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of the Socialist and La-  
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## "FOR A SOCIALIST MAJORITY" IS SLOGAN

### British Independent Labor Party Plans for Intensive Propaganda Work.

LONDON.—The main task of the Labor party, now that it is in opposition, with no possibility of an election to change the status of parties for the next five years, will be to direct its whole organization and propaganda "as to gain a convinced Socialist majority at the next election."

This is the task as laid out by the Independent Labor party, the Socialist propaganda organization in the Labor party, and backing up its determination, a personal appeal has just been issued to every Labor party voter to join the I. L. P., signed by the leaders of the Labor party and of the late Government. At the same time, the party has launched a campaign to double its membership, to increase the number of branches to 1,000 by Easter, and to permeate the whole country with Socialist thought.

These are the most ambitious plans in British history for Socialist propaganda, having as their object, not merely the increase in the number of Socialists in the country, but an actual Socialist Government.

The general plans are outlined in the leading editorial of the London New Leader, official organ of the I. L. P., in which H. N. Brailsford, the editor, summarizes the results of the election.

#### Communists a Nuisance

He begins with the Communists. With reference to the alleged Zinoviev letter (the handling of which by Premier MacDonald he has severely criticized), Brailsford says that Socialists do not feel resentment at the fact that Moscow was giving advice to Englishmen, "we blame it for giving very bad advice." "Let us not drift into the middle-class nationalism which arches its back and grows wherever a foreigner looks across our frontiers and speaks his mind."

"Nor can we follow Mr. Clynes when he invites us to regard the Communists as our 'enemies' in the sense that Conservatives are our enemies. They are a distracting nuisance and their manners are deplorable. For our own part we prefer to ignore them. We think the Labor party did right to reject their application for membership. Their methods and belief in violence are not ours."

Continuing, Brailsford says: "We think it almost the gravest mistake which a Labor party could commit to ignore the fact that a process which is usually called the class-struggle is the most vital fact of our lives. It is waged whenever Trade Unions and employers bargain over wages; it is waged when we battle for the eight-hour day; it is the whole meaning of our central effort to further democracy in industry, and to win for the whole community the control over the foundations of its economic life."

#### Aim Is a New Society

"The danger which awaits our party in its new position is that it may drop into the habit of regarding itself as an alternative governing party, in the old sense of the word—a party which will respect all the good old traditions, alter nothing that is fundamental, and content itself with giving a slight working-class bias to the legislative machine. It has sometimes looked as though our anxiety to replace the Liberals as the party of progress meant little more than this; we are an alternative team which will do the sort of things the Liberals ought to have done, but rarely did. That notion will destroy us if we play with it. Our business is what no Liberal party ever conceived as its aim—not merely to carry on with certain desirable adjustments but to bring about a fundamental change in the structure of society."

"It is not easy to adjust our two aims—(1) the doing at once of certain immediately practical things for peace and to meet the daily needs of the workers, and (2) the achievement of our Socialist program."

"On going into Opposition, our first concern must be to direct our whole propaganda and organization as to gain a convinced Socialist majority at the next election."

The "Personal Appeal" is signed by J. Ramsay MacDonald, Margaret G. Bondfield, Fred W. Jowett, C. P. Trevelyan and John Wheatley of the late Labor Ministry, and by the following other leading Socialists: Clifford Allen, A. Fenner Brockway, C. Roden Buxton, Katherine Bruce Glasier, Minnie Pallister, John Scurr, Robert Smillie, A. B. Swales, Chairman of the Trade Union Congress, and Richard C. Wallhead.

#### Win for Socialism

The appeal begins with these words: "The recent election marks (Continued on page 2)

## A. F. of L. Demands Probe of Porto Rican Elections

EL PASO.—One of the important actions of the A. F. of L. convention on the election frauds in Porto Rico as reported by Santiago Iglesias, delegate of the Porto Rico Federation of Labor. The convention decided to register a formal protest to the President and Congress against the frauds; suspended its former endorsement of urging more self-government for Porto Rico at this time; urged members of both houses of Congress for a thorough investigation of the Porto Rico election, and ordered copies of the resolution to be sent to President Coolidge, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House.

## N. Y. SOCIALIST VOTE UP

### Doubled Strength in Six- teen Counties—Growth in Forty-three.

The official count of the vote cast in New York State last November was made public Thursday. The vote for Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for Governor, is reported as nearly 100,000. Considering that the Socialist vote for Governor in this State has always run behind the rest of the ticket and that the tendency was more apparent this than in any other year, the Thomas vote shows that the ideals of the Socialist Party have taken deep root in the minds of voters in all parts of the State.

While there was an awakening of party members in the recent campaign, considerable apathy still survived while the party organization has not completely recovered from the assaults made upon it from outside and inside. The vote outside of Greater New York in twelve counties is also significant. The table of the vote printed below shows that in these twelve counties the Socialist vote ran into the thousands. Where there were signs of the old party activity the results were good.

Another result shown by the official count but not included in the table is the presidential vote. The vote for La Follette on the Socialist ticket was 268,510 and 206,395 in the independent column, making a total of 474,905. The Socialist Labor Party vote for President was larger than that cast for the Workers' party candidate. The Socialist Labor Party received 9,928 votes and the Workers' party 8,244. Both parties despite their "revolutionary" claims were also affected by the Smith candidacy. The Socialist Labor Party candidate for Governor received 4,923 votes while the Workers' party candidate received 7,613.

Sixteen counties doubled the Socialist vote cast for Governor in 1922. Forty-three of the sixty-two counties report a larger vote for Governor than that cast two years ago. The vote for Thomas follows:

Albany	586	Oneida	1,413
Albany	586	Ontonagon	2,813
Broome	11,635	Ontario	856
Bronx	1,447	Orange	1,258
Cattaraugus	715	Orleans	819
Cayuga	708	Oswego	281
Chautauque	1,932	Otsego	321
Chemung	255	Pulaski	239
Chemung	154	Queens	2,436
Columbia	92	Rensselaer	1,010
Columbia	139	Richmond	269
Cortland	246	Rochester	642
Delaware	80	St. Lawrence	512
Dutchess	871	Saratoga	299
Dutchess	11,272	Schenectady	1,772
Essex	31	Schoharie	136
Franklin	33	Schoyler	59
Fulton	428	Seneca	266
Genesee	641	Steuben	915
Greene	248	Sullivan	425
Hamilton	248	Suffolk	1,208
Herkimer	524	Tioga	179
Jefferson	389	Tompkins	185
King	17,869	Ulster	578
Lewis	16	Warren	74
Livingston	239	Westchester	5,027
Madison	617	Washington	227
Monroe	7,184	Wayne	250
Montgomery	306	Wyoming	225
Nassau	658	Yates	61
New York	12,652		
Niagara	1,935	Total	29,175

## Schoenholtz, Candidate for Re-Election in the Dressmakers' Union

The dress makers of New York, all belonging to the Dress Makers' Union, Local 22, will have their annual election for officers—including a secretary-treasurer, a sick benefit committee and an executive board, on Thursday next, December 11. The elected officers will serve the organization during the year 1925.

The voting will take place in six polling booths in the following places: the Joint Board office, 130 East 25th street; main local office, 6 West 21st street; Harlem office, 165 East 121st street; Downtown office, 33 Second avenue, and Brownsville office, 229 Sackman street. The booths will be open from 9 a. m. to 7 p. m.

Two candidates have been nominated for the office of secretary-treasurer, Julius Portnoy and the present incumbent, Isidore Schoenholtz, three men are nominated for the sick benefit committee, and fifty-six men and women have been named for the executive board, of whom twenty-five have to be chosen.

## BRINDELL TO GO FREE AS THOMAS PREDICTED; POLITICAL TRADE SEEN

As predicted by Norman Thomas, in his campaign speeches as Socialist candidate for Governor, the prison doors in this State are to swing open in a few days to release Robert P. Brindell, convicted extortionist, though he has served less than two years of his seven-year term.



Al Smith

on Christmas Day if the Building Trades Council would endorse the Democratic ticket.

Mr. Thomas also informed the Board that when he repeated these utterances attributed to "Bull" Taggart he vainly asked Mr. Taggart and Governor Smith to deny their truth. His letter added:

"Of course, my statement before mentioned, and my knowledge of the facts, do not warrant my making any formal charges against anybody. Beyond making this explanation, I expect to have nothing further to say in the matter, but I suggest that you might like to make some further explanation of the circumstances attending the parole."

## Mrs. Straight Donates Home to Penn. Workers

PHILADELPHIA.—An attempt by the New York Evening Post and another "stand-pat" newspaper to make political capital against Labor through the publication of a story telling of Pennsylvania's labor leaders "lolling in luxury," has served to call attention to the generous gift of a building to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor by Mrs. Dorothy Straight.

In connection with the story, James H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, has sent the following letter to the Editor of the New York Evening Post:

Dear Sir:  
May I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the splendid journalistic enterprise you have shown in publishing a report of a donation of a building to the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, by Mrs. Dorothy Straight, one year after the gift was formally announced? Ever since Mrs. Straight made this presentation, I have been endeavoring to get some publicity for this most unusual and practical benefaction. We had a special circular printed, illustrated with several "cuts," some of which you now so handsomely reproduce, describing this dwelling-house, near the Capitol, at Harrisburg. If your reporter had either interviewed or written me, I should have been glad to give him a more accurate and more interesting story than that published in your paper of last Saturday.

The widespread advertisement which the New York Evening Post and the two Philadelphia papers have given this practical benefaction of Mrs. Straight, has brought the incident to the attention of the general public with a thoroughness I certainly could not have achieved without your aid. But, it is interesting that a newspaper that seems to specialize in only the most topical and important things, should have written up this gift of Mrs. Straight just at this time. Right now, I believe, Mrs. Straight is giving a building to Cornell University, in honor of her deceased husband, the late Major Willard Straight, at a cost of well over half a million dollars. Would it be more "live" news than her comparatively modest gift to the workers of Pennsylvania? In view of the fact that our universities are tremendously susceptible to new ideas, these days, it might be well for the Post to investigate this gift.

A peculiar presumption in the mind of your reporter also amuses me. His innocent air of surprise that we should have a tiled bathroom, solid furniture, and well-built, roomy house, shows me that you journalists must still have fixed in your minds the picture of Labor unions meeting in dirty cellars, smelly stables, or Bolshevik dens. Are we workers to get headlines every time we enjoy cleanliness and comfort? Some Labor organizations in America, without the help of any private gifts, have built offices which are much more imposing, elaborate, and expensive than our plain, brick, dwelling-house at Harrisburg.

"The House of Morgan," you will call our middle-class home, here. You should know what connoisseurs the Morgans are. Their taste, in such things, is known the world over. Why place on him the burden for the selection of this type of architecture which we have chosen? It is a pity your reporter did not get a few more facts to back up that little "line" of his. Mrs. Straight, he should know, is today, trying to undo, in her own way, many of the evils which she has seen been done in this country with the power of Morgan money. You do not know how near the mark you came when you "kidded" us with fighting Morgan while we are working in a house that was, in some measure, paid for with money made by a man once employed by the firm of Morgan. We in this office have to fight the Pennsylvania Railroad and the coal trusts with special vigor and determination. Mrs. Straight has actually contributed sums of money to help the distressed families of striking Pennsylvania shopmen and the starving miners, fighting against Morgan-controlled coal companies. When Labor engages in a struggle against such corporations as the railroads and mines, in this State, we Labor leaders learn by bitter experience just where settlements are made and from where they are prevented from being made. Our fights reach right to the Morgan and other Wall Street houses. Would it not be a real, first-class newspaper story if I would tell you how, in one bitter Labor struggle in this State, against a concern that seemed to be its own master, all our efforts towards a settlement were for nothing, because of a word which was passed down from the House of Morgan?

We have never expected a free story on the part of the New York Evening Post and I wish to thank you again for the widespread—though somewhat inaccurate—publicity you have freely given to the fact that, thanks to Mrs. Straight, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor has for its headquarters a decent, substantial, and permanent building.

Very truly yours,  
JAMES H. MAURER.

## Industrial Accidents Cause the Loss of Sight to 15,000 Workers

Of the 100,000 blind persons in the United States, 15,000 lost their sight in industrial accidents, according to statistics made public by Lewis H. Carris, managing director of the National Committee for the Prevention of Blindness.

There were 200,000 industrial accidents to eyes last year, Carris added. Last year employers in New York State paid more than \$1,000,000 in compensation to employees who suffered accidents affecting their eyes.

Each accident also resulted in the expense of breaking in one or more employees, and in losses due to other employees working less efficiently for some time after the accident.

Carris said that most of the accidents could have been prevented by careful use of modern safety devices.

## Keep Cool with Coolidge

Cotton Company Cuts Wages  
New London.—The Goodyear Cotton Mills at Danielson have announced a ten per cent cut in wages, effective from last Monday.

Shoe Workers' Pay Cut  
BROCKTON, Mass.—The State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration today handed down a decision reducing wages by about ten per cent in the sole fasteners' department of the shoe trade. The decision was the first rendered in a series of cases raised by the Brockton Shoe Manufacturers' Association asking for reductions in various branches of the trade.

Goodyear Reduces Wages  
DANIELSON, Conn.—A reduction in wages approximately ten per cent has been posted at the plant of the Goodyear Cotton Mills, Inc., here. There have been full time operations and this schedule will be maintained. The mill is a branch of the Goodyear Tire Co. of Akron, Ohio, and makes tire fabrics. It employs several hundred operatives.

It is expected that the Connecticut Mills Co. also engaged in manufacturing tire fabrics will make a similar reduction within a few days. It has 450 employees. Employees of the Quinebaug and Waukegan mills, controlled by the same interests, are now working under a reduced wage schedule which became effective Monday. The cut is approximately eleven per cent. These mills have about 1,000 operatives and make cotton goods. Full time operations have been restored with the wage cuts, the mills having been on part time since early summer.

## TRESCA MUST GO TO JAIL

### Italian Editor Believed Vic- tim of Fascist Influence Here.

The conviction of Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello, an anti-Fascist weekly, on a charge of sending obscene matter through the mails, has been affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Tresca will now have to serve his sentence of a year and a day in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

When he was arrested in August, 1923, Tresca said that the action of the Federal authorities had been instigated by the Italian Ambassador, whom he accused of using this country to wreak vengeance in a political quarrel. Part of the charge against Tresca was to the effect that his publication had been used for attacking the Italian royal family. One of the offensive articles compared the Fascists with the Ku Klux Klan.

The alleged obscene matter which Tresca published was the advertisement of a book which was advertised by other papers without them being molested. In Italian Labor circles it is the general belief that the Italian Ambassador has had influence in this case and that Tresca is the first victim of the Italian Fascist in the United States.

## Butchers' Union of N. Y. Will Establish Cooperative Stores

Win Victory in Short Strike  
About 1,200 Hebrew butchers, members of The Hebrew Butchers' Union of Greater New York, affiliated with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America have returned to work victorious in their demand after a strike which lasted about a week. The important gain was an increase of three dollars a week over the present minimum scale.

The establishment of cooperative shops all over the city is being planned by the union not only for the purpose of benefiting the consumers, but also to help discipline employers who show unfriendly attitude to the organized workers.

A shop was already opened at 306 Brook avenue, Bronx, which is already on a paying basis, and at the same time giving the benefit to the consumer in lower prices, and to the workers, in better wages. It is planned to open a number of such stores, according to a statement issued by the officers of the union. I. Corn, organizer, and S. Jacob, secretary, in such sections as Park, Harlem, Williamsburg, the East Side and the Bronx.

## PORTO RICANS BITTER AT FRAUDS

### Lavish Use of Money to Corrupt Election in Is- land Is Charged.

SAN JUAN, Porto Rico.—The election of November 4 is still a topic of general discussion among the masses of Porto Rico. The amazing frauds openly committed by election officials, the use of the police to club down all opposition to Governor Towner's tools, the employment of thugs and ex-convicts to intimidate voters and the lavish use of money to purchase voters have left many people dazed over this installment of "Americanism." Nothing like this has ever before been experienced by inhabitants of the island.

On election day Santiago Iglesias, Socialist member of the Senate for many years and head of the Porto Rican Federation of Labor, received telegrams from all parts of the island protesting against the brutalities of the ruling politicians and their allies at the polls. Six telegrams reached Iglesias early in the day which he immediately forwarded to Governor Towner. Three more sheafs of telegrams received by Iglesias during the day, all reporting outrages at the polls in all parts of the island, were forwarded to the Governor who ignored the requests for protection made by these voters.

It soon became evident to many that the ruling politicians had some understanding with high officials of the Government that they would not be molested in their criminal work. It is believed that Governor Towner acquiesced in this program as his refusal to intervene or even to have reports of frauds investigated either shows sympathy with the election thieves or gross neglect of official duty.

The slow increase in the Socialist Party vote in the island for years is in part responsible for this desperate raid on the ballot box. Its enemies feared the eventual control of the island by the Socialists and trade unions who cooperate with each other in the political and economic struggle of the workers.

Three organs of the reactionary cliques, "El Mundo," "La Democracia," and "La Correspondencia," have declared the elections an unrivaled success, but "The Times," a progressive daily, has carried on a splendid fight against the thieves and it has not hesitated to accuse the Governor of complicity in the affair. Of these three organs of the reaction, "The Times" says: "They are the organs of the party which has committed the most atrocious dirty work in the island history, under the American flag, and allowed by an American Government."

"The Times" of November carries a blistering indictment of the methods adopted by the reactionary cliques to prevent opponents from voting. This editorial reads in part:

"Under the smile of Governor Horace M. Towner, members of the Boards of Elections have thrown judges and observers out of the polls who were not allied to their cause, and were striving for fairness; women and children were made to suppress any desire to 'root' for their party by the point of a gun-barrel held by the police; 'submarines' or ex-convicts, were employed as 'killers' and scores of voters were coldly murdered in the streets for being adverse sympathizers; polls were kept closed so that neither Socialist or Pure Republicans could vote; schools were filled with fraudulent voters; sacks containing the electoral packages have been thrown in all places where alteration has been made possible; the police force has cracked heads, have shot honest voters and innocent women; as a result of the aid lent by the women to the Coalitionists to prevent the fraudulent voting they are being arrested by the police on the most frivolous charges; election judges supplied with money have bought voters right inside the polls; while in most of the island polls, doors were closed, voting done by two men, and when the real voter came to exercise his right, he was told that he had already voted. . . . And let it be established that what we have just pointed out is not a product of our imagination, but we have affidavits to the effect that all this has happened! And Governor Horace M. Towner knows about it, and so does the Department of Justice, and so does Mr. Keith and so does Colonel Lewis! And yet Governor Towner rejoices!"

"The Times" repeatedly calls attention to the responsibility which Governor Towner must bear for what happened. In this matter the editorial says:

"This election could not be a matter of joy for any man who has any principle, for any man who has been (Continued on page 2)



## PORTO RICANS BITTER AT FRAUDS

(Continued from Page 1)

brought up in the land of democracy, for any decent, honest head of a Government, who is first of all an honest, up-right entity in a community, before a politician. What has happened at this election is something which should enrage, should nauseate and disgust, as it has disgusted, all the real continental Americans!

In the meantime Santiago Iglesias is in the United States as a member of a committee of thirteen to protest the results of the election before the President and Congress. The organized workers of Porto Rico hope that in their struggle with the barbarous reactionaries of the island they will have the active and open support of their fellow workers in the United States.

There was a big mass meeting last Sunday at the Harlem Socialist Educational Center, 62 East 106th street, to protest against the conditions in Porto Rico, as described in the articles in The New Leader. Among the speakers were Jesus Colon and a son of Senator Iglesias, and following the addresses resolutions were adopted to be sent to the Washington Government and to Porto Rico protesting against the electoral irregularities. The meeting was attended by members of the local Spanish and Porto Rican colony.

### Pressmen's Union to Elect New Officers This Coming Monday at Headquarters

Elections for officers for the year 1925 to serve the New York Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 51, will be held this Monday at the union's headquarters, 22 W. 16th street, the polls being open from 11 a. m. to 10 p. m.

The hardest fought contest is being made for the office of president. Philip Umstadter who holds the office at the present time is backed for reelection by the progressive elements in the union. His opponent is Patrick J. Lynch, who is the vice-president at the present time.

Charles T. Stewart, business agent, and William Anthony, sergeant at arms, are also running for reelection on the same slate as Umstadter.

### Lectures on Japanese-American Relations at the Community Church

Three lectures on "Japanese-American Relations" are to be given at the Community Auditorium, Park avenue and 34th street, on Monday evenings at 8:15.

December 8—"The Cultural Life of Japan," by the Hon. Hiroshi Saito, Consul General of Japan; December 15—"Japanese-American Relations" (an American viewpoint), by Bishop Herbert W. Welch, D.D. (of the M. E. Church in Japan); December 22—"Japanese-American Relations" (a Japanese viewpoint), by Dr. T. Iyenaga, writer and publicist.

## "FOR A SOCIALIST MAJORITY" IS SLOGAN

(Continued from Page 1)

a definite step in the progress of Socialism." After declaring that the first object of the I. L. P., that is, of organizing the entire Labor movement into a party of its own, had been achieved, it goes on to say: "Our work now is to win the people for Socialism. We must show that Socialism is not a destructive force, but a constructive force making for order and true harmony based on justice and service.

"Whilst the Labor party in Parliament is doing its work as the Opposition, Socialists in the country must be educating the electorate and preparing the necessary organization for a victory giving Labor a clear majority at the next elections. It is only by the work which our members undertake that an educated electorate can be won for Socialism."

Out of 151 Labor M. M.'s, 102 are members of the I. L. P.

For the first time in history, the Labor party will have an organization in the House of Lords. Five Peers will be the "official opposition" to the Tory party. They are Lords Haldane and Parmoor, who were in Ramsay MacDonald's Government, and Lords Sidney Arnold, C. B. Thompson and Sidney Olivier, who were not members of Parliament when made members of the Government and who were created Peers by MacDonald to make them eligible for office. Lord Olivier is a life-long Socialist and anti-monarchist, and incidentally a member of the Social Democratic Federation. He will be a brand-new kind of a Lord, the first created directly out of Socialist propaganda ranks.

## Swales' Plea for Soviet Recognition Resented By Some A. F. L. Leaders

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(Special to The New Leader.)

EL PASO.—Next to the reception given the Mexican fraternal delegates, the American Federation of Labor Convention showed perhaps the greatest cordiality to the delegates of Germany, partly, no doubt, by way of apology for the extremely hostile position taken in past years and the fact that this was the first time in the history of the American Labor movement that a delegate had been present from the Federation of Trade Unions in Germany. Peter Grassman, vice-president of the German Federation of Trade Unions, conveyed to the convention the greetings of 6,000,000 German trade unionists. He thanked the delegates for the relief they had given to German children and the aged, and to the trade union movement, during the period of inflation—help which made it possible for them to survive as trade unionists. All of the misery of the last ten years could have been avoided if the people had learned to understand each other.

"Capitalism," he maintained, "has not become weaker as a result of the World War. The capitalists have re-established their international much more quickly than have the workers. They do not care about race, nationality, creed or political opinions when they are going to form business connections. Profit is their only directing fact. Workers were influenced by other considerations. Therefore, they have had to defend their positions with teeth and claws. Isn't it a command of self-preservation for the workers to become more intimate and steadily united with workers of other countries?"

"The progress the trade unions have made in one country is the springboard for the advance of the workers of all countries. A defeat in one country concerns all of the others."

Mr. Grassman referred to the war, urged that the Americans and Germans renew their friendship, and invited the A. F. of L. to send delegates to the next German Labor convention at Breslau next summer. Speaking of the German movement, he declared that before the war the trade unions had 2,000,000 members. By 1920-1 that membership had increased to 8,000,000. It was then the fashion to be a trade unionist. When many of the newcomers found out that it was easier to alter political conditions than to change the economic order, they lost patience, made a noise, followed the loudest agitator, took part in every possible strike, mostly of a political character, and then became indifferent.

The speaker blamed much of this condition on Communist propaganda, directed from Moscow. Now that movement is not a power as a mass movement. "It strikes root only where distress and misery make the people desperate and hopeless."

In order to stabilize life, he declared, the workers accepted the Dawes Report, though in spite of serious objections. Fifty per cent. of their workers work eight hours or less a day, the rest eight and a half and nine hours, only a small proportion more than that. The German unions are again in a position to accumulate funds. The first German Labor Bank, established last year, has made good progress. Wages have nominally reached the pre-war basis, but in reality the income is about 35 per cent to 40 per cent lower than before the war. They are concentrating all attention to the raising of living standards.

"To bring mankind to a higher step of culture, to have war against hate and ignorance, misery and distress only, that is the special task of the organized workers."

C. T. Cramp, of the British Trade Union Congress, gave one of the most impressive addresses of the conference. He maintained that the British Labor party had, during its term of office, brought to stricken Europe a message of hope where despair formerly existed. In domestic legislation, it had passed a Housing Act which should provide 2,500,000 houses in the next fifteen years, the houses to be subsidized by the State. It extended the benefits of unemployment insurance and improved other statutes. The crowning achievement was the Labor budget, which reduced the taxation on food by \$23,700,000. The Government was forced to resign because it was doing too well. A few days before election things were going well with Labor. Then our opponents played their trump card. A mysterious letter, addressed to the Communist party, was suddenly produced in the press. It is alleged to have been signed by a prominent Russian Communist, and ad-

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vocated revolutionary activity in the ranks of the army and navy with a view of plunging the country into civil war. "The Labor Government had protested, though many hold the document a forgery. But the press tried to link the Government with the Communists. They conducted a poisonous propaganda. We lost forty seats, but polled over 1,000,000 more votes than last election."

Mr. Cramp then appealed for the recognition of the Russian Government. Trade unionists should consent to friendly relations with the Russian workers, but should adhere to their own methods and accept no dictatorship from without. He condemned, however, the tactics adopted by the Communists, their failure to keep their word, their promotion of strikes that were bound to end in defeat. He concluded:

"Ten years ago the Old World resounded to the tramp of armed men marching behind banners, which led to bloodshed, enmity, sorrow, suffering. Ten years hence I vision both Old World and New again marching behind banners, not to encounter physical force as our enemy, but marching upon the citadels and the fortresses of poverty, of ignorance, of cruelty, of war, of all those things which are enemies of the human race."

The co-worker of Mr. Cramp, A. B. Swales, described the economic side of the movement. Before the war, in 1913, the total membership of the Trade Union Congress was 2,232,444. By 1920 it had increased to 6,505,482. The reaction and unemployment had reduced that membership to 4,328,230 by 1914. "Now is the time for defense and the conservation of our forces. In the last three years our unions have paid in unemployment benefits \$120,000,000. Trade unionism is not only the most vital force in our economic life, but in alliance with our political Labor movement is destined to become, in a very short time, the controlling influence of the country."

Mr. Swales concluded by declaring that the amalgamation movement had gained steadily in the last few years. "The General Council of the Trades Union Congress, of which I am proud to be a member and honored by being its president for the next twelve months, has done much to foster and promote these amalgamations, to promote more unionists and less unions. It is the hope of many, including myself that some day the hundreds of unions now affiliated to Congress will be reduced to the smallest possible number of unions, containing every worker by hand and brain in the entire country, and under the direction of one united general council."

The Council was doing much to advance workers' education and to prevent the devastation of war. "It is gratifying to feel that the present proud position of the political Labor movement in England is due to no small measure to the work of the trade union movement. In fact, it is the work of the trade unionists that put Labor into office in 1923. It was a great achievement to put in the place of a Cabinet of lords, dukes, lawyers and captains of industry a Cabinet of men who have served an apprenticeship of honest toil—miners, railwaymen, engineers, iron workers—men who know what the people want and who have consecrated their lives in an endeavor to leave the world a better place than they found it."

The speaker also urged that the young militants be allowed to function in the trade union movement. In England, responsibility had sobered these, and they had done much to solve the problems before the movement. Had the Council expelled the young enthusiasts, they would have been hopelessly split and divided. The last Vienna Conference of the International Trade Union Congress had decided to make an effort to secure the admission of the Russian trade unions in the International. He felt that nothing need be feared from Russia. "We are coming together, not for bolshevism as parodied in the capitalist press, but for brotherhood. We all have something to learn from each other."

The advice of Delegates Swales and Cramp that Russia be recognized and that the workers cooperate with the workers of Russia brought protest the next day from Chester Wright and some of the other members of the Federation, who maintained that the visitors had infringed on Labor diplomacy. Their addresses were regarded on the whole as masterly expositions of the movements in their countries.

Addresses by Fraternal Delegate Roberto Haberman of the Mexican Federation of Labor, inviting the delegates to attend the inauguration of President Calles in Mexico City and of John Colberg of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, concluded the words of greeting from the foreign visitors. Nearly 300 delegates and visitors signified their intention to go to the inauguration by the special train leaving Wednesday or Thursday. Delegate Colberg declared that

since 1915, when the Canadian Labor body passed a resolution for the formation of a Labor party, the idea has gained in popularity, and that now all but one province is in the Labor party. He urged that international and local Labor unions be allowed to pay a per capita tax to a Labor party. Thirty-five Labor members had been placed in the different Legislatures. These had been of great benefit in exacting legislation for mothers' pensions, six-day week, minimum wage, etc. Of a vastly different character than the inspirational addresses of the foreign delegates, all looking toward greater international friendship between the nations was the speech of Commander Drain of the American Legion, on Thursday afternoon, immediately before the delegates left for a barbecue arranged for them on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande.

The entrance of the commander was sufficient to cause the delegates to stand at attention. Major Berry, erstwhile candidate for the nomination for vice-presidency introduced him. He pointed with the pride that many members of the A. F. of L. were officers of the American Legion and introduced the general as a friend of the masses and of organized Labor. The American Legion, the speaker declared, stood for peace. It belonged to Fidae, an association of the veterans of nine nations, the purpose of which was the promotion of world disarmament and peace. At home it was doing what it could to secure a reduction of armament, but until some convention of the powers brought about a reduction of all armaments, it urged the universal draft bill, which placed upon all citizens an equal obligation in war, "by utilizing through the Government man power to fight, man power to work, factory power to produce, and money power to finance."

He insisted that that was a peace measure and a preparedness measure "because it provides the nation with a way in which it can conduct war if forced into war, in which it can protect itself and defend itself if forced into war with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of cost."

He favored an international court, but until an international concord

### Drivers' Union Stages A Strong Come-Back

Local Union No. 285, Furniture, Flour and Grocery Drivers, which was defeated five years ago in an eighteen-week strike against the combined furniture industry, has been successfully reorganized and in the course of the past six weeks has again established relations with the Metropolitan Retail Furniture Association and the independent dealers, having signed the following agreement, according to Secretary Abraham Bindman:

"Nine (9) hours for a day's work; forty-five (45) dollars for chauffeurs; forty (40) dollars for helpers; fifty (50) dollars for polishers; and forty (40) dollars for inside men, with time and a half for overtime, and sixteen holidays a year, including Jewish ones. In commemoration of this feat the union is running a ball at Harlem Casino, 116th street and Lenox avenue, on February 21, 1925.

### Another Labor Bank to Open in Chicago

CHICAGO.—Another Labor bank is to be opened in Chicago soon after the new year, when the Carpenters' District Council will follow the example of the Amalgamated Garment Workers.

The carpenters are erecting a new Labor Temple at 12-28 West Erie street which is to be completed in February. This building will be the home of the new bank, which is to have a capital stock of \$5,000,000, according to officials of the union. The bank will be under State supervision and all the stock will be subscribed to by members of the local organization.

for disarmament was reached felt that "the United States must maintain a navy the equal of any in the world. It must have an army small, but very competent and capable of immediate expansion to war time size, it must have adequate air, land and sea reserves of adequate strength. Moreover, industry must be kept current and prepared in peace for its war time emergencies."

### Lectures

#### The Community Forum Park Avenue and 34th Street Sunday, Dec. 7, 8 P. M.

JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES  
"Can Women Remain Feminists?"

11 A. M.—The Community Church  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
"The Meaning of Pain in Human Life"

#### THIS Monday Night!

at 8:15 P. M.

"OSCAR WILDE'S POETRY"  
Literature Lecture and Reading

Given by  
DAVID GOODMAN  
Park Palace, 5th Ave. & 110th St.  
ADMISSION 25c.

#### The People's Institute COOPER UNION

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5  
EVERETT DEAN MARTIN  
"The Great Mass Movements of History"  
"The Psychology of Social Unrest in the Middle Ages"

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 7  
DR. HARRY A. OVERSTREET  
"What Does the Modern World Need Most?"

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9  
JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES  
"Labor Statesmen in England"  
Eight o'clock Admission Free  
OPEN FORUM DISCUSSION

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

Sunday, December 7

5 P. M.—LECTURE, at 9 Second Ave.  
DR. WILL DURANT  
"The Restoration Play"

8:30 P. M.—FORUM, at 9 Second Ave.  
FRANK STEPHENS  
"The Crime of Vivisection"

7:15 P. M.—American International Church, 239 East 14th Street  
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE  
"The Energies of Men"

#### Rand School of Social Science

7 East 15th Street, New York

Saturday, December 6th—1:30 P. M.  
SCOTT NEARING  
"The Egyptian Crisis"

Saturday, December 6th—3:30 P. M.  
JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES  
"Can Science Save Society?"

Wednesday, December 10th—8:30 P. M.  
JOHAN SMERTENKO  
"Sex Plays by Vajda"

#### HARRY WATON

In a series of LECTURES ON UNIVERSAL HISTORY interpreted in the light of Marxism Under the auspices of Relief Association for Tubercular Children in Soviet Russia  
CARLTON HALL  
6 West 111th Street, New York  
December 6th  
Philosophy of Jesus  
December 12th  
Catholicism: Patriotic and Scholastic  
SINGLE ADMISSION 50 CENTS  
(The net proceeds will be sent to the U. S. R. R. for the Relief of the Tubercular Children)

### A Leader in Clothes and a Friend of The New Leader

## SUITS FOR THE NEW SEASON

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

\$29.50

## Top Coats and Overcoats

New Designs - New Models - Moderate Prices

### BOYS' QUALITY CLOTHING

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

## THE F. & S. STORE

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Remember the Address!

Just Off the "L" Station

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

### DEBATE!

CLARENCE  
DARROW

Against

REV. JOHN HAYNES  
HOLMES

SUBJECT: For

## PROHIBITION

CHAIRMAN

Hon. Royal S. Copeland

U. S. Senator from New York

Sunday, December 14, 3 P. M.

MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE

Tickets \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75

ON SALE AT

Jimmie Higgins Shop, 127 University Place; Gothic Book Store, 176 Second Ave.; Hanner Book Store, 1285 Fifth Ave.; Stern's Jewelry Store, 1237 Wilkins Ave.; Neldorf Book Store, 1817 Pitkin Ave.; and at the offices of or by mail from

THE LEAGUE FOR PUBLIC DISCUSSION  
500 Fifth Avenue New York Telephone Longacre 4447-10434

### DEBATE!

### DEBATE!



## COMMUNISTS HAVE NEW SHAKE DOWN

### Chicago Office Opened to Collect Funds to Aid "Politicals" in Europe.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Organized workers of Chicago are just now enjoying a good laugh and this laugh promises to become a roar when a small pamphlet published by a disguised Communist organization becomes generally known.

The latest mask assumed by the Communists is called the "International Workers' Aid" with offices at 19 South Lincoln street. As its title indicates, its purpose is ambitious. It intends to come to the rescue of political prisoners in all countries—except Russia. Among the well-informed it is assumed that the Communists are short of cash and they take this means of replenishing their exchequer.

The pamphlet is an interesting curiosity. It contains short chapters on political prisoners in Germany, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Italy, Finland, Hungary and Lithuania each one calculated to arouse sympathy for the prisoners, many of them being treated brutally, as brutal, let us say, as the political prisoners in Soviet Russia. Even England, Yugoslavia and Estonia are added to the list of the countries which our little band of Communists are going to redeem.

With the pamphlet goes a subscription list for the collection of funds which are to go to the Communists for their humane work. Anticipating exposure of this Communist-conducted venture, the authors of the pamphlet warn prospective gudgeons against the Socialists, pointing out that the Socialist Party would have nothing to do with the Friends of Soviet Russia. "Not content with doing nothing for Soviet Russia during her hour of need, the Jewish Daily Forward, together with the New York Call, both official Socialist Party organs, entered upon a campaign of attack against us in an effort to discredit our work and stop our activity in behalf of the needy in Soviet Russia. Undaunted, we went on." So reads one paragraph.

This is recognized here as another contribution to the Communist technique of distortion and lying. It is recalled that the National Office of the Socialist Party carried on a campaign for the relief of sufferers in Russia and sent substantial aid contributed by Socialist Party members. The Jewish Daily Forward had its own Russian relief agency and shipped large quantities of clothing and foodstuffs to Russia. The New York Call also had its own fund and forwarded a large shipment of soap which was then a pressing need to ward off typhus and scurvy.

It is also recalled that the Friends of Soviet Russia had about forty paid organizers in the field. While they collected relief funds their salaries also went to pay for their work of carrying on intrigues in the unions, sowing suspicions, attacking the Socialist Party, and organizing Communist "nuclei" wherever they could. Part of the funds raised for Russian relief were used to pay for this disruptive work.

No well-informed man in the Labor movement here doubts that the "International Workers' Aid" has been organized by the Communists for any other purpose than to get funds to place their organizers in the field again and to carry on their old work or disruption. When this little band proposed to use the funds to relieve political prisoners in eleven countries the proposal on its face is absurd and is so regarded here.

One general comment heard here is that when the Communists release the political prisoners they have locked up in Soviet jails and recall the fighters for working class freedom who have been exiled to Siberia they will earn the right to speak in the interest of political prisoners in the jails of the capitalist countries.

### Cleaners and Dyers Organized in 2 Locals

The Cleaners & Dyers Union of Greater New York, organized in 1910 as an independent union, has now affiliated with the A. F. of L., and is being divided into two locals. One, containing the drivers, will become a local of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; the other, which will hold the inside men, will be known as the Cleaners, Dyers and Pressers Union of Greater New York, a federal local of the Federation.

Hugh Frayne, Federation organizer, and Alexander Marx will represent the national body at a mass meeting of the inside workers, Monday evening, December 22, at Fordward Hall, 175 East Broadway.

The officers of the drivers' local are: Jacob Effrat, business manager and chairman; Sam Polak, secretary; Jack Tauber, treasurer. The officers of the insiders are: D. Hoffman, business manager; Julius G. Cohen, secretary-treasurer; Samuel Weintraub, chairman.

## Bourgeois Bedtime Stories

By McALLISTER COLEMAN

### It Seems That I Was All Wrong

Three years ago I was told by a hart-schaffner-and-marxed young man with a very heavy air about him that inside of six months there would be an end to Communism, Bolshevism and anarchy. He explained that he had found a way to stop all these unhappy philosophies. It consisted, apparently in my giving him \$500 to help along the great work of the Yale University Press called, "Chronicles of America."

He explained that this expansively patriotic enterprise had the backing of such supermen as Charles Schwab, Judge Gary and Chauncey Depew and that they were just hanging around waiting for me to come across with the five hundred to put the thing over the top.

"The Chronicles of America," published by the Yale University Press consist of oodles of little books bringing the history of this glorious Republic of ours clean down from the days of Columbus to the Teapot Dome.

They have been compiled by "authorities." One of the volumes written by a "Columbia Professor" (Oooh, gee! boys, think of that, a real honest to God Columbia professor) tells all about the perils of Communism, Bolshevism, Socialism, the Single-Tax and the program of the Committee of Forty-eight.

Now the Yale University Press yearns to get this material into the hands of every little boy and girl in this great and glorious land of ours so that they will grow up without thinking any naughty thoughts and will vote every fall for Cautious Cal's great-grandchildren. In order to accomplish this laudable project considerable jack is needed so that moving-pictures may be made of great episodes in our history where it is shown what happens to bad men when they don't think the way the National Republican Committee tells them to.

I suppose they will have pictures of the death of Lovejoy, the mobbing of Garrison, the jailing of Debs. I'm not sure about this, but that would seem quite sensible.

And then they could show what happens to the good men who think right. They could have pictures, for example of John D. Rockefeller getting his first rebate with an independent oil man shooting himself upstage. They could show how Charles Schwab started his career by putting putty instead of armor-plate into the battleship that his Fore River plant was making for the Government. They could show George Eastman swiping his kodak idea from a broken-down up-State minister, or do a fine close-up of Andrew Carnegie directing the Pinkertons to shoot up the striking steel-workers. I would like to see movies of James Stillman writing an article about the sanctity of the home, or Corey of the Steel Trust telling young men how to live a better life. It would in-

trigue me, for example, to watch a slow movie of the handing of the little black bag to Albert Fall or get a close-up of a quiet night at the little Green House on K Street with some of our rulers standing about engaged in their innocent pleasures.

An appropriate finale for all this might be a panoramic view of the tents of the evicted miners in West Virginia with a cloud-picture of Calvin Coolidge's face looking down on it all and underneath his famous remark, "Don't let us forget the poor."

But, when three years ago I suggested some of these ideas to my friend, the salesman from the Yale University Press, he didn't seem to enthuse as warmly as I had expected.

He said never mind he would get the money somewhere else and it looked to him like I might be one of them reds myself and he had a mind to report me to the Department of Justice and he was leaving the office anyhow and I had better not lay hands on him.

Well, naturally I figured that with all these great and good men back of the project there would be no difficulty in financing it and so end Bolshevism, Communism and the rest inside of six months.

But that was three years ago and just yesterday when I walked into an office of a fat broker who lends me two dollars every time the market goes up, who should be there but my old hart-schaffner-and-marxed friend explaining all about "The Chronicles of America" and how just five hundred berries stood between this country and anarchy.

So you see, I was all wrong. Communism, Bolshevism and the rest are still around for the love of God, country and Yale; won't some of you boys who have five hundred in loose change (and there must be lots of you judging from what I read in the papers), come across and save us all from this horrible menace?

P. S. If you can't find the address of the Yale University Press, make checks payable to me and I will see to it that they get into the right hands.

### Sweeney At Head of Tailors' Union Again

CHICAGO.—By referendum vote of 2,339 to 2,342 Thomas Sweeney, present general secretary-treasurer, Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, is declared reelected for a two-year term. His opponent was Max J. Sillinsky of Cleveland. The vote was the second ballot, none of the four candidates having received a majority on the first. Outside Communist influences did all they could to defeat Sweeney.

## GERMANS HOPE FOR LIBERAL LANDSLIDE

### Socialists Working Hard to "Snow-Under" All Reactionaries, Left and Right.

BERLIN.—With their confidence increased by the results of the special election for the Diet in the little State of Anhalt on November 9, where the Social Democratic vote rose from 65,768 in the Reichstag elections of May 4, to 78,672, while the Communists fell from 22,799 to 11,217, the Bourgeois Bloc from 83,821 to 74,482 and the Hitler-Ludendorff group labelled National Socialist Freedom Movement from 9,631 to 7,989, the campaign managers of the Socialist Party are redoubling their efforts to make the Reichstag election of December 7 such a landslide for the Republican parties, and especially for their own party, as to reduce the extreme Nationalists and the Communists to political impotency. With the Social Democracy back in its place as the dominating party in the Reichstag it is figured that the Democrats and the Centrists will work together with the Socialists along lines of progressive legislation that will strengthen the position of the workers and eventually modify many of the hard features of the Reparation Plan.

All parties are making strenuous efforts to "get out the vote," as it is necessary to poll 60,000 votes for every representative in the Reichstag and the size of the party legislative groups accurately reflects their popular following. The German industrialists are reported to be raising a slush fund of several million gold marks in an attempt to emulate the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States, but the Socialists aver that the money will be wasted, as there is little chance of the reactionaries influencing German voters by "literary" efforts and on the other hand, the defense organization of the National Banner, (the militant body of Socialist and other Republican youths), is functioning so perfectly that the thugs of both the extreme Right and Left who used to break up Socialist meetings by violence are not doing much in that line in the present campaign, due to severe trouncings received when they tried to resume their old tactics.

On the Socialist list of nominations are most of the party veterans, so that the ballot looks almost like the roll of delegates to a national Socialist convention.

### Miners' Union Expels Ku Klux Members

LINCOLN, Ill.—Tried and convicted of being members of the Ku Klux Klan, three miners were expelled from the local union, No. 815, of the United Mine Workers of America. These men were Arthur Steffens, Joseph Dial, and William Schoof.

## From The New Leader Mail Bag

### STEALING OUR VOTES

Editor, The New Leader:

I write to urge in my weak way the organization of a new political party. If ever there was a time in the history of this country that the voters could cast their votes for the candidates of their choice and have their votes counted as cast, it is now. I have every reason to believe that twenty-eight straight ballots were polled at our voting precinct and but seven votes were reported for La Follette and Wheeler. One ex-convict stood up before the saloon bar at Ninth and Market streets in St. Louis and brazenly boasted that he had stolen 150 ballots from the third party ticket and had carried them over to the Coolidge ticket. This was a noted outlaw, gun toter and ex-convict. Innumerable cases of such thievery, looting and raping of the ballot boxes was reported from all over the State. We were not organized. We had no ticket for local offices, had no watchers; nothing except a bulldog determination to go to the polls and vote for clean candidates, only to have our ballots stolen and given to the very man we wanted defeated.

The next four years will be the most rotten administration this country has ever had. Government looters will go scot free and be protected to loot some more. Outlawry will be tolerated and protected and all manner of crimes will be committed and protected. I never was so badly disgusted with the conduct of any election. I'm almost driven to renounce my allegiance to the Government of the United States, sell out, and go to Mexico or Canada where a person can vote and have his vote counted for the party of his choice. By all means give us a clean, new party.

BEN F. DAVIS.

Archie, Mo.

The Party "Machine" Editor, The New Leader: With incredible fatuity the Socialist Party machine seems determined to follow up the ruinous policy that began with the betrayal of Socialism at the Cleveland conven-

tion; and continues to ally itself with the discredited and repudiated new party. In the face of election returns it is sheer political stupidity and to use the words of Tallyrand: "It is worse than a crime, it is a blunder."

The Progressive party met disaster all along the line. The States in the northwest that La Follette was supposed to hold in the hollow of his hand returned a Republican vote larger than in years. A Senator from Minnesota was lost. Brookhart pulls through by the "skin of his teeth." The "Progressive bloc" of Congressmen and Senators carefully staid upon the old party's reservation. The Federation of Labor, endorsed La Follette and then forgot to vote for him. Aside from the Socialists and some real but declining sentiment in a dozen agricultural States the Progressive vote consisted of the protest and anti-Klan vote, which is not a permanent vote at all. Four years from now the Democrats will nominate a candidate who makes a noise like a liberal and what is left of the Progressive movement will be absorbed. And the Socialist Party will be wrecked by the traders and bargain-hunters who have gained control of the party to use it for their own short-sighted endeavor for personal gain.

In the years when the Socialist Party, worn by dissensions, rent by the crazy Left-Wing schism, the membership depleted and members discouraged, the politician element gained control of the organization. They got the control of party policy and centered it in committees. We used to have referendums to decide platforms and the party program. Now, what Local sees a referendum in these days? The machine controlled the convention at Cleveland and betrayed Socialism for a "mess of pottage." Bertha Hale White in the current "New Leader" has the effrontery to praise this disgraceful surrender. Even the group they surrendered to had no respect for them. Who hears La Follette say a word in all his campaign for the Socialists? Our worthy associates could say things in favor of

Governor Smith but who heard them say anything for Norman Thomas?

The Progressives even fought us. William Hard, in "The Nation," tells us that the La Follette Congressional committee endorsed 130 Democrats and a few Republicans in the last campaign. In Schnechtady, I am informed, Progressives supported the Democratic candidate against the Socialist for Congress. This is what our machine leaders want us to make a coalition with.

The Socialist junta made a vital mistake in endorsing La Follette and events have proven it. Are we going to let the Socialist imitation of Tammany in January deliver any principles we may have left after the past campaign to a fusion that will destroy the result of twenty-five years of hard work and sacrifice to build up a Socialist movement in America?

Let us clean house, turn the hucksters out of the official positions, put none but Socialists on guard and return to our traditional policy of "No compromise, no political trading," that brought us from nothing to a million votes.

FRANK STUHLMAN.

[The Socialist Party has decided nothing regarding its future policy and the coming convention. We are glad to have this discussion. Long before the Cleveland convention to get the members to discuss the problems that were to face us at Cleveland. It offered its columns for this purpose without result.—EDITOR.]

### Ivy Lee Will Debate With Charles Solomon

Mr. Ivy Lee, who for many years has been a publicity man for some of the great corporate interests, will debate with Charles Solomon, recent Socialist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, on Monday night, at the Brooklyn Jewish Center, Eastern Parkway, near Brooklyn avenue. The subject of the debate is: "Resolved—That the interest of humanity can best be served under capitalism." Lee will speak for the affirmative and Solomon for the negative.

## A WHITE TONGUE

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

# EX-LAX

The Sweet Chocolate Laxative

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

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

## Rand School Activities

**Public Speaking Class**  
Public speaking and debating is being taught by Mr. August Claessens at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The students are entering the stage of individual speechmaking, and receiving much frank criticism from the instructor and fellow students. Great attention is being given to the gathering and arrangement of material, verification of fact, weighing of arguments and to the psychology of public discussion. Visitors are welcome at each session without charge.

The class meets every Monday at 8:30 p. m. Applicants will be admitted during this month only. Special rate for union or party members.

**Langdon-Davies Lecture**  
On Saturday, December 6, at 3:30 p. m., Mr. John Langdon-Davies, Labor party candidate for Parliament in the last election, will speak at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street, on the question "Can Science Save Society?" It will be a study in social psychology, and a query into which will win: men, microbe or machine.

**"Chopin and Liszt"**  
On Friday, December 5, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Herman Epstein will discuss "Chopin and Liszt" in his course "With the Great Composers," at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. Mr. Epstein will give a brief biography of each and tell of the special contribution of each to musical literature. He will play several of their compositions.

**Nearing On Egypt**  
On Saturday, December 5, at 1:30 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will talk on "The Egyptian Crisis," in his Current Events Class.

On Tuesday, December 9, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. August Claessens will discuss "The Environmental Element" in his course in "Elements of Social Progress," at the Rand School. This lecture will deal with

the influence of the physical and economic elements upon social change and human progress. Illustrations will be given of influences and events over which man has but little control.

**Smertenko On Vajda**  
On Wednesday, December 10, at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Johan Smertenko will discuss the plays of Ernest Vajda in his "Current Drama" class at the Rand School. He will compare the sophisticated and straightforward attitude toward sex of the Europeans with the unrestrained or inhibited handling of the subject by Americans, shown in such plays as "Grounds for Divorce," "Desire Under the Elms" and "The Guardsman." On Thursday, December 11, at 7:00 p. m., Dr. Scott Nearing will discuss the question, "Can a Radical Political Party be Established in the United States?" in his "Current Opinion" course at the Rand School.

The Women's Committee of the Rand School, recently organized to further the educational and other activities of the school, is arranging a cabaret, dance and midnight supper for New Year's Eve, at the school, 7 East 15th street. The auditorium will be appropriately decorated by a committee of artists, and well known talent will contribute to make this an interesting and joyful evening.

To cover all expenses, the charge is ten dollars per couple. Friends interested to greet the New Year at the school may notify Mrs. Bertha Maily, 7 East 15th street.

### Brownsville Lecture

Charles Solomon will be the speaker in the regular course of lectures given by the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street, Brooklyn, Friday night. His subject will be, "Is the British Labor Party Revolutionary?"

## CAUGHT WITH THE GOODS!!

How could we know that the sun was going to shine in November? We prepared the largest stock of Woolens to make Overcoats to Order. Now we have got to make them. Our rule not to carry any stock from one season to another compels us to make this drastic reduction.

### 15% Reduction Sale On All Overcoats Made to Order

The MAJESTIC seldom makes "sales." Our regular prices are always cheaper than any in the city.

### WORUMBO OVERCOATS TO ORDER

that other custom tailors charge \$100 and more, regular MAJESTIC price 65, now, with a reduction of 15 per cent, only

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made of the finest materials, in Styles of your own selection, at the following prices:

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98 Second Ave., near 6th St.  
112 West 116th St., bet. Lenox & 7th Aves.  
98 University Place, near 12th St.  
953 Southern Blvd., near 163rd St.  
2391 SEVENTH AVENUE (between 139th-140th Streets).  
138 WEST 14th STREET. (Between Sixth and Seventh Avenues.)



# The Political Issue Straddled - IMPRESSIONS OF THE A. F. of L. CONVENTION - By JAMES ONEAL

Although the full proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor are not at hand, there are some outstanding features of the convention that enable us to draw some conclusions. With the hearty reception given to Peter Grassman, fraternal delegate of the German Federation of Trade Unions, the old anti-German prejudice and hostility of the A. F. of L. passed into history. It was a government-made article in the first place and the documentary material published since the end of the war shows that the old myth of exclusive German guilt was a falsehood. But Mr. Gompers and his leading associates accepted the myth as revealed truth and down to two years ago the relations of the A. F. of L. to the European Labor movement have been affected by it. We may be thankful for this one item of progress.

The fraternization with the Mexican delegates was to be expected. It was one of the most inspiring displays of solidarity between the workers of two nations that has ever occurred. When it is remembered that Mexico is the one nation in the Western Hemisphere which American imperialism has for years coveted and with which we may be at war for the glory of American investors, this reaffirmation of solidarity across frontiers is significant and promising of peace.

By way of contrast to these gestures of solidarity with German and Mexican Labor the reception accorded to Commander Drain of the American Legion may be mentioned. His speech did not differ from that of the professional militarist of Germany, England, France or any other country. Did he favor peace and disarmament? Of course, but—Then he proposed a peace and preparedness measure in a universal conscription bill and he was sure that we must have a navy equal to that of any other navy in the world. Industry must be kept prepared for war and the "adequate strength" of land and sea reserves must be kept up.

Yet all this might easily be preparation for the slaughter of the German and Mexican workers whose solidarity with American workers had just been pledged. And whatever the preparation, it certainly would not be war to increase the incomes of the workers, to reduce hours, to promote education or to guarantee leisure to the working class. It would be a war growing out of the investments, trade or loans of a class that wages war upon the organized workers themselves. This speech of Drain's was a dash of cold water upon that idealism that pledged peace across frontiers. Certainly the progressive delegates must have been chilled when listening to it.

Two matters that threatened considerable discussion and possibly division was the quarrel between the United Mine Workers and Warren S. Stone of the Locomotive Engineers and the struggle between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Building Trades Department. For many months the miners have charged Stone with running non-union mines in West Virginia and of having served eviction notices upon union miners. Discussion was avoided by referring the controversy to the Executive Council.

The trouble with the carpenters is one of the numerous jurisdiction disputes that inevitably grow out of the organization of many unions in a given industry. The carpenters are the second largest union affiliated with the A. F. of L. They disagreed with the sheet metal workers over a matter of jurisdiction and left the Building Trades Council. Through accident or design the quarrel did not come before the convention and it still awaits settlement by the National Board of Jurisdictional Awards this month. Because of its power the carpenters have been dealt with much more delicately than if they constituted a weak union.

The big question before the convention was anticipated to be its action regarding political policy. There were Davis supporters in the recent campaign like Berry of the Pressmen who were ready to defend

their support of the Democratic party. There were Democrats and Tammany men from New York. There were Republicans from a few of the larger cities who either have political jobs or who are expectant job holders. They undoubtedly were ready to fight any attempt to criticize them for their support of capitalist parties.

But this was avoided in the cleverly worded document which was adopted by the convention. In very guarded language it paid a tribute to the A. F. of L. political action in 1924 while reaffirming its non-partisan political policy. The report was a straddle and must have been recognized as such by all elements in the convention.

It is interesting to note the evolution of George L. Berry of the Pressmen on this question. In 1912 he was one of the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to the British Trade Union Congress. He joined with J. H. Walker in praising the British Labor party, saying that the British workers in the "organization of their political party, the success achieved by it, and the continual exchange of views among the members, as well as the work of education carried on by the Labor party, have done an immense work in educating the workers politically."

In the A. F. of L. convention of the following year Berry presented a resolution favoring the organiza-

tion of a Labor party in the United States similar to that of the British Labor party. He proposed a political federation of the trade unions, farm organizations, the Woman's Suffrage League and the Socialist Party "for the purpose of establishing a working agreement that will provide the means of joint action upon the political field." Berry has since become one of the most conservative trade union leaders. There does not seem to be anything left of his progressive outlook of twelve years ago.

The delegates of the Molders and the Operative Potters introduced resolutions at El Paso in favor of an independent party. Only two men spoke in favor of the proposal although there were undoubtedly more in favor of it. These delegates did not speak or vote for the resolutions as they probably thought it was a useless waste of effort. They are correct because a resolution of the A. F. of L. will not create a Labor party. Such a decision must be made by the separate unions and this decision can only follow intense educational work among the members of these unions.

But the rejection of the resolutions favoring the organization of a Labor party also affords another contrast. The delegates were looking forward to a visit to Mexico City where a Labor movement hardly more than ten years old was preparing to inaugurate a President of the

Republic, who represents a political conquest of that movement. This Mexican Labor movement also controls the State Legislatures and has the heaviest representation in the Chamber of Deputies. If the A. F. of L. were to reciprocate the invitation of the Mexican Federation of Labor and invite the latter to send representatives to Washington on March 4 next, it would ask Mexican Labor to celebrate the inauguration of a President whose chief claim to

(Continued on Page 11)

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## Socialism, Labor and Politics -:- -:- By JACOB PANKEN (Judge of the City Court, New York City)

### II. What We Expected

(This is the second of a series of three articles discussing the political labor scene in America today. The first, "What We Expected," appeared in last week's New Leader. The third, "What Next," will appear next week. The New Leader welcomes the views of its readers on the questions raised by this series.)



JUDGE PANKEN

after La Follette spurned them, they provided for the possibility of replacing their chosen candidates by La Follette and his running mate. Opportunism of the rankest kind.

#### Our Past Policy

The Socialist Party up to 1924 acted in accord with its proven policy; that is, Labor must, to emancipate itself, not only be organized on the economic field but must act independently on the political field.

As already indicated, it joined with organized Labor, industrial or agricultural, on every occasion on the economic field and with every attempt on the political field.

When the Conference for Progressive Political Action was organized by Labor, the Socialist Party in accord with its policy became part of it. The Cleveland convention of the C. P. P. A. held for us a great hope. We all came to lay the cornerstone of a Labor party.

It may be futile at this time to say that a Labor party could have been formed at the Cleveland convention. It was my conviction after having talked with actually dozens

of delegates from Labor organizations that they would have supported the formation, there and then, of a Labor party. It certainly was more possible at that time than it will be in the January conference. One thing is certain, that the July 4th convention was predominantly made up of Labor men. That may not be so at the January convention.

The Socialists gathered in Cleveland as delegates to the C. P. P. A. or to the party's National convention; met in caucus on July 3. Every State delegation spoke and in every instance speaking for their constituents they expressed the opinion that our joining with the C. P. P. A. in the impending campaign depended upon the formation of a Labor party by the July convention.

In a word, the Socialist Party was ready to become an integral part of an American Labor party. It was for the purpose of forming such a Labor party and joining with it that we had come to Cleveland.

Until the convention of the C. P. P. A. had actually convened, the Socialist Party caucus had no authentic information of what transpired in the executive sessions of the National Committee of the C. P. P. A. We did not know what Senator La Follette's position was with regard to the formation of a party. It is now apparent by reason of his public statements and speeches that it should not have been expected that he would stand for a Labor party. Only after the first session were we told that the Senator did not approve of even a third party at that time.

#### La Follette's Statement

In the statement read by his son at the convention, he made it quite clear that he was not favorable to the formation of a party, that he was an independent candidate for the Presidency, running on his own prepared platform, and ready to accept the endorsement of all and sundry groups and individuals who were in agreement with him and accepted his platform.

His statement left the convention cold. It was a disappointment. Even after the La Follette pronouncement a Labor party could have been formed.

Senator La Follette having announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency, could do nothing else but accept the endorsement of a Labor party; that was, however, already out of the question. We had become very differential and different to every one. The National Committee of the C. P. P. A. had already decided or agreed not to launch a party at that convention and Mr. La Follette's personal representatives were on the scene, dictating the policies of the convention.

There was still hope of laying the foundation at least for a political party in nominating a candidate for Vice-President, organizing a National Committee and nominating candidates for State offices and Congress in the various States.

Such a proposal was made in the Socialist caucus. It is now admitted on all sides, that the failure to accept some such plan played havoc with the chances for a successful campaign.

Nothing came of it. It was argued that it might cause irritation if proposed at the C. P. P. A. convention, although it was admitted that it could be carried. That action taken at that time would result at least in the laying of a cornerstone for the movement which we sought.

We went into the C. P. P. A. convention with the hope of getting a Labor party; we came out of it committed to the support of an inde-

pendent candidate for President who is opposed to Socialism and who permitted us to endorse him upon the conditions he laid down, and committed blindly to his running mate whom he did not at that time know.

#### New Socialist Policy

The Socialists have become practical. We wanted results. We lost sight of the fact that we were able to build up a Socialist movement in America by an appeal for our ideals; we forgot that for thirty years or more we derided reform movements as capable of doing any lasting good and taught our sympathizers not to depend and place faith only in good men. We forgot that for decades we had been preaching political action on class lines.

Our change in policy led the Socialists of Rochester to endorse a Democratic candidate for Congress and our nominating a Republican in the City of New York for a like office. These acts were the natural consequence of what we did in Cleveland.

For many years the Socialist Party has consistently been supported by the radical trade unions. The leadership as well as the membership had become imbued with Socialist principles. They supported us financially, they worked with us in our campaigns, they manned the polls on Election Day. In this last campaign the financial help of these unions went to the C. P. P. A. and very little of it was given to the Socialist Party.

#### Some Campaign Results

Not so long ago a radical trade unionist would be ashamed to have it known that he supported a capitalist for public office, no matter how friendly such candidate was towards Labor. In the last campaign the gates were let down.

A basis was laid down for the support of capitalist candidates. I asked a prominent Labor leader of whom it was said that he supported a capitalist candidate whether it was true, saying that I did not deem it class conscious, to which he replied that since this was not a straight Socialist campaign it was permissible to select the best man.

On the same grounds there are some who justify the conduct of the Trades and Labor Council of New York in repudiating the La Follette endorsement. They argue, true without justice, that these men had a right to believe Davis more progressive than La Follette. If it is a question of progressives—Progress-

## Socialism, Labor and Politics -:- -:-

Opportunism is defined as a sacrifice of principle under certain circumstances, especially in politics (Webster's Dictionary).

Since 1920, Socialists in America in common with the Socialists of Europe charged the Bolsheviks of Russia with being opportunists. The thinkers of the Socialist movement immediately after the November revolution called attention to the fact that the Russians had embarked on an adventure. It seemed to them impossible that this adventure would succeed. They pointed out the attempt to bridge a period in history of social development ran counter to the Socialist theory.

An industrially backward country is incapable of establishing a Socialist regime.

The differences of opinion on that question in 1919 was the rock upon which the Socialist Party split.

The left wing claimed to be Marxian; as a matter of fact, they were opportunists and their history since has proven that. The Communist or Workers' party in America has repeatedly forsaken principle in an effort to further political fortunes. It was ready to unite with Progressives, Liberals, Reformers and what not. It courted Borah, it bowed to La Follette.

The St. Paul convention was engineered to nominate La Follette. The Communists were ready to accept him on any terms, and even

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(ORGANIZED OCTOBER 19, 1884)



# British Labor Delegate's Message to American Workers

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Trade Unionists:

I want, in the first place, to express in behalf of myself and my colleague the very great pleasure it gives us to find your venerable Chairman, Mr. Gompers, sufficiently recovered in health to be able to preside over this convention.

It is with a great consciousness of pride that I bear the honor of bringing to you the fraternal greetings of the several millions of organized workers affiliated to the British Trades Union Congress.

The greetings I bring to you are no empty and pious phrases, they are the head and heart expressions of our people across the water for a closer economic, political, social and industrial unity. We want your help, and your support and cooperation in all our big tasks—in our efforts to make the lives of our people happier and better than they are, and we want to reciprocate by helping you in the same way, whenever and wherever possible.

For the British working class movement this is a year of anniversaries. We have been celebrating at home the diamond jubilee of the Labor and Socialist International, the centenary of the British trade union movement, the birth of the British Labor party, and the advent of the first British Labor Government. These are closely related events. We do not in Britain think of the movement sectionally, but as an organic unity with its international, its industrial and its political aspects so closely related that they cannot be dissociated. We are justly proud as trade unionists of the part that the industrial organizations have played in the building up of the modern Labor movement as we find it in Britain today.

Our story begins a hundred years ago, with the repeal of the anti-combination laws that were directed by the classes in control of political and economic power against the efforts of the working people to organize for their own protection and the advancement of their standards of life and labor. No fewer than thirty-four acts of Parliament extending over a period of five centuries were on the statute book at the opening of the nineteenth century. They embodied the most drastic measures that the governing classes could conceive to prevent the organization of the working people. They symbolized the savage persecution and brutal repression which the pioneers of trade unionism in our country had to face when they began the agitation that led finally to the repeal of the combination laws. It is a matter of history that these acts of Parliament were swept away in 1824 and the trade union movement properly regards that year as marking its birth. It is true that there were

## The High Lights of the Address Delivered by One of the British Delegates to the American Labor Convention Which Chester Wright Called "A Violation of Labor Diplomacy."

An Address by A. B. SWALES

The following is a part of the inspiring address of A. B. Swales, one of the fraternal delegates of Great Britain, to the convention of the American Federation of Labor which recently met at El Paso. This address is charged with that progressive and radical spirit, the willingness to venture on new policies and programs after careful discussion, which has brought the British Labor movement to what is practically leadership in the international movement of the working class. His address is an indication of the progress made by the organized workers of Great Britain and is worthy of careful consideration.

trade unions before 1824, but they existed as secret societies.

Under the combination laws it was a criminal offense for two or more working men to get together and agree to take action either to resist a wage reduction or to claim a wage increase. It is also true that the laws in theory applied to action on these lines on the part of the employers, but history yields no instance of proceedings having been taken against employers as they were in numerous cases against the workers who sought to combine. The great act of liberation that took place in 1824 bore immediate fruit in the creation of trade unions. Organizations sprang up like mushrooms and in the first few months following the repeal of these laws there were a remarkable number of industrial disputes. So serious indeed did the movement seem to the governing class that they proposed in Parliament the next year to restore the combination laws, and there was a fierce political agitation to prevent this being done. For many years after, in fact, the trade unions were scarcely conceded the right to exist and their activities were hampered by all sorts of restrictions and the pioneers of trade unionism suffered many hardships and persecutions, deportations and imprisonments whilst the industrial movement was getting upon its feet.

The recent congress that I attended at Hull about two months before I left England—which was the fifty-sixth annual congress of the British trades union movement—was a source of great satisfaction to everyone concerned in the welfare and progress of trade unionism in Great Britain. It revealed our strength and gave us great hope for the future.

This will be better understood by a comparison of the membership of the unions affiliated to our congress in pre-war years, and with the fluctuations of membership since then and up to the present time. In 1913 the total membership was 2,232,444. Then came the tide of war prosperity which carried us to the high water mark of a total membership of 6,505,482 in 1920. This record year was followed by a post-war reaction. The chill and bitter blasts of unemployment, the attacks on our wages and conditions by employers, attacks fiendishly planned, and most callously executed in some instances, these with other causes have left us with a membership of 4,328,235 in 1924.

### Four Years of Defense

The past four years have been a testing time, when our real strength was to be ascertained. Our members in the main have decided, very wisely I believe, that it was not a time for general attack or to pursue our fight for the reform and betterment of the conditions for our people, but rather a time for defense, and the conservation of our forces. Our financial resources have been called upon to an extent never equaled in the history of our movement. In the year 1921, 158 of our unions paid in unemployment benefit a sum of 35 million dollars approximately. In three years these same unions affiliated to our congress had paid away to their unemployed members 120 million dollars. My own union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, has paid in benefits, to its members, from July, 1920, the date of our amalgamation, up to June, 1924—a period of four years—no less a sum than 25 million dollars, approximately. We have faced our responsibilities to the members of our unions, and we believe the wisdom of our policy has resulted in preserving our movement from disintegration, for in spite of the losses in membership due to the causes which I have indicated, the numerical strength of our movement today is almost twice as strong as before the outbreak of war in 1914.

What the trade slump has cost the wage earners of Britain in actual reductions of their wages can be seen from the following facts. The trade slump began at the end of 1920. In the following year, 1921, there was a wage slash amounting to over 30 million dollars in the weekly full time wages of some seven and a quarter million wage earners. In the following year, 1922, there was a further reduction amounting to twenty million dollars a week affecting some seven and a

half millions, and in 1923 another cut of close upon twenty-three million dollars a week was sustained by three million workers. Altogether it has been estimated by the experts that the national wage bill of our country was practically reduced by half in these three years.

In other words, the employing class by their wage drive forced wages down and inflicted upon the wage earners an aggregate loss of close upon five billion dollars. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of economics can appreciate the effects of this stupendous loss of purchasing power on the part of the great mass of the consuming public in relation to trade and employment.

Trades unionism is not only the most vital force in our economic life, but in alliance with our political Labor movement is destined to become, in a very short time, the controlling influence in our country.

Those of you that have had the time and opportunity to watch our work from time to time will have noticed the development of our organization, the gradual reduction through amalgamation of many small unions, into fewer great unions. This year has seen the coming together of three such organizations amongst the general and semi-skilled workers into one great union of nearly half a million members strong. In England our unions are mostly fairly old bodies. They have built up traditions of their own; they each have their own and generally different scales of contributions and benefits. Their constitutions and rules vary one from the other, yet, notwithstanding these initial difficulties in the last four years amalgamations have taken place affecting nearly three million workers. Many small unions (and larger ones, too) have put aside the smaller pride in their own unions to bring about a solidification of all the workers in one particular group or industry.

As I stand here, meetings are taking place between officials of many unions, in different industries, with a view to still further fusions, and honest and sincere efforts are being put forth by the custodians of each union to make accommodations and adjustments to meet each other's difficulties, so that the larger and more efficient organization of the workers can become an accomplished fact.

The general council of the Trades Union Congress, of which I am proud to be a member, and honored by being its president for the next

twelve months, has done much to foster and promote these amalgamations. It has held nationwide "back to the union" campaigns, and has used as a slogan, the impelling appeal of "more unionists and less unemployment."

Each year at our congress, we review the work of the general council, and where it is advisable and where the desire has been expressed, give it more power and more work to do in these directions. It is the hope of many including myself that some day the hundreds of unions now affiliated to Congress will be reduced to the smallest possible number of unions, containing every worker by hand or brain in the entire country, and under the direction of one united general council, and I am not alone in believing that this day is not so far distant as many people are inclined to believe.

Among other necessary activities making for working class emancipation, our trade union movement places among the foremost the necessity of workers' education. More and more our unions are subscribing to the fact that educated trades unionism makes for effective trades unionism.

Our trade union congress has given a lead by creating an education committee and by urging the affiliated unions to take up educational work.

Over a long period of years several bodies have been interested in this work, including the Working Men's College, founded in 1854; Ruskin College, 1899; the Workers' Educational Association, 1903; the Central Labor College, 1909. The congress educational committee is charged with the responsibility of coordinating educational activities, and further, have made grants from our funds to assist working class educational institutions.

The younger generation of trades unionists are taking an intelligent interest in this phase of our work, and great advancement has been made in recent years in the number of classes and the number of students. Today, there are thousands of classes, and tens of thousands of students being trained for the working class movement. Our young men and women are being taught to understand the system of society in which we live; to comprehend the forces that bring about unemployment, enforced emigration, poverty and wars; and are encouraged to take their place in the struggle for working class emancipation, armed with knowledge, for knowledge is power. We have great faith in our young people, to carry on the good work, for the future leaders of our movement must come from the young men and young women of today.

The general council has also been able, and is the medium through which the British workers are able to assist their foreign comrades. We have given assistance to the German workers in their fight against a lengthening of the work-

ing day and week, for we know that if the German workers are compelled to work longer hours and if their wages are depressed, we in turn, being a competitive nation, will shortly after be liable to suffer the same fate.

In international trade union activities of this character, we have not confined ourselves to defensive work, but have done much to initiate movements, not the least is the present world-wide campaign, designed to prevent a recurrence of the ghastly,

un-Christian sheddings of blood, and the devastation that has just swept over Europe—the life-devouring tragedy of war. It is a sad commentary on our boasted civilization that after nearly two thousand years of civilization, the only method that we can find to settle disputes between nations is to blow out the brains or cripple and maim the bodies of human beings, and in the vast majority of these cases, they belong to our class, the working class.

I believe that we are all united in our hatred of war. I believe that we all want to advance to that stage of civilization where war will be impossible, but more than lip-service, and passive acquiescence is necessary. We must translate our beliefs and desires for peace into actions and practices, and to that end, our congress is working towards the international solidarity of the workers of the world.

### Urges A Labor Party Here

My fellow-delegate, Mr. Cramp, who is also the chairman of the executive committee of the British Labor party, will tell you of the great victory that the working class of Great Britain achieved at the general election in Great Britain in 1923, which resulted for the first time in the history of old England being governed by a working class Government. I will leave that inspiring and enthralling story, full as it is of romance and stupendous effort of many years' struggle, to my fellow fraternal delegate, but in passing, I just want to express if I may, one of the hopes of the British workers I represent—it is that we hope that it will not be long before you are as well organized politically as you are industrially, and that you will soon be in a position to challenge the old order of capitalists and autocrats, and take over the Government of this great country, not in any selfish one-class or one-party interest, but in the interest of the whole of your peoples.

In fact, so well were these representatives of the people managing our great national and international problems, that a combination of the political forces of the capitalist class defeated our Labor Government and a general election had just been completed when we sailed from England. There were indications that the old reactionary party, by a most stupendous effort, based on misstatement and trickery, had succeeded at the polls, and are to return to power in our Government. But we are not discouraged, for though there are personal defeats in some instances, and in others successes, the total vote cast for Labor candidates, has considerably increased, and our political movement is moving towards the time when Labor will be the dominant party in British politics.

The spirit running through our movement is, that—

"We have received our setbacks in the fray—a newer strength to borrow.

For where the vanguard rest today, the rear will rest tomorrow."

At the International Trade Union Congress I attended at Vienna a few months ago, considerable attention was focused on wider international solidarity. The congress decided to make an effort to secure the adherence of the Russian trade unions to the International, and I

believe we will be successful, for we have, I feel, nothing to fear or lose from Russia. They are workers like ourselves. Their temperaments and conditions may be different from ours, but I have faith that they will solve their problem. We will help them, and they will help us. Perhaps we have not fully understood them in the past, and they have not known us fully, but this is rapidly changing. We are coming together; not for Bolshevism, as parodied in the capitalist press, but for brotherhood. Unity will take the place of unrest if we are prudent and patient. We all have something to learn from each other, something to give and something to receive, and if we continue to deal with these problems in this spirit I feel sure that we will not suffer any setback, but go forward to a fully united body of the working-class organizations of all countries.

I will forego the pleasure, Mr. President, of elaborating further on the many activities of our movement overseas. I anticipate you have a long agenda before you. It will be a rare and wonderful experience for me to be amongst you, to watch you transacting your business. I hope to learn a good deal in the little time I will be in this great broad country of yours. I would like to stay much longer with you than my allotted time, both the beauty of the country I have passed through on my way to El Paso, and the wonderful hospitality and consideration that has been shown us, I can assure you, warms my heart.

I will have, I feel sure, a good inspiring message to take back to England, and the people who have sent me to convey their greetings will appreciate it all as much as I do.

One final word in conclusion. Let us come closer together. Just as science and civilization are bringing our countries closer together by means of faster steamships, airships, aeroplanes, wireless and radio, and many other things yet undreamt of, let us weld the spiritual bonds of friendship and fellowship still closer. Let us come together in our hearts, our aspirations, ideals and efforts. Let us be tolerant of each other, and seek to find that greater love and understanding that is the foundation of a new and better life for the peoples of all countries that we are seeking, striving and working for.

### Lectures to be Given on Health Conservation

Beginning December 5 and continuing every Friday evening at 8:30, Dr. B. Liber, editor of "Rational Living," will give a course of lectures on "Health Conservation for the Worker," at the Union Health Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 131 East 17th street, New York City. Admission free and questions answered. This course will be held through the winter and while each talk is independent and about a special topic, it is advisable to take the whole course in order to learn how to prevent disease. Do not miss the first lecture.

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# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

## Through the States

### CONNECTICUT

A lively campaign is being conducted by the State organization of the party on the occasion of the special Senatorial campaign with State Secretary M. F. Plunkett as the party's candidate. Special literature will be published and a number of campaign meetings will be held. Some of the meetings scheduled for the next few weeks will be held as follows:

New Haven on Sunday, December 7, at 2 p. m. in Moose Hall, with Comrade Morris Hillquit of New York as the special speaker. For this meeting the comrades expect to distribute 300 copies of The New Leader.

New London, December 7, with Jursek the principal speaker. Waterbury with Plunkett and Jursek.

Bridgeport, December 19, with Judge Jacob Panken.

Meetings will also be held in Hartford and other principal industrial centers.

### NEW JERSEY

Friday, December 5—Passaic, N. J. Speaker, August Claessens; subject—"The Home—Present and Future," auspices Women's Educational Club. Place, Workmen's Circle Building, 50 Howe avenue. On December 12, Claessens will lecture on "The Mental Differences of Men and Women."

Saturday, December 6—Camden, N. J. Lecturer, August Claessens. Subject—"The Odium of Mental Toil." Auspices, Socialist Party. Place, Maennerchor Hall, 1081 North 27th street, Camden, New Jersey.

### MISSOURI

#### Record Socialist Vote

The vote for Senator La Follette in Missouri was 84,160, of which about 30,000 was on the Socialist ticket. In the State, William M. Brandt received 21,043 votes for Governor, beating the highest previous Socialist vote. In St. Louis, La Follette received 28,758 votes and Brandt 8,628.

## New York Activities

### NEW YORK STATE

Last week, State Secretary Herbert M. Merrill issued a statement in which he said that the Socialist Party would discourage the organization of Third party units outside of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Through an error, the statement was made to read that the party would encourage such units. Merrill has therefore issued a statement emphasizing the party's position, saying that it is "the duty of Socialists to do everything in their power to discourage the organization of such unaffiliated groups, inasmuch as the C. P. P. A. is wide open to the admission of all groups that supported La Follette and Wheeler in the recent campaign."

"We Socialists are not interested in the organization of a bourgeois reform party, or in groups of political dillettanti. We have no use for any groups that are cool to organized Labor. If a Third party is to be organized regardless of the C. P. P. A., the Socialist Party, in my opinion, will say, 'Ladies and Gentlemen, go to it! If you think that you don't need the railway brotherhoods and other organized workers to make your movement successful, don't expect us to go with you. If you think that we are a tail of the Progressive kite that hinders you from getting the votes of the American people, try it without us for

once and see if you can get more votes than we can.'"

#### Local Kenwood-Sherrill

Local Kenwood-Sherrill discussed Comrade Stuhlman's letter in The New Leader at a meeting last week, and voted 8 to 3 in favor of continuing the party's present policy, with five members not voting.

#### Binghamton Vote Big

The Socialist local in this city was reorganized last summer by Samuel H. Stille and William M. Boyd, after several years of innocuous desuetude. It began with eighty members, and it is growing strong. Now note the election returns:

In 1920, the former high-water mark, 1,120 votes were cast for Comrade Debs. In 1922, Cassidy got 614.

In 1924, the vote was as follows: Norman Thomas, Governor...1,447 Charles Solomon, Lieut.-Gov...1,402 F. R. Crosswaith, Sec. of State...1,372 Theresa B. Wiley, Comptroller...1,450 Louis Waldman, Atty Gen...1,335 Boyd, Congress...1,444 Hanley, State Senator...1,491

The vote is remarkable in that it is a straight vote for the whole ticket from top to bottom, a vote for Socialist principles.

The Communist vote varied by 33 per cent, the lowest being 61 and the highest 82. The S. L. P. vote varied from 54 to 81.

## Angelo Creo

By THERESA MALKIEL

In memory of Angelo Creo, who died in a New York Hospital, November 27.

Creo was one of the many martyrs who fell victim to the war hysteria and its consequent persecution.

A member of the Socialist Party in local Albany, he with three other comrades of the same local spent almost two years in jail, sent there for the distribution of a leaflet calling for peace on earth, good will to men.

His care and protection of the older comrades in jail with him made Creo beloved to all those who knew of his devotion and many sacrifices made in order to lighten the burden of the others. Released from the penitentiary, Angelo felt a desire to learn more of the class struggle theoretically in order the better to serve his class.

He was the most zealous student in the full-time class in the Rand School, which he joined upon his arrival in New York. Every free minute of his time he gave to the New York Call, doing field work among the trade unions.

As a member of the Barbers' Union he served the organization faithfully in time of peace and threw himself enthusiastically into the work during the last strike. His wonderful work won him recognition, and though a newcomer in New York, he was unanimously chosen organizer of his local. At this post he worked day and night until carried to the hospital. He had waited too long, medical aid could no longer save—he died two days later.

In him the Labor and Socialist movement beheld an idealist of bygone days, a devotee of the type of Ben Hanford, a gentle loving comrade like our own 'Gene, a bitter enemy of capitalism and its consequent ills, determined not to stop or stoop before any obstacle, in his quest of human redemption. Since his type is largely becoming rare in our midst, his loss is the greater.

Let us, then, bear in mind that out there—in Cedar Grove Cemetery Long Island—in a modest grave lies buried a powerful soul. He died that humanity may live—his work and devotion should serve as a beacon of light—an example to all the comrades he left behind.

### NEW YORK COUNTY

Local New York, Socialist Party, has arranged for a meeting at the Labor Temple, 243 East 84th street, on Tuesday evening, December 9. The purpose of the meeting is to give chance for the freest discussion to the members of the party's plans

and policies; its relationship to a possible Labor or Liberal party; what it should do under certain possible contingencies, etc.

Heretofore when the party had to act on matters in connection with the Conference for Progressive Political Action it always was in the position of having to accept or reject a settled proposition. It could discuss, but in the end it had to say yes or no—go along or place itself in a position where it could be charged with initiating disruptive policies.

Now it is different: we can discuss and plan, too; we can outline policies and forward them. If another meeting be not enough to permit ample discussion, we can hold two or more, as many as the members want.

To get under ways with proper Parliamentary procedure, Judge Panken will open the discussion, after which the question will be the property of the meeting.

If, at that meeting, we do not finish to the satisfaction of all, we can come back a week later, and again and again if it should be necessary.

Locals Kings, Queen, Richmond and Bronx, and their members are invited to attend and participate. Don't forget the time and place: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th street, Tuesday, December 9.

### Peter Grassman to Meet Comrades

Comrade Peter Grassman of Hamburg, member of the German Reichstag and fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention and to the inauguration of President Calles of Mexico, regrets that he cannot give a date for a meeting in New York.

But he will meet the Socialists who wish to see him at the Aberdeen Hotel (32nd street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues) on Monday, December 8, between six and eight o'clock.

### Feigenbaum Lectures at 6th A.D.

William M. Feigenbaum will lecture for the 6th A. D., Local New York, Sunday night, on "Literature and Life." The lecture will be held at 257 East 4th street.

Friday night, December 12, Feigenbaum will speak at the 8th A. D., at 207 East 10th street. His subject will be announced next week.

### LOCAL BRONX

Definite arrangements have been for intensive educational work and party building during the coming months. August Claessens has been secured for a series of twelve lectures on "Social Progress and Human Nature." These lectures will be given at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road every Friday evening, beginning December 19. The hall has a capacity of over 200 and is being converted into an ideal class room for our educational work. Work will soon commence in calling special meetings of the enrolled Socialists in all of the Assembly districts with the object of strengthening our existing branches and the organization of new ones.

The Third Assembly district branch meets every 1st and 3rd Mon-

## THE WORKINGMEN'S COOPERATIVE PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION

The meeting of The Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association will be held on Wednesday, December 17, 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.

## LET US HELP EACH OTHER—BROTHER!

### Friend Union Man: I Will Help You. YOU Help Me.

If I am steadily employed earning Union wages it is spent here. As the community prospers you prosper. We are all benefited. Greedy Non-Union Manufacturers, mostly located in distant places, are in league with all other Non-Union manufacturers in an effort to destroy all Unions. Unless we ask Unionists to help each other we are helping avaricious open-shoppers. ALWAYS BUY UNION MADE PRODUCTS!

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62 East 4th St.  
Executive Board  
meets on the 2nd and  
4th Thursdays at the  
FORWARD BUILDING, 175 East  
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F. J. STERNHINKE, Pres. & Bus. Agent.  
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Executive Board  
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162 East 23rd Street.  
Regular Business  
Meetings every second  
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at Beethoven Hall, 219 East 5th Street

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

## It's Up to You!

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

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

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MORE AND IS MADE IN SANITARY SHOPS

Bakery & Confectionery Workers' International Union of America  
Organization Committee of Locals 87, 100, 163, 169 and 203

day at the Martinique Mansion, 156th and Beck streets.

The Fourth Assembly district branch meets every 1st and 3rd Tuesday at the headquarters, 1167 Boston Road.

Y. P. S. L. Circle One meets every Friday evening at the headquarters. Bronx County Executive Committee every other Monday.

### BROOKLYN

The Second A. D., Branch 2, will meet Friday, December 5, at 1745 East 8th street, in Comrade Feigenbaum's apartment, No. B-11. Members are urged to bring friends and prospects. An interesting program is promised.

#### Rogoff at 14th A. D.

Hillel Rogoff of the Jewish Daily Forward lectures every Sunday morning at eleven, at 319 Grand street. The lectures are under the direction of the 14th A. D., Socialist Party. Each week Rogoff discusses the events of the day, and will comment upon them from the Socialist standpoint.

#### Coney Island Branch

The Coney Island Branch of the party will meet Friday, December 5, at 2862 West 29th street, Coney Island. The branch has rented club rooms in the Women's Progressive Club, 22nd street and the Boardwalk, for a lecture every Friday night, to begin within a few weeks. Plans for the forum will be discussed at the meeting December 5.

#### Brownsville Sunday School

The Brownsville Socialist Sunday School can still register a few hundred more boys and girls between the ages of eight and sixteen, and parents are urged to send their children to register on Sunday morning at 10 a. m. in the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman street.

The school has recruited an excellent teaching staff who contribute their services free, and is in a position to handle many more pupils than last year. With the dancing, singing, orchestra and athletic club features, the school is most interesting this year.

The fee is nominal, 25 cents covering the entire charge for the full course of the school.

### QUEENS COUNTY

Oneal Speaks in Jamaica  
The next meeting of Branch Jamaica, to be held Friday evening, December 12, at the home of Barnett Wolff, 57 Beaufort avenue (near 138th street), Jamaica, James Oneal will talk on the outlook for the Socialist Party in view of the results of the election of November 4. Party members are urged to come early and to bring their friends.

#### Lost

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## DRESSMAKERS

**Members of Local No. 22 ATTENTION!!!**

Elections for a Secretary-Treasurer, Sick Benefit Committee and Executive Board Members of our Local will be held on

**Thursday, December 11, 1924**

Voting will take place during the entire day, from 9 A. M. to 7 P. M., at the following places:

JOINT BOARD OFFICE, 130 EAST 25th STREET.  
MAIN LOCAL OFFICE, 16 WEST 21st STREET.  
HARLEM OFFICE, 165 EAST 121st STREET.  
DOWNTOWN OFFICE, 33 SECOND AVENUE.  
BROOKLYN OFFICE, 105 MONTROSE AVENUE.  
BROOKLYN OFFICE, 229 SACKMAN STREET.

Following is a list of candidates who have been found eligible to run for the various Local offices:

#### Secretary-Treasurer

(Vote for One Only)

PORTNOY, JULIUS SCHOENHOLTZ, ISIDORE

#### Sick Benefit Committee

(Vote for Three—For or Against)

BLOCK, WILLIAM HIMMELFARB, WILLIAM PERLSTEIN, PHILIP

#### Executive Board

(Vote for Twenty-Five Only)

Avrutsky, Mary	Goldberg, Max	Mattis, Bennie
Bagoon, Sarah	Golos, Fannie	Mattison, Annie
Bernstein, Sarah	Halpern, Pearl	Neiman, Sonia
Block, William	Himmelfarb, William	Olivenstein, Fannie
Cannel, Isaac	Hochfeld, Max	Pecker, Samuel
Cantor, Fannie	Hodovitz, Morris	Rabinowitz, Joseph
Castrol, Bessie	Horowitz, Sonia	Romanoff, Bella
Chinitz, Rose	Kalman, Harry	Rosenberg, Rose
Cohen, Dora	Kaminsky, Esther	Rosenthal, Louis
Cooper, Jacob	Kant, Jacob	Roth, Harry
Dachs, Edward	Katz, Mollie	Rovner, Jacob
Etkin, Samuel	Kidlick, Bessie	Schulman, Pauline
Farber, Fannie	Klein, Aaron	Shapiro, Ida
Farbush, Isidore	Levine, Harry	Shapiro, Pauline
Fine, Meyer	Lieberberg, Sadie	Silver, Isaac
Fox, Clara	Liss, Alter	Tauwer, Samuel
Golden, Jennie	Lupin, Abraham	Weidberg, Dave
Goldberg, Clara	Margolis, Charles	Wilensky, Jeannette
	Markinson, Fannie	Zucker, Rose

Faternally yours,

ELECTION COMMITTEE,

LOCAL 22.

P. S.—No one will be permitted to vote without a Union Book. Only those showing brown books will be allowed to vote.

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**Player Pianos**  
DIRECT FROM MANUFACTURER  
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Smoke **UNION-MADE CIGARS**  
DEMAND THIS LABEL

If the Box does not have this Label, the Cigars are NOT Union-Made.  
**INSIST ON the UNION LABEL**

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**YOU WILL FIND IT UNDER THE SWEATBAND**  
**United Hatters of N. A.**  
Rm. 418 Bible House, N. Y.  
**MARTIN LAWLER, Secretary**



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ABRAHAM BAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer

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Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U.

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Telephone Lexington 4180

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY THURSDAY AT THE OFFICE OF THE UNION

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## CLOAK, SUIT and REEFER OPERATORS' UNION

of Greater New York

Local No. 2, I. L. G. W. U.

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MEYER PERLSTEIN, Administrator

Telephone: Madison Square, 3590-3591

## CHILDREN'S CLOAKS and REEFER MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL 17, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 144 Second Avenue

Telephone Orchard 0415-0416

Regular Meetings Every Thursday Evening at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.

ABRAHAM GOLDEN, President. ABRAHAM GOLDEN, Chairman of the Executive Board.

## DRESSMAKERS' UNION

OF GREATER NEW YORK, LOCAL 22, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 16 West 21st St.

Watkins 7950

The Executive Board meets every Tuesday at 7 P. M. in the Office. Branch meetings are held every 1st and 3rd Thursday of the month.

MAX BLUMSTEIN, Chairman

I. SCHOENHOLTZ, Manager-Secretary

## Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers

Union Local 48, I. L. G. W. U.

Office, 231 E. 14th Street

Lexington 4540

Executive Board meets every Thursday at 7:30 P. M.

SECTON MEETINGS: Downtown—231 E. 14th St. 1st & 3rd Friday at 8 P. M.

Brooklyn—E. 18th St. & S. Boulevard 1st & 3rd Thurs. 8 P. M.

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

W. 42nd—106 Montrose Ave. 1st & 3rd Sunday 12 A. M.

SALVATORE NINPO, Manager-Secretary

## SAMPLE MAKERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 3, I. L. G. W. U.

130 East 58th St.

Madison Sq. 147

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETS EVERY TUESDAY AT 8 P. M.

D. RUBIN, Manager-Secretary

## United Neckwear Makers' Union

LOCAL 11010, A. F. of L.

3 East 18th St. Phone: Stuyvesant 7082

Joint Executive Board meets every Tuesday night at 7:30 o'clock in the office.

LOUIS FELDHEIM, President

ED. GOTTFREY, Sec'y-Treas.

L. D. BERGER, Manager

LOUIS FUCHS, Bus. Agent

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## NORWAY

Labor's Popular Vote Increased

While detailed reports of the election for the Norwegian Parliament on October 20 do not change the standing of the Labor parties as given in The New Leader of October 25, i. e. nine Social Democrats, twenty-four Laborites and six Communists, they show that there was an increase of about 48,000 in the Labor popular vote, compared with that cast in October, 1921. The Social Democratic vote was about 85,500, a gain of some 3,000; that of the Labor party, 175,000; and that of the Communists, 58,000. (In 1921 before the Communist party had split into the present Labor party, headed by Deputy Tranmael, and the 100 per cent Moscovites, led by Scheffo, its vote was about 188,000). Thus the combined strength of the Labor voters, exceeds that of the united Right parties, which polled some 315,000 votes. The total membership of the Storting is 150 Deputies, of whom the Agrarians have twenty-three (a gain of six), the Radicals thirty-two (a loss of five), the Conservatives and National Liberals, fifty-four (a loss of three), and the Radical People's party, two (no change). According to a Christiania dispatch to the Berlin Vorwärts, the Communists took their defeat so seriously that they hoisted the red flag at half mast over their headquarters the day after election.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Socialists Gain, Communists Split

Further evidence of the steady advance of the Socialist forces in the Czechoslovak Republic at the expense of the Communists and the reactionaries is found in the result of the municipal election held in the important industrial city of Prostějov on October 26. At the last municipal election in March of this year the Czechoslovak Social Democrats cast 2,955 votes and won eight seats; this time they cast 4,338 votes and won eleven seats. The Communists polled 2,291 votes last March and got six seats; this time the regular Communist organization got 1,095 votes and three seats, while a dissident group composed of radicals for whom the national office, largely controlled by Dr. Sméral, is too moderate, cast 487 votes and won one seat. The Clericals had their seats reduced from seven to six, while the Czechoslovak National Socialists increased their representation by one seat to seven. As the National Socialists and the Communists are expected to cooperate with the Social Democrats on practical local questions, the Labor group, with twenty-two seats, against twenty held by all the other parties together, is in control of the political situation in Prostějov. The total vote was 16,881, as 93 per cent of the electors went to the polls.

On the same day, October 26, there were local elections in the political district of Janeg-Ullersdorf which resulted in good Social Democratic gains, the vote in most instances equalling that cast in 1920, before the Communist split, and in some places even exceeding it. The Communist vote was small.

Karl Cermak, Vice-president and Secretary of the German Social Democratic party in Czechoslovakia, died on October 31 after a long and painful illness at the age of 44. Karl Cermak was born in Vienna and was an active member of the old Austrian Social Democratic party under Victor Adler and Josef Seliger. He was editor of the party paper in Teplice-Schoenau and, when Czechoslovakia gained her independence from Austria, he became a member of Parliament and party secretary of the German Socialist party. When comrade Cermak was buried at Prague on November 3, the funeral was attended by representatives of brother parties and all other Labor organizations in Czechoslovakia. Messages of sympathy were received from the International and from several foreign parties.

## GREAT BRITAIN

Forty-two Miners' M. P.'s Of the 153 Labor and Socialist members of Parliament, forty-two are members of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. There were forty-seven miners' candidates in the election, of whom forty were elected. Two other miners were elected as official candidates of local labor parties.

The forty-two constitute the most aggressive and uncompromising section of the Labor party, and it is interesting, therefore, to recall, that the Miners' Union was the last important union in the country to join the Labor party. When the party was organized in 1900, the M. F. G. B. (the official initials of the Miners' Federation) held aloof, in spite of the fact that the first Labor M. P. was Keir Hardie, a founder and long-time official of the miners, and that the Labor party was his creation.

In 1906, in addition to twenty-nine members of the Labor party elected, fifteen members of the Miners' Union were elected as Liberals. The union joined the Labor party in 1908, and eleven of the fifteen crossed the aisle and enrolled under Hardie's leadership, the remaining four remaining as Liberals. Since 1908, under the inspiring leadership of such men as Robert Smillie, the M. F. G. B. has become the largest and the most uncompromising

missing trade union in the world.

Oswald Mosley, son-in-law of Lord Curzon and most spectacular recruit to the Labor party within the past year, may yet get his seat in Parliament, supplanting Neville Chamberlain in Birmingham, and depriving Mr. Baldwin's cabinet of one of its most illustrious members.

Mosley, who had a "safe" Tory seat until he joined the Socialist movement, contested the Ladywood Division of Birmingham, long a stronghold of protection and of the Chamberlain family. The fight was at first considered merely a propaganda venture, but the Socialists surprised everyone by wiping out the Liberals, polling 13,297 votes, to 539 for the Liberals. The largest Labor vote ever polled there before was about 2,000. On the first count, Chamberlain was declared elected by four votes; on a recount, Mosley was the winner by three and a third, Chamberlain by seventy-seven. There will be a judicial recount, and Chamberlain may lose his former "cinch" seat.

## GERMANY

The Socialist Gains In Anhalt

Examination of the detailed results of the election of the Anhalt Diet, held November 9, show that the cable reports of what happened in that little German State were far from being accurate. Not only did the Social Democrats increase their popular vote from 64,943, cast in the Diet election of June 22 last, to 78,672, but they elected fifteen deputies, so that, together with the three Democrats and one Land Reformer (who may be counted upon to work with the Socialists in most things), they have a good working majority in the Diet of thirty-six members. In the former Diet the Socialists had thirteen seats, the Democrats one, and the Land Reformers one; so that the Socialists could not rule without the help of the four Communists, while the bourgeois parties were unable to run the State. Now there are only two Communists in the Diet, with one Ludendorff man where there were two before, and the Bourgeois bloc has only fourteen seats. The Communist popular vote fell from 16,714 in June to 11,247, while the Ludendorffites (misnamed National Socialists) declined from 7,989 to 7,942, and the bourgeois parties from 74,514 to 74,482. The Democrats increased their vote from 6,188 to 13,991. In the Reichstag election of May 4, the Communists cast 22,799 votes, the Socialists 65,78, and the Ludendorffites 9,631. There were local elections in Anhalt and Schwerin a week after the Diet election, which resulted practically the same as the Diet elections, the Socialists and Democrats making big gains, while the Communists and the Right parties lost. Local contests in Mecklenburg-Strelitz and in West Prussia showed about the same results.

## MALTA

The Island of Malta, a British colony in the Mediterranean Sea, boasts of one of the largest and most enthusiastic branches of the British L. L. P., a weekly paper, "The Labor Leader," is published, and in addition, large quantities of literature are imported from England. Propaganda is carried on in English and Italian, which is the official language of the colony.

## FRANCE

Socialists to Stand by Herriot That the semi-radical Government headed by Premier Herriot may continue to count upon the support of the hundred-odd Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies so long as its actions do not conflict with the interests of the proletariat was decided upon at a meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of France held November 1 and 2.

By a unanimous vote it was declared that, while the Socialist Party must reject anything calculated to cause it to lose its individuality and principles as part of the Left Block, which won the big victory at the polls on May 11, and must continue to carry on a vigorous Socialist propaganda, it must also not fail to lend its support to the Cabinet in so far as the latter's work was progressive and pro-working class. By a vote of 1,130 to 780 a motion on the budget problem was adopted providing that the Socialist Deputies could vote for the Government's budget in cases where refusal would play into the hands of the reaction and also when the budget was so influenced by Socialist Parliamentary activity as to make it of practical value along progressive lines. In response to objections raised by Comrades Bracke, Pressmane, Faure and several others to the effect that voting the budget would hurt the party, Comrades Blum, Renaudel and their partisans insisted that their support really meant something to the Herriot Government.

The result of the meeting shows that the Socialists mean to use every lever at hand for the purpose of putting through the reforms promised during the campaign, such as reinstatement of the railroad men discharged during the last big strike, political amnesty and war on the high cost of living. Since the meeting, cable reports have told of the extension of the amnesty action and the reinstatement of most of the railroaders. The National Committee also adopted a resolution urging Herriot to complete the separation of church and State in Alsace-Lorraine despite the threats of the reaction. The party dues were raised two francs a year to help finance Le Populaire, which now has a circulation of about 50,000. The next party congress will be held in Grenoble in February.

## For Socialists

1	2	3	4	5	6
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## HORIZONTAL:

- Wants to revise things.
- Rebel colloquial for old party voter.
- Neither.
- Plural for minute printers measure.
- Favorite cross-word puzzle bird.
- Common appellation for coin of resin.
- Into-prefix.
- Distort.
- Exclamation of arrogance.
- Subject of recent French memoir.
- Reason for nullifying child Labor law.
- For example.
- Army officer—abr.
- Abr. for an Albany College.
- Nemesis of W. J. B.
- Alleged to have magical qualities.
- Organization of patriots—abr.
- Promise.
- Last three letters of North African principality.
- Slang for drunk.
- In the sheep family.
- Electrically charged current.
- To vision.
- Supposed to dominate human race.
- Articles of trade.

## VERTICAL:

- Philosophy of industrial adjustment.
- Desert rarity.
- On wheels in Canada.
- Arrived.
- To lay foundation.
- Combination of producers.

- Used by typesetters.
- Important—abr.
- Where Sovietism flourishes.
- Overwhelming.
- Keep.
- Large textile union—abr.
- Subject of Euro-African controversy.
- Present.
- Jere.
- Poem by Shelley.
- Those present.
- Old Boston party.
- And Lat.
- A near relative.

Abraham Tuvim.

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# Roads To Freedom

By HARRY W. LAIDLER, Ph. D.

## II. THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

### PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

How much public, cooperative and private ownership do the Socialists advocate in their Socialist commonwealth? Why do they not urge Government ownership of ALL industry? What kind of industrial control and administration do they seek? What would be the place of the consumer, the worker and the technician in Socialist industry? What incentives should be resorted to under Socialism to develop the maximum social efficiency? In what industries and professions are non-profit incentives now operating effectively? What functions of the present State should be abandoned and what functions should be retained under Socialism?

What criticism, if any, have you of the tentative plan of the miners? of the railway workers (the Plumb plan)? How, in your opinion, should Socialists proceed in this country to socialize industry if they were in power? What kind of international economic organizations should they endeavor to evolve in order to eliminate the causes of international disputes and to equalize as much as practicable the opportunities for higher standards of life in various parts of the world?

pensation "according to breed," however, would, it is hoped, no longer exist.

The end to be attained here, as well as in the matter of ownership, would be social efficiency and social happiness, and those forms of compensation which proved best fitted to bring about these ends in particular occupations would gradually replace other forms.

Socialists, however, are aware that even now people are motivated by other than the profit incentive—the incentive of social prestige, the desire to create, to pay one's way in life, to develop one's potentialities, to serve one's fellow men and to be a part of a great enterprise—while many are kept in productive work through the enormous power of mere habit and custom. To the extent that the money incentive is necessary to bring out the best sort of efficiency, to that extent it can be utilized in a Socialist society. However, the greatest possible encouragement will be given to other incentives, and they may be depended upon to be more influential as the years go on under a system of production for use rather than for profit.

### The State Under Socialism

Socialists oppose a class state utilized for the purpose of keeping down an oppressed class. They believe, however, that some machinery is necessary, whether it be called the state or not, for the purpose of expressing the will of all the citizens. Such a machinery should be thoroughly democratic, should give adequate room for the expression of minority opinion, and should not interfere with the freedom of the individual to order his own life, except where the exercise of that right interferes with the equal rights of others.

### Social Institutions

While the family and religion, like every other social institution, are constantly undergoing change, the Socialist movement puts forth no proposals interfering with monogamy or with religious beliefs. Opposition to the family has never been a part of Socialist platforms or programs. On the contrary, there is every indication, Socialists maintain, that the character of the family will be greatly improved under Socialism. The ethical life of the community as well is bound to rise to greater heights under a cooperative system.

### Transition to Socialism

Socialists realize that all industry that only under a system of social ownership can these objects be attained, but it is also their belief that only future experience can tell what particular forms this socializing process should take.

### Representation of All Elements in Control

An effort would be made throughout, in the various publicly owned industries, to eliminate bureaucratic and autocratic control, and to ensure that all of those elements that are concerned in the running and in the success of the industry—the workers, the technicians and administrators and the general public—be given adequate representation in industrial control.

### Remuneration and Incentive Under Socialism

Socialists are not committed to any one form of compensation of intellectual and manual producers under a cooperative system. Undoubtedly the principles of compensation "according to deed," compensation based on length of service and equal compensation would all play their part, while the law of supply and demand could not be ignored. Compensation based on ownership of industry, compensation "according to greed" and com-

mission of Mines, should assist in ascertaining factors which must be known before wages for particular kinds of work can be scientifically determined.

### Conditions of Success

The conditions of success for nationalization, the authors of the plan maintain, are:

- "1. Administrative organizing minds in the public service;
- "2. A competent technical staff;
- "3. A 100 per cent organized union;
- "4. Collective bargaining publicly accepted as a basis of wage agreements;
- "5. A large labor representation in all departments of government; and
- "6. A political labor party. The conditions of nationalization are a 100 per cent union and a political labor party. A democratic policy like nationalization can be achieved only in a democratic State."

This line of approach to the problem of nationalization is probably that along which in general Socialists would proceed in the reorgan-

(Continued on Page 9)

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## Anderson's Biography

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In such a short while—it is only eight years since "Windy McPherson's Son," his first novel—Sherwood Anderson has emerged from an obscurity penetrated only by a few extremely alert critics and a very small reading public into the ranks of the "best sellers." The remarkable thing about the popularity that has followed closely on the heels of his first recognition less than a decade ago, is the fact that he has made himself known and won a fame already international, without having compromised to the slightest degree his reputation as an artist. Catering neither to the reader of unformed standards nor the intellectually "advanced," he has held the allegiance of the critics of the first standing here and abroad and created a taste for his work among thousands of readers who were formerly content with the passably good book, the almost but not quite literature which roars from the presses in such abundance every season.

With "A Story Teller's Story," his autobiography, just published by B. W. Huebsch, Inc., the aspects of incompleteness, of tentative endeavor that marked Sherwood Anderson's earlier work, as it was spreading and growing into all the dimensions of American life, have finally been removed. Here, at last, the structure of his genius stands clear of scaffolding and arrays itself with the few great names of American literature.

On the surface nothing could be simpler than this story of a man's life from boyhood to middle age; of rustic poverty in a country town of Ohio, vagabondage in the race-track world, casual labor in factories, shops and stables of the region; of business adventures inspired by the evangelists of get-rich-quick who converted wholesale the youth of the period; of soldiering in the Spanish War, earning an education at a fresh-water college, essaying again the only accredited success of the times in business enterprise as a small manufacturer. These were the outward conditions and events of Sherwood Anderson's boyhood, youth and young manhood, which a lesser artist might have chronicled with the pedantic fidelity and superabundant detail of "realism." In "A Story Teller's Story," however, such matter swirls and dips, rises and disappears like sticks of wood in a freshet. It is the emotional currents themselves, of which these events indicate merely the turbulence and flow, which hold the reader's absorbed attention. Here beneath a direct and homely account of the vicissitudes of a middle-western youth in the end of the 19th century the spiritual life of an artist is beheld making its way past all the obstructions that the social life of the times placed in its course toward the conviction and the proof of genius that was to come in later life.

It is in the same fashion—with his eye on the inner event—that Mr. Anderson relates the story of his struggles to effectuate himself as a writer of stories and novels. And here, as in the earlier part of the autobiography, there are innumerable curious and rich reflections of the life of his time and place upon the narrative—so many seemingly artless and discursive anecdotes and portraits of men and women which are really consummate art in themselves and for what they contribute to the whole picture of Sherwood Anderson. Here are the living models of so many of Mr. Anderson's creations in "Winesburg, Ohio," "Windy McPherson's Son," "Poor White," "Many Marriages," and in the stories of "Horses and Men" and "The Triumph of the Egg" and musing over them all the artist himself gradually becoming aware of his need and his power to reveal new aspects of universal beauty and truth.

## The Absentee Voter

A Review by JAMES ONEAL

NON-VOTING. By Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Foote Gosnell Chicago: University of Chicago Press. \$2.00.

Last May, Mr. Simon Michelet, a Washington lawyer, published the results of an investigation of the absentee voters in the various States. Accompanied with a complete tabulation of figures for each State he concluded that "nearly one-half of the voters of the United States fail to perform their civic duties as electors." The vote cast by all parties for President in 1920 was 26,713,832 while the number of qualified voters who did not vote was 25,705,063. Later the Federal Council of Churches reported the decline in the percentage of qualified voters going to the polls since 1896. It reported that whereas 80 per cent of the voters voted in 1896 the percentage has declined until it reached 49 per cent in 1920. The figures differ in detail from those of Mr. Michelet but substantially they agree. The election of 1924 shows that while the total vote cast is larger than the vote cast four years ago, yet the percentage of the total number eligible to vote has suffered another decline.

This situation has given professional politicians and patriots much concern. On its face it indicates a progressive decline of faith in the present political, social and economic order. In the meantime two instructors in the University of Chicago have been making a systematic survey of the 6,000 non-voters in the Chicago mayoralty election of 1923. This is only a small fraction of the number of voters who did not vote. There were 1,400,000 eligible electors. Of this number only 900,000 registered and of the registered voters 182,000 failed to vote.

Of course, there are factors which enter into a municipal election which have no bearing on a national election and it would be hazardous to draw general conclusions from this survey and make them applicable to national elections. Yet with this reservation it is certain that this survey has an important bearing in explaining the non-voter in national elections as well. We may discount those who fail to vote because of illness, absence from the city, illness of a family relative, insufficient residence and congestion at the polls.

These causes of non-voting, except the last, are unavoidable. Then it must be kept in mind that many women are too timid to exercise the franchise.

Making allowance for these factors we come to the general mass of voters whose interest in the election was insufficient to bring them to the polls for one reason or another. Their reasons and the percentage of each group failing to vote may be observed from the following table compiled from the figures submitted in this survey:

General indifference.....	25.4
Indifference to particular election.....	2.5
Neglect—intended to vote but failed.....	8.4
Ignorance or timidity.....	7.1
Disgust with politics.....	2.3
Disgust with own party.....	4.0
Belief that one vote counts for nothing.....	1.5
The ballot box is corrupted.....	0.7
	51.9

When it is considered that all the powers of persuasion by means of the press, the radio, literature, meetings and personal work of thousands of ward workers are brought to bear upon the voters to induce them to go to the polls, the above figures are significant. What becomes of that State and ancestor worship which has become the creed of the vocal patriots when it makes no appeal to this large percentage of non-voters? Whatever else may be said of the large percentage of non-voters in this country it is certain that the old appeals in behalf of the politics of capitalism are falling in the minds of many millions. It is true that the survey shows that some of the minor parties have also suffered because of the general disgust with politics but it is evident that the great mass of those who are disgusted are deserters from the old parties.

Here is a rich field for a strong Labor party to cultivate and it is another reason for organizing it in January. The idealism and hope of these non-voters can be awakened by a party that enters the field with a new program that leads to social reconstruction and a more human world. There are at least 20,000,000 voters who, for one reason or another, have no interest in the parties of capitalism. Here is an army waiting to be drilled, educated and inspired by a party of the masses. It is time to begin.

## Poems by Vldrac

A Review by EMANUEL BLUM

A BOOK OF LOVE. By Charles Vldrac. New York: E. P. Dutton. \$2.50.

Graphically, the poetry of Charles Vldrac is an intersection of genuine sentimentality and sentimental irony. He describes the three stages of life with artificially infected emotions. Infancy is to him rosiest in an atmosphere of talcum powder; youth, a French garden flitting with pregnant, mid-day suns; and old age, an institution of brambles incorporated to ensnare long beards. He expresses a curiosity for all kinds of mankind. The poem "To Be a Man" is the resolution to be socially adequate on the part of one who communes restlessly with his own temperament. To be a man is to be able to mix with all types, to be at ease in any man's home, to have complementary gesture and intonations for all occasions. This is just a bit of belated reverence for the traditional Abraham Lincoln, from one point of view; from another, it is the attempt of a hermit to rent the empty apartments of his loneliness; consequently, advertisements about the sacredness of friendships.

Vldrac's irony, on the other hand, is a fiasco of quick scene shifting. The ironic transitions come like the

## How Labor Governed

The New Leader has received a neat pamphlet of 20 pages, entitled "Six Months of the Labour Government," published by the Independent Labor party of Great Britain. While there are now nearer nine months than six to boast of, and while that record has been examined and appraised by the British workers, we cannot forbear to say that when the American workers have such a record before them we will have something to get wildly enthusiastic about.

Prepared by the I. L. P. Information Committee, the booklet is a well written and carefully thought out statement of the superb work of Comrade MacDonald and his colleagues. Even though we are now waiting for better news from England than merely six months of successful work, we wish that every American worker could read the booklet if only to get rid of the damnable inferiority complex that has thus far prevented us from duplicating in America what our British brothers and sisters have done.

responses of an "awkward squad" at the command "To the rear, March!" For example: "He made them shout and laugh—O suddenly sigh."

It is as if Eugene O'Neill had clamped the mask of Buddha over the face of Euphrosyne.

## Notes on Books

Little, Brown & Company has published "Robert Louis Stevenson: A Critical Biography," by John A. Stewart, in which a careful and impartial review is made of the career of this great writer.

"Joseph Conrad: A Personal Remembrance" will be published by Little, Brown & Company on December 1. The author is Ford Madox Ford (Hueffer) and it is an intimate biography of the great novelist by his long-time friend, who collaborated in the writing of "Romance" and "The Inheritors." Mr. Ford, who changed his name from Hueffer for family reasons, is the author of nearly forty books, of fiction, criticism, biography and poetry, and is the editor of *The Transatlantic Review*.

A book full of evidence challenging the infallibility of finger-print identification, called "Finger-Prints

Can Be Forged," has just been issued by the Tremont Publishing Co., 621 Plymouth Court, Chicago. The authors are Albert Wehde and John Nicholas Belfel. Belfel is a veteran newspaperman whose work for Labor publications and radical organizations gained him a good deal of prominence. Wehde made some of his finger-print experiments while in prison.

"My Further Disillusionment in Russia," by Emma Goldman, a companion volume to her first criticizing of the Soviet regime, will be brought out this month by Doubleday, Page.

"Yoga as Philosophy and Religion," by Surendranath Dasgupta, recently published by E. P. Dutton & Company, offers an accurate and faithful exposition, the first of its kind, of the philosophical, religious and mystical aspects of the Yoga

## Parliaments

A Review by J. R. SMALLWOOD

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES. By Robert Luce. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.00.

Students of government should not fail to read this book. It belongs to the shelf of any man whose interest in politics goes further than the act of casting a vote on election day. The book is not an exposition of parliamentary procedure, or rules of debate. There have been many such. This is a comprehensive and exhaustive compilation of the framework, make-up, characteristics, habits and manners of legislative assemblies. It is an informal—often a gossip—account of the actual functioning of the "people's house." It is the product of Congressman Luce's own observations, of his questionnaires to contemporary governors and legislators in various states, and largely of his reading of history. Nor does he content himself with dealing only with American, or, more strictly, United States, legislatures. His range of example and parallel extends to every country in the world, apparently.

Here are some of the subjects on which he gives information—and often his own opinion, though generally he contents himself with setting forth the facts pro and con: two chambers or one; senates, with arrangements for continuity; method of choosing senators, and the representation of property; size, length of terms, frequency and length of sessions, place and time; some possible reforms; election and qualification, particularly the questions of residence, sex, education, age, wealth, religious tests, crime, dual-office holding.

Other considerations are: rotation in office, the lobby, bribery, "improprieties or worse," privilege, including criticism, slander, libel, freedom from arrests; contempt, salaries, expenses, customs and habits, decorum.

The listing of the chapter headings—there are twenty-five of them—indicates the ponderousness of the volume. The publishers call it a "monumental work." It is hardly that. Mr. Luce undoubtedly has done a lot of research work, but in the main it is only compilation, and his book is only monumental in regard to the amount of work performed. None the less, it is a handy volume for the student of government.

It is interesting to read that all the Provinces of Canada save Quebec and Nova Scotia—that is, Ontario, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, British Columbia—have uni-chambered legislatures; while South Africa and the State of Queensland, Australia, where they have a Labor Government, are getting along nicely with one chamber. In spite of many attempts made, no American State has yet abolished its upper chamber. We read that in 1815 a committee of the Bar Association of Tennessee reported that the bi-cameral Legislature "belongs to that period when an aristocracy sought by means of the second House to perpetuate its privilege, and, therefore, has no place in a democracy like ours." A Bill proposing that the question be submitted to the electorate came, in California in 1915, within five votes of passing. In the Nebraska Constitutional Convention of 1920 a proposal for a one-house Legislature was lost on a tie vote.

The most interesting kind of legislature is the unique one in Norway. There the people elect one body, known as the Storting, which, upon assembling, selects a quarter of its members to serve as a second chamber, the Lagting; the remaining three-quarters, known as the Odelsting, serve as the Lower House. Thomas Paine, that brilliant and original thinker, proposed something of the kind for the United States.

system of thought, which will be of unusual interest to all students of philosophy, religion and mysticism. The author is famous in India as a student of Indian philosophy, of which he has written a comprehensive history. He is now professor of philosophy in Presidency College, Calcutta, and has been a lecturer in the University of Cambridge.

In their "Broadway Translations Series" the Duttons announce for early publication that old animal saga, "Reynard the Fox," in Caxton's translation, as printed by him in 1481, but modernized and edited by W. S. Stallybass. It is illustrated with twenty-four of Kaulbach's etchings.

All Books Reviewed on this page, and every other book obtainable at the RAND BOOK STORE 7 EAST 15TH STREET New York City

## A Defense of Socialism

By EDWARD ARTHUR LEAHY

In "The Dawn of a Brighter Era"

(Printed by request of a reader of The New Leader as an example of how some churchmen are coming to the defense of the Socialist movement.)

SOCIALISM is not the hideous thing that some Americans imagine it to be. It is not atheism. All the imputations of irreligion and materialism which have been brought against it are utterly false. Far from being ungodly, most adherents of the Socialist movement are renowned humanists, actuated by the highest motives of universal equality and brotherhood.

How strikingly parallel the Socialist slogan, "Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains," and the golden philosophy, every-day theology of the Great Galilean who came to set at liberty them that are bruised.

Empires have crumbled into debris. Imperious monarchs have been, and still are being, dethroned. Might has given place to right. All the world's great teachers, spiritual, political, ethical, have championed the cause of freedom for the underling. Emancipation from capitalistic oppression is the crying desideratum of the poverty-stricken today. The workers fervently and pathetically pray for liberation. God has heard them. Socialism is Heaven's answer.

I say that Socialism (I prefer to call it Progressivism), which so unfortunately has become a byword for all that is insidious and reprehensible, is, in truth, the economic interpretation of Christianity. It believes implicitly in the law and prophecies which the Master came to fulfill, and would, if given a chance, bring to actuality the beautiful dictum of Robert Burns:

"When man to man  
The world o'er  
Shall brothers be  
For a' that."

## Roads To Freedom

(Continued from Page 8.)

ization of other industries and deserves close study.

Literature—Pamphlets: Nationalization Research Committee, U. M. W., "How to Run Coal" (Clearfield, Pa., United Mine Workers).

## The Modern Quarterly

Like the summer number of this interesting quarterly, the fall number carries an article by the Editor, V. F. Calverton, which is of commanding interest. "Sherwood Anderson: A Study in Sociological Criticism" is an application to a particular writer of the principles outlined by Mr. Calverton in his "Sociological Criticism of Literature," which appeared in the previous number of his magazine. Of special interest is the note of Anderson to Mr. Calverton upon receipt of a copy of the article: "It would be absurd of me to make any criticism at all of your article," wrote Mr. Anderson. "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?"

It will be remembered that Mr. Calverton's view is that "all of the theories and concepts, the diets and shibboleths, of creative and critical effort are but the outgrowths of the social system in which they have their being, and which in turn is the product of the material conditions of the time." In his survey and criticism of the work of Sherwood Anderson, Mr. Calverton recalls the economic and social history of the region of the Anderson stories and finds an explanation of his characters in this history. Humble folk, especially the proletariat, their lives, struggles and experiences are his themes. Anderson is a product of an era of the proletariat which in turn is the creation of modern capitalism.

"Marching Men," for example, "is a radiant and romantically symbolic of the rise of the proletariat.... The effect of the organization of the proletariat, a result of industrial limitation and oppression, obtains vivid and unmistakable reflection in this curious novel." "Poor White" is critically considered and we have space only for the following keen observation which all readers of that novel will appreciate: "The social environment from which Anderson himself has sprung is here portrayed with consummate skill and artistry. The evolution of an industrial age, the transformation of agricultural communities into manufacturing, the ideational changes wrought in the minds of the people seized thus between the fall of one and the rise of another civilization, are given an almost epical delineation."

Mr. Calverton is doing some exceptionally good work in his sociological criticism and we are glad to note that a volume of his essays is soon to appear. It is a field of Socialist exploration that has been neglected and he appears to be making the most of his opportunity.

## PATRIOTISM

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Willelm Van Hoogstraten, Conductor  
CARNegie Hall, SUN. AFT., Dec. 7, at  
3:30—"Der Freischütz," Mozart Piano Con-  
certo, D minor, Sibelius, "Finlandia,"  
Strauss Waltz, "Wiener Blut," Tchaikovsky  
3d's Italian Caprice.  
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## At the Cinemas

BROADWAY—"The Foolish Vir-  
gin," with Elaine Hammerstein,  
Robert Fraser and Gladys Brock-  
well.

CAMEO—Harold Lloyd in "Hot  
Water."

CAPITOL—Mae Murray in "Circe,  
the Enchantress," by Ibanez,  
with James Kirkwood and Wil-  
liam Haines.

RIALTO—D. W. Griffith's, "Isn't  
Life Wonderful."

RIVOLI—"North of 36," with Lois  
Wilson, Jack Holt and Ernest  
Torrence.

## DRAMA

Adaptations of French Plays  
Very Bad

Andre Perrin, of the Cercle Francais, Attacks Art of  
American Stage

"FRENCH plays produced in this  
country are by no means exact  
translations of the plays as  
they are written," M. Andre Perrin,  
coach of the Cercle Francais, said in  
an interview with The Harvard Crim-  
son, the undergraduate daily. "A  
French play," he said, "should be trans-  
lated word for word and paragraph  
for paragraph if it is to be shown here."

"Many producers try to put American  
phrases and touches in the plot to  
please the audiences, and as a result  
it is neither French drama nor Amer-  
ican drama. It is nothing more than  
French steak with American gravy."  
"American slang is injected into the  
plots, plots are changed around, end-  
ings are shifted and the play is ruined.  
The endings of tragedies are changed  
from death to love, so that the audience  
will come out saying, 'A kiss at the  
end, this is life.' It is all wrong."  
"A producer who does that is selling  
his soul for money. An author who  
writes to satisfy the public is doing the  
same thing. I would rather die than  
do a thing like that."

"And the French plays are clean  
morally. Americans go to Paris and  
see somewhat vulgar plays. They go  
to midnight cabarets and places of that  
sort. Then they return and say that  
French morals are low. It is not true.  
These plays are produced to amuse  
foreigners and thus to make money.  
Besides Paris is not France any more  
than New York is the United States.  
People go to Paris and return. They  
think they know France. They're  
wrong."

When asked to compare French and  
American producers, M. Perrin said:  
"The French are better producers than  
the Americans. With the exception  
of David Belasco there are very few  
American producers or directors who  
can tell an actor how to say his lines.  
Most of them leave that part to the  
actors themselves and so the plays  
are broken up. Instead of a play be-  
ing the expression of a single man it  
is the expression of the entire cast  
and does not convey the author's  
meaning."

"French producers, on the other hand,  
are artists. Before producing a play  
they study it carefully and try to



HOWARD MARSH

plays the leading role in "The Student  
Prince," the musical version  
of "Alt Heidelberg," now playing  
at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre.

determine what the author is attempt-  
ing to convey. After they have studied  
the play until they know it thoroughly  
they call in the cast, and as the pro-  
duction proceeds they tell each actor  
and actress just how they want each  
line spoken and accented. The French  
producer is like a painter, with the  
actors as his paints, and in this way  
the author's meaning is more nearly  
interpreted."

M. Perrin concluded by attacking the  
American stage. "With but few ex-  
ceptions," he declared, "it is not seek-  
ing art, it is seeking money. Money  
is the god of the majority of play-  
wrights and producers and until this  
can be remedied the American stage  
cannot hope to make much progress.  
Of course there are some real artists,  
but they are in the minority and their  
influence is not felt to a large degree.  
Gold is America's god."

## Vaudeville Theatres

**PALACE**  
Adele Rowland, George Whiting and  
Sadie Burt, Alma Nielsen and Com-  
pany, Mabel Clifton and Billie De Rex,  
Al Herman, Mr. and Mrs. Norman  
Phillips with Norman Phillips, Jr.,  
Franklin D'Amore and Company, Kelly  
La Tell Company, and Wilson Aubrey  
Trio.

**HIPPODROME**  
Benny Leonard, The Doner Family—  
Kitty, Ted and Rose with Johnny  
Berkes, Enrico Rastelli, Florence Wal-  
ton and Leon Leitrim with the Cali-  
fornia Ramblers Orchestra; Herman  
and Sammy Timberg, Correll Sisters,  
Mabel Clifton and Billie De Rex;  
Mme. Ella Bradna, Pepito, Chevalier  
Brothers, Claudia Alba, and the Hip-  
podrome dancing ensemble.

**REGENCY**  
Monday to Wednesday—Thos. Swift  
and Company, Harry Downing and  
Company, Doris Roche, other acts.  
Nazimova and Milton Sills in Madonna  
of the Streets.

Thursday to Sunday—Joe Darey,  
Guinan and Marguerite, Robinson and  
Pearce, "K-The Unknown" with Vir-  
ginia Valli and Percy Marmon.

**FRANKLIN**  
Monday to Wednesday—Eva Tanguay,  
Mr. and Mrs. Norman Phillips with  
Norman Phillips, Jr., other acts. Na-  
zimova and Milton Sills in "Madonna  
of the Streets."

Thursday to Sunday—The London  
Stoppers; Senna and Dean, other acts.  
"K-The Unknown," with Virginia Valli  
and Percy Marmon.

## Walter Hampden and "Cyrano," Return Dec. 22

Walter Hampden will bring his pro-  
duction of "Cyrano de Bergerac" back  
to New York for Christmas and New  
Year's weeks. It will be seen at the  
Century Theatre, opening on December  
22. At the conclusion of this engage-  
ment Mr. Hampden will be seen in an-  
other theatre in "Othello."



ELAINE HAMMERSTEIN  
in "The Foolish Virgin," coming  
to the Moss' Broadway, next Mon-  
day.

## The Political Issue Stradeled

(Continued from page 4)

fame is that he helped to break a  
strike!

Another contrast is found in the  
address of John Colbert representing  
the Canadian Trades and Labor  
Congress. Canada is more sparsely  
settled, it has a smaller population  
than our own and the worst features  
of an industrial capitalism have not  
arrived, yet Colbert announced the  
organization of a Labor party in  
1915. All but one province is now  
organized and 36 Labor members are  
fighting for the workers in the Pro-  
vincial Legislatures. Both Mexico  
and Canada have not the long years  
of experience and development and  
yet they have joined the interna-  
tional movement of the workers for  
political action through a party of  
their own.

If we survey the world in this  
matter we get a still more startling  
contrast. Germany, Austria, France,  
Belgium and other countries of Eu-  
rope long ago established their par-  
ties of the working class. Support  
of "friends" nominated by the par-  
ties of capitalism belongs to the in-  
fant stage of their respective move-  
ments. Across the channel in Eng-  
land we have seen a Labor party in  
control of the Government, then  
thrown out by a combination of two  
capitalist parties, but with a million  
or more votes added to the Labor  
column.

Proceeding to Australia and New  
Zealand we find the same history  
repeated with the workers enjoying  
a large measure of power through  
parties of their own. Even in Brit-  
ish South Africa the evolution of the  
political movement of the modern  
working class has taken the same  
course. In all modern nations the  
organized working class has aban-  
doned the political methods still fol-  
lowed by the American Federation  
of Labor.

It is the peculiar contradiction of  
the United States, the most indus-  
trially advanced nation in the world,  
that it has a trade union movement  
that clings to the infant form of  
political action. No matter to what  
nation the A. F. of L. may choose  
to send fraternal delegates, it will  
not find one that agrees with it in  
this matter. It cannot receive fra-  
ternal delegates from the trade union

movement of any other country  
without listening to men who also  
represent independent Labor par-  
ties of one form or other.

For decades this development has  
been going on. The tide of inde-  
pendent Labor party action first at-  
tracted attention in Germany in the  
seventies. Austria followed. Then  
other European countries. At the  
dawn of the twentieth century Brit-  
ish Labor began to turn to it with  
the magnificent results we know.  
Then Australia and New Zealand  
and later, South Africa. Then across  
the Rio Grande 300 years of serv-  
itude blew up in a rising of the  
masses and in almost a decade the  
Mexican workers elected a President  
of their own. Across our northern  
boundary the tide swelled and a  
growing Labor party is destined to  
challenge the old order in Canada  
in a few years.

But the United States remains an  
Ismael. It is isolated, suspicious,  
fearful of a change that has brought  
power, idealism, enthusiasm and hope  
to millions of the working class.  
But the northern and southern  
frontiers cannot forever withstand  
the swelling tide. There will be an  
independent party of the working  
class in the United States and noth-  
ing can stop it. This has been the  
drift in all other modern countries.  
It will be a consummation here. It  
may come soon, it may come late,  
but come it will. For the time be-  
ing we make little or no contribution  
to the mighty political forces of the  
workers that now make up the in-  
ternational army of Labor emanci-  
pation. But that we will eventually  
contribute there can be no doubt.

## War-Time Indictments

Against 13 Socialists  
Are Dismissed in Ohio

CINCINNATI. — Indictments  
against Thomas Merschmidt, for-  
mer Socialist candidate for Mayor  
of Cincinnati; Lota Burke, Secre-  
tary of the Socialist Party in Cin-  
cinnati, and eleven other de-  
fendants, charging conspiracy to  
defeat registration under the Na-  
tional Selective Service Act, have  
been dismissed by Federal Judge  
Smith Hickenlooper.

## MUSIC

## With the Orchestras

## STATE SYMPHONY

At the Metropolitan Opera House,  
tomorrow afternoon, the State Sym-  
phony Orchestra under the baton of  
Josef Stransky and Weston Gales, will  
play the following program: Rimsky-  
Korsakoff, "Scheherazade"; Mozart,  
Aria from "Marriage of Figaro"; Liszt,  
Symphonic Poem, "Tasso"; Songs with  
Piano; Strauss, Waltz, "On the Beauti-  
ful Danube." Anna Case is the soloist.

Wednesday evening at Carnegie Hall,  
the program is an all Wagner, includ-  
ing: Overture, "Flying Dutchman";  
Introduction, "Meistersinger"; Act III;  
March of the Knights and Bell-Scene  
"Parsifal"; Prelude and Love-Scene  
"Tristan and Isolde"; Prelude, "Meis-  
tersinger"; Siegfried-Idyll, Entrance  
of the Gods into Valhalla, from "Rhin-  
gold"; Prelude to Act I and III, "Loh-  
engrin."

## NEW YORK SYMPHONY

The New York Symphony Orchestra,  
Walter Damrosch, conducting, will give  
a concert at Aeolian Hall, Sunday after-  
noon. Soloist, Albert Spaulding. The  
program:

Symphony No. 3 in F, Dvorak; Fan-  
tasy, Vaughn Williams; Scottish Fan-  
tasy, for violin and orchestra, Bruch;  
Caprice Espagnole, Rimsky-Korsakoff.

At Carnegie Hall, Saturday morning,  
December 13, 11 a. m., the children's  
program will include the Overture to  
"Mignon"; Thomas; Andante from  
"Jupiter" Symphony, Mozart; Polka  
Mazurka, "The Dragon Fly," Strauss;  
Triumphal March from "Aida," Verdi.

## PHILHARMONIC

Ossip Gabrilowitsch is to be soloist  
with the Philharmonic Orchestra to-  
morrow afternoon at Carnegie Hall,  
playing the Mozart D Minor piano con-  
certo. The rest of the program, con-  
ducted by Mr. Van Hoogstraten, in-  
cludes the overture to Weber's "Der  
Freischütz," Sibelius' "Finlandia," a  
Johann Strauss Waltz, "Wiener Blut,"  
and the Italian Caprice of Tchaikovsky.

On Thursday evening and Friday  
afternoon at Carnegie Hall, Beethoven's  
Second Symphony; Grieg's tone-poem,  
"The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan."  
Two waltzes for string orchestra by  
Dvorak and the Berlioz Rakoczy March  
will complete the program.

PHILHARMONIC JUNIOR  
CONCERTS

The concerts for children to be given  
this season by the Philharmonic Or-  
chestra under the direction of Ernest  
Schelling, who will not only lead the  
players but also lecture at the piano,  
will be known as the Philharmonic  
Junior Concerts. These concerts will  
take place on Saturday mornings and  
Saturday afternoons, the morning con-  
certs being arranged for children from  
public and parochial schools and the  
afternoon series for children from pri-  
vate schools. There will be five con-  
certs in each series, and the programs  
in the two sets of concerts will be  
identical.

Ethel Leginska has been booked for  
the following recitals: Schenectady, N.  
Y., Forest Hills, L. I. and Philadelphia,  
Pa. The dates being December 10, 12  
and 15, respectively.

Stefi Geyer, the violinist, native of  
Hungary, will make a second appear-  
ance at Town Hall, Tuesday evening.

Revival of "La Juive" at  
Metropolitan Opera House

Gatti-Casazza's promised revival of  
Halévy's "La Juive" in French to be  
given on Friday evening, December 12,  
will be a feature of the sixth week  
of the Metropolitan Opera Season. The  
leading roles will be sung by Easton  
and Martinelli.

Other operas of the week will be:  
"Tales of Hoffmann," Monday evening,  
with Bori and Fleta; "Lohengrin," Wed-  
nesday evening, with Jeritza and Laubenthal;  
"Meistersinger," Thursday, with Alda and  
Gigli; "Tosca," Friday afternoon, with  
Jeritza and Fleta; "Cavalleria Rustica-  
na" and "Pagliacci" will be the Sat-  
urday matinee operas, the former with  
Bori and Fleta; "Tannhauser," Satur-  
day night, with Easton and Laubenthal.  
A "Puccini Memorial Concert" will  
be given this Sunday evening.

## Music Notes

The Little Symphony, George Bar-  
rere conductor, at Henry Miller's The-  
atre, Sunday evening, will introduce  
the following numbers: Symphonie  
Peridouque, Bocherini; Flowers, D. S.  
Smith; Adagio for oboe solo, Bach-  
Siloti; Overture, "Bastien et Basti-  
enne," Mozart; Ecstasie Shepherd, C.  
Scott; Scherzo, Widor; Nocturne, Bar-  
rere; Conversations, A. Bliss.

Adela Verne will give a piano recital  
Sunday afternoon at Town Hall. Her  
program includes Schumann, Beethoven,  
a group by Chopin and another by  
Paderewski.

The New York Symphony Orchestra  
plays in Washington, December 8 and  
9; Baltimore, December 10; Philadel-  
phia on December 11. Paul Kochan-  
ski and Felix Salmund will be the  
soloists.

Esther Dale will give a song recital  
in Town Hall, Wednesday evening.

Alessandro Bonci will sing tomorrow  
afternoon at the Manhattan Opera  
House in the only concert scheduled  
for this city.

Ethel Parks will give a recital at  
Town Hall, Monday afternoon. Songs  
in English, French, Italian, German,  
and a group of old airs will form the  
program.

Blanche Reyelle gives her piano re-  
cital Wednesday afternoon, at Aeolian  
Hall. Mozart, Beethoven, Paderewski,  
Chopin, Stojowski, Debussy and Liszt  
are listed for her program.

Julius Bledsoe, Negro Baritone, will  
appear in Town Hall, this afternoon.

Laura Stroud, pianist, makes her New  
York debut in Aeolian Hall, on Wed-  
nesday evening.

Charles Stratton will give his song  
recital at Aeolian Hall on Thursday  
afternoon.

Elly Ney will make her recital ap-  
pearance, at Aeolian Hall, on Monday  
afternoon, in a program which includes  
the F Minor Sonata of Brahms, the  
Appassionata Sonata of Beethoven, a  
group of Chopin, and short works by  
Mozart, Debussy and McDowell.

The New York String Quartet will  
give their concert Tuesday evening, in  
Aeolian Hall.

Maria Safonoff will give a piano re-  
cital Monday night, at Aeolian Hall.



CONSTANCE BINNEY  
will be at the Bronx Opera House  
next week, in the musical show  
"The Sweet Little Devil."



## THE NEW LEADER

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Saturday, December 6, 1924

## FIGHT FOR THE CHILD SLAVES OF AMERICA

THE State Chamber of Commerce is lined up with the National Association of Manufacturers in opposition to the Child Labor Amendment. A sub-committee has submitted a report on this matter which closely follows the lead taken by the manufacturers. "Parents are asked to hand over to Congress the control of their children from birth to eighteen years of age," reads one sentence, and the rest is an elaboration of the theme.

We need not analyze the sanctimonious drive of the manufacturers and its repetition by the State Chamber of Commerce. What stands out in this matter is that the organized capitalist class of this country is on one side of the question, while the organized working class is on the other. The "moral" arguments offered by the enemy in the name of the "home" and the "family" are so many masks intended to conceal the desire to sweat children for the profits of a class. The "home" and the "family" life of the child slaves working in the mills of the textile masters is certain proof that the exploiters of children have as much consideration for the home and the family as a fox has for the life of a young pullet.

Let it not be forgotten that the big driving force back of the opposition, the organized manufacturers, has been exposed as one of the most corrupting influences in modern life. In 1913 it was shown that Martin W. McMillan, expert lobbyist and briber, was the agent of the manufacturers. McMillan was recommended for his work by politicians like Quay, Platt, Sherman and Cannon. He even corrupted the Labor movement in many cities by placing "leaders" on the payroll of the manufacturers. For a number of years the holy profiteers retired to obscurity until the stench disappeared.

Since resuming their activities the manufacturers have opposed every measure, no matter how moderate it was, that had for its motive some humanitarian object. They constitute the shock troops of the industrial reaction in this country.

The New Leader will make a special feature of the campaign in favor of adopting the Child Labor Amendment. We urge Socialist locals in all the States to prepare for this campaign. They should arouse the interest and obtain the cooperation of the trade unions and other organizations that will give loyal service in this struggle. Meetings must be held, resolutions adopted, and publicity obtained. The propaganda of the manufacturers and their allies should be watched. No statement of theirs in the local press should be permitted to pass unchallenged. The war should be carried on with unremitting vigor. It should not be said that the despoilers of childhood had won in such a struggle, because the organized workers had failed to respond to the needs of the children who are still broken and destroyed in the industrial hells of capitalism.

Comrades and fellow workmen! Get busy on this big job. It is your fight. It must be your victory as well.

## THE REPUBLICAN OUSTER

VICTOR L. BERGER, Socialist Congressman, is correct when he says that "it was absolutely proper for the Republican Senatorial caucus to read Senators La-Follette, Ladd, Frazier and Brookhart out of the party." It is absurd to contend that one can leave a party and fight it, its policies, program and candidates, and then return to it and claim privileges that go with membership. Moreover, if one claims to be fundamentally sincere in leaving a party and fighting it, that sincerity is seriously questioned if he attempts to get back into the fold.

It is certain that if the third party movement becomes a permanent Labor party, the latter would not tolerate desertion to the enemy by a member and then take him back after he had done all the damage he could to the Labor party. To do otherwise would be to place a premium on dishonesty and the adventurer would shift from one allegiance to another as the changing political winds might dictate.

Moreover the presentation of any claims for privileges within either of the parties of capitalism by one who had deserted it can only have a demoralizing effect upon those who have looked forward to a permanent political federation that would represent the rural and urban workers. Still another consideration is that one might as well equip himself with a pint cup of water to extin-

guish a volcano as to hope for emancipation by playing the game inside one of two parties, both of which are the property of our ruling classes.

The need of the hour is a complete break with these parties and launching one which the masses will own, control, finance and administer.

## INVESTMENT SECURITIES

IF STOCK securities on the exchange have reacted to the election it is only because the great bankers and industrial magnates invested handsomely in another security, Calvin Coolidge. The publicity thrown upon campaign contributions a few weeks before election showed that the greater plutocracy had decided to place all their investments in Calvin rather than John. Calvin was therefore floated into office upon a sea of campaign boodle, and like a good boy he will remember his backers when it comes to legislation.

On the other hand the contributors need not worry about their contributions. They will get every cent back with interest and more into the bargain. The textile workers of New England will help to make up a good portion of the contributions. Already a big firm in Webster, Mass., announces a cut in wages and it was generally understood before the election that this cut was to become general after Calvin was safely landed. Brother Butler, in the upper chamber, will faithfully represent textiles direct.

Having recovered some of the campaign contributions by taking something out of the pay envelopes of the textile workers there are plenty of other workers who can make up the balance and even provide a bonus to the eminent patriots who have saved us from the bow wows. In fact, we are inclined to think that for four years the American workers are in for an era of refined skinning that will be long remembered by the skinned. If only the skinned would have it sink as deep into their memories they might avoid paying the expenses by wage cuts, injunctions and other nice things handed them after the returns are all in.

Meantime Calvin and his choice collection of brokers will provide us with experience which is an essential part of education. We will cooperate by carrying on our own educational work among those who have been swindled, for it is necessary to remember that while millions were fooled they are not all fools.

After all, this occupation of Egypt by Great Britain seems to follow the fashion set by Wilson when American troops occupied Haiti, and from this point of view all right-thinking American patriots may congratulate Britain on becoming Americanized.

## PARTY BUILDING

WHAT can be done by Socialists with a little imagination and initiative in the way of increasing the party membership has been demonstrated by two organizers in Massachusetts during the past year. They have increased the membership four-fold since they began their work. What two others have accomplished up-State in New York is demonstrated in an item on the party page in this issue. What they accomplished in Binghamton has also been accomplished in other cities of the State.

New members do not hunt a party headquarters and eagerly ask to be admitted. A few enthusiasts do, but not many. Increased party membership means a careful survey of the field, working out plans, assigning members to certain tasks, and persistence in the work. There are plenty of Socialist voters who will join the Socialist Party, if properly approached. The recent election showed a large increase in the number of voters who were willing to break with their old parties. These, too, offer a fertile field for the Socialist organizer.

The New Leader expects to publish two articles in coming issues, written by organizers who have accomplished excellent results in New England and in northern New York. We will let them tell the membership in all the States "how to do it." Their experience and success are invaluable, and we want to pass their story on to active Socialist workers, knowing that it will inspire them to take up the job of party building which is so promising at this time. In the meantime, place on the order of business of your branch meeting this item: "Party Organization." Then get down to serious business!

## The Window

COMING in nights, I frequently noticed a light in the window on the other side of the garden. Sometimes the window was open; a graceful outline of a young girl, or a young woman, leaned over the sill.

I noticed that the light was rarely lit before two o'clock and was always out at three. At first I thought that the young person employed the time in preparation for sleep and took her for a night-owl of choice or necessity. But I soon learned that she retired before midnight, got up at two o'clock, went back to bed immediately. It was a singular habit, but a charming one: nothing is so conducive to enjoyment of the night as interrupted sleep. The silence is then more delicious, the garden shadows more friendly and mysterious.

One April night, perceiving the unknown dreamer in the light of a half moon, I raised my hat and, in turn, received a salute. My heart leaped, a tremendous bound. I thought I saw a graceful figure, of indescribable sweetness and allure, her face hidden in the shadow of a lace cap. Again I bowed, again she saluted prettily, slowly, gracefully.

My soul was until then empty: the nocturnal neighbor installed herself in it, reigned supreme, mistress of my being. She became nightly dearer to me. I cherished her. Soon we were communicating in sign-language. An uncle had taught me the rudiments of deaf-and-dumb language, and

## The Prayer for Self

Lord, in the scale of men  
I weigh but little.  
Some have their talents ten,  
I have my little;  
Some go erect and free  
Where I drag fetters;  
I know them when I see  
These men, my betters.  
Oft have I wished I could  
Be as another—  
And yet, O Lord, I would  
Not be my brother:  
It lies not in the plan  
Of human seeing  
To be a better man  
In others' being.  
The one thing I have got  
Which You, Lord, gave me,  
Myself alone is what  
Must damn or save me.

TOMFOOL.

## THE OFFENSE OF TROTSKY

RELIABLE reports from Russia indicate that the breach between Trotsky and the other Soviet chieftains has so widened that he will probably be forced out of influential positions and eventually out of the Communist party. His offense is one of the gravest that can be committed in Russia. He has been thinking, and some of his reflections have been published to the scandal of the Soviet elders.

Now, thinking is a State industry in Soviet Russia, managed and controlled by the highest Soviet authorities. Trotsky has been trying a little private enterprise in this line and has interfered with the State output. A humorous aspect of the situation is that Trotsky himself helped to establish a State monopoly of thinking and has ruthlessly attacked others who have tried to indulge in a little private enterprise of their own.

What is more interesting, in publishing some individual views that do not square with State patterns Trotsky would be the last to grant this privilege to all in general. Even he accepts the State police in suppressing all working-class opinion outside of the Communist party. What he apparently wants is the right as a Communist party member to set up in business for himself, and this right he cannot get from those who do the thinking for all.

Trotsky is up against a trust in thought, and there is no likelihood that he will be able to dispose of his private wares, at least in Russia. He will have to do what he has told others, shut up! This always happens in the case of dogmatists of all types in all stages of history. Those who claim to have found "final truths" and who attempt to impose them on others have always found that chains and bars cannot imprison the human mind, and Sovietism will prove no exception to the rule.

## TO OUR DEMOCRATIC "LIBERALS"

ONE of the persistent wails that has come from certain "liberal" journals carries with it reproaches that the third party did not throw in its lot with the Democratic party. It is assumed that this party widely differs from the Republican party, that it offers the masses a more liberal approach to economic and social freedom, and to oppose it merely plays into the hands of reaction. It would have the voters of the nation shift from election to election between Republicans and Democrats.

Fundamentally both parties stand for the same things. A powerful blow at one of them means progress even if the other wins. We are neutral as to which one will take the count first. It seems now that the Democrats will go to the cemetery first. We will be just as happy if it proves to be the Republican outfit. We want to destroy both, but from the nature of the case we can finish only one at a time. That one appears to be the Democratic party, judging from the recent returns.

The Wilsonian era gave the Democrats their opportunity at that "liberal approach" to better things. Never in the history of the republic was there such looting, never had there been such a reign of stupid and malicious reaction. The Wilson uplifters transformed the United States into a glorified jail, goose-stepped us, made us mark time in the lockstep of capital's chain gang, released a reign of terror and then turned us over to the "best minds" of the Republican party.

Rooted in the soil of the backward

South, with its disfranchisement, illiteracy, peonage, lynchings, child labor, hookworm, malaria and demagogic leaders, the Democratic party represents an arrested Junker region. The crimes of its Democratic politicians bear not only upon the Negro but also upon millions of white workers who are kept in ignorance and who are used to perpetuate a regime that cries to heaven for abolition.

Give first aid to this "liberalism"? This would be to become an accomplice of it in its crimes.

A Mr. Flaherty, in the Communist organ of Chicago, has "unmasked" The New Leader. He announces that we are in the last stage preceding death, advertising doesn't pay, and we are preparing to close up shop. Why can't these terrible people get things right? Fact is, we have been so bad off that we sent to Moscow for a dozen hairs from Trotsky's lip with the intention of raffling them off and saving the paper. Zinoviev cabled that we could not have the hairs, and added that we had sold out the revolution. Whereupon we remembered that we had sold out some twenty times since 1919 and we drew upon an account that we had forgotten. We are uncompromising again and would not accept the Trotsky hairs as a gift. Will Mr. Flaherty please print the real facts?

## FREE SCIENCE vs. GAGS

FEW OF US suspected when we were dragged into the World War that one of the things we would endanger in this country would be the intellectual legacy of centuries of scientific thought. Time was when men of science could not openly publish their discoveries without inviting torture and even death. Eventually the battle for free investigation, discussion and publication was won. The sciences expanded and the world was enriched in every field of speculation, experiment and investigation.

But the post-war period has threatened all this. The moron and the 100 percent mounted the ruins of the war. They have been engaged in a battle to exclude modern science from the schools. Their first crusade was to raid public libraries in a hunt for works on evolution and those books on economics and politics that did not suit their medieval minds. This developed into the movement to have legislatures enact laws prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public educational institutions. It has been a march back to the fourteenth century and many have enjoyed the hike.

In California this tendency has gone so far that a special organization has been formed to oppose the effort of "patriotic" morons to blot out the cultural heritage of the human race. The Science League of America held its mass meeting in San Francisco last week and to the surprise of its organizers the auditorium was packed and people were turned away. The response shows that there is a healthy reaction to the drive of the Bryans, Bowlers, Sundays, and their ilk who would make of this country an asylum for the feeble minded.

It is no accident that this march back to mediocrity should issue out of a decaying social system presided over by a bill collector from Northampton, but it is also a matter of encouragement that the morons are encountering organized opposition. The Science League of America should be organized in every city and the fight for uncensored scientific teaching should be carried to the very doors of those who take refuge behind arbitrary statutes, censorship and the policeman's club.

One British statesman is very much offended because some people abroad think that Great Britain is interfering with the affairs of Egypt. Of course not. If France took possession of the British Foreign Office, occupied Scotland and placed troops in other parts of England, this British statesman would be so indifferent to it that his snores could be heard in the next room.

Herbert Hoover says that one more great war would be "the cemetery of civilization," and that in order to end war we must remove the causes of war. Then he goes on to say that the United States must not relax its efforts at building up a great military and naval armament. Which is real Hoover logic—worthy of the man who, in 1920, was generously offered to both the Democratic and Republican parties in case they wanted a great man for President.

## By A. DESCHAMP

Translated from the French by Louise Lafitte  
A tragic presentiment haunted me. The third morning I received a letter, instructing me to go to an unknown notary. Instinctively, I anticipated news from my friend. Without a moment's delay, I hurried to the notary. There I found a fat old man in an ancient study. He notified me that I was the heir of Mlle. V—, who died day before yesterday, and who, in the absence of blood relations, bequeathed to me her entire fortune.

"The fortune consists approximately of 800,000 francs. The will is flawless; it was executed under my supervision. . . ."

He looked at me with a benevolent smile and said, "Here is a folder I was charged to hand you confidentially."

I took the letter, stammering in a trembling voice, "I'll come again, sir, to learn the details." He bowed respectfully.

I went out tottering, heartbroken. I dropped in a café to read the sad, posthumous letter of my friend. The letter was brief. It read:

"Pardon an old maid, who owed you the one great happiness of her life. Homely and proud, I could not love any of the men I had known. Their brutality and hypocrisy revolted me. I reached the age of seventy, craving tenderness, without having once experienced the divine joy of worshipping someone as one worships God. You have given me this infinite, priceless bliss. Thanks to you, my soul was steeped in

## THE Chatter-Box

### More Sonnets to a Dark Lady

There will be laughter when our love is dead—  
Not the light bubbling such as children make,  
But the cold shrieking when the heart has bled  
Quite dry and hard and is about to break.  
Do not show laughter now; your voice still rings  
With a dim cloistered glory in my ears.  
About your face a sainted aura clings,  
And I can see your eyes still blessed with tears.  
Since it be never late for love to die,  
Then let it pulse a while before we slay;  
A few more kisses and another sigh—  
Then you can mock my continence away.

And I might also learn, what you agree—  
That all this grief is in our vanity.

### A Rebel In Parasitism

We are writing this propped up in the soft bed of a room in a Ritz-y hotel somewhere in the Middle West. A sense of luxury and parasitic comfort pervades everything. We endeavor to stir up vexatious odes against the established order. The battalions of proletarian stanzas refuse to budge out of sweet somnolence. The Louis Quatorze tapestry reprint, showing a scene of Madame Pompadour in artistic déshabille, shames us out of working-class reflections. Over the heavy carpet and the Queen Anne furnishings the red banner refuses to unfurl. From the roof garden the strains of "What'll I do" permeate down through ceiling and wall with sticky, sugary insistence. Everything here anesthetizes the nerve and fiber of protest. God's in his bunk and all's well with us.

We feel thirst. We press a button, and, lo! obsequiousness in braid, blue and silver, appears like Aladdin's genie, with a solid silver pitcher full of jangling ice and water. It is poured out for us into a crystal goblet. Nectar, Gannymede, Zeus. . . . We bathe with the Romans, lounge with the Greeks, indulge with the Epicureans. Perhaps with a whisper and a wink, to the jingle of silver, we might be able to imbibe with the Scotch. But enough, lest the curious demand the name of this hostelry. We are not press-agenting for any hotel syndicate. And lest our readers accuse us of leaning toward bourgeois convention, may we intersperse here, that only yesterday we slept at an inn whose accommodations were faithfully patterned after the Hotel Arcade, Bowery and 1st street, New York. Tomorrow we may repeat. But tonight, it's a great life, and we are weakening. . . .

### First Snow

Snow flakes are illusive crystals  
That touch the eyes and leave them wondering,  
That melt their iciness on warm red lips  
And leave a tingling—like a lover's kiss.

### Fragments

You are behind this cold grey wall,  
And outside  
I lean against the stones and wait  
Until my warmth must penetrate  
Even through the coldness of stone wall.  
Leona.

E. P. Dutton and Co. have sent us Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, New and Revised Edition, for review. We submit the following critique:

### Upon Perusing Ye Rhyming Dictionary

For all ye mortals whose desires  
Would make ye gallant versifiers,  
When full of flame and pressed for time  
Your stanzas seek a proper rhyme:  
Then here's a stout vermilion book;  
You turn a page, you swiftly look,  
And, lo! a hundred words uprising,  
Obedient to your beckoning.

And comes a turmoil in your bonnet  
Crying to release a sonnet—  
With ease of sipping from a saucer  
You become a Geoffrey Chaucer.

Just a plume, some ink and paper,  
And this book—the rest's a caper,  
Rhyming order out of riot.  
Anybody need but try it:  
Cohen, or Duggan, Smith or Kelly,  
Becomes a Keats, a Blake, or Shelley. . . .

And if by nature you are thrifty,  
And can scrape the price, Three-fifty,  
From your smoke or from your mutton,  
Send your cheque to E. P. Dutton,  
Publishers extraordinary—  
For Walker's Rhyming Dictionary. . . .

S. A. DE WITT.

divine, poignant ecstasy during an entire year. It is you who opened to me the portals of heaven, gave me a glimpse of paradise. Now I am happy, I have lived—thanks to you. On my death bed, I hope and pray that you always think well, that you always think kindly, that you have pity for your poor friend of the window. . . .

I do not know how the reader would have taken it. I cried a quarter of an hour in the dark café corner. Strangest of all, this idyl has for me a freshness, a poignancy, far surpassing the love-tales of young, pretty girls and their avian. Even now I never sit at my window without falling prey to tender regrets and memories, without envisaging a slim outline, charming as the virgin of Verona, or the pretty Christian who dazzled all eyes when the cad had her remove her mask.