faction like the S. L. P., or a power like the Independent Labor party of Great Britain, and we chose the latter even though the formation of a Labor party was postponed until next January. You will shortly receive a statement from the National Office as to the action of the convention on the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and it would be my suggestion that you suspend criticism of your convention until you receive it. Our beloved comrade, Eugene V. Debs wired the convention as follows:

"I have full faith in the loyalty and judgment of our delegates and shall abide by the action of our convention. I think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances, but at the same time to hold the Socialist Party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles, and keep the red flag flying. I hope, above all, there will be no division, but that all will unite loyally in carrying out the program adopted by the convention."

The vote of the convention on continued affiliation with the Con-

### NEW JERSEY

#### Outdoor Meetings in Hudson County Saturday, July 19

Hoboken—Washington and 5th streets. Speaker, J. R. Smallwood. West New York—Bergenline avenue and 14th street. Speaker to be announced.

Bayonne—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker, Blanche Watson.

Union Hill—Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker to be announced.

West Hoboken—Summit avenue and Courtland street. Speaker, George Bauer.

Jersey City—Jackson and Orient avenues. Speaker to be announced.

Jersey City—Danforth avenue and Old Bergen road. Speaker, Frederick Kraft.

Jersey City—Central avenue and Charles street. Speaker, Henry Jager.

Alexander Schwartz will speak Saturday night, July 19, in Union Hill.

For Congress (1st District)—Walter A. Sinclair, of Mineola; 2d District—Barnet Wolff, of Jamaica.

For County Clerk—Elsie Ehret, of Ridgewood.

For State Senate (2d District)—Ernest Megerlin, of Jamaica; 3rd District—Charles Res, of Ridgewood.

For Assembly (1st District)—Harold G. Anderson, of Long Island City; 2d District—Ignatz Schrey, of Maspeth; 3rd District—Matthias Palm, of Elmhurst; 4th District—Sadie C. Smith, of Hollis; 5th District—Peter J. Flanagan, of Woodhaven; 6th District—William Burkle, Jr., of Glendale.

Delegates and alternates to the official State and Judicial conventions also appear on the primary petitions and will be on the primary ballot.

The party meeting was marked by a spirit of confidence in the future of the Socialist organization in Queens County and it is expected that a good campaign will be made.

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Joseph F. Viola, 91; W. W. Passage, 72; B. C. Vladeck, 70; J. Axelrad, 67; G. W. Klein, 64; W. B. Robinson, 39; Louis Zicht, 37; Chas. Schouchan, 30; J. J. Coronel, 24.

A borough meeting will be held on Tuesday evening, July 22, at Amalgamated Temple, at 8:15 sharp.

### QUEENS COUNTY

#### Nominations Completed

At a general party meeting held at 4 Hooker street, Glendale, July 11, the Socialists of Queens County named their candidates for local offices in the coming campaign and arranged to put their primary petitions into circulation at once, so that the enrolled voters may formally choose the nominees at the primary of September 16. Harry T. Smith, Executive Secretary of Local Queens, warns enrolled Socialist voters against signing any petition bearing names other than those given below. The party's candidates are as follows:

For Congress (1st District)—Walter A. Sinclair, of Mineola; 2d District—Barnet Wolff, of Jamaica.

For County Clerk—Elsie Ehret, of Ridgewood.

For State Senate (2d District)—Ernest Megerlin, of Jamaica; 3rd District—Charles Res, of Ridgewood.

For Assembly (1st District)—Harold G. Anderson, of Long Island City; 2d District—Ignatz Schrey, of Maspeth; 3rd District—Matthias Palm, of Elmhurst; 4th District—Sadie C. Smith, of Hollis; 5th District—Peter J. Flanagan, of Woodhaven; 6th District—William Burkle, Jr., of Glendale.

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# WHAT A LABOR PARTY SHOULD DEMAND

(Address at League for Industrial Democracy, June Conference, June 29)

DURING the last few days we have been considering what immediate steps an American Labor party should take in its progress toward better things. In addition to these immediate demands, should it strive also to formulate a social utopia as an ultimate goal? That depends. There are utopias and utopias. The past ages have seen the rise and fall in popularity of the utopias of many schools. There has been the type of utopia of the prophet Amos with his vision of a land in which the inhabitants "would build the waste cities and inhabit them. . . plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof. . . make gardens, and eat the fruit of them"; of Isaiah, with his dream of a world society where nation shall not lift sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; where the people shall come "with songs and everlasting joy and gladness; where the desert shall rejoice and blossom like a rose. The parched land shall become a pool and the thirsty land, springs of water."

There passes in review the Republic of Plato with his ideal of a dictatorship by communist philosophers, guarding with singleness of purpose the interests of the common people who spend their time producing the wheat and the barley and the meal, and "in making merry, drinking their wine, wearing garlands, in singing the praises of the gods, enjoying one another's society, and not begetting children beyond their means, through a prudent fear of poverty and war."

As the centuries pass, we find the utopia of Sir Thomas More, with its vision of spacious homes and communal dining halls and multitudes of attractive gardens and minute regulations over the goings and comings of men; its public market-places where all bring in their products and obtain other products in proportion to their needs, and the astonishing failure of its people to understand how gold could be held in such high esteem "that a lumpish, blockheaded churl, who has no more wit than an ass, nay and as full of naughtiness as of folly, shall have nevertheless many wise and good men in subjection and bondage, only for this, because we hath a great heap of gold."

There are utopias of the great utopian Socialists—the drab Icarus of Cabot, with its monotonous rows of uniform houses, and great dust collectors and side-walks roofed over with glass to protect the citizens against the rain; where all citizens arise for a six o'clock breakfast prepared according to scientific standards; where all are dressed alike, except, perchance, that the inhabitants are permitted to wear different colored clothing.

There is the promised land of St. Simon, with his shibboleth, "to each according to his labor," and his government by scientists; of Fourier and Robert Owen with their great phalansteries and parallelograms similar to our modern apartment hotels, and their pictures of family life unconnected with the wastes of individual houses and stores and cooking arrangements; a society where "the only contest among men will be, who shall the most succeed in extending the happiness of his fellows; where none will be so unwise as to have the trouble and care of individual property," and where "to divide property among individuals in unequal proportions or to hoard it for individual purposes will be perceived as useless and injurious as it would be to divide air or light into unequal quantities for different individuals or that they should hoard them." This, I might remind you, was before the days of radio.

And there was the dream of Louis Blanc with his government workshops and a concept of a society where all should share alike. For "if you are twice as strong as your neighbor, it is a proof that Nature has destined you to bear a double burden. If your intelligence is superior, it is a sign that your mission is to scatter about your more light. The more a man can, the more he ought; and this is the meaning of those beautiful words of the gospel: 'Whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant.'"

And so one might take up one by one the utopian dreams of Brisbane and Greeley, and Bellamy and Wells and even to the latest highly centralized, all embracing, mechanistic utopia of the eminent safety razor magnate, King C. Gillette, in which the world-wide people's corporation shall own all property and administer it almost automatically, without waste, without friction, without exploitation for the benefit of all.

Each of these dreamers saw the terrific wastes and unjust inequalities of competitive industry; each of them caught a vision of a more orderly, a juster, a more brotherly world and each sought to inspire their fellowmen to strive for a finer world, whose goal, as Plato has it, is not to make one class pre-eminently happy, but to make all of society as happy as it can be. Or, as the noted Brook Farmers put it more concretely, where an effort would be made to substitute "a system of brotherly cooperation for one of selfish competition; to secure for our children and to those who may be entrusted to our care the benefits of the highest physical, intellectual and moral education which, in the

## A Living Wage, the End of Child Labor, Universal Education, Industrial Safety, a Curb on Unchecked Exploitation of Industry by Private Interests Are Listed as Milestones to a Social Utopia.

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

present state of human knowledge, the resources at our command will permit; to institute an attractive, efficient and productive system of industry; to prevent the exercise of worldly anxiety by the competent supply of our necessary wants; to diminish the desire for excessive accumulation by making the acquisition of individual property subservient to upright and disinterested uses; to guarantee to each other the means of physical support and of spiritual progress, and thus to impart a greater freedom, simplicity, truthfulness, refinement and moral dignity to our mode of life."

Each of them, however, made the mistake of imagining that any human being equipped with the present inadequate knowledge of human behavior, and of the revolutionizing influences of new inventions, could possibly work out in his study a complete chart of a new system; and expect its adoption in detail by the human race. Most of them had no conception of the way that industry actually evolved; of the need of organizing the masses for social change, and of the immensely complicated nature of our social organization.

The building of a social utopia after the pattern of past performances is no part of the task of a Labor party. However, this is by means saying that it is unwise to trace the direction of social evolution and try to comprehend in broad outline the kind of society that the social groups likely to be in the as-

cendancy in the future will find it to its advantage to develop, and to frame in our own mind what the experience of the race tells us should be the goal of social endeavor.

Personally, I believe that the members of a Labor party should strive to define that goal as well as to formulate immediate planks in its platform. Many in the Labor movement disagree with this point of view. They take the attitude that expediency dictates concentrating all attention on the immediate reforms; that an attempt to define a goal would but lead to confusion and division. Outside of the Labor party movement that is the attitude of such men as Samuel Gompers, whose program is better conditions today, better conditions tomorrow, better conditions the next day—no more, no less.

A more conscious social goal, however, has definite advantages. It serves as a touchstone as to the relative importance of various immediate reforms. To what measure should one devote one's major thought? What proposals should one ignore or oppose? If one has not formed some conception of the goal toward which humanity is marching, it is not difficult to know whether a particular reform suggested is leading to or away from the desired goal?

It is the vision of the ultimate social goal, furthermore, that has buoyed up thousands of reformers in their desperate fight for immediate reforms; that has kept them from

utter discouragement when confronted with almost insuperable obstacles; that has kept them incorruptible when urged to betray their comrades, that has supplied that religious fervor which has proved the unifying force to so many great movements.

In 1914, on the eve of the World War, I had a talk with Ramsay MacDonald, at that time leader of the Parliamentary group of about 40 Labor men. "Why, I asked, 'has not the British Labor party formulated a broad, constructive program?'"

"Well," his reply was in substance, "Many of them feel that if they adopted a program that could not be put into operation for a generation or two, the stodgy British workmen would consider the program so utopian that they would vote for the Liberal party. If, on the other hand," he continued, "we adopted a program that consisted merely of immediate demands, there would not be sufficient difference between the two parties to warrant separate organizations. Therefore we prefer to have a Labor punch to be known as the representative of Labor, without formulating a wide flung program."

In the midst of the chaos of the World War, the members of the party realized that they must try to think through the social muddle, to get clearly in mind their social objective, if they were to find their way to place and liberty. They formulated their famous program of Labor

and the new social order, declaring to the world, as you remember, that "whatever may be the case with regard to other political parties, the detailed practical proposals of the British Labor party proceed from definitely held principles, 'and that what has to be constructed is not this or that government machinery or this or that piece of social machinery, but so far as Great Britain is concerned, society itself. . . We must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting, but on fraternity; not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned cooperation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain; not on the utmost possible inequality in riches, but on a systematic approach toward a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world; not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but, in industry as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent, and that widest possible participation in power, both economic and political, which is characteristic of democracy. . . We do not, of course, pretend that it is possible. . . to build society anew in a year or two. . . What the Labor intends to satisfy itself about is that each brick that it helps to lay shall go to erect the structure that it intends, and no other."

It is hoped that the party might with ever more frequency return to this program and retain the vision. Personally I believe that a Labor party to be most effective should possess both an immediate program and an ultimate goal. American Labor should at least go so far as to decide what social evils must be eliminated and what social rights must be guaranteed before we can begin to lay the foundation for an ideal society; before we can enter into our minimum utopia.

And then follows, as you know, the four pillars of the House they intend to build: (1) the universal minimum of leisure, health, education and subsistence; (2) the democratic control of industry, beginning with the nationalization of railways, mines and electrical power; (3) the revolution in national finance; (4) and the use of the surplus wealth for the common good, for the maintenance of the sick and infirm and aged; for the promotion of equality of opportunity in education, the development of the means of recreation, the increase in scientific research and investigation, and the encouragement of music, literature and fine art, which have been under capitalism so greatly neglected, and upon which, so the Labor party holds, any real development of civilization depends. For "society, like the individual does not live by bread alone—does not exist only for wealth production."

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(1) Today perhaps the majority of the heads of families in the United States obtain less than is regarded as sufficient to permit them and their families to live a life of decency and comfort. No society worthy of the name can exist which does not guarantee sufficient income to its workers, to permit its recipients to secure for themselves and families wholesome food, a healthful and attractive home, comfortable clothing and a reasonable amount of education, of recreation, of leisure.

(2) Today over a million children between the ages of 10 and 15 are working in mines, in factories, in mills, in canneries, in the fields and on the streets. More are toiling unbeknown in tenement houses. Our minimum utopia would be impossible so long as this condition existed.

(3) Six per cent of the people of the United States are still illiterates. Only 40 per cent finish grammar school; but 8 per cent are graduated from high school; about 1 per cent complete our college courses. A minimum utopia would give equal opportunity to all to secure as much of an education as their capabilities allowed; and, I hope, would see to it that our educational methods were entirely reorganized.

(4) In the second decade of the twentieth century the casualties in this country as a result of industrial accidents exceeded the total toll of life in the United States during all of the wars engaged in by our country from the Declaration of Independence to the present day. No stone would be unturned under our minimum utopia to apply all possible safety devices, even at a heavy cost to protect against accident, all engaged in the productive life of the community.

(5) During the ten-year period from 1909 to 1918 inclusive, the owners and managers of the industries of the country collected a toll of some one hundred and eighty-one billion dollars, or 45 per cent of the net product of industry. A large amount of this went to those who had done valuable work in the actual conduct of industry. But many, many billions were gathered by absentee owners who had contributed nothing in manual or brain work to any industrial effort. Can even a minimum utopia be possible so long as this kind of division of the product of industry prevails?

And so I might go on. Our minimum utopia would certainly demand the abolition of international warfare and the development of economic organizations which would eliminate the causes of war; it would certainly provide for adequate control of industry by all of those groups—the workers, technicians and the consumers—who by their training and their interest were qualified for representation; it would make it impossible for any group in the community to monopolize the necessities of life, and thus to tyrannize over the economic, the political, and the intellectual life of the people. It would provide for equality of opportunity as between the sexes and the races and nations of mankind. It would eliminate the crying wastes of the present competitive system, wastes which doom the mass of mankind to bitter toil for a mere livelihood, and would see to it that industry was organized on an orderly and scientific basis. Finally, it would provide for an industrial structure where service to the commonweal, not profit for the most aggressive individuals, was the guide to economic activity.

Some of the members of the Labor party should aim at a still more distant goal, at the securing of a society in which the major energies of mankind, released from the strain of modern economic life, would, in truth, be devoted to the enjoyment of the higher values—to poetry, to literature, to love-making, to the pursuit of truth and the ennoblement of the human spirit; where, in short, for the first time in human history, man would begin to live. But this would be utopia.

## THE ADVENTURES OF "OPERATIVE 25"

Robert W. Beattie, Vice-President of International Union and Labor "Leader" of Pittsburg, Proves to be Under Cover Man for Detective Agency—Sat on Steel Strike Committee.

By EDWARD LEVINSON

When a big, hulking stoker, just out of the U. S. Navy, came to the union hall and planked down his initiation fee as a member of the Firemen's and Oilers' Union, he was welcomed with a glad hand.

The union was in the midst of a struggle with several Pittsburg lighting companies. The new Robert W. Beattie, was enlisted for the union and was to work hard for it. There plenty of work to be done, and since 1912, when he first joined Beattie has risen in the ranks.

Beattie climbed to a position in the Labor movement where he is vice president of the International Union of Firemen and Oilers; an officer of the Pittsburg Central Union; editor of the Firemen and Oilers' International Journal; President of the Labor Bank of Pittsburg.

Few Labor leaders of importance have visited the steel city and escaped Beattie's hospitality. His expense account for his entertainments seemed unlimited, and he never missed an important gathering if he had any excuse to be there. During the steel strike he served on the organizing committee and sat in its councils.

Mysteriously, and to the consternation of the other union leaders, the proceedings of the metal trades department convention in Portland, last fall, became known to the employers in the metal trades. Beattie was a delegate. Strangely, other conferences held, at which Vice President Beattie was present, also became open secrets to private detective agencies, who peddled the reports off to the bosses.

Pittsburg Labor officials and the Pennsylvania Department of Labor applied their energies to clearing up the mystery. As a result, Beattie today is revealed as "Operative 45," who for twelve and a half years has been the most powerful industrial spy in the country.

Immediately following the exposure and subsequent expulsion from the Iron Molders' Union last fall of the Labor spy James C. Cronin, the Pennsylvania Labor movement devoted itself to the task of cleansing itself of all other "under cover" men. Out of reports that a certain employment agency in Pittsburg was really in business as a saloon grev a general investigation into employment and "industrial" service companies.

As a result of the investigations, the following report was placed in the hands of Dr. Royal S. Meeker, Secretary of the Pennsylvania Department of Labor and Industry: "My dear Dr. Meeker:

"During my investigations in connection with my work as Inspector of Private Police of Pennsylvania, it came to my attention that one of the officials of organized Labor, with offices in Pittsburg, Pa., has been since 1912 working for detective agencies, and submitting reports to these agencies concerning Labor movements.

"This man, Robert William Beattie, originally from Milford, Mass., entered the employ of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., shortly after he was discharged from the U. S. Navy, where he had served eight years as a water tender on different boats around Boston, Mass.

"On January 27, 1912, Beattie,

who was then living at 248 North Eleventh street, Philadelphia, Pa., made application to, and was hired as an operative for, the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., at \$75.00 per month and expenses by Mr. T. C. Carey, General Manager of Employment for this company at Philadelphia, Pa.

"At the time of this man being accepted he gave as references: Mr. E. C. Wright, tailor, 507 First street, Portsmouth, Va.; C. G. Bailey, sailor, U. S. S. Flusser, address care Postmaster, New York, N. Y.; Mr. J. Greer, 513 Kohn street, Morristown, Pa.; Mr. J. P. Morton, Lieut. Commander United States Navy, U. S. S. Perkins, c. o. Postmaster, New York, N. Y.; Mr. C. M. Lewis, Manager, Sam Bingham Sons, Des Moines, Iowa. These references all answered letters, written by the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., recommending Beattie, which the company turned over to the National Surety Co. of New York, who furnished bond for Beattie in the sum of \$500. This was renewed each year for eight years.

"Beattie was sent to Pittsburg as a representative of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co., as a fireman, and immediately joined the union of Firemen and Oilers at that place. He was assigned to work for the Duquesne Light Co., and reported regularly of all Labor union activities that he observed to the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. At the end of about four years, or in 1916, he became so influential in Labor circles that he was assigned to cover Labor movements in the Pittsburg district in general and continued to do so until 1920 when he left the employ of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. and joined a similar

organization in the Pittsburg district. "As this man, since 1912, has been working for industrial service companies, while a representative of organized Labor, and due to the fact that these companies depend on industrial conflict to make their money, I consider this man a real menace to industrial peace and believe that this information should be transmitted to you in the interest of the public welfare.

"I intend to continue this investigation and will make a supplementary report, or reports, as this information comes to hand."

At the recent State Federation of Labor Convention held at Allentown, a committee of delegates from Pittsburg were called together by Vice President Williams of the Machinists and given a copy of the report made to Dr. Meeker. About the same time, P. F. Duffy, general organizer of the A. F. of L., and recently stationed at Pittsburg, came to the convention and gave to certain delegates the result of an investigation he had been making at Pittsburg, which charged Beattie with being in the employ of the Central Industrial Service Bureau, with offices in the Frick Annex Building, Pittsburg.

Then it was seen that the reports which had been received from the various investigations carried on by the different groups began to fit together.

The report which had been rendered to Dr. Meeker charged Beattie with being in the employ of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. from January 17, 1912, to some time during the year 1920.

The fact that the Central Industrial Service Bureau had been selling reports of the Metal Trades Conven-

tion of the A. F. of L., held at Portland, Oregon, in 1920, to the manufacturers at Pittsburg directed attention of some investigators, as well as of General Organizer Duffy, to this agency, and then it was also developed that the employment agency, which had been refused a renewal of its license by the State was a sub-agency of the Central Industrial Service.

The information also was made known that the manager of the Central Industrial Service was a W. W. Groves, who had been the Pittsburg manager of the Railway Audit and Inspection Co. for a number of years up to 1920, at which time he left the Railway Audit and formed the Central Industrial Service, taking with him a number of operators, including Beattie, known as "Operative 05," from the Railway Audit Company.

Beattie was a delegate to the Metal Trades Department convention at Portland, and the Groves agency selling reports of this convention brought to light the fact that rumors that Beattie was connected with this agency might be well founded.

Turning back to the first report, General Organizer Duffy made an investigation and verified the charge that Beattie had been bonded by the National Surety Company of New York City for the Railway Audit Company, through an agency known as J. A. Damman & Co., whose address at that time was 141 Broadway, New York City, the date of the bond was renewed each year, including 1920, and expired on January 27, 1921. This indicated that Beattie had gone with Groves in 1920 to the General Industrial Service, the time when Groves left the Railway Audit and formed this company.

In addition to weaving a complete chain around Beattie, who is a Vice President of the Firemen and Oilers and editor of the journal of that organization, Secretary of the Pittsburg Central Labor Union and President of the Labor Bank of the same city, the investigators have included the names of several other representatives of various organizations in Pittsburg and other Pennsylvania cities. Further investigations of these men are being made at this time.

## DEBS EXPLODES TALE HE BACKS DAVIS

(Continued from Page 1)

surance that Debs has strongly denied request for interviews, conversations and messages of any and all sorts during and since the convention.

"I have now in my hands a written positive statement from Debs himself emphatically assuring me that though the sanitarian has been surrounded and invaded by reporters insistently urging him to grant at least a very brief interview, he has formally declined to see or communicate with any individuals, press representatives or committees with the one exception, namely, the interview with the committee appointed by the national convention of the Socialist Party which visited him Wednesday of this week.

"The management of Lindlaur is working with complete accord with the National Socialist Party to the end that Debs be thoroughly pro-

tested against a swarm of photographers, interviewers, and special messengers seeking access to Debs.

"BERTHA HALE WHITE, 'Secretary.'

There is an even more significant angle to the entire story than Davis' realization that the American people know he is a willing tool of Wall Street.

A few years ago, Debs' name was one to be cursed and jeered by the servants of Wall Street and the Morgan war lords, of which Mr. Davis is one. They could do so with safety then, for the passion of war hatreds they had stirred had blinded the eyes of the common people.

Since those dark years, the American people have learned that the "war for democracy" was but another conflict of imperialist ambitions; they know now that America was dragged into the war by Mor-

gan and his fellow international bankers to safeguard the loans he had made to the Allies through his English and American banking houses. Therefore, the people of America now honor Debs for showing them the truth with such great courage and at such cost to himself.

Davis and Wall Street know now that Debs' name, Debs' friendship is an asset to any candidacy these days. "A swarm of photographers, interviewers and special messengers" struggle to get a few words from his lips.

Few workers will be misled by the fantastic reports of Debs being "pleased" with Davis' nomination.

Debs has spoken. He favors the election of another of the people's heroes of the war days, Robert M. La Follette. He remains the champion of the party which alone has never betrayed the common people, in war and peace, the Socialist Party.



# UNION DIRECTORY

HERE'S YOUR UNION, WHEN IT MEETS, AND WHERE

**The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union**  
3 West 16th Street, New York City  
Telephone Chelsea 2148  
MORRIS SIGMAN, President ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

**CLOAK AND SUIT OPERATORS' UNION**  
LOCAL 1, I. L. G. W. U.  
Local 1 Building, 128 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 3590  
Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
LOUIS ROSENWITZ, Chairman. LOUIS LEVY, Manager-Secretary.

**The Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union**  
Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office 231 East 14th Street Telephone Lexington 4180  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION  
DAVID DUBINSKY, General Manager

**CLOAK and SKIRT MAKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 11, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office and Headquarters, 219 Beckman St., B'klyn. Dickens 0882  
Local meets every 2nd and 4th Monday eve. Ex. Board meets every Tues. at 7:30 P. M.  
WILLIAM COHEN, Chairman. HARRY CHANCER, Secretary.

**CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 144 Second Avenue Telephone Orchard 0415-0416  
Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 7 P. M. at 79 Delancey Street, at 8 P. M.  
ABRAHAM GOLDIN, President. J. KELLER, Secretary.  
ABRAHAM NELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board.

**DRESSMAKERS' UNION**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.  
Office, 10 West 21st St. Watkins 7950  
The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.  
MAX BLUSTEIN, Chairman. I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary.

**Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers**  
Office, 331 E. 14th Street. Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U. Lexington 4540  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.  
Section Meetings  
Downtown—211 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.  
Brooklyn—177th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.  
Harlem—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.  
B'klyn—105 Montross Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.  
SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary.

**SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION**  
LOCAL NO. 2, I. L. G. W. U.  
120 East 25th St. Madison Sq. 1471  
EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.  
D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary.

**Italian Dressmakers' Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U.**  
Affiliated with Joint Board Cloak and Dressmakers' Union. Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office, 8 West 21st Street. Telephone 7745—Watkins.  
LUIGI ANTONINI, Secretary.

**Waterproof Garment Workers' Union, Local 20, I. L. G. W. U.**  
120 East 25th St. Madison Square 1924  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M.  
M. POLINSKY, A. WEINGART, Manager Sec'y-Treas.

**AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA**  
31 UNION SQUARE, N. Y. Suite 701-715  
Telephone: Stuyvesant 6500-1-2-3-4-5  
SYDNEY HILLMAN, Gen. President JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

**NEW YORK JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
611-621 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Telephone: Spring 7600-1-2-3-4  
DAVID WOLF, General Manager ABRAHAM MILLER, Secretary-Treasurer

**CHILDREN'S CLOTHING WORKERS' JOINT BOARD**  
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA  
790 Broadway, New York City. Telephone: Stuyvesant 4830, 9510, 9511  
JOE. GOLD, General Manager. MEYER COHEN, Secretary-Treasurer

**New York Clothing Cutters' Union**  
A. C. W. of A. Local "Big Four."  
Office: 44 East 12th Street. Stuyvesant 8596.  
Regular meetings every Friday night at 210 East Fifth Street.  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 7 P. M. in the office.  
MURRAY WEINSTEIN, Manager. MARTIN SIGEL, Sec'y-Treas.

**PANTS MAKERS' TRADE BOARD**  
OF GREATER N. Y. AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.  
OFFICE: 125 EAST BROADWAY. ORCHARD 1257  
Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening at the Office. All Locals Meet Every Wednesday.  
MORRIS BLUMENREICH, Manager. HYMAN NOVODVOR, Sec'y-Treasurer.

**Children's Jacket Makers**  
of Gr. N. Y., Loc 10, Sec. A., A. C. W. A.  
Office: 2 Stuyvesant St. Drydock 6387  
Executive Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
MAX E. ROYAKSKY, Chairman  
A. LEVINE, Sec'y. M. LENCHITZ, Fin. Sec'y.

**Children's Jacket Makers**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, A. C. W. A. Section "B"  
Office 225 Broadway, B'klyn. Stages 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.  
J. Beronville, Chairman. L. Politz, Sec'y.  
J. Portney, A. Kaufman, Fin. Sec'y.

**Children's Jacket Makers**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK LOCAL 10, A. C. W. A. Section "B"  
Office 225 Broadway, B'klyn. Stages 10180  
Exec. Bd. meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 P. M.  
J. Beronville, Chairman. L. Politz, Sec'y.  
J. Portney, A. Kaufman, Fin. Sec'y.

**Lapel Makers & Pairers'**  
Local 161, A. C. W. A.  
Office: 3 Delancey St. Drydock 3808  
Ex. Board meets every Friday at 8 P. M.  
IKE SCHNEIDER, Chairman  
KENNETH F. WARD, Secretary  
ANTHONY V. FROISE, Bus. Agent.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arden Pl. B'klyn. N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman  
H. TAYLOR, LEON BECK, Sec'y.

**Pressers' Union**  
Local 3, A. C. W. A.  
Executive Board Meets Every Thursday at the Amalgamated Temple  
11-27 Arden Pl. B'klyn. N. Y.  
LOUIS CANTOR, Chairman  
H. TAYLOR, LEON BECK, Sec'y.

## GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN CONGRESS

BERLIN.—When Otto Wels, presiding over the opening session of the national congress of the Social Democratic party of Germany, held in the main hall of the Prussian Diet building in Berlin from June 11 to 14, announced that more than 750,000 husky young Socialists and Democrats had already enrolled in the "National Banner, Black-Red-Gold" and were ready to defend the Republic against any and all attacks by monarchist armed bands, a storm of applause from the 400 delegates and party officials and thousands of visitors fairly shook the walls of the solid edifice. It was only a short time ago that the German Socialists openly declared, through Deputy Paul Loebe in the Reichstag, that they did not intend to stand idly by and allow the Ludendorff-Hitler reactionaries to organize armed forces for the overthrow of the Republic, but were going to build up a trained force of their own that would be at the disposal of the Republican Government whenever necessary. This move revealed a decided change of heart among the leaders of the German Socialists, as last fall when the danger of a reactionary "putsch" was at its height, Karl Severing, Socialist Minister of the Interior of Prussia, decried the organizing of Republican Defense Centuries and averred that the police force and the Regular army could take care of the situation. Now young Socialists are rushing to join the new defense group, with the hearty approval of the party leaders, and it looks as if they will soon have a force several million strong.

The party congress, the first held since the union of the old Social Democracy and the Independent Socialists in the fall of 1922, constituted a genuine display of strength and showed that the loss of seventy-one deputies in the Reichstag elections of May 4, bringing their total down to 100, has been amply discounted and had not hurt the party's morale. With practically all of the dissenting elements out of the party and in the ranks, either of the Communists or of the extreme reactionaries posing as National Socialists, the Social Democracy, according to the report of Secretary Ludwig, is rapidly regaining its old time strength of numbers and spirit. The dues-paying membership at the beginning of this year was 1,261,072, including 130,000 women, and since

### Organization of Defense Troops by Socialist Party Stirs Delegates to Enthusiasm—Membership is on the Increase, 1,261,000 Now on Rolls.

then it has climbed several notches. The havoc among the party papers wrought by the inflation crisis which reached its height last fall is being rapidly repaired, the organization at present owning 169 newspapers of various kinds, many of them dailies. As has been reported in The New Leader, practically all the special educational publications suspended last year have been revived under different names and in improved forms. The party now has twice as many papers as in 1914 and the number of readers, greatly reduced during the crisis, has come back fast and is above that of pre-war days.

The Reichstag campaign was waged with an expenditure of only \$210,000, which is striking evidence of the amount of volunteer work done. The party's income has almost attained the pre-war figure and is gaining fast. Comrade Ludwig aroused enthusiasm among his hearers when he told of the some \$24,000 which the Socialist and Labor International's affiliated parties and organizations had contributed during the crisis to help keep the German Social Democracy's financial head above water. The party's educational features are functioning well, the newly organized Friends of the Children movement having seventy local groups already, the youth organizations more than 100,000 members and the number of educational committees having risen to above 800.

As was reported briefly in The New Leader of June 21, the stand of the party leaders in favor of Parliamentary collaboration with the bourgeois parties when it was absolutely necessary, was approved and an attempt to have the convention declare for the expulsion of President Ebert from the party was turned down hard. The vote on the resolution defending the coalition policy, which was introduced by Hermann Mueller and defended by most of the parliamentary leaders,

was 262 for and 105 against. A motion to instruct the Socialist deputies to vote against appropriating any money to maintain the Regular army was lost by a vote of 249 to 99.

In defending the right of the Socialists to participate in a coalition government under certain circumstances, it was brought out by Arthur Crispian, Rudolf Hilferding, Wilhelm Soliman and many others that such participation was not a matter of principle but of expediency. Again and again it was asserted that the German Republic must be maintained against all enemies, either on the Right or the Left, i. e. against monarchists and Communists, as the best basis on which to win the cooperative commonwealth. It was also emphasized that the Socialist Party in supporting the acceptance of the Dawes reparation plan was under no illusions as to the essentially capitalistic character of said plan, but realized that it afforded a basis for economic and political rehabilitation and that with the increase of Labor's political strength in England, France and the other allied nations there was little doubt but that the oppressive features of the plan would be modified and that Germany would again take her place in the family of nations. The numerous representatives of Socialist parties of other countries present at the congress voiced hearty approval of these sentiments.

As if to emphasize the clean break with the Communist elements, now regarded as necessary by the great majority of the German Socialists after the experiences of the past year during which the followers of Zinoviev and his Third International have tried their worst to put the Social Democracy out of business and to capture the trade unions, the delegates voted, almost unanimously, that membership in the International Workers' Relief was not compatible with membership in the Social Democratic party. It was pointed

out that the well-organized Workers' Welfare Association, under the control of the Socialist unions, was the proper channel through which aid should be given to suffering German workers.

The committee handling the matter of restoring unity in Saxony, following the trouble caused in the party there due to the vain attempt of the Socialists to cooperate with the Communists in resisting the reaction, reported that a satisfactory solution had been reached and that in the future the Socialist members of the Diet would consider themselves bound by the decisions of the Saxon party conventions and the national congresses. Considerable leeway is left to the Saxon party, but the National Executive Committee reserves the right to hold up any decision by the provincial conventions in case of emergency and subject to the action by a national congress. All the participants in the Saxon conference signed a statement attesting their desire to see harmony prevail in the party.

The make-up of the new party executive elected by the congress is as follows: Chairmen—Mueller, Wels and Crispian; treasurers—Bartels and Ludwig; secretaries—Molkenbuhr, Juchacz, Stelling, Dr. Braun and Dittmann; councillors—Nemitz, Dr. Moses, Fischer, Hildenbrand, Ryneck, Frank and Stahl; control commissioners—Loebe, Bruehne, Bock, Brey, Hengsbach, Mueller-Lichtenberg, Treu, Schoenfelder and Agnes. The congress closed amid scenes of great enthusiasm, many "hochs" for the German and International Social Democracy and the singing of the Socialist March.

### Commodious Quarters Are Now Occupied by Brooklyn Optician

The well-known optical establishment of I. M. Kurtis, located for more than 21 years at 1028 Broadway, Brooklyn, where so many of the Call, New York Leader, and New Leader readers have been accommodated in the past, will now be located at 1034 Broadway, Brooklyn. The removal to larger and better quarters was necessitated by the constant increase in the volume of business and New Leader readers will find in the added conveniences additional reasons for their continued patronage.

## The Challenge of Socialism IX. The Reward of Labor

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

About nineteen years ago, the American plutocracy imported from England the late William Hurrell Mallock, M. A., to destroy Socialism in America, root and branch.

Mr. Mallock was noted in Great Britain as a political economist. Bernard Shaw said that he was a great economist, and the economists believed that he knew something about politics. He had won a little fame a decade before by tempting fate and engaging in a controversy with Shaw, and the result of the debate was one of Shaw's most brilliant books on Socialism and Mr. Mallock's complete rout.

In America, however, the Civic Federation thought that he could "get over" with his story, which was that Socialism was all wrong and based upon all sorts of fallacies. They therefore billed him to speak in many parts of the country, and university presidents vied with each other for the honor of presenting the great man who would, once and for all, dispose of the claims of the Socialist upstarts.

Superior Brains  
Mr. Mallock made the best case

that has ever been made against Socialism. It was this: that Socialists say that wealth is robbery; that no one is entitled to wealth who hasn't earned it, and that the only people who have earned wealth are the manual workers. And there, Mr. Mallock pointed out, the Socialists are dead wrong.

What about the directive ability of the managers and superintendents? What about the inventive ability of the thinkers and poets and scientists? What about the superior brains of such people as Mr. Mallock?

So it befell that Mr. Mallock's "superior brains" became the center of heated arguments everywhere. The whole case that the great thinker had built up was based upon two propositions: that the Socialists denied that anyone was entitled to wealth except the actual manual workers, and that there were others besides manual workers who contributed to the world's wealth.

Of course, when the Socialists irreverently and truthfully called Mr. Mallock a liar, that settled it. Socialists never made the claim that he attributed to them, and with the denial of the claim his whole elaborately worked out case fell to the ground.

The Socialist Claim  
What Socialists claim is that under the present system there is much unhappiness and distress; that the cause of the unhappiness and the distress is the fact that those who do the work of the world do not get the reward of the good things of life, while those who get the good things of life are precisely the people who do the least good in the world.

"Labor produces all wealth," says the Socialist, "and to the worker, all he produces."  
As industry develops, as it becomes more and more complex, less and less of actual, physical, hand labor is required, and more and more planning, organizing, managing, is necessary to get wealth out of the earth, and to the people.

For example, in the past, the miner dug into the earth with his pick, and what he got, he got. Today, the metallurgical engineer, the mining engineer, the chemist, the accountant, the railroad manager, the construction gang, the leader of the gang of workers—all have to get to work before the first pick is driven; and because of the organization, because of the work of the engineer and trackmen on railroads a thousand miles from the mine; the work of every miner is made infinitely easier, and he produces more coal or ore than the miner under the simpler system.

Labor's Reward  
The Socialist says that the only points out that under the present

system, the workers who do that are just the people who do not get the benefit of the organized toil.

It would be easy to prove by statistics that the less useful a person is, the larger income tax he pays. That fact has been brought out again and again by analysis of the successive income tax returns.

But it is not necessary to prove it by tables of statistics. It is the common knowledge of every man and woman in the world that the less useful a person is, the more likely it is that he rolls and wallows in wealth. And that the more useful a worker is, the more likely it is that he suffers for the want of the very necessities of life.

The stories that fill the newspapers from Newport and Palm Beach; the "society" news, and reports from old world resorts, should be ample. And the lives that the majority of the working people lead.

It is a fact that many men who do useful work have vast incomes; such men as managers and presidents of corporations. But it is also a fact that the bulk of the income of such men comes, not from their directive work, but from their investments—which means that they are paid royalty, not for directing, but for owning.

It is likewise a fact that a worker who is more useful to his trade than another is apt to get more compensation; but the difference between a good worker and a poor worker is relatively slight and exists only within a circumscribed sphere. The great fact still remains that the useful workers get the lesser, the more miserably compensated, while the great wealth, allowing the fullest enjoyment of the good things of the world, are fed to people in direct ratio to their uselessness.

The Case  
The case against Socialism rests upon the statement that those who get the things of the world earn them, and are entitled to them.

The case for Socialism can be stated thus: that labor of hand and brain creates all wealth; the fruits of the labor of hand and brain are largely at the disposal of those who do no work; those who do the world's work suffer for the lack of the things of the world, and this lack is the cause of most of the world's ills; and the way to remedy the ills of the world is to manage so that the workers (of hand and brain) receive all they produce—which means the wealth of the world.

To achieve this means a reorganization of the world; it means the elimination of parasites; it means a whole new order. But having once determined upon the fundamentals, the management of the details will follow in their proper place. Important, of course, they are, but with the great facts decided upon, all else will find their proper solution.

thing in the world that produces wealth is the application of intelligent, organized and directed Labor to the natural resources of mother earth. And the Socialist further

The working man is not treated as a human being, but simply a cog in a wheel which is useful to grind out wealth for the rich.—Keir Hardie.

Socialism does not come by shouting.—Hardie.

**NECKWEAR CUTTERS**  
Union, Local 6939, A. F. of L.  
2 E. 14th St. Stuyvesant 1678  
Regular meetings 1st Fri. every month at 12 ST. MARK'S PL.  
G. LEVINE, N. ULLMAN, Sec. Sec'y.  
A. Schwartzwald, Chas. Ranno, Vice-Pres. Treas.  
LEO SASTAN, Bus. Agent

N. Y. Joint Council  
**CAP MAKERS**  
of the U. C. H. & C. M. of N. A.  
Office, 210 E. 5th St. Orchard 9800-1-2  
Council meets every 1st & 3d Wednesday  
Jacob Roberts B. Eisenstein L. Baehr  
Manager Rec. Secretary Fin. Sec.

Local 1 (Operators)  
Regular Meetings Every 1st and 3rd Saturday.  
Executive Board Every Monday.  
MORRIS GELBER, Organizer

Local 2 (Cutters)  
Meetings every 1st & 3rd Thursday  
Executive Board Every Monday  
G. M. SEPCROB, ED. SASLAVSKY, President. Vice-Pres.  
SOL HANDMAN, L. BAER, Sec'y. Fin. Sec'y.  
All meetings are held in the Headgear Workers Lyceum (Beethoven Hall) 21<sup>st</sup> East 5th St.

INTERNATIONAL  
**FUR WORKERS' UNION**  
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA  
Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor  
9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y. Tel. Hunters Point 68  
MORRIS KAUFMAN, General President.  
ANDREW WENNER, General Secretary-Treasurer.

**JOINT BOARD FURRIERS' UNION**  
OF GREATER NEW YORK  
Office: 22 East 22nd Street Phone Gramercy 0618  
Meets Every Tuesday Evening in the Office  
SAM COHEN, President ABRAHAM BROWNSTEIN, Manager  
ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, ADOLPH LEWITZ, Sec. Sec'y. WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Vice-Pres.

**FUR FINISHERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 15  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
A. SOIFER, Chairman.  
S. LANGER, Vice-Chairman.  
H. ROBERTS, Secretary.

**FUR CUTTERS UNION**  
LOCAL 1  
Executive Board meets every Thursday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
WILLIAM CHERNIAR, Chairman.  
L. GOLDBERG, Vice-Chairman.  
N. FISHEROFF, Secretary.

**FUR NAILERS' UNION**  
LOCAL 16  
Executive Board meets every Monday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
I. RUBINSTEIN, Chairman.  
C. ZORENBURG, Vice-Chairman.  
ADOLPH LEWITZ, Secretary.

**FUR OPERATORS' UNION**  
LOCAL 5  
Executive Board Meets Every Wednesday at 8:30 P. M. at 22 East 22nd St.  
B. BEGGON, Chairman  
M. GOLDFELD, Vice-Chairman.

NEW YORK JOINT BOARD  
**INTERNATIONAL POCKETBOOK WORKERS' UNION**  
GENERAL OFFICE:  
62 UNIVERSITY PLACE, N. Y. Phone Stuyvesant 4408  
CHARLES KLEINMAN, Chairman  
OSMIF WALINSKY, General Manager



## THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

This is the time of times to get The New Leader before new readers.

Street meetings are being held everywhere, conferences are sprouting upon the slightest provocation, and more attention is being paid to political matters today than for a long time.

### THE NEW LEADER IS INDISPENSABLE.

For example, Charles H. Morrill, who served nearly ten years in the Massachusetts Legislature, writes us from Haverhill that he is a member of the State Committee for Progressive Political Action and that he considers the July 12 issue, containing the details of the Cleveland conventions, indispensable. "I have read it carefully," the old agitator says, "and deem that issue first class to sell among Socialists and others and acquaint them with the proceedings."

Comrade Morrill says in a few words just what we have been trying to say in the twenty-six issues that have appeared to date. We have given news, discussions, and interpretations that we think are needed more than anything else. The enthusiastic response to our paper everywhere convinces us that we have made good.

And don't forget August Bebel's great book, "Woman in the Past, Present and Future," that is to be given as a premium to new subscribers.

It's a great book—none greater—and every reader of The New Leader should have a copy. If you have one already, get a new one to give as a present. If you are already a subscriber, get a new subscription for a friend and win a copy of Bebel's masterpiece.

Here are the terms: Everyone who sends in one new sub for a year, for the regular price of \$2, or two half-yearlies for \$2.50, will get a copy of the book FREE. If your half-yearly sub is about to expire, RENEW AT ONCE FOR A YEAR and get the book.

This offer lasts only until the limited supply of the book lasts. TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OFFER AT ONCE.

And, by the way, there isn't a better way to do propaganda work for Socialism and the Labor party than with The New Leader. Order a bundle AT ONCE for street meetings and other affairs.

The New Haven comrades are always alive. Sunday, July 20, as usual, they have ordered a big supply of The New Leader for their guests.

Here's a yarn (a true one) from a coal mining section in Indiana. There's a Comrade who has been out of work for a year. When a friend showed up with a copy of The New Leader, he devoured it; and he had to tear it into four pieces because his fellow-miners couldn't wait until he was through with it. We sent him a bundle of twenty-five, and we will continue to send that number as long as he is out of work. Then watch the lot of them send in their subs!

We haven't the time to tell all we know at this moment, but we could give you a list of readers who missed the first few issues when they first saw The New Leader, and who insisted upon getting the full file from No. 1. One bundle of sixteen issues went to London the other day to a man who didn't want to miss a single issue. The complete list of such folks would fill this column.

Jessie Wallace Huggan is one of the most devoted of our comrades, and she knows a good paper when she sees one. She writes: "May I congratulate you on The New Leader? It is a thoroughly satisfactory Socialist organ."

J. A. C. Meng, lives in Youngstown, Ohio, and he is one of the hardest working Socialists in that State. He writes:

"Since I was compelled to give up my position with the American Railway Express Company, in February, I have borrowed \$300 on which to live. I have spent it all with the exception of half, enough to pay my regular board-bill of \$50 for August. I fully intended spending part of my borrowed purse on the Sunday excursion to Cleveland to meet the comrades at the convention, but in a lucid interval I decided to deny myself this pleasure and, as a consolation compensation, to treat myself to a six-month subscription to The New Leader.

"The New Leader is great. I endorse the 'Step backward' to let our benighted comrades catch up. 'Tarry one for another.' I was a die-hard, like our old Arkansas State Secretary, W. R. Snow, but I am convinced sectarianism, narrow-mindedness, and bigotry should all be discarded by true Socialists, and I shall write Snow to that effect."

Comrade Meng is sixty-five years

old, but he is not downhearted. He sends in a list of ten names for The New Leader, and says that he is having the time of his life advancing the great Cause.

Here is another man of the same golden type. His name is W. P. H. Wilson, and he comes from Eldersville, Texas. He writes: "We are in the grip of one of the worst droughts this country has seen in years, and we have just not got the money. We live in a cotton country, and that is all we have to get a dollar. We like the paper and think it is worth its weight in gold, and as soon as we can get the money we will renew our subscription. I am a dyed-in-the-wool Socialist to the last drop of red blood in my veins." With support like that, how can we fail to grow and serve a cause that means so much to such men!

Doris Morris, of Florence, Mont., sends in \$2.10 more for the paper. "There is no trouble to dispose of them," this fine Comrade writes: "We send our copies out again as soon as we read them. We make a point of sending the paper to someone not yet interested in Socialism. Thus they fulfill a double mission." That's why Socialism is growing!

The first batch of Bebel's "Woman" went out the other day. Among the Comrades who got the prize were men and women in Rochester, Coney Island, Gloversville, N. Y., Philadelphia, Salmonville, Ohio, Newark, and Naugatuck, Conn. That's only a start!

Tom Flynn of Buffalo refuses to be kept out of a single issue. This week he sends in twenty-six subs. Robert Seifert, one of the twenty-six, was not only prompt in renewing his own, but he also enlisted in the job of putting out samples and helping Tom in getting new readers. Mrs. Marie Jensen, of Buffalo, is another who refuses merely to subscribe, but insists upon getting subs on her own account. She has turned in as many as four in a week on numerous occasions.

We have a list of new subs from all over the country, covering fully three closely written sheets.

Esther Friedman, of the Bronx—and the rest of the country—sends in five from Pasco, Wash. John L. Wrather, of Mayfield, Ky., one of our agitators and pioneers in the Blue Grass country, not only sends in subs every week but takes a bundle to distribute and get new subs.

Dr. A. J. Adams, of Wauchita, Fla., sends in a sub, asks for a bundle of samples, and volunteers to be our agent in the land of sunshine and oranges and real estate.

S. A. Cooper, of Worcester, Mass., sends us four.

Fred Schwartzkopf, of Bridgeport, Conn., sends in four to add to our heavy list in that city.

Other subs have come in this week (here are a few taken at random) from Evanston, Ill. (Labor-hating Dawes' home town); Everett, Pa.; Cicero, Ill.; Galveston, Tex.; Jacksonville, Fla.; Chicago; Covington, Ky.; South Orange, N. J.; Lawrence, Mass.; Morristown, Tenn.; Rockville, Conn.; Longmont, Colo.; Cortland, N. Y. (Silverware Lusk's home town); Yukon, Okla.; Philadelphia; Great Falls, Mont. (where Jimmie Graham comes from); Deckert, Tenn.; one from Allen Cook, the indefatigable, devoted, tireless Comrade of Canton, Ohio (a special bouquet for him); Bayonne, N. Y.; Louisville, Ky.; Chinook, Alberta, Canada; Onaway, Mich.; Twin Falls, Ida.; West Eaton, N. Y.; New Brunswick, N. J.; Coquille, Ore.; Syracuse, N. Y.; and Jacksonville, Ill. (four subs).

No, that isn't a list of towns copied out of the postal guide, but a few places where new readers of The New Leader are located.

DON'T FORGET TO RENEW! AND GET A NEW SUB!

### Union Halls

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## FOR YOUR SCRAP BOOK

Under this heading The New Leader will reprint excerpts from books, ancient or modern, that our readers should be glad to keep for future reference. Readers are invited to offer selections for consideration. The name of the author and the title of the book from which the selection is taken must accompany each contribution.

### THE FRUITS OF LABOR

By J. BRUCE GLASIER

From "The Meaning of Socialism"

**B**ROADLY speaking, it is clear from our investigation that the profits of the capitalist are not derived from the spoliation of the individual worker whom he himself actually employs, but from the spoliation of the whole mass of the workers, not so much in their capacity as workers as in their capacity as members of the community.

Not only have we found an answer to the question: "From whence does the capitalist derive his profit?" but we have found a principle which throws an important light on the question: "Is not the worker entitled to the fruits of his labor?"

If by his "own labor" is meant his own labor only, our reply surely must be that he is fully entitled to every particle of the fruits of it.

But heaven help him, and civilization as well, if he, as a citizen, as a civilized man, is entitled to, and is going to be content with, no more than the fruits of his own individual labor as a worker! He is poor enough as it is, but his condition would, in most instances, be even more deplorable were he and his family to obtain food and comfort no more than the exact measure of what he could or what he does produce by his own unaided intelligence and strength. As things now are, he, in all probability, receives twice or thrice as much as that.

What the worker does not receive, and what the workers in the mass do not receive, is their share, as members of the community, of the socially created increment of wealth.

And to that share he and they are entitled, not simply because they are workers, but because they are men, citizens, members of the brotherhood of society, or the nation.

The worker is, in all truth, robbed grievously by the capitalist. But the robbery, though perpetrated in the workshop, pillages him not so much, if at all, of the fruits of his own labor as a worker, but of the share that belongs to him, as a member of the brotherhood of the community, of the collective produce of the collective labor, genius and skill of the whole of society. This the capitalist does by paying him a wage which is not equivalent to the full share of the collectively produced wealth to which he, as a member of the community, is entitled, but only to a share of so much of that wealth as remains after the capitalist has considerably depleted the store by his rent and profit.

And in fighting, as the worker is now beginning to do (chiefly as the result of a better understanding of his own and his fellows' plight, and of the hope of deliverance from it, which he has gained from Socialist teaching), he is fighting, not really, as he imagines he is doing, for the mere fruits of his own labor, as a wage-earner, but for the common fruits of social cooperation, progress and civilization which are his own and his fellows' heritage and right as members of the commonwealth.

### See That Your Milk Man Wears the Emblem of

#### The Milk Drivers' Union

Local 584, I. B. of T.

Office: 605 Hudson St., City.

Local 584 meets on 3rd Thursday of the month at ASTORIA HALL, 62 East 4th St.

Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the Broadway, Room 8.

FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 8.

F. J. STEINBERG, Pres. & Bus. Agent.

NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

German Painters' Union

LOCAL 409, BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS DECORATORS & PAPERHANGERS

Regular Meetings Every Wednesday 8 P. M. at the Labor Temple, 242 East 84th St.

BRUNO WAGNER, President.

CHAS. ROSENK, Rec. Sec'y.

N. Y. Wood Carvers and Modelers Association

Regular Meetings 1st and 3rd Friday.

Board of Officers Meet 2nd and 4th Friday.

242 East 84th Street, 15 East City.

Frank Walter, H. Kramer, Rec. Sec'y.

A. Pagniotte, Wm. Dettelbach, Fin. Sec'y.

H. Veit, August Schrepp, Treasurer.

Waiters' Union & Allied Cafeteria Workers

Local 219, H. R. E. I. A. & B. I. of A. N. Y.

Office & Headquarters 179 E. 80 St., N. Y.

LENEX 1874

Regular meetings every Tuesday, 3 P. M.

Meyer Scheraga, Chas. S. Levy, President.

Bus. Agent & Sec.

#### JEWELRY WORKERS

UNION, LOCAL 1, I. J. W. U.

Office: 63 Park Row, New York

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday in the office at 6 P. M. Regular Meetings Every Second and Fourth Tuesday.

Room 505, 63 Park Row, New York City.

S. E. BEARDSLEY, LEON WILLIAMS, Organizer.

#### CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

Office and Meeting Room:

175 E. Broadway, Phone Chelsea 6616

Regular Meeting Every Monday at 8 P. M.

Executive Board Meets Every Thursday

J. EFFERT, D. HOFFMAN, Manager.

#### SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORTFOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place, New York

The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Monday of the month at the office.

Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y.

Chas. Garfield, Org. H. Kaplan, Sec.

## WORKERS!

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LOCAL 1

162 East 23rd Street, Gramercy 0843

Executive Board Meets every Wednesday at 4 P. M.

Regular Business Meetings every second and fourth Thursday in the month, at Bartholomew Hall, 219 East 8th Street.

J. LASHER, President.

WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

CONEY ISLAND OFFICE:

2430 West 25th Street, Telephone Coney Island 4285-J.

D. SAMOYITZ, Manager.

## PAINTERS' UNION, No. 51

Headquarters 356 EIGHTH AVENUE

Telephone Longacre 5629

Day Room Open Daily, 8 a. m. to 6 p. m.

JOHN W. SMITH, FRED GAA, President.

M. McDONALD, G. F. BREHEN, Vice-President.

Regular Meetings Every Monday, 8 P. M.

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I. U. S. and O. Engineers' Local 56

Meets every Friday at 8 P. M. at Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, Telephone 2544.

Office hours 8 to 10 A. M. and 4 to 6 P. M., Room 14.

F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

## Journeyman Plumbers Local Union 418

Of Queens County, New York

Meets Every Wednesday Evening at 235 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City

MICHAEL J. McGRATH, President; WM. PIPOTA, Fin. Sec'y; JOHN W. CALLA, Rec. Sec'y; CHARLES McADAMS and GEORGE PLANAGAN, Bus. Agts.

## HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 231, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.

175 E. Broadway, Phone Orchard 5239

Meets every 1st & 3rd Tuesday

AL GRABAL, President

L. KORN, S. JACOBI, Manager.

## United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY

Meet 1st and 3rd Monday, 8 P. M. Executive Board, Every Saturday, 12 Noon

R. GURKIN, MAN FINE, Chairman.

H. ABRAMSON, M. FEINSTEIN, Vice-Chairman.

Ass't. Secretary

# It's Up to You!

You, who helped us to abolish slavery in our trade, help us now in the struggle for preventing the return of the same slavery. The bread trust is planning our destruction, our enemies are instigating against us.

You, who have no reason to be against us, could and should help us. This is very simple for you to do, does not cost you any extra money or efforts. Just make up your mind not to eat scab bread—Ask for the Union Label!—That is all.



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Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 183, 189 and 305

## BRICKLAYERS' UNION

Office: 230 EAST 84th STREET LOCAL 34 Telephone Lenox 4580  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening in the Labor Temple  
THOMAS CAHILL, President  
THOMAS PORTER, Rec. Secretary EDWARD DUNN, Fin. Secretary

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

LOCAL UNION 488  
MEETS EVERY MONDAY EVENING at 495 East 166th St.  
OFFICE: 601 EAST 181ST ST. Telephone Melrose 3674.  
THOMAS DALTON, President. CHAS. H. BAUSCHER, Bus. Agent.  
HARRY P. EILERT, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN CLARK, Rec. Sec'y.

## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America

Office and Headquarters, 12 St. Mark's Place. Dry Dock—4886  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month.  
V. J. CASTELLI, President. WILLIAM GARDNER, Rec. Secretary  
MICHAEL CURTIN, Vice-Pres. CHARLES FIESELER, Fin. Secretary  
N. VILLACCI, Bus. Agent.

## United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America

Local Union 786 4215 3rd Ave., corner Tremont Ave.  
Regular meetings every Monday evening  
Walter Anderson, President Bert Post, Rec. Secretary James Dughan, Fin. Sec'y  
Victor Sault, Vice President Joseph Vanderpool, Treas. Chas. Nobis, Business Agent  
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## UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF Carpenters and Joiners of America,

LOCAL UNION No. 808  
Office and Headquarters in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 549 Willoughby Avenue, Phone 4514 Stage  
JOHN HARKETT, SYDNEY PEARCE, HENRY COOK, Treasurer.  
President. Rec. Secretary. Business Agent.  
FRANK HOFFMAN, JOHN THALER, CHARLES FRIEDELL, Vice-President. Fin. Secretary.

## DOCK AND PIER CARPENTERS

LOCAL UNION 1456, UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS & JOINERS OF AMERICA. Orchard 6804  
Office: 12 St. Mark's Place.  
Regular meetings every 2nd and 4th Monday.  
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Michael Erikson, Vice-Pres. Ed. M. Olson, Fin'l Sec. Ludwig Benson  
Christopher Gulbrandsen Charles Johnson, Jr. Ray Clark  
Recording Secretary Treasurer Business Agents

## COMPRESSED AIR AND FOUNDATION WORKERS

UNION, Local 63, I. H. C. & C. L. of A.  
Office, 227 E. 84th St. 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. Daily except Wednesday, closed all day, Lenox 7523  
Meetings every 1st and 3rd Wednesday.  
JOHN McQUINN, JAMES MORAN, President.  
Vice-Pres. PETER FINNEAN JOHN McPARTIAN MAT. J. HANNON  
Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary Bus. Agent

## PLASTERERS' UNION, LOCAL 60

Office, 4 West 125th St. Phone Harlem 6432.  
Regular Meetings Every Monday Evening. The Executive Board Meets Every Friday Evening at THE LABOR TEMPLE, 243 EAST 84TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.  
MICHAEL J. COLLIERAN, President and Business Agent.  
J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. Business Agents:  
THOMAS SHERIDAN, Fin. Sec'y. JOHN LEAVY JOHN DOOLEY  
MICHAEL GALLAGHER, Rec. Sec'y. JOSEPH LEMONTE

## Upholsterers' Union, Local No. 76

Office 35 East 2nd St. Phone Orchard 3283  
Meets Every Second and Fourth Wednesday at Arlington Hall  
23 ST. MARKS PLACE at 6:30 SHARP  
JOSEPH HARKOW, J. ROTTER, WOLF ALPER,  
Secretary-Treasurer President Business Agent

## Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators of America, District Council No. 9, New York City.

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and National Building Trades Council  
MEETS EVERY THURSDAY EVENING  
Office, 166 East 56th Street.  
Telephone Plaza—4100-5616. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

## PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: 62 East 100th Street Telephone: University 3228  
Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday at the Office.  
Regular Meetings Every Friday at 210 East 104th Street.  
ISADORE SILVERMAN, J. HENNENFIELD,  
Financial Secretary Recording Treasurer

## NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 230  
Office and Meeting Room:  
108 Seventh Avenue Phone Chelsea 9549  
Regular Meeting Every Monday. Executive Board Meets Fridays at 8 P. M.  
GEO. B. BOVELL, JAS. P. CONYAN, President.  
J. J. COGGAN, D. J. NAGLE, Rec. Secretary Fin. Secretary

## U. A. Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Marine Plumbers

LOCAL UNION NO. 463 OF NEW YORK CITY  
Meeting Room, 243 East 84th St., New York City  
EVERY WEDNESDAY, 8 P. M.  
2033 Fifth Ave. Phone Harlem 4678



## D R A M A

On the Threshold  
of ArtPLAYS OF OLD JAPAN, at the  
Threshold Playhouse

It's a pleasant journey by bus, these summer days, to the home of the S. P. C. C., where in the Children's Theatre, Michio Ito has arranged these fragrant pieces of old Japan. The theatre itself is well worth a visit, with its Willy Pogany murals, and its genuine castles in the air, not to mention the circus-rings in the ceiling, through which the lighting comes. The wall paintings represent your favorite fairy tales, delicately colored, with much of the Pogany blue: there are Jack with his beanstalk, Little Red Riding Hood, Puss in Boots, and a number more of memory's treasured ones, bodied forth. There is the Sleeping Beauty.

The Japanese plays that now take the stage could hardly wake the sleeping princess, for their movement is as slow as a lily-decked stream idling its way through a Japanese garden. To a Broadway audience, accustomed to the Twentieth Century Express speed of our own plays, these dramas would not long be bearable, yet, if we are not too harsh with the actors, they have a beauty quite distinct from what we find in our own. "Tokiyori" ("For-saken Love") winds its way, with many a return and repetition, with little dialogue—practically all the essential points are delivered in soliloquies—to a poignant end, in which the little dancer learns that love and sorrow are one and the same. A brief sketch, also slow-moving, but genuinely humorous, prepares the way for "Bushido," the most poignant piece on the bill. This one-act tragedy was presented years ago, by the old Washington Square Players; their performance was in a faster tempo, in concession to the speed of American life. But the performance of the Threshold Players gave good measure of sympathy to the tale of the eight-year-old lad whose parents and he voluntarily yield his life for the protection of their young lord. The plot of this, as of the other playlets, is purely oriental, just as the simple settings and the slow, poised movement of their performance. But if one succeed in winning the mood of the unhurried East, one will enjoy an evening of the quaint, quiet charm achieved in these plays of old Japan.

J. T. S.



MARY YOUNG

an early arrival of the new season, in Edgar Selwyn's "Dancing Mothers," opening at the Booth Theatre, August eleventh.

## Shocking the Public

## Eliminate Suggestive Titles

ACCORDING to the trade journals, word has gone forth to the film producers to go easy on suggestive sex titles. The following item from the London Morning Post is therefore of much interest.

"It is not time for film producers to give up trying to shock the public! They set out with a slightly suggestive title, and then present a dull, often deadly dull, study of sex psychology, in which the only thing of conceivable interest is either the acting or the settings. If these fail then is the film-viewer, indeed, undone. There is usually a trifling incident—if you watch closely enough you may see it—which gives the censors much food for thought, because they are bound to take notice of it, or else some busy-body will. They do their best, therefore, to tone it down, so as to prevent giving the film the cachet of having been refused a license.

What makes most of these pictures so annoying is that the doubtful incidents are so stupid and trivial. The producer imagines he is being daring and up-to-date or introducing an Ibsen touch to the screen, and the audience walks out saying, 'Well, is that all?' I thought it was going to be much worse. I read something much more shocking than that in my newspaper feuilleton yesterday."

## Seven Openings Announced for August

The new season is getting under way—rather slowly however. So far some seven plays have been announced and theatres mentioned. A new edition of "Artists and Models," scheduled for August at the 44th Street Theatre. "Dancing Mothers" will come to the Booth Theatre on August 11. "The Werewolf" is booked to open at Maxine Elliott's Theatre on August 23. "The Dream Girl" and "Marjorie Daw" will also come to town next month at houses selected later. A. H. Woods will bring "Kelly's Vacation" to the Hudson on August 17.

Monday night "Fata Morgana" will move back to the Garrick Theatre to spend the summer.

## 25,000 Pictures Per Second

Monsieur Lucien Bull's New High-Speed  
Moving Picture Machine Films Insect Flights

M. LUCIEN BULL, sub-director of the Marey Institute in Paris, according to an article in the Manchester Guardian, describes the new apparatus by which moving pictures can be taken at the rate of 25,000 per second. The highest speed for ordinary cinema pictures was, he pointed out, 300 per second, which was ample for everyday work, the method adopted being momentarily to stop the film as it was exposed.

To obtain higher speeds various devices had been adopted, and the electric spark had two peculiar properties that gave it enormous value. In the first place, it had a brilliance of from fifteen to twenty times that of the sun, so that it would affect a photographic film much more rapidly than the sun could do. In the second place, the duration of the spark was astonishingly small, and when pictures were taken at this rate it lasted only 1-200,000 of a second; it was, in fact, as if the sun shone on the earth for a single day and this day was followed by a night of 250 years. Consequently, sharp images could be obtained on the film even though it was continuously moving behind the lens, at a very rapid rate.

M. Bull reviewed some of the early experiments at the Institut Marey with this method for photographing insects in flight. The blue-bottle, he said, behaved admirably. All that was necessary was to enclose it in a glass tube fitted with a mica door, and to shine a bright light opposite the tube. The blue-bottle walked down the tube and flew straight to the light. By opening the mica door it exposed the film, and the exposure was stopped as the mica door fell back.

The Exasperating Wasp  
The wasp was an exasperating insect; it would go to the end of the

tube, open the mica door, and then walk back again. The bee was equally exasperating; it would open the door and then crawl about the end of the tube. To secure a picture of a wasp in flight he had had recourse to the drastic measure of shooting it out of a spring gun.

Among many interesting pictures taken by this method, which M. Bull showed, was the bombardment of a soap bubble with a paper pellet. The pellet could be seen entering the bubble (which automatically sealed up the hole made by its entry), traversing the centre of the bubble, and shattering the bubble as it emerged.

The method had a great drawback—that for mechanical reasons only very narrow images could be obtained if it was desired to push the speed, say, from 10,000 to 25,000 exposures per second. This difficulty had been overcome. Instead of moving the film—as was done in all previous methods—the image was cast on to a rapidly moving mirror or other optical device, and reflected on to a stationary film placed around it.

M. Bull demonstrated for the first time in public, photographs taken at the very high velocity of 18,000 to 20,000 exposures per second. One of the most curious was the picture of a bullet passing through a glass bulb. As the bullet emerged it appeared to be larger than it was when entering, because of the powdered glass with which it was coated. Another remarkable effect, of which no explanation could be given either by the Institut Marey or by the artillery officers for whom the experiments were conducted, was that when a bullet shattered a piece of wood the wood fragments achieved a velocity greater than that of the bullet.

Horace Liveright  
as ProducerNoted Publisher Plans  
Four Productions

THE formation of a new theatrical producing firm, headed by Horace B. Liveright (Boni and Liveright, Inc.) well known as a publisher, was announced yesterday. Frank Mandel, dramatist, and Lawrence Schwab, already active as a producer, are the two other members of the firm.

Four plays, including one musical comedy, have already been secured by the firm for October production, it is announced. The first production will be a new comedy by Edwin Justus Mayer, author of "A Preface to Life," with scenery and costumes by Lee Simonson.

Mr. Mandel is the author of many plays, including "My Lady Friends," "Mary," and "No, No, Nanette," which comes to the Music Box in September. Mr. Schwab has produced "The Gingham Girl" and "Sweet Little Devil," musical comedies of the past two seasons, in addition to many gaudy sketches.

## Goethe—Autocrat

Goethe designed the forerunner of the Weimar Theatre, where special performances are being organized to celebrate his 175th birthday next month, and directed it for many years on autocratic lines. "The direction," he wrote to his chief assistant, "acts according to its own views, and not in the least according to the demands of the public. Once for all, understand that the public must be controlled." The Weimar public preferred to stay away rather than be controlled, so the audience consisted mainly of Court folk and Jena students who came over as often as they could to visit the theatre of their adored Goethe. Even then he held with a tight rein. Once, when some rather daring passages of a play called "Alarcon" provoked laughter, Goethe rose from his seat in the center of the pit and thundered out, "Let no one laugh!" Eventually he went so far as to forbid any expressions of approval or disapproval on the part of the public. He resigned in a huff after 27 years' service. Goethe's enemies induced Duke Karl August to engage an actor named Karsten, who had made a hit with a performing poodle in an adaptation from the French, "The Dog of Montargis." After the first rehearsal Goethe declared that he would never set foot again in a theatre where a dog had been allowed to perform; and he stuck to his resolution.

"The Shame Woman," Lula Vollmer's drama of the Carolina mountain folk, will be seen in Chicago and Cleveland this fall.



COLLEEN MOORE

will be seen on the screen at the Broadway Theatre, next week, in a new film, "The Perfect Flapper."



RUDOLPH SCHILDKRAUT

The Schildkrauts, Rudolph and Joseph, will be seen the coming season in new play, "Father and Son."

## "Soiree de Paris"

SHOULD you be visiting Paris this summer, don't fail to visit Montmartre, and above all, go to the Theatre de la Cigale, writes Allanah Harper in the London Sunday Times, if you wish to see an original and artistic performance, for here it is that Le Comte Etienne de Beaumont has arranged "Les Soirees de Paris." In one evening you can see dance, painting, music, and poetry, offered by the very best of the younger generation in France: Derrain, Picasso, Cocteau, Milhaud, Braque, Poulenc, etc.

The first play introduced, written by M. Tristan Tzara, one of the originators of the Dada movement, was most original and daring. He presents a romantic and realistic plot in the most modern of settings.

A trestle stage is erected in the middle of the boards of the theatre, and upon this the drama takes place. At each side of the trestle stage the audience can see the artists putting on their hats, coats, whiskers, and false noses, and the whole process of transformation. The scenes are made up of enlarged picture postcards of Venice, Monte Carlo, and the South Sea Islands, the characters standing in front of these cards, and the audience using its imagination.

The final of the fifteen acts of this poetical little play, called "Mouchoir de Nuages," is a triumph. The hero, a poet (after having alienated the affections of the banker's wife), commits suicide and ascends, to the skies in a mouchoir of silver silk, like a formless spirit rising up to the clouds through the roof of the house. This is done by Loie Fuller's genius in the design of lighting effects through illuminated scarves.

The next delight is the chef d'oeuvre of the evening, "Salade," a ballet danced by the greatest of dancers, Leonide Massine, and a company worthy of him. The decor and costumes are designed by Braque, and the charming music, which won unanimous praise from the audience, was composed by Darius Milhaud. I saw Mr. Arthur Rubinstein and other musical celebrities rushing around to congratulate him.

M. Jean Cocteau, the clever writer of the "Grand Eclair," etc., is now producing "Romeo et Juliette," which he has translated and adapted. M. Jean Victor Hugo has designed the dresses and scenery.

The desire to surprise and disturb is certainly characteristic of the more daring and active intellects today, who are making a gallant attempt to bring the minds of the public to the true value of Art, which, as Walter Pater says, "comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments' sake."



FAY BANTER

is coming to the city in "The Dream Girl," a Victor Herbert musical comedy. Due here about August.

Lonsdale's "The  
Fake," Next Season

A. H. WOODS, freshly returned from Europe, announces the acquisition of several new plays, an English actor, two new theatre sites in London and one in Paris, and his new Capitol Theatre, now in process of evolution in London.

The new plays the "The Tailor of Trouville," a farcical comedy in 3 acts by Leopold Marchand and Paul Armont, in which Lowell Sherman will be starred next October, and "The Vamping Dog," by the same authors, intended for production in November. The new actor is Godfrey Tearle, whom Mr. Woods will present in Frederick Lonsdale's "The Fake," in September. The latter play is now running in London. "Kelly's Vacation," will open at the Hudson Theatre, on August 17, with a new cast not yet selected. Mr. Woods has two other plays in rehearsal—Florence Mills in a revue called "Dixie to Broadway," in association with Lee Shubert, and a musical play "The Belle of Quakerstown," featuring Eddie Buzell and Helen Ford, in association with the Bohemians, Inc.

## Vaudeville Theatres

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY  
B. S. Moss' Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday, will show Colleen Moore in her newest photoplay, "The Perfect Flapper." The Keith vaudeville program will include Jim McWilliams, Hawthorne and Cook, the Correll Girls, Eddie Carr and Company, Malinda and Dade, Florence Seely and Company and Boyd Senter.

## FRANKLIN

Monday to Wednesday—Bert Hanlon, Niblo and Seeman, Amac, other Keith acts. Wanda Hawley in "The Desert Sheik."

Thursday to Sunday—Kramer and Boyle, Higgins and Blossom, Two Gezzis, others. Barbara La Marr and Conway Tearle in "The White Moth."

## PALACE

Wellington Cross, Mosconi Brothers, assisted by Sister Verna and Brother Willie, Roy Cummings, Jack Donahue, Allan Rogers and Leonora Allen, Margit Hegedus, Shaw and Lee, the Three Lordons and The Remos.

## RIVERSIDE

Henry Hull, Edna Hibbard and Company, Benny Rubin and Company, Charles Judels and Gene Ford, Rae Eleanor Ball and Brothers, Maud Earl, Tarsan, Hermann and Shirley.

## 8th STREET

Miss Patricola, George Moran and Charles Mack, Diamond and Brennan, the Morin Sisters and Jack Clifford, Ponzini's Sixteen Monkeys, Burt Shepherd, Stewart and Olive, and Maurice Tournour's, "The White Moth," with Barbara La Marr and Conway Tearle.

## NOTES

The Winter Garden Revue, "Innocent Eyes," will have but two matinees, Tuesday and Thursday, during the summer. The Saturday performance will be omitted.

Fay Marbe joins the cast of "Innocent Eyes," at the Winter Garden, Monday night. Harry Neumann has been appointed musical director of the Revue.

Oscar Wilde's "Salome" was presented as the summer program of the Triangle Theatre, in Greenwich Village, Thursday night.

## At the Cinemas

ASTOR—"The Sea Hawk."  
BROADWAY—"The Perfect Flapper," with Colleen Moore.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Girl Shy."

CAPITOL—"Bread," a picturization of the novel by Charles G. Norris, with Mae Busch, Wanda Hawley and Robert Frazer.

COHAN—"The Ten Commandments."

CRITERION—Mary Pickford in "Dorothy Vernon of Haddon Hall."

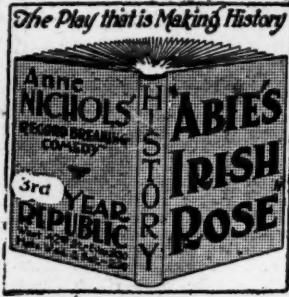
LIBERTY—Douglas Fairbanks in "The Thief of Bagdad."

RIALTO—"Behold this Woman," from E. Phillips Oppenheim's, "The Hillman." Irene Rich and Charles Post in the leading roles.

RIVOLI—"The Side Show of Life," based on Wm. J. Locke's, "The Mountebank," with Ernest Torrence and Anna Q. Nilsson.

STRAND—"The Signal Tower," with Virginia Valli and Wallace Beery.

## T H E A T R E S



ANNE NICHOLS' LAUGHING SUCCESS

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY  
"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK  
"The Perfect Flapper"

with COLLEEN MOORE  
of "Flaming Youth" fame.

Florence Seely, Malinda and Dade, Boyd Senter Co., Correll Sisters, Jim McWilliams, and other  
B. F. KEITH ACTS

Everybody in New York  
is saying that

"THE GRAND ST. FOLLIES"  
is the most original  
revue in town

AT THE  
Neighborhood Playhouse  
466 Grand Street  
Every Ev. (Except Mon.), No Mat.  
Orch. \$1.50. Balcony \$1.00. Tio.  
Telephone Dry Dock 7516

## Music and Concerts

## Stadium Concerts

N. Y. Philharmonic Orchestra  
WILHELM VAN HOOGSTRAATEN...Cond.  
LEWISohn Stadium, Amst.-Av.-138 St.  
SUNDAY NIGHT, at 8:30  
"EROICA" SYMPHONY  
STRAVINSKY, "FIRE BIRD"  
ARTHUR JUDSON, Mr. Steinway Piano  
PRICES 25c., 50c., \$1.00

Fritz Reiner to Conduct  
Stadium Concerts

Stravinsky, Two Brahms Symphonies,  
and Oratorio Society On Program

THE debut of Fritz Reiner as guest conductor, a repetition of Beethoven's "Ninth Symphony," two works of Stravinsky, two symphonies of Brahms and a program of French music are some of the features promised for the Stadium concerts by the Philharmonic Orchestra next week.

Fritz Reiner, who makes his New York debut at the Stadium on Thursday evening, is conductor of the Cincinnati Orchestra, which organization he has led for the past two years. So successful had been his career in Cincinnati that his engagement has been extended for several additional seasons. He comes to the Stadium directly from the Prague Music Festival. Mr. Reiner is a Hungarian by birth, but makes his home in Italy. He will conduct two weeks, after which Mr. Van Hoogstraaten will return for the balance of the season.

The programs for the week follows:  
Sunday—"Symphony No. 3" (Eroica); Beethoven; Suite, "The Fire Bird," Stravinsky; "Rosamunde" Overture, Schubert.

Monday—"Leonore" Overture, No. 3, Beethoven; "Symphony No. 9," Beethoven; chorus from Oratorio Society of New York; Soloists: Ruth Rodgers, soprano; Helena Marsh, contralto; Charles Stratton, tenor; Fraser Gange, baritone.

Tuesday—Overture to "The Magic Flute," Mozart; "Symphony No. 2, in D Major," Brahms; (a) Sarabande, (b) Danse, Debussy Ravel; Wotan's Farewell and Magic Fire Music, Wagner.

Wednesday—"Symphony No. 5," Tchaikovsky; Tze-Poem, "Don Juan," Johann Strauss; Waltz, "The Beautiful Blue Danube," Richard Strauss; Overture to "Leonore," No. 3, Beethoven.

Thursday—Prelude to "Die Meistersinger," Wagner; Fourth Symphony, in E minor, Brahms; "Fire Works," Stravinsky; "Till Eulenspiegel's Merry Pranks," Richard Strauss.

Friday—Overture, "Benvenuto Cellini," Berlioz; "Iberia," Debussy; "Coppelia" Suite, Delibes; "The Sorcerer's Apprentice," Dukas; Suite from "L'Arlesienne," No. 2, Bizet.

Saturday—Overture to "William Tell," Rossini; Symphony No. 4, Tchaikovsky; "Ballad of the Gnomes," Respighi; Ballet and March from "Aida," Verdi.

Mischa Elman will give a series of three chamber music concerts by string quartet; Mischa Elman, first violin; Edward Bachman, second violin; Nicolas Moldavan, viola; Horace Britt, violoncello, at Town Hall. The first con-



MOVES to GARRICK THEATRE TO M.V. NIGHT

FATA MORGANA  
ERNEST MADA'S COMEDY  
EVS. 6:30 - MATS. THURS. & SAT.

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THE DRAMATIC SENSATION

COBRA

By MARTIN BROWN

HUDSON THEATRE, W. 44th St.  
Evs. 8:30. Mt. Wed. Sat. 2:30  
Mgt. Mrs. H. B. HARRIS

Fred Morgan, Mirror, says:

"DELIGHTFULLY PERFECT  
PERFECTLY DELIGHTFUL."

"EXPRESSING WILLIE"

A Comedy by RACHEL CROTHERS  
48th ST. THEATRE, MATS. TUES. & SAT.

CAPITOL BROADWAY  
AT 51st ST.

World's Largest and Foremost Motion  
Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

## BEGINNING SUNDAY

METRO-GOLDWYN Presents

## BREAD

With Mae Busch and Robert Frazer

From the Novel by Charles G. Norris.

CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA  
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE

Presentations by ROTHAFEL ("ROXY")

## MUSIC

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HELENA MARSH

soloist with the Philharmonic Orchestra, at the Stadium, Monday night, when Beethoven's Ninth Symphony will be rendered, with a chorus of two hundred from the Oratorio Society.

The Goldman Band concerts, under the direction of Edwin Franko Goldman, at Central Park, will introduce some interesting features next week. A Bohemian program on Monday—devoted largely to works by Smetana and Dvorak—a Verdi-Puccini program on Friday and a Johann Strauss program on Saturday evening.

On August 1, there will be a band concert in which nine boys' bands will compete. Prizes will be offered and several prominent musicians will act as judges. After all the bands have performed individually, the massed boys' bands, numbering almost 600 boys, will perform one selection in conjunction with the Goldman Band.

Plans have been completed for the fall tour of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, under the direction of Willem Van Hoogstraaten. Following the opening concerts in Carnegie Hall, on October 16 and 17, the orchestra will play in Stamford, Connecticut, on October 18, and the itinerary for the week of October 19 includes concerts in Providence, R. I., New London and New Haven, Connecticut, Northampton, Worcester, Holyoke and Boston, Mass. One concert will be given either in Lowell or Pittsfield.







## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, July 19, 1924

## THE CAMPAIGN BEGINS EARLY

THE lying begins early—earlier than usual.

Even while the Socialist Party Convention was still in session, Major George L. Berry, aspirant for the nomination for Vice-President on the Democratic ticket, announced that he had been offered the nomination on the Socialist ticket, but that he had emphatically declined it. A number of capitalist papers likewise said that the Socialist Party was anxious to name Berry. Maybe that was true, as Ring Lardner said, and maybe New York Bay is filled with grape juice.

Then came the famous Debs-Davis hoax, made up of whole cloth by some enterprising journalistic liars in Chicago, but it didn't last long. The New Leader nailed the lie by getting a prompt denial and making the denial public. But the attempt to spread the lie was made, nevertheless.

And finally, the third incident in a single week is the editorial (quoted elsewhere in this issue) of the Wall Street Journal frankly calling upon the Capitalist press to suppress all news of the La Follette and Labor party campaign.

The campaign is young. More and more lies will be printed as the contest gets hotter, and the word should go out to all our people—take everything with a grain of salt. If anything discreditable or discouraging to our cause appears in the Capitalist press, ASSUME IT IS A LIE UNTIL IT IS PROVED OTHERWISE.

And work like blazes building up your own press.

Senator Clayton R. Lusk has announced that he will no longer run for public office. It is generally understood that he has had all the honors and silver that any perfect patriot would care for.

### COOLIDGE AND DAVIS "SAFE"

BOTH DAVIS and Coolidge represent the American nobility founded on finance and capital. This assurance is given by the New York Commercial, which is qualified to speak for this class. The platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties "are staid and sober and for the most part ambiguous" is the assurance given by this financial journal.

But it has still better news for its class. "Neither Coolidge nor Davis offers any threat to the stability of our cherished institutions," it continues. "Both are good business men and honest persons, loyal to the best traditions, and those traditions were made to stand forth by the nation's forefathers." Moreover, "sanity" and "safety" are assured "by the election of either Coolidge or Davis."

In 1920 the same publication gave the same assurance regarding Harding and Cox. The Wall Street Journal and the Journal of Commerce also rejoiced that it made little difference whether Harding or Cox was elected. Both were considered safe by the organs of consolidated finance and capital.

These publications know whereof they speak. They never make a blunder in choosing candidates, and when they affirm that two Presidential candidates are satisfactory to them, they simply mean that the two party organizations that offer the candidates are the property of big capital and finance.

If these powerful organs of American capitalism frankly tell their readers the truth about this, we also have the assurance that increasing numbers of workers also understand it. The masters of American finance, industry and transportation have every reason to support their candidates, Coolidge and Davis. The plundered working class also has its candidates, and they are not found in the capitalist parties. We do not expect the depredators of Labor to support our candidates, and we would be fools to desert our own. If the truth regarding Davis and Coolidge were known to the great masses, neither could be elected next November. La Follette would be the next President, and a host of Socialists, Farmer-Labor men, and progressive trade unionists would determine legislation in the next Congress.

Coolidge Lauds Education Before National Educational Association—Headline. Gosh, if that man doesn't curb his wild impetuosity, he'll be committing himself to something yet.

## OUR BOASTED PROSPERITY

A STATEMENT by Senator La Follette that millions of workers in industry and on farms, "with all their industry and saving, find themselves poorer at the end of the year than at the beginning," has brought considerable denunciation from the kept press. The Toledo Times thinks it is a "vicious libel." It contends that if the worker is "moderately frugal" and is able and willing to work, the average citizen of the United States is at least removed from want.

What a consolation in this age of tremendous powers of wealth production! The workers pile up fabulous billions compared with their fathers fifty years ago, and it is assumed that they should be satisfied if they are "at least removed from want." If they are just "removed from want" no more powerful indictment could be brought against the present industrial system. It comes close to conceding La Follette's statement that the workers are "poorer at the end of the year than at the beginning."

On the other hand, it is certain that large sections of the workers are not removed from want. In the bituminous coal fields at this moment there are thousands of coal miners who are working only one or two days each week. All the financial journals agree that industry is slowing up and that unemployment is on the increase. Moreover, thousands of small banks have failed in the West and the press has suppressed this knowledge because of fear of its effect on the people in general. There are hundreds of thousands of farmers in the West who have lost everything that represents a lifetime of toil and hardship. The blight of capitalism has settled upon their former homes, leaving them desolate and sending these farmers and their families into cities and towns, bankrupt and seeking odd jobs in competition with the wage workers.

What the Brass Check editors do not know or pretend not to know would fill a vast vacuum.

The revolution which the enemy fears is that which puts the proletariat in control of the State, and the way to that lies through political action, based upon the class-conscious political action of the disinherited of all lands.—Karl Hardie.

### KLUXERS AND KOMMUNISTS

FROM time to time, occasional readers of The New Leader have written objecting to articles attacking the organized Communist movement, on the ground either that the bad blood between the Communists and Socialists is merely a family quarrel to be kept quiet, or that such attacks tend to strengthen the Communist side.

The reason given for such attacks is that the Communists, basing their actions upon the crooked philosophy that the end justifies the means, have undertaken a wholesale campaign of destruction of the Socialist and Labor movements in every country. That the Communist press is filled with bitter, vicious, venomous and untruthful attacks upon Socialists and Socialist organizations and upon the integrity of the trade unions; that these attacks are well planned and organized and are based upon a definite theory; and that the objective of these attacks is to throw the entire Labor and Socialist movement into disorder and confusion and render it sterile.

I NEED surprise no one that the bourgeois press is surprised over the Socialist decision at Cleveland to unite with powerful trade unions in support of independent candidates for President and Vice-President. The Tribune observes that we have "furred the Marxian standard for 1924" in an editorial that bears the significant caption, "The Socialist Abdication." The Times claims that we have "come close to filing a petition in voluntary bankruptcy."

These editorials are typical of the daily press. But even Mr. Villard of The Nation writes that the delegates to the Cleveland Conference "realized the significance of the sacrifice which the Socialists were making" and that "there were many ardent Socialists who felt that this was abandoning their party and its principles." Here and there may be found an occasional Socialist who expresses the same sentiments but for a different reason.

But we are really not entitled to this sympathy for the very good reason that we have not furred our banner but have induced others to raise one of their own. We have not fled a petition in bankruptcy but have enlarged our business by taking in a partner whom we have solicited for more than a generation. We have not sacrificed anything but have gained much that we have sought for many decades. We have not abandoned our party or our principles, any more than the Independent Labor Party of England did by being an important section of the British Labor Party.

Then why all these lamentations? Because some are not sincere while others lack information as to one of the purposes of the Socialist movement in all countries. That one purpose has been forgotten even by some Socialists because of the isolation to which the Socialist movement has been condemned in this country since its origin. That is, isolation from the organized working class. Historical causes have made for a chasm between the Socialist movement and the trade union movement regarding political action. This breach has become so old that even some of our party members have come to consider it natural.

### An Abnormal Situation

As a matter of fact it is abnormal. In no other country of the world does it exist, not even in Mexico, the latest arrival with a modern Labor movement. So long as the trade union movement confined its activities within the parties of capitalism we were compelled to carry the independent banner alone. When big sections of the trade union movement pick up the independent banner it is our duty to encourage them, to join

These things being so, to point out facts bearing out that line of action is the plain duty of the Socialist press.

Five years ago, those who now constitute the Communist movement began their campaign of disruption within the Socialist Party, alleging that the party was unworthy to survive because it was unwilling openly to declare for armed insurrection and dictatorship. The Socialists refused to declare for such a position, because they didn't stand for it. The Communists, who were willing enough to seek to destroy the Socialist movement for not making such a declaration themselves, were always too cowardly or too "strategic" to make plain what they really stand for—except in their private "house organs." The Socialists have therefore refused to cooperate with the Communists in any "United Front" or in any Farmer-Labor convention, and they have helped other bodies in securing information that led them to exclude the Communists because of their lack of candor. The Socialists have made it clear that the Communists are never to be trusted because of the very nature of their philosophy.

For example, Mr. Ruthenberg and Mr. Foster, after trying to get into the Cleveland convention, issued a statement viciously denouncing Senator La Follette when they were denied the privilege of endorsing him. That is characteristic.

And now we find some more Communist "strategy." Mr. Manley, secretary of the so-called "Federated Farmer-Labor party," is one of the trusted inside men of the organization of his father-in-law, Mr. Foster. In the resolutions committee at the St. Paul convention, the committee discussed the advisability of a plank on the Klan. Mr. Manley, who was chairman of the committee, stated that in localities where Labor is organized the Klan is for organized labor, and in localities where Labor is not strongly organized it is "open shop," AND THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE PUT IN THE PLATFORM ANTAGONIZING IT.

The end justifies any means, you see. Let the workers know what Communist tactics and strategy are. Let them know that in the "early days" of the Communist movement, in the "insane days" of "red raids," a Federal judge proclaimed that the Communist party was in part organized by the Department of Justice. Let them realize that whether the leaders of the present Communist-Farmer-Labor-Workers' party, Federated-Farmer-Labor-United - Farmer-Labor-TUEL aggregation are stool pigeons or not, they are doing work for which union-smashing detective agencies would be glad to pay thousands of dollars for.

Speaking to the members of the Knife and Fork Club recently Mr. C. W. Barron of the Wall Street Journal said that money is not the incentive of his class; it is "service." Serve US, he should have said.

### THE WILSON LEGEND

LITTLE by little, the Woodrow Wilson legend is disintegrating, and it will not be long before the American people will be able to view the career of the War President in objective retrospect, without bitter prejudice or fanatical passion.

President Wilson's death was heartbreakingly pathetic; he had been looming up as an almost mythical figure beside the picaresque politicians who succeeded him in office. He entered office as a new type, as a breath of ozone after generations of professional

politicians. And so it seemed at his death as if we were to have a permanent Wilson legend as an American heritage.

But Wilson's friends have begun to write memoirs, with the result that the legend is disintegrating. Wilson is shown by his most passionate admirers to have been a narrow, bigoted, self-willed martinet who brooked no opposition, who changed his mind almost like a weather-vane.

The latest of the Wilson books is that of David Lawrence, a newspaper man who was Wilson's pupil at Princeton and long his ardent admirer. Under the title of "The True Story of Woodrow Wilson," Lawrence gives many inside facts hitherto not generally known.

In the early days of the European war, violations of neutrality by Great Britain were as frequent and flagrant as by Germany. But those by Germany were made the cause of war; those by Great Britain were glossed over, largely because of the unneutral attitude of Ambassador Page in London. When the first Lusitania note was sent, in May, 1915, there was to be an addendum instructing Ambassador Gerard to hint to Berlin that America was ready to negotiate; the sharp note was to be only for public consumption. The addendum was never sent, due, according to Lawrence, to the meddling of Secretary Tumulty, who brought the matter to the attention of Cabinet members and thus killed it. In 1916, when asked about that postscript after Senator Lodge referred to it in a speech, Wilson lied and denied that there had been such a document. Bryan had bulldozed him into agreement to the note; the fear of Roosevelt bulldozed him into lying about it.

No one could differ with Wilson. No matter how much a Cabinet member might know of affairs in general, if he spoke of matters outside of his own department he was considered a meddler. Only Tumulty could get away with it.

Wilson was exceedingly susceptible to women's society. When he was courting Mrs. Galt, Lawrence says, it was charged that he neglected public business, a charge the author does not deny. He permitted his second wife to become virtually assistant President, and during his illness she was virtually President—but not by choice of the American people. But if any member of the Cabinet was even suspected of hinting that when he was physically incapacitated he was incapacitated, that was the end of Wilson's trust in him and his friendship for him. Few remained his friends to the end. He quarreled with all. He even broke with the fawning spaniel, Tumulty. Wilson could do no wrong!

Woodrow Wilson had world leadership in his grasp, but he let it slip away. He had a great opportunity, but he was not a great man. So much we learn from the books written by his closest friends and his ardent admirers. It is well that the legend disintegrates before it has a chance to become one of America's myths.

Political action for the working class through the capitalist parties is like advancing the interests of the workers by refusing to organize a union and supporting a faction in the Manufacturers' Association.

The report that Coolidge will campaign through the radio may be a confirmation of the rumor that the G. O. P. is up in the air this year.

## What is Our Socialist Duty?

By JAMES ONEAL

with them when the break with the past is sufficient to give a fair guarantee that it will be a permanent break. This, we believe, happened in Cleveland. Had the break come ten or fifteen years ago we would have been faced with the same situation that we face today and we would have had to answer the question: Shall we go along with the organized working class, or a big section of it, or shall we constitute a sect, guarding ourselves from contamination with the very class to whom we have always appealed?

But, it may be said, the program and the candidate are not Socialist. Granted. But when we have urged the organized workers to unite with us during all the weary years that we have waged the independent struggle, is there any comrade who really believed that the program in its beginning would be thoroughly Socialist or that all the candidates would be such? If so, all our striving was certain to be fruitless. A fully developed working class is not a sudden achievement. It is the fruit of years of intelligent and sympathetic cooperation in political struggles. That sympathetic cooperation is only possible by stepping back a pace or two, uniting with the main army, and marching forward together under a common banner.

### The Question of Marxism

This we Socialists have done. Have we "furred the Marxian standard"? A very important question; to be sure. I do not like to appeal to those who are dead but for some other appeal will answer. They want to know what Marx and Engels have to say on this question. Their conception of Socialist duty does not differ from that of the Socialist delegates at Cleveland. They both wrote in the famous Manifesto of 1848 regarding what relation we bear to the workers as a whole, and they answered that we "do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties." They added that we "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole" and that we "do not set up any sectarian principles" of our own. We merely regard our Socialist parties of all countries as "the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others."

It may be objected that if we are to reconcile the above quotations with our decisions at Cleveland it would be in order to find either Marx or Engels applying them

to certain situations. It so happens that Engels did apply them to the United States in a preface to the 1887 edition of his "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." He quoted the passages in full from which the above excerpts are taken and proceeded to interpret them in advice to American Socialists. He wrote that the American organized workers to "come to them; they, the minority and the immigrants, must go to the Americans, who are the vast majority of the natives."

Of course, this brings with it problems which Engels appreciated. He observed that the process of fusing all the various elements into a powerful political movement of the workers "will take some time and will not come off without a deal of friction." He went on to say that "the converging columns cross each other here and there; confusion, angry disputes, and even threats of conflict arise. But the community of ultimate purpose in the end overcomes all minor troubles; ere long the straggling and squabbling battalions will be formed in a long line of battle array, presenting to the enemy a well-ordered front, ominously silent under the glittering arms, supported by bold skirmishers in front and by unshakable reserves in the rear."

### British Labor

Here it may be remarked that the British Labor party had this experience. Engels went on to consider the matter of a platform as a basis of unity for a party of the workers. This paragraph is significant:

"To bring about this result, the unification of the various independent bodies into one national Labor army, with no matter how inadequate a provisional platform, provided it be a truly working class platform—that is the next step to be accomplished in America. To effect this end and to make that platform worthy of the cause, the Socialist Labor Party can contribute a great deal if they will only act in the same way as the European Socialists have acted at the time when they were but a small minority of the working class."

After this follows the complete paragraph from which I have quoted above. Engels then concludes with the following observation: "That is the line of action which the great founder of Modern Socialism, Karl Marx, and with him I and other Socialists of all nations who worked along with us, have followed for more than forty years, with the result that it has led to victory everywhere."

## THE Chatter-Box

### MORE SONNETS TO A DARK LADY

Like the recurrent flood of winter's end,  
My love for you brings turbulence and peace;  
And whether you are worth what I pretend  
Or not, I pray my gods for no release  
From the cruel pain that gives this passion birth  
And makes you parent to its flesh of flame.

What if its fine illusion mix with earth  
And there be secret whisperings of shame  
Among the envious in their proper pew,  
Among the fearful, in their shadowed seat . . . ?

I will walk proudly down the aisle with you  
And make command that they anoint your feet

With that high reverence that whelms in me  
When I am countered by your chastity.

Blanche Watson keeps digging them out of the Capitalist News Heaps. The following we are glad to extract from her letter to us:

In commenting upon "Davis and Victory" the New York Bulletin said of the candidate: "Surely a man whose brain has been brilliant enough to advise the leading bankers of the world will be competent to sit in the White House. . . ." But one column away, beginning on exactly the same line—in combatting a statement of the American Bar Association anent the "licentiousness of the press"—the Bulletin delivers itself of the following: ". . . the legal mind concerns itself coqually with evasion as with the adherence of the law. . . ." adding that this and other facts set down are "common knowledge."

### MUSING

The night is growing late. I sit planning  
to write to you, my beloved, but I fear  
you may not understand.  
Then in the hazy mists of my dreaming I  
fall asleep, with the pen still idle in  
my hand.  
I awake with a song of love in my heart.  
But its melodies melt into pain as I  
feel the earth again slipping beneath  
my feet.

RAY G.

We insert the following Want Ad.  
free of charge:

WANTED—A party that is neither too Protestant, Catholic, Ku Kluxish, capitalistic, socialistic, communistic, conservative, radical, honest, dishonest, and that will poll enough votes to elect me President. Will offer John F. Hyland, America's greatest little Mayor, as running mate. Send all applications to William R. Hearst.

### THINGS THAT COUNT

The fragrance of blossoms and flowers;  
The song of the birds in the forest;  
The glow of the bright golden sunbeams;  
The murmur of creeks and of brooklets;  
The charm of moonlight and starlight;  
The sweetness of sorrowful music;  
The balm of soft, gentle breezes;  
The dreams of fantastic realms;  
The beauty of grace and of color;  
The splendor of minds that are brilliant;  
The grandeur of souls that are lofty;  
The glory of deeds that are noble;  
The warmth of love and of friendship.

ANNA RAPPOFF.

Now that we have endorsed the La Follette Labor platform and party, and all the ex-editors of the New York Call have delivered the funeral sermon of the Socialist Party, we are awaiting from our rrr-red hot old-timers some appropriate obituary verses. Our corresponding editor in England informs us that he was so honored many years ago when the Socialist Party of England joined what is now the frail skeleton of influence and power, called the Labor Party of Great Britain.

S. A. DE WITT.

Here is a positive application by Engels of the second section of the Manifesto to American conditions. The advice is as good today as when it was given. That advice was followed at Cleveland. At some stage in the development of the Socialist movement in all countries it has had to face the same situation that we face now. Socialists have always been pioneers in the matter of political organization by the workers. For a long time they are isolated from the organized army of workers. In time the problems of capitalism force them to timid ventures in politics. Almost without a single exception this has first taken the form of support of candidates of the Liberal and Conservative parties.

But experience always failed to reconcile the workers to this form of political action. They are forced to a more advanced position. Then comes a break with old political traditions and political policies. The break is not general. It is generally confined to a big section of the organized workers but they eventually pull others along. They remember also that Socialists have urged them to do the very thing that they now do. True, they do it hesitatingly and cautiously as a rule. But they do it.

What would be their chagrin and disappointment if in the hour when they reached out to us for unity of action we spurned their advance and went on alone? This break has come in the United States and it has taken some comrades by surprise. Others have welcomed it with joy, with a consciousness that we have reached a stage in the development of the American workers which the workers in all modern countries reached many years ago. The latter have no doubts of where our Socialist duty lies. Nor do they believe that we can lose any thing by intimate contact and cooperation with the organized working class.