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One Year.....\$2.00  
Six Months.....\$1.25  
Three Months...\$.75

# The New Leader

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

Vol. 1, No. 46.

Twelve Pages

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1924

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

Price 5 Cents

## Bold Porto Rico Election Steal Bared

### A.F. OF L. TURNS DOWN LABOR PARTY

Growing Need for Independent Political Action Receives Impartial Recognition at Convention.

By DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

EL PASO.—While reaffirming its non-partisan political method, the American Federation of Labor in its convention in El Paso, took at least one step in advance in its political program by a clear recognition of the existence and the need for independent political movements.

"No one will deny," declared the committee report, at the Monday session of the convention, "the inevitable change of political groupings made imperative by the ever progressive enlightenment of the masses and changes in the social, economic and industrial order of a people. There is noticeable at present throughout the world the manifestations of a change of political groups representing on the one hand the desire to conserve the domination of material forces and wealth, property and property rights—and on the other, the hope and ambitions to substitute the human aspirations and personal well-being of all our people as the controlling influence in our Governmental affairs."

"There have come to our attention, weakness in our non-partisan procedure that must be eliminated, if we are to make our Government more responsive to the will and the needs of the great masses of our people and not submissive to the interests of property alone."

"Under the laws in our several States, the standing of political parties is so narrowly circumscribed as to make impossible a free expression of the political intentions of those not in complete accord with the existing major political parties, legislation is needed so that independent movements may function effectively whenever the need for the same may arrive. The cumbersome ballot designed to make independent voting difficult must be eliminated. The effort of organized Labor should find expression in the primaries of all political parties or movements more effective than has heretofore been the case. Labor must be constantly on guard that those having received Labor's support will be true to the promises made. The non-partisan political campaign should be maintained on a permanent basis and should carry on work cautiously. We should extend our activities among the women and among non-union sympathizers. We unequivocally recommend full approval and endorsement of the activities engaged in during the recent presidential and congressional campaigns."

The committee refused to recommend either of the resolutions for an exclusive party of Labor, or for a party composed of trade unionists and all political working class parties. These latter resolutions were supported by Max Hays and by Bashky of the stone cutters, who maintained that nothing new had been offered by the committee.

Matthew Woll denied that this was the case. Hays of the Typographical Union, a leader of the La Follette forces in Cleveland, declared the report was "merely a play upon words on the old straddle of rewarding our so-called friends and punishing our alleged enemies." He suggested that the question of a Labor party backed by the Federation should be submitted to a referendum of the rank and file of the unions.

One week after Senator La Follette carried Cleveland, Mr. Hays said, the campaign workers at a meeting decided to make the Third party movement permanent.

"Come what will, we will have a political movement in the Buckeye State, and the same movement will strike root in every other civilized State until a national party is established," he asserted.

Bashky maintained that if the A. F. of L. listened to the rank and file of the unions it would "hear a call for the establishment of a Labor party," and opposed support of "the parties controlled by our opponents."

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### Keep Cool with Coolidge

CLINTON, Mass.—The Employees Council of the Lancaster Mills have been informed that the management proposes a resumption of full time, full force operation on December 1 providing the operatives will accept a 10 per cent reduction in wages.

MANCHESTER, N. H.—The management of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Co. has refused the request of the Joint Council of employee representatives for a 48-hour work week.

### DEMAND BRITISH QUIT EGYPT

Independent Labor Party Declares Evacuation Only Just Policy.

LONDON, Eng.—The Independent Labor party has issued a statement deploring the British Government's policy of "renewed suppression" in Egypt and declaring the crime committed in Cairo had been made the occasion for asserting new imperialistic claims.

The statement follows:

"The Independent Labor Party views with deep humiliation the actions of the present British Government in Egypt. It draws urgent attention to the fact that this policy of renewed suppression is due to the false belief that Great Britain has the moral right to occupy Egypt, although she has pledged on more than fifty separate occasions to terminate the occupation and formally recognized her independent sovereignty in 1922."

"The occupation of Egypt was originally due to strategic and financial reasons. It has no greater moral sanction than the German occupation of Belgium for strategic military purposes. The Egyptian people have as much right to govern themselves as any other nation. The occupation of Egypt by an alien power is the basic fact in the present situation which no subsequent reason of strategy or financial interest should obscure."

"The Independent Labor Party, therefore, while unreservedly condemning the method of the recent political assassination, explores the fact that the British Government should have made this crime the occasion for asserting new imperialistic claims which may virtually amount to the annexation of the Sudan and the appropriation of the water supplies from the Nile to the detriment of Egypt and to the advantage of the British cotton companies."

"The Independent Labor Party urges that the issue of control of the Sudan should be submitted to the League of Nations with the view of developing at the earliest possible moment that country as a self-governing nation. It calls for an immediate Anglo-Egyptian conference to complete the evacuation of Egypt and to arrange for the submission of the question of the Suez Canal to the League, not as an issue in respect to which the British claim legal or moral authority, but as a problem concerned with one of the international waterways of the world."

### HUGE THROGS Porto Rican Leaders Appeal to American People for Redress

Ashes of Martyred Socialist Are Placed in the Pantheon With Other Immortals.

PARIS.—Jean Jaurès, beloved leader of the French Socialist and Labor movement cowardly assassinated by a Royalist fanatic on July 31, 1914, just as the World War was breaking loose, now lies in the Pantheon, after ceremonies that will go down in history as marking an epochal display of proletarian strength and affection.

Only a few short months ago, Raymond Poincaré, then Premier, turned down a proposal to transfer the ashes of Jaurès to the Pantheon with the pretext that the political passions aroused by the war were still too strong to make it advisable. Last Sunday, scores of thousands of Socialists, Communists and just plain Parisian workers marched through the streets of the French capital in such an imposing demonstration of love for their murdered leader's memory and devotion to his principles, and the harmony of the occasion was untroubled by anything worth mentioning.

As the only speaker at the Pantheon, Premier Herriot, in the name of the French Republic, paid his tribute to the man who, as Herriot put it, "was murdered because he loved peace too well," and concluded with "Maternal France receives him lovingly in her Pantheon because he represented several of the highest qualities of her genius; because it was in being so profoundly French that he showed himself so widely human."

But Premier Herriot's words and the official playing of "The Marseillaise" at the end of the ceremony constituted about the only Nationalist note in the day's proceedings. Among the foreign Labor delegates was George Lansbury of England. Everywhere were heard the strains of the "Internationale" and of the old hymn of the French Revolution that has become almost a world-wide symbol of the revolution of the toilers—"La Carmagnole," and red flags and banners were carried by the marching thousands. A striking demonstration of the international spirit was the presence in the parade of a German delegation headed by two little girls carrying branches of holly with ribbons reading "To Jaurès in memory of Liebknecht" and "To Jaurès in memory of Rosa Luxemburg." The crowds that filled the streets along the line of march from the Chamber of Deputies, where the coffin had lain in state since its arrival from Jaurès' home town on Saturday, to the Pantheon, were practically a unit in the respect and love manifested for the proletarian chief and the threats of trouble made the night before by a handful of Royalists proved to be but empty boasts. These worshippers at the shrine of the past concluded that discretion was the better part of valor and limited their anti-Republican demonstration to the placing of a wreath upon the tomb of Marius Plateau, the Royalist editor shot by mistake by Germaine Berthon, a young Anarchist.

There was considerable rivalry between the Socialist and Communists as to who should play the leading part in the demonstration, but both factions of the Paris proletariat had

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(The following appeal to citizens of the United States in protest against the enormous election frauds committed in Porto Rico in the recent election is made by the Porto Rican Federation of Labor and Socialist Party. Santiago Iglesias may be said to be the father of the trade union and Socialist movement in Porto Rico. He has been elected to the Senate in each election for many years. Adolfo Lones, the other signer, is a member of the lower House. The increasing political power of the Porto Rican workers has made the two reactionary parties frantic with fear and in the recent election they practiced the frauds which caused this protest, and against which Senator Iglesias is now here to demand governmental protection.)

### TO THE LIBERTY LOVING PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

An Effort to be Made in Washington Until Such Time as an Election Can Be Held Free from Fraud, Corruption and Brute Force Used by the Local Officials of the Government of Porto Rico.

Since the 18th day of October of the year 1898, when the sovereignty of the People of Porto Rico was transferred from the Crown of Spain into the hands of the people of the United States, and the monarchical institutions of the Island were changed into the republican and democratic institutions of this Republic, the Porto Ricans tried to reach and finally reached the condition of American citizens with all the duties, privileges, and rights that our citizenship means in this world.

In order to obtain the citizenship of the United States the people of Porto Rico, by steady work, splendid physical behavior, loyalty and continuous efforts and unbounded faith in Liberty and Democracy, bettered the conditions of all social classes on the Island, from the unselfish and poorer country laborer to the proudest banker and financier.

At a joint session of the directing bodies of the parties which constituted a Committee of Protest of the people of Porto Rico representing 190,000 voters of the Island, a sub-committee was unanimously selected with the principal purpose of establishing before the people and Congress of the United States the most energetic protest against the outrages, violence, frauds, corruption, injustice and all sorts of immoral deeds and actions, committed with entire impunity and in the most unheard of and scandalous manner during the last electoral strife of November 4, 1924.

#### Suffrage Denied.

This first voice of the alarm now generally felt by all Porto Rican hearts is addressed to our fellow countrymen of the United States without political or class distinction, because the annulment of the suffrage right in Porto Rico affects everybody equally, this right being the most cherished of all those guaranteed by our Organic Act, and one which should be protected and guaranteed by the flag of the United States.

Every loving citizen of the United States would suffer when they see that the sacred right to vote in Porto Rico was corrupted and made mockery of, a right for which so many revolutions have been fought, for which so many centuries have wrought, and for which so much blood and so many tears have been shed by humanity.

The politicians who in Porto Rico framed and directed this horrible crime against the people, much more than the blind agents who carried it out, have written a shameful page in the history of our native land that never will give credit to our Republic of the United States. But with the help of the noble American people and that of all responsible and honest citizens who are full of indignation, we shall deliver our Island from dishonor, by proving before Congress that the people struggled and contended, until they fell like a tired giant under the enormous mass of official power acting in unison with brutal force and

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### VOTE THEFT ON HUGE SCALE REVEALED

Senator Iglesias Declares Only Frauds Defeated Socialist Coalition.

Only through wholesale intimidation and ballot box stuffing that equalled anything ever put over by Tammany Hall did the anti-Socialist combination in Porto Rico, called the Alianza, succeed in beating the Socialist-minority Republican coalition in the general elections of November 4, according to a statement made by Senator Santiago Iglesias, the Socialist and Labor leader, during a brief stop-over in New York last week en route to the convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso.

Interviewed by a representative of La Prensa, the local Spanish-language daily, Comrade Iglesias declared that he was going to Washington after attending the El Paso convention and that he would demand the nullification of the Porto Rican elections on the ground of fraud and violence exercised by the Unionist-majority Republican alliance. He will also start a campaign of publicity in the hope of interesting the masses of the American people in the cause of justice in Porto Rico. As quoted in La Prensa, Comrade Iglesias said:

"There were no elections in Porto Rico. What happened was a barefaced robbery of the popular vote. The Socialists were dead certain of a complete victory over the Alliance that had been organized in the hope of wiping out at all costs all traces of the Socialism so much dreaded by its allied opponents. We would have had 170,000 votes against about 110,000 for our enemies. We would have carried thirty-eight to forty municipalities and our adversaries would have carried thirty-five at the most. At the worst we would have got a vote of at least 15 per cent more than the Alianza."

"Our party members were persecuted, abused, threatened and maltreated all over the Island. Their protests were in vain. When the country voters tried to exercise their suffrage at the polls they either saw themselves thrown out violently or found that their votes were being openly credited to our opponents. In many cases where the polls were supposed to open at 9 a. m., they were still closed at 11 a. m. I protested personally in San Juan, but it was useless."

Comrade Iglesias, who was re-elected to the Island Senate by 50,000 votes, despite the high-handed tactics of the capitalist combination, said that many of the Socialist watchers had been ejected from the polling places because they protested against the illegal acts of the election inspectors, and that in some cases the police had helped intimidate workers suspected of being Socialists. In the latest issue available of Justicia, the San Juan organ of the Free Federation of Labor of Porto Rico, there is printed an open letter to Governor Horace M. Towne citing dozens of instances of outrages committed at the polls in the interest of the Alianza. The letter reproduces numerous telegrams from Socialist and minority Republican local leaders telling of intimidation and robbery.

Continuing the interview, Comrade Iglesias said:

"The worst feature of the whole affair and what pains me the most is not today's defeat at the polls. After all the party has not lost ground, as we return practically all our seats in the Senate and the House. The terrible and dreadful thing is the collapse of the civic education that our people had been enjoying for some twenty years and that was getting it closer and closer to the full exercise of its rights. This is the tragedy. That these thousands of peasants, laborers and workers in town and country, who believed that the Democratic régime of the United States guaranteed that they could freely express their opinions, will lose their hope in these principles as the result of the enormous political reaction we have experienced. The scandalous outrages committed against us, with the complicity of the electoral, judicial and police organization of Porto Rico controlled by the Alianza and from which we were completely excluded,

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### Imperialism Again Threatens the Peace of the World

THE British ultimatum to Egypt, like the American note to Persia a few weeks ago, is modeled after the fashion of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia in 1914. It is the demand of an imperialist bully made to a weak nation, and a warning to all other powers to keep hands off. Not content with an apology and an indemnity for the killing of a British officer, the note demands the suppression of all Egyptian political demonstrations, abandoning opposition to British control of Egyptian foreign policy, and conceding British demands in the Sudan. The latter practically means the surrender of the Sudan to complete British control—about 1,000,000 square miles of territory—all because some fanatic-killed a British officer!

At the same time, all this is in some way to be reconciled with British recognition of Egypt's "independence."

This "independence" carries with it armed British forces

on Egyptian soil and British bombing planes soaring above Egyptian towns ready to break up any popular meetings and demonstrations. With air and land forces in Egypt, bombing planes threatening public demonstrations, British control of Egyptian foreign policy, and tearing away the Sudan, we have an accurate measure of that "independence" that is left to the Egyptian people.

Had this British officer been killed in Japan, France, or the United States, the British imperialists would be satisfied with the punishment of the guilty parties. When it is a weak nation that is involved it serves as an excuse for shameless spoliation and contemptible bullying. This is capitalist imperialism stripped of its pious pretenses. The American note to Persia and the British note to Egypt show the sinister forces that guide the holy allies, forces that eventually will lead to another war unless the masses conquer the reckless capitalism out of which these forces issue.



## A. F. OF L. TURNS DOWN LABOR PARTY

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statement I refer you to the last election," he continued. "Are we going to allow a third party to be organized without attempting to control it in our own interest? For organized it will be, without question."

Mr. Bashky said he had feared that the addresses of the fraternal delegates from England, who spoke of the advantages of a third party, would be stricken from the record, "but it seems that only courtesy prevented such action."

Vice-president Matthew Woll, Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, replied to the criticism of the report by saying that what might be possible and practicable in one country might not be feasible in another.

Much has been heard of the British Labor party, he declared, but England was a small country with one language and one tradition, whereas the United States was a nation of many languages and traditions, covering an entire continent. The British Government differed from that of the United States, he said. The former had a King, and all its judges were selected by the Chancellor, whereas American judges, in many instances, were selected by the people.

"The suggestion is made that we have a referendum on the question of a Labor party," he added. "We had a referendum in the last election, and it seems to me that American wage earners are not prepared for and do not approve of the establishment of a separate political party. Let us not follow rainbows. Let us follow the road of practicality that we have followed so long."

The committee report was adopted with but one dissenting vote.

The most important departure in the policy of the A. F. of L. during the first week of the convention was the action of the convention in taking under its wing financially the educational work conducted by the Workers' Education Bureau and providing for the extension of adult education under trade union offices to every corner of the country.

The committee's report, adopted by unanimous vote, recommended:

1. That each national and international union pay into the treasury of the Workers' Education Bureau one-half a cent per member per

## A. F. L. Delegates Hear Senator Iglesias' Plea

EL PASO, TEXAS.—Delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention meeting in this city listened to a dramatic story told by Santiago Iglesias of Porto Rico regarding the fraud and violence practiced in the recent election in the island. Delegates agreed that corrupt as some of our elections are in this country there had never been such a brazen carnival of corruption and force as that reported by Iglesias. After listening to the story the convention passed a resolution recommending a Congressional investigation of the charges of violence made by Iglesias, and it is understood that the A. F. of L. will cooperate with him in the effort to have the whole matter thoroughly investigated.

annum for the educational work which the Bureau is conducting.

2. That each such union affiliate formally with the W. E. B.

3. That all of the local unions in the country affiliate with the Bureau, paying annual dues of \$1, in return for which the Bureau would guarantee its educational services.

The committee also urged the establishment of study classes and mass education in their various locals, the support of trade union colleges, the formation of educational committees by city centrals and other groups, the use of the radio in promoting education, the organization of summer schools, etc.

It recommended that educational classes include in its curriculum a study of the significance of the union label, and that every State labor appoint a director of its educational work.

It commended the Bureau for its constructive work during the last year and for its cooperation with the international labor education work, a work which was promoting international good will and of great educational value.

Heretofore the work of the Bureau had been supported largely through voluntary contributions from those outside the ranks of Labor. The plan adopted by the convention will give the work a "iron" trade union support and make it an integral part of the labor movement. The convention also called attention to the advantage to Labor of research work text books giving the social point of view, for the labor press, and the Federation publicity service.

Of unique interest, both from the educational and the international standpoint, was the proposal unanimously agreed to by the convention for the establishment of a Samuel Gompers Fellowship for the inter-

change of members of the American and the Mexican Federations of Labor.

"The historic linking of the Mexican and the American Federations of Labor in fellowship and brotherhood, in peace and good will, at this convention," read the report, "is laying the foundation of enduring peace between the two countries. No representative of Labor has worked more industrially toward peace than Samuel Gompers. At this memorable occasion we consider it fitting to provide for an exchange of fellowships between the two countries." Details were left to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in cooperation with the Mexican Federation.

The convention also urged that Labor developed a comprehensive educational policy; that the position of Secretary of Education be established, and that adequate appropriation be made for a Federal Department of Education, with Labor represented on an advisory committee, and that the youth of the country be warned against the trade schools conducted for profit and be urged to attend apprentice schools.

In support of the last resolution, the trade schools conducted by the Y. M. C. A.'s and similar groups were denounced as strike-breaking institutions.

Mexico again came in for attention of the delegates in the Saturday morning session, when several of its most eloquent leaders discussed its problems, and the Mexican Federation presented to the convention the resolution of the C. R. O. M. (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana) that they would oppose all attacks made against the A. F. of L. by its enemies made in any part of the Mexican Republic.

"I move," declared Matthew Woll, "that we extend our appreciation to the Mexican Federation for its pledge of loyalty and support. This is the beginning of the Monroe Doctrine of Labor in the Western Hemisphere."

The vote of appreciation was one which brought every delegate to his feet.

The delegates listened to Mexico's greatest orator and leader of the Agrarian Party, Soto y Gama, and Governor Manriquez, the Labor Governor of San Luis Potosi.

The Agrarian leader declared that Mexico had had violent revolutions in the past because they had to use force to destroy feudalism, which meant slavery for their peons and outlawry for the industrial workers who dared to organize. As a result of the revolutions the rights of industrial and agrarian workers were now safeguarded. Its period of violent revolution was over. If there were any more armed trouble, it would be brought about by reactionaries. Mexico was safe. It invited foreign capital. It looked forward to lawful and gradual progress. Manriquez urged Americans to visit Mexico in a slang phrase, "I dare you to come to Mexico." Another delegate told of the educational work now being done in agricultural schools and colleges, in rural schools, in the remote villages.

The Federation urged that greater autonomy be given to the Porto Ricans in the affairs of their civil government; that the legislative effort of various State legislative agents be coordinated; that aid be given to West Virginia miners in the form of clothing and money, and that the United States develop its public roads. It put itself on record in favor of the Howell-Barkley bill, at the same time calling attention to the danger of compulsory arbitration. It congratulated the United Hatters and the Cap Makers on the amicable settlement of their difficulties, and the agreement of the latter that their fellow unionists could extend their jurisdiction to the millinery workers. It urged a campaign for the universal Saturday half-holiday and the boycotting of several firms, including the Ward bakeries, which are endeavoring to displace with skilled union labor; the American tobacco companies, and other huge aggregations of capital. It insisted on aggressive drives for the organization of women workers, of workers in Southern States, of bank clerks, of teachers, of newspaper writers, etc. It urged an increase of pay of postal employees, and approved the work of the Bookkeepers' Union.

The Executive Council's report maintained that the past year had seen the "marked weakening of the cold wall of bigoted opposition" and the complete elimination of the open-shop movement as an aggressive force. The membership of the A. F. of L. was 2,865,979, as compared with 2,926,468, a drop of about 60,000 during the last year. The high-water mark was 4,078,740. In 1914 it was 2,020,671. President Gompers, in his opening address, laid much stress on what he called "voluntarism" as a guiding principle of the Federation.

The giving of gifts to foreign visitors is usually filled with sentiment. No presentation was more impressive than that to the German delegates Grassman and Mastche. Mr. Gompers declared, amid great applause, that the people of this country now know that the German people did not go into the war of their own volition, and that if the will of the German workers had been adequately expressed, war would never have occurred. "War is now over," he concluded, "and we want to cooperate with the working peoples of all nations in securing justice, liberty and democracy."

Among other gifts was that of a diamond pin to Roberto Haberman for his service in promoting good-will between the American and Mexican peoples.

The convention was brought to its feet, at its Monday afternoon session by the presentation by President Morris Sigman of the International Garment Workers of a beautiful bust of Samuel Gompers. President Sigman described the twenty-five years of struggle on the part of his union leading to its present position of influence and told of innumerable instances in which President Gompers had spurred it on to greater effort. The union in presenting the bust wished to pay its tribute to one of the greatest men in the American Labor movement, one who worked and struggled and fought for all who suffered.

When the American flag which covered the bust of the veteran leader was pulled aside, the convention arose and thundered their applause. Mr. Gompers was deeply moved. He paid a glowing tribute to the union and declared that he could not show his gratitude in any better way than by giving to the Labor movement the best service possible without sparing himself, no matter what the cost.

## Mexicans' Cold Greeting to Cramp, Swales Soon Turns to Understanding

By DR. HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Special to The New Leader.)

JUAREZ, Mexico.—While the A. F. of L. was meeting on one side of the river in El Paso, Texas, the delegates to the younger and more radical movement of the Mexican Federation of Labor were gathering in Juarez at a hall far less pretentious, where, however, the Mexicans were more at home, than across the river.

The Friday morning session will long be remembered as indicative of the possibilities of international Labor action in the preservation of peace. C. T. Cramp, of England, was introduced to the delegates. He was received somewhat coldly. The Labor Government in England had not recognized the Labor Government in Mexico. Cramp, however, soon warmed the delegates up to a feeling of friendliness.

"I come with greetings from the oldest Labor movement in the world to the newest Labor movement. We have not understood the Mexican Labor movement, because it has been so far away and newspaper reports have been so misleading. The Mexican Labor movement has been behind a closed door. We shall do all we can in the future to curtail the power of English capitalists in Mexico. We shall all work for the day when the capitalists who want war must do the fighting themselves. (Tremendous applause.) Our great fight is to bring about the United States of the World."

John Colbert from Canada followed.

Secretary Trevino replied.

"The enemies of the Mexican workers, established at the capital of the British Empire, are trying to prevent an understanding between the workers of England and Mexico. They will not rest in their activities to combat and defeat the aspirations of the Mexican proletariat as expressed in the program on which Calles was elected. You say that British Labor will come to our aid

in force. The membership of the A. F. of L. was 2,865,979, as compared with 2,926,468, a drop of about 60,000 during the last year. The high-water mark was 4,078,740. In 1914 it was 2,020,671. President Gompers, in his opening address, laid much stress on what he called "voluntarism" as a guiding principle of the Federation.

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The A. F. of L. Convention in

The New Leader Next Week:

JAMES ONEAL: American Labor in Convention; A Critical Estimate.

A. B. SWALES: American and British Labor; The Address Delivered by the British Labor Leader, A. B. Swales, at the A. F. of L. Convention.

in a time of crisis. Unfortunately, the opportunity is already here. I regret to announce publicly to the British Labor movement that the enemies of Mexico residing in Mexico and in Great Britain have already made the first attack on the Mexican workers. They have brought in arms to be used against us. Arms and ammunitions from Britain have been sent to Belize, British Honduras. We demand as the first act of solidarity that these representatives denounce the shipment of arms and take all measures possible to prevent the purchase of arms in Great Britain. This is neither the first nor the last opportunity to act for us. The Executive Committee of the Amsterdam Federation notified all affiliated bodies to take such measures as would prevent the shooting of Mexican workers.

"All that I say to the British delegates I say also to the Canadians." He spoke of socialization of industries in Canada. "Article 27 of our constitution provides for such socialization. We are slandered by the capitalists because of this. We hope to see the working class united as a great power on the American continent from Canada to the most southern point in Mexico to fight the worst capitalism of all, the capitalism of North America."

A. B. Swales immediately replied. "As president of the Trade Union Congress it pained me to learn of the sending of ammunition. When this act will become known to the British workers, it will be condemned by all the organized workers in Great Britain. I promise to you that Cramp and myself will write a letter at the earliest possible moment to the industrial and political movements and ask them to use all their power to prevent the repetition of such action. Moreover, we shall fight for recognition."

The British delegates immediately, amid thunderous applause, framed the following cable to be sent to Henderson. It read:

"Informed here that arms purchased in England are shipped British Honduras to be used against Mexican Labor Government. Urge upon you have question raised in Parliament and do everything possible prevent repetition. Also inform Daily Herald and Trades Union Congress."

(Signed) CRAMP, SWALES.

The Canadian delegate likewise sent a telegram to the Trades Union Congress urging that they send a protest. The Labor international was immediately on the job. The cable was read to the delegates. What began as a chilly reception turned into warm and thunderous applause in preventing further shipments? The future will tell.

The convention on Monday, the 17th, opened amid a certain subdued excitement. Morones, the leader of the Confederation, and one of the most powerful figures in the Labor movement, had been shot—by a leader of the Opposition, though fortunately he will recover, not of the Agrarian party, as had been announced, but of the Conservatives. Salsedo, Morones' right-hand man, had arrived, bearing greetings, declaring that the shooting had solidified Labor and had brought a number of formerly non-sympathetic elements to its side. All resolved to carry on the work that their wounded comrade had temporarily laid down.

The first two days were given over largely to the joint sessions; the third, to a long debate regarding the exclusion of two Communist members. The Mexican Federation had formerly shown partiality to the Russian Communists; but before recording themselves in favor of the Third International they had asked Morones, their leader, to visit Russia and to tell them what he saw. Russia was cable. It sent a warm invitation to Morones to come. He went to Europe. He waited for word from Moscow to enter. He waited for weeks. Word did not come. He returned chagrined. On arrival he received a communication from the Red Trade Union International denouncing him as a traitor to the workers for refusing to do the bidding of the Mexican proletariat and visit Moscow. The Mexican workers became less favorably impressed with Moscow.

Moscow, however, was recognized. But from the Russian Embassy, the officers of the Federation maintained, continual propaganda had, from the first, gone forth

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### Lectures

#### The Community Forum

Park Avenue and 34th Street

Sunday, Nov. 30, 8 P. M.

NORMAN ANGEL

"America's Concern in Britain's Labor Movement"

11 A. M.—The Community Church

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

"The Sins of Which Radicals Ought To Be Ashamed"

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at 8:15—"Oscar Wilde's Plays"

"IBSEN'S PSYCHOLOGICAL DRAMAS"

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 29

EVERETT DEAN MARTIN

(The Great Mass Movements of History)

"Primitive Christianity as a Mass Movement"

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 30

EARL BARNES

"Religion as a World Unifying Influence."

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 2

DR. ALEX. GOLDENWEISER

"Primitive and Modern Society—Reason and Unreason."

Eight o'clock Admission Free

OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

#### LABOR TEMPLE 14th St. & Second Ave.

Sunday, November 30

8 P. M.—LECTURE, at 9 Second Ave.

DR. WILL DURANT

"Moliere"

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.

EDWIN MARKHAM

Readings from his own Poems

7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE

"Some Recent Events—A Cause for Optimism"

#### Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street, New York

Saturday, November 29th—1:30 P. M.

SCOTT NEARING

"The A. F. L. at the Cross Roads"

Saturday, November 29th—3:30 P. M.

SAVEL ZIMAND

"Gandhi"

Tuesday, December 2nd—8:30 P. M.

AUGUST CLAESSENS

"Psychic and Cultural Factors in Social Progress"

Wednesday, December 3rd—8:30 P. M.

JOHAN SMERTENKO

"The Show-Off"

#### DEBATE

CLARENCE DARROW

(AGAINST)

versus

REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

(FOR)

Subject

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(November 30)

## CLARENCE DARROW

versus

## SCOTT NEARING

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## MINE DISTRICT IN PENNA. ORGANIZED 100 PER CENT

**SHENANDOAH, Pa.**—Every mine worker in this district is a member of the United Mine Workers of America, is the report President Golden made to the biennial convention of district No. 9 held in this city. The complete unionization of the district is due to the change from local unions to colliery unions. The United Mine Workers claim jurisdiction over all employees in and around coal mines, and wherever possible the colliery, or mine, union is established. In some respects this system is similar to the historic chapel in union printing offices. It permits workers to first attempt to adjust grievances with the management.

It is the first time in the history of district No. 9 that a 100 per cent organization was recorded. There has been dissension and divisions in some sections of the district, but harmony and unity has been established through the fair and vigorous application of the principles of the United Mine Workers by President Golden and associate officials.

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## Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

### I. The Need For Change

#### PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

What, in your opinion, are the outstanding evils of the present industrial order? Cite the competitive wastes that have come under your observation in connection with the present system of production and distribution and that could be eliminated under a cooperative system. Do you think the present system has merits which outweigh its evils? What are they? Are they inseparably connected with the profit system or merely with the advance of technical and scientific knowledge?

In your opinion, is the support of a separate class of property-income receivers necessary for the efficient conduct of industry? Can the ideals of democracy, of freedom, and of equality of opportunity be realized under an economic system where the natural resources and principal industries are owned and operated by private individuals for personal profit?

What advances have already been made as a result of public and cooperative operation of functions formerly regarded as private?

(Ridgewood, N. J.: Nellie S. Nearing, 1923, 10c) and other pamphlets by Nearing. Marx and Engels, "Communist Manifesto" (N. Y.: Rand School, 7 East 15th st., 10c); written originally in 1848).

Books: Sidney and Beatrice Webb, "Decay of Capitalist Civilization" (N. Y.: Century, 1923, Co., 1924, 242 pp., \$1.75); John A. Fitch, "The Causes of Industrial Unrest" (N. Y.: Harper, 424 pp., 1924, \$3.00); Research Department, Rand School, "American Labor Year Book" (N. Y.: Rand School, 1924, \$3.00); Bertrand Russell, "Prospects of Industrial Civilization" (N. Y.: Century, 1923, \$2.00); Laidler, "Socialism in Thought and Action," chs. 2-3 (1920, 546 pp., \$2.60); Upton Sinclair, "The Brass Check" (Author, Pasadena, Calif.: 1920, 445 pp., \$1.20; paper edition, 60c); "The Goose Step" (Author, 1923, 478 pp., \$2.00; paper, \$1.00); "The Goslings" (Author, 1924, 444 pp., \$2.00; paper, \$1.00) and other works; Hillquit and Ryan, "Socialism: Promise or Menace?" ch. 2 (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1914, 270 pp., \$2.00); Karl Marx, "Capital," Vol. I. (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 869 pp., \$2.50); Fred Engels, "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" (Chicago: C. H. Kerr & Co., 139 pp., 60c; paper edition, 25c).

## MEXICANS' COLD RECEPTION TO CRAMP, SWALES, SOON WARMS TO UNDERSTANDING

(Continued from Page 2)

against the workers' Government of Mexico. It was rumored that Mexico would be used as a propaganda centre for reaching other parts of America.

So when Trevino took the floor at the convention he urged that Communist delegates be not seated. In his address he laid down two propositions: (1) That the Mexican Labor movement had no right to criticize or censure the Labor movement of Russia, nor the methods it employs within that country; (2) that the Communist party of Russia had absolutely no right to establish in Mexico a branch of that party or attempt to direct the activities of the Mexican Labor movement.

"I want to be perfectly understood," he continued. "I am not against Russia. I believe that the Mexican Labor movement should support the Russian Labor movement by defending the rights of the Russian workers to give to their own movement within their own country the form of organization they may choose. But we cannot allow them to do what they did to Italy, Spain, England, and all the other countries when, by sending Communist propagandists, they have played straight into the hands of the Fascists and the reactionaries. In Mexico the Communists openly advised the workers to win the reactionary revolt headed by Adolfo de la Huerta."

After a six-hour debate, the two Communists were, by a practically unanimous vote, excluded from seats in the convention. The convention also asked the Government to place a ban on Chinese immigration.

On Thursday morning, Joseph Schlossberg, secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Delegate Grossman of Germany; Frank Tannenbaum, student of Mexico; Harry W. Laidler, representing the League for Industrial Democracy and the New York State Socialist Party; Oscar Ameringer, of the Illinois Miners, addressed the Mexican Federation, bringing greetings from their respective organizations, and were most cordially received. Messrs. Haberman and I have acted as interpreters. Following their addresses, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, a former professor of the College of Mexico City, explained to the guests the situation in Mexico.

After declaring that the American people had gained a false conception of "barbarous Mexico" from American writers of second rank, supported by international capitalists, Toledano analyzed for the delegates the various stages in the development of the Labor movement in Mexico. He said in part:

"With the downfall of the Diaz regime in 1910 the present social movement in Mexico began. The first seven years of the Labor movement was spent in bringing about the destruction of those who had controlled the Government and held power over the people, and in doing propaganda work among the masses. This first period might be called the romantic epoch in our social movement."

"The second period was characterized by the organization of the Labor movement and by the creation of our organization—the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana. We have just entered the third period, the period of creative

effort. In this last period, the Labor movement in Mexico has acquired class consciousness and consciousness of its industrial responsibility. The Labor movement has crystallized in this organization, the strongest living power of our national commonwealth.

"We are of the opinion that we must find a Mexican solution to our own problems. This does not imply that we seek to separate ourselves from the idea of universal solidarity. We have as our immediate objective the establishment of a union with the workers of other nations, but we feel that we should primarily attempt to develop the personality of Labor in our own country."

"We are endeavoring to solve two main problems: the economic problem and the educational problem. We are poor. The humble dress worn by comrades in our convention hall may be a surprise to you; but I would like to state that the poor clothing worn by the workers of Mexico is a result of poverty that has been imposed on us by American and international capitalists. That clothing is a covering to a rapidly developing consciousness in the Mexican people—a consciousness that feels bound to the laboring classes of the entire world. We believe that Mexico will be saved through two weapons—justice and culture. We think not of any other weapons, and we do not need them. We are endeavoring to cultivate our native personality of Labor, and later to cooperate with the proletariat of the world. We send our best greetings to the representatives of the Labor movements in the different countries. Regardless of the tactics, which may be different in different countries, we believe in the most eloquent phrase of Karl Marx: 'Workers of the World, Unite.'"

The Confederation officers declared that their organization had 1,200,000 members. It was one of the most active forces in the election of President Calles to office, and the Government was doing what it could to encourage the Confederation as a bulwark against militarism.

## From The New Leader Mail Bag

### HJALMAR BRANTING

Editor, The New Leader:

It is, indeed, a very nice and charming picture you are giving your readers in "Hjalmar Branting's Story." But why not tell us about your "ideal" activities in Geneva where he was one of the principals in the crime of Silesia, i. e., the dismembering of the province in spite of the verdict of the plebiscite, and for which "good work" Mons. Poincaré, the President of the French Republic, made your ideal Socialist, Hjalmar Branting, a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor? A little too "inconvenient" to state for party reasons, I suppose. If I remember right, this infamous Silesian deal by the notorious League of Nations was at the time justly condemned in the "Call" of which editorial staff the present responsible editor of "The New Leader," Mr. James Oneal, was a leading member. Hypocrisy

and suppression of (annoying) facts are not sole privileges of the capitalist press.

THEODORE SINGER.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

### BIG THIRD PARTY VOTE

Editor, The New Leader:

I am enclosing a small clipping from one of our county papers, showing the official returns of our county Presidential vote. Ours is a county of farmers; two big lumber concerns, mining and fruit industry. And, for a wonder, our Socialist ticket looked good to them. Hurray for the new third party! I, as a straight middle of the road Socialist, take my hat off to the 4,500,000 real American voters, who have dared to do right. Surely our defeat is a big victory.

The vote mentioned above is:  
Coolidge ..... 1287  
Davis ..... 357

L. A. Follette ..... 1327  
Prohibition ..... 20  
S. T. RABLEN.  
Standard, Calif.

### Nearing-Darrow Debate

Tickets are selling fast for the debate on Sunday afternoon, November 30, between Clarence Darrow, the prominent criminal lawyer and Scott Nearing, author, lecturer, and teacher at the Rand School of Social Science. Mr. Darrow, who is a confirmed pessimist, will maintain that the Human Race is Not Worth Working For. Professor Nearing, whose faith in the possibilities of the Human Race is unshakable, will attack Mr. Darrow's point of view. The debate will take place at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd street, at 2:30 p. m. Mr. Algernon Lee will act as chairman.

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112 West 116th St., bet. Lenox & 7th Aves. 38 University Place, near 12th St. 953 Southern Blvd., near 163rd St.  
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138 WEST 14th STREET. (Between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.)



# Oklahoma's Tragedy: "What Not To Do"

By ERNEST R. CHAMBERLAIN

A young sculptor, after surveying the public monuments in Washington, D. C., once made the remark that it was worth any sculptor's time to visit the nation's capital in order to learn "what not to do."

With much the same sentiment in mind, one may consider the career of J. C. Walton, with relation to the farmer-labor movement in Oklahoma, not that the workers of Oklahoma have departed so radically from the channels of effort followed by the workers in other States, but rather because Oklahoma's experience furnishes the sensational example best calculated to make an impression.

Oklahoma is not the only State in which the workers have sought to fish their leaders out of the sewers of old party politics, but probably in no other State has the cesspool yielded the counterpart of Walton.

No less regrettable than astounding was the last minute indorsement of Walton by the legislative committees of the railway brotherhoods and their official organ "LABOR" over the extreme protest of the Oklahoma State Federation of Labor, the Oklahoma Farmers' Union and other progressive forces in the State.

J. C. Walton, elected governor of Oklahoma on a farmer-labor program by the largest majority that any governor of the State ever had, has just gone down to defeat before an opponent whose majority will very nearly treble the majority given Walton in 1922.

The significance of Walton's defeat is best seen in the fact that Oklahoma, never yet known to effectively conduct a ballot-scratching campaign, swept the entire Democratic State and National ticket into office by normal majorities, consigning Walton alone to unutterable defeat.

**Progressive Groundswells.** Fate was kind to Walton in his early fights. He began his career as city commissioner of Oklahoma City. Later on as mayor he incurred the enmity of the chamber of commerce in the heat of the open shop fight, taking Labor's side in this struggle.

The old Socialist movement in Oklahoma which had polled over 50,000 votes before the war, saw new hope in the non-partisan league idea. The progressive groundswell which swept Brookhart, Magnus Johnson, Ladd, Shipstead and others into office, struck Oklahoma at a time when State conditions were deplorable through the collapse of the State bank guarantee fund and the implication of the Democratic governor and his bank commissioner in the dissipation of the assets of the failed banks.

Six hundred farmers and workers schooled in the campaign tactics of the old Socialists met at Shawnee and chose Walton as their leader. The time was ripe. Walton was swept into office after a campaign on the vital economic issues.

Walton declared in his keynote campaign utterance against the rising issue of the "Ku Klux Klan" declaring that any man who sought to shift the issue to religion was an "enemy of the producing farmer."

Walton himself was not responsible for his campaign utterances, but the Socialist who wrote his speeches for him vouched for his "right impulses." Sticking to economic issues Walton convinced his electorate and became the most popular executive the State ever



had, as was further attested by the enormous attendance at his inaugural barbecue which was heralded over the world.

**Reverts to Type.** The campaign over, Walton reverted to type. He was approached by various large interests in the State. These were chiefly interested in having Walton quietly dispose of his "radical program." One by one he dropped his platform planks and devoted his attention to the main purpose of getting large appropriations from which he could maintain a small army of retainers to do his political bidding.

His first overt act which horrified his supporters was the purchase of a \$54,000 mansion which was paid for in part by \$30,000 "loaned" by E. W. Marland, Ponca City oil millionaire and then chief exponent of the Royal Dutch Shell interests in the southwest.

Regarding Marland and the Standard Oil interests Walton had said in the campaign: "So far as I am concerned, I do not want the assistance, financial or otherwise of the Marland, the Dutch Shell, Standard Oil, political bankers or of their legal, political or newspaper retainers."

Again Walton declared to his followers: "If you desert me in this fight the Marlands \* \* \* and the Standard Oil will murder your children in foreign wars to protect their foreign oil fields and foreign loans."

Subsequently it was learned that Marland had paid a \$73,000 deficit of the Democratic State campaign fund at Walton's solicitation, had given Walton \$5,000 to pay a lost election bet and \$1,500 for certain "personal obligations." Marland later became considerably "hurt" to hear that Walton had taken \$25,000 from the Standard Oil representative, Col. William Zevely, attorney for Harry Sinclair.

**Marland's Aid.** The explanation of Marland's desire to conciliate Walton may be

seen in the fact that Marland holds thousands of acres of school land oil leases which he originally received for the total sum of \$50 and Walton as governor was chairman of the school land commission that must approve the Marland leases. Marland also pays thousands of dollars in taxes and the governor as chairman of the State equalization board decides whether those taxes shall be high or low. Marland also pays income taxes to the State, but if he should not pay the attorney general could bring suit only at the direction of the governor.

With Marland befriending Walton so vigorously, it was obviously quite impossible for Walton to maintain his early stand on the "economic issues." Early in the first session of the legislature Walton showed his desire to break away from the farmer-labor movement provided he might at the same time obtain support that would counteract his losses. Then it was that the gathering power of the Ku Klux Klan attracted the Governor. He began his overtures. Already he had been turned down three times attempting to join the Oklahoma City Klavern, according to convincing but circumstantial evidence.

Emperor Simmons and Wizard Evans were contending for supremacy in the national Klan and this gave Walton his opening. Simmons controlled Oklahoma through his Grand Dragon Edwin De Barr, professor of chemistry at the University of Oklahoma. De Barr made arrangements to have Walton made a life member of the Klan from Atlanta. Walton took the obligation on February 13, 1923, according to the sworn testimony of Walton's own appointee, Dr. A. E. Davenport, State health commissioner, in whose handwriting the application was made out. On August 1, Walton's life membership was conferred by Simmons. It was received by Walton September 10.

Walton retained this membership until October 17 and then returned it to Evans with a letter denouncing the Klan.

**Farmer-Labor Break.** By this time it was learned in Oklahoma that the Simmons faction would not control. Simmons had sold out his "empire" for \$145,000 to Wizard Evans and Grand Dragon De Barr was replaced by an inveterate Walton enemy. Walton made De Barr State chemist.

By September Walton had done all in his power to placate the Klan without success. His legislature had been tractable until the new grand dragon assumed control, but with the advent of a Republican at the head of Klan politics Walton was forced to realign himself in the face of the threatened impeachment. The legislature suddenly turned on him. In a vain effort to placate the hostile Klansmen Walton dismissed George Wilson from the A. & M. College over farmer-labor protests. He sought to enter the Muskogee Klan Klavern without avail.

Then it was that several sporadic mob whippings occurred throughout the State. Walton declared martial law. During this period he defied the courts and trained machine guns on a grand jury that was considering charges against him. He abrogated the writ of habeas corpus and began an investigation into the long list of mob outrages in Oklahoma for years back, in each case attributing these outrages directly to the Klan although it is by no means certain that the Klan was responsible for all of them.

An attempted session of the legislature was repelled by armed guards. Once more Walton was heralded over the nation, this time, however, it was not as Labor's friend, but as the Klan's foe. But with funds running low Walton attempted to halt a special election which he himself had called. The

election was held however, and a special law giving the legislature power to convene itself was passed.

The story of Walton's impeachment is well known history. His abrupt retreat from the trial without attempting to prove his case was startling. Here it was that witness after witness related instances of corruption, much of which was indisputable and has never been answered by Walton except by his general denunciation of his trial as a "Klan frame-up." From Labor's standpoint the most significant evidence of betrayal was Walton's acceptance of \$5,000 from the agent of the Reliance shirt factory. This concern manufactured shirts with prison labor in violation of the State law. Walton had promised to abolish this contract and Labor had been unable to adequately understand why this action was never taken.

**Walton Destroyed Himself.** But Walton's transition was complete. No longer was he the champion of economic issues. As he started his anti-Klan crusade for the Senate denouncing the protestant ministry as "95 per cent Ku Klux skunks" many of Walton's old followers remembered his own words that "any man who attempted to shift the issue to religion was a traitor to the working class" and voted accordingly.

The cartoon representing Walton as an extinct volcano was carried in the Oklahoma Leader, farmer-labor paper which broke with Walton when Walton abandoned his economic program. Never was a cartoon more expressive of the tragedy of Labor placing its hopes in false leaders.

Walton literally destroyed himself. His campaign of abuse, his betrayal of virtually every element that ever supported him, his attack on the protestant ministry, all caused the voters to go to the polls November 4 as if bent on a crusade.

Oklahoma polled 100,000 more votes than ever before in her history. Oklahoma elected to the Senate, W. B. Pine, a Republican independent oil man, of conservative convictions who will probably vote with Calvin Coolidge and the Republican machine on all legislative matters.

But Walton has also shattered the farmer-labor cohesion in Oklahoma. The endorsement of Walton by the national legislative committees of the railroad brotherhoods in Washington was short-sighted. True there was no one who had a show of election in Oklahoma who they could have endorsed. Pine apparently is hostile to Labor's program, although he has no record one way or the other to go by other than his career as a millionaire business man of an unostentatious type.

The State Labor leaders refused to endorse any one in this Senatorial race and they took a wise course. But the main lesson for Labor to learn from Oklahoma's experience with Walton is this:

**Keep religion out of your politics and your Union meetings.** The Klan and anti-Klan issue, whichever way it is settled, will not affect Labor's wages, farmer's prices, freight rates or the thousand and one economic remedies which Labor must accomplish in order to achieve its rightful place in society.

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**HONOR JEAN JAURES**

(Continued from Page 1)

apparently concluded not to push their differences too far on such an occasion, so there were no serious clashes. Banners denouncing war and extolling peace were everywhere in the procession and the shouts of "Down with War!" "Hurrah for Peace!" and "Long Live Soviet Russia!" were almost continuous.

While the official part of the parade, consisting of President Doumergue, Premier Herriot and nearly all the high officials and foreign diplomats, made a brave showing, the striking feature was the huge float carrying the coffin rolled along by a detachment of husky miners from Jaures' own Department of the Tarn.

While a memorial placard was being placed in the restaurant in the Rue Montmartre where Jaures was shot from behind by Raoul Villain, many bitter comments were heard on the fact that the murderer, through the complaisance of the reactionary Government preceding the present régime, had never been punished for his crime. According to the latest reports, Villain, after having been adjudged of unsound mind, finally was allowed to leave France and get a job as croupier in a gambling casino in Dantzic run by former German army officers.

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## THE JOYS OF BEING DEFEATED

By ADAM COALDIGGER

The redeeming feature about getting beaten is that the fellow who wins is beaten just as badly. At least this holds good as far as we common dubs are concerned, for I have noticed that winners and losers always go to work the morning after the election for the same wages and if grocery keepers make any difference between victor and vanquished in their bills I have not heard of it yet.

Political campaigns are very much like law suits. The loser goes away naked. The winner departs in his shirt tail and the politician pockets fines, fees and cost.

I wish the Prince of Wales had stayed here and accepted the job as king of this great democracy. Then we could have saved ourselves the trouble of electing a President every four years. We are the most conservative people on earth and if we had a king we could let well enough alone for keeps.

Moreover, presidential campaigns are always more or less disturbing. While they are in progress we are disturbed because a change may disturb things and after the change is made we are disturbed because nothing is changed.

The powers that do the thinking for the enlightened voting kings certainly gave them an awful scare. Everybody was scared about something or other. Big business was scared about the reds and little business ran after its big brother as if pursued by the devil himself. The Catholics and Lutherans were made to believe a change in the constitution would rob them of religious freedom and close their parochial schools. The Klansmen were afraid the election of La Follette would induce the Pope to foreclose

the mortgage on the United States and turn the national capitol into a training school for sisters of charity. The Germans were afraid the defeat of Coolidge would kill the Dawes Scheme, which is already as dead as a fried mackerel. The wheat farmers voted republican because they were afraid a democratic or progressive administration would bring wheat down to where it was under the Harding administration. The democrats were afraid their man Bryan might become president if the election was thrown into the House, so they cast their votes for Coolidge and Dawes. Every one had a little scare of their own and all of them led to Cal, who, judging from his pictures, was scared worse than anybody. When all is said and done Coolidge ran like a scared rabbit because the sovereign voting kings voted like scared rabbits.

I wish I knew what to do to take the scare out of my voting inmates of this great democracy. Ever since Lord Northcliffe scared them into the notion that the Huns would freeze the Atlantic Ocean and skate over the ice to Hoboken, they've been shivering like kittens locked in the refrigerator. I suppose the ragged horde of Washington at Valley Forge also shivered, but it was a different sort of a shiver. It came from leaking shoes and ice water while my compatriots got cold feet in steam-heated flats and felt slippers. The fact is, they were so darned scared that they endorsed Teapot Dome, Harry Daugherty, Jess Smith and the Veteran's Bureau. The administration which

was so gloriously endorsed ought to reinstate Burns, Daugherty, Denby and Forbes in their former positions and hand Teapot Dome back to Doheny with a profuse apology. Looks like Coolidge got scared for nothing when he regrettably resigned these worthy gentlemen from their—graft.

For my own part, I'm tickled stiff that I had sense enough to withdraw from the race before my countrymen got a whack at me. If I had run they might have planted an illuminated pumpkin in front of my headquarters and scared my supporters over to Andy Gump.

As it is that bonehead got more votes than Bill Foster and if he hadn't forgotten to file his name he might have been elected in place of silent Cal. For it's no use talking, my enlightened countrymen surely have an awful hankering for mediocrities. Perhaps they have been hornsawed so often by their great and peerless leaders that they feel safer with a leader who looks like he has missed his calling.

A man with brains, like myself, has no more show to become president of this country than a bar-keeper has to mix cocktails in a prohibition convention. Men have always made their gods in their own image and when the voters spot a fellow who appears to know more than they know they ump back and make for the tall timbers. What the broad and dense masses want is a leader who don't rise above their own level and they surely got him this time.



## Post-Election Thoughts

By NORMAN THOMAS

That La Follette and Wheeler polled some four and a half million votes—a little over a quarter as many as were polled for President Coolidge, and about half the vote for Mr. Davis—is, we think, a good showing. Mr. Davis had the solid South and a once well-organized party behind him. Mr. Coolidge had a well-oiled machine, unlimited money, and the support of newspapers and the employing class generally. Thousands of votes were cast for him not out of any love but because the Republican party with the aid of employers of the Judge Gary type spread the notion that a vote for La Follette was a vote for hard times, or more crudely that a vote for La Follette might cost a man his job. Against this, the Progressives opposed a coalition, not a party, and a necessarily imperfect organization.

Under these circumstances the vote for La Follette is proof of the existence of a sentiment in the United States plenty strong enough to warrant a new party. The question is whether the organized workers and farmers of America upon whom a strong new party must depend desire it in sufficient numbers and with sufficient zeal to go ahead. The conditions of a new party are not purely numerical. The numbers are available for an efficient beginning, if we have the leadership, the vision, the immediate program, and the organized support. We confidently hope that the near future will reveal that we are possessed of these requisites of a new party to oppose parties which fight not for principle but for office.

Next to a clear-cut progressive victory, the most fortunate thing



NORMAN THOMAS

that could have happened is the return of the stand-pat Republicans with a clear mandate to show what they can do. Our guess is that they cannot do much, and that the extraordinary luck which heretofore has favored them will not last forever. This year the failure of crops outside of the United States helped our own grain growers and made some of them willing to "let well enough alone." But, of course, no solution whatever has been presented for agricultural problems. Neither is the present boom in stocks an index to real prosperity.

Meanwhile the Democratic party

## 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.

### Fatalism of the Workingclass

By ROBERT MICHELS

In "Political Parties"

THE ruling classes succeeded in maintaining themselves in power by the strength of their own political energy and with the assistance of numerous elements essentially foreign to themselves, but which they can turn to their own advantage by suggestive influences. Most commonly, however, we find that the classes representing a past economic order continue to maintain their social predominance only because the classes representing the present or future economy have as yet failed to become aware of their strength, of their political and economic importance, and of the wrongs they suffer at the hands of society. Moreover, a sense of fatalism and a sad conviction of impotence exercise a paralyzing influence in social life. As long as an oppressed class is influenced by this fatalistic spirit, as long as it has failed to develop an adequate sense of social justice, it is incapable of aspiring towards emancipation. It is not the simple existence of oppressive conditions, but it is the recognition of these conditions by the oppressed, which in the course of history has constituted the prime factor of class struggles.

is in a ludicrously bad way. In the South it is the party of reaction opposed to all social legislation, opposed to immigration, and if not actually controlled by the Ku Klux Klan at any rate dominated by the absurd "Protestant, white, Nordic" idea. It is, moreover, dry in theory if not in practice. In the North, especially in a State like New York, the Democratic party is mildly progressive, rather friendly to immi-

gration, and to a large extent dominated by Catholics and Jews. It is wet in theory as well as, very often, in practice. In other parts of the country the Democratic party, as represented by Mr. McAdoo, is dry and somewhat suspicious of the Catholic Church. For control of this three-ring circus the next four years will probably see a fight between the popular Governor Smith

(Continued on Page 7)

## A Visit to Warren Billings

By LENA MORROW LEWIS



WARREN K. BILLINGS

When my route sheet for October reached me, I observed that two dates were assigned to Sacramento, California. Now this town is an hour's ride from the northern California prison.

Some three or four years ago having been refused admission when I tried to see Warren K. Billings (serving a life sentence in the Mooney and Billings case) this time I decided to make sure a visit would be permitted before making the trip to the prison. After some little discussion with the Warden over the matter and assuring him that I am no wild-eyed anarchistic Bolshevik, seeking entrance to revolutionize the prison or do some dastardly deed, Billings persuaded the keeper of the prison to let him write and

tell me I would be admitted any time within certain hours of the day that I might see fit to come. Because of the isolation of the prison, and the refusal of the warden to let even some of those who do make the journey to Folsom, see Billings, his visitors number only about five or six a year.

For over two hours Billings and I talked in the reception room. Two other inmates were receiving guests at the same time. The visitors sat in front of a table and their friends opposite them. Two guards near the foot and head of the table watched to see that nothing passed between us, and "listened in" on our conversation with a bored air of trying to do their duty.

The jovial manner, free and easy behavior and frank way in which Billings talked would never give one the impression that he had been a prisoner for eight years. The whipped hang-dog expression that one so often sees in a prison was entirely lacking; and as we came away, he walked out to the front

(Continued on Page 7)

## Socialism, Labor and Politics

By JACOB PANKEN

### I. What We Expected

As far back as the memory of American Socialists goes, the organized Socialist movement has sought a contact with Labor for political action.

It seemed that such contact would be possible of establishment. As a matter of fact, the history of the American Labor movement is replete with attempts of the workers to organize workmen's political parties.

This is not the place, nor is it the time, to discuss the history of these attempts or the causes motivating them.

It must be recorded here that there is expressed opinion that these attempts were not expressions of or part of the class struggle.

In so far as the recent past is concerned, there is no dispute that definite classes and class distinctions have arisen in the United States. The organized Socialist movement reflected the interest of a distinct class.

#### Endorsed Henry George

In its early period it supported the Henry George movement. In 1886 Henry George was endorsed and supported by the Socialists for Mayor of New York.

In 1897, however, when Henry George again was a candidate for Mayor of the City of New York, the Socialist Labor Party, which then had become a political party, organized on national lines, opposed his candidacy.

The support of Henry George was because Henry George carried to his support the Labor element.

In 1897 organized Labor did not, as such, support him, but there were other reasons why in 1897 he was not supported by the Socialist Labor Party.

About that time decided differences had arisen within the ranks of the Socialists as to the policies and tactics to be pursued in enlisting the cooperation of Labor. The Socialists were not successful in their efforts to enlist organized Labor theretofore.

In 1894, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was fathered by the Socialist Labor Party as a consequence of the failure above recorded. The American Federation of Labor had established a policy of "No politics in the Union," so that the trade unions were not approachable for participation in politics. In the desire to obtain the cooperation of Labor, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was founded. Some Socialists, however, were of the opinion, and properly so, that this would cause friction with and within Labor.

#### Dual Unions Created

Instead of uniting Labor for political action and cementing the road for cooperation with Socialists, it

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resulted in dual unions, dividing Labor on the economic field and lending justification for the attack on Socialists by Labor leaders.

The inevitable occurred. Some members of the Socialist Labor Party were expelled and the organization of the Social Democracy of America, and then the Social Democratic Party followed. The fight as to the tactics regarding Labor within the Socialist Labor Party continued until 1899.

The division being irreconcilable, the party split. Those who supported the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance desired to continue the formation of trade unions committed to the support of the Socialist Labor Party. The others, and they were in the majority, were of the opinion that it was the duty of Socialists to support Labor in its economic struggle regardless of its political opinions.

The majority held that dual unions would only help the employers and arouse opposition and hatred on the part of workers for Socialists and Socialism, and, therefore, that the policy was not a question of tactics, but a matter of principle.

The Social Democratic Party had adopted a policy of supporting Labor in its economic struggles and cooperation with it in every attempt at independent political action.

#### The "Kangaroos"

In 1899, when an Independent Labor party was organized in the City of New York, the Social Democratic Party was represented in its conference and became part of its organization, and caused "Kangaroos," that portion of the Socialist Labor Party disagreeing with the policy of dual unionism, to be invited to participate. They, however, declined. Later, on proof that the "Kangaroos" were right, the Independent Labor party endorsing the Republican party. Participation by the "Kangaroos" would not have prevented that.

The attitude of the Social Democratic party and the "Kangaroos" towards the Labor movement being identical, it led to their uniting and the formation of the present Socialist Party.

From the very beginning of the life of the Socialist Party, a definite policy was pursued. Trade unions were treated as the economic arm in the struggle, and the Socialist Party as the political arm.

In the very first convention of the Socialist Party, resolutions were adopted clearly defining this policy. I have not at hand the texts of those resolutions. Their burden, however, was that Socialists and their party must support Labor in all its economic struggles, strikes, boycotts, lockouts, that Socialists should be members of their trade unions and support should be given regardless of the political opinions of the trade unionists.

#### A Contact Established

This policy, though it did not succeed in enlisting the cooperation of the entire trade union movement, nevertheless brought sympathetic support from many locals, and a large number of trade unionists.

It did not make possible a contact with the trade union movement that the European Socialists enjoy, but it wiped out some of the animosity

on the part of Labor's leadership to Socialists as evidenced by the C. P. A.

By 1912 the Socialist Party in America had become an important political factor. That year it received almost a million votes and counted a membership, actually paying dues, of upwards of 125,000,—a party with a membership greater, comparatively, than that of either of the major parties.

A million votes in 1912 is as much as 2,250,000 votes in 1924, by reason of woman suffrage and the increase in population since then.

The policy of the Socialist party was vindicated. The purpose, however, was not fulfilled. A party of Labor in the true sense had not yet come into being. Internal strife, due to the reappearance of Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in the form of the I. W. W. reduced the membership of the party.

#### Labor Party Hoped For

During this time it was not only the hope of the Socialist Party to launch an independent political Labor movement, but everything possible to promote such eventuality was taken advantage of.

Wisconsin saw the Socialists work hand in hand with the Union. Minnesota, particularly Minneapolis, found the Socialists and trade unions not only together on the economic field, but also on the political battlefield.

The entry of the United States into the World War and the resultant patriotic hysteria swept some weak-kneed Socialists to the extreme right and out of the party. That with the Bolshevik Revolution of November of the same year made fertile ground for the sprouting of the left wing.

Left-wingism and the merciless persecution of the Socialists by the Government found the Socialist Party in a weakened condition upon the conclusion of the war. The party split, and peculiarly Socialist Trade and Labor Allianceism appeared again, bringing its blighting effect. For the Left Wingers were and still are intent on capturing the trades unions and tying them up with the "Red International."

The party had become a shell of its former self, yet, in 1920, it was still able to poll close to 1,000,000 votes in spite of all the sabotage, vilification and persecution, proving again the soundness of the Socialist Party position in regard to the trade unions, and vindicating its expectations.

That brings us to the period immediately before the formation of the C. P. A.

#### The Situation in 1920

In 1920 the Farmers and Workers formed a political party and nominated a national ticket separate and apart from the Socialists. It was not successful, for the Farmer Labor party polled only about 250,000 votes. It did, however, inspire hope among Socialists that America was ready to form a Labor party fashioned after the model of the British Labor party.

The Chicago Federation of Labor had committed itself to Labor, engaging in independent politics. The Railroad Brotherhoods had learned the importance and efficacy of political action and political power in

the solution of economic problems. They had seen in 1917 and in 1918 the head of the Railroad Administration by a single stroke of the pen adding hundreds of thousands to their membership, increasing their wages and adjusting their hours of labor, an achievement entirely by a political act, by Governmental power in the exercise of a political party authority.

Then, they saw legislation taking some of their gains from them, and threatening to wipe out the rest. By actual demonstration they learned the importance of political power. They came face to face with it.

When the Socialist Party met in convention at Detroit in 1921, mindful of all this, it adopted a resolution presented by Morris Hillquit of New York, instructing a committee to make a survey with the view of ascertaining the advisability and possibility of launching a movement for a Labor party.

#### The C. P. A. Formed

That survey, and the action taken on it, sanctioned the participation of the Socialist Party in a conference which resulted in the formation of a Conference for Progressive Political Action (C. P. A.).

We were told that the C. P. A. was formed too late to embark in a political campaign in 1922. By resolution it authorized endorsement of such candidates for Congress as were favorable to Labor and opposed those unfavorable, in other words, rewarding the friend and punishing the enemy, a policy which had become traditional with the American Federation of Labor.

Except for bringing together labor men to discuss independent political action and adopting a program, and an organization plan, nothing was done.

Fortunately, the Socialist Party was not required or requested to carry out the resolutions to endorse so-called friends of Labor. That made it possible for us to remain a part of the C. P. A. and we did remain such part, hoping that State conferences would be called to organize C. P. A. branches in the various States for the 1924 elections. Very little in that direction was done.

In New York State such an attempt was made. We know with what results. The Socialist Party was practically kicked out.

At the St. Louis meeting of the C. P. A. in February, 1924, the Cleveland convention was decided upon. The Socialist Party thereupon changed the seating of its convention to Cleveland and postponed it until after the C. P. A. Convention should have met.

#### "The Topic of the Day"

Throughout the country, both in the ranks of the Socialist Party as well as in the trade unions, the Cleveland convention became the topic of the day and the hope of Labor.

During the month of April of this year, it was my good fortune to travel through a goodly portion of the country. Wherever I went I found a deep-seated interest in the Cleveland convention, hopeful in spirit that out of the C. P. A. convention would finally come that Labor's political party which progressive workers and Socialists have

desired and hoped for. At no place did I hear an expression other than the hope and expectation that the Labor party would be launched on the Fourth of July. The Fourth of July became again to many a day when a new Declaration of Independence would be issued. That was not only true as regards Socialists, but it was equally true of non-Socialist workers.

As far as the Socialist Party was concerned, the membership, in many instances, instructed their delegates to both conventions at Cleveland that the Socialist Party was to join with the C. P. A. in the formation of a Labor party, and further to endorse the C. P. A. candidates for President and Vice-president, providing a Labor party was there formed.

#### "What We Expected"

The New York delegates, though not instructed, yet responsive to the overwhelming opinion of the party membership, expressed either at branch or local meetings, were bound to stand for the formation of a Labor party at the C. P. A. convention and act accordingly in the party convention.

As trade unionists and Socialists wended their way to Cleveland they carried with them more than a hope for the launching of a Labor party. They actually expected the formation of such a party which shall typify independent political action on the part of Labor. They were convinced it would be done.

As the delegates arrived in Cleveland, and particularly the Socialists, and had occasion to exchange views with one another, that hope was strengthened. They believed their expectations realized. They believed that the time had finally come when Labor was about to join with the Socialists for the independent Labor political action.

We expected a Labor party out of the Cleveland convention. What did we get?

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# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States.

### CONNECTICUT

#### Local Hampden Meeting.

At a meeting of Local Hampden an organization committee was elected for the purpose of increasing the membership. The committee, Walter E. Davis, chairman, Karl C. Jursek, Cornelius Mahoney, Gustave Berquist, Joseph L. De Scheen, Sven Ottman.

The local nominated Jasper McLevy, Martin F. Plunkett, Karl C. Jursek and Morris Rice as delegates to the Socialist convention in January.

Karl C. Jursek is a new member of Local Hampden, he was a very active member for ten years in Pittsburgh, Pa.

#### Hillquit in New Haven

Morris Hillquit of New York will speak in New Haven on December 7, Sunday afternoon, at Moose Hall. This will be the big rally in the senatorial campaign.

It is expected that Norman Thomas will speak in New London, Sunday, December 7.

Meetings are being arranged in Hartford, Waterbury and many other towns in the State for M. F. Plunkett, McLevy and Jursek.

#### Bridgeport Rally

Judge Jacob Panken will be the main speaker at a rally for our candidate for United States Senator M. F. Plunkett in Bridgeport, December 14.

### NEW JERSEY

Passaic County meeting of the Socialist Party will be held December 2, at 8 p. m., in Saltsberg's Hall, 211 Market street. There will be discussed very important questions which have sprung out lately in the party. Every reader of the New York Leader is invited to attend this meeting.

### MARYLAND

At a meeting of Local Baltimore, Comrade Neistadt, organizer for Baltimore and the representative of the party to the La Follette and Wheeler campaign committee reported the activities of the Socialist Party in the campaign. He also reported that at the last meeting of the Progressive State Central Committee it was decided by all delegates present including the delegates of the Railroad Unions that a Progressive party be formed. Comrade Neistadt reported that the vote of all candidates for Congress on the Socialist ticket had been increased. The meeting decided to begin a campaign for members with the help of the National organization, a committee was appointed for the purpose of seating all the members and put them in good standing. Com-

rade Neistadt also reported that the Y. P. S. L. Circle was getting along very well.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Lecture in Philadelphia

Dr. Hiam Fineman of Temple University, will lecture on "Class Psychology of Literature," at Leiden's Hall, 10th street and Girard avenue, under the direction of Dauphin Branch of the Socialist Party, on the evening of November 23.

### OREGON

From the far West—Umatilla, Oregon, comes good news. A most interesting report by local secretary Minnie McFarland, November 9, five days after the election, Local Umatilla met to study the results of the campaign, to take in new members and plan for immediate renewal of activities. She writes: "Our local here did some good work in scattering leaflets, Labor, The New Leader and much La Follette literature. Results in ballots: La Follette, 167, Davis, 40; Coolidge, 40. The bars are down between the Socialists and Labor unions—at least so we find it here. Now we are eager to go to work; and we start by ordering two hundred name-and-address cards. We have just added four new members to our local and will, I am sure, secure more in the near future. We are planning to distribute literature all over this country—and we are sure it will have a good effect and not only increase our membership, but educate toward the forming of a progressive party in the near future."

### NEW MEXICO

From the far Southwest—New Mexico—comes the news that in that sparsely populated state 12,000 voted under the banner of liberalism, eager for a new movement free from the withering influence of the two old morally paralyzed parties. In all the American Socialist movement there is no more heroic faithful worker than T. S. Smith, 80 years old, of Estancia. He never "quits," never whimpers and never wavers in loyalty to the movement for the freedom of the workers. In his latest letter he handsomely acknowledges the fine cooperation of some comrades in his State, and adds: "Help or no help, there will be something doing for Socialism in New Mexico as long as I live, anyway."

### KENTUCKY

Comrade August Panachar writes from Dayton, Kentucky: "I am well satisfied with the election. If there is anything I can do for the National Office let me know. Remember, please, I want Com-

## New York Activities

### NEW YORK STATE

State Secretary Merrill reports renewed life in Cortland, New York. As a result of Organizer Stille's work there, the local held a reorganization meeting on November 11, with a membership of 43. With the election of new officers, the local is prepared to begin active work in the membership campaign. Just imagine the party-building results if we had a regiment of Stilles. He is a go-getter.

To Locals of the Socialist Party: Greetings:

A meeting of the La Follette-Wheeler State Committee was held in New York City, Saturday evening, November 15, which meeting was attended by many prominent workers of the recent campaign. It was the sense of the meeting that the C. P. P. A. acting through a committee consisting of Thomas E. Ryan, Morris Hillquit and Arthur G. Hays, should call a State convention of the C. P. P. A. at an early date, and that all groups interested with the Progressive movement should be urged to affiliate with the C. P. P. A. and participate in the convention. However, there were individuals present at the meeting who insisted on the right to continue the organization of Progressive clubs independent of the C. P. P. A. and no particular objection was raised to such proposal, it being felt that harmony between all the different groups should be preserved until the forthcoming National Convention.

In this connection your State Secretary begs to submit that it is the DUTY of locals and branches of the Socialist Party organization to insist that the C. P. P. A. continue to be the dominant organization of the Progressive movement to which it gave birth, and that Socialist Party members should do every thing in their power to uphold and sustain the C. P. P. A. and to encourage the organization of groups unaffiliated with the C. P. P. A. We cannot afford to have dual organizations of persons calling themselves "Progressives" bringing disruptive elements into the grand movement of the workers and farmers of America.

There is room for EVERY honest

rade Debs for Cincinnati as soon as he is available. I campaigned in Ohio for Secretary Edelman, and I am eager for the rebuilding of the movement in Cincinnati."

### CALIFORNIA

#### Big San Francisco Vote

Mrs. Isabel C. King, State secretary of the Socialist Party, polled 12,211 votes in the Fifth Congressional district in San Francisco. William McDevitt polled 10,058 in the Fourth district. These are the highest votes ever polled in the two districts.

### THE WORKINGMEN'S COOPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

The meeting of The Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association will be held on Thursday, December 18, 1924, at 8:15 P. M., at The People's House, 7 East 15th Street, Room 508, New York, for the purpose of considering and acting upon propositions relating to the business of the New York Call Printing Company, and to consider and act upon such other business as may come before the meeting.

All members of the Association are earnestly urged to attend this meeting.

S. JOHN BLOCK, President.  
JULIUS GERBER, Secretary.

supporter of this movement in the C. P. P. A., and so long as the Socialist Party is connected with the C. P. P. A. just so long should we INSIST that the C. P. P. A. lead the fight that it has so courageously started.

Fraternally yours.

HERBERT M. MERRILL,  
State Secretary.

Albany, N. Y., Nov. 17, 1924.

### BUFFALO

The Erie County Board of Elections have announced the results of their canvass of the election returns.

La Follette's total vote in Erie County was 36,042, divided as follows, Socialist vote 26,769 and Progressive 9,273.

The average Socialist vote was nearly 12,000 in the county. Norman Thomas, candidate for Governor, polled 11,272 votes as compared to 11,234 for Louis Waldman, for Attorney General.

The Socialist Labor Party polled 1,969 for President and 639 for Governor.

The Workers' Party, despite a very active speaking campaign, received 619 votes for President and 274 for Governor.

### PARTY NEWS

#### General Party Meeting

Local New York held a most interesting meeting in the Debts Auditorium Monday night. Acting Secretary Cannon made an interesting report on the campaign, receipts, expenditure, results and outlook, the latter, he said, upon close analysis was better than it has been for several years.

The action taken by the party in going along with the Labor forces in the C.P.P.A. and the campaign and the spirit developed had strengthened the morale of the party and its members. The inertia and apathy, so much in evidence the past few years, has been shaken off and there was more evidence of activity on the part of the branches now than there was when the recent campaign had but four weeks to go.

The sale of dues stamps, so far for November (two-thirds of the month) were practically double the amount of any preceding month since the beginning of summer.

A most encouraging feature of the branch activities is that practically all of them were planning starting educational and propaganda courses, and while doing this they were bent on repairing breaches, caused by long neglect, in their political fences.

A plan of campaign of organization, submitted by Comrade Zukoff of the 17th A.D. Branch was presented under which the county was to be divided into sections, possibly:

1st: South of 23rd street, East of Broadway.

2nd: North of 23rd street to 100th street, East of Fifth avenue.

3rd: North of 100th street, to Harlem River, East of Seventh avenue.

4th: Washington Heights, North of 140th street.

5th: Upper West Side, North of 59th street to 140th street, West of Seventh avenue.

6th: Lower West Side, South of 59th street, West of Fifth avenue and Broadway.

The branches in each of these sections to cooperate in the work. In addition to the regular branch meetings, a sectional meeting to be held at least once in three months, for which the best available speakers be procured. Where more than one hall is available in a section, these meetings to be held in different parts of the section, and often more than once in three months when the activity of the members warrant it.

All members are to be supplied with application for membership cards, and to work diligently to bring new members into the fold. Prizes are to be given to members who bring in 25, 20, 15, 10 or 5 (Continued on Page 9)

### WEISBORD, HANKERING FOR BLOOD-LETTERING, JOINS WORKERS' PARTY

BOSTON.—Announcement by Albert Weisbord, former Secretary-Organizer of the New England District of the Socialist Party, that he had resigned from the party and had joined the Communists has caused considerable amusement among veteran Socialists in Massachusetts. Weisbord is a young man of intense earnestness and gave good service to the party as an organizer, but he is of that age when lack of intellectual balance often results in queer conduct, sudden changes of opinion resulting in irrational conduct.

The amusement over his resignation is due to the way in which it is announced in the Worker, Chicago organ of the Communists, which has just reached Boston. That organ did not print Weisbord's letter. It printed only a brief summary of the letter in which the writer stated that he believed that the Socialist Party no longer represents the working class. Weisbord's fundamental reason as stated in his letter was ignored.

With the indiscretion that is characteristic of young hot-heads, Weisbord made this significant statement: "The theoretical position of the Socialist Party, essentially legalistic and pacifistic, prevents those who join from following the foremost principle of the revolution, namely the principle which recognizes the probability, nay the inevitability, of the use of force or the threat of force as the sole political method of the masses in bringing about the revolution."

The fact that the Chicago Communist organ had not the courage to print Weisbord's fundamental reasons for leaving the Socialist Party is what amuses Socialists here. This youngster, visualizing bloody barricades or force in general "as the sole political method," impresses your correspondent as a chubby boy calling his troops into action against the "redskins" by blowing hard on his penny whistle.

### Louis A. Goldberg Passes

PHILADELPHIA.—The Socialists of Philadelphia and of the East will be grieved to learn of the death of Comrade Louis A. Goldberg, Philadelphia manager of the Jewish Daily Forward. Comrade Goldberg, who was thirty-seven years old, died in a hospital Wednesday morning, November 12, and was buried Thursday.

Comrade Goldberg was originally a Brooklynite, going from Brownsville to take charge of the Philadelphia office of the Forward, then to Cleveland, where he served in a similar capacity, and finally back again to Philadelphia. He was active in the Socialist Party and in the Jewish Socialist Verband wherever he was located, and was one of the most respected and beloved members of the movement here.

The funeral was a great turnout of local comrades, while a number of Goldberg's friends and comrades came from New York to participate and speak. Among them were Abraham Cahan, editor of the Forward; N. Chani of the Verband; J. Rothman, S. Wolos, and I. Natkins of the Forward Association and J. Weinberg of the Workmen's Circle.

### Rand School Notes

If your little girl is between the ages of nine and fourteen years, don't let her miss the opportunity of joining the Interpretive Dancing Class that meets on Saturday afternoons from 4:30 to 5:30. Here are taught the fundamentals of rhythm and the interpretations of those things that children love. Miss Emily Hewlett, the splendid teacher always wins the confidence of her little pupils and never fails to awaken that interest and love for music that are always to be found in the heart of every child. Let

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your little girl join the happy and joyful times of this class. You are cordially invited to come and observe, and we are sure you will enjoy this hour almost as much as the little members. Registration fee, two dollars for four lessons, at the Rand School, 1 East 15th street.

### Rand School Dancing Class

The weekly Saturday Cameradic of "tea and talk," conducted jointly by the Rand School and the League for Industrial Democracy, will again take place at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The first lecture will be on Saturday, November 29, at 3:30 p. m. when Mr. Savel Zimand will discuss "Gandhi." Mr. Zimand was the first man to interview Gandhi when he left the hospital and he has many new and interesting things to say about him.

Mr. Zimand has traveled extensively and during his varied career has worked in factories, run an elevator, and been a window dresser. He is a well-known lecturer and writer on economic problems and international affairs. He has contributed articles to the Times, Tribune, World, and various magazines. He is the author of "Modern Social Movements" and "The Open Shop Drive."

On Saturday, December 6, Mr. John Langdon-Davies will lecture on "Can Science Save Society?" On Saturday, December 13, Jessica Smith will talk on "Three Years in Russia."

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291 Broadway Telephone North 8246-8247

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Executive Board meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays at the FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East Broadway, Room 3.  
F. J. STERNIN, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
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Executive Board Meets Every Tuesday Evening, at the Office, at 7 P. M.

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ABRAHAM NELSON, Chairman of the Executive Board, SALVATORE NINIO, Manager-Secretary

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Brooklyn—E. 14th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 6 P. M.

Staten Island—1714 Lexington Ave. 1st & 3rd Saturday 12 A. M.

B'klyn—105 Montrose Ave. Jersey City—76 Montgomery St.

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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 6 P. M.

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Reg. meetings every Wednesday, 8 p. m.

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# LABOR JOTTINGS FROM ABROAD

## Amsterdam Gaining in Norway

That the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions, which has been unaffiliated with either the International Federation of Trade Unions or the Red Trade Union International for some time, is moving toward the former body is indicated by a report of a meeting of its General Council on October 1 sent out by the Amsterdam Bureau of the I. F. T. U. A first step was the passing of a resolution providing for the naming of a delegate to future conferences of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations, after the Executive had pointed out that the Swedish and Danish unions had expressed regret at the weakening of the workers' position in the conferences through Norway's refusal to be represented. A Communist proposal to limit the representation to 1925 was defeated, 33 to 29. Then the Executive Committee noted how the Swedish and Danish unions had made large donations to the Norwegian unions during their big strikes, despite the fact of their having no international organization lines, and told the General Council that such an anomalous condition could not continue. Consequently, the General Council voted, 55 to 21, for the convening of a conference of representatives of the national unions of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland for the purpose of trying to restore international unity. A Communist motion to invite the Red Trade Union International to the conference was rejected. And then the General Council voted that in the future the Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions should be independent of all political parties and should refuse financial aid to such parties. Formerly the Norwegian unions were part of the Communist Labor Party, the semi-Communist group composed of the majority of the old Communist Party which succeeded from Moscow on questions of discipline and, with its twenty-four deputies in the Chamber against six Moscow Communists and nine Social Democrats, is the strongest political Labor body in the country.

## Scandinavian Unions Combining

The movement toward federating the various unions of the Scandinavian nations received considerable impetus in September by a conference of representatives of the Boot and Shoe Operatives of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland in Stockholm, and of the representatives of the workers in the food and drink industry of Scandinavia in Copenhagen. The boot and shoe unionists laid down plans for mutual assistance in cases of strikes and instructed the joint committee to take steps toward extending the agreement to all workers in the leather industry. The trade is well organized, 98 per cent of the workers being unionized in Denmark, 90 per cent in Sweden and 75 per cent in Norway. The Finnish Union has 2,000 members. At the Copenhagen meeting twenty-three delegates represented 50,000 workers in the food and drink industry and decided to create a Scandinavian Federation for mutual aid, to begin functioning April 1, 1925, with a regular scale of international dues and strike benefits.

## Swede Union, Increase Membership

Continuing the gains made in 1923, the National Federation of Swedish Trade Unions increased its membership by 23,826 during the half year ended June 30, last, making its total 336,848, of whom 28,682 were women. The biggest national union is that of the metal workers, with a membership of 60,000.

## Textile Union Formed in Norway

At a congress held in Christiania on October 13, the Textile Workers' Union, with eighteen locals and 2,000 members, was organized on national lines. The new organization has plenty of work ahead of it, as there are some 8,000 non-union textile workers in the country.

## Waiters Win Anti-Tip Strike

Following the recent introduction of a sales tax in Norwegian restaurants the waiters of Christiania struck, demanding the abolition of tips and the establishment of a fixed wage of 10 per cent of the turnover. They won in a few days.

## Danish Labor Bank Gains

Despite the difficult economic situation last year, the Danish Labor Bank's report shows good progress, its turnover having exceeded 1,000,000 crowns (about \$180,000,000 at present exchange rates) and its profits having reached 104,110 crowns. An increase of capitalization is being planned, so that the bank may extend its sphere of activities.

## Finnish Unions Change Tactics

Possibly influenced by the fact that the Socialists of the world in general and of Finland in particular have stood solidly with them in their struggles against Governmental persecution during the last few years, the leaders of the Finnish Trade Unions are reported to be slowly changing their attitude toward the International Federation of Trade Unions. While not affiliated with the Red Trade Union International, the Finnish Unions have been largely under Communist influence and for several years refused to have anything to do either with Amsterdam or the International Labor Office in Geneva. But at the last two conferences of the Labor Office the Finnish unions were represented, and at a recent meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation it was voted to invite Y. A. Oudegost, Secretary of the I. F. T. U., to deliver some lectures in Finland on the international trade union movement. Some of the irreconcilable Communists then began a campaign against the Executive Committee which was promptly met by the resignation of President Hutunen from his place at the head of the Federation and also from his presidency of the Parliamentary Communist Group and even from the party. Then the Executive Committee, apparently confident in the support of the rank and file, passed a vote of confidence in Hutunen and asked him to withdraw his resignation, which he consented to do. At a congress held in Helsinki, October 5, the Finnish Union of Clerks voted, without debate, to affiliate with the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees, which is part of the I. F. T. U.

# Gains for Amsterdam—Combination of Scandinavians—Swede Unions Growing—New Textile Union—Anti-Tip Strike—Labor Bank Gains—Finns Change Tactics.

## A Visit to Warren Billings

(Continued from Page 5)

porch of the big house in the front, white light of reason."

In a later letter in commenting on the campaign and election returns he makes this interesting observation:

"I was indeed surprised at the outcome of the election. From what I had read in the liberal and labor papers I was under the impression that La Follette would make a better showing than he did, now I am beginning to think that the liberal and labor press is just as partisan and untruthful as the kept press. Perhaps they were mistaken in their calculations,—if they were, they were dumb,—or perhaps the stuff they printed was done 'for effect'—that is—it was propaganda; if so I disagree with their tactics. I do not believe that the end justifies the means (the advice of prominent communists notwithstanding)."

"If Progressivism or any other movement is to succeed in this country it must do so on a basis of absolute truth and sincerity. Lying and hypocrisy are the weapons of our opponents but there is no reason that we should besmirch ourselves with the same mire. Some people say we must fight fire with fire, but that in itself is an untruth and the only way to conquer fire is with its natural antidote, water. Fight fire with water; and falsehood with truth."

But to return to the conversation while visiting in the prison. We asked Billings if he had any plans as to what he would do when he got out of prison. (Such a thing as being released is considered quite an impossible thing so long as the present Governor remains in office.)

"Oh, yes, I've figured it out that I will choose a small town to live in and go into some kind of business, probably something in the jewelry trade or silver plating business. In a small town one can establish a reputation for sincerity and honesty in business, build up a character better in a small town than a large city, at least that is the way it looks to me, and I have about made up my mind that this is about what I will do when I get out."

But in the meanwhile, Billings remains in prison, the victim of a vicious frame-up that even the court itself cannot free him from, and the only man who can open the prison doors for Billings is the Governor and so far he has refused to do so.

## Post-Election Thoughts

(Continued from Page 5)

of New York and Mr. McAdoo. How either of them can make a homogeneous party standing for any rational set of ideas out of this assemblage it is hard to see. The only hope of real progressivism must lie in a new party.

There is no use hiding the fact that the Ku Klux Klan played a more successful role in this campaign than it ought. We shall never get an intelligent treatment of the fundamental problems that concern us and our children so long as we are dominated by the racial and religious hatred which the K. K. K. incarnates. Not all racial and religious prejudice is in the K. K. K. While men are divided on the basis of the way they say their prayers, or the color of their skins, or the shape of their heads, they are bound to fall an easy prey to exploitation. True religion and true loyalty teach that above all sects and races, is humanity. All of us have the same need for peace, bread, freedom, a joy and beauty in life. The legitimate business of politics is to find a way to make government our servant in obtaining these ends. We enslave ourselves in the chains of our own racial and religious bigotry.

More serious than the triumph of Coolidge was the defeat of water

and power acts in California and Washington which might have won a mastery over super-power for the people. In the State of Massachusetts an advisory referendum on the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment resulted in a negative majority. For this result the Roman Catholic hierarchy was partly responsible. It absurdly denounced the Amendment in the name of religion and the divine authority of the family. Mayor Curley of Boston, who had previously endorsed the Amendment, as a good Catholic had to make a sudden about face. His excuse was the old and ridiculous lie that the Child Labor Amendment had been inspired from Moscow.

It is very evident that there is a lot of educational work to be done. On the Child Labor Amendment it ought not to take much education to make it plain that to give Congress the power to control the labor of children up to eighteen years of age does not mean that Congress will or must prohibit all labor till that age. It merely means that to make regulation effective in some trades Congress should be given power up to the age of eighteen. Congress will be guided by the will of the people exercised not for the destruction but the protection of the home and the family, and the children in them.



## Faith as Fact

-:- -:- -:-

By JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY

"Let the king and his kin be damned." This is the cry of the people, as it has echoed through the world. It has swept into unexpected corners, routing out monarchs slumbering in ignorance and peace, and bidding them be gone. It has slept by the fireside, long, until with a sudden leap of flame it has tumbled the master from his high seat, and set him lowlier, with his wife—his equal—at his right. It has fluttered through comic opera, where the process has been one of leveling up instead of down, and

The Lord High Bishop orthodox, The Lord High Coachman on the box, The Lord High Criminal in the stocks, They all shall equal be.

Its latest venture has been into a golden realm, a kingdom locked in the secret chambers of our fancy, treasured as a memory of days unborn: the cry has startled fairyland. Vox Populi, in the daily correspondence sheet, has called alarmed attention to the dangers he sees rising before our children, to the poison of autocracy that soaks the infant minds, in the glories of Prince Charming and Princess Florabelle. The picture of aristocratic pleasure as the birthright of the lord, the correspondents aver, is "insidious perversion of the democratic spirit." They would remove the monarch from the children's tales, on the theory that one's early reading colors all a life, and gives one the glasses through which he looks at the world. And they insist that, trifle as it seem, the matter is not trivial. Indeed, the summary departure of the kings and all their train is but a step; the demand breaks out that with Autocracy must go its handmaid, Force. All that smacks of war and military discipline is derided; force as a weapon is considered obsolete as the crossbow; war is not to be waged, even upon evil. The ogre and his crueler wife; the wicked fairy—all evil, is to be killed with kindness.

It is interesting to note the comment made by a contemporary journal on one of a series of these "reformed fables" prepared by David Starr Jordan. "It concerns a boy who went in the old familiar way to the castle of a terrible ogre. When he did not return, the king's son (!) went to look for him, and found no castle, no ogre, but only two little boys, playing jackstraws under an oak, with a candy elephant beside them. 'That was all,' is the conclusion, 'for the terrible ogre was one of the kind of ogre that will do to folks just what folks do to him. . . There isn't any other kind of ogre.'" At which the journal grows hilarious.

There is justifiable cause for laughter in the attitude of anyone who today has such enveloping faith in humankind. The history of civilization, coming to a climax of selfish pride in the latest war, makes it only too evident that cunning and distrust have been regarded as the bases of successful procedure. In great matters, as in trivial details, always there is questioning of motives. Nor does history afford any promise of a lessening of that distrust. On the contrary, the growth of society gives evidence of the stiffening of will against will, of the steadily increasing intensity of the struggle of man against man, of nation against nation. The motives of the conflict have changed. No longer is there mere desire of glory, of luxury, of foreign dominion; there is need—need of expansion, of commercial outlet and supply, need of the very sources of existence. Among nations, and more imminently among individuals, the struggle for the support of life, for necessities, has grown more bitter with the years; distress, want, have increased. The exigencies of this war, in which all, however unwilling, must take part, have naturally produced a sharpening of the wits, an unscrupulousness in the choice of means, that have not raised man morally above the beast. Well may our editors scoff at him who has abounding faith in human nature.

What is the thought for the future that must result from such a contemplation? Has the golden age, the millennium, been indeed in the prehistoric garden; and must man, expelled from that Eden, wander in ever increasing toil of sin? What hope is held out by the spectacle of past methods, for a pathway to a new ideal? The recent war has crystallized in the minds of all, ideals which before had been vague and unexpressed, save in the academic chamber. The world is ready for a new dawn, the rising sun of which shall spread peace and concord throughout the world. But it is

## "The Ogre Killed by Kindness," A Rule for Social Conduct Which Will Remake the World—From Sympathy and Trust Will Spring Righteousness.

still the twilight, and clouds hang in the sky. . . Is this figure true? Can the individuals of the world stand watching and hoping, while some glorious gust of wind sweeps aside the storm clouds and reveals the sun of harmony? Has anyone ever found the pot of gold that lies at the rainbow's end? Rather it is certain that the only power capable of dispelling the darkness is an all-rending heart-cry of the world: Let there be light! The people are ready to cry, but they know not how. They feel that the world hitherto gives no positive lesson for the days to come; it shows indeed what wretchedness and agony to avoid, but the people cannot read how to turn the course from misery to an uplifting happiness. Their ignorant efforts to change, on the theory that any change must be improvement, have led the more ardent into excesses; the patient bodies of the world look to their prophets and their seers for counsel and instruction, and their "trusted" leaders have betrayed them.

Yet, philosophically, the view that conduct begets itself, that morals as well as humans are autogenous, like bringing like, is far from ridiculous, is indeed the belief of the many today. The teachings of pragmatism, the twentieth century application of a philosophy of life, are: that whatever in the long run works, is right, and that moral truth is the body of workable principles at a given time. Combined with this is the theory of the "will to power," popularly expressed: "If you want a thing hard enough, you will get it." The latter idea is in disrepute because it has always been associated with a course of action or a goal that is evil, and the power of evil vitiates the principle; though evil may triumph in the individual, yet in the aggregate it must fail, for evil by definition is that which tends to weaken or destroy the race, and it cannot persist if the race endures. Thus, philosophically, the ogre is a temporary creation of our own, leering in response to our mistrust in man. But if the principle of will to power be linked with a goal that is good, then—despite individual lapses—in the aggregate it must succeed. We find such races as still depend entirely or mainly upon force for their existence confined to dwindling "barbaric" groups.

Reviewing history in the light of this philosophy, we note how standards of right, how notions of truth, have changed. Earliest endeavor was based upon individual strength—force of man against force of beast or fellowman. This produced but a limited power, and was soon supplanted by the force of the group against the neighboring—and therefore enemy—group. Cooperation developed a new moral principle, not every man against his neighbor; but it was still a union for force: "I and my neighbors against all else." The neighbor groups or families grew through the tribe to the nation, and a further moral state had come. Force was recognized as still the best (and therefore most righteous) weapon against those less forward, less prepared—as the history of colonization testifies; many nations had grown to such bulk that force against them was inconvenient. War fell into disfavor; commerce came forward as the logical form of competition, and business and industrial rivalry swept the world. Here the same lesson had to be learned; we may trace the growth from the individual barterer to the great trading company and again from the single craftsman to the trust. Yet we found the ogre of war, fattening upon the many millions uniting under him, raising still more horrid offspring to a frenzy of barbaric carnage.

Through these changes in public morals and attitudes one element persists: the rivalry of the individual. Submerged to some degree in tribal and feudal days by a centering of aims in the chief or lord, it leaped forth in democracy as a slumbering flame waked by the bellows. Every man is officially every other man's equal, and endeavors to prove what he secretly believes, that he is every other man's superior. And from the obsolete "All's fair in war"—an idea that now fills him with official horror (save in hidden

corners of the world, where he still strives with savages)—man turns to the phrase he needs today: "Business is business." It would be ridiculous to state that these words embody the belief of most men today; it would be equally absurd to deny that they express the practice. Man in business is still in an era of distrust, and, without faith in his neighbors, he wishes to secure himself. It is waste of time to point to instances in daily life; the most flagrant are of those who prostitute their country to their greed, and under the guise of patriotism are profiteers, or under the clamor of national growth—on concessions. . . Yet they are but the most conspicuous; almost all bear the brand; the ogre owns the field.

What, then, is right? Extant today are peoples in every stage of the historic growth. Tribe warring against all outsiders, nation convulsed against nation—or planning even greater commercial strife, man pitted against man, corporation rivaling company; all may be seen—and a few far-reaching toward a cooperation based on trust. Which is right? Why do we say with such assurance that our moral standards are truer than those of the Malay headman? Obviously, that is right which most people believe to be right; moral truth today, any day, is officially that which most people believe. This, which is commonplace, is the converse of the idea that if most people have faith in a moral principle, that principle is true or becomes true.

We are told that if he have faith, which may remove mountains, yet without charity, man is naught. "Charity," in the New Testament connotation, is love—faith in man transmuted into action. The most charitable of Americans said, in the dark hour when civil strife was sown: "Let us have faith that right makes might." When every man carries into his every act a faith in his fellows, then, and not until then, will that faith be justified. And man's progress toward the good is measured by the widening of that faith.

The theories of the academic chamber are often so far removed from practice as to be vain splutterings of a candle in the sun. But if we glance again at history we shall see that we have in truth been lighting our lives by this responsive theory. The lesson of the bloody fairy tale, the lesson of history, is that man is a creature to distrust, because he is man. Be cautious in all your dealings, be more cunning or more powerful than your neighbor, in every action consider how someone may forestall you, provide for every possible fraud, and you will gain what you desire. In the race of life cunning lends wings to the contestants. Be honest yourself, the most upright will say, but remember that you are in a world that teems with dishonesty. Be good, but remember that most men are bad. Or, more practically, be good in order to be more successful than those who are bad. This is the policy history is interpreted as advising. And the ogre has thrived upon such fodder; all the force of suspicion and cunning has made him mightier, until he winks in the ashes of Europe and towers in every land with the grimace of class hatred and the hideous grin of revolution.

The ogre stalks through the world; our giant-killers level their

slings or lay their traps, and the monster rises stronger from their force, more fearful in his weapons, more blood-thirsty in his designs. How shall the beast be slain?

"The terrible ogre was one of the kind of ogre that will do to folks just what folks do to him. . . There isn't any other kind of ogre." This modern fairy tale carries an ancient echo—Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you. Are these thoughts, these infinite aspirations, capable of translation into daily life, into living action? Does kindness indeed produce kindness—in all things, as daily experience tells us it does in some; is it safe to consider all men good, and to act upon that assumption? Will such a course leave those who follow it at the mercy of the unscrupulous many whom they so blissfully misjudge?

Since emotionally we have always been on the same plane as the beast, who indeed is subtler in his feelings (Continued on Page 11)

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# The Realm of Books

## Let Mr. Hughes Reply

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

**THE GREAT BETRAYAL.** By Edward Hale Bierstadt. New York: Robert M. McBride. \$2.50.

For at least fifty years Turkey has been a bone of contention between the imperialist powers, Turkish statesmen, well knowing the motives of the powers, have played one or more powers against others. In the eighties it was Great Britain that stood as the big brother of Turkey while the Turks massacred the "Christian infidels." In the late war Germany played this role and induced the Turks to get into the war on the side of the Central Powers. The Allied Powers expressed marked affection for the "Christian minorities" in Turkey during the war and made certain pledges of removing the yoke of the "bloody Turk." The minorities, like the Armenians, were induced to enlist in the holy war of the Allies and looked forward to the day of bliss that was to follow Allied victory.

What happened is the theme of this book. It is a candid presentation of the tortuous policies and betrayals of the Allied Powers and the United States in their relations with the minorities in Turkey. It is doubtful whether a single promise made to the minorities has been carried out by the victors. One of the more important reasons is petroleum in Turkey, to say nothing of other rich resources that are available for capitalist "development." The struggle of the Powers for concessions and opportunities for their bankers, investors and traders in Turkey has enabled the Turkish statesmen to pit the powers against each other and in the dirty scramble for loot the minorities have been forgotten.

Of course, this was to be expected by anyone who has any knowledge of the motives back of the imperialist states in their foreign poli-

cies. At the same time Turkey has the example of China before her of what awaits the backward nation that permits the imperialist bullies to obtain control. Turkey has fought back with cleverness in diplomacy and he, defec of the Greeks who were used as vassals for British imperialism was a surprise to the victorious powers. While the record of massacres committed by the Turks appears to be unquestioned from the documentary evidence submitted in this book one wonders whether the attempts of the Western imperialists to make Turkey a private preserve of Western exploiters has not had something to do with fomenting the ferocity of the Turks in murdering those within Turkey whom they regard as the intimate friends of outside "Christian" despoilers.

Mr. Bierstadt tells us in his Preface that during the serial publication of his book the Department of State wrote his publisher that it contained "grave errors." Before arranging his material for publication in book form both proceeded to Washington for a conference with Mr. Hughes and some of his associates in the State Department. They, however, were "unable to point to any error in fact. They simply disagreed with the conclusions I had drawn." However, when we turn to the Appendix with its numerous important documents we are inclined to think that any impartial reader will agree that important documents of which Mr. Hughes is aware fully sustain the case made out by the author.

Those who are interested in this cross section of world imperialism will do well to read the evidence set forth in this book. It adds to the conviction of many that modern diplomacy is a dirty trade floated by oil and that human welfare is sacrificed to the needs of groups and cliques with millions to invest.



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## The Little Girl

A Review by RICHARD ROHMAN

**THE LITTLE GIRL.** By Katherine Mansfield. New York: Knopf. \$2.50.

At least one reviewer confesses to much disappointment in reading the greater part of Katherine Mansfield's "The Little Girl." This certainly, one felt, did little justice to the memory of that glorious person who trapped greatness in "The Doves' Nest and Other Stories."

And then this reviewer turned to a simple tale called "Sixpence," gulped it down in an intense moment, and the book was redeemed.

Here you will find all the sensitive soul exposure you will ever expect to see—without the burdensome detail of endless, endless analysis. Retained, spurning the gaudy cloak of sentimentality, Miss Mansfield offers a fine-line portrait of a father and a little son. No plot is there. The child, unruly as all lively children are, has never been punished. A neighbor wins the boy's mother to the view that a whipping would be excellent discipline for the lad.

That night upon his return from his grinding toil, the boy's father is urged to mete out punishment. He does not relish the task; the boy had never been beaten before. Why begin now? But the suppressed bitterness of years of thankless living stirs him to a desire to "get even" with something and he ascends to the boy's room to "teach him a lesson." He beats the lad with a slipper. The boy is surprised, but he is proud and makes no outcry. His father leaves, but finds no satisfaction over his feat. In fact, shame seizes him and he goes back to the boy and half apologizes to him. He descends again, only to find a growing sense of shame. Why did he beat this boy of his, so proud, whom he loved? He crawls back to the boy's bed and sheepishly gives him a sixpence in a tragic effort to make amends.

That is all. But I can think of no one, other than Chekov, who could have illumined so the soul of the witless father in those moments when the tragic absurdity of beating his child made him more lowly, more beaten than the lad. Here is austerity for you, the discipline of an artist, rejecting all pose, for the business of illumining the interior life of a human being.

## Last Week's Puzzle

Herewith is given the solution of last week's Cross Word Puzzle. Take a copy of last week's New Leader, open to the page containing the puzzle, and read the questions. The following are the answers. See how many of them you got right.

Horizontal:	Vertical:
1. Rand.	1. Rant.
3. No	5. Y. P. S. L.
4. TNT	10. Oneal
5. Yap	18. Tap
6. Pl.	21. Is
8. Lusk	23. Dew
12. Eat	27. Ink
17. Tepid	30. Pip
21. Inlet	33. Ill.
25. Wis.	40. Pep
27. I. L. P.	43. Ed.
36. Debs	45. Rea
39. Lee	48. Te.
42. Pets	51. Peeps.
45. Rep	57. Shop.
47. Ape	61. Eons.
51. Po	
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## Party Notes

(Continued From Page 6.)

new members, these prizes to increase in value as the number of applicants to the credit of each member reaches higher marks.

A special prize will be given at the end of a year to the member who brings the most members into the party.

A grand prize, a silk banner, will be given to the branch which takes in the most members during the first year.

A committee is to perfect the plan and it will be put into operation by the beginning of the New Year, if not before.

## Upper West Side Branch

The Upper West Side Branch has found a permanent meeting place. Rev. Howell has turned over his hall gratis, not only for branch meetings but for public lectures as well.

The first meeting will be held this Tuesday evening, December 2, when constructive work and plans for the winter will be made. The active comrades of the branch are determined to restore the branch to its former strength and will work to this end so that when the next campaign begins they will have a sound organization with which to work in their extensive district.

This meeting will be made doubly interesting by a lecture by Dr. Morris Caspe on "Conditions in Europe." Dr. Caspe has just returned from a trip abroad and has an interesting story to tell, one which no member should miss.

Every member is requested to attend and make a good start for the winter's work. Bring some friends with you to hear what Dr. Caspe has to tell of the Labor movement, Socialism and conditions in Europe. Joseph D. Cannon, ex-secretary of Local New York, will also speak on party matters. He will report to the branch on work done by the local and plans for the winter. We have a splendid and interesting program to present.

## General Party Meeting

Local New York will hold a General Party Meeting at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street, on Wednesday, December 10, at 8 p. m.

A general discussion will take place on the policy of the party in its relation to its affiliation with the C. P. A. and the policies of that organization at its coming conference.

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## KINGS COUNTY

The Socialist Party of the 23rd A. D., Kings County, will give a Thanksgiving Dance and Entertainment, in Room 401 of the Labor Lyceum, November 30, at 8 p. m.

An excellent band has been secured and all comrades and friends are assured that the arrangements for their enjoyment are even more elaborate than past affairs, which have proven to be "Social Successes" in every sense of the word.

**Annual Gala Dance of Brownsville**  
All comrades are requested to keep open December 13, when Brownsville Socialists will give their Annual Ball in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum.

An excellent band has been engaged for music and there will be many novelties to enliven the evening. Here is an opportunity for all old timers and new timers to meet at this reunion of comrades of Greater New York to talk over old times and new times.

Brownsville therefore extends a cordial welcome to Socialists and their friends to be present with them on December 13 to help in spending an interesting evening.

## THE BRONX

An enjoyable evening was spent last Sunday by members of Local Bronx. Some former active comrades were present as well as our guests, Mr. and Mrs. Morris Berman. The event was an after-campaign-get-together banquet and talk-fest at which we celebrated the splendid work of the Bronx Socialists in the recent campaign and the fine results achieved. The future of our party in the county was earnestly discussed and many plans and suggestions were formulated. The speakers were Pat'k J. Murphy, Esther Friedman, I. Phillips, Morris Berman, Sam'l Orr, Abr. Tuvim, G. Dobson, Fred Paulitsch, Morris Ginet, Georg Ross and August Claessens. Comrade Rogers of the Scottish section of the I. L. P. of England gave his impressions of this country and cheered the gathering with an interesting description of the work and achievements of our British comrades. All in all, it was an enjoyable evening and the inevitable collection (without which no Socialist affair seems to be complete) was over \$150.

Tuesday, December 2, Branch 4 meets at headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

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# THE MODERN QUARTERLY

received the following letter from  
*Sherwood Anderson*

Dear Calverton:

It would be absurd of me to make any criticism at all of your article. I wonder why you thought I might not like it. It is one of the few things I have read that has something to say.

May I keep the copy I have or will you want it returned?

The essay is remarkably fine.

Sincerely,

SHERWOOD ANDERSON.

in reference to the important article:

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

A Study in Sociological Criticism

By V. F. CALVERTON

—other features in the Fall issue:

The Giant (a story) - - Leonid Andreyev  
A Modern Analysis of Historical Theory

Haim Kantorovitch

Adolf Moor (a novel) - - V. F. Calverton  
Hinterland of Human Motives

Samuel Schmalhausen

Reviews

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--- D R A M A --- --- T H E A T R E S ---



TESSA KOSTA

will open in "Princess April" a new musical comedy, coming to the Ambassador Theatre, Monday night.

"The Taming of the Shrew"

Gemier and His Players at Jolson's Theatre in Shakespeare's Comedy.

The third and last week of the Shubert presentation of Gemier and the French National Odeon Theatre at Jolson's Theatre opened with another attempt to restore to a Shakespearean performance something of the high hilarity that must have marked the Elizabethan presentations. In his handling of this play, "La Mégère Apprivoisée," Gemier reaches as broad a farce as the dramatist could have intended. The scenery, in simplest indications, is burlesqued; the sun that becomes the moon at Petruchio's will is viewed from the back of a horse hailed by Christopher Sly as "Hello! There's Spark Plug!"... yes, Christopher Sly was there again, an excellent Cockney drunkard.

It is so long since the opening of "The Taming of the Shrew" has been played in English that many have forgotten it. The stage of Shakespeare's time was largely occupied with the young bloods of the nobility, who came to swagger and to voice their loud comment. Shakespeare was too good a dramatist to overlook any opportunity of the theatre; Christopher Sly is a drunkard citizen hoodwinked into thinking he is really a lord (assured that he has been delicious for fifteen years); with a sweet page dressed up as his wife he listens to music and then to a company of players, who present the story of Katherine the Shrew (for whom, by the way, no one we know in English is so well fitted as Vera Korotky). Thus the comments of the audience are controlled by the dramatist: from the first box the tipsy Christopher makes frequent interruption.

The play once more, like this company's presentation of "The Merchant of Venice," makes full use of the street steps and of the body of the theatre. Rapidity of action and lightness of tone marked the entire production, which, although it may shock those who have been brought up to believe Shakespeare should be respected rather than enjoyed, results in the most entertaining (and most Elizabethan) of performances.

W. L.

At the Alvin Theatre in Pittsburgh, Monday night, the Messrs. Shubert presented Al Jolson in his new musical play, "Big Boy." The book is by Harold Atteridge and score by James Hanley and Joe Meyer. Bud DeSilva wrote the lyrics.

THE NEW PLAYS.

MONDAY

"PRINCESS APRIL," a new musical comedy, with Tessa Kosta as principal, will be presented by Barry Townley Monday night, at the Ambassador Theatre. The book is by William Cary Duncan and Lewis Allen Browne, with music and lyrics by Carlo and Sanders. Others in the cast include Harry Clarke, Stanley Ford, May Boley, Dorothy Appleby, Audrey Maple, Harry Allen and Nat Wagner.

"CLOSE HARMONY," a comedy by Dorothy Parker and Elinor Rice, will come to the Gaiety Theatre, Monday evening, sponsored by Arthur Hopkins. The cast includes James Spottswood, Robert Hudson, Frederick Burton, Paul Porter, Wanda Lyon, George Drew Mendum, Marie Curtis, Marie Bruce and Arline Blackburn.

TUESDAY

"THE STUDENT PRINCE," a musical play based on "Alt Heidelberg," will be presented by the Messrs. Shubert at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre, Tuesday night. The book and lyrics are by Dorothy Donnelly and the music by Karl Hajos and Sigmund Romberg. Principals in the cast include George Hassell, Howard Marsh, Ilse Marvenga, Greek Evans, Adolph Link, Florence Morrison, Violet Carlson, Fuller Mellish, Martha Mason and Charles Williams. Watson Barratt is the art director.

"THE HAREM," a new comedy by Ernest Vajda, adapted by Avery Hopwood, with Lenore Ulric and William Curtenay in the principal roles, will open Tuesday night, at the Belasco, presented by David Belasco.

WEDNESDAY

"BADGES," a mystery detective play, by Max Marcin and Edward Hammond, with Gregory Kelly in the principal role, will open Wednesday evening at the 49th Street Theatre, presented by Jules Huttig. Others in the cast are Louis Bannison, Lotus Robb, Felix Krembs, Leonore Harris, John Sharkey, Tello Webb, Alfred J. Rigali and James H. Doyle. Edgar McGregor staged the play.

"LADY BE GOOD," a music comedy by Guy Bolton and Fred Thompson, music by George Gershwin, comes to the Liberty Wednesday, presented by Alex. A. Aarons and Vinton Freedley.

FRIDAY

"THE LITTLE CLAY CART," a classic East Indian comedy, will open the new subscription season at The Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street, Friday night. The cast includes Ian MacLaren, Malcolm Fassett, Kyra Alanova, Marc Loebell, Albert Carroll, Irene Lewisohn, John Roche, Dorothy Sands and Junius Matthews.

"THE MAN IN EVENING CLOTHES," a new comedy adapted from the French of Andre Picard and Yves Mirande, will bring Henry Miller to Broadway, opening at the Henry Miller Theatre Friday night.

Karel Capek

The Author of "The World We Live In," and "R. U. R.," "Wants to Write One Hundred Books"

KAREL CAPEK is travelling in England, Ireland and Scotland just now. The noted dramatist and novelist, known here for his two realistic plays, "R. U. R." done by the Theatre Guild, and "The World We Live In" (the insect comedy put on by William A. Brady a season or two back, was interviewed by C. A. Dawson Scott recently. Here is his story from "The Bookman" (London).

"I want to write a hundred books before I die," said the Czech—or, as that nation prefers to be called, the Bohemian—dramatist, Karel Capek, as he sat in a shady St. John's Wood garden on this, his first visit to England. His plays ("R. U. R." and "The Insect Play") had been produced in London.

Karel Capek was born 34 years ago among the mountains of Bohemia. His father was a doctor, an intelligent man. He naturally hoped his son might follow in his steps. But the practice was remote and help difficult to get. Often Karel while still a boy had had to assist his father in cases of accident or sudden need, and the sight of suffering impressed him painfully. He felt that the amelioration of it must be left to others. He was indeed far too sensitive a creature, too imaginative, to have made a good doctor, while his fine, small hands are not those of either a physician or surgeon. Yet he inherited from his father his insatiable scientific curiosity, that curiosity which has made him hunt London for a museum in which he could study the aboriginal art of Africa and Australia, and which makes him exclaim: "The best thing in

the world is to know, to know, to know." Although he has studied in the universities of Prague, Paris and Berlin, and is a doctor of philosophy, he is still studying. He reads several languages and is working at ethnology, folklore, psychology, geography, physics, chemistry.

He began to write when he was ten, and as usually happens "lapsed in numbers." By the time he was fourteen he was contributing poems to magazines, and while still at the gymnasium wrote a weekly causerie for one of the newspapers. As it was the unsigned first utterance of an original mind it attracted attention, and people, alarmed by these new ideas, declared it must be written by a wicked old man, some shabby gentleman who had had strange experiences. Capek's first play, "The Robber," took him ten years to complete, and is too Bohemian in feeling and atmosphere to be translated. He had arranged to come to London to take a course at the university when war broke out, and it became impossible for him to leave Bohemia.

He consoled himself by studying Anglo-American philosophy and by translating French poems—of which he afterwards made an anthology. During that time of hunger and oppression, however, the people were longing for Czech literature, books in their native language, and Capek was to give it to them. He collaborated with his brother, Joseph, a cubist painter, in writing a number of short stories. "In the Garden of the Giant Spirit," Giant meaning the mountains of his early years, was the first of these. It was followed by "Radiant Depths." Of the third and fourth of the series—"God's Martyr" and "Painful Tales"—Karel Capek was sole author. This man, who is still so young and who looks a boy, has written thirteen books—books of great variety. His first novel, "The Making of a God," is a comic satire, while the one he has lately finished, "Krakait," deals after the fashion of Mr. Wells with a death-ray which kills at a distance by exploding anything it reaches. From these books he turned to write 52 lectures in a Sunday paper, afterwards published as a "Criticism of Words." When he is not talking philosophy he is putting it into his plays, and while Shaw was busy with "Back to Methuselah," this cheerful youth was writing "The Affaire Macrapoulos," another long-evity play.

"Parasites"

Francine Larrimore in Cosmo Hamilton's Play at the 39th Street Theatre.

Francine Larrimore, the beautiful, the kittenish, the adorable, is wasted in "Parasites," Cosmo Hamilton's new play, presented by Lee Shubert, at the 39th Street Theatre.

To our way of thinking, there is absolutely no excuse for a play of this kind, and less excuse for wasting the talents of a brilliant artist in it. It is a sad tale of a girl who is left with no money and expensive tastes by a heartless father who dies at the most inconvenient time. She earns an honest living playing bridge and, apparently, losing all the time. But her prowess as a losing player gets her invitations to houses where there is at least food and shelter. Apparently she owes for the clothing, because she has run up \$20,000 worth of bills that a big guy who struts around and looks gloomy and says "I don't marry," pays. He swipes the tradesmen's statements from her room and presents her a sheaf of receipted bills. He also slips a neat \$2,000 into her purse when she owes \$1,385 for bridge losses. Then he tries to collect in the usual "I don't marry" way. The end is the usual climax; they marry, of course, and the properties are saved.

It is an ugly play, without even humor and sparkling dialogue. Francine is lovely, of course, but she can't be anything else. Clifton Webb is excellent in one of the most disgusting parts we have ever seen, that is, a young man dancing attendance upon a fading woman of middle age, for a price. The other parts uninteresting, and the actors are the same.

W. M. F.



IAN MACLAREN.

one of the principals in "The Little Clay Cart," a romantic East Indian comedy, opening the new season at the Neighborhood Playhouse, next Friday night.

A Thriller

"Shipwrecked," a Spectacular Drama Sure-Fire at Wallack's Theatre.

Langdon McCormick designed and executed all the electrical and mechanical effects of this play that opened at Wallack's last week, as well as writing the drama itself; and it is hard to tell which was harder. For there is no doubt that, as staged by Priestly Morrison, the drama is one that holds the interest throughout; it clutches you, if you are not held by the sheer melodrama of the plot, by the grand climactic spectacle of the scenery. Daniel Kussell, the producer, found effective actors, too, in Gilda Leary as the suspected and unfortunate heroine, Clay Clement as the wild hero reformed by her love; and in Edmund Elton as the dastardly captain, Robert Williamson as the sweet fairylike steward, and



LOTUS ROBB

with Gregory Kelly, in the new mystery play, "Badges," which will be seen on Wednesday night at the 49th Street Theatre.

WINTER GARDEN

Broadway and 50th Street. MATINEES TUES., THURS. and SAT. Here is the Season's outstanding Entertainment. America's Greatest Annual Revue.

Greenwich Village Follies

New Winter Edition with Mordhin, Lopez, Moran and Mack. New Comedy Scenes, New Songs, Elaborate New Numbers. Staged by JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON

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39th ST. Thea., E. of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30. Matinee Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30

FRANCINE LARRIMORE

IN "PARASITES" By COSMO HAMILTON

COMEDY

Thea., 41st St. E. of B'way. Even. 8:30. Mats. 2:30. MATINEES THURS. and SAT.

Mr. & Mrs. COBURN TRIUMPHANT COMEDY OF LOVE AND LAUGHTER THE FARMER'S WIFE

"Full of Laughs. Must be recommended as one of the worth while of the season."—Alan Dale, N. Y. American.

RITZ

THEATRE, 45th W. of B'way. Even. 8:30. Mats. 2:30. MATINEES THURS. and SAT., 2:30.

HASSARD SHORT'S RITZ REVUE Best Musical Show in Town

GOOD BALANCE SEATS. Evs. \$2, \$2, \$1. Mats. \$2, \$1.50, \$1.

John Golden's Laff Hit

"PIGS" KEEPS ROWDS COMING

LITTLE THEATRE MATINEES WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY

A Sensational Triumph!

"A Tintling Melodrama—Incomparably Ingenious, Sublime and Enjoyable."—ALEX. WOODCOCK, Herald-Tribune.

CROSBY GAIGE Presents

H. B. WARNER

IN MAX MARCIN'S

"SILENCE"

NATIONAL Thea., 41st W. of B'way. Even. 8:30. Mats. 2:30. Wed. and Sat., 2:30.

Thomas E. Jackson with comic relief as Jimmie.

The play grows out, far out, of the misfortunes of a sweet young Normandy lass who was swept along and away by the wave of the war, to an attempted suicide in the East River, the wharf of which is well staged. Here she is saved by the son of a millionaire who owns half of South Africa; the lad is leaving in two minutes to reform, and to begin work out yonder; as the girl seems ready to jump in again as soon as he goes, there is nothin' he can do—is there?—save to smuggle her aboard with him. From that time to the end her past pursues them, refusing to let happiness come. At the end of the play they are still seeking.

Act two is on the S. S. "Corsican," as well-made a vessel as ever sailed a stage. You see the cabin, a bit of that deck, the upper deck, funnels and masts—and flowing ocean beside. Mist gradually rises through the night, as the action grows more tense. The melodrama is laid on more and more thickly to replace the risen mist, until the heroine is dragged all around the cabin by the lustful captain, finally hits him over the head with a bit of carved ivory, and knocks him out—to discover that the ship is afire and he must command. In the fine burst of heroism the hero takes command; the ship

ASTOR

45th St. & B'way. Even. 8:30. MATINEES THURS. and SAT., 2:30

ARTISTS AND MODELS 2nd ANNUAL PRODUCTION of 1924 WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS REVUE 50 MODELS from the STUDIOS and a GREAT CAST.

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TESSA KOSTA

IN

PRINCESS APRIL

Musical Comedy of Youth

"Vitalizing the American Girl"

LONGACRE THEA., 45th ST. West of Broadway. Evenings at 8:30. Matinee: Wednesday and Saturday, 2:30

HELEN MacKELLAR

In the outstanding success of her career The DESERT FLOWER By DON MULLALLY, Author of "CONSCIENCE" with ROBERT AMES

4th month of a great love-story greatly acted

A. H. WOODS presents "CONSCIENCE" By DON MULLALLY with Lillian Foster BELMONT

THEATRE, 48th St. E. of B'way. Even. 8:30. Mats. Thursday & Sat.

THE GARRICK

65 West 35th St. Evenings, 8:30. Matinee Thurs. and Sat. at 2:30.

THEY KNEW WHAT THEY WANTED

A COMEDY BY SIDNEY HOWARD With a Cast Including RICHARD BENNETT PAULINE LORD GLENN ANDERS CHAS. KENNEDY and others

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PLYMOUTH 4th Ave. at 42nd St. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

"Real and Ringing and Fairly Good-Humored"—Edith Lloyd, New Republic

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A. H. WOODS presents LOWELL SHERMAN & HIGH STAKES by WILLARD MACK

ELTINGE THEATRE West 42d St. Even. 8:30. Matinee: Wed. and Sat.

The most exciting of all the musical comedies now current

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FLORENCE MILLS

with "DIXIE TO BROADWAY" Will Voderly's Plantation Orchestra and the most infectious chorus A-K

BROADHURST 44th St. NOW 2 MIDNIGHT PERFORMANCE EVERY TUESDAY

bursts into visible flames, the masts fall, the funnels cave in, the hold and holes of every sort belch forth fire; in all, it is a glorious time, unmatched since those spectacles down in Luna Park, where "the great Chicago fire" or "the terrible San Francisco quake and fire" was "actually reproduced," with tremendous clanging and clanking and red lights and smoke and sound and fury. They are, of course—after the curtain goes down on the sinking vessel—picked up by another ship, so that all can end almost happily, and hero and heroine live together evermore, both repentant of their sinful pasts, and redeemed—literally—by test of fire.

J. T. S.

"Janice Meredith," with Marion Davies, at the Capitol

The Capitol Theatre, which has housed Marion Davies' earlier imposing productions, will have her newest production, "Janice Meredith," next week. This is the picture dealing with important events in the founding of the American Republic. The production was adapted from the novel by Paul Leicester Ford and directed by E. Mason Hopper, with Joseph Urban responsible for the settings. Such famous characters as George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Lafayette, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry and Paul Revere are introduced in the film. In the cast Holbrook Blinn, Harrison Ford, Maclara Arbuckle, Hattie Delore,

The Play that is Making History

Anne Nichols' RECORD-BREAKING COMEDY 3rd YEAR REPUBLIC ABIE'S IRISH ROSE

ANNE NICHOLS' LAUGHING SUCCESS Joseph Kilgour, George Nash and Tyrone Power play leading roles.

Shaw's "Saint Joan" Liked in Berlin

Cable advices received here state that Shaw's "Saint Joan" was presented last Monday at the Deutsche Theatre, Berlin, by Max Reinhardt and was well received. The name part was played by Elisabeth Bergner Young, a young Viennese actress, and the translation is the work of Siegfried Trebitsch. The entire company and Reinhardt were compelled to take many curtain calls at the conclusion of the performance.



## THEATRES

## DRAMA

## Faith as Fact

3<sup>rd</sup> month of the most unusual play in town!  
A WOODS Presents  
**"THE FAKE"**  
by FREDERICK LONSDALE Author of "Dreadful Day" and "Spring Cleaning"  
+ Godfrey Tearle  
HUDSON THEATRE, W. 44th St. Eves. 8:30  
Mats. Wednesdays and Saturdays

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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."  
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RACHEL CROTHERS' GAY COMEDY

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**BRONX OPERA HOUSE**  
140th ST. E. of 34 Ave.  
OP. PRICES 1 MATS. WED. & SAT.

DAVID BELASCO Presents  
**LIONEL BARRYMORE**  
with Miss Irene Fenwick

**"Laugh, Clown, Laugh"**  
Following the brilliant run at the Helms Theatre.

WEEK OF DEC. 8  
CONSTANCE BINNEY  
in "The Sweet Little Devil"

**YIDDISH ART THEATRE**  
37th Street & Madison Ave.

**Maurice Swartz**  
IN  
A Comedy by C. Gottesfeld  
**When Will He Die?**

LAST FIVE TIMES  
FRIDAY, SATURDAY & SUNDAY MATINEE & EVENING 2:30 & 8:30  
SATURDAY MATINEE HALF PRICE

B. S. MOSS' BEGINNING  
**CAMEO** Sunday  
BWAY & 42ND ST.

EXTRAORDINARY ENGAGEMENT  
**HAROLD LLOYD**  
In His Greatest Laugh Frolic  
**Hot Water**  
Bubbling With Joy! Hot With Hilarity!  
New Comedy, Pathe News, Fables and CAMEO THEATRE ORCHESTRA

**MUSIC AND CONCERTS**

**STATE SYMPHONY**

JOSEF STRANSKY, Conductor  
WESTON GALE, Assoc. Conductor  
Soloist: **GUOMAR NOVAES** Pianist  
FRANK'S SYMPHONY—GRIGG, PIANO CONCERTO & WAGNER EXCERPTS

Aeolian Hall, Wed. Eve., Dec. 3, at 8:15

**LAMOND**

PIANO RECITAL  
Met. London Charlton, Steinway Piano  
Concert Mgt. Arthur Julian Announces  
Aeolian Hall, Monday Aft., Dec. 8, at 8:15

**ELLY NEY**

PIANO RECITAL (Steinway Piano)  
Broadway Briefs  
Constance Binney in "Sweet Little Devil" will be at the Shubert-Riviera Theatre, beginning Monday evening.

Jack Lait's new musical comedy will be known as "My Boy Friend." It is founded on his character cartoon "Gus The Bus" and features El Brendel and Flo Bert. The opening takes place in Springfield on Monday.

"Foot's Gold," the new comedy by Barry Connors, will open in Stamford, Friday evening, December 5, under the management of Herman Gantvoort. It is due here about December 20.

Fred Allen, the comedian, has been added to the new winter edition of the

**At the Cinemas**

BROADWAY—Richard Dix in "Manhattan" with Jacqueline Logan.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Hot Water."

CAPITOL—Marion Davies in "Janice Meredith."

RIVOLI—D. W. Griffith's "Isn't Life Wonderful?" from the novel, "Dawn," by Major Geoffrey Moss.

**Neighborhood Playhouse**

First Play of Its New Season  
Friday Eve., December 5, at 8:20  
**"The Little Clay Cart"**

A Classic East Indian Comedy. Cast Includes: Ian MacLaren, Malcolm Fraser, Vyra Alanova, Marc Loebell, Albert Carroll, Irene Lewishin.  
Every Eve. (except Monday), Mat. Sat. Orchestra \$1.50, Balcony \$1.00, Box \$2.50.  
SUBSCRIBE NOW FOR THE SEASON Five Productions and Free to Subscribers. The first performance of Next Year's Grand Street Follies.  
Rates: \$7.50 for one seat in Orchest. \$5.00 for Balcony. Address: Subscription Sec'y, 486 Grand Street, N. Y.

**B. S. MOSS' B'WAY**  
"Where the crowds all go"

ALL NEXT WEEK  
**RICHARD DIX**  
and **JACQUELINE LOGAN**  
in a Great Mystery Thrill-O-Drama  
**"Manhattan"**  
Directed by R. H. BURNSIDE  
ADELAIDE & HUGHES and other acts

**CAPITOL** BROADWAY  
AT 51st ST.

World's Largest and Foremost National Picture Palace—Edw. Davis, Mgr. Dir.

BEGINNING SUNDAY  
FIRST TIME AT POPULAR PRICES  
**MARION DAVIES**

in  
**"Janice Meredith"**

Famous CAPITOL Program  
CAPITOL GRAND ORCHESTRA  
BALLET CORPS AND ENSEMBLE  
Presentations by RUTHAFEL "ROXY"

**N. Y. SYMPHONY**

WALTER DAMROSCH, Conductor  
AEOLIAN HALL, Sun. Aft., Nov. 30, at 3  
SOLOIST  
**ADELA VERNE**  
Berlioz, Paderewski, Debussy.  
"GEO. ENGLER, Mgr. (Steinway Piano)"

Aeolian Hall, Sunday Eve., Nov. 30, at 8:30  
LAST RECITAL THIS SEASON  
**ELENA GERHARDT**

AEOLIAN HALL, Mon. Eve., Dec. 1, at 8:30  
2nd RECITAL  
**Charles Naegele**

Mat. DANIEL MAYER (Steinway Piano)

Greenwich Village Follies at the Winter Garden.

"High Tide," L. Lawrence Weber's next production, will have Louis Calhern and Ann Mason in the principal roles.

Gemier and the Odeon Company will appear at His Majesty's Theatre in Montreal the week of December 1, at the invitation of the Provincial Government of Quebec.

Greenwich Village Follies at the Winter Garden.

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Greenwich Village Follies at the Winter Garden.

Greenwich Village Follies at the Winter Garden.

**"Simon Called Peter"**

Dramatization of Keable's  
Novel at the Klauw, a  
Gripping Anti-War Play.

War and God; sex and patriotism; religion and lust—these are the ingredients of "Simon Called Peter," Jules Eckert Goodman's and Edward Knoblock's dramatization of Robert Keable's sensational novel, which opened at the Klauw Theatre last week.

"Simon Called Peter," is appropriately located in West 45th street, right across the way from "What Price Glory," giving a view of war at first hand from a different angle than the picture of war at first hand as seen by Messrs. Anderson and Stallings.

Peter Graham is an Episcopal minister who preaches the War to his London flock as the State papers and editors of "patriotic" newspapers describe the War, as a great spiritual crusade. A chance encounter with Madeleine, a French lady who practices the oldest profession in the world, who wants to get to France to continue the practice of her profession, makes him see that the honorable thing is not to talk about the war but to get into it. We find him, then, in a dugout, groping, groping, trying to get at the soldiers' minds. Why don't they respond to his religion? What is it they want?

Two army nurses, "Tommy" and Julie, surreptitiously visit the men. "How did you get here?" the men ask. "On my beautiful legs," says Julie, "and aren't they beautiful?" she says, giving the men a chance to agree with her. That is Peter's first intimation that there is another side to the emotions of soldiers than glory and spiritual uplift.

Little by little, Peter grasps what the men want. Not phrases; not what goes by the name of religion, but a bit of love, a bit of respite from the horrible noise and dirt and din and stink and bestiality of the war.

He discards his clerical collar and shows his acceptance of the soldier's point of view by changing from a pipe to cigarettes. He eats and drinks with the nurses; he even kisses them. In a scene as daring as it is gripping, Madeleine, who is now playing her trade in his town, gets him to drink and to kiss her. It is not love. It is not even lust. It is only business with her, and that he cannot endure. In rage at him for repulsing her, she locks the doors, and when his friends knock, she strips herself naked to the waist and admits them, as his comrades knowingly wink and say that Padre is learning fast.

Peter learns to love Julie, the beautiful incontinent nurse; and on leave, the two spend a glorious, happy week in a London hotel. Their love scenes again are daring, but tender and beautiful, as lovely as any on the stage in recent years. The Padre realizes that he loves her, and although she tells him that she has loved before and that she has yielded to other lovers, he insists upon his love. In a final scene, he preaches his last sermon and steps from the pulpit to throw himself into Julie's arms.

Never mind if you agree with the thesis of the play or not. You cannot afford to ignore it. It is a fine, gripping play, a thought provoking play, a remarkable play.

There is no room for credit to all the final performances, but a word must be said for Leonard Willey as Peter, Catharine Willard as Julie and Herbert Bunston as Major Langton. H. Tyrrell Davis gives a poignant picture of the death of a soldier who rejects the ministrations of the priest but who insists upon dying with a cigarette in his mouth, with a glass of wine at his lips, with Louise, the French lover, holding his hand, and with a Gypsy violinist playing "Madelon"—dancing, laughing, singing his way out of the world. June Webster, it seemed to me, was a little short of good enough as Madeleine.

"The Guardsman," as produced by the Theatre Guild, will be published in book form by Boni & Liveright, with a preface by Theresa Helburn, executive director of the Guild.

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**MIKHAIL MORDKIN**  
joined the new "Winter Edition of the Greenwich Village Follies." The noted Russian dancer, with his own company, at the Winter Garden, introduced several new ballet numbers Monday night.

**Actors Theatre Plan Five New Plays**

**"The Habitual Husband"**  
In December

THE ACTORS' THEATRE, under which name the Equity Players now operate, announced production plans for the season at a meeting held Sunday night in the Forty-eighth Street Theatre. Their first play, opening about the middle of December, will be "The Habitual Husband," a comedy by Dana Burnet.

In succeeding months the Actors' Theatre will produce "The Subway," an expressionistic drama by Elmer Rice, (author of "The Adding Machine" and "On Trial"); "One Flesh," a drama by Bayard Veiller, (author of "Within the Law" and "The Thirteenth Chair"); a comedy by C. K. Munro which has scored in London under the title of "Storm"; and a new play by an American author. These five plays will make up the regular subscription program of the Actors' Theatre. Rachel Crothers' comedy, "Expressing Willie," held over from last season, and playing at the 48th Street Theatre, will continue there until December 15, when it will begin a tour of the larger cities.

Continuing the practice of last year, the organization will also revive at special matinees standard plays of interest with cast available from attractions in town. The first of these will be Shaw's "Candida," which Dudley Digges is now rehearsing, in December. "Hedda Gabler," "The Servant in the House," by Charles Rann Kennedy will also be revived at matinees. And an all-star revival in the late spring. At Sunday night's meeting there was also discussion of the subject: "The Theatre Present and Future." Those who took part included: Hendrik Van Loon, Chrystal Herne, Ernest Boyd and Cosmo Hamilton. Allen McCurdy presided.

Never mind if you agree with the thesis of the play or not. You cannot afford to ignore it. It is a fine, gripping play, a thought provoking play, a remarkable play.

There is no room for credit to all the final performances, but a word must be said for Leonard Willey as Peter, Catharine Willard as Julie and Herbert Bunston as Major Langton. H. Tyrrell Davis gives a poignant picture of the death of a soldier who rejects the ministrations of the priest but who insists upon dying with a cigarette in his mouth, with a glass of wine at his lips, with Louise, the French lover, holding his hand, and with a Gypsy violinist playing "Madelon"—dancing, laughing, singing his way out of the world. June Webster, it seemed to me, was a little short of good enough as Madeleine.

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**Faith as Fact**

(Continued from Page 8)

than are we, and since in our disregard of morals we seem to have attained his unmoral level, let us consider the ways of the beast awhile. Those who are familiar with the stories of Jack London need but hear the name of "The Call of the Wild" and "White Fang" to know their lesson. That master student of the animal, that trueborn lover and interpreter of dogs, shows us how unkindness and neglect can in a single generation throw the dog back to the brute, while loving kindness and fair treatment raise the wolf almost to the dog. "Fiction," the reader exclaims, and in its intense compression the tale is of course untrue. One generation cannot suffice to bring about such a transformation. But generations can. What is the dog save the tamed and honored wolf, accepted and considered as man's comrade? What is the cat save the wildcat won by kindness? The lover of animals can give countless instances, not fancied stories, but the common fact, of silliness yielding to kindness, of suspicion, of savagery, melting beneath the rays of a humane spirit. Nor do the lion, the elephant, the serpent, prove more formidable. The animal is clearly the kind of creature—once we break down the barriers of man-built suspicion—that will do to us just what we do to him; the ogre is the reflection of our soul. Are men more beastly than the beasts?

"The animal is an example of pure emotional action, free from any mental activity, any conscious planning of a future course,"—it might be objected to an attempt to apply to man the lessons animals teach us. Let us therefore turn to man himself, to man unbound by the strictures of civilization, ignorant of the delights of highly organized society, and therefore freer in his impulses, less clouded in his social conceits. Let us watch the effect upon such a group, of the contact and enforced relationship with the more complex attitude of the "civilized" world. Two types of colonialist came to the shores of the New World on the heels of Columbus, and began to wrest his homelands from the Indian. Some came in search of freedom, some in pursuit of gain. The admiring Indian at first made no distinction. There burst upon his astounded eyes the vision of a house with towering wings, moving awesomely upon the surface of the waters, and bearing strange white creatures. Were they the distant gods, or wondrous men? In awe, in glad full offering, the Indians sent gifts, sent gladly of their best unto the strangers. But soon they learned new things. Gunpowder, whisky, barter, became familiar; good powder, bad—but strong—whisky, and barter that they soon discovered was inconsiderate of them. And the history of American colonization tells the tale. Those few settlements that were just and humane bound to themselves friends lasting and true, friends who in time of famine and of war gave real evidence of their sincerity; the many produced tribes that came to be like themselves, unscrupulous, cruel, grasping, seeking the alliance that brought most gain. Through the entire wretched story the lesson can be clearly read: man will "do to folks just what folks do to him."

Even in the complex problems of modern life, those who have been farseeing have ventured to test the policy. The teacher whose supplies have been disappearing, and who has discovered the thief, no longer with loud outcry vents her wrath upon the youngster. She conceals her knowledge of the crimes, makes him monitor of the supply room, and leaves him with only the customary supervision. The boy feels that he is being trusted, is proud of the confidence imposed in him, and leaps to meet it. The trust placed in him makes him trustworthy. Similar tactics are applied with great success in many activities connected with the training of children (at home, in school, in court) and the same principle has been utilized in the handling of convicts. Even at this early stage of the experiment its success is felt to be sure. The ogre everywhere is the phantom of our anger.

What succeeds in the case of abnormal children and the criminals may be expected to have an even greater measure of value among individuals that are earnestly seeking a proper course. Let us but cast aside distrust, let us have faith, let us rid ourselves of artificial guards and watchman and policing agents, and the individuals and nations with whom we deal will respond to our trust, will recognize that theirs is the responsibility and the opportunity for good or evil—and will react toward good with good. This is the message of the day. Despite the temporary darkness of reaction, ideals of the university and of the prophet are reaching forth into the world today, are drawing allegiance from those who have never held them practicable. The League of Nations is no longer an abstract ideal, but a concrete plan, an actuality. However lame and halting, however crude and dishonest, the fact of its existence is a forward step. The ideal of friendly cooperation, of international interest, is supplanting narrowly national competitive ideas. Surely a course of action reaching toward those ideals must come as well, to replace the conduct of the era that sought selfish ends; surely no course is so promising as that which says: Do unto others as ye would have them do unto you; trust men and they shall prove worthy of trust.

It may be held that to thrust such faith into the chaotic conditions of today would leave the good as prey to all the evil in the world. The old forces are dying hard; their struggle is heard not merely in the "homelands of the Hun," but through the world, wherever selfish interests are striving to corrupt world council to their selfish ends; they leap forth in the advance of the new hope in the form of frightful excesses, crying for the new ideals with the old voice of violence and greed. To these forces there is but one barrier, which must be built brick by brick. The gospel of faith in man is strange to us, and, seeming alien, is frowned upon. Education must make it the only spirit of those to come. Our children, born into the possession of a united world, with aspirations to a common end in every breast, must be inspired with a tremendous faith that this shall be, that every individual wants to be good, and falls only through ignorance of the highest good; that sympathy and trust will beget righteousness. When every individual is imbued with trust in his fellow man, then will all mankind be honorable and just. That this is no idle dream, but a future glowing far ahead, through the dusk of imperfect understanding, is what our children must feel. "The ogre killed by kindness." As we must realize through them the glory of the fulfillment, so they must learn its possibility through us. That is our inspiration and our task.

Harold Bauer, at his recital this afternoon, at Aeolian Hall, will play the following numbers:

Mendelssohn—Prelude and Fugue in E Minor; Schumann, Walden; Cesar Franck, Prelude Aria et Finale; Charles T. Griffes, The Vale of Dreams, The Night Winds; Ernest Bloch, Poems of the Sea; Bach, Concerto in D Minor.

Eugene Frey, the baritone, will give a song recital in Town Hall, on Thursday evening.

Leif Poulsenhoff, the Russian pianist, will have his second New York recital on Monday afternoon, in Aeolian Hall.

Mischa Leon will offer another program of songs on Thursday evening, at Aeolian Hall.

Cesar Franck's Prelude, Choral and Fugue, will be on the program of Charles Naegele at his recital in Aeolian Hall on Monday evening. Also a group of Chopin including the Scherzo, Op. 31, and the Ballade, Op. 23.

Elena Gerhardt will give a second recital in Aeolian Hall on Sunday evening. Her program consists of three groups devoted to Brahms and Hugo Wolf.

Edmond Vichnin, pianist, makes his debut at Aeolian Hall on Wednesday afternoon.

Lamond will give a piano recital Wednesday night at Aeolian Hall. The program includes compositions by Schumann, Beethoven, Scriabin, Lamond, Chopin, Liszt and Rubinstein.

Albertina Vitak, who portrays the role of Salome in the "Red Ladies" series in "Hazard Short's Ritz Revue," will play the title role in Oscar Wilde's version of "Salome," at the Lenox Hill Theatre, late in November. Miss Vitak will cast and produce the play herself.

Mieczyslaw Munz will give a recital in Washington in early December.

**MUSIC**



## THE NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement  
Published Every Saturday by the New Leader Publishing Association  
Room 507, People's House, 7 East 15th St.  
New York City  
Telephone, Stuyvesant 6885

Editor.....JAMES ONEAL  
Assistant Editor.....WM. M. FEIGENBAUM  
Manager.....U. SOLOMON

### Contributing Editors

EUGENE V. DEBS, MORRIS HILLQUIT,  
VICTOR L. BERGER, ALGERNON LEE,  
ABRAHAM CAHAN, NORMAN THOMAS,  
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### SUBSCRIPTION RATES

United States	
One Year .....	\$2.00
Six Months .....	1.25
Three Months .....	.75
Single Copy .....	.05
To Foreign Countries	
One Year .....	\$3.00
Six Months .....	1.50
Three Months .....	.75

Saturday, November 29, 1924

## THE LABOR PARTY AT EL PASO

RESOLUTIONS proposing the organization of an independent party of Labor were defeated by a large vote in the National Convention of the A. F. of L. Those who have followed the development of A. F. of L. political policy for many years never expected any other result. The Labor party must come from the initiative of the local, State and national unions, and until a majority of the membership of these organizations are convinced, the conviction cannot be registered in an A. F. of L. convention.

One sentence in the committee's report on this matter reads: "Our non-partisan policy withstood the test and issued forth triumphant and with its forces intact." This is not true of the recent election or in any preceding election since the non-partisan policy was adopted. There was the spectacle of Berry of the Pressmen leading a group of officials in favor of Davis. The central bodies of New York and Hudson County, N. J., openly supported Davis, and this was done on the quiet by union leaders in other cities. In Philadelphia the leaders are Republican and a part of the Republican machine, and the same situation is probable in other cities.

Moreover, since 1906 the non-partisan endorsements for members of Congress has frequently been followed by A. F. of L. protests against the reaction of Congress

regarding needed Labor legislation. These protests have been evidence of the weakness of the official political policy. Moreover, in all the years that this policy has been followed there has not appeared in Congress a distinct Labor group such as appears in European Parliaments, a group with its recognized leaders, fighting inch by inch and day by day in behalf of the working class. The farm bloc has been a vague and uncertain coalition of old party dissenters, who are always anxious to maintain their standing as members of the old party machines.

The whole situation is in the hands of those who want a Labor party. They must reach the members of the unions by educational appeals, and that means much devoted service to the ideal. Until that time the non-partisan policy will divide the organized workers and produce the barren results it has generally produced.

## KEEPING COOL WITH CAL

WE hope that the tillers of the soil will keep cool with Coolidge while they are being investigated by the President's Agricultural Commission. A little over two years ago the Secretary of Agriculture called an agricultural conference to investigate them and of the 336 delegates 59 were bankers, railway officials and other "farmers" of this type. This conference reported among other things in favor of a reduction of wages on the railroads and in other industries.

Then there was the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry whose work was said to be the "most extensive inquiry ever conducted" which reported in 1922. One of its important observations was that in the distribution of goods the public now pays "more for package, convenience and service than it pays for the commodity contained in the package." This "most extensive inquiry ever conducted" now reposes on shelves that will interest the antiquarian of the next century.

The farmers were thoroughly investigated twice in 1922 and now Coolidge is going to make them feel happy by having it done all over again. When the commission makes its report it will be in order to appoint another one the moment the farmers object to a little extra skinning. Meantime the farmers must keep cool with Coolidge and never for a moment indulge the suspicion that they are being fooled by him.

## ORGANIZING THE STEEL WORKERS

ONE of the most significant incidents of the A. F. of L. convention was the introduction of a resolution by the iron and steel workers urging the need of industrial organization in that industry. After the defeat in the Homestead strike in 1892, the Amalgamated Association never obtained a foothold in the trustified steel industry. At the same time there were a

number of petty unions in the trade, mainly of highly skilled workers, each negotiating with the bosses independent of the others.

Eventually these disappeared and their members were taken in by the Amalgamated but the steel strike of 1919 showed fifteen or more unions in the iron and steel industry while Gary, as the feudal chief of one great combine, was the virtual commander of his empire. The commanders of the "independent" mills also followed his leadership as so many lesser barons. Labor in the industry was divided into a dozen or more camps with different commanders and compelled to face an enemy with enormous resources and enjoying a unified front in all sectors of the struggle.

The inevitable happened. The steel strike was lost despite the wonderful endurance of the strikers and the best coalition that could be formed out of the many unions involved. The Amalgamated is today only a shadow of what it once was and its officials therefore urge support of the A. F. of L. in organizing by industry. For years this sentiment has been growing in the Amalgamated.

We hope that the other unions affected by the proposal will be generous enough to consider the matter in its larger aspects. The steel industry is the heart of American industrial autocracy. Its chiefs have enormous power which is used against all Labor organization. So long as this industry remains unorganized it is a standing menace to every union. Its organization will strengthen the whole movement. The attempt to organize by trades has failed. Organization by industry will give the steel workers the solidarity which the United Mine Workers now have during a strike. The steel workers should have hearty support in carrying out their proposal.

## NEW YORK'S TRACTION MUDDLE

NEW YORK, like all big cities, is cursed and bedeviled by a troublesome traction problem. The original surface and elevated lines were built to make profits for investors; only secondarily to move people about their business. The result was overcrowding, vile service, and, incidentally, colossal graft and corruption.

After decades of such experiences, it slowly became manifest that the public need was not a negligible element, and when the first subways were opened in 1904 the public was allowed a share; that is, they were allowed to build the subways and turn them over to a big operating company for a "lease," which amounted to exactly enough to pay the interest on bonds, and installments on an amortization fund to redeem the bonds—nothing more.

Since then, many more lines have been built, and the city has had an increasingly large share, but always with private operation and bookkeeping to make it appear that the operating companies are losing money. Hence no relief.

Now, with a Mayor who claims to favor municipal ownership, there is a cat-and-dog

fight between him and the traction companies, with the result that a solution of the problem is as distant as ever. Tammany Hall and Mayor Hylan have stood for municipal ownership—on paper—for seven years. Nothing has been done, except muddying the waters and vulgar squabbles with the operating companies, with real municipal ownership further away than ever.

Tammany cannot give municipal ownership because Tammany is an agent of private business, and private business is devoted to private profits; and private profits and real municipal ownership cannot dwell together. Tammany must depend upon giving jobs to armies of henchmen, and Tammany municipal ownership, if ever achieved, would mean a huge political machine held together by job holders. Private operation is impossible. The big operating companies must be retired from their graft as soon as possible.

Mayor Hylan, the cheapest demagogue in the memory of man, refused to let one private company install comfortable busses on a certain route, drove the experimental cars off, and installed busses far less comfortable because the proprietor of the latter lines is a personal friend.

Not private exploitation; not Tammany "honest graft"; not erratic, hot-headed, prejudiced individuals like Hylan, but the action of the people demanding that their interests be the sole consideration, will give us real relief.

The New York Socialists, in alliance with other elements who see through the frauds that have been perpetrated upon them, are prepared for a great educational campaign to make municipal ownership the issue of 1925. Public ownership of all transportation lines; civil service and trade union rules in filling all jobs; public service and not private enrichment to be the aim. That is the only solution of this most pressing problem, not only for New York but for all cities.

It's hard to determine which is more contemptible, the gutter press that dug out the intimate details of the marriage of a wealthy man to the daughter of a workman, spread it all over the front pages and hinted that the girl was of Negro blood; or that prejudice in them that made the girl's family deny with passion that there was such Negro blood in them. Let there be any mistake, we refer specifically to Mr. McCormick's "Daily News," New York edition of the notorious Chicago Tribune.

Benito Mussolini, addressing a meeting of his hand-picked Fascist majority of the Italian Chamber, wept tears over the death of Giacomo Matteotti and extolled his virtues. Considering that Mussolini's own party murdered Matteotti because the late Socialist was about to expose Mussolini and his crimes, the incident takes its place in history with Tammany Hall's campaign on an issue of "honesty and decency." We're not getting on very fast, but ain't we got fun?

## By JAMES ONEAL

were running for Congress or for the Assembly on old party tickets and who intrigued for third party endorsement. This situation must have been general throughout the country. The policy of endorsing capitalist party candidates for Congress might well have brought about a dramatic situation if the election had been thrown into the House.

Suppose that La Follette had received enough electoral votes to throw the election into Congress. In that event the present Congress would choose the President. More than a hundred of the present Republican and Democratic members had the support of the La Follette workers at Washington. Suppose they were all reelected. As members of the expiring Congress and having the La Follette endorsement they would participate in the voting for a President. Is it not evident that these men on the score of party regularity alone would vote for the choice of their respective parties despite the endorsement received from third party officials? We would thus have had the spectacle of a third party choice in the House defeated by the very men who were approved as "progressive" Republicans and Democrats.

Of course the election was not thrown into Congress but what I have outlined was a possibility of the election. Nothing more absurd than this could occur in any political movement.

But to return to the opportunities. For the first time in our history the political and economic organizations of rural and urban labor have united in a national campaign. That this first battle frightened the masters and owners of the United States is evident. They raised an enormous fund to float their candidates into office. The radio poured its monstrous lies into millions of homes regarding the new movement. Every agency of publicity was used to coerce and frighten the masses into support of the candidate of textiles and the great banks.

All of which is a tribute to the power of the new movement. The enemy did not fear the Democratic party. The latter did not fear the Republican party. Both feared the third party. The latter raised some real questions. It brought into the struggle organized masses of workers and farmers, ranged them against the parties of the banks, steel, coal, oil, and capitalist plunder in general. The first assault leaves the Democratic party weaker than after its defeat in 1904. That is one worth-while accomplishment. The sooner we bury this archaic party of peonage, child labor, southern capitalism and the rotten boroughs of northern cities the better will the issues be drawn between those who do the useful labor of the nation and those who take the fruits of their labor.

The convention next January offers the first big opportunity of this century to organize a powerful Labor party. There are many thousands whose idealism and enthusiasm can be enlisted for the movement. Many will be found eager to enlist. Most of the States can be organized before the next Congressional election and many cities can be carried even before that election. It remains to be seen whether the delegates to the January convention can rise to their rare opportunity.

## POST-ELECTION OPPORTUNITIES

NOW that the election is over and the approximate result is known it is time to consider the prospects before the organizations that gathered under the La Follette banner. The future of the third party can only be determined after analyzing the election returns.

First, is the fact that whatever the results it must be remembered that the third party was a hastily formed coalition, inefficiently organized, having small funds, united only on a Presidential ticket and platform and divided in all the States in the matter of all other candidates. From the very nature of the case the cohesion of the various organizations was poor and more or less misunderstanding was bound to develop. It is in the light of these handicaps that we must consider the election returns. The figures show that the third party was first in one State, Wisconsin, and second in ten others. These include California, Idaho, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington and Wyoming. These States are all west of the Mississippi.

But there are eight other States that polled a heavy vote for La Follette. These include Arizona, Colorado, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania. It will be observed that all but two of these States are east of the Mississippi and represent the industrial section of the United States. Excepting these two, which have small populations, the vote in these States runs into the hundreds of thousands, New York leading with 459,000, followed by Illinois with 416,000, Ohio with 346,000, Minnesota with 326,000, Pennsylvania with 267,000, Michigan with 150,000 and Massachusetts with 142,000. That these hundreds of thousands of voters constitute sympathetic material for a Labor party goes without saying.

Another interesting thing which a study of the returns reveals is that not only was the Democratic party the third party in number of votes received in eleven States but that it was a majority party only in the South. It has received a staggering blow and has suffered as the Liberal party has suffered in England. Moreover, La Follette received 152,000 votes in the South, an excellent beginning considering the small percentage of voters who go to the polls in that section. In all the Southern States, except South Carolina, the third party vote ran into the thousands. Maryland led with 45,000 and was followed by Kentucky with 34,000, Texas with 21,000 and even darkest Georgia contributed 10,000. The South has done well.

Still another interesting fact must be considered. There are cities and counties that were carried by the third party. Cleveland gave a substantial majority for La Follette. St. Paul, Erie and other cities proved a close second in the voting. How many of the cities show this result we do not yet know, but it is certain that hundreds have cast a vote that is encouraging to the workers who broke their ties with the capitalist parties. The permanent organization of a Labor party will give momentum to the organized workers for the conquest of these cities for a Labor party. It would be folly, it would be throwing away a great opportunity, to dash cold water in the faces of these workers by not proceeding to

permanent organization and linking up the city Labor parties with the general movement.

The vote in the South also reveals an opportunity. The Republican party has tried to break it up and attach large sections of voters to it. It has failed and it will always fail. Hea tried it with his personally-conducted "Independence party." He also failed. Roosevelt also tried it with his faction of Republican Bull Moosers. He failed. The first general invasion of the South since the agrarian movement of the 'nineties is the third party of 1924 and it has received an encouraging response. A Labor party alone can break the superstition of the "Solid South."

There is another reason why the South is becoming more and more fertile soil for a Labor party. It is becoming industrialized very rapidly. The textile industry is spreading like a cancer. Mining is well developed and the iron and steel industry of lower Alabama gives that region an industrial cast. The factory system is developing rapidly and a large amount of northern capital is being invested in southern industry. The rural South is becoming urban and with it naturally follows a more rapid development of trade union organization. The poor whites are being uprooted from their rural environment and are being drawn into the factories to become raw material for urban capitalism.

It is safe to say that the trade unions already organized in the South could be used as an agency for reaching large masses of southern toilers with literature regarding the Labor party. A central office with a corps of lecturers could also stimulate the educational work among the masses of the South and in a few years that region would show a healthy and growing section of the Labor party. The political situation is also favorable. There are masses of voters who take no interest in the Democratic politicians who seek nominations in the primaries. Their experience has taught them that a one-party section controlled by the same gang of professionals brings demagogues to the front. The South stagnates and in the rural regions whole populations are stricken with malaria and the hookworm because little attempt is made by State legislatures to deal with these scourges. There are so many things that a Labor party can promise and can do in the South when it has power that its program would come as a message of enlightenment to hundreds of thousands of people.

The present third party coalition cannot continue long on the present basis. It suffers from a fatal weakness, a division that leads to misunderstanding and bad feeling. There is something absurd in the spectacle of the third party roundly denouncing the two capitalist parties as alike, and then a large section of the same third party working for many candidates of these parties. To be sure, this situation could not have been avoided this year but what I am pointing-out is that the continuance of this anomaly would culminate in fections and disputes that would eventually destroy any national coalition.

Moreover, this policy leaves the door open to all sorts of political adventurers who accept nominations from the capitalist parties and then seek the support of the third party. There were scores of such cases in New York, men

## THE Chatter-Box

### More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

*I sensed no season's heat or chill when you  
Were near. There was an even warmth  
and glow,  
And all the moments of the day too few,  
That now are all too many and too slow.*

*Now cold winds have a lash with leaden  
tips,  
And winter's menace and my dread are  
real;  
The wounds you balm'd so gently with your  
lips  
Are open-maw'd with pain and will not  
heal.*

*And question comes—is this the bittered  
stuff  
The gods prescribe for those who taste  
their wine?  
Ah! if it be, I have not sipped enough  
To earn this measure of their cup of  
brine. . . .*

*Another hour with you—one drink of love,  
And I might laugh at Boreas and Jove.*

Which reminds us that we have not made any announcement as promised of the prize award of the Poetry Contest that has been so quietly conducted in this pillar of impertinence. We had announced that TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS out of our bourgeois bank balance would be awarded to the best poem submitted between the announcement date and Election Day. Unfortunately, we did not give the matter much publicity, and so just a few of our good and tried contribs. took advantage of our secret and sent in several prizeworthy contributions, among whom were G. H. Reilly, Goody, and Leone.

Since we are the sole arbitrary arbiter of these awards, and the rules thereof, we take it upon ourselves to extend the date a trifle so that readers who were unaware of the contest may yet smite the lyre and submit.

And also, that the lucky, or rather the worthy, winner may receive the lucre at the appropriate holiday season, we extend the date to December 15th.

We may say, in justice to our old standbys, that the new contributions will have to outvie the general excellence of the poems already published by the aforementioned Reilly, Goody, and Leone—who, by the way, are running abreast in the last metre.

Now that the Standpatters and the Conservatives are again in the saddle, Wall Street is taking on the aspect of a Stockyard full of lambkins, and Downing Street is buzzing again with bomb-planes and bristling with lances.

Slaughter seems to be a popular pastime with them. A few months from now the sucklings, sheep, and suckers will be squealing and howling blue murder all over Broad and Wall—when the market breaks, as it inevitably does right after the public buys up all the fancy paper. And Egypt will feel the full effect of self-determination of small nations under 16-inch guns of the British navy—let alone those sweet-smelling gases that exterminate painlessly.

Jim Oneal says that we oughtn't to trespass over his precious editorial preserves by making such world-wide remarks like those above noted. We're just putting them in to show our readers how versatile we are.

Local Bronx had a get-together banquet last Sunday, at which we were supposed to be one of the big noises. Unfortunately, we were called away out of the city on the coarse and prosy matter of business. However, if the Bronx will insist and run a special banquet in our honor, we shall in simple modesty consent to be present under all circumstance.

### Atlas

*On thrifless gods they spent their praise  
Who banished Atlas to his rack;  
Condemned to bear this bulky world  
Unfaltering upon his back.  
Small mirth 'twas his. The long hours  
massed*

*More burdens on his growing load  
And timeless days rolled o'er his head,  
While 'round him hate and anguish  
flowed.*

*High were his arms, and wide apart  
His shoulders flung. But still he stood  
Heroic as the unmoved rocks  
That stay the fill and ebbing flood,  
Obedient to his task he served  
Without the show of pomp or pride.  
What was it that this giant sinned  
That should have made his work denied?*

*No little thing was his to do  
For us, who are his chosen heirs:  
Throughout the long-drawn day he stood,  
Unpitted for his woes and cares;  
Upheld his burden without heed  
Of wind and snow or blistering heat,  
Content to serve this teeming globe  
Lest it be starved of bread and meat.*

*No one praised Atlas in their song.  
Without him there would be no mirth,  
No serenades and holidays,  
Nor seed nor harvest time on earth:  
When fields are ploughed he is the steed,  
He is the worker and your work!  
Beware when he shall shake his yoke,  
For scowls upon his forehead lurk!*

Joseph Leiser.

This contrib. comes from a comrade who hails from Arkansas. Who said the South was solid? Every now and then a beam shoots out of the murky mud and hopelessness.

S. A. DE WITT.