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The New Leader

For President
Robert M. La Follette
For Governor
Norman Thomas

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Twelve Pages

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COOLIDGE ATTACKED LABOR FOR A "CONSIDERATION"

G. O. P. Rail Law Boosted Living Cost 4½ Millions

Esch-Cummins Law Means Exaction of \$225 Yearly From Each Family.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Esch-Cummins railroad law, which is denounced by the Progressives as "a legislative crime" and "the railroads' post-war charter of privilege," increases the cost of living of the American people \$4,500,000,000 a year, or \$225 for each of the 20,000,000 families in the United States, according to the National La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Handbook.

"Under the terms of this law freight rates were raised, according to the Interstate Commerce Commission estimates, \$1,500,000,000 a year," the Handbook declares. "This means a burden of seventy-five dollars a year in freight rates alone on each of the 20,000,000 American families; but former Director General of Railroads Walker D. Hines and former chairman of the Board of Directors of the Santa Fe Railroad, is authority for the statement that every increase in freight rates is multiplied at least three times by wholesalers, middlemen and retailers before it reaches the consumer. This means that the direct increase in the cost of living of the American people attributable to the Esch-Cummins law is \$4,500,000,000 a year, or \$225 for each American family," the Handbook states.

"In the four years the law has been in effect it has cost each American family \$300 directly in higher freight rates and \$900 in increased cost of living."

The Progressives are pledged to the repeal of the Esch-Cummins law, "every important provision of which was drafted, either by the railroads or by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce." The campaign for the passage of the act cost the railroads \$3,000,000 for publicity, the Progressives state, one single assessment of \$1,600,000 having been levied by the Association of Railway Executives.

The law guaranteed to the railroads for the first six months under private operation the same rate of net income which had been paid under Federal control. "This guarantee, which Senator Cummins wrote into the act," the Handbook says, "was the same which he had denounced in 1918 as at least \$200,000,000 too much, declaring that it 'shocked the moral sense of mankind.'"

"Under cover of this guarantee the railroads entered upon an orgy of waste, corruption and graft," the Handbook charges. William Gibbs McAdoo testified before the Senate Committee that the railroads had wasted \$402,753,000 during the six months guarantee period on maintenance of way and equipment.

"In order to break the shop unions and enrich 'insiders' the railroads ordered locomotives and cars repaired in outside shops in which their directors were interested at from three to six times the legitimate cost. The Interstate Commerce Commission found that the Pennsylvania alone made unjustified expenditures of \$3,000,000 for locomotive repairs. Contracts were given to the Baldwin Locomotive Company for \$25,000 for repair jobs that the railroad shops regularly performed for \$4,000," are among some of the charges made.

Pointing out that the law is full of "jokers" in the interest of the railroads, the Handbook states:

"The rate of 5% per cent fixed upon an excessive 'aggregate value' is in itself deceptive. The Interstate Commerce Commission permits the deduction of Federal income taxes before this rate is computed, so that the actual rate is 6.57 per cent. But this is only a part of the deception."

"The 6.57 per cent applies to all the property of the carrier; but more than half of the property of the railroads is represented by bonds, which pay on the average only 4.38 per cent interest. This means that the 2.19 per cent saved on the bonds is applied to the stocks, making the rate

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Where and When You Can Hear N. Y.'s Socialist Candidates

The following is the schedule of speaking dates of the State candidates of the Socialist Party as announced by the State office of the party:

Norman Thomas, candidate for Governor: Yonkers, September 25; Sixth A. D., New York, 26; Binghamton, N. Y., 27; New Rochelle, 29; Rochester, October 3; Niagara Falls, 5, afternoon; Buffalo, 5, evening; Elmira, 10; Utica, 11; Oneida, 12; Amalgamated Temple, Brooklyn, 14.

Charles Solomon and Louis Waldman: Monticello, Liberty and Woodridge, September 27, 28 and 29; Utica, October 3; Syracuse, 4.

Charles Solomon, Niagara Falls, October 5, afternoon, and Buffalo, October 5, evening.

Louis Waldman, Stapleton, S. I., September 26; Elmira, Oct. 1.

Auto Cars Needed!

Who is willing to loan a car for noonday meetings?

Noonday meetings of the Socialist Party are being held every day, and automobiles are needed for this essential work.

Anyone willing to loan his car should get in touch at once with Dr. Louis Sadoff, 1 Union Square (phone, Stuyvesant 9126). Only open cars, with tops that can be taken down easily, can be used. Cars are needed from 11:30 A. M. to 1:00 P. M.

These meetings are under the auspices of the Greater New York Campaign Committee of the Socialist Party.

SOCIALISTS WIN VICTORY IN SWEDEN President Signed Name to Articles He Did Not Write

Branting Likely to Be Next Premier as Result of the Election.

The next Socialist Government is likely to be established in Sweden with Hjalmar Branting, veteran of many decades of fighting for the working class, as premier.

As a result of the elections held last Sunday, it is expected that the Socialists made a clean sweep and elected a clear majority to the Lower House. Counting of votes is going slowly, and the complete returns will not be known until October 3, it is reported, but in Stockholm alone, the Socialists gained three seats, and the Conservatives lost two. With a heavily increased vote in the cities, where the Socialists are powerful, and a light vote in the country districts, where the Conservatives have their stronghold, Socialist victory seems assured.

There were 230 members in the old house, of which 93 were Socialists, 6 Left Socialists and 7 Communists. Six of the Communists have left that party and joined the six Lefts in supporting the Socialists, making 105 Socialists. Therefore a few Socialist gains, which are clearly indicated, will give the country a Socialist Government.

The one issue, outside of Socialism versus capitalism, that was fought in the election was that of disarmament. Branting and the Socialists demanded immediate disarmament, similar to that proposed by the Danish Socialist Government of Premier Stauning. Leo Trygger, Conservative premier, who is supported by Liberal and Agrarian votes in the Chamber, took the chauvinist position that Sweden must defend herself against all comers.

Delineator Series Were Written by That Magazine—Republican Correspondent Says Coolidge Agreed to Use of His Name "for a Consideration."

By EDWARD LEVINSON

President Coolidge permitted his name and the prestige of the office of Vice-President he then held to be attached to a series of critical articles dealing with Labor subjects which he did not write himself.

According to Clinton W. Gilbert, leading Republican correspondent in Washington, President Coolidge permitted the use of his name "for a consideration."

The articles were called "Enemies of the Republic" and appeared in the June and August, 1921, issues of The Delineator, a magazine for women published in this city. Signed by Vice-President Coolidge, they purported to give his views on the spread of pro-Labor and radical ideas in the women's colleges of the nation. They attracted much attention at the time and have often been quoted from since.

The Democratic National Committee last week re-issued the facts first published in the Socialist New York Call showing that President Coolidge, while Governor of Massachusetts, had permitted the National Industrial Conference Board to write, for him and under his name, an attack on American workmen.

The interview which the National Industrial Conference Board admitted they had prepared for Governor Coolidge, referred to the "cupidity of Labor," as a symptom of American life that must be curbed. President Coolidge at no time attempted to deny the authenticity of the Socialists' charges. The Conference Board did not deny the truth of the Socialists' statement until last week, when it appeared that the

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N. Y. SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IS ON

Rousing Demonstrations to Be Held in All Boroughs of the City.

An intensive Socialist campaign in New York was formally launched Wednesday with the meeting of the Greater New York campaign committee, with the election of Joseph D. Cannon as Chairman, Julius Switkes as Secretary and James O'Neal as Treasurer, and with the adoption of definite plans for the whirlwind six weeks of intensive work that will end November 4 with the biggest vote ever cast for the Arm and Torch. "Red Nights" for the boroughs were planned, as follows:

FRIDAY, OCT. 3—BROOKLYN, WED. OCT. 8—MANHATTAN.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10—THE BRONX. All speakers are to report at 167 Tompkins avenue, at 7 East Fifteenth street and at 1167 Boston Road on the respective evenings, when the local secretaries will send them out in automobiles into every section of the county. No meetings will be held in other counties on those nights.

That is one sensational feature of the work planned. Another is to be great mass meetings in every big hall in the city, with such speakers as James H. Maurer, Victor L. Berger, Dan Hoan, Morris Hillquit, Seymour Stedman, the State ticket of the party, and other noted speakers both in and out of the organized Socialist Party.

The noon hour meetings already held were reported on, and plans made for their multiplication. Speakers already lined up for this important work are Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon, Frank R. Crosswaith, Louis Waldman, James O'Neal, William M. Feigenbaum, Bishop Paul Jones, Joseph A. Whitehorn, J. R. Smallwood, McAlister Coleman, Edward Levinson, and many others.

It was announced also that Frank M. Hill and Harry Lichtenberg, excellent executives both, are prepared to put in full time in the office of the Greater New York campaign committee from now until election, to cooperate with campaign managers and committees everywhere.

The Socialists, who had been giving so much of their time, energies and campaign experience to the La Follette and Wheeler ticket and for Socialism at a splendid membership meeting that was held in the Deb Auditorium on the evening of September 19.

The feature of the meeting was a report by Algernon Lee for a committee that had previously been considering plans for a vigorous campaign, and address by Norman Thomas, and a discussion by the membership of the plans presented by the committee.

Lee outlined the plan for a Greater New York campaign committee, to serve as a committee of action, with a campaign manager for the city. The committee and the campaign manager, he said, are to have charge of all city-wide affairs, and by their work, to inspire the branches and districts in their work, as the campaign in 1917, directed from a central office inspired the various branches to carry on the greatest campaigns they ever waged. A Madison Square Garden meeting, Lee said, should be held by the Socialist Party as its contribution to the La Follette movement, showing that movement the strength that the party is able to muster.

Lee emphasized the importance not only of working for the success of the La Follette ticket, but of strengthening the Socialist Party at the same time. "La Follette is our candidate for President" he said, "and we are proud of it. And we can show that pride, not by losing ourselves in the general La Follette campaign, but by waging the best distinctly Socialist campaign we can, and turning over our united resources to the ticket of the new party. In that way we will be strong in urging that a Labor party come out of the present campaign, and that the movement should not

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Thirty-One Telling Counts in the Progressive Indictment of Administrations of Republican and Democratic Parties

REPUBLICAN

1. President Coolidge identified as "principal" in famous Bennett-McLean telegram showing him in sympathy with those seeking to block oil investigation.
2. Illegal transfer of naval oil lands leading to resignation of Secretary of Navy Denby, and indictments of Fall, Sinclair and Doheny.
3. Proposals to turn over naval coal reserves in Alaska and water power sites on Colorado River to private interests on inadequate terms.
4. \$450,000,000 wasted and stolen by Charles R. Forbes as head of the Veterans' Bureau.
5. Wholesale traffic in whiskey permits, pardons, and alleged influence in the Department of Justice leading to dismissal of Harry Daugherty as Attorney General.
6. Illegal "arrangements" to exhibit fight film pictures under protection of Department of Justice.
7. Pardon of Philip Grossman "bootleg king" of Chicago by President Coolidge over protests of Federal judges.
8. Suppression of "dope king" investigation when "higher-ups" became involved.
9. Failure to prosecute fifty anti-trust cases presented to Department of Justice by Federal Trade Commission.
10. Futile and illegal use of the injunction in the railroad shopmen's strike in 1922 resulting in illegal arrest of 1,200 people, unwarranted investigation of 2,000 others, and useless expenditure of \$2,000,000.
11. Discharge of twenty-eight faithful and efficient employees of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving to make way for political henchmen.
12. Illegality of appointment of Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury because of his deep interest in Overholt Distillery and other Big Business.
13. Dismissal of case involving illegal withdrawal of 8,850 gallons of whiskey from the Overholt Distillery on forged permits later found in Mellon bank.
14. Wholesale graft and corruption in enforcement of prohibition laws.
15. Refunds of \$3,328,139 to Gulf Refining Co. and \$2,631,381 to the A. G. W. I. Steamship Co. in both of which Secretary Mellon is financially interested.

16. Suppression of Aircraft Investigation through influence of Secretary Weeks and others.
17. Proposal to turn Muscle Shoals over to the Alabama Power Co.
18. Libelous attacks on national women's organization by the War Department.
19. Payment of \$25,000,000 to Colombia made to aid oil interests in securing concessions there.
20. Latin-American countries coerced by State Department in the interests of international banking.
21. Facilities of Post Office Department used to protect R. B. Creager, National committeeman from Texas in alleged land frauds.
22. Attempt to force Cuba to reduce sugar crop in return for tariff reduction, and false reports on sugar production, which cost American housewives \$50,000,000.
23. Special privileges to members of the "Fish Trust" and exclusion of small fishermen from Alaskan salmon reserves.
24. Dismissal of Judge J. M. Burns for protesting against the maladministration of the Packers and Stockyards act, and failure to enforce that act to protect cattlemen, independent commission men and cooperatives.
25. Refusal to act to prevent the merger of the Armour and Morris Packing companies in violation of the law.

DEMOCRATIC

26. \$1,000,000,000 spent for aircraft and only "flying coffins" sent to France,—not a single fighting plane.
27. Millions lost in cost-plus contracts during the war never recovered.
28. One billion dollars stolen or wasted in Shipping Board frauds.
29. Illegal sales of millions in alien property as in the Bosch Magneto and Chemical Foundation sales.
30. Fraudulent sale of sugar by Government to enrich big sugar interests. Fixing of sugar prices by Attorney General Palmer at seventeen cents when sugar was selling for seven cents and false official reports issued sending prices to thirty-five cents.
31. Refusal to prosecute Southern Pacific Railroad to reclaim public oil lands worth a million dollars, fraudulently entered upon.

TEN MILLION WOMEN FOR LA FOLLETTE

Trades Union League Head Predicts Victory for Third Party Ticket.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Ten million women will vote for La Follette and Wheeler next November, Miss Ethel M. Smith, legislative secretary of the National Women's Trade Union League said today.

"For the first time since women suffrage became law," she said, "women have a real incentive to vote in a national election, a constructive platform with a real cause behind it and candidates who mean what that platform says. No man in public life has done so much as Senator La Follette to translate the organized women's program into law and practice."

Miss Smith's statement follows: "A real chance to vote effectively for a constructive platform with a real cause behind it and candidates who mean what that platform says. This is the thing that makes me enthusiastic for the Progressive presidential ticket. It is worth while and represents the one thing that can make politics worth while; constructive effort by constructive minds for public service."

"It constitutes, moreover, something that most of the women voters of the United States have never had in a national election since suffrage was won—a real incentive to vote. The old parties have merely courted us to exploit us. But even if we took their blandishments seriously, what possible inspiration could there be heretofore in voting for parties or candidates none of which suited us—voting, if at all, merely to keep the worst out, instead of to put the best in? Or else, in futile protest, voting for a minor candidate?"

"This year it is different. The La Follette-Wheeler ticket stands for a program of public service and its candidates have that kind of a record. It raises a clear-cut, positive, fundamental issue. It offers something constructive to vote for as a solution of vital national problems. It is not just a negation, alternative to other negations."

"And it is not merely a refuge for the protest vote. This ticket can win."

Democrats Concede Iowa to La Follette

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"La Follette will sweep Iowa by a large majority."

This is the flat statement made today by Senator Ashurst, Democrat, of Arizona. Democrats, he said, had practically abandoned all hope of capturing Iowa in the coming Presidential election, and frankly concede the State to the La Follette-Wheeler Independent-Progressive ticket. President Coolidge, Senator Ashurst asserted, has also no chance to carry the Hawkeye State.

Ex-Senator Clapp Endorses La Follette

WASHINGTON.—Former Senator Moses E. Clapp (Republican) of Minnesota, has vigorously endorsed the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette for President.

RAND SCHOOL LOOKS FORWARD TO RECORD REGISTRATION

The Rand School of Social Science is looking forward to a record registration this fall. Inquiries concerning the various courses are coming in daily, not only from residents of New York City, but from interested persons in adjacent and remote localities. Many out of town people who make an annual visit to New York are inquiring exactly when the lectures in drama, psychology, current events, etc., which they desire to attend, will take place. Reservations are already being made for the Darrow-Nearing debate in November.

The regular courses in economics, sociology, and psychology beginning next week include "Theories of Cultural Progress" and "The Freudian System of Psychoanalysis" by Alex. Goldenweiser, on Tuesdays; the preparatory course in English, Arithmetic, and Geography by Marius Hansome, also on Tuesdays; "Composition and Literary Criticism" and "Modern General History" by David P. Berenberg on Wednesdays; "Elements of Psychology" by Margaret Daniels on Thursdays; "Descriptive Economics" and "Fundamentals of Socialism" by D. P. Berenberg, and "Main Currents in Recent Literature" by Leo Saidla on Fridays.

The office will be open for registration every night next week until 10 o'clock.

KARLIN HITS AT IMMIGRATION ACT

Socialist Campaign in 14th Congressional District Goes Forward With Vigor.

With a vim and swing that recalls the victorious fights waged in other years by the Socialists of New York, the great campaign to carry the 14th Congressional District, and the Senatorial and three assembly districts within it, for the Socialist-Progressive ticket has gotten under way, and is gaining momentum with every day that passes. Under the management of the campaign committee, consisting of Leonard C. Kaye, chairman; Warren E. Fitzgerald, secretary; Joe Beckerman, treasurer; Irving Neuman, auditor, and J. R. Smallwood, publicity, the work of organizing the Socialist and progressive forces of the district is going rapidly forward.

The candidates are: William Karlin, for Congress; Robert Solison, for State Senate; Louis Reiff, 6th A. D.; Nathan Fine, 8th A. D.; Mrs. Ella O. Guilford, 10th A. D.

A group of 150 campaign workers, led by Karlin and the four other candidates, set out from the 6th A. D. headquarters, 257 East 4th street, Sunday morning, to make a preliminary canvass and survey of the district and distribute literature.

Meeting Friday, September 26. A ratification meeting is to be held in Henington Hall, 214 East 2nd street, on Friday evening, September 26. Meyer London, Karlin, Sam Beardsley, Marie B. MacDonald, of the American Labor Party, Abe Beckerman, and the Senatorial and Assembly candidates, will be the speakers. A rattling good meeting is expected.

Local 35, of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, at its meeting in Beethoven Hall, Monday night, endorsed the candidacy of Louis Reiff for the 6th A. D., and pledged him its strong financial and moral support in the campaign. Workers will be furnished by the union to help Reiff in the election fight between now and November.

Solison's union, the Bakers, of which he has been a member for over twenty years, during which he has been active as an executive board member and at present as secretary, which office he has filled for the last five years with great success, is also campaigning to elect him to the State Senate from the fourteenth. The Bakers' Union will furnish money and workers and speakers. Solison is at present under indictment on charges arising out of the strike of the bakers in which he was the active leader, at the instance of Samuel Untermyer, who prosecuted the Union.

"It behooves the citizens," asserts William Karlin, candidate for Congress, in accepting the nomination proffered by the Socialist Party, "to see that genuine prosperity in this country can only come through the increased buying power of the people. The buying power of the American people can only be increased by a substantial raise in wages, and by the shortening of the hours of labor, a large number of people would be employed who are now without work."

Opposes High Cost of Living. By doing this, and so creating a home market for all goods produced at home, says Karlin, we should turn the generals of the army into drummers and the admirals of the navy into commercial travelers—men who are now getting ready with their Mobilization Days to hammer at the walls of China and carry on wars in other parts of the world, that American finance and industry may extend their empire to all parts of the globe.

"If I am elected," promises Karlin, "I shall fight against tariffs that add to the cost of living. I shall fight against those laws that put the burden of taxation upon the backs of the poor and relieve the rich from the upkeep of the State and National governments. I shall fight for a liberal system of immigration, and against that unjust, oppressive and ridiculous, if it were not so tragic a measure, which was passed almost unanimously by the Democratic and Republican Congress, which law heartlessly breaks up and forbids re-union of families, and closes our gates to the masses of the oppressed of other nations. I shall fight against the Esch-Cummins law, and against the power of judges to issue injunctions against workers on strike. I shall work for all measures that shall give the workers the right to organize and conduct strikes without hindrance by courts or strike-breaking agencies."

Karlin comes out staunchly for public ownership of railways, mines, steamship lines, telegraph service, oil wells, super-power plants, grain elevators, packing houses, and other public utilities, "to eliminate profiteering by the few financiers."

ROOM AND BOARD WANTED. SPANISH business woman wants sunny, clean room and meals in private family. Vegetarians preferred.—Fleury, Hunt St. Kimbura, L.

Newspaper Carriers Seek Redress Against Their Union Head

Scores of members of the Newspaper & Mail Deliverers' Union of New York and vicinity after trying to redress their grievance against Joseph D. Bannon, the president of their organization, have made a motion for an alternative order of mandamus, which was returnable at Special Term, Part I of the Supreme Court, New York County, on Wednesday, September 10, 1924, and which was adjourned at the request of the attorneys for Mr. Bannon to September 17, 1924, at ten a. m.

According to the constitution and by-laws of this organization, regular meetings of the organization were to be held once a month. Provision is also made for the calling of special meetings whenever necessary. In spite of the fact that many of the men have demanded the calling of a meeting, and in spite of the fact that the executive council has also requested the calling of a meeting, the same was ignored by the president.

In an interview, Mr. Samuel Orr, attorney for the members, stated: "The members have a just grievance in so far as all the terms of the constitution and by-laws were violated by Mr. Bannon. Although the by-laws provide that only ten members may request the president to call a special meeting, they sent a demand signed by twenty-five members, which demand was ignored." Mr. Orr further stated: "The men are not trying to grind any axes; they have no personal animosities or gains to seek; they are not seeking to form a new organization; what they are determined to do is to see that the officers are responsive to the wishes of the rank and file of the membership and also that the constitution and by-laws are fully complied with."

Mr. Bannon, besides being the president of the union, is the circulation director of the Hearst newspapers and publications, and is also interested as an officer and director in various newspaper distributing companies.

Coolidge Attacked Labor for a "Consideration"

(Continued from Page 1)
story might bulk large in the coming campaign. This denial by the Board was to be expected, inasmuch as the letter in which it admitted having prepared the Coolidge interview was intended for members of the directorate of the Conference Board and, by accident only, fell in the hands of the Socialists who promptly published it in The Call. Just as Governor Coolidge had nothing to do with writing of the interview in which he referred to "the cupidity of Labor," it being submitted to him merely for his rubber stamp, he had little to do with writing the articles, "Enemies of the Republic" which The Delineator published.

At the time the articles appeared, the nation was still in the grip of an anti-radical, anti-Labor hysteria stimulated by Attorney General Daugherty, ex-Senator Clayton Lusk and his notorious committee, William J. Burns, and other "patriots" of the day who, like this illustrious trio, have now been retired to private life.

Vice-President Coolidge then bore the laurels of a so-called victory over the striking Boston policemen. That entitled him to rank with the other Labor-baiting hundred-percenters. The Delineator had enough enterprise to see the value of running a series of "red expose" under Vice-President Coolidge's name. Just as most of the anti-red propaganda, the articles, as prepared for the Vice-President's signature, carried with it a large dose of anti-Labor propaganda.

The articles may have faithfully represented President Coolidge's ideas on the subject under discussion. They may not have. But that is not the important point.

The important point is this: This is the second occasion on which Coolidge agreed to sign his name to attacks on Labor. Once he permitted a research bureau maintained by the industrial interests of the nation to write for him an attack on Labor; a second time he permitted a conservative magazine to prepare and print under his name similar views.

What would the American people say if they knew that the views of their President on Labor problems were written for him in the publicity department of the American Federation of Labor?

Shall they be any more charitable now that it is known that Coolidge's views on industrial subjects were prepared for him, on two occasions, by sources unfriendly to Labor?

The following is from a sketch of President Coolidge written by Clinton W. Gilbert, correspondent in Washington of the New York Evening Post and other Republican papers. The Coolidge sketch appears in the book, "You Take Your Choice," just published by G. P. Putnam. Mr. Gilbert says, referring to The Delineator articles:

"I AM INFORMED THAT HE DID NOT WRITE THESE ARTICLES; THAT THEY WERE PREPARED BY THE MAGAZINE IN WHICH THEY APPEARED, AND

HILLQUIT CORRECTS FALSE REPORTS IN THE VOLKSZEITUNG

Editor The New Leader: The Editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, to whom I addressed the subjoined letter on September 15, did not see fit to print it. May I therefore ask you to publish it in The New Leader so as to leave a record of my public denial of the absurd statement attributed to me by that paper?

Editor New Yorker Volkszeitung: September 15, 1924.

Will you please accept this somewhat belated rectification of your editorial of last Monday. Discussing my recent speech at Cooper Union, you assume that I denied the class struggle and you quote from my "Socialism Summed Up" to contrast the views which I expressed in that booklet with my alleged present stand.

What really happened was this: I was referring to the statement in President Coolidge's Labor Day speech: "I do not favor a corporatist Government, a bank Government, a farmer Government or a Labor Government. I am for a Government by all the people," and I said in substance: "This fiction of a classless Government and classless people is, of course, absurd. No person in his senses will consider the idle millionaires now entertaining the Prince of Wales as belonging to the same social class as the tailors, the painters and other tenement-house dwellers present at this meeting. The old parties deny the existence of classes in order to perpetuate them. Our party, on the other hand, recognizes that there are class distinctions and seeks to abolish them. We therefore charge that the old parties are truly class parties while we represent the ultimate interests of the whole people."

This, I believe, is good Marxian doctrine. I have proclaimed it in public meetings times without number before and after the publication of my booklet, and the Volkszeitung has always given its cordial assent to it. On this occasion, however,

your reporter simplified the statement into the one enlightening sentence: "Hillquit declared that the La Follette-Wheeler movement represents the whole people."

There has been no change in my Socialist views, but there has been a very sad change in the method of reporting by the Volkszeitung since its conversion to Communism.

MORRIS HILLQUIT.

Literacy Test for N. Y. Voters Oct. 1 to 11

Regents' literacy for first voters will be given by the Board of Education, it was announced by City Superintendent of Schools O'Shea on September 30, and October 1, from 7 P. M. to 10:30 P. M., and October 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 during same hours. On October 11, the tests will be given from 9 A. M. to 12:30, and from 7 P. M. to 10:30.

No first voters will be permitted to register without such a certificate of literacy, but the tests are simple and need frighten no one. The full list of schools in which the tests will be given will be printed in full in next week's issue of The New Leader. First voters who seek information on this matter may call The New Leader and ask for the Editor of Socialist News; Telephone Stuyvesant 4885.

The traders, owning as they do the means necessary for the livelihood of the majority of the people, necessarily own the State. They, controlling Labor, control victuals, and, therefore, control law.—Peter E. Burrowes.

M.J. Roth INC.
Third Ave. at 84th St.
KODAKS
Sporting Goods
Stationery
Toys, Books, Dolls

Sixty Cups of the Finest Tea you ever tasted—for 10 cents.

WHITE LILAC TEA
At All Grocers. 10c a Package

Restaurants
The Center Restaurant
204 East Broadway
East Side Socialist Center Bldg.
Catering for Parties
Our Specialty
Zata, Props.

The Fox Restaurant
Ladies' and Gents' Table D'Hôte and a la Carte
123 Fifth Avenue, New York
ALEX. FUCHS, Prop. Est. 19th and 20th

Trusses
When your doctor sends you to a truss maker for a truss, bandage or stocking, go there and see what you can buy for your money.
Then go to P. WOLF & Co., Inc.
COMPARE GOODS AND PRICES
1499 Third Ave. 70 Avenue A
bet. 84th & 85th Sts. bet. 4th and 5th Sts.
(1st floor) Open Even. 7:30 p.m. Open Even. 9 p.m.
SUNDAYS CLOSED
Special Ladies' Attendant

A Leader in Clothes and a Friend of The New Leader

SUITS FOR THE NEW SEASON

The Latest and Smartest Styles for Fall are already here. Tailored of fine material; a varied assortment of attractive patterns and colorings. Just the Suits you can depend upon for service and appearance.

\$27.50

Top Coats and Overcoats

New Designs - New Models - Moderate Prices

BOYS' QUALITY CLOTHING

We specialize in Boys' Suits, Overcoats and Furnishings. We are now in readiness with ample assortments of new Season Stock. At moderate prices, you will find a selection of clothing for the little fellows, the boys and the more advanced youths.

THE F. & S. STORE

S. E. Corner 84th Street and Third Avenue
Remember the Address! Just Off the "L" Station

For the Convenience of the Working Public: Our Store is Open Daily to 9 P. M. and Saturdays to 11 P. M.

MICHIGAN FURNITURE CO.
HARLEM 274 THIRD AVE. COR. 119th ST.
BRONX 3251 THIRD AVE. COR. 163rd ST.
BIG STORES LIBERAL CREDIT
ALWAYS BIG VALUES and LIBERAL CREDIT
Both Stores Open Monday and Saturday Evenings

N. Y. SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN IS ON

(Continued from Page 1)

be abandoned the moment election day is over."

Lee also made some excellent suggestions on the technique of waging the campaign, and making The New Leader more effective in campaign work.

Thomas made a brilliant little talk, emphasizing the necessity of getting the biggest possible vote for the Arm and Torch.

Upon motion, the plans of the committee were enthusiastically approved, and then the floor was thrown open for what became a fine experience meeting, participated in by Ella O. Guilford, Harry Tuvim, J. J. Coroneo, and others.



THE comfort of wearing one equals the economy of buying one

LONG

The Largest Retailer of STETSON HATS in the World

Noon-Day Meetings of Socialist Party Attract Big Crowds

The noon-day campaign of the Socialist Party was successfully launched Tuesday at a fine meeting in the crowded Borough Hall section of Brooklyn. A vast audience, numbering many hundred, packed the sidewalk and extended at least half the block back from Court street on Remsen, listening to fine Socialist speeches by Norman Thomas, Charles Solomon and William M. Feigenbaum. Several hundred platforms were distributed, and every member of the audience got a New Leader sub card.

Wednesday James Oneal, Thomas, Frank R. Crosswaith, Feigenbaum and Edward Levinson, held a huge crowd breathlessly attentive at 24th street and Madison avenue, while hundreds of New Leaders were distributed to the audience.

LENA MORROW LEWIS FINDS LABOR IN WEST STRONG FOR 3RD PARTY

OGDEN, Utah.—In her travels cross country enroute to Idaho where she will fill a three week campaign engagement, Lena Morrow Lewis writes The New Leader some interesting news about campaign activities.

Of all the States she has visited from Ohio enroute the Burlington system, it appears that Wyoming is getting down to business the best of any of them. At Cheyenne she found the veteran Socialist and ever faithful Miners' Union worker, James Morgan at the head of the C.P.P.A. of Wyoming. From him the opinion was gleaned that if they could only have a few good speakers well posted on the farming situation to go through the country districts, and had a little more time, they could carry the State for La Follette and Wheeler. La Follette clubs are being formed all over the State and their membership is exceeding the wildest dreams of the leaders of the campaign.

THE NEW LEADER BAND-WAGON

These are great days for The New Leader.

Comrades come from abroad with the news that our paper is known and respected and admired in every section of the world Labor and Socialist movement. Every day, the office is well-nigh swamped with new subs, with letters of good cheer and encouragement from the members of our family. And every day, hundreds, if not thousands, of men and women who never heard of The New Leader get acquainted with us at the big Socialist and La Follette rallies that are being held everywhere, day and night.

Today, as we write these words, the cheers of a great crowd are still ringing in our ears. Four members of The New Leader staff have just returned from a huge noon-day meeting where after the closest attention had been given to their speeches, and to one or two others, every man and woman present went away with a copy of The New Leader—every one carefully folded and placed in a pocket—not one thrown away.

One of our comrades has just returned from a tour of six European countries. He says The New Leader is known everywhere. Herbert Tracey, official editor of publications for the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, asked him especially to bring greetings to The New Leader, adding a word of cordial compliment to the paper. Mrs. Nina Bang, member of the Danish Cabinet, had a copy of The New Leader with an article about her, on her desk. A letter on New Leader stationery sufficed to give the American visitor an immediate audience with Mrs. Bang. The New Leader is likewise known and respected in Germany, Holland and Belgium.

At home, everything is more encouraging than it has ever been. Never in the experience of the oldest campaigner has there been anything like the response to our appeal for new subscribers.

Every day hundreds of letters come with checks and money orders and even stamps and half dollars wrapped in paper. They come from new subscribers, and from old subscribers putting their friends and neighbors and shop-mates on the list.

The average for several weeks has been 100 new readers each day!

They come again and again from the same people. They come from men and women who are filled with the same missionary zeal that inflames the members of our staff, who have heeded the query of this paper:

WHY KEEP A GOOD THING TO OURSELVES?

Here's an example of the response that we get: Naomi Local Union, 2396 of the United Mine Workers, Fayette City, Pa., heard of The New Leader. They didn't wait for details, but sent a check for \$20, for 40 quarterly subs, for 40 members of their union. Because it is the action of a union, that achievement stands out at the head of our Roll of Honor this week.

That was one letter; but in each mail there is a batch of letters fast enough to choke a horse with singles, and two and three and four and more subs in each.

Merely to enumerate the names and addresses of those who deserve to be in this roll of honor would fill several pages of this paper. Here are a few:

Louis J. Thel of Aliquippa, Pa., sends \$8.50 and a heavy batch of new subs.

Edward Perkins Clark of Hartford, Conn., came across three times with batches of new subscribers—and is still going strong.

Fred Pierson of Newton, N. J., didn't know The Call was dead. He sent \$4.00 for a Call sub. When supplied with a sample of The New Leader, he gladly applied the \$4.00 for two yearly subs, one for himself and another one for a friend.

Minnie McFarland of Unatilla, Oregon, pays for a bundle of ten for the rest of the campaign.

Mrs. Alice S. Eddy, increases the weekly bundle of Local Los Angeles, from ten to twenty copies.

W. D. Allman of Butler, Pa., adds five to his weekly bundle, making thirty, which he sells every week to the miners in his locality.

William M. Boyd of Endicott, N. Y., added eight new subs to our list in one week. Boyd is one of the best hustlers the party ever had. Now watch things happen in Endicott!

S. H. Stille send six new subs in a week.

Mrs. Jane Scott of Monaca, Pa., again brings in two new subs bringing a total of ten to her credit.

Anton Zornik, Hermine, Pa., sent new subs twice in one week.

Tom Flynn of Buffalo is turning in subs so quickly that it is hard to keep track of them. And then that trio of magnificent New England workers—Helena Turitz, Albert Weisbord and Alfred Baker Lewis—never lets a week go by without their fat quota of new subs, scattered in every part of Cal Coolidge's own New England.

A. O. Gribshy of Tolesboro, Kentucky, has a new stunt. He got The New Leader's circular letter, and immediately sent in \$4.00 on account. The names to which the papers are to be sent are to come in later, when he promises many more than \$4.00 worth.

And our own August Claessens! You can never leave that man out of any picture of hard work for his cause. In one week, he sends in twelve subs—and more every day.

Here is a partial list of a few of the current week's boosters:

R. H. Lane, Aurora, N. C.; H. David, Hoboken, N. J.; A. Koerstner, Stamford, Conn.; J. E. Wall, Quincy, Ill.; H. Pryts, Pittsburgh, Pa.; L. W. Burdick, Bradford, Pa.; Philip Shore, Pittsburgh, Pa.; A. Halpern, Pittsburgh, Pa.; F. Reilly, Penn Grove, N. J.; E. Gates, Oklahoma City, Okla.; E. H. Hollenbeck, Kingston, N. Y.; M. Nanto, Detroit, Mich.; A. Logan, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; T. B. Gardner, Joplin, Mo.; Sam E. Friedman, Three months; L. M. Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.; A. W. French, Chelsea, Mass.; John Molhan, Valley Falls, R. I.; H. J. Dalymple, Lake Charles, La.; William Dietz, Lake Charles, La.

Mrs. L. E. Young, Gulfport, Miss.; A. D. Mahoney, Spring Valley, Minn.; E. Rodgers, Olympia, Fla.; H. T. Butler, Morristown, Tenn.; William Schieber, Mechanicsville, N. J.; C. S. Schade, West Decatur, Pa.; Mrs. Doering, Erie, Pa.; William Stephenson, Erie, Pa.; E. Hedeon, North Bessemer, Pa.; W. Bennington, Cleveland, Ohio; O. C. Mastin, Clanton, Ala.; A. Kerel, Brockton, Mass.; J. H. Roundy, Marblehead, Mass.; L. F. Crum, Ithaca, N. Y.; L. Schorpp, Philadelphia, Pa.; Pellish, Prescott, Wash.; N. W. Rasmick, Stratton, Va.; A. Fackma, Bayonne, N. J.; Thomas Mahoney, Childress, Texas; Oscar Saari, Philadelphia, Pa.; A. D. Atkinson, South Braintree, Mass.; Charles Semmendinger, Palisades, N. J.; F. E. Kerr, Rosemont, W. Va.; V. J. Peters, Galveston, Texas; J. Deininger, Le Mars, Iowa; M. D. Johnson, Florence, Oregon.

And growing all the time. For the sake of our great cause; DON'T KEEP A GOOD THING TO YOURSELF. Send in at least \$2.00, for at least one new half yearly and two quarterlies for the campaign only. It's our job to get out the paper. It's yours to get the paper out, to make it the biggest thing we ever saw.

For Your Child's Sake

Don't torture your child by making him swallow something that he does not like. When your child needs a physic, give him

EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

EX-LAX is as delicious as the choicest confection, and cleanses the bowels in a most natural, pleasant and painless manner. It is absolutely harmless, and children love it.

10, 25 and 50c a box, at all drug stores.

G. O. P. RAIL LAW BOOSTED LIVING COSTS FOUR MILLIONS

(Continued from Page 1.)

on the stock 8.76 per cent. As a matter of fact many of the railroads are earning far more than this.

"Railroad propagandists will attempt to make the people believe that under the Esch-Cummins law the profits of the railroads are limited to 6 per cent and that all above this amount has to be divided with the Government. This is not true," the Handbook asserts.

"This is the so-called 'recapture clause' of the law. It is absolutely valueless as far as the public is concerned. No Class A railroad has paid a penny into the Federal treasury, and the few small railroads which have pretended to obey the law have paid in only the ridiculous amount of \$223,789."

Public ownership of the railroads is declared to be inevitable. This is privately admitted by railroads and bankers, the Progressives assert, and those interests are accused of "laying the groundwork for a big killing. That is why they are so deeply interested in the valuation of the roads, which they are trying to have set at \$10,000,000,000 more than actual investment."

The Progressives see public ownership as inevitable for the following reasons, discussed in the Handbook: Because railroad competition has ceased;

Because constant increase in capitalization without corresponding increase in physical equipment is imposing an intolerable rate burden upon American agriculture, business and consumers;

Because private initiative has been eliminated by monopoly control and railroad management has deteriorated;

Because the attempt to pay profits through wage reduction results in labor discontent, inefficiency and strikes;

Because Capital cost is becoming prohibitive;

Because the trend toward public ownership is becoming world-wide;

Because monopoly control of railroads is strangling competitive business and commerce;

Because the railroads have ceased to be operated for the benefit of either stockholders or shippers. They are operated for the sole benefit of the "insiders";

Because the "milking" of the railroads by banking syndicates, supply and repair companies and other corporations in which officers and directors have stock interests has reached enormous proportions. This graft amounts to hundreds of millions annually;

Because the experience of Canada with the Government-owned Canadian National Railway points the way. While freight rates are lower

on the Canadian National than in the United States the Canadian Government last year showed an operating surplus of \$20,236,563.

"The Progressives are not committed to any particular plan of public ownership," the Handbook states. They will, however, demand that any plan that may be submitted for approval shall embody the following fundamental principles:

"Adequate compensation for every dollar honestly invested;

"Freedom from bureaucratic control;

"Complete protection for the rights of all employees;

"Elimination of politics and patronage;

"Operation for service, not profit, upon the basis of actual cost."

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woolens to make to order
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bet. Lenox & 7th Aves. near 12th St. near 163rd St.
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of the CAMPAIGN!

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VOTE FOR LA FOLLETTE?

SCOTT

NEARING says NO!

Foremost Radical Spokesman

MEYER

vs. LONDON says YES!

Ex-Socialist Congressman and Labor Lawyer

CHAIRMAN: NORMAN HAPGOOD

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John W. Davis, Gentleman, or "Sold Down the River"

Democratic Candidate for President As Fine a Gentleman As Ever Accepted a Retainer from J. P. Morgan and Company—Always Sweetly Reasonable.

John W. Davis of Clarksburg, West Virginia, Washington, D. C., London, 25 Broad street, New York City, Locust Valley, Long Island and again of Clarksburg West Virginia, is a gentleman, make no mistake about that. He was a gentleman before the Democrats gave up the Madison Square Garden convention as a bad job and nominated him for the Presidency just as he was sailing for Europe. He will be a gentleman when the campaign is over. That is, he is a gentleman by the old standards. By the new standard, which says that a man is one who pays his way through life and a gentleman one who does that and keeps right on working for his fellow men, Davis is not a gentleman. He yields to Senator Robert Marion La Follette and a host of others.

"He received news of his nomination with perfect good humor," was the best description of John W. Davis on the day the Democrats handed him the nomination and it gives a key to his attitude throughout the campaign and throughout his life, for that matter.

To John W. Davis, Gentleman, this struggle seems nothing more serious than a pillow fight to a fencing match with buttoned tips. He has his code of chivalry, his sense of honor is clear and definite on certain things, he is educated, he has a legal equipment as good as any lawyer's in the country, he is a good mixer in small groups of men and women, he has a grasp of national and international affairs, he has a sense of humanity—the sort of humanity that finds its expression in million dollar handouts afterward. Undoubtedly the next four years would be more comfortable with him in the White House than under the giver of sap buckets and the foremost advocate of Fascism west of Gibraltar.

Born in the Right House

It has always been easy for Davis of West Virginia to be a gentleman. He was born that way. Down in Clarksburg, West Virginia, where he made a quiet entrance into the world on April 13, 1873, one was a gentleman or wasn't. A lot depended on what house one happened to be born in. John W. Davis was born in the right house. His father was John W. Davis, lawyer and a Democratic boss in that section of the State. As a boy he was treated like a gentleman's son should be. He was sent to the private schools of Richard Craig and George Young and, after his father had refused permission to have him teach at the age of 12, he was sent to Pantoss Academy, Charlottesville, Virginia. At the age of 16 he entered Washington and Lee University, received his degree of bachelor of arts at 19 and became a bachelor of laws two years later, in 1895. After a year in his father's office in Clarksburg he returned to Washington and Lee to teach in the law school. Four years later he was elected to the West Virginia House of Delegates and served one term. In 1904 he was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis when Alton B. Parker was nominated. In 1906 he was made chairman of the State Bar Association. In 1910 he was elected to Congress and served two terms, doing most of his work on the judiciary committee of the House. He defended the right to strike, the only authenticated instance of voluntary alignment with

Labor against Capital. Considering the non-union coal operators of his constituency, it must be admitted that he showed courage.

Let us go on with the outline of a Gentleman's Progress. His next berth was that of Solicitor General, during President Wilson's administration, a phase of his career that has been much stressed by his supporters in the present campaign. Remember, he was under Woodrow Wilson of "The New Freedom days," the days when men and women who worked for their food, clothes, house and heat had faith in him. What could a gentleman, newly appointed solicitor general, do?

Considered an Able Lawyer

Just what John W. Davis did. Prosecute the big fellows. As the New York World apologist said, Davis argued and won cases recovering for the Government 2,300,000 acres of public timber lands valued at \$50,000,000 from the Oregon and California Railroad; more timber land in Arkansas, valued at \$4,500,000; won Supreme Court decision upholding the Adamson eight-hour law; the selective draft, losing his fight for the Child Labor Amendment. He won four anti-trust suits, against the coal monopoly of the Reading Railroad, the International Harvester Company, the United States Steel Corporation and the anthracite coal mine operators. He convinced the Supreme Court of the validity of the Federal Reserve Act in those sections where it empowers member banks to act as trustees and in the so-called tank car cases which dealt with the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to order railroads to increase their tank-car equipment.

Davis was the Supreme Court's "white-headed boy." They liked his cold, concise statement of his cases and possibly the fact that he seldom spoke more than thirty minutes at a time influenced them in his favor. Anyway, Chief Justice White let it be known that he considered Davis one of the three ablest lawyers in the country and he was boomed for the bench.

In 1918, for reasons not yet disclosed, he was appointed by Wilson to a commission to confer with representatives of the German Government at Bern, Switzerland, concerning the treatment and exchange of prisoners. While en route he was appointed to succeed the admiring Walter Hines Page as Ambassador to Great Britain. He achieved almost as great popularity in London as Page had enjoyed. His graceful speech, imposing size and distinguished appearance made him a popular guest at official and semi-official functions. When Harding came in and Davis prepared to leave he left this farewell message in a speech at a Pilgrim's Dinner:

"Britain and America are big ships. In their maneuvers they must ever take account of each other's proximity, and they must occasionally expect to get another's wash. But God pity the steersman who precipitates a collision between them

once the passengers and crew get their hands on him."

Nothing about little ships, notice that. Note also his use of the word "big," it will occur again presently. On his departure, the London Times said: "It is of such stuff that Presidents should be made."

This is Davis up to 1921, after he had been proposed for the Democratic nomination in 1920 and had escaped that calamity by a hair.

"Sold Down the River"

He came back from London "broke." So he said. Apparently, he was free. Equipped with a broad experience in law and statesmanship he could choose from a large and attractive field. If, forewarned by the Democrats hankering for him at San Francisco, he had considered the requirements that politics and the voters make of candidates, and looked for a job that would not soil his "availability" for the Presidential nomination in 1924, it is presumed that he might have found some sort of employment to keep him and his family from starving to death. When Burton K. Wheeler went from Massachusetts to Montana he did not find it necessary to join the legal department of the Anaconda Copper Company. John W. Davis made his decision like a gentleman and summoned his gentle philosophy to justify it. "He sold himself down the river," deliberately, with his eyes open and a clear head. He became counsel for John Pierpont Morgan and Company, joining the law firm of Stetson, Jennings, Russell and Davis, 25 Broad street. In the three intervening years he made his record, a record made of his own free choice and personal inclinations. He appeared before the Supreme Court seven times, each time on the wrong side of a question involving social questions with which, should he become President, he would have to deal. They were:

1. United Mine Workers vs. Coronado Coal Co. (259 U. S. 344.) Davis attempted to recover triple damages from the National Union for injury sustained in a local strike, which he claimed was a conspiracy to restrain interstate commerce in non-union coal.
2. Pennsylvania Coal Co. vs. Mahon (260 U. S. 393.) Davis defended the coal company against a Pennsylvania statute to prevent sub-surface mining where life and property would be endangered.
3. New York City vs. N. Y. Telephone Company (261 U. S. 312.) Davis defended the Telephone Company. In this connection, he obtained from Federal Judge Knox a permit to jump the telephone rates in New York City ten per cent after the Public Service Commission had declared such an increase to be unjust and unwarranted. This increase added \$6,000,000 a year to the company's income. In 1923 there was \$10,182,000 in the depreciation reserve of the company, a subsidiary of the telephone trust and its principal milk cow, the source from which funds are drawn to build new systems or to fool the customers. In that year only \$2,343,000 was paid out for repairs and new equipment for the New York system. Davis pleaded poverty and got the Court's permission to take \$6,000,000 from the pockets of the public.
4. Pennsylvania and Ohio vs. West Virginia, (262 U. S. 553.) Davis appeared for interests seeking to prevent West Virginia's use of its own natural gas.
5. American Bank vs. Federal Reserve Bank, (262 U. S. 643.) Farmers Bank vs. Federal Reserve Bank, (262 U. S. 649.) Davis defended the Federal Reserve System's efforts to curtail the power of State banks.
6. Window Glass Manufacturers vs. United States, (263 U. S. 402.) This was a suit under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, brought by the United States against glass manufacturers and the glass workers' union. Davis represented the manufacturers, not as often reported, the union. Davis, so far as can be learned, has never represented Labor against any of its foes in a court action.
7. United States vs. Coffee Exchange, (263 U. S. 611.) Davis appeared for the Coffee Exchange in a suit brought by the United States under the Sherman law.

Suits Davis Picked

These are the suits that Davis likes. He picked them. Small wonder that David P. Houston, President of the Bell Telephone Securities Company, when informed of the lawyer's nomination, said: "I am very much delighted at the news. The Democrats could not have chosen a better man, I believe, than Mr. Davis. I admire him for what he is and for what he stands for. He is anybody's man but his own. He is a good lawyer. Mr. Davis differs from a lot of progressives and other forward looking people in that he knows where he is going and how to get there."

Davis had a gentleman's retort ready for those who, like the New York World, thought his choice of employers and cases made him unavailable as a candidate for President. "I conceive it to be the duty of the lawyer, just as it is the duty

of the priest or surgeon, to serve those who call on him, unless, indeed, there is some insuperable obstacle in the way." He said he did not say whether a small retainer would, in his opinion, constitute an insuperable obstacle. Evidently right or wrong had nothing to do with it. The uniformity of his choice is remarkable, to say the least, in that each and every client has been gold-plated.

"No one in all my list of clients has ever controlled or fancied that he could control my personal or political conscience. I am vain enough to imagine no one ever will," he added.

Likewise, no fish is conscious of being controlled in its movements or mode of existence by the water in which it lives. More of this later. To conclude Davis' defense of his choice of clients. "Any lawyer who surrenders his independence or shades his duty by trimming his course to fit the gusts of popular opinion [which having been blowing against Morgan & Company long enough to be dignified with a better name than 'gust'] in my judgment not only dishonors himself but disparages and degrades the great profession to which he should be proud to belong."

Walsh Wouldn't Run with Him

Elegantly spoken, but, weakened and made laughable when it is remembered that this same gentleman, as President of the American Bar Association, charged with the care of the good name of his profession, saw nothing to complain of the debauchery of the law enforcing machinery of the Federal Government by the Republican "best minds," by Daugherty and his gang. Only when his own availability for office is challenged and when the convention approached did he feel moved to lay down his confession of faith, his lawyer's creed. No wonder Senator Walsh of Montana refused to run on the same ticket with him and thought it necessary to try to sponge away the smell of his associates in the speech of notification, made at Clarksburg, far away from the expensive sounding dale-line of Locust Valley, Long Island.

No wonder Davis and his friends and backers, non-union coal operators of West Virginia, gave the lie to his brave statement by sending a lie about his record as a lawyer to every newspaper of the United States. This lie was concocted with Davis' knowledge or consent, so far as is known, during or shortly after the convention and dumped into every home in the United States with the unwitting help of the press associations and newspapers.

Debs Lie Is Spread

It was stated that Davis had, in addition to Morgan, Standard Oil, United States Rubber Company, the Telephone Trust and the Glass Trust, Eugene V. Debs and Mother Jones as his clients during his career. Chicago papers, who had hounded Debs as a traitor only a few years before, called their faking experts into action and announced that Debs from his room in the Lindlahr Sanitarium at Elmhurst, Illinois, had endorsed Davis. The lie, conscious or unconscious, papered the country from end to end. Davis did nothing to stop it. Then truth tried to catch up. Debs denounced the story as "pure fiction" and denied that Davis had ever defended him in contempt proceedings in West Virginia or in any other action. Out in Los Angeles Mother Jones issued a similar categorical denial.

Davis was informed of Debs' denial. His reply was a tacit admission that he was the author of the lie. He said that he supposed that if Debs said he, Davis, had never defended Debs, Debs was probably right and added that he had so many cases he couldn't remember all of them. Even in his crawling retreat there was an attempt at gracefulness.

The story of his brave defense of mine union organizers in West Virginia still stood. But not for long. Search of the files of the Northern District Court of West Virginia at Parkersburg was rewarded by the finding of a file of yellowed court records which knocked the Democratic press agent's story of the daring fight made by young Davis for free speech for a long row of assorted brick and cast iron latrines. That's language that John W. Davis would never, never use, but it rather accurately describes what happened to the story and his cause.

These records showed that John W. Davis, instead of defending Mother Jones and other union organizers against an injunction obtained by the Clarksburg Fuel Company in 1902, assisted in prosecuting them. The injunction was granted by Justice J. J. Jackson of the Circuit Court. Later, in fighting an appeal from a sentence for contempt of the court order of the injunction, John W. Davis appeared personally for the Clarksburg Fuel Company and conferred with the United States

Attorney in matters pertaining to the case. The unionists were jailed and made to serve their terms.

Don Chafin His Friend

Some body, Davis or his friends, among whom was Don Chafin, gunman sheriff of Logan County, West Virginia, a Davis man throughout the convention, stood indicted for lying on three counts.

The chief objection to John W. Davis is that by birth, upbringing, legal training and practice he is a conservative. It is not his fault. All his life has been spent in upholding and defending things as they are. His mind, his emotions, his instincts are conservative beyond possibility of change.

What makes him dangerous is his polish, his learning, his oratorical power, his superficial sympathy with progressive thought, his quickness to seize on progressive proposals and to present them in an emaculated form as his own. As President he would glow over his innate sympathy for the men who control this country through their control of its economic life. The issue between the people and their masters would lose the clarity which the strikebreaker Coolidge and Fascist Daves would give it and the inevitable struggle to restore popular Government would be delayed. As between Coolidge and Davis, it would be better to have Coolidge because the line of difference between reactionaries and progressives would be sharply drawn and obvious to all.

Proud of His Rich Clients

Davis will not fool Progressives if they will devote a few minutes to a consideration of the following revealing statements:

"I have a fine list of clients. What lawyer would not want them? I have J. P. Morgan & Company, the Erie Railroad, the Guaranty Trust Company, the Standard Oil Company and other foremost American concerns on my list. I am proud of them. They are big institutions, and so long as they ask for my services for honest work I am pleased to work for them. Big business has made this country what it is. We want big business." (Interview in the Brooklyn Eagle, May 11, 1924.)

Stating his case against the Harvester Trust before the Supreme Court he said the question was not whether the Trust's conduct was good or bad. "The controversy in this case is fundamental. The question is 'shall the competitive system continue—shall competition, not combination, be the law of trade?'"

Like Calvin Coolidge, he lives in the dark ages, clinging to the belief that competition does not tend toward combination as surely as water flows downhill.

Here are two samples that rival Coolidge's "common sense":

"The foundation of the right of property is a man's right in himself. The loss of this is slavery."

"Human rights and rights of property are not different or antagonistic—they are parts of one great whole."

Sounds Like Dawes

He is much clearer when he applies his convictions to a specific case:

"Any compromise with the Bolshevik creed is but a league with death."

"Personal liberty is the doctrine of self-restraint."

Dawes could stand on that. After he had appeared for his millionaire clients, in each instance combatting the application of progressive laws, he said: "I never took a case that I was ashamed of or a fee that I would return."

His complete lack of sympathy with the progressive movement is shown in this: "A Republican wishes to forget his party. A Democrat never wishes to forget his party."

What the progressive wing of his own party thinks of him was best expressed by William Jennings Bryan who said on July 9, 1924:

"Davis is impossible. Not for any personal reasons, but because his professional connections raise conclusive presumption against which no argument can overcome. We cannot afford to spend our campaign defending J. Pierpont Morgan or explaining why his attorney represents the people and not the great corporations. I know the temper of the Northwest and I offer as my opinion to this delegation that you are throwing Democratic chances to the winds in voting for Davis."

Wall Street Likes Him

Two days later Bryan said: "I will support Mr. Davis." His brother had then been nominated for the vice-presidency.

If more proof that Davis, like Coolidge, is for "big business" first and "little" business and the common man and woman afterward if convenient, is needed the following statement by Eugene G. Grace, President of the Bethlehem Steel

Corporation, one of the most notorious units of Big Business, should convince anyone of the twinning of the two old party candidates:

"Business will be secure whether either Mr. Coolidge or Mr. Davis is elected. Both are good men, of sound principles. Either will follow a constructive policy that will encourage business."

In his speeches between now and election Davis will probably advocate many "reforms" in Government. Careful inspection of his promises will show them to be phrased with all the skill of the trained corporation lawyer, seeming to give the public everything it desires, while holding back from downright commitment.

John W. Davis is a gentleman. He believes in a world fit for gentlemen to live in. His choice of friends, work and employers shows whom he considers gentlemen. He has said Big Business made this country. Presumably Big Business made the gentlemen of this country. He is for the preservation and encouragement of both.

On his record, it seems obvious that a vote for John W. Davis is a vote for a gentleman and for Big Business. One should not doubt a gentleman's word, even when he is backed by the non-union coal operators of West Virginia.

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SATURDAY, OCT. 4.
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Virgin Islanders
Need Your Help
St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A.
September 6, 1924.

Dear Comrades and Friends:
The worst hurricane in the history of the islands struck here last Thursday and did serious damage to the islands. The people are homeless in many instances, great loss of property, etc.

Personally, I am without the necessary clothing and life looks miserable out here. The Naval Government is still studying what to do apart from feeding the distressed.

Don't put this note away but help us as it reaches you. Tell comrades to help us.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) Rothschild Francis.

ADDRESS WANTED.

A Brooklyn comrade is very anxious to locate Fred Waters formerly of Kalamazoo, Mich. and Blanche W. Briggs of Little Rock, Ark. Letters addressed to them have been returned undelivered. If present addresses will be forwarded to The New Leader they will be given to the comrade seeking them.

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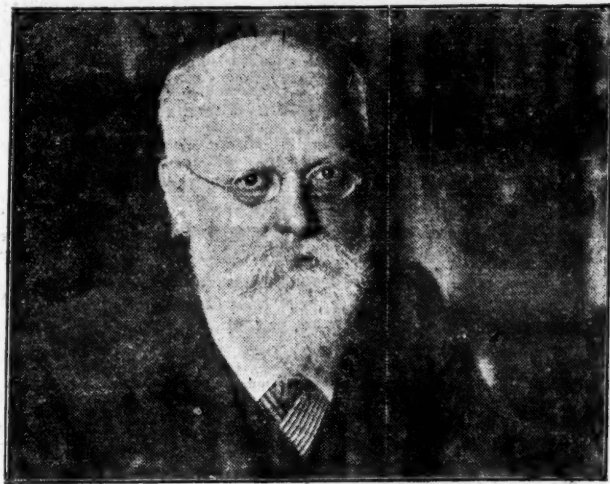
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SOCIETY ACCOUNTS ACCEPTED

Since Labor's First International—The March of Progress

60th Anniversary of Founding of the International Brings Hope of Great Triumphs Near at Hand—American Workers Joining in a New Party.

By KARL KAUTSKY



Karl Kautsky

The fiftieth anniversary of the First International Workers' Organization came at a time when international ideals seemed to be in a state of complete bankruptcy. The World War had not only broken down all international organization, but had entirely destroyed the feeling of international solidarity amongst the masses, and aroused in its stead fierce national hatred on both sides.

Today, on the 60th anniversary of the First International, its successor stands forth more powerful than ever before.

That, however, is not the only change in the past ten years. If it had been possible for us to celebrate the jubilee of the International, the celebration would have taken place at a time when the German Social Democratic party set the standard for all Labor parties, the British Labor party having little significance outside Britain.

Today the Labor party has become the most powerful element in the International, and so, in a certain sense, we come back to the point from which the First International started.

The First International was mainly of British foundation. When, on September 28, 1864, in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London, it was decided to form an International Workers' Organization it was only on British soil that there were mass organizations of European workers. Such workers' associations as existed on the continent of Europe were entirely unimportant, owing to police regulations and to the reaction following on the revolution of 1848. In England, too, Chartism had gradually cooled down during the reaction period after its political failure of 1848 and the attainment of the ten-hour day (1847). But the trade unions had become much more vigorous; the ten-hour day had regenerated and strengthened great masses of the workers, and after the slackness of the reaction period was over the workers were preparing to fight for the franchise just at the time of the founding of the First International.

There was practically nothing of the kind to be found on the Continent—neither trade unions, nor Labor legislation, nor Labor parties. In Germany something in the nature of a Labor party had just been founded by Lassalle.

In these circumstances, the British workers had every reason to fear lest any further progress on their part might be blocked by the competition of the workers on the Continent, should the latter remain without organization and Labor legislation. The British workers were too great supporters of Free Trade to seek to save themselves from this danger by means of protective tariffs and immigration prohibitions. They recognized the solidarity of their interests with those of the workers on the Continent and endeavored to keep the favorable position they had won, not by shutting out other countries, but by supporting the workers of those countries in their attempts at organizing themselves and fighting for better Labor conditions.

Karl Marx's ideas were moving in the same direction. In the Communist manifesto as early as 1847 he and Engels had proclaimed the necessity for workers of all countries to unite in a common struggle. Since 1850 he had been in England and had studied this State which was the most progressive in the world from the capitalist point of view, and which was pointing the way to other States in their economic development. He had recognized and extolled the workers of England of that time as the champions of the working classes of the world, and had held them up to the workers of all countries as a pattern in their fight for a legal working day.

What the British workers were aiming at round about 1864, Marx wanted also in the interests of the world proletariat. Small wonder that Marx and the workers of England found one another in the First International, and that he became the brain which inspired their actions.

On the General Council of the First International, Marx worked in close union with the leaders of the British Trade Unions which had become affiliated to it. Marx drafted the reports and resolutions for the General Council which that body laid before the congresses of the International. Those resolutions dealing with Trade Unions, cooperative societies, Labor legislation, and educational matters are not out of date even today. Even today they point the way. They did so in a far higher degree 50 and 60 years ago. The striving Labor movements of the Continent derived rich benefit from them.

But the First International was not limited to theory only. It went in strongly for practice, too. Owing to the intimate connection of the International with the British Trade Unions, the fight of the latter for the franchise was its fight, too. Three years after the formation of the International the struggle resulted, not in universal franchise, it is true, but at any rate in franchise for the better paid workers. The International was also in sympathy with the Home Rule movement in Ireland.

On the Continent the Internationalists raised the slogan of universal franchise in Prussia, and entered upon a struggle with Bismarck, means of what the two old parties

whilst in France they struggled against the Napoleonic Empire. They seized every opportunity to form Trade Unions as far as the law permitted them to do so, and aroused the spirit of opposition amongst the workers.

This resulted in numerous strikes. These were often successful owing to the leadership of the Internationalists. Their success, it is true, was often largely due to the fact that employers on the Continent were not prepared for opposition on the part of the workers, and were taken by surprise. To a large extent the employers ascribed the success of the strikes to the enormous funds which were said to be at the disposal of the International. This legend, of course, increased the respect of the employers for the International, but it also increased their hatred of it.

Governments, too, were greatly alarmed by it. As they knew very little about it, they assumed that it was a new secret society on the model of the old ones in Italy and France. Yet none of all this was true. The International, it is true, aroused general enthusiasm. But the payment of regular contributions was a thing to which the workers had first to grow accustomed. On the Continent at first it would have been easier to get up a riot than to get them to pay affiliated contributions. The International therefore remained one of the most poverty-stricken organizations there has ever been. It was sometimes not even able to pay the cost of the printing of congress reports. The General Council was never in a position to publish a bulletin of its own. In the case of strikes it was only able to remit trifling amounts resulting from occasional collections. And there was just as little truth in the conspiracy tales of the First International as there was in its wealth. Mazzini had wanted to make it into a secret society, but Marx was absolutely against this, and his will in the matter prevailed. For this reason the Blanquists in France were for long hostile to the International—indeed until the rising of the Paris Commune in March, 1871. The rising brought disaster to the

First International. The Internationalists were against it, including the Paris Internationalists, who viewed the approach of the threatened conflict with apprehension; for they feared, and rightly, that the revolutionaries would find their task beyond their powers. That was Karl Marx's view, too. He thought that the French proletariat should make use of the freedom gained by the Republic to organize and discipline themselves in order to make up for what it had been impossible for them to gain under the Empire.

But when the revolution did break out, the Internationalists held it to be their duty towards the working class to take part in the rising, even at the risk of their lives.

During the revolution the Internationalists were notable for the practical common sense of their leadership. They accordingly did the greatest service, and inspired the most respect. Just because of this they came most to the front, and after the collapse they incurred the fiercest hatred of their opponents.

The prosecution of the fugitives of the communes by the Governments and capitalist parties of all coun-

tries was now extended to the International. Even in England, although there was no political prosecution, it was banned socially.

The International was unable to stand before this storm. Many of those who had only turned to it because they had over-rated its powers now deserted it.

At this critical moment there was an unfortunate split. In the Latin countries—France, Italy, and Spain—the working classes had long felt great lack of confidence in Parliamentary methods. The elections in those countries were run by the Government, and the Parliaments were powerless. During the period of reaction, anti-parliamentarism had taken the peaceful form of Proudhonism, which demanded that the workers should eschew politics and devote themselves to non-political economics, mutual credit banks, cooperative societies, insurance societies, and Trade Unions. When the Labor movement gained strength and the fall of Napoleon gave revolutionary aspirations their opportunity, anti-parliamentarism took a more violent form, the theoretical weapons for which were furnished

by the Russian, Bakunin. Its object was the destruction of the power of the State by armed insurrections which were to be prepared by means of conspiracy.

At the same time a change in the opposite direction took place amongst the British workers. The two great aims of the Chartist movement—though only partly achieved—were: The ten-hour day—at least for women and young persons—and the franchise—at least for the better paid workers of the towns. Everything else, it was thought, could be left to the Trade Unions, which had been strongly reinforced, and now that the International had done its duty on the Continent, no longer had occasion to fear unfair competition from the workers abroad. This did not mean that the Trade Unions became anti-parliamentarian or non-political, but they lost all interest in independent Labor politics. The elements sympathetic to Labor in both the bourgeois parties, more especially the Radicals of the Liberal party, appeared to offer them all that they acquired at the moment.

The International, still under the shadow of the Paris Commune, began to be regarded as somewhat of an inconvenience by the Trade Union leaders, who were hankering after bourgeois recognition. Thus Marx became more and more isolated in the International, both on the right wing and the left. His policy differed from that of the Bakunists in that he recognized fully the importance of parliamentary methods and the franchise in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. It differed also from that of the trade unions in that he considered parliamentarism and democracy helpful in this struggle only where Labor entered the political arena as a separate political organization, independent of the bourgeois parties. This policy was first of all adopted only by German Social Democracy. The masses of the Latin as well as the Anglo-Saxon workers refused to accept it. And this was responsible for the downfall of the first International. But the policy for which Marx fought lived on. Today it is recognized by all the Labor

parties in the world, and has overcome the anarchism of Bakunin as well as the political dependence of the old British trade unions.

It is no longer because of her trade unions only but also of her independent Labor party that Britain again leads the workers of the world. But it is only superficially that a condition of things has been arrived at similar to what existed at the time of the founding of the First International. In reality the present position is fundamentally different. At that time, as I have already stated, no Labor organization of importance existed outside England. Today the International forms a powerful army which has at its disposal numerous well-organized troops in all countries where capitalist culture obtains. Every army must have a vanguard, but the latter need not always be composed of the same troops; varying strategic conditions determine who shall march in the van.

So it is with the International today. The First International would have been impossible without English initiative and English leadership. In the Second International, on the other hand, the center of gravity depends on varying political conditions. Yesterday it lay with the Germans, today it lies with the English, tomorrow it may be found amongst the Americans.

Just at the time of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the International, a third party is being formed in the United States. This even will, perhaps, be of even greater significance than was the foundation of the British Labor party.

At the last congress of the First International held at The Hague in 1872 it was agreed to transfer the General Council to New York. That was the measure of despair which sounded the death-knell of the International. If it should become necessary to transfer the Executive of the International to New York today it would have quite another significance. It would prove that the International is preparing to conquer both hemispheres. Thus we are able to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the First International in quite a different manner to that in which the 50th anniversary was celebrated, not in grief and despair, but filled with the joyous expectation of victory and the assurance of freedom, peace, and prosperity for the weary and heavy-laden.

DESTROYING POLITICAL BRIDGES

When the American Federation of Labor came out with its sturdy endorsement of La Follette and Wheeler, the declaration was made that "Labor had burnt its bridges behind it." That was a very apt way of putting it.

For up to this time Labor had been treading very warily. It has been content to gather wood at the discarded piles of the two old parties and try, in some manner, to fashion something which would not be so rocky as the two giving such poor service. Labor expected, by a little progressive reinforcement here and there, to make its structure bear the weight of the increased human traffic.

The experience was a pitiable one. The contractors in charge of the old material have been niggardly in letting Labor take any which could really stand strain and service. Much that has been discarded as of little value has been tendered as a substitute for what was desired. Here and there somebody rose to remark that if "common sense" were restored in handling the ancient lumber the results would be pretty good. And, surely enough, there had been meagre portions of sense used in past work by the old party builders.

So long as Labor was content to remain behind this would be the whole story. One political chapter has been reading like the one which came before. It was repetition.

But the time has changed. Labor was hardly permitted to go to the old lumber pile and try to do a job with castoff material. For one thing it had a hard task crossing the old bridges to gain access to the storehouse anyway. And for a second thing, the storehouse was about empty.

So Labor made a clean job of it. The old bridge it had been at work at, alongside those of the old parties, served as scaffolding for a modern structure in steel and concrete, calculated to span the space between Labor's just expectations and realized program. That is the bridge now building.

Even as work is going on in the campaign for the election of La Follette and Wheeler and the host of candidates standing for the welfare of the masses who toil in city and country, it is becoming ever clearer that the old party derelicts can hardly be salvaged. The light of the fire which destroys the soggy bridges will cast into stronger relief the monumental piece which Labor is now busy creating.

So the outworn affair which served Labor so inadequately may very well be destroyed.

Now, how it is with the frail re-

Labor Making Clean Sweep of Break With the Two Old Parties of Wall Street.

By JOSEPH E. COHEN

once offered as secure footing to the nation? Are they better or worse for constant wear and neglected repair?

The foundations placed by such masters as Jefferson, Jackson and Lincoln have been permitted to fall into neglect. Chemical impurities allowed to stream into the water as the discharge from greed have eaten into the underpinning. Much of the supporting timber has been hacked away and stolen by unconscionable politicians for their own fires. Sincere engineers examining the inroads and calling attention to the perilous condition and the pressing requirements have been scoffed at and read out of the party which they tried to save. In sum, the old bridges are past saving. They no longer can carry the traffic of up-to-date transportation. Worse than that, they are a menace to the safety of the people. They must go. They should be burnt.

The candidates of both old parties are applying the torch. Mr. Coolidge declares that he is not "generally" in favor of Government-built structure. Mr. Davis is not generally in favor of government-built structure, although he declines little about it. When they thus manifest distrust in their nation's Government to do whatever it pleases and do it well, they indict their parties for failing to do the Government's work. They burn their own bridges.

Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Davis are fully aware that the useful members of the community, who do productive labor, possess the only substantial material for construction purposes. So somebody goes through the country with a fine tooth comb to locate about a hundred "labor leaders" who do not know Mr. Coolidge's solitary claim to distinction—as a strikebreaker—or who have some sinister reason in forgetting it. So Mr. Davis brags that he once defended a Labor union, when he actually fought it. Is there any question but what the old bridges should be torn down and the match applied?

Labor's job is to build. Brawn and intelligent direction have reared the edifices which endure and by means of which the nation's wants are met and satisfied. Muscle without human guidance gives the flimsy industrial structure, with its leakage, wasteful duplication and de-

structive conflicts, resulting in misery and war. Effort misapplied has made the old bridges which still further threaten the well being of the nation. With Labor's entrance as a competitor to the old craftsmen, union effort is placed beside incompetent. Full-fledged journeymen wield their skill against the inefficiency of the unqualified substitute. There is no question but what the outcome will be the finest work of our time.

From across the water every step toward comity among the once-warring nations brings encouragement to those who have every confidence in Labor to save itself and the world from ruin. To but mention this is to prove the stuff of which the new statesmanship is made.

Labor in America has put its hand to the tool. The back bends over the job. It has the knowledge that all

will benefit alike from its achievement. It is secure in the trust it can place in itself. There is no doubt but that it is building sure!

Trainmen Flock to La Follette Despite Opposition of Lee

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A. F. Whitney, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, announces his endorsement of La Follette and Wheeler as men "who have done more to protect the fundamental principles of democracy by fearlessly fighting to protect the rights of Labor and the masses than any other men who have held public office during the past quarter of a century." In a letter to La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Headquarters.

Mr. Whitney's endorsement, following the recent adoption of resolutions in support of La Follette and Wheeler by the local union of Railroad Trainmen, of which William G. Lee, national president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, is a member, is regarded as significant in ensuring the Progressives the unanimous support of the trainmen.

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

Through the States

NATIONAL

It is a great pleasure to report that the Socialists are honestly and loyally busy in hearty cooperation with La Follette and Wheeler committees—holding meetings, distributing literature, helping raise funds, preparing to get a full registration, a huge vote, an honest count—and victory.

State Secretary Hoopes of Pennsylvania writes: "The sentiment for the Labor party ticket here is wonderful. Thousands of people, who I never dreamed would go with us, are shouting for La Follette. I am chairman of the Congressional District organization, and am working almost every night on this alone."

W. J. Van Essen of Pittsburgh, Pa., writes: "The movement is decidedly Labor in Pennsylvania and looks bright as to prospects for a Labor party—which is the official name in Pennsylvania. We are very busy perfecting ward organizations in Allegheny county. We shall probably carry this Republican stronghold."

Comrade Lilith Wilson will speak in Pennsylvania the last three weeks of the campaign, following some engagements in Ohio.

VICTOR L. BERGER

A tour of twelve days is being made up for Congressman Victor L. Berger, beginning at Minneapolis, October 4. The boundaries of this tour will include Omaha on the west, St. Louis on the south, and Detroit on the east.

MORRIS HILLQUIT

A limited speaking tour will be made up September 30 for Comrade Morris Hillquit. This tour will begin about October 15. File your applications very soon.

The short messages are being sent out by the hundreds of thousands. The National Office has a telegraphic order from Pittsburgh for 200,000 leaflets; another telegraph order for 100,000 from George Goebel of Newark, N. J.

Six hundred thousand short message leaflets have already been sold and they are going like hot cakes with fresh butter.

The National Committee of the Socialist party will convene in Chicago next Saturday, September 27—to consider matters of great moment to the comrades everywhere.

A MASSIVE MASS MEETING
Sunday, September 28—in Chicago—in the Ashland Auditorium, 2:30 p. m. The National Committee will attend. The speakers will be Morris Hillquit, of New York; James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; Congressman Victor L. Berger, and Joseph W. Sharts, of Dayton, Ohio, candidate for Governor of Ohio.

NEW MEXICO

Go down to the dusty hills and plains of New Mexico and learn the spirit that will carry the working class to victory in the approaching November and January—and the crowded years of the near future. Get the name—T. S. Smith, Estancia, New Mexico, and rank that man very high among the most tireless, dauntless souls that ever served a great cause. As a drummer-boy in the Civil War, way back in 1863, he suffered a gun-shot wound in the ankle. Very recently after sixty-one years this old wound broke open and bled as profusely and dangerously as it did long ago. This happened just when Comrade Smith was con-

sumed not only with his daily labors but with the work of a State convention which he began laboring for soon after the Cleveland convention. However, minus one shoe, the brave old man went grim yet gay to Albuquerque to the State convention. Preceding the Albuquerque convention a convention had been held at Roswell.

Of this Roswell convention Comrade W. F. Richardson writes that after considerable work had been done by committees on platforms and other matters—so many telegrams were received by the convention from unions and clubs on the west side of the State that the convention recessed to meet in Albuquerque on September 2—and there united with these various organizations.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles Alive with Activity
The Socialists of the City of the Angels have thrown themselves with tremendous enthusiasm into the campaign for La Follette and Wheeler, and are cooperating with every section of the Labor, radical and progressive movement to sweep the city for the ticket. Samuel Glass, old-time Brooklyn, New York, Comrade is active in the movement and candidate for State Senator in the 35th district. The full local ticket, all earnestly working for the La Follette campaign, follows:

For Senate, 35th District—Samuel Glass; 37th District—L. Gilbert Wilhite.
For Assembly, 61st District—James O. Tow; 62nd District—Oscar E. Lawrence; 63rd District—Isaac Kushner; 64th District—Frank H. White; 66th District—Harry Sherr; 71st District—Alick W. Anderson; 73rd District—Leo J. Wright; 74th District—George S. Grant.

CONNECTICUT

Jaspar McLevy, Socialist and Progressive candidate for Governor of the State, held a fine street meeting last Saturday in New Haven. Street meetings are held every night by the La Follette clubs, in New Haven and in other cities. The Socialist Party is holding meetings Saturdays on the New Haven Green, and in other places. The campaign is assuming significant proportions.

The Steuben Society held a picnic last Sunday and 1,850 signatures for the La Follette petitions were secured in a few hours.

Straw votes in every part of the State show an overwhelming sentiment for La Follette, especially among the industrial and farm workers.

Walter E. Davis has been elected treasurer of the Socialist Party State committee. Martin F. Plunkett, Socialist Party State secretary, is State organizer of the La Follette campaign.

PENNSYLVANIA

August Claessens Dates
September 26, Norristown, Pa.; September 27, 28, 29 Philadelphia; September 30, Camden, N. J.

PHILADELPHIA

The following is a schedule of the Socialist meetings of the current week end. More and more meetings will be held, with prominent trades unionists, as well as old time Socialists, as speakers.

Friday, September 26—Sixth and Poplar; speakers: Dornblum and McCue; Second and Ontario; speaker: Harry Close; 37th and Market; speaker: Leo M. Harkins.

Saturday, September 27—52nd and Sanson; speaker: August Claessens; 52nd and Brown; speaker: Leo M. Harkins; 52nd and Baltimore avenue; speaker: L. Polstein; Front and Dauphin; speaker: Harry Close; Germantown avenue and Price; speaker: E. V. Phillips.

The campaign is on in earnest in

Philadelphia and we expect a surprisingly large vote for La Follette.

NEW JERSEY OUTDOOR MEETINGS IN HUDSON COUNTY

Saturday, September 27
Hoboken—Washington and Fifth streets. Speaker: George Bauer.
West New York—Bergenline avenue and Fourteenth street. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.

Bayonne—Broadway and 23rd street. Speaker: Henry Jager.
Union Hill—Bergenline avenue and Main street. Speaker: Wm. Kane Tallman.

West Hoboken—Summit avenue and Courtland street. Speaker: Annie E. Gray.
Jersey City—Jackson and Orient avenues. Speaker: Frederick Kraft.
Jersey City—Danforth avenue and Old Bergen Road. Speaker: Ernest Meyer.

CONNECTICUT NEW HAVEN

Comrade Karl C. Jursick will speak at the corner of Congress avenue and Commerce street Saturday night. The State Executive Committee will meet Sunday September 28, at 2 o'clock, at Machinists' Hall, New Haven, and the delegates from the Third Congressional District will meet at the same place at 4 o'clock.

The Finnish comrades will have a social September 27 at the Labor Lyceum, 38 Howe street, the income from which will be entirely given to the National Campaign Fund.

Automobile parties are being arranged to cover all of New Haven with literature.

Gustave Berquist was named for Senator in the Twelfth District.

New York Activities

NEW YORK

The official State convention of the Socialist Party will be held Saturday, September 27, at the People's House, 7 East 15th street, at 8 p. m. sharp. The convention, which is held in accordance with the election law, will nominate an official State ticket identical with the ticket named by the unofficial convention in July and place the full slate of presidential electors, agreed upon by the State Conference for Progressive Political Action, in the field.

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will hold an important meeting Saturday night in the People's House, 7 East 15th street, immediately after the official State convention.

State leaflets are going fast, local comrades can order them, and Norman Thomas posters, through the New Leader, 7 East 15th street, phone Stuyvesant 6885.

BUFFALO

Robert A. Hoffman has been elected campaign manager for the Socialist Party. Street speaking is in full swing. Twenty-five street meetings have been arranged for next week.

Recently a successful meeting was held in the City of Lackawanna addressed by Irving M. Weiss, former Socialist Corporation Counsel of Lackawanna, Charles H. Roth and Joseph F. Murphy, an organizer in the 1919 steel strike.

Esther Friedman spoke in Buffalo for one week to large crowds.

Commissioner Frank C. Perkins has pledged his full support to the Socialist ticket and will speak at several large mass meetings during the campaign, including the meeting for Norman Thomas and Charles Solomon, Sunday evening, October 5 in the Elmwood Music Hall.

Speakers at the Socialist street meetings include Rev. Herman J. Hahn, Irving M. Weiss, Eustace Reynolds, Frank Ehrenfried, Miss Amy R. Juengling, Ralph E. Horne, Charles H. Roth, Robert A. Hoffman, Joseph F. Murphy, Lee Morgan, James Battistoni, Vixley Ryerse, Daniel J. Cotter, Vincent Torpy, and Irvin Schnabel.

SCHENECTADY

The wisdom of the Socialist Party's action in not withdrawing from the field in the 30th Congressional District, where James P. Boyle is congressional aspirant, is amply justified by the recent developments. Boyle announced himself as "Labor" candidate, and filed for the Democratic "independent" nomination. The Socialists, unwilling to divide the genuine Labor vote, were willing

to support Boyle, but not on the ticket of Tammany Hall. A committee went to see Boyle and asked him publicly to repudiate the office boy of J. P. Morgan and of the soft coal interests of West Virginia, and declare for Senator La Follette. This he refused to do, and the Socialists thereupon named Charles W. Noonan, a tried and faithful worker in the Labor movement, for Congress. Now Boyle has the official organization endorsement of the Jackass party, and the Socialists have been saved from a trick that would have landed them in the arms of the worst Labor haters in the country. Working class unity does not mean unity with Labor haters and skinners, and political grafters as many of the half-baked "progressives" believe.

MANHATTAN

17th A. D.
The campaign activities of Harlem will be started next Wednesday, October 1, with a luncheon at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street. The local candidates will speak, in addition to Marie B. MacDonald, campaign manager, and others.

Street Meetings

The following are the street meetings to be held next week:

MONDAY

4th A. D.—Rivington and Attorney streets. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley and A. Muller. 2nd A. D.—Rutgers Square. R. S. Smallwood and Israel Feinberg. 3rd A. D.—24th street and Eighth avenue. Speaker: Richard Boyajian. 6th A. D.—4th street and Avenue B. Speakers: J. W. Hughan and Alexander Schwartz. 8th A. D.—Second avenue and 12th street. Speakers: N. Fine, W. Fitzgerald and R. Soisson. 17th A. D.—110th street and Fifth avenue. Speaker: Frank Crosswaith.

TUESDAY

2nd A. D.—Clinton street and East Broadway. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and I. Feinberg. 6th A. D.—Houston and Columbia streets. Speakers: William Karlin and R. Soisson. 8th A. D.—Avenue A and 7th street. Speakers: Mrs. M. H. Mainland and N. Fine. 17th A. D.—Lenox avenue and 116th street. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.

WEDNESDAY

3rd A. D.—Sheridan Square. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley and Leonard C. Kaye. 6th A. D.—Lewis and Houston streets. Speakers: Mrs. Weingart, I. Korn and R. Soisson. 8th A. D.—Second avenue and 10th street. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith, N. Fine and W. Fitzgerald. 9th A. D.—Broadway and 95th street. Speakers: P. DeNio,

May H. Mainland and G. Cooper. 17th A. D.—Madison avenue and 117th street. Speaker: Richard Boyajian. 21st A. D.—Lenox avenue and 133rd street. Speakers: J. J. Coronell and William Butler.

THURSDAY

2nd A. D.—Grand and Eldridge streets. Speakers: Isidor Korn and Alexander Schwartz. 4th A. D.—Rivington and Pitt streets. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and Abraham Miller. 8th A. D.—Avenue A and 4th street. Speakers: William Karlin, N. Fine and W. Fitzgerald. 18th A. D.—Lexington avenue and 116th street. Speaker: J. R. Smallwood.

FRIDAY

6th A. D.—Avenue C and 7th street. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and R. Steinberg. 8th A. D.—Second street and Avenue A. Speakers: N. Fine, H. Waldman and W. Fitzgerald. 21st A. D.—Broadway and 137th street. Speakers: A. Regaldi, J. R. Smallwood and P. DeNio.

SATURDAY

6th A. D.—Avenue C and Fourth street. Speakers: K. Soisson, M. Weren and R. Steinberg. 8th A. D.—Second avenue and 5th street. Speakers: R. Boyajian, W. Fitzgerald and N. Fine. 15th A. D.—Third avenue and 86th street. Speakers: Samuel Beardsley and Emanuel Steinberger. 19th A. D.—Seventh avenue and 125th street. Speakers: Mrs. M. Mainland, A. Regaldi and P. DeNio. 21st A. D.—Lenox avenue and 139th street. Speakers: Frank Crosswaith and William Butler.

LOCAL NEW YORK

Will Tobias W. Staley, recently transferred from Local Philadelphia, come to the office of Local New York at his earliest convenience.

The various districts are getting their campaign work well under way.

The 12th and 13th Congressional, 13th Senatorial and 1st and 2nd Assembly districts have made Joseph Leventhal campaign manager. Canvassing is going on and the response is excellent. The workers there insist that not only will Feinberg go to Congress from the 12th but several others will be elected with him.

The 4th, 6th and 8th A. D., the 14th Senatorial and 14th Congressional have made Morris Novik campaign manager in the 14th Cong. and Harry Bordman in the 6th A. D. The canvassing has made better progress in these districts than in most others.

The 14th, 15th, 16th A. D. and the Yorkville German branch had a joint meeting at the Labor Temple Wednesday evening. Along with the members, the candidates, Beardsley for Congress, Volk and McMullen for the Senate and Schwartz, Lee and Steinberger were present as was Executive Secretary Cannon of Local New York. The prospects of various candidates were discussed and plans were made to place Yorkville in its former strong position on the Socialist map.

The 17th, 18th and 20th A. D. in conjunction with the Cloakmakers' and Jewish Harlem branches have a vigorous campaign already under way. Marie B. MacDonald has been made campaign manager. That in itself is evidence of the kind of campaign they propose to have in Lower Harlem this year.

The question is, "how many will we elect this time?"

In colored Harlem—the 21st A. D. branch is waging a most systematic campaign. Randolph for Congress and Butler for the Assembly and Crosswaith, candidate for Secretary of State have been holding four meetings a week. They have done so well that recently, when the Wills-Firpo fight was being radioed, a Socialist speaker held a larger crowd of colored people than the fight news did across the street.

The Victory Ball

Local New York does not propose to have all work and no play. Therefore the local will break into the midst of its most intensive campaign activity with a Grand Victory Ball at the New Star Casino Saturday, October 4. The Casino is located in the district which will not only give La Follette and Thomas a majority vote but which will elect La Guardia to Congress, Silverman to the State Senate and Ed Cassidy and Mollie Friedman to the Assembly.

All Harlem will be there to greet our comrades from all over the greater city.

We dance the old parties out of power—and then, how we will work thereafter!

THE BRONX

Increasing sentiment in the Bronx for La Follette and the Socialist ticket is evident. Last Tuesday Local Bronx opened its campaign at Hunts Point Palace. An admission of 25 cents was charged. The hall was fairly well filled. Norman Thomas, Norman Hapgood, Congressman La Guardia, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, Samuel Carr and Abe Tuvin delivered brief talks on the issues of the campaign. Marie MacDonald took the collection, nearly \$160. Fred Paulitsch acted as chairman in his usually efficient way.

Reports are coming in daily that the politicians of both parties are greatly alarmed. Last week a signed article in The Sun admitted that La Follette will very likely carry the Bronx. But the La Follette vote must be accompanied with a straight Socialist vote, and we are making every effort to turn the tide our way.

We are going to have some fun at a ball we will hold at the McKinley Square Gardens, 1258 Boston Road, on Saturday, October 18. There will be music and dancing into the wee hours of the morning. The charge will be reasonable and tickets will soon be on sale.

BRONX OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Saturday, September 27—Tiffany and 163rd streets, speakers: Abe Tuvin, Sam DeWitt, Fred Paulitsch and others. This will be a special rally.

Wednesday, October 1—Simpson and 163rd streets, speakers: S. Orr, E. Seidel and Max Walder.
Thursday, October 2—Clairmont Parkway, speakers: M. H. Mainland, I. Phillips and others to be announced.

Friday, October 3—180th street and Daly avenue, speakers: May Harris Mainland and others to be announced.

Brooklyn Campaign Booms

Jacob Axelrad will speak at outdoor meetings for the 17th and 18th A. D., every second Monday night, beginning September 22, and every second Thursday, beginning October 2. Jean Jacques, J. J. Coronell will speak for the same districts on the alternate Monday and Thursday nights.

The ratification mass meeting of the 13th and 19th A. D.'s of Brooklyn will be held October 14 at the Almagamat Temple, Arion Place, near Broadway, with Comrade Norman Thomas, Louis Waldman, and the local candidates as speakers. Details later.

The following street meetings are announced by the 13th and 19th A. D. of Brooklyn:

Tuesday—Graham avenue and Varet street. Speakers: Morris E. Stamen, Green and Weil.

Wednesday—Stockholm street and Knickerbocker avenue. Speakers: Louis Weil and Morris Stamen.

Friday—McKibben street and Manhattan avenue. Speakers: N. Chanin, Green and Weil.

On The International Front

"Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Labor Athletes Capture Karlsbad

The sport carnival of the German-speaking Socialist athletic societies held in Karlsbad last month was a striking demonstration of the strength of the forward-looking young workers of Czechoslovakia. The games were participated in by several thousand contestants and watched by crowds sometimes numbering 60,000. The high point of the carnival was reached on Sunday, August 10, when some 30,000 athletes and their friends watched by 100,000 spectators marched in a parade through the main streets of the famous resort. Here is the opening paragraph of the story of the parade written by a correspondent of the Sozialdemokrat of Prague:

"Today the streets of Karlsbad presented an appearance never to be forgotten by the class conscious workers. In sheer astonishment the international bourgeoisie in the Hotel Brider Hanika, the Grand Hotel Pupp, etc. looked down upon the streets usually filled with the 'exclusive' public, but which today resounded with the march step of the working class athletes and which echoed at noon to the battle songs of the marchers. The passing of the proletariat parade occupied more than an hour, during which period the streets of Karlsbad were ruled by the motto, 'Clear the way! The Worker is coming!' And he came in his thousands as a participant in a manifestation, which for us was the greatest of its kind, and which for the bourgeoisie was a fearful warning of a day of reckoning."

"Under the red banner, pale children, hollow-cheeked youths, and

adults worn by devastating toil, marched past the place mostly occupied by those who are coming gold out of the blood and sweat of the working people. Was it any wonder that the windows of most of the swell hotels were tightly closed, that on this Sunday the majority of the grande bourgeoisie had left the city. But all the more joyfully rang out the cheers of the working folk of Karlsbad, all the heartier was the greeting of those who, although belonging to the proletariat, have not yet recognized their class position. The march-step of the parade tramped down the bourgeois lie about the collapse of the Socialist army. Karlsbad has furnished proof that we are on the march, in more solid formation and with more determination than ever before!"

GERMANY

Socialists Win Local Victory

Further evidence of the shift in sentiment among the German working class voters since last spring was furnished by the results of the local elections in the Saxon industrial town of Lugau on August 17, when the Social Democrats cast 2,068 votes, electing nine members of the board, against six in the old one, while the Communists polled only 860 votes, electing three members, a loss of three. The non-partisans elected two members and the combined bourgeois parties, seven.

Membership Drop in Berlin
During the year ended April 1, last, the membership of the Social Democratic party in Greater Berlin fell from 57,189 to 34,347, as the result of industrial and financial difficulties and, most of all, internal

party rows fostered by Communists and their sympathizers, according to reports presented to a delegate party meeting held on August 17. But the worst has been passed and, with the recent revival of industry and the intensification of Socialist propaganda, it is expected that the lost ground will be regained within a comparatively short period. Although there were animated discussions on tactics and methods of propaganda during the conference, it was apparent that the trouble makers had lost their ability to stir up a real disturbance and the party organization seems to be solidly as ever before. A feature of the discussion was the dissatisfaction voiced by many of the delegates at the alleged failure of the central party organ, Vorwärts, to cover the local news, especially party matters, fully enough, and it was suggested that either a local party paper be started or that the Vorwärts put out a special Berlin edition. Finally a resolution was adopted recommending a conference over this matter between the party officials and the editors of Vorwärts.

Eight-Hour Day Restored
As the result of a fight by the Socialist members of the municipal council of Hamburg a resolution has

been passed for the restoration of the eight-hour day for the city employees, in place of the ten-hour one, forced upon them several months ago.

Workingmen, When Buying Your HATS Look for THIS LABEL



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Grand Victory Ball

Given by

Socialist Party, Local New York

AT THE

NEW STAR CASINO,
107th Street and Park Avenue

Saturday, October 4th

Tickets in Advance,
50 Cents

Admission at the Door,
75 Cents

PRIZES FOR BEST DANCES

Other Attractions to be Announced Next Week

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Classes in Gymnastics for Men and Women;
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Dancing; Senior and Junior Recreation,
Basketball and Social Dancing, etc.

Surveying Capitalism

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

THE CAUSES OF INDUSTRIAL UNREST. By John A. Fitch. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.00.

There are various answers to the question of why there is unrest in industry. Those of the type of the late David H. Parry and the open shoppers are sure that it is due to the "tyranny" of the trade unions and if the latter were abolished and the workers relied upon the benevolent purposes of the mill owners they would be happy. Allie to this is the belief that the workers who complain are prompted by sheer cussedness. National Security Leagues and American Defense Societies are certain that impious Bolshevism is at large and that the evil spirit can be scotched only by teaching the restless workman to salute the flag and rise when the Star Spangled Banner is sung.

The author of this book has a different idea. He has the notion that unrest prevails in industry because of economic conditions, the struggle for betterment, the frequent intervention of public powers against the workers and changes in industry that make new adjustments necessary, adjustments that cannot be made without misunderstanding, friction, struggle and sometimes violence. He reminds us that the workers in industry are human beings, with needs and aspirations that expand and grow with the development of industry. There's the trouble. If they were not human there would be no trade unions, no complaints about wages, hours and management, no unrest whatever. This would then be an ideal world for Security Leagues and Defense Societies as they would not have to worry about the flag, the Constitution and the national anthem.

Mr. Fitch is well equipped for writing such a book as this. He maintains a detached attitude towards the problem he considers. So well has he maintained this attitude that he suggests one who has reached the top of a tower and from this point of view he watches the human struggle as it is expressed in the actions of workers, owners, managers, courts and public officials in general. He traces human reactions back to their origins, explaining the behavior and beliefs of the human agents as well as or better than they can themselves. It is this intimate relation between human actions and the economic system which is impressed on the reader and which gives the book special merit.

The book is divided into four parts, the first considering unrest arising from economic conditions; the second, unrest arising from the struggle of the workers and owners in industry; the third, unrest due to the intervention of the government in this struggle of the classes; and fourth, a consideration of some fundamental principles underlying our social system and the questions it thrusts upon our attention. In the domain of law one of the most

archaic barriers to a better understanding of the industrial struggle is a legal fiction of the judges. Mr. Fitch says:

"The attitude of the judge toward the law is also modified by his individualistic concept of society. Nothing is more impressive in the various (court) decisions, particularly those involving the constitutionality of laws that interfere with full freedom of contract between employer and employee, than the conception that the two parties to the conflict are two individual personalities of equal power. This conception is thoroughly embedded in our law, despite the fact that the employer may be a billion-dollar corporation and the worker an unskilled, untutored, immigrant laborer."

This survival of the days of small shop production is an example of the lag of intelligence behind the development of industry. In fact, our lack of adjustment of a new economic age to human welfare may also be said to be due to what has been called a "cultural lag." The masses themselves, in intellectual comprehension, have not caught up with the economic advance of this century. In fact they think in terms of the first half of the nineteenth century. This is not said by the author but it is our own impression after reading this book. He observes, however, that the worker has no citizenship in industry. He has no right in industry at all that he can enforce. The owner can close the factory and he must go out and stay out until the owner again has need for his services. The laborer has no claim upon the owner when there is no work. The worker is expected to hold himself in readiness to serve the owner when the latter wants him but the worker, even the native born, is an alien in industry. Considered as a whole the wage workers lack industrial citizenship and are "possessed of few rights and subject to deportation without trial."

It would seem that Mr. Fitch would draw some important conclusions from this analysis of the status of the worker in industry but he merely states the facts and permits the reader to draw his conclusions. He offers no program, no suggestion of a solution of the industrial tangle. On the other hand it is not necessary. It is evident to the most careless reader that the industrial regime under corporate mastery functions badly and that full citizenship in industry is one fundamental need. Mr. Fitch has given us an excellent survey of the rickety machine. It is a book worth having near you when considering the problems of modern industry.

True Nobility

By C. SWAIN

What is noble?—To inherit
Wealth, estate, and proud degree?
What is birth is there of merit—
Or in vaunted pedigree?
Something greater far must enter
Into life's majestic span,
Fitted to create and centre
True nobility in man.
What is noble?—'Tis the finer
Portion of our mind and heart,
Linked to something still diviner,
Than mere language can impart;

Ever prompting, ever seeing
Some improvement yet to plan,
To uplift a fellow being
And, like man, to feel for man.
What is noble?—That which places
Truth in its enfranchised will,
Leaving steps, like angel traces,
That mankind may follow still.
E'en though Scorn's malignant
glances
Prove him poorest of his clan,
He is noble who advances
Freedom and the Cause of Man.

The Rand School of Social Science

7 EAST 15TH ST.

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EVENING COURSES for WORKERS

TUESDAY, SEPT. 30

Theories of Cultural Progress— 7 to 8:20 P. M.
Freudian System of Psychoanalysis— 8:30 to 10 P. M.
A. A. Goldenweiser.

PREPARATORY COURSE 7 to 8:20 P. M.
(English, Arithmetic and Geography)— 8:30 to 10 P. M.
Marius Hansome
(Mon., Tues., Thurs.)

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 1

Composition and Literary Criticism— 7 to 8:20 P. M.
Modern General History— 8:30 to 10 P. M.
D. P. Berenberg.

THURSDAY, OCT. 2

Elements of Psychology 8:30 to 10 P. M.
Margaret Daniels.

FRIDAY, OCT. 3

Descriptive Economics— 7 to 8:20 P. M.
Fundamentals of Socialism— 8:30 to 10 P. M.
D. P. Berenberg.

Main Currents in Recent Literature— 8:30 to 10 P. M.
Leo Salda.

WRITE FOR BULLETIN

REGISTER NOW

COURSES IN ENGLISH, Starting October 6

The Arsenal of Springfield

By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the village with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise—how wild, how dreary—
When the death-angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserere
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus—
The cries of agony, the endless groan,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own

It is, O man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these
Thou drounest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

The Warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead,
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain.

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 SOCIALIST INDICTMENT

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

In "The Decay of Capitalist Civilization"

THE Socialist indictment of the capitalist system of industry, and the society based upon it, has four main counts.

History proves that, whilst national poverty may have other causes, whenever and wherever the greater part of the population are divorced from the ownership of the instruments of production, even where the aggregate population is relatively enormous, the bulk of the people live in penury, and large numbers of them are perpetually threatened by starvation.

In the second place, this penury and its accompanying insecurity are rendered more hideous and humiliating by the relative comfort and luxury of the proprietary class and by the shameful idleness of some of its members.

The worst circumstance of capitalism is, however, neither the poverty of the wage-earner nor the luxury of the property owner, but, thirdly, the glaring inequality in personal freedom between the propertyless man and the member of the class that lives by owning. Hour by hour, day by day, year in and year out, the two-thirds of the nation who depend for their daily or weekly housekeeping for gaining access to the instruments of production find themselves working under the orders of the relatively restricted class of those who own those instruments. The sanction for the orders is not legal punishment, but, ultimately, a starvation which is supposed to be optional. That is meant by the wage earners when they complain of "wage slavery."

Fourthly, the Socialist believes that the very basis of the capitalist system is scientifically unsound, as a means of organizing the production and distribution of commodities and services, and fundamentally inconsistent with the spiritual advancement of the race.

Short Notes on Books

THE WONDERS OF WIRELESS

The Duttons have ready for immediate publication a new volume, the fourth, in their "Today and Tomorrow Series,"—"Wireless Possibilities," by A. M. Low, a British scientist, author of several technical volumes and lately a member of the physics faculty of the Royal Artillery College. This new little book is a discussion and prophecy in popular style of the developments that may be expected in wireless, all based on present knowledge and the present tendencies of investigation and invention. Professor Low tells about radio television and its possibilities, indicating the kind of invention, that may be made almost any day, by which "a telescopic camera could be attached to an aeroplane and the views seen by thousands in a cinematograph theatre" while the very events were taking place.

He stresses many times the conception of radio as oscillation, and "oscillation," he says, "is at the base of life itself." He sees the possibility also of chatting with our friends at a distance by means of a pocket wireless set, whether we are sitting at home, going down town, or traveling by air, land or water. He insists that the great trouble now with radio developments is not at all on account of distance but because of the distortions produced when sound is reflected. Among other subjects which he discusses are the possibility of communication with other planets by radio, its appalling usefulness in war, the many ways in which it is bound to transform human life, and so human beings themselves. "I doubt much," he ends by saying, "if the schoolboy of the future will greatly esteem the radio expert of this century."

The Duttons announce the publication of Philip Anthony Brown's "The French Revolution in English History," with an introduction by Professor Gilbert Murray. This is a new viewpoint from which to survey that ever fascinating episode in civilization's development and the author is said to have studied with most interesting results England's reaction to the Revolution. He traces its influence on politics and art, the stimulus it gave to working men, its appeal to the young—in short, the full range of its immediate and secondary effects.

Sisley Huddleston, former correspondent of the London Times and now correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, is the author of "Those Europeans," published by Putnam. The book includes studies of Ramsay MacDonald, Clemenceau, Masaryk, Millerand, Sir John Bradbury, Lyauty, Primo de Rivera, Caillaux, Anatole France, Lloyd George, Mussolini, Poincaré, D'Annunzio, Stresemann, the Pope and many others seen at first hand through the shrewd mind of a veteran journalist.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book, obtainable at the
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CUT THIS OUT.

Put in your scrap book for reference.
Read "The Evolution of Private Property," a prophecy of the near future. Intensely interesting: something that will make you think. 35 cents color.—Address J. W. Young, Center St. Alhambra, Mich. DO IT NOW.

Dosing the Candy

A Review by JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

GESTA ROMANORUM (DEEDS OF THE ROMANS). New York: Translated by CHARLES SWAN Dutton. \$5.

Aesop was a shrewd old fellow who missed very few tricks, but there was one he overlooked when he left the fox hungry. For not only are the grapes the fox couldn't reach sour, of course, but even more emphatically the grapes that he did reach were sweet. That, as Bernard Shaw has said, is the origin of the hundred percenter. For if a man have neither the courage to protest against conditions that his neighbors like, or seem to like, nor the power to remove himself to a more satisfactory sphere, what can the poor wretch do but try to convince himself that everything is fine—in fact, perfect—Who says it's not? Show him to me! Let me at him! And by damning all who dare to say that things could be improved, the patriot and head of his family tries to drown the voice that tells him he'd rather be cruising on his own yacht with Pola Negri than coming home from a dull day to a worn wife, and he assures the world that there's no place like home and that his country is the happy hunting ground of the universe. Aesop was probably shrewd enough to see all this, and further, that the man who exposes this fundamental cause of ardent patriotism is likely to be branded a traitor. But in spite of Aesop's silence, man has continued, as Cabell would put it, weaving his mundane irksome duties into the warp of his soul's garment, and out of his necessity forging his pride.

The priest, beyond all other men, has won to a high sincerity in the art of fashioning to his needs the weapons nature thrusts upon him, whatsoever different ends they may have been designed to attain. The church of the Middle Ages must have been a place dreary enough for a worn-out yeomanry, with its outlandish tongue and its long silences relieved only by the too familiar forms of common ceremony. Far merrier for a tired man was the tavern hearth, where the whisper ended in the round guffaw, and tales of another's mischief, mishap, or lovely miss threw a borrowed glamor across a twinkling eve. Wherefore the astute priest, who, long before poor Jack Point, realized one must "always gild the philosophic pill," saw now the converse necessity of injecting into the tid-bit of tavern entertainment the medication of moralistic injunction. This by way of explanation of the fact that 181 religious parables, with titles such as "Of Praise Due to a Just Judge," "Of God's Benefits,"

and "Of the Soul, Which, Being Infected by the Leprosy of Sin, Cannot Recover Its Ancient Beauty Except by Penitential Sighs and Tears," and with the application firmly fixed at the end, for use in service and sermon—the fact that these are in reality the most popular tales of four centuries, and the fountain-spring of more modern literature than any other single work (except what is always excepted—the Bible.)

Let us take room for a brief example of the perspicacity of God's advocates. Tale XVIII presents the following legend:

"There was once discovered in a place higher than the walls of the city of Rome, an uncorrupted body, on which the following words were inscribed. 'Pallas, the son of Evander, whom the lance of a crooked soldier slew, is interred here.' A candle burned at his head, which neither water nor wind could extinguish, until air was admitted through a hole made with the point of a needle beneath the flame. The wound of which this person had died was four feet and a half long. He was a giant, and having been killed after the overthrow of Troy, was buried here, where he had remained two thousand two hundred and forty years." This is entitled "Of the Soul's Immortality," and is followed, as usual, by an "Application: My beloved, the giant is Adam, who was formed free from all corruption. The wound of which he died, is transgression of the divine command. The burning candle is eternal punishment, extinguished by means of a needle, that is, by the passion of Christ." Surely one who can discern such truths has been blessed with divine inspiration.

Thus the church laid its solemn sanction upon the sprightly tales of old. But not even the decorous garb of religion, nor the pious cloak of the translator, can wholly darken the gay colors of popular legend, of tales borne by long devious routes from Greece or from the Orient, pagan or gypsy tales despite the cloth, flaunting a color that gleams in Boccaccio or bursts to glory in Shakespeare. The "Gesta Romanorum" is a source-book of value to the scholar, and to the general reader a volume quaintly amusing in the freshness of its tales and in the naive solemnity of their moral application. "The Deeds of the Romans" are the seeds of romance.

The La Follette Handbook

THE FACTS ABOUT LA FOLLETTE AND WHEELER. Official Campaign Handbook of the Eastern States La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee, 25 West 43rd Street, New York. 25 cents.

The Eastern States La Follette Campaign Handbook is the first notable contribution to the literature of the La Follette campaign. With a solid background of facts and figures contributed by the Labor Bureau, the handbook offers brilliantly written chapters on La Follette and Wheeler and their old-party opponents, Tea Pot Dome, the veterans scandals, super-power and other subjects. A trenchant chapter on the "Bank-

ruptcy of the Two Old Parties" is another of the features.

On its documentary side, the book offers in convenient form the Progressive platform, La Follette's speech announcing his candidacy, his letter on the Ku Klux Klan, among other things.

The book contains 140 pages, 23 chapters. It is illustrated by portraits of the Progressive standard-bearers and by numerous clever cartoons by Edmund Duffy and Art Young. In part, the book is another Socialist contribution to the La Follette campaign, having been edited by Edward Levinson, of the staff of The New Leader.

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LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

Belgian Unions Curb Communists

After a debate which took up several sessions of the twenty-third national convention of the Belgian Federation of Labor, held in Brussels, August 2 to 4, a resolution was adopted by a vote of 324 against 38, with 123 abstentions, providing that no member of the Communist Party may hold any official position in the Federation or any of its affiliated unions. The resolution also calls for the suppression of any and all attempts at fomenting division in the unions and declares that no union member has the right to interfere in the affairs of another organization unless requested to do so by the proper officials. The opponents of the resolution insisted that its adoption meant the throwing out of all Communists, but its proponents pointed out that so long as Communist members attended to their business as plain trade unionists and made no effort to carry out instructions from Moscow aimed at the International Federation of Trade Unions and its subdivisions they would not be molested. The supporters of the resolution said that the great mass of the Belgium unionists did not intend to be annoyed by Communist "cells" and that the insignificant Communist movement in Belgium was not to be allowed to continue its work of disruption. Other resolutions adopted by the convention urged the continuing of the fight for the eight-hour day and damned the Clerical Government for its failure to enact any social legislation worth mentioning while being able to vote 800,000,000 francs (about \$40,000,000) for military

purposes. Secretary Mertens reported that while membership of the Federation had fallen to 594,998 on January 1, last, from 618,871 on January 1, 1923, there had been a steady gain this year so that the present membership was well above the 600,000 mark and on the way toward the hoped-for 700,000.

Light on Greek Strike Mix-up

In order to clear up some misunderstanding regarding its position during the Greek transportation strike of last June, the Amsterdam office of the International Transport Workers' Federation has issued a detailed account of the strike and its exchange of messages with the strike leaders. It appears that the Greek Seamen's Federation, having called a strike on May 26, for a 30 per cent wage raise and preference for the union in employment, which was answered by about 12,000 men and tied up shipping completely, cabled to the Amsterdam office of the I. T. W. F. asking it to stop shipments to Greece and to instruct crews of other nations to support the strikers. No other information was given and the Amsterdam office cabled back a request for more data and confirmation or denial of a press report of May 31 saying the strike had ended. On June 2 the Greeks answered stating the strike demands and saying that it was still on. As the Greek transport workers are not affiliated with the Amsterdam organization and as the information was so meager, the officers did not feel justified in issuing a high sounding manifesto, a la Moscow, which probably would have done no good to the Greeks and would only have made the Federation ridiculous. On June 3 a letter was sent to the strikers asking for details and pointing out that they would probably be helped by the International, even if not affiliated, if such action were justified. No answer was ever received from the Greek Seamen, but the Pan Hellenic Railwaymen's Federation, went out

on June 11 in a sympathetic strike and helped force the Government to intervene so that the strike was quickly settled, with all strikers reinstated and the questions of wage increases and union preference to be arbitrated, replied to a query from Amsterdam with full details. The Amsterdam office "ventures to hope that this incident will show the necessity for closer relations between the Greek unions and the I. T. W. F., also that regular consultation on all matters affecting the transport workers may be possible and so that we may render assistance to one another in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class."

Transport Congress Hits Dawes Plan

A feature of the fourth congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, held in Hamburg, August 7 to 12, was the adoption, by an overwhelming majority of a resolution condemning the parts of the Dawes reparation plan providing for the de-nationalization of the German State railroads and their administration by a sort of international committee of private interests and calling for what the delegates considered too heavy payments by Germany. It was explained that there was no question of denying that France and Belgium were entitled to reparation for their war-damaged regions, but it was feared that in order to obtain the payments provided for in the experts' plan the German working class would be driven like slaves and that the eight-hour day, already subject to violent attacks by the German bosses, would go by the board altogether, with the result of intensifying the exploitation of the workers of other countries. Edo Fimmen, secretary of the Transport Federation, led the attack upon the Dawes plan, while the German delegates said that, while they were not especially charmed by the plan, they would not oppose the policy of supporting it adopted by the German Federation of Labor and by the International Federation of Trade Unions

and the Socialist and Labor International. Other resolutions adopted by the congress called for the support of all efforts to socialize railroads and transportation in general, for an eight-hour day for sailors (adopted upon recommendation by a conference of representatives of seamen's organizations), and for the promotion of the idea of a United States of Europe. Contrary to the expectations of representatives of the Russian Transport Workers, they were not invited to send delegates to the Hamburg congress, as the leaders of the International Transport Workers' Federation evidently had concluded to leave the matter of negotiating for a "united front" in the hands of the Executive Committee of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Fimmen and Nathan were re-elected secretaries and the General Council was chosen as follows: Williams (France), Jochade and Doring (Germany), Mahman (Holland-Belgium), Gomez (Spain and South America), Brodechy (Poland-Czechoslovakia), Forstner (Austria-Switzerland), Saradelli (Italy), Lindley (Scandinavia). The Executive Committee is made up of the secretaries and Williams, Doring, Forstner, Lindley, Bidegaray, Moltmaker and Brautigam. Doring was chosen head of the seamen's division, Lindley of the transport workers and Bidegaray of the railroad men. The headquarters of the Federation stays in Amsterdam and the 1925 congress will be held in France. The 114 delegates represented forty organizations in nineteen countries, with 2,010,807 members. The total membership was put at 2,078,223 in fifty-nine organizations in twenty-six countries. At the beginning of the year the membership was 2,035,958, while on January 1, 1923, it was 2,154,806. The congress voted that, beginning June 1, 1925, each affiliated organization must pay dues of six Dutch cents (about two and a half American cents) per year per member.

The Socialist Movement

VII. The Cry for Justice

By WILLIAM M. FEIGENBAUM

The cry of the masses for justice, for a better day, for an end of the bitter conditions of slavery, is as old as history.

There have been popular uprisings, slave revolts, rebellions, from the earliest times; but they have always ended in one of two ways. Sometimes the revolt has been crushed and drowned in blood; sometimes its leaders have been bribed, flattered, cajoled, into betraying the workers. But the revolts of Spartacus, the Gracchi, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, the Peasants' Revolt—all of them have been brutally put down.

One point of vital importance is this, that for all the ages a slave class has been considered the natural and normal thing. For all the ages, class lines have been considered right and just and proper. The knights and nobles, the patricians and ruling class, the landowners and barons, have considered it a matter of course that the workers should be starved, exploited and

robbed. It was considered a matter of course that they should not be educated, that they should be chained to the ground or to their jobs.

Hanging for Rebellion

We have all read of the severity of the English laws against stealing. One could be hanged for stealing a head of cabbage. The savagery was not so much because of the loss of the cabbage, but rather because the theft of an article, be it ever so trifling, was an act of rebellion against the place where it had pleased God, in His infinite wisdom, to place the masters and the servants.

But little by little—oh! so slowly—light came. Little by little, because of the development of industry, the workers, the slaves, got to be more and more familiar with the processes of life. Little by little, education spread. Little by little, the idea grew that God had not brought some into the world booted and spurred, and others already saddled and bridled ready to be ridden.

The French Revolution was preceded by a wonderful flowering of culture among the people. Rousseau had propounded his glorious philosophy of the Social Contract, that man had voluntarily entered into relations with a king and could voluntarily break the contract. It was theoretical, but it spelled the death of absolute monarchy. Voltaire and Diderot and the Encyclopedists popularized knowledge, until it became almost a fad for the dainty ladies and perfumed gentlemen to teach workers to read and to think.

And then came the Great Revolution!

"Man Is Born Free"

Why should people be unequal? Why should empty-headed and flighty fools like the Bourbon king and his silly queen and his mistresses be superior to the people? "Man is born free" rang the magnificent words of Rousseau, "and is everywhere in chains."

Why? A few years before, the people would have been forbidden to think those dangerous thoughts. Men would have been hanged for teaching such philosophy. But development had proceeded so far that it became possible to teach along those lines.

Then came philosopher after philosopher thinking out new plans for the re-creation of the world. Man is born free; he is in chains; he made his contract with his king, and he can break it. Therefore, let us break the contract and dethrone the kings!

"Tis the fault of Rousseau," "Tis the fault of Voltaire," as Victor Hugo made Gavroche, his revolutionary little vagabond, defiantly sing on the barricades at the

troops of the old regime who were fighting in the Faubourg St. Antoine with the embattled masses. The mind was being made free. What to do to emancipate the body? The earliest social thinkers who thought out plans were Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, and others of their type.

The Utopians

Under the inspiration of the French Revolution, Claude Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, a member of an old and aristocratic French family, undertook to study the inequalities and problems of the world. Saint-Simon was a wonderful thinker and he laid down certain propositions that form the basis of the Socialist movement. In a certain sense, he was the very first really to lay down the idea that whatever social changes were necessary to make the world a decent place to live in would have to be nationwide.

He was confused as to the nature of the changes, but his one proposition was fundamental, and therefore he deserves the place of honor as the first of the earlier school of Socialists.

Fourier, however, believed in establishing colonies, to be called "phalanxes," where the workers would work out their own destinies. The earliest Socialism of America was Fourierism, that is, the movement towards the establishment of colonies everywhere, where the workers would work out their happiness. Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley, and the rest of the early American Socialists, were followers of Fourier.

Robert Owen was a wealthy Englishman who wanted to make the people happy by settling them on colonies to be established by himself and other philanthropists. He came to Parliament and asked them to finance his scheme. He hoped that they would give him an opportunity to explain what he wanted. "What!" he cried, "not even thirty minutes for human happiness?"

These earlier men wanted to establish Utopias, that is, ideal states, places where the workers could be settled and made comfortable by nice men like Owen and Fourier. They were earnest and sincere men, and they wanted to abolish poverty because their hearts bled at the miseries of other men.

Along about that time, Bronterre O'Brien, an Irish revolutionist, invented the word "Socialist" and "Socialism" to describe these people.

The word comes from the Latin "socius," which means "companion" or "comrade." It is the basis of the words *society*, *sociable*, and many other similar words. It means that the people who sought to reform the

(Continued on Page 11)

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THE RECORD OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A number of requests have come to The New Leader in the past few weeks to answer statements made by Communists against La Follette, the Socialists, and others who are supporting the third party. We have refrained from cluttering up our columns with answers to the Communists. However, we herewith present only a part of the record of the Communists on the questions they raise. We suggest that our friends clip this record. It is reliable as to dates, and through it we permit the Communists to answer themselves. If any other body of men were guilty of the contradictions they are their sanity would be questioned. (Clip this record, as we shall not go into it again.)

The Left Wing, 1919.—First Communist organization in this country. Denounced the Socialist Party for not urging civil war. Two fundamental planks of its program (p. 14) read:

"The party must teach, propagate, and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship."

"The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions."

On the question of a Labor party, it said (p. 9):

"A Labor party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class. . . . Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletarian as 'moderate' Socialism; neither is an instrument for the conquest of power."

Communist Labor party platform, 1919: "We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle."

The Communist, Chicago, April 1, 1919, in an article, said: "Socialists must oppose the new Labor party and build up an organization fighting all factions of confusion."

Communist Propaganda League, Chicago, same issue: "No compromise with any groups not inherently committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, People's Councils, Non-Partisan Leagues, Municipal Ownership Leagues, and the like."

The Communist, Chicago, August 30, 1919: "We welcome the fakirs of the Labor party and will meet them in the fray. Although they may stem the tide of world revolt and perpetuate this system, the revolutionary workers of the world, over the dead body of all Labor parties, will plant the flaming flag of the Communist-International upon the ramparts of capitalism."

By this time the romantic humorists had no use for political action of the workers at all. From their underground retreats they issued bristling documents. In October, 1920, the Communist party issued a Manifesto bearing the headline, "Boycott the Coming Elections!" The following will give an idea of its contents: "The Communist Party advocates mass action of the armed workers in open armed insurrection and civil war as the only means of conquering political power for the workers. Therefore, we, your fellow workers and comrades of the Communist Party of America, call upon you, the workers of America, to boycott the coming elections!"

On May Day, 1921, the Communist party issued another manifesto. One sentence gives an idea of its contents: "The capitalist governments of the world tremble at the approach of May Day; for May Day is the day of the Proletarian Revolution. (Some wag has said that rain made it necessary to postpone the revolution!) Get ready for the Proletarian Revolution in America."

Plenty of Manifestoes, Proclamations and Theses in those days. Here is part of one issued by the Communist party on Unemployment in December, 1920, in the form of a handbill: "The only way to overthrow the capitalist Government is by means of Mass Action—demonstrations, protests, mass strikes, general strikes, political strikes and culminating finally in open collision with the capitalist State—armed insurrection and civil war. . . . Hail to the Soviet Government of America!" (Italics in the original.)

The Communist (Underground) for August, 1921, considering the Socialist Party's resolution in favor

Workers' Party Tried to Force Their Support on La Follette, But He Wouldn't Have Them.

By JAMES ONEAL

of a Labor party, said that "it betrays a lamentable misunderstanding of the role of a political party in the proletarian revolution." Moreover, "for a workers' political party to enter into permanent general fusion on a common platform with all political organizations that happen to be opposed to the dominant political parties is tactically suicidal. Such a policy is characteristic of the most degenerate centrism and opportunism."

Two years later the Communists were eagerly working to get trade unions, farmer organizations, Farmer-Labor parties and the Socialist Party into the Chicago convention which the Communists "captured." The "most degenerate centrism" had become scientific and proletarian "strategy." The Socialist Party did not send delegates and the Communists created the bogus "Federated Farmer-Labor Party."

Our next exhibit is the International Press Correspondence (Communist) published in Vienna. It supplies Communist publications in all countries with news matter and reports of the "General Staff of the World Revolution" in Moscow. Issue of February 27, 1924, instructing the faithful in all countries: "The nuclei must carry on an obstinate fight in the factories and workshops against the members and followers of other parties, also the Socialist parties and other 'Labor parties.'" At the same time they must form a "united front" with those they are instructed to attack.

Same publication, issue of February 28, 1924, I. Amter, reporting the third convention of the Workers' party of the United States. He writes that farmers and workers are in rebellion against big trusts, and that they "trust to a good leader." This man is La Follette. "By giving a black eye to both parties, it (the oil scandal) increases the hatred of both parties among the workers and farmers and enhances the prestige of La Follette." The Communist Federated Farmer-Labor party had joined with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party in calling the St. Paul convention. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers' party, Amter writes, which controls the Federated Farmer-Labor party, discussed the "strategy" of the situation. It decided to support the third party, even if La Follette leads it. The chief reasons were: "The campaign will allow us to enter the third party whenever opportunity presents itself, to form a left wing within it, and split it away from the third party." In other words, the Communists were willing to support La Follette whom they are now denouncing, but only for the purpose of acting treacherously by causing a split. This followed instructions from Moscow, quoted above. But the policy is not new. For years it has been the policy of Moscow to deliberately cause divisions in parties and unions.

Another exhibit is the Theses on the Present Economic Situation and on the Labor Party Policy proposed by the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party. I quote from the Worker, December 1, 1923. Section 3, Clause (d), reads: "Where the Farmer-Labor Party candidates have no chance to win and the third party can unquestionably win against the capitalist parties with our support we will vote for the third party candidates."

John Pepper, the representative of Moscow in this country and guardian of the faithful, followed this up with an article in the Worker of December 22, 1923, under the title, "La Follette, the Third Party, and the Labor Party." Two sentences in this article are interesting to us. He writes that Communists cannot assume responsibility for La Follette, "but we can and must vote for La Follette if the mighty masses of workers and exploited farmers, who are not yet class conscious, put him up as a candidate."

He goes on to question the efficacy of the La Follette program, and then, assuming to address the masses, he writes: "But if you nominate him (La Follette), nevertheless we do not want to scab on the action of the workers and exploited farmers; we will vote for him because he is the candidate of the workers and exploited farmers." According to this

high pronouncement, the Communists have chosen to scab!

We will next respectfully listen to C. E. Ruthenberg, philosopher of the faithful in this country. I quote from his article in the Worker, April 10, 1924: He writes that Communists must say "that the road to emancipation of the workers and exploited farmers from the oppression and exploitation of capitalism is through a Proletarian Revolution, Soviets, and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and not through a La Follette Government."

"What has been said above does not, however, answer the question whether we shall support La Follette if he is nominated on a Farmer-Labor ticket. . . .

"We are against La Follette. We know that the political victory of the workers and exploited farmers lies over the dead body (politically) of La Follette. If, in spite of what we say, the masses of workers and exploited farmers who are not yet Communists insist upon nominating La Follette and placing their hope upon him, we will not desert him in the struggle; we will go along with them and vote for their candidate. . . .

The final exhibit we present is an article by Bittelman and Cannon, who defend the policy of the Executive Committee in deciding to support a third party. I quote from the Worker, April 12, 1924: "This step of supporting the candidates of a petty bourgeois liberal third party, under the conditions laid down in the Thesis of the Central Executive Committee, is a correct one."

Hundreds of other quotations could be submitted, but we have quoted sufficient from the highest authorities accepted by the Communists to show that they thought that it was perfectly right to support the third party and La Follette.

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

Local 584, I. B. of T.
Office and Meeting Room:
565 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 5.
F. J. STERNIN, Pres. & Bus. Agent.
NATHAN LAUT, Sec'y-Treas.

NEW YORK SIGN WRITERS

Union Local No. 230
Office and Meeting Room:
106 Seventh Avenue, Phone Chelsea 5549
Regular Meeting Every Monday, 8 P. M.
Executive Board meets on the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 17th, 19th, 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, 29th, 31st of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y.
Chas. Garfinkel, Org'r. H. Kaplan, Sec.
J. J. COUGHLIN, Pres. D. J. CONLON, Bus. Agent
J. J. COUGHLIN, Sec. D. J. CONLON, Fin. Secretary

SEE THAT YOUR ENGINEER WEARS THIS BUTTON!

I. U. S. and O.
Engineers' Local 56
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F. BAUSCHER, Fin. Sec.

SUIT CASE, BAG AND PORT-FOLIO MAKERS' UNION

62 University Place, Stuyvesant 6559
The Membership Committee and the Executive Board meet every second and fourth Mondays of the month at the office. Regular meeting every first Thursday of the month at 151 Clinton St., N. Y.
Chas. Garfinkel, Org'r. H. Kaplan, Sec.
J. J. COUGHLIN, Pres. D. J. CONLON, Bus. Agent
J. J. COUGHLIN, Sec. D. J. CONLON, Fin. Secretary

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Board of Officers Meet 2nd & 4th Friday.
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Offices and Headquarters, 24 W. 16 St., N. Y.
Meets Every 3rd Sunday of Every Month at SHIELDS HALL, 57 SMITH ST., BROOKLYN.

JOURNEYMEN PLUMBERS' UNION, LOCAL 418

Of Queens County, New York.
Office and Headquarters, 250 Jackson Avenue, Long Island City.
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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

International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor
JOHN P. BURKE, President-Secretary. 145 Broadway, Fort Edward, New York.

Now they attack both. They circulate a leaflet at all third party and Socialist meetings bearing the title, "Not a Cent, Not a Vote, for La Follette." In the Worker they are running articles attempting to prove that La Follette is "an enemy of the working class."

Why this change? On May 28 La Follette followed the example of the Socialist Party by issuing a public statement that he would have nothing to do with the Communists. That is the reason, and there is no other.

The record shows that the Communists have run the whole gamut from support of civil war and armed insurrection to no immediate demands, boycotting elections, calling for "mass action," support of the third party, support of La Follette, opposition to La Follette, and final denunciation of him as an "enemy." The only explanation of such tortuous and amazing conduct is that the Communist movement attracts the mentally abnormal and that its victims are not responsible for their acts.

Is this utopian? A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of utopias.—Oscar Wilde in "The Soul of Man Under Socialism."

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J. LASHES, President.
WM. LEHMAN, Secretary-Treasurer.

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2839 West 25th Street.
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D. SAMOVITZ, Manager.

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LOCAL 892

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Tel. Regent 4625
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Peter Goidle, Vice-President
J. J. CONLON, Sec. & Fin. Secretary

WAITERS' UNION & ALLIED CAFETERIA WORKERS

Local 219, N. Y. C. & I. L. of A.
Office & Headquarters: 170 E. 80 St., N. Y.
LENOX 1874
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Meyer Schachter, Chas. S. Lowy, President
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Headquarters 308 EIGHTH AVENUE
Telephone Longacre 5629
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J. J. O'CONNELL, Vice-Pres. ED. H. OLSEN, Fin. Sec.
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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—4100-5416. PHILIP ZAUSNER, Secretary.

PAINTERS' UNION No. 261

Office: Telephone: University 2928
62 East 106th Street
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

United Hebrew Trades

175 EAST BROADWAY
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H. GUSKIN, MAX FINE, Secretary
M. ARMANSON, M. WEINSTEIN, Vice-Chairman Ass't. Secretary

HEBREW BUTCHERS UNION

Local 234, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. A.
175 E. B'way. Orchard 5330
Meet every 1st & 3rd Tuesday
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ELECTRICIANS

Members of Local 3, I. B. E. W., are hereby notified that there will be no regular meeting held on Thursday, September 18, 1924.
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--- D R A M A ---

Where the Tired Business Man First Got Tired

It isn't so many years that people have been talking about the famous T. B. M. for whom the girly-girly shows are put on and in whose interest the theatrical producers emulate the purveyors of Caffee Haag—everything extracted from the bean.

The T. B. M. was originally the buyer from out-of-town who came to the big town on business, and who had to kill an evening or so without spraining his mind. So Mr. Wayburn and Mr. Ziegfeld and Mr. Wintergarden and their comrades, colleagues, conferees, co-workers and competitors, evolved the plan of getting a peculiar kind of theatrical fare for them—nothing much to think about; none of this highbrow stuff, but oh, Bebbbbly easy on the eyes! So these philanthropists proceeded to denude the American girl as the first steps in the process of glorification of same. And throw in a joke or two, and there, as Mister Dooley says, ye ar-re.

We have occasionally undertaken to be that kind of business man, and we got, oh, so tired! and my dear, you'd never realize how many business men there are in this country—all tired out. Anyway, that is the generally accepted version of the origin of the girly-girly show with few plot and fewer clothes, but speed and dash and sleet and elan and etc.

But as usual, we were wrong. We always are. The shows didn't grow out of Ziggy's philanthropic desire to help the poor overworked banker and necktie salesman. They date back further, yes, into Elsinore in the ancient days when Hamlet was pondering on the Murder of m'father and plotting a little surprise for mamma in the shape of The Play, which was the thing wherein to catch the conscience of the King.

Hamlet, who was idiotically sane with lucid moments of lunacy—or at least, so he wanted the court to believe, had welcomed the players to Elsinore. He had told them to "speak the speech I pray you as I pronounce it to you, trippingly on the tongue," and then pompous old Polonius, the business manager of the court, asked Hamlet if he should use them accordingly to their desert. Hamlet angrily interrupted and told him "Odd's bodikins, man, better; use every man after his desert, and who would 'scape whipping? Use them after your own honor and dignity; the less they deserve the more merit is in your bounty." (We

liked that odd's bodikins; Hamlet must have been the General Daves of his time).

Hamlet tells the leader of the players to recite something to him, beginning "The rugged Pyrrhus, like the Hyrcanian beast," and they're off. Gosh, how they liked the tall declaiming!

And the union actor (known to fame only as 1 Play,) goes on and on and on, until Polonius, awakening from his sleep, complains, "This is too long." Hamlet impatiently says, "It shall to the barber's with your beard."

And then in a casual off-hand way, Hamlet makes a crack that sounds innocent enough, but when we read it, tears came into our eyes and we reverently bowed, because we were in the awful presence of the First Tired Business Man of the first theatrical entrepreneur who knew how to cater to him, namely, Hamlet himself.

For Hamlet said to the actors, with a knowing wink at Polonius, "Prythee, say on—He's for a jig, or a tale of bawdry, or he sleeps," which has all the earmarks of a dirty dig. But more, far more than that, it is the tiny mustard seed out of which has grown the whole crop of T. B. M. shows which are patterned accurately upon the plan laid down by Hamlet to keep the old men awake. Our metaphors are sadly mixed, but that's all right, since we're talking about shows that don't pretend to have any sense to them.

So it seems as if Ziggy will have to erect a monument to that noble thespian whose only name, as given in the stage directions, is 1 Play, who in fact, created the profession out of which he has earned enough money to hire Peggy Joyce and Imogene Wilson.

We felt sad when we had dug that up. What's to happen to all our illusions? Puck said, "I'll put a girdle around the earth in forty minutes," thus anticipating radio, or something. And you can see through old Will Shakespeare from kiver to kiver and find out that there's a lot of things we gave ourselves credit for that the wise old boy from the Stratford butcher shop beat us to.

After all, maybe Will's contemporaries on the Rialto of London fixed up plays with jigs and tales of bawdry to keep the bald heads awake, getting the hint from Hamlet, thus anticipating the burlesque wheels and the New Amsterdam Theatre. Ho hum, there's nothing new under the sun as Bill said, or was it Solomon?

W. M. F.

The Theatre Guild "The Guardsman," by Molnar, due in October,

THE THEATRE GUILD, in its latest announcement promises a varied program for its seventh season. The first play is "The Guardsman," a comedy by Franz Molnar, which goes into rehearsal Monday under the direction of Philip Moeller. In the cast are Lynn Fontanne, Alfred Lunt, Helen Westley and Dudley Digges. Jo Mielziner has designed the settings. "The Guardsman" will open October 13 at the Garrick Theatre.

The others definitely on the program include, "The Conquering Hero," by Alan Monkhouse, "Caesar and Cleopatra," by Shaw, with Helen Hayes as Cleopatra (Caesar is not yet chosen), a new comedy, "Eva Bonheur," by the Dutch dramatist, Herman Heilmann, and three new American plays, "Professional," by John Howard Lawson; "They Knew What They Wanted," by Sidney Howard and "The Fountain," by Eugene O'Neill. The Guild would also like to wedge into the season a drama by Frans Werfel entitled "Goat Song." Also a musical comedy written especially for the Guild by Lawrence Langner and Philip Bartholomae.

The opening of the new Guild Theatre on 52nd street will be in January. The Theatre Guild will also retain the Garrick.

THE NEW PLAYS

SATURDAY

"THE LITTLE ANGEL," a comedy by Ernest Vajda, will be presented by Brock Pemberton by arrangement with Hubert Druce, at the Frazee Theatre tonight. The translation from the Hungarian is by John S. Vajda and adaptation for the English stage by J. Jacobus. The leading role will be played by Clare Eames. The supporting cast includes Edward Emery, C. H. Crocker-King, Moffat Johnston, Mildred MacLeod, John H. Brewer, Edward Crandall and Elizabeth Taylor. The action of the play takes place in the year 1840, near Budapest, Hungary. The settings and costumes were designed by Willy Pogany, and the staging by Hubert Druce.

MONDAY

"THE AWFUL MRS. EATON," a play dealing with Andrew Jackson's administration, by John Farrar and Stephen Vincent Benet, will come to the Morosco Theatre Monday night, sponsored by William A. Brady. Frank McGlynn will play Andrew Jackson, with Katherine Alexander in the role of "Miss O'Neal." Others in the cast include Elmer Grandin, Isabel O'Madigan, Robert Wayne, Mary Ellen Ryan, Minor Watson, Virginia Howell, Henry Crosby and Margaret Armstrong.

"THE BUSYBODY," a comedy by Dorrance Davis, will be presented by George Choo, Monday night at the Bijou Theatre. Ada Lewis is featured. Others include Josephine Drake, Mildred Florence, Lisle Leigh, Josephine Whittell, Florence Denman, Helen Stewart, William Leonard, Basil West, Nelson H. Jaap, Harry C. Banister, Joseph Guthrie and Edward Keane.

TUESDAY

"THE FAR CRY," a new comedy by Arthur Richman, will be the initial production of the new Robert Milton Company. The play opens Tuesday evening at the Cort Theatre. The cast includes Claude King, Lucille Watson, Margola Gillmore, Frederick Worlock, Kenneth MacKenna and Jose Alessandro. Robert Milton staged the production.

WEDNESDAY

"BEWITCHED," a new play by Edward Sheldon and Sidney Howard, comes to the National Theatre Wednesday night, sponsored by John Cromwell, Inc. Jose Ruben, Florence Eldridge and Glenn Anders play the leading roles.

THURSDAY

"GREAT MUSIC," a play by Martin Brown (author of "Cobra"), will be presented by George Backer at the Earl Carroll Theatre Thursday night. The music is by C. Linn Seiler. The settings by John Wenger. The players include Helen Ware, Christine Norman, Tom Powers, Madeline Marshall, Harriet Sterling, Dorothy Day, Hugh Chivers, Edward Belmore and B. N. Lewis.



MAURICE SCHWARZ
opens the Yiddish Art Players season in "Moshke Hazir," a drama by J. D. Berkowitz, at the Yiddish Art Theatre, Monday afternoon.

A real good laugh

"Izzy," with Jimmy Hussey, at the Broadhurst Theatre

If you want a play that will stimulate you to think, keep away from the Broadhurst. But if you want to roll over with laughter, see "Izzy," a comedy by Mrs. Trimble Bradley and George Broadhurst based on the "Izzy Isakowitz" stories by the late George Randolph Chester and Lillian Chester, at the Broadhurst Theatre, with Jimmy Hussey as Izzy Isakowitz. Izzy is the long, gangling youth who made up his mind that he is going to be the biggest "pitcher magnet" in the world, and he has a collection of five dotting, adoring, burlesque-theatre Yiddish uncles who make all the regular Yiddish wise cracks, and who stake him nevertheless.

Izzy sticks to the job, and he makes good. Gosh, what that kid doesn't know about the movies! And Gosh! What a buttinski he is, sticking his long Yiddish nose in everybody's business and telling them how to do their jobs—and getting away with it.

Oh, yes, there's "heart interest," with Prudence Joy, the ingenue who turns out to be a joy, but not a joy, so that Izzy can marry Rosie Rosenberg in the final fade out. And the writer of sexy novels, who tries to wamp him. And the heavy "willens," who try to put things over on Izzy. And everything. Jimmy Hussey's acting is a perfect piece of work, with the sloppy, clipped speech so characteristic of today's youth. And the rest serve . . . Why mention names? You come to laugh, and you do, but when Jimmie is not talking the laughs lag. The Uncles look the part, but most of them talk as if they studied how to be Yids, and it sounds like it. But never mind. While Jimmie swallows the so-called English language, there's hilarity, and even hysteria at the Broadhurst.

W. M. F.



MARGALO GILLMORE
will be seen in "The Far Cry," the initial production of the new Robert Milton Company, opening at the Cort Tuesday night.

His Mother

"My Son," A Play of the New England Portuguese, at the Princess Theatre.

With the exception of the play itself, everything about "My Son," by Martha Stanley is extremely well done. A comparatively unknown cast works with a sureness and a smooth harmony of action, a blend of speech and meaningful pause, that tells of sound and sure directing by Gustav Blum. The old sea captain of Claude Cooper is a true bit of character portrayal; Jean Gordon as the Portuguese mother handles a harder part with genuine feeling; her lover the Portuguese, her lover the American, and her somewhat impetuous son, are all capably handled. Personally, Martha Madison seemed a somewhat shallow flapper to me, but perhaps they all are; at any rate, my companion assured me that my masculine mind was incapable of grasping the truly feminine finesse of the part. However, the performance moves as smoothly, and gives as great an impression of unity, as the glossy play of muscles of a well-groomed thoroughbred race horse.

It is a shame to put such a horse to pulling trucks; yet this cast is harnessed to a vehicle that has, in other guises, been drawn for many years around Broadway. It is well disguised by the Portuguese background, and the suggested contrast between the Southern blood and the colder Nordic; but we recognized the loving mother doing her best for the ungrateful son, we

--- T H E A T R E S ---

America's Foremost Theatres and Hits, Direction of Lee & J. J. Shubert.

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THE PASSING SHOW
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Anne Nichols' RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY

YEAR REPUBLIC

ANNE NICHOLS' LAUGHING SUCCESS

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MOST LAUGHS IN TOWN

Staged by FRANK CRIVEN

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45th St. W. of B'way. Evs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

REAL and RINGING and FIERCELY GOOD

—Robert Littell, New Republic

Ibsen's "Hedda Gabler"

At Special Matinees

Dudley Digges is back in town to take up his duties as director for the Equity Players' productions. He is to have full charge of the production and the staging of their program of five plays, the first of which will be placed in rehearsal the last week in November. Digges will continue his association with the Theatre Guild, appearing in the part of the critic in "The Guardsman," by Molnar, now in rehearsal.

Equity Players will inaugurate their matinee season by the presentation of "Hedda Gabler" with the same cast as was seen last spring, when it was produced for six matinees. Digges will again play the part of Tesman with Clare Eames as Hedda. A continuance of special matinees will be made at the Forty-eighth Street Theatre Monday, Thursdays and Fridays.



OTTO KRUGER

plays the "Nervous Wreck" in Owen Davis' play coming to the Bronx Opera House Monday.

The Piccadilly, New Picture Palace, Opens Saturday

New York will get its first view Saturday (tonight) of Lee Ochs' new motion picture theatre, the Piccadilly. It will be dedicated at the premiere performance. Vincent Lopez and the Piccadilly Orchestra will supply the music and John Hammond will be the console of the new triple manual organ. The Piccadilly's opening feature, will be Thomas Incille's picturization of "Barbara Fritchie," from Clyde Fitch's play. Florence Vidor and Edmund Lowe are featured.

Notes

Margaret Anglin, in association with Mary Kirkpatrick, is to make a series of productions in New York this season, starting in October. The first of these will be a revival of Arthur Wing Pinero's "Iris." This will be followed by Paul Kester's "Lady Deadlock," founded upon incidents in Dickens' "Bleak House"; Orriek Johns' "A Charming Conscience," and a dramatization of Rebecca West's "The Return of the Soldier." A month in the spring will be devoted to a series of classical revivals.

and justly famous comedians, Joe Weber and Lew Fields, which Felix Iman has written for the Saturday Evening Post and which have been the magazine feature of the year, will be published in book form by Boni and Liveright.

Francis Wilson is writing his autobiography to be published in the fall by Houghton, Mifflin. The book will contain many stories of Joseph Jefferson, the Booths, the Drews, the Barrymores and others of Mr. Wilson's contemporaries. There will be forty-eight pages of illustrations, including photographs, playbills, etc.

-- THEATRES --

48th ST. 7TH MONTH

THEATRE
FIVE 500
MATS. 2:30.
& SAT. 2:30.

"Expressing Willie"

RACHEL
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FINEST
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AMONG THE MOST SKILLFUL OF ALL AMERICAN COMEDIES... A REMARKABLE AND BEAUTIFUL PIECE OF WORK. YOU MUST NOT MISS "EXPRESSING WILLIE."—HEYWOOD BROWN, N. Y. WORLD.

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Mat. Daily (Inc. Bus.) at 2. 2,000 Good Seats, 50c. BIGGEST SHOW IN WORLD AT LOWEST PRICES. Every Eve. (Inc. Bus.) at 2. 1,000 Orch. Seats at \$1.

AND DON'T MISS "TOYLAND."

DELIGHTS BOTH YOUNG AND OLD.

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BROADWAY AT 41st ST.
World's Largest and Foremost Motion Picture Palace—Edw. Bowes, Mgr. Dir.

FRED NIBLO'S Production

"THE RED LILY"

Starring

RAMON NOVARRO

Famous CAPITOL Program

CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA

BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE

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(September 29-30.)FRIDAY, SATURDAY and SUNDAY: MAT. and EV'G.
(October 3-5)

"MOSHKE HAZIR"

A Drama by
I. D. BERKOWITZDirected by MAURICE SWARTZ.
Settings by FERDINAND FEIDMAN of Vienna.

EVEs. 8:30. MATS. 2:30.

-- DRAMA --

Bewildered Beauty

"Hassan," a Sad Romance of the Orient, at the Knickerbocker Theatre.

"Hassan," by the poet James Elroy Flecker, now produced in response to his death-bed desire, must be considered as a poem, as a play, and as a production. As a poem the work has a haunting quality that is rather the Orient of Meredith's reproduction, even of the more sentimental echoes, than of the robust and lusty Arabian Nights. Haroun al Raschid is made more cruel than in common legend, not to be true to fact, but to balance and make possible the suffering of the tender Hassan and of the poet Ishak. Frequent passages of beauty, such as Selim's impassioned description of the body of his beloved, are balanced by other sections of over-ornate Oriental metaphor: "desert the garden of dreams for the palace of action," "saw the garment of resolution with the thread of pain," and the like; yet even the best of the lines, with all their haunting music, build familiar moods with olden images.

As a play "Hassan" is spectacular but undramatic. There are moments of tense feeling, but they are unrelated, and belong to different themes. Hassan is an intruder into the story of Rafi and Pervaneh, who choose a day of love and death, rather than life and separation in dishonor. The elaborate scenes require a display of dance and costume, and an outlay of time and money, which cannot be repaid through any dramatic appeal of the play itself.

As a production the English interpretation, which has been reproduced here, is of the old elaborate type; this manages to confuse the spectator too often, and to blur his sense of the story and of the poetry. Yet it seems demanded by the theme; it is hard to visualize "Hassan" in such garb as one of the new producing artists might lend it; perhaps the play should never be more than a closet drama, to be read as poetry. Despite the best of efforts, things on the Knickerbocker stage could not go right; the dancers slipped, they collided with one another in the crowded space; only in the dance of archers and swordsmen did an effect of genuine beauty appear. The prison scene, where the lovers made their choice, was most



CLARE EAMES

in Ernest Vajda's comedy "The Little Angel," which opens at the Frazee Theatre tonight (Saturday).

picture attractively. Murray Kinell did some good acting as the poet; Violet Kemble Cooper and Mary Nash were both effective, though the latter's shrieks seemed unnecessary; the rest of the cast struggled heroically with a task beyond the power of the best intentioned producer. "Hassan" is well meant, and A. L. Erlanger deserved a better drama than he was left by the poet.

J. T. S.

"Abie's Irish Rose" 1000th Performance

ANNE NICHOL'S comedy, "Abie's Irish Rose," played its one-thousandth performance Tuesday at the Republic Theatre. This is the second time in the theatrical history of this country that a play has scored such a phenomenal run. "Lightnin'" having shattered all records with 1,291 performances. The remarkable fact in connection with Miss Nichol's offering is that during the run in New York other companies have been touring other parts of the country. At present there is a company in Chicago, which is in its fortieth week, another record for the Windy City; another company playing an engagement in Louisville, Ky., and two other companies touring. The play opened at the Fulton Theatre, May 22, 1922.

Despite the opposition of four companies the New York company continues to play to big business, and indications point to "Abie" establishing a new long record for New York, as it has done in every city it has been played. Estimates from the box-office statements show that nearly one million persons have seen "Abie" here, and at least as many more in different parts of the country. It would not be exaggerating to state that more than two million people have laughed at this record breaking comedy, with only a part of the country covered.

DOES LABOR NEED A PARTY?

By W. M. F.

The working people have no particular business to want a Labor party of their own, says that well known leader of proletarian thought, Calvin Coolidge, because they don't need it here. "We stand for American government, for American standards of living, for American parties," he said in effect, addressing what was widely heralded as a Labor gathering in the White House on Labor Day. He then proceeded to recite facts to bear out his claim that the working people are better off here than anywhere else and that because of that they don't need a Labor party. This particular scribe would be pleased—yes, even thrilled—if Cal had made that speech to a delegation of the overworked, underpaid, starved, almost destitute policeman of Boston of 1919. In that long-forgotten year, those policemen, finding no other redress from the magnificent American conditions under which they were unable even to buy decent uniforms for themselves, to clothe their wives and feed their babies, went on strike, and this same frugal, thrifty Cal, who never cared to know of the existence of their sad condition before the strike, made noises with his mouth to the effect that they had no right to "strike against the public service, anywhere, at any time." Indeed, if it were not popularly (and erroneously) supposed that he had smashed that last despairing attempt of the workers to get human conditions, Calvin Coolidge would be as completely forgotten today as is John A. Dix, Eugene N. Foss, Horace White, or any other former governor of an American State.

The Republican machine is making frantic attempts to make it appear that the condition of American workers is better than anywhere else in the world, and that Republican machine had as one of its principal members none other than H. Micajah Daugherty, Coolidge's first attorney general who loudly declared just two years ago that it was the purpose of the United States Government to use all its powers—the military, and even the judiciary that Mr. Coolidge holds so sacred as a defender of the minority—to smash the Labor movement and maintain the open shop. Mr. Elbert H. Gary is a notable member of the higher sanhedrin of that glorious G.O.P., and he lends his weight to the statement that the workers need no party of their own to maintain their magnificent American standard of living—five short years after he had used all the forces at his command, plus the powers of government (then Democratic) to batter down the attempt of the workers to get decent, human living conditions in the steel industry that he controls.

The New York Commercial, comical spaniel and lickspittle of the predatory interests, is not significant in the battle against the masses but it is willing and eager to get some recognition from the slave drivers that it so passionately admires. And while intelligent people are filled with contempt for that publication, it is interesting to read to learn the way the plunderers think.

On Wednesday, September 10, it devotes a whole page ad. to the statement that there is a "high standard of wages and high general compensation in the United States."

Here we have the "Highest scale of wages to all engaged in productive work; Employers' liability insurance to protect operatives; Limited hours of operation for health of operatives; Recognition of right of Labor to combine for self protection; Laws for full protection of wage earners for work performed; Child Labor laws in many States; wages on a high standard in the United States."

And then comes the grand climax: "Vote for the election of Coolidge and Dawes and continued prosperity in the United States of America." Impressive, isn't it?

Now for a little joker. On September 6, four days before this lovely full page appeal, this same New York Commercial published a four page supplement headed with an eight-column streamer box "Progress of the Open Shop in American Industrial Life."

Here are some of the headlines: "San Francisco proud of open shop record"; "Right to work [that is, scab shop] is first plank of Minute Men"; "All classes benefited by American [that is, scab shop] principles"; "Radicals back of drive for law on Child Labor"; "Socialist leader drew up amendment to restrict youth in right to work"; "Closed shop [that is, union shop with decent conditions] prevents worker from exercising his talents"; "Trade is greater in South where worker is free" [that is, where conditions are unutterably vile, and where there is no Labor unionism.] Etc., etc. Isn't that priceless, as the flappers say?

Let it be admitted at once that labor conditions are better in this country than they were, say, a quarter of a century ago. Let it be admitted at once that the workers here have certain advantages that they do not have in other countries. How did they get them?

By trade unionism—backed up by their political power, when they used that power.

Gary fought trade unionism with whip and lash. So does the New York Commercial, as witness that four-page special. So did President Coolidge. So do the two old parties.

Where Republican rule is most strongly entrenched, that is, in Pennsylvania and Illinois; where Democratic rule is most strongly entrenched, that is, in the industrial South, the workers have had to fight almost pitched battles to win the elementary right to organize, and to begin to win those great advantages over which the leadership of the two old parties grow so lyrical with rapture.

To win even the right to organize, and to strike and picket—let alone the human conditions that were their minimum immediate goal—the needs workers of New York had to engage in actual warfare with police under Republican and Democratic control; they had to fight for every millimeter of ground won in courts against Republican and Democratic judges, who jailed them by hundreds for daring even to want the things the old parties boast of now.

To win the various compensation laws they had to lay siege to Republican and Democratic legislatures for decades, to carry on political warfare and threaten the political death of hostile legislators of both parties before they could get even emasculated laws protecting them at their work.

To win human working conditions, factory fire laws, anything that would get them to be treated as human, they had to fight old party henchmen of both parties for so many heartbreaking years.

Yes, indeed; Labor has won something. But it is the triumph of the workers themselves, under Socialist inspiration often enough, that won these things. Every item in the long list in the Commercial was won over the savage opposition of the Commercial and those for whom it speaks.

If the Coolidges of 1919, the Garys, the Tammanys and the Republican machines of the old days, had been left alone by organized Labor, today American Labor would be pauper Labor. Labor alone has won this great triumph—fighting the hostile bosses in shops and in both parties; fighting the men and parties now glorifying the gains they tried so hard to prevent.

What insolence of Mr. Coolidge to dare to instruct Labor to cease the struggle that is his wage so long and magnificently—against him and his class! What insolence of Tammany to dare expect Labor to reward it because after decades of savage hostility to the workers it has been compelled slightly to modify its openly hostile tactics in order to hold its strength! What insolence for any old party man, any Wall street newspaper, any upholder of the old parties, to dare to ask Labor to support them and their crooked groups of henchmen of the plunderers because in its upward struggle Labor by its own efforts has arrived at some small gains!

Labor will not take that advice. Labor will spurn this advice, consolidate its forces, unite politically behind Senators La Follette and Wheeler, and continue the fight, not stopping until all the Coolidges and Garys and Daughertys and Palmers and their henchmen are driven from public life forever, and Labor and America at last are free!

La Follette Meeting For Staten Island

A La Follette and Wheeler rally will be held Friday, September 26, in Atlantic Hall, Stapleton, Staten Island. This will be the opening gun of the campaign in Richmond County, and a huge turnout is expected.

The meeting, which is under the direction of the C. P. P. A. and of the Greater New York La Follette-Wheeler Committee, will be addressed by L. H. Chapman of the Railway Clerks, M. Emerich of the La Follette-Wheeler Committee, and by Louis Waldman and William Morris Feigenbaum of the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Movement

(Continued from Page 8)

world wanted to make over society into a comradeship.

But while this movement, this "Utopian Socialism" as it is called, was building air castles and manufacturing paradises for the people, something new was happening.

The Industrial Revolution had liberated the working class from its old slavery; it had not liberated the workers from hunger, exploitation, misery. And the workers, now becoming more and more erect, came to feel that something was due to them.

And so, under the surface of society, the rumble and grumble of the newly awakened proletariat began to be heard.

First we hear of the League of the Just, the first Socialist organization in the world; then of the mad, erratic genius, Wilhelm Weitling; then of the political unrest of the '40s; then of the Communist League, and its two giant leaders, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels; then, in 1847, the Communist manifesto—and the Socialist movement was born!

(Next week's chapter of this series will be "The Socialist Movement.")

-- DRAMA --

The Neighborhood Playhouse Plans Five Productions

Walt Whitman's "Salut au Monde" Planned

The Neighborhood Playhouse plans to give five new productions this season. The program includes "The Little Clay Cart," a Hindu classic; "Exiles," a play by James Joyce, dealing with four widely different temperaments; "Sooner or Later," a very modern combination of music and movement, especially composed for the Neighborhood Playhouse; an American play, the final selection of which will be held open, and "Salut au Monde," a dramatic version of Walt Whitman's poem, with music composed by Charles T. Griffes.

Vaudeville Theatres

HIPPODROME

Clark and McCullough; the return to the New York stage of Nina Payne, American dancer and star of the "Follies Bergere" in a dance production staged by Allan K. Foster; Vera Larova (the Baroness Royce-Garrett); Bert and Betty Wheeler, the Hippodrome's Beauty Pageant, with the New York representatives in the Atlantic City Contest; Mlle. Marceline D'Alroy, French fashion expert; P. T. Selbit, European illusionist in "Through the Eye of a Needle"; the Vernon-Owens Orchestra, American debut of Kollens, Spanish wire walker, Al Herman, Russell and Pearce, the Jack Hedley Trio, the Hippodrome dancing corps and "Teytown."

PALACE

McIntyre and Heath, Arnold Daly and Justine Johnstone in "How He Lied to Her Husband," by George Bernard Shaw; Belle Story and Eric Zardo, Cecil Cunningham, Ed and Tom Hockey, Eileen Schofield and Company, Ray Miller and his Arcadia Orchestra, Lullie and Cookie.

B. S. MOSS' BROADWAY

B. S. Moss will present the farce comedy of Hollywood and the movies, "Merton of the Movies," at the Broadway Theatre, beginning Monday. James Cruze directed the production and Glenn Hunter has the title role. Viola Dana heads in support.

The Keith vaudeville acts will include Neville Flesson and Ann Greenway in song-impressions by Neville Flesson; Phil and Ed Ross, Haynes and Beck, Beachman and Right, Harold Short in "The Falling Garter," the DeLace Sisters, and other acts.



JOSE RUBEN

comes to the National Theatre Wednesday night, in "Bewitched," a new play by Edward Sheldon and Sidney Howard.

"The Nervous Wreck" at Bronx Opera House

"The Nervous Wreck," with Otto Kruger and June Walker will begin a week's engagement at the Bronx Opera House, Monday. This is the Owen Davis farce comedy which played at the Harris Theatre last season. Lionel Atwill in "The Outsider," will be the following attraction.

At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—Glenn Hunter in "Merton of the Movies," the Kaufman-Connelly screen satire based on Hollywood and the movies.

CAMEO—"Life's Greatest Game," with Johnnie Walker.

CAPITOL—Fred Niblo's production, "The Red Lily," with Raymond Novarro, Enid Bennett, Wallace Beery and Rosemary Theby.

RIALTO—"The City that Never Sleeps," by Leroy Scott, with Walter Woods and Anthony Collewely.

RIVOLI—"Feet of Clay," from Marguerite Tuttle's novel, with Red La Rouge and Vera Reynolds.

STRAND—"In Hollywood with Potash and Perimeter," by Montague Glass.

-- MUSIC --

Tamaki Miura as "Mme. Butterfly," San Carlo Opera Feature

The San Carlo Opera Company announces the repertoire for the second week at Jolson's Theatre beginning Monday night. All of the operas to be presented are different from those of the opening week with the exception of "Madame Butterfly," to be repeated with Tamaki Miura in the title role, on Wednesday evening. The Pavlov-Oukrainsky ballet Russe will again be a feature during the week.

The complete repertoire follows: Monday evening—"La Boheme," with Anne Roselle, Madeleine Collins, Demetrio Onofrei, Mario Valle and Pietro



TINA PAGGI

will sing Lucia in "Lucia di Lammermoor" Friday night at Jolson's Theatre.

DeBiasi, Fulgenzio Guerrieri will conduct and the Pavlov-Oukrainsky Ballet will give a program of diversissements after the opera.

Tuesday—"La Forza del Destino," with Bianca Soraya, Manuel Salazar, Mario Basola, Giovanni Martino.

Wednesday—"Madame Butterfly," with Madame Miura, Ada Bore and Signora Onofrei, Valle and DeBiasi.

Thursday—"La Gioconda," with Clara Jacobo, Stella DeMette, Gaetano Tommasini and Basola.

Friday—"Lucia di Lammermoor," with Tina Paggi, Fredonia Frazer and Messrs. Salazar, Basola and Cervi.

Saturday matinee—"Carmen," with Stella DeMette, Rose Low, Signora Tommasini, Interante and DeBiasi. "Otello," with Mmes. Soraya and Bore and Signors Salazar, Basola and DeBiasi on Saturday evening.

Philharmonic Season Begins October 16th

The eighty-third season of the Philharmonic Society of New York will begin on Thursday evening, October 16, at Carnegie Hall, Willem van Hoogstraten conducting.

Igor Stravinsky comes to the Philharmonic as guest conductor early in January, appearing later with Willem Mengelberg as soloist in a performance of his own concerto, to be given its first American presentation at a Philharmonic concert. The Russian composer will appear with other prominent orchestras as guest conductor, and will also give piano recitals of his own works.

Willem Furtwaengler, also new to American concert audiences, will conduct ten Philharmonic concerts during the season. The concerts under his direction will include one in each of the Philharmonic's subscription series, with the possibility of a special concert to conclude his engagement, before the Philharmonic season is taken up by Willem Mengelberg for the balance of the season.

Henry Hedley, the associate conductor of the Philharmonic Society, will direct seven concerts as he did last season.

Music Notes

The new concerto for two pianos and orchestra, which will be introduced next season by Guy Maier and Lee Pattison will present some original ideas in orchestration. It is scored for two pianos, wood-wind, brass and percussion instruments. According to the composer, "The pianos largely play the part of two gigantic arabesque machines."

Nadia Boulanger, French pianist and organist, will deliver in English a series of lectures in the fall, on modern and ultra-modern music instrumentally illustrated. This tour will be under the auspices of the Symphony Society of New York.

In his book, "My Musical Life," Walter Damrosch says of Nadia Boulanger: "Among women, I have never met her equal and indeed there are very few men who can compare with her. She is one of the finest organists of France, an excellent pianist and the best reader of orchestral scores that I have ever known."

Misha Mischakoff, the brilliant young Russian, will succeed Gustave Tintin as concert master of the New York Symphony Orchestra. Robert Johnson becomes assistant.

THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, September 27, 1924

OUR BIG CAMPAIGN DRIVE

READERS of this issue will note the story on another page of what is being done for the Socialist Party campaign. Our party members are engaged in two campaigns, one for the La Follette and Wheeler presidential ticket and the other for our Socialist ticket headed by Norman Thomas for Governor.

This brings added responsibility to our party workers. The campaign has been proceeding for several weeks and now a program of more intense activity is before the members. One of the most important aspects of the greater campaign is the arrangement of noon-hour meetings. These meetings addressed from automobiles have proven a remarkable success. It has been many years since such large crowds have gathered and have given such encouragement to our campaign.

We mention this one feature of the extra drive which the party is making and refer our readers to the story mentioned above. The straw vote being taken by the Literary Digest is significant of the trend of opinion. All signs indicate the beginning of a political revolution in this country. The Socialist Party members must give of their loyal service without stint to make the extra drive of the rest of the campaign a big success. The masses are ready for the third party with La Follette and Wheeler as its candidates. They are in a receptive mood regarding the Socialist candidates as well.

The New Leader therefore urges every member to give the utmost he or she is capable of in service in carrying out the program for this two-fold campaign. Within the next week or two every borough must seethe with activity. The banners of our candidates must be conspicuously displayed at meetings. Literature must be on hand for sale. Above all, a bundle of The New Leader should be ordered for every meeting. The party must cooperate to extend the circulation of its weekly publication and The New Leader will cooperate in making the campaign a success.

Read the story of the program for the rest of the campaign. Follow this by seeing that your branch or district organization carries out the plans for a greater campaign.

Some hundreds of thousands of workers are being thrown out of their jobs because the proprietors of their tariff-protected textile industry can't see any profit in continuing them at work. Which goes to show that Republican normalcy is as like Democratic "prosperity" as one pea in a pod is like its brother. Vote to take the control of your lives out of the hands of private exploiters!

REGISTER!

If you don't register, you can't vote. Have you ever heard that before? Well, it's as true now as it ever was. YOU CAN'T VOTE FOR LA FOLLETTE AND WHEELER AND THE SOCIALIST TICKET UNLESS YOU REGISTER.

Bear these facts in mind: In the city of New York, registration begins Monday, October 6, at 5 p. m., the booths remaining open until 10:30. The registration places will be open, likewise, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, October 7, 8, 9 and 10 for the same hours. On Saturday, October 11, registration will take place from 7 a. m. to 10:30 p. m.

In cities and villages of 5,000 or more people, outside of New York City, registration will take place October 10, 11 and 17 from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m., and on Saturday, October 18, from 7 a. m. to 10 p. m. Absentee voters may file their affidavits with the various Boards of Elections from October 5 to 18.

When you register, BE SURE TO ENROLL AS A SOCIALIST. That will make it possible for you to vote in the 1925 primaries.

If you have any question of your right to vote; if any question arises as to your citizenship, or under the literacy test, call The New Leader, Stuyvesant 6885, and ask for Editor of Socialist News. And when you have done your job, get out your wife or husband; other members of your families, your neighbors and shopmates, and don't let them rest until they have all registered.

"Is there any issue that will induce you to vote at the coming elections?" asked the "Inquiring Reporter" of the far famed Daily News of a number of women. "Yes," replied a lady who described herself as a housewife, "I have a brother-in-law who is

a captain of a voting district, and I will do everything in my power to help him put his district over. That is enough reason for any woman to vote." And try, as we will, we can't think of a better reason for anyone to vote an old party ticket.

CAPITALISM AND THE NEGRO

WHAT is claimed to be a copy of a suppressed speech which was to have been delivered by Secretary of the Navy Wilbur has been made public by Senator Caraway. The most interesting paragraphs in this speech are its reference to the attitude of the two parties of capitalism towards the Negro.

It appears that Wilbur would have revived the hates of the Civil War by waving the bloody shirt, a campaign expedient that served the Republican party down to the late eighties. One statement in the speech was to the effect that there is only one great difference between the two capitalist parties and that is the issue of the Negro. But even here there is no difference. President Harding in his Alabama address dashed the hopes of the Negro. He stressed what he believed to be the "eternal and inescapable" difference between whites and Negroes. He consigned the Negro to the position of a mudsill in society and thus made a Republican bid for the support of the Southern ruling classes.

The reason for the Republican offer of an alliance with these classes is that increasing northern capital is being invested in southern textile industries. The steel industry of lower Alabama and the development of capitalism in general in the South makes for an alliance between the bloated capitalism of the North with the growing capitalism of the South.

The terms of the alliance is the sacrifice of the Negro people. There is no more difference between the Democratic and Republican parties on this issue than there is on any other. The same powerful interests own both Coolidge and Davis are agents in the field to acquire voting stock for the glorified exploiters of black and white Labor.

DISTURBING THE BALANCE

FASCIST DAWES is convinced that the issue in this political struggle is "vital" and "fundamental." Having observed that the "Socialists flying the red flag" are opposed to "the existing order of things"—his order—he went on to observe that "The proposition is that we abandon our present form of Government, with its balanced powers, the judicial, the executive and the legislative."

Let us consider those balanced powers. The whole theory of the Constitution is the separation of powers, Congress to legislate, the President to execute the laws, and the Supreme Court to interpret them. This constitutes the balanced powers of which "Hell and Maria" speaks. If one department encroaches upon the other it is held that this upsets the balance and tends to utterly destroy it.

Very well. Congress has never attempted to do anything but to make and to repeal laws; it has never attempted to execute or to interpret them as a judicial body. No President has made or repealed laws; he has confined himself to messages on "the state of the Union" and to executing laws enacted by Congress.

So far as Congress and the Executive are concerned, they have preserved the balance. What of the Supreme Court? It has not only exercised the judicial function, but it has upset the balance by exercising the legislative function of the repeal of laws by vetoing them. It is now a third House of Congress in this respect.

Mr. Dawes, the balance was long ago upset. This doesn't disturb you, because the balance weighs heavily in favor of your fellow financiers, capitalist profiteers and despoilers of the children of our class. You really do not object to disturbing the balance; what you and your class want is to continue the present unbalanced powers which serve your class so well. You, Mr. Dawes, are also seriously unbalanced.

IMPORTANCE OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

IF the Socialists and progressive trade unionists of this city—and of the whole country, for that matter—are wise, they will not neglect the opportunities offered by the Rand School of Social Science, whose nineteenth season is about to begin.

Knowledge is power, and lack of knowledge is weakness. The greatest handicap to the progress of the working class is the very deficient education of most of its members. This is felt in all branches of the movement. In campaign time, we find that

we have not enough speakers for our street meetings and hall meetings. Throughout the year we feel the lack of competent organizers and secretaries. When leaflets are to be written or publicity material prepared there are but few to whom we can turn, and many opportunities are lost because those few are too busy. The same condition prevails in the unions. In every great strike, lockout, or organization drive, a small number of officers and committeemen are overworked, and much really needful work is left undone.

These evils cannot be set right all at once. At best, it will take several years to make up for lost time and develop within our ranks a sufficient amount of trained ability to meet the needs of the movement. But the sooner we start, the earlier shall we accomplish the task.

There is no lack of good raw material. There is just as much latent ability among the wage workers, in proportion to their number, as in any other class of the population. But latent ability is like buried treasure; so long as it remains latent it has no value.

This fact is fully recognized on the other side of the water. All over Europe, in spite of gigantic difficulties, the Labor organizations, industrial and political, are doing wonders in the education of their membership. It will be a pity if we in the United States, where the task is in many respects easier and the need fully as great, continue to lag behind.

The Rand School is not the only institution of working-class education in this country; but it is the oldest, the largest, and in some ways the best equipped. It has earned the praise of men and women whose judgment counts, and the endorsement, not only of the Socialist Party, but also of the progressive unions. Its best credential is the record of great numbers of its former students, who are working in party and union offices, on the stump, on the picket line, and on Labor papers.

The Rand School's class rooms and lecture halls should be filled to capacity. Every live State should be represented in its Full-Time Training Class. Every district in Greater New York should have a group of young men and women attending its courses. The school stands ready to serve. Let its services be used to the limit.

COOLIDGE ON SOCIALISM

EXPOUNDER of meaningless platitudes, President Coolidge exceeded his ability in this line in his address last Sunday. Nearly every sentence is a glorification of the obvious or a sanctimonious tribute to virtue. The following paragraph is of particular interest to us:

"Liberty and equality require that equal compensation shall be paid for equal service to the individual who performs it. Socialism and Communism cannot be reconciled with the principles which our institutions represent. They are entirely foreign, entirely un-American. We stand wholly committed to the policy that what the individual produces belongs entirely to him, to be used by him for the benefit of himself, to provide for his own family and to enable him to serve his fellow-men."

The assumption is that if something is foreign in origin it is to be shunned, and if not it is to be accepted. On this score we should outlaw the printing press, the X-ray, Italian and German opera, evolution, the best of the world's drama, and its science and philosophy. The Coolidge dictum would leave us in intellectual poverty. The other side of the proposition is just as absurd. If we are to accept only what is American in origin we will cherish lynching, the Ku Klux Klan, Southern peonage, Billy Sunday, Babbitt, jazz, grafters, the spy in industry, and the jolly bootlegger. All are American institutions. The parochial mind of Coolidge would exclude the best that we have accepted from Europe and keep the worst which is of American origin.

Moreover, he displays his ignorance of American history when he asserts that the principles of Socialism "are entirely foreign." That would be no objection to it if true, no more than it would apply to Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation. Truth and error are not matters of national frontiers. Only the moron and the man of parochial mind would hold otherwise.

But it so happens that organized workers in this country as early as the '30s—long before the organization of a Socialist movement in Europe—formulated some of the most fundamental statements of Socialist philosophy. In the realm of ideas Socialism had an independent origin in this country. The early unions that formulated these ideas were not conscious of any particular philosophy, but this makes their in-

dependent conclusions all the more interesting.

About the dullest and most uninformed man in politics has become President through an accident. He might qualify for Constable of Northampton, but as the head of a nation he is an anomaly.

THE STAKES IN THE STRUGGLE

ONE of the significant aspects of old party politics is the glorification of the ordinary virtues of a candidate. Opening the Democratic campaign in a West Virginia county a speaker gloried in the courage, ability and honesty of John W. Davis. This is typical of what may be heard at Republican and Democratic gatherings.

We should take it for granted that an aspirant for public office is honest and that he has courage and ability, but the obvious is singled out for boasting. There are two reasons for this. One is that capitalist politics has become so identified with insincerity and dishonesty that its leaders feel that it is necessary to first assure the voters that the candidate is not a grafter or insincere. The candidate is a suspect and the first thing to remove is suspicion.

The second reason is that whatever differences may have existed between Republicans and Democrats have been removed by time. To this may be added the fact that the higher capitalism has acquired ownership of both parties and the only thing left to the politicians is a discussion of the commonplace. They must tear a passion to tatters over the alleged "virtues" of the candidates. When two previously competing corporations merge they are one and there is nothing over which they need fight. This has happened to the two parties that carry the banner of loot and plunder, pelf and profits.

We will take it for granted that Davis does not steal chickens and that Coolidge would not swipe our watch. Moreover, even if they were dishonest we haven't much to lose. Their parties haven't left us much for them to take. What we want to know is why both tickets have the blessing of the powerful financial organs of capitalism. The courage of Kal and the honesty of Davis are not issues. The stakes involved are much greater. They are no less than the winning of government and industry for the service of the masses and the destruction of the two-party alliance which stands in the way of this ideal.

MR. BOK TALKS SOCIALISM

PERMIT us to offer a short Socialist sermon not our own. The noted Edward W. Bok takes for his text "When Money Is King and Business Our God." He uses the September number of World's Work as his forum, and we will now give "way to him:

"Now Money is King. Business is our God. Commerce rules. The destinies of nations are discussed from economic angles; we are told that the questions settling the destinies of the human race are purely economic and can be settled only by the bankers and on the floors of the world's exchanges. The captain of industry is the man of the day, the captain of the souls of peoples and their futures. As much as hint to the modern capitalist and industrial executive that Business may topple as did the Monastery, the Church, and the Throne, and he is as incredulous as were the leaders of the earlier periods in the world's history. "Business must rule," he will tell you. "Money is King. Nothing else talks in the final analysis." But so said they of the Monastery, of the Church, and of the Throne!

"Unlimited power first commands interest, then attention, then scrutiny, then distrust, then questioning—and the fall of the house is not far off."

In a few terse sentences he has presented the Socialist view of things. There is the idea of a social order identified with the interests of a certain group or class. It rules all others below it. Today "Money is King and Business Our God." Coolidge, Dawes, Davis and Bryan are its prophets. They think it is eternal, but "so said they of the Monastery, of the Church, and the Throne."

Note the last sentence. There is epitomized the history of the rise, decline and fall of every exploiting system and the privileged classes identified with it. We have reached the stage where the present system is distrusted and questioned. What next? "The fall of the house is not far off."

Welcome to our ranks, Mr. Bok. Want an application for membership card?

A Short Story

Jews and business in general, that interests you?"

"No, I know they are better off than I am."

"What is it then, that you wish to know?"

"If I only knew how to express myself. . . I often become very pensive, even my wife will notice it and say: 'Srool, what are you thinking about?' But I can't tell her. . . And why should I talk to people who will only laugh at me? . . . Perhaps, you too."

Srool gave me a searching look but, seeing that I was not inclined to laugh, said:

"When did you leave Warsaw?"

"In the beginning of April. . ."

"Was it warm out there?"

"Very warm, I had to wear a spring suit."

"I thought so! And here it is freezing!"

"But surely, you have not forgotten, that April with us is the beginning of spring."

"Spring," he repeated dreamily and his eyes lit up with pleasure. "And here. . ."

Now I knew what it was; that interested my visitor.

"Now tell me, do you think it is ripe now. . . I forgot its name. . . It is white,

grows in the garden and twines around poles. . ."

"You mean beans. . ."

"Yes, yes, beans! . . . Are they ripe now?"

"Certainly, there must be a lot of them now." "Are there any here?"

"Here! . . . I have not seen a bean in three years. There are some peas, but. . ."

"It is only fit for swine," I prompted.

"That is it, here they are selling by the pound. . . and you cannot always get it at that. . ."

"Are you so very fond of beans? . . ."

"No, indeed, it is not that at all, but when I recollect, how lovely it twines around the poles, I cannot help becoming sad. We have no such thing here. And now tell me, please, are the tiny gray birds still with us? I forgot their name also. There used to be so many of them. They would gather in big flocks outside of my window every morning, while I was praying. . . But I never paid much attention to them. . . It certainly never entered my head, that I would ever long for them. And here, why, even the crows leave us for the winter. Those tiny little darling birds could not live here at all. . ."

I did not answer. Now I understood, why the old Jew came. There was no more

ones of Your true song? . . ."

THE Chatter-Box

Nietzschean

A saintly halo holds a sickly light
Against the splendor of a single star;
And we have learned to hold no holy right
More than the godless beasts, we really
are.

And this we choose, for all the consequence,
And that which may be lost will be our
loss,
And what would be if stripped of all pre-
tense
Our flesh were hardly fit to grace a
cross.

There is more virtue to the higher mind
In this daft dance for ease and ruthless
gain,
Or in the slaughter of the weaker kind,
Or in the strangling of the slower brain,
Then all a thousand Christs might leave
behind
Upon a thousand Calvaries of pain.

This sonnet should assuage the outraged feelings of the Chicago thrill murderers, Ben Hecht's gargantuan high-brow sheet, and Maxwell Bodenheim's new coracob pipe. We have been so brutally mangled by the intellectual four hundred because of the sentimentality in our Dark Lady Sonnets, that we just have to show them that there is a real honest to goodness Nietzschean wallop in us.

Ambitions

I would rather be the pillar of a ruined temple
In Attica,
Than the ninety-six floor, spires, flagpoles
and all
Of a monument
To a five and ten cent chain store business.
T. TIWED.

To a Newly Plowed Field

Why not this rough soil
Without tradition's dung of great dead—
No magic but the hard touch of toil—
No spell—but scattered seed?
LEUMAR.

Visitors

Crows always come at night
To my cornfield.
Vandals,
Not enough their smacking silence
With dull croaking.
But then to steal a seed
That might grow to love-hood
With the sun.
NORA.

Rain

The rain's a cruel warden,
To douse the moon and stars
And prison every window
With a hundred silver bars.

Ydonne Sings to Her Husband

Where wast thou all the night?
What didst thou with thy gold?
It matters not with whom thou wast,
Since 's death, th' soup is cold.
Antic Jay.

To break up this sudden flow of verse out of stone, we interpose with a side remark relative to the Times report on the La Follette meeting. "Nothing new, was said by the speaker, that he had not already touched before." We wonder how any other than Alladin's genie, could give man the power to make new lamps out of old ones. God knows the worst, the iniquities that Bob has been fighting these forty years are older than himself. Nothing can be new in American politics save the advent to power of a Labor Party. Then life would be a new lease.

Uncle Joe's Observation

The moralists are very wise,
But locked at what's before th'ir eyes,
For fashion fills them with alarms,
And "Girls," they cry, "must clothe their
arms."
But widows never decree,
Since 'ot their arms—they bare their
knees.

Joe D.
The Prince has departed. Long Island
is sad.
S. A. DE WITT.

doubt in my mind, the fanatical chasid was as homesick, as I was. I was deeply affected, grasped his hand and said in a voice, that shook with emotion.

"Then it is about our Fatherland, that you wish to talk to me? . . . You are not thinking about the people or your poverty. It is for the air and the sun of our Fatherland, that you are longing. . . It is her forests and fields, that you are thinking about. Things, you were too poor to notice while there. You want me to recall all this to you? . . ."

"Yes, yes. . . It is what I want, it is for this that I came. . ."

"Then listen, my brother. . ."

And the old Jew listened. He listened with open mouth and hungry eyes. He was drawing the words out of me and storing them away deep down in his soul.

When I finished my tale, the Jew was sobbing.

For a long time we sat there and cried.

It is a long time now, since it happened. But even now appears before me during sleepless nights the tall figure of Peter Baldiga with his face of a hero and a martyr and alongside of him the yellow emaciated face of old Srool, weeping like a child. When I examine these faces closely, I can see the pale lips of the Jew moving and his voice, full of woe and despair, whispering: "O, Yehova! Why have You no pity upon one of Your true sons? . . ."